Chinese DE constructions in secondary predication: Historical and typological perspectives

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CHINESE DE CONSTRUCTIONS IN SECONDARY PREDICATION:
HISTORICAL AND TYPΟLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES

by

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B.A., Chinese, National Taiwan Normal University, 2004
M.A., Linguistics, National Taiwan University, 2008

DISSERTATION

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
Linguistics

The University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico

July 2016
DEDICATION

To my mother
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am greatly indebted to my committee for their feedback and support. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my advisor, Dr. Croft, for giving me constructive critique and intellectual inspiration throughout the writing and defense process, for his patience and generosity, and for believing that I could finish (sometimes more than I did). I could not have finished the project without his guidance.

I am deeply grateful to Dr. Chappell, who carefully reviewed my work, gave me many valuable comments and references, and assisted me with the defense presentation and revision. I would also like to thank Dr. Wilcox and Dr. Koops, for their encouragement and insightful feedback, which gave me a fresh perspective on the project.

I am appreciative of the support and intellectual stimulation from the faculty and fellow students of the Linguistics Department of UNM. It has been an honor and a privilege to work among so many talented and kind individuals. I am especially thankful to my friends, Sook-kyung Lee and Ahrim Kim. Our little study group kept me going through the most difficult moments. I will miss the study sessions and the coffees.

Finally, I want to thank my family. My deepest gratitude goes to my loving mother, to whom I owe everything, and my husband, whose humor and warmth have rescued me time and again, from periodic panic attacks and moments of existential crisis.
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ABSTRACT

This dissertation investigates the history of Chinese DE [ta] constructions in light of the typology of secondary predication. A secondary predicate, such as hot in He drank the tea hot, is a predicate that provides subsidiary information to a substructure (the participant tea) of the more salient primary event (drank). Mandarin DE features in two strategies: (i) a DE-marked primary event elaborated by a predicate following it, and (ii) a DE-marked secondary predicate preposed to the primary predicate. Focusing on Late Medieval Chinese (7th to mid-13th c.), the study examines the evolution of the DE-marked strategies from three distinctive constructions: resultative [V DE1 VP] by DE1 (得), nominal modification by DE2 (底/的), and secondary predication by DE3 (地).

The first theme concerns the interactions between DE2-marked nominalization and DE3-marked secondary predicate constructions. Results show that DE2 and DE3 developed
from opposite poles of the attribution vs. predication continuum, overlapping in categories intermediate between prototypical restrictive modification and secondary predication. Their distinctive information-packaging functions are consistently mapped to different construals of a property’s time-stability, which are reflected in their collocational preferences.

The second theme of the study deals with the merger of \textit{DE}_1 and \textit{DE}_2 constructions and the creation of the [V \textit{DE} Pred] topic-comment schema, where [V \textit{DE}] represents an event as the topic, and Pred makes an assertion about a substructure of V. The discussion focuses on the structural and semantic changes of the [V \textit{DE}_1 VP] construction that facilitate its alignment with the \textit{DE}_2-marked topic-comment construction.

The development of \textit{DE} constructions mirrors semantic shifts between temporally anterior vs. simultaneous relations and conceptual fluidity between event- vs. participant-orientation, parameters that feature in the encoding of secondary predication crosslinguistically (Verkerk 2009, Himmelmann and Schultze-Berndt 2005, van der Auwera and Malchukov 2005, Loeb-Diehl 2005). The findings also suggest a reevaluation of the typology. Notably, semantic orientation is not crucial to whether a semantic relation is encoded by a \textit{DE} construction, or which \textit{DE} construction is selected. Instead, it is information-packaging functions, construals of time-stability, and iconic principles that play a dominant role.
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**ABBREVIATIONS**

<p>| 1  | 1st person | DEF | definite |
| 2  | 2nd person | DEM | demonstrative |
| 3  | 3rd person | DIM | diminutive |
| ACC | accusative | DUR | durative |
| ADJ | adjective/adjectival | ERG | ergative |
| ADV | adverb(ial) | EXIST | existential |
| ANAPH | anaphora | EXP | experiential |
| ART | article | FUT | future |
| ASP | aspect marker | FOC | focus marker |
| AOR | aorist | HON | honorific |
| CAUS | causative | IDEO | ideophone |
| CL | classifier | IMP | imperative |
| CONC | concessive | INCEP | inceptive |
| CONJ | conjunction | INST | instrumental case |
| CONT | continuous | INTERR | interrogative |
| COP | copula | LOC | locative |
| DAT | dative | M | masculine |
| DE | the marker DE | MOD | modification marker |
| DE1 | the marker DE1 (de 得) | N- | non- |
| DE2 | the marker DE2 (di 底, de 的) | NOM | nominative |
| | | NEG | negation |
| DE3 | the marker di （地） | NMZ | nominalizer |
| | | OBJ | object marker |</p>
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>OBL</td>
<td>oblique case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PASS</td>
<td>passive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>possessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRES</td>
<td>present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROG</td>
<td>progressive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRT</td>
<td>particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFV</td>
<td>perfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PN</td>
<td>proper name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>possessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRF</td>
<td>perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRS</td>
<td>present</td>
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<tr>
<td>PST</td>
<td>past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PTCP</td>
<td>participle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PV</td>
<td>patient voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RCS</td>
<td>relevance to current state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REDU</td>
<td>reduplication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RECI</td>
<td>reciprocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REL</td>
<td>relativizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RC</td>
<td>relative clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RLS</td>
<td>realis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUO</td>
<td>the marker suo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STATE</td>
<td>stative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBJ</td>
<td>subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOP</td>
<td>topic marker</td>
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<td>UNIT</td>
<td>unit of measurement</td>
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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This is a diachronic study of the constructionalization of Mandarin DE (pronounced as [tə]) in the conceptual domain of secondary predication. The particle DE in Mandarin is highly generalized and has a puzzlingly wide range of functions (see §1.5), two of which are illustrated in (1)-(2):

(1) tā rèrè de hē le yī bēi chá

3S hot.REDU DE drink PFV one CL tea

‘He drank a cup of tea hot.’

(2) yéyé zǒu de hěn màn

grandfather walk DE very slow

‘Grandfather walks (very) slowly.’

Examples (1) and (2) both involve strategies where the predicate of the sentence consists of two predicative elements, which encode two subevents. (1) and (2) express situation types commonly investigated under the domain of secondary predication. A secondary predicate is a predicative expression that functions as a secondary part of a complex predicate. Semantically speaking, the predicate that introduces the more salient event is the primary predicate, and the predicate that encodes subsidiary information is the secondary predicate. Notice that DE appears after the secondary predicate in (1), and the primary predicate in (2).

1.2 Secondary predication

Three broad types of semantic categories are frequently encoded as secondary predicates across languages (van der Auwera and Malchukov 2005; Himmelmann and Schultze-Berndt 2005; Loeb-Diehl 2005; Verkerk 2009). The three conceptual categories
are defined and illustrated, with the primary event underlined and the secondary event boldfaced, in (3). The English translations of (1) and (2) are repeated below in (3a) and (3b), which correspond to their respective semantic types.

(3) a. depictive: simultaneous, participant-oriented, property

*The cat ate the grasshopper alive.*
*He drank a cup of tea hot.*

b. manner: simultaneous, event-oriented, property

*Jerry left the café angrily.*
*Grandpa walks slowly.*

c. resultative: subsequent, participant-oriented, property

*We painted the door red.*
*They shouted themselves hoarse.*

The semantic categories are defined based on (i) the *temporal relation* that holds between the secondary and the main events, which can be anterior, simultaneous, or subsequent, and (ii) the *semantic orientation* of the secondary predicate, whether the secondary event is conceptualized as a property of a participant or an event. The *semantic type* of the secondary predicate is typically a stative property, as shown in (4), but may also be other semantic types, depending on the collocational restrictions of a language.

A depictive secondary predicate describes a state that holds true for one of the participants within the time frame of the event expressed by the main predicate (Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann 2004), such as *alive* and *hot* in (3a). A manner predication expresses a property of the event denoted by the primary predicate, e.g. *angrily* and *slowly* in (3b). A manner expression is simultaneous with the primary event by definition, just like a depictive secondary predicate. A manner expression, however, is oriented towards the event, unlike a depictive, which is participant-oriented.

A resultative expresses a resulting state from the state of affairs encoded by the main predicate, and is by definition subsequent to the main event (Himmelmann and
Schultze-Berndt 2005:4), e.g. red in (4c). A resultative also describes a state that pertains to a participant, and is thus participant-oriented. Resultative and depictive secondary predicates therefore share the feature of participant-orientation, but are distinguished based on temporal subsequence vs. simultaneity. The definitions also suggest that resultatives differ from manner expressions by both *semantic orientation* and *temporal relation*.

These semantic categories show clear semantic and functional overlaps, which are reflected synchronically by the fact that these semantic notions can share similar morphosyntactic coding in some languages, and diachronically by the frequent developmental link attested among them. A construction originally dedicated to one semantic relation can be extended to include situation types that deviate from its prototype.

**1.2.1 Participant-orientation vs. event-orientation**

As illustrated by (3) above, depictives and manner predications can be distinguished by semantic orientation. The semantic distinction is reflected in grammatical encoding in some languages. In languages with morphosyntactic structures dedicated for expressing depictive notions (a Depictive construction), the Depictive expression is obligatorily controlled by an argument, illustrated from Russian in (3) (Nichols 1978:115) and Martuthunira in (4) (Dench 1995:182; both examples cited in Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann 2004:63-64):

(4) Russian (Slavic, Indo-European)

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{on} & \text{vypil} & \text{čaj} & \text{xolodnym} \\
3S & \text{drink:PST.3S} & \text{tea} & \text{cold.M.S.INST} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘He drank the tea cold.’
Martuthunira (Pama-Nyungan, Australian)

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{nhaul} & \quad \text{miyu} & \quad \text{mungka-rnuru} & \quad \text{wajupi-i} & \quad \text{wanka-a}=l \\
\text{near.you} & \quad \text{cat} & \quad \text{eat-PRS} & \quad \text{grasshopper-ACC} & \quad \text{alive-ACC}=\text{then}
\end{align*} \]

‘That cat eats grasshoppers alive.’

The participant-oriented depictive expressions in (4) and (5) are grammatically encoded by indexation (agreement with its controller), i.e. the Masculine singular marking in Russian and the Accusative in Martuthunira. A morphosyntactically and semantically prototypical depictive is defined as an ‘obligatorily controlled’ secondary predicate denoting a state that ‘holds within the time frame of the eventuality of the main predicate’ (Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann 2004:77).

Languages may also resort to a grammaticalized marker dedicated for manner encoding, often marked ADV in the source grammars. One of the commonly known ADV-marker is the English suffix -ly.

(6) She dances graceful-ly.

The grammaticalized ADV-markers may be historically linked to various other strategies. English -ly is generally agreed to have originated from the -lice, like from the noun lic ‘appearance, form, body.’ The Romance adverbial marker -mente/-ment developed from a Latin construction meaning ‘in a so-and-so mood’, which consists of the noun mens ‘mind’ and a qualifying adjective, both in ablative case. The meaning ‘in a so-and-so manner’ developed later in the Romance languages (Loeb-Diehl 2005:207).


\[ \begin{align*}
\text{il} & \quad \text{professore} & \quad \text{spiega} & \quad \text{tutto} & \quad \text{chiara-mente} \\
\text{the} & \quad \text{teacher} & \quad \text{explain.3S.PRS} & \quad \text{everything} & \quad \text{clear-ADV}
\end{align*} \]

‘The teacher explains everything clearly.’
The historical sources of English and Romance adverbializers also indicate the semantic association between event- and participant-orientation, since they originally derived from descriptions of a participant’s appearance/body and mood/mind.

Though properties that are applicable to events can prototypically be subsumed under “manner”, the category seems to have a fuzzy boundary and is often subject to the construal of the individual researcher. Himmelmann and Schultze-Berndt (2005:6) discuss the difficulty in delimiting “manner”, noting that the term “manner adverbial” may be used in its broad descriptive sense of “an item which usually or potentially conveys something about the manner of which an action is performed,” as well as in the narrow sense of “an item which actually conveys the manner in which an action is performed.” Taking a broad definition, the term “manner” can be applied to a wider range of semantic concepts, e.g. expressions denoting degree, as in *He suffered greatly* (see also Loeb-Diehl 2005:5).

The semantic overlaps between manner predications and depictives can be demonstrated by the so-called “oriented manner adverbs.” Following Geuder’s (2002:29-35) discussion of manner adverb functions, Himmelmann and Schultze-Berndt (2005) argue that at least two types of English “manner Adverbs” (*transparent* and *agentive* in Geuder’s terms) are partially participant-oriented, despite being marked by the -*ly* suffix, which is generally regarded as designating properties of events. The contrast in orientation is illustrated by (7a-d) (adapted from Himmelmann and Schultze-Berndt 2005: 6, originally from Geuder 2002:29-35):
Himmelmann and Schultze-Berndt (2005) argue that the adverbs *angrily* in (8a) and *stupidly* in (8b), Geuder’s *pure manner adverbs*, convey purely event-oriented information in that they describe only the way in which the action is performed. (8a) and (8b) therefore indicate that John shouted in an angry manner, and answered the question in a stupid manner, respectively.

More difficult to distinguish from depictives is the transparent adverb *angrily* in (8c), which also denotes the emotional state of John while leaving the party. Transparent adverbs share both participant-orientation and temporal simultaneity with semantic depictives (e.g. *John left the party angry*), since *angry* in the depictive construction also entails that the two states of affairs, *leaving the party* and *being angry*, overlap in time.

Himmelmann and Schultze-Berndt (2005) argue that the major semantic difference between depictives and transparent adverbs pertains to the relation established between the state of affairs denoted by the main predicate and the condition denoted by the participant-oriented adjunct. While a depictive entails a mere temporal overlap between main predicate and the state denoted by the adjunct, a transparent adverb establishes a semantic link (often *causal* or *motivational*) between the main predicate and the state denoted by the adjunct. The semantic difference is minute, and distinction is not always easy to discern, even for native speakers. The close semantic association between the two constructions can be illustrated by German *traurig* in (9a) and (9b), which are, as Himmelmann and Schultze-Berndt (2005:11) argue, vague rather than ambiguous to
German speakers with respect to a depictive or an adverbial (pure manner or transparent) interpretation:

(9) German (Geuder 2002:192, cited in Himmelmann and Schultze-Berndt 2005:11)
   a. *daβ Hans den Raum *traurig* verließ
      that John the room sad left
      [with the major accent on traurig]
      ‘...that John left the room sad’
   b. *daβ Hans *traurig* den Raum verließ
      that John sad the room left
      ‘...that John left the room sadly’

Another type of participant-oriented manner adverb is illustrated by the *agentive* reading of *stupidly* in (8d), which is partially participant-oriented because it ascribes the speaker’s judgment to the agent based on the event which it performs – the speaker deemed it stupid for John to answer the question. The reader may also observe that (8d) is also ambiguous with respect to an *agentive* (i.e. factual) and a *transparent* interpretation. In other words, *stupidly* in (8d) can be ascribed to either the fact that John answered the question, or the manner in which the event was carried out, i.e., the way in which John answered the question. Notably, the alternation is only possible for evaluative adverbs or predicates (William Croft, p.c.), suggesting a close correlation between the semantics of the property and the potential for a specific manner interpretation.

Geuder (2002:34) argues that certain types of manner readings can only be derived from specific types of properties – the agentive vs. transparent ambiguity, for example, is only possible for human dispositions (e.g. *stupid, intelligent, careless, clumsy*, etc., which are essentially also value-denoting properties), while the pure manner vs. transparent ambiguity is only possible for psychological-emotional states (*angry, sad, happy, glad, proud, nervous* and others). The observation also indicates that the semantic
orientation of an expression is correlated with, and partly determined by the nature of the predicate property.

A number of semantic sub-classifications of properties that can be ascribed to objects (i.e. prototypical adjectives) have been proposed in the literature, e.g. Dixon (1977, 1982, 2004), Pustet (1989), and Stassen (1997). Regardless of which type of subclassification one adopts, the range of properties that can be predicated of events appears to differ from the range of those that can be ascribed to objects. A brief classification is provided (modified from Loeb-Diehl 2005:5) in (10) below:

(10)

(a) Not applicable to events: *age* (old, young), *color* (green, white), *material* (wooden, plastic), *gender/nationality* (female, Canadian).
(b) Applicable to events only in a metaphorical sense: *form* (round), *dimension* (high), *physical* (cold, sweet, soft)
(c) Applicable to both events and objects (as long as the events have agents): *human propensity* (sad, happy, angry), *value* (good, bad, fortunate, beautiful), *speed* (slow, fast)

Aside from the properties in (10a), which are not applicable to events because of their ontological nature, for other properties, the ambiguity between event- and participant-orientation can be partly explained by metonymic shift from one to another, since it is hard to conceptualize an event without simultaneously making reference to its participants. It is hard to conceptualize the speed of running, for example, without construing the person/entity performing the running activity. This also explains why for some researchers, e.g., Dixon (1982), event-property predicates can be considered as a subset of object-property predicates.

Such semantic adjacency between prototypical depictives and manner predications accounts for the fact that there is variation regarding the formal coding of participant- and event-orientation (or Depictive vs. Adverbial marking) both language-internally and
crosslinguistically. Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann (2004), based on agreement in a small number of Australian languages, propose an implicational hierarchy for participant-oriented (Depictive) and event-oriented (Adverbial) coding, arguing that the two compete for the same semantic space extending from prototypical participant-oriented to prototypical event-oriented expressions. Some semantic categories discussed in Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann (2004) are briefly defined as follows, in the order of their likelihood to receive participant-oriented coding cross-linguistically:

(11)

a. *Condition or state* refers to the physical or psychological condition or state of a participant that holds within the time frame of the main event, as in *The cat ate the grasshopper alive.*
b. *Quantity* refers to predicate numerals or quantifiers describing the quantity of participants involved in an event, as in *Mark ate the cake alone.*
c. *Concomitance* refers to an entity that accompanies a participant of the main event, as in *They brought in the prisoner with his accomplice.*
d. *Comparison* refers to similitative expressions such as *He eats his food like a horse.*

Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann’s (2004:120) hierarchy of Depictive and Adverbial constructions is shown in Table 1.1:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morphosyntactic level</th>
<th>Semantic level</th>
<th>General adjunct construction</th>
<th>DEPICTIVE construction</th>
<th>ADVERBIAL construction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>participant-oriented expression</td>
<td>expression</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Condition or State</em></td>
<td><em>Quantity</em></td>
<td><em>Concomitance</em></td>
<td><em>Comparison</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A language may have a general adjunct construction that spans the whole range of semantic expressions, or it may not formally distinguish semantic depictives from certain adverbials (i.e. simultaneous, event-oriented properties), as the Dutch example in (12), and Mandarin example in (13), where the DE-marked phrase can convey both participant-oriented and event-oriented information.
(12) Dutch (van der Auwera 2005:411)

Georges heft het feestje woedend verlaten

‘George left the party angry/angrily.'

(13) Mandarin (example mine)

tā nánguò-de húijīā le

3S sad-DE go.home PFV

‘S/he returned home sad/sadly.’

(Note: an alternative resultative reading is also available)

A language may have a single strategy for simultaneity, a semantic category

subsuming both manner and depictive elements. Simultaneity refers to an action (not a

property) that takes place at the same time with another event, which can be properly

defined as explained by the following Tamil examples:


(a) Kumaar tan pana-it-aït tinam kuti-ittu paazaakkku-kir-aan

Kumar he:OBL money-OBL-ACC daily drink-ADV.PTCP waste-PRS-3S.M

‘Kumar wastes his money [by] drinking daily.’

(b) Kumaar oot-i va-nt-aan.

Kumar run-ADV.PTCP come-PST-3S.M

‘Kumar came running.’

In (14a), Kumar is not merely depicted as being an alcoholic; the drinking problem
describes the manner in which Kumar wastes his money. In (15b), the running action can
be conceptualized as an event taking place while Kumar came, or the manner in which

Kumar approached.

In languages where there are distinctive morphosyntactic markings for

participant- and event- orientation, there may be different cut-off points between the two

construction types, represented by the dotted lines in Table 1.1. Depictive marking (the

marking of participant-orientation, mainly manifested in indexation with a controller) is

not restricted to prototypical depictive notions, but can be associated with a wide

semantic range of adjuncts. Himmelmann and Schultze-Berndt (2005) argue that the links
between the semantic domains represent plausible paths of context expansion from prototypical Depictive marking to prototypical Adverbial marking, and vice versa. In the most extreme cases, Depictive constructions may be extended to semantic notions commonly analyzed as event-oriented, as in (15), and vice versa for Adverbial marking.

(15) Warlpiri (Pama-Nyungan, Australian)

\[ \text{jalangu-rlu} \quad \text{ka-lu-jana} \quad \text{puluku} \quad \text{turnu-mani} \quad \text{yapa-ngku} \]

\[ \text{today-ERG} \quad \text{NPST-3P.SBJ-3P.OBJ} \quad \text{bullock muster-CAUS.NPST} \quad \text{man-ERG} \]

‘The people are mustering the cattle today.’ (Hale 1982:281, cited in Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann 2004:118)

Forms expressing semantic notions closer to the depictive content (on the left side of the continuum) can be extended to include more adverbial-like expressions on the right side of the hierarchy, resulting in reanalysis and semantic shift (Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann 2004:122). The conceptual space in Table 1.1 is further elaborated in Himmelmann and Schultze-Berndt (2005).

1.2.2 Temporal relation: Simultaneous vs. subsequent

Prototypical depictives and resultatives share the nature of participant-orientation, i.e., the state encoded by the secondary predicate is ascribed to one of the participants of the main event (the controller). The two types of semantic notions appear to share the same structure in some languages, as shown in the German sentences and their English translations in (16a)-(16b) below (Zhang 2001:199).

(16) (a) resultative

Frank hat den Tisch sauber gewischt.

Frank has the table clean wiped

‘Frank wiped the table clean.

(b) depictive

Frank hat das Fleich roh geschinitten.

Frank has the meat raw cut

‘Frank cut the meat raw.’
In Mandarin Chinese, resultative notions also share the same structure with a subset of depictive notions, as illustrated by the DE-marked expressions in (17a)-(17b).

(17) (a) resultative
   tā zǒu-de hěn lèi
   3S walk-DE very tired
   ‘S/he walked (and as a result became) tired.’

(b) depictive
   wǒmen jiā chī-de xián
   1P home eat-DE salty
   ‘Our family eats (our food) salty.’

The line between depictive and resultative interpretations can be blurred when the resultative construction is extended to include situations where a subsequent state can be construed as simultaneous as well, and thus conceptually no longer a real “resulting state” of the previous event. In addition, if the predicative property allows for either an event-oriented or a participant-oriented interpretation, the expression can also be conceptualized as a manner predication. Such ambiguous cases can be found in Mandarin with the DE construction with evaluative expressions or mental states as the secondary predicate.

(18) 他吃得那麼開心
   tā chī-de nàme kāixīn
   3S eat-DE such happy
   ‘S/he is eating so happily. / S/he is eating so happy.’
   (S/he is so happy as a result of eating.)

(19) 我們住得很舒服
   wǒmen zhù-de hěn shūfū
   1S live-DE very comfortable
   ‘We live (feeling) comfortable. / We live comfortably.’
   (We live and (as a result) are comfortable.)

While a distinction can theoretically be drawn, in reality, (18) and (19) seem to be vague with respect to a depictive, a manner, and a resultative reading – the means, ‘eat’/‘live’, is simultaneous with, but causes the event ‘happy’/‘comfortable’. The interpretational
ambiguity is rendered by the various ways the speaker/hearer can construe the temporal and factual relations between the two predicates.

1.2.3 Manner and result

The semantic definitions show that resulatives are distinguished from manner both in terms of temporal relations and semantic orientation. However, there is evidence to show that the expression of manner may be diachronically linked to sequential constructions. Verkerk (2009), for instance, observes that in Jabem, an Oceanic language spoken in Huon Gulf, manner predication, as in (20a), and resultative, as in (20b), are both marked by -\textit{tu} ‘become’, which clearly originates from sequential relations.

\begin{enumerate}
\item Jabem (cited in Verkerk 2009:39)
\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{A-sôm biy e-tu malô}
\item 2S.IRR-speak word 3S.IRR-become calm
\item ‘Speak calmly’ (Dempwolff (2005:89))
\end{enumerate}
\item \textit{Go/jo gamên kë-tu selec}
\item 2S.REAL-plucked place 3S.REAL-become clean
\item ‘You weeded the place clean.’ (Dempwolff 2005:62)
\end{enumerate}

Loeb-Diehl (2005) also notes that a number of manner constructions are marked by a causative form, as shown in the examples from Oromo and Jacaltec in (21)-(22).

\begin{enumerate}
\item Oromo (Hodson and Walker 1922:99, from Loeb-Diehl 2005:69)
\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{ini jabc-eis-ei hójetei}
\item 3S.M be_strong-CAU-3S.M.AOR work.3S.M.AOR
\item ‘He worked hard.’
\end{enumerate}
\item Jacaltec (Craig 1988:334, from Loeb-Diehl 2005:69)
\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{c’ul ma-yu ha-cañalwi}
\item well ASP-3S.ERG-do 2S.ERG-dance
\item ‘You danced well.’
\end{enumerate}
\end{enumerate}

The examples literally translate to ‘he works; he causes it to be hard’ and ‘your dancing makes (it) good’ (translations from Croft in preparation). The examples indicate a possible diachronic link between manner and causation, which is also closely associated
with resultative. Note that there is subsequent case marking on the Oromo example as well.

1.2.4 Depictive, predicative, and attributive

A depictive is an intermediate category between attributive modification and primary (property) predication. Though functionally distinct from a modifier, depictives are conceptually associated with attributives because both are ascribed to a participant. In addition, van der Auwera and Malchukov (2005:404) distinguish between restrictive modification and non-restrictive (what they call appositive) modification.

(23) The angry young men left the party.

In restrictive modification, the attribute helps to establish or delimit the identity of a referent. Angry in (23) is restrictive, for example, in the context where there are two groups of young men, some angry and some not, and the speaker wishes to specify that it is the angry ones that he is referring to. In non-restrictive modification, the attributive merely provides additional information without further restricting the identity of a referent. A non-restrictive reading of angry applies if there is only one group of young men, and the angry young men refers to the same referent, whether the additional attribute of being angry is provided or not.

Van der Auwera and Malchukov suggest that a depictive is closely associated with a non-restrictive modifier, as illustrated by examples from English and German (van der Auwera and Malchukov 2005: 405).

(24) My father, angry as always, left the party.

(25) Die Schwaben, froh wie immer, sind langsam weggegangen

The Swabians happy as always are slowly gone away.

‘The Swabians, happy as always, slowly went away.’
Van der Auwera and Malchukov propose that *angry as always* in (24) can be interpreted as a depictive secondary predicate, with *left the party* as the primary predication.

Alternatively, *angry as always* can be taken as a non-restrictive modifier to *my father*, and in which case still belongs to the domain of reference. In German, both a depictive and a postposed non-restrictive modifier are not marked for agreement indexation, distinct from restrictive modifiers. The ambiguity between a depictive and a non-restrictive is probably conditioned by the regular word order of a language. The post-nominal position is a regular position for a predicative in English, and adjacency to the noun brings about the ambiguity in attributive interpretation.

The encoding of depictive secondary predicates may also pair with primary predication. A depictive may share an encoding strategy with property predication.

(26)  German (van der Auwera and Malchukov 2005:403)

(a)  *Dei Schwaben sind froh.*

    the Swabians are glad

    ‘The Swabians are glad.’

(b)  *Sie sind froh weggegangen.*

    They are gladly gone.away

    ‘They gladly went away.’

(c)  *Die froh-en Schwaben...*

    The glad-p Swabians

    ‘The happy Swabians...’

German predicative properties and depictives shown in (26a-b) are both not marked by indexation, as opposed to the (pre-nominal) attributive modifier in (26c). Observe that the German pre-nominal modifier in (26c), although non-restrictive, contrasts with the post-nominal non-restrictive in that the former is marked by agreement. This indicates that the position of the property expression may also correlates with whether it pairs with predication or attribution in terms of grammatical encoding.
Finally, the encoding of a depictive may also share features with both the encoding strategy of attributives or predicative properties. Mangarayi has a ‘descriptive temporal clause’ (Merlan 1892:21) construction dedicated for depictive secondary predicates. The depictive element is encoded as a clause with its subject indicated by agreement.


   3p>3s-eat:PST M.NOM-small-DET
   ‘They ate it (the fish) (when he was) small.’

   teach 3s>1p.EXCL-AUX-PST 1SG-small-DET
   ‘He taught us [when I was] small.’

The encoding of the descriptive clause in Mangarayi aligns partly with property predication in showing either nouny (having features of nominal predication) or verby (having features of action predication) characteristics (Stassen 1997, Loeb-Diehl 2005, see discussion in §8.3). When the subject of the depictive clause is third person, the property retains nominal features such as number, gender, and case. When the subject is first or second person, the property follows the pattern of action predication and shows person and number agreement. The depictive clause, however, also retains features of an attributive in that they are marked by an article-like suffix, *-wa*, which also marks non-restrictive and free adjectives, as in *na-jijga-wa* ‘a small one’. The strategy for depictive in Mangarayi, as van der Auwera and Malchukov argue, is in fact a mixture of both predicative and attributive strategies. This further supports the intermediate status of depictives between predicatives and attributives.
1.2.5 Secondary predicates and predicative complements

It is sometimes difficult to distinguish depictives from predicative complements, such as laugh in I heard him laugh. Semantically, both predicative complements and depictives express partially independent predications about one participant of the main predicate; syntactically, the distinction between a secondary predicate and a predicative complement construction is made based on whether the predicative expression serves as an argument of the main predicate, i.e. is obligatory (Himmelmann and Shultze-Berndt 2005:24).

For some authors (e.g. Halliday 1967, Nichols 1978, Napoli 1989) the notion of (depictive) secondary predicate also includes constructions where the second predicative element is not an adjunct but a complement, i.e. where it is in some sense selected by the main predicate, and is therefore obligatory. Timberlake’s (1986) discussion of Russian “predicate complements”, on the other hand, clearly includes prototypical depictive notions:

(28) Russian (Timberlake 1986: 137)
(a) On priexal veselyj/veselym
    he arrived happy.NOM/INST
    ‘He arrived happy.’
(b) Ona vernulas’ sosredotočennaja/sosredotočennoj
    she returned engrossed.NOM/INST
    ‘She returned engrossed.’

In the same vein, Chinese ‘verb complement’ constructions introduced by DE (shown in (28), also see §1.5 for more detail) are syntactically obligatory only in the sense that a DE-marked verb in Mandarin cannot stand by itself to express an independent predication, but must be accompanied by an additional predicative expression.
Semantically, however, the relationship between the “complement” and the “main predicate” often corresponds to a secondary predicate.

(29)
(a) tā chī de hēn kāixīn
3S eat DE very happy
‘S/he eats happy(ly).’
(b) tā chī
3S eat
‘S/he eats.’
(c) * tā chī de
[unacceptable as a regular predicate]

Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann (2004, Himmelmann and Schultze-Berndt 2005) limit their typology of Depictive constructions to predicative adjuncts, i.e. predicative expressions that are semantically and syntactically non-obligatory.

Syntactically speaking, the additional predicate is considered a predicative complement when it appears as an argument of the main predicate, and will be excluded from the discussion of secondary predicates. Some examples cited as predicative complements are provided in (30) (30 a-b from Nichols 1978:114, cited in Himmelmann and Schultze-Berndt 2005:24, 30 c-d from Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann 2004:65):

(30) Predicative complements:
(a) They elected him president. [Object-oriented, object concept]
(b) Rocks serve them as support. [Subject-oriented, object concept]
(c) Louisa seemed tired. [Subject-oriented, property concept]
(d) Louisa considers Silvia intelligent. [Object-oriented, property concept]

The semantic nature of predicative complements may differ. (30a) and (30b) refer to object concepts, for instance, while (30c) and (30d) are expressions of properties. All predicative complements in (30) are participant-oriented – (30a) and (30d) are oriented towards the syntactic object, and (30b) and (30c) are oriented towards the syntactic Subject. The distinction necessarily calls for a differentiation between argument vs.
adjunct status, commonly made both on syntactic and semantic grounds (cf. Matthews 1981, Langacker 1987, Croft 2001, Dowty 2003). Intuitively, arguments are syntactically and semantically required in some sense, while adjuncts are not.

The adjunct vs. argument distinction is often made based on the syntactic criterion of *obligatoriness*, which specifies that arguments cannot be omitted without rendering the remaining string ungrammatical. For instance, the depictive expression *raw* can be omitted from (31a) without creating ungrammaticality, while *tired* in (31b) is required for the grammaticality of the sentence:

(31)  
(a) He ate the fish *(raw)*\text{\textsc{adjunct}}.  
(b) Louisa seemed *(tired)*\text{\textsc{complement}}.

Under the criterion of syntactic obligatoriness, (31a) is a secondary predicate construction, while (31b) is a predicative complement construction. Syntax-based criteria for argument-adjunct distinction are problematic for the current study, whose focus is to examine the historical development of DE in conceptually related domains. The argument-adjunct distinction based on syntactic obligatoriness, being construction-specific and language-specific, is necessarily subject to much variation both language internally and crosslinguistically.

The second syntactic parameter is *latency*, which is the requirement for a definite interpretation of a dependent if that dependent is left syntactically unexpressed, i.e., an absent element may not simply be optional, but is elliptical (Matthews 1981, cited in Croft 2001). Croft discusses latency and obligatoriness jointly in terms of *instantiation*, based on Fillmore (1986) and Fillmore and Kay (1993). According to Croft (2001), instantiation is an idiosyncratic conventional property associated with constructions, not
individual words or expressions. Croft argues that syntactically, a unit with free null instantiation (FNI, i.e., the identity of the referent freely construed by the hearer) is an adjunct, while a unit that requires definite null instantiation (DNI, with definite interpretation in null instantiation) is an argument in a syntactic sense. The role expression *president* in (30a), for instance, may be left out syntactically in English, but is considered a complement based on the parameter of latency. The pragmatic statuses are difficult to determine for generic objects, properties, or actions functioning as secondary predicates, making tests based on instantiation difficult if not impossible.

Many authors (Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann 2004, Himmelmann and Schultze-Berndt 2005, Simpson 2005, van der Auwera and Malchukov 2005), though, do not explicitly differentiate between syntactic vs. semantic criteria, but resort to semantic criteria, such as stronger vs. weaker selectional constraints, to distinguish arguments from adjuncts. What is considered a secondary predicate or a predicative complement, then, depends on whether selectional restrictions between the main predicate and its (semantic) complements are formally manifested in a given language.

1.2.5.1 Collocational constraints

Croft (2001) argues that argument-adjunct distinction behaves differently for form and meaning. Semantically, the distinction is gradient, determined by the semantics of the individual words or phrases that enter into the semantic relation. The first criterion for semantic obligatoriness is collocational relations. Collocational or selectional constraints appear to be a matter of degree instead of all-or-none, rendering a strict adjunct-argument dichotomy improbable. For instance, the general belief that depictives are always optional, and therefore adjuncts rather than complements, runs into problems when one
examines the distribution of depictives in English and other languages. Despite the oft-assumed adjunct status of English depictives, there seems to be strict constraints with respect to the semantic and aspectual classes of depictives and the collocating main predicate. In terms of the main predicate, Rapoport (1993:178) suggests that English depictive secondary predicate constructions are restricted to verbs that cause a change in the state or location of their objects. Nichols (1981) finds similar constraints on Russian bound co-predicates (including depictives), which allow only verbs of motion or position, verbs of existence, state, change of state, verbs of perception, and verbs of remembering. The constraints largely match those for the main predicate of English depictives, though the second predicative element is often taken as a complement rather than an adjunct for verbs of perception and cognition. Similar findings have also been proposed by Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann (2004:63), who suggest that crosslinguistically, the main predicate that can take depictive secondary predicates is usually a verb of motion, ingestion, manipulation, or change of state. Also, English depictives are largely restricted to stage-level predicates. The sentences in (32) are therefore unacceptable (Simpson 2005:93).

(32)  (a) * I ate the meat organic.  
(b) * He arrived intelligent.

English also imposes constraints on which aspectual classes of main verbs can appear with depictives. Winkler (1997) and Rapoport (1999) both notice a distinction between the behavior of secondary predicates with stative verbs and the behavior of secondary predicates with the other types of predicates (achievements, activities, and accomplishments, based on Vendler 1967). There is greater acceptability of stative verbs with secondary predicates that denote temporary events. Based on the observation,
Winkler (1997: 366-9) claims that both the verb and the secondary predicate must be of the same aspectual type—both stage-level (temporary) or both individual-level (enduring). Thus *The letter arrived torn* has two stage-level predicates (*arrived* and *torn*), while *He was born defective, He likes women big* each has two individual-level predicates. Both Winkler and Rapoport, however, do not consider the examples with individual-level predicates to be depictive constructions at all, but a related construction.

The strong collocational restrictions motivate Simpson (2005) to question the adjunct status of the depictive elements in standard depictive examples in English, arguing that the selectional restrictions are so strong that the depictive element may have to be analyzed as a complement.

In languages like Warlpiri and Mandarin, there is more liberty in the aspectual classes of the depictive expression due to the morphosyntactic resources available. Nominals that denote individual-level properties can usually be interpreted as attributive to an understood head, or as a post-modifying appositional, as in (33):

(33) *Pararri ngula=ji yangka kuja=ka=rla ngapa-ku jaa(r)l-karri*

> rainbow that=TOP ANAPH which=PRS=DAT water-DAT block-stand.NPST

> nguru-ngka mawulpari-mawulpari

sky-LOC banded

‘A rainbow is that which, banded with color, blocks the rain in the sky.’ ([Warlpiri Dic.: *pararri*: PPJ <9/86, translation JHS], cited in Simpson 2005:93)

Similarly, in Mandarin, a *de*-marked expression can also be interpreted either as a nominalized attribute (in the headless modification construction), or an appositional verb phrase.

(34) 我吃了一塊肉有機的

> wǒ chī-le yí kuài ròu yóu jī-de

> 1S eat-PFV one CL meat organic-DE

‘I ate one piece of meat, (which was) organic.’
The serial verb strategy also allows for the predication of individual-level properties as depictives.

(35) 他拿来一根棍子两公尺长

\[\text{tā ná-lái yī gēn gùnzi liǎng gōngchī cháng}\]

‘He brought a stick (that was) two meters long.’

What can act as a depictive therefore depends on the morphosyntactic resources available for marking secondary predication and the constraints each language imposes on the combination of depictives with the main verb.

Himmelmann and Schultze-Berndt (2005, also Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann 2004) assign a peripheral role to resultative notions in their crosslinguistic surveys of Depictive constructions. The claim rests mainly on the strong distributional and collocational constraints on resultative expressions and their co-occurring main predicates in English. Comparing English resultatives (e.g. Boas 2003) with Mandarin (e.g. Shi 2002) and Japanese (e.g. Washio 1997, 1999), one finds a similar variability in how languages allow various semantic relations to be coded by Resultative constructions, with Mandarin apparently much more liberal, and Japanese more restrictive than English regarding the collocational constraints they impose on Resultative constructions.

Selectional restrictions thus vary greatly from language to language both for resultative and depictive secondary predicates, suggesting that \textit{adjunct-complement} distinction is a case of stronger or weaker selectional constraints, rather than an absolute dichotomy between being obligatory and optional.

1.2.5.2 Semantic valence and salience

The second semantic parameter for adjunct-argument distinction, Croft (2001) argues, is semantic valence (based on Langacker 1987), determined by the semantics of
the words or expressions that enter a semantic relation. An event is relational, and the relation takes a certain number of roles that can be filled by a lexical unit. Langacker (1987) presents an analysis of semantic relations, or semantic valence in his words. In the sentence of *Hannah sings*, for example, *singing* is relational to *Hannah* because the activity requires a singer. Hence, the semantic structure for *sings* includes a schematic singer as a substructure. In *Hannah sings*, Hannah fills the role of the singer for *sings*. Langacker’s description of an argument filling the role of a predicate is that the argument elaborates the relevant substructure of the predicate. The substructure that can be elaborated by an argument is an *elaboration site* or *e-site* (Langacker 1987:304). These relations are illustrated in Figure 1.1.

**Figure 1.1 Simplified semantic valence structure for Hannah sings.**

Semantic valence is gradient, as a filler of a role may elaborate a substructure of an event with various degrees of salience. In *Randy chased the dog in the park*, for instance, where adjunct-argument distinction is taken to be uncontroversial by most, *the dog* elaborates a more salient substructure (the *chaser*) of the chasing event than *in the park* does (the *location*) (Croft 2001:274-75):

(36) Randy chased [the dog]_ARGUMENT [in the park]_ADJUNCT.

Semantically, an argument is defined as an elaboration of a salient substructure within its head. *The dog* is therefore semantically more argument-like than *in the park*, which is closer to the adjunct end of the continuum. Similarly, a complement constitutes a more
salient elaboration of a substructure of the main event than an adjunct does. Salience in terms of semantic valency is of course a matter of degree. For a prototypical depictive expression, e.g. *George left the party angry*, angry fills a non-salient substructure (condition of the leaver) for the leaving event, represented by the dotted square in Figure 1.2.

**Figure 1.2 Simplified semantic valence structure for *George left the party angry.***

```
GEORGE  ←    LEAVER
PARTY   ←    LEFT
ANGRY   ←    CONDITION OF LEAVER
           \-
          LEAVE
```

It seems that *the president* in (22a) elaborates a much more salient substructure (*the position*) for the *electing* event than angry does (*condition of leaver*) for the *leaving* event in the sentence above. *The president* is therefore much closer to a semantic complement for the semantic relation of *elect* than angry is to *leave*. The semantic valence structure of (22a) is represented in Figure 1.3.

**Figure 1.3 Simplified semantic valence structure for *They elected him as president.***

```
THEY  ←    ELECTOR
HE    ←    ELECTED
PRESIDENT ←    POSITION
            \-
            ELECT
```


The semantic and structural overlap between depictive and predicative complements is frequently attested. Formally, in many languages, predicative complements and depictives may have the same internal constituency and the same morphological marking, e.g. the predicative marker *as* in English, the Russian instrumental case, and the predicative marker *=i* in Ewe (Ameka 2005). Dowty (2003) surveys the historical transitions between complement and adjunct constructions, providing evidence for an adjunct origin for most complements in English. Similar proposals have also been brought forth by Plank (1985), who argues that depictive constructions are always derivative of, and therefore exhibit the same structure and marking as, predicative complement constructions.

Based on morphological distinction vs. indistinction between depictives and predicative complements in a sample of languages, van der Auwera and Malchukov (2005) conclude that depictives and predicative complements are adjacent on their semantic map of construction types. The argument is partly supported by the interpretational ambiguity between a predicative complement and a depictive for perception verbs (van der Auwera and Malchukov 2005: 406):

(37)  (a) They found him **dead**.
(b) I saw George **angry**.

(37a-b) are usually interpreted as predicative complements, but a depictive reading can be applicable, since the states of being *dead* and *angry* do hold at the time when the *finding* and *seeing* actions are performed. The difference is essentially a matter of semantic salience. Comparing (37b) with a prototypical depictive sentence *I ate the fish raw*, it does seem that *angry* elaborates a more salient substructure of the *seeing* event than *raw*.
does of the *eating* event, as shown by the structures in Figure 1.4. The difference in salience, again, is gradient, and so is the degree of semantic argumenthood (or adjuncthood).

**Figure 1.4 Simplified semantic salience structure for I saw George angry and I ate the fish raw.**

![Diagram](image)

In fact, one can argue that the development of the three senses of *find*, presumably from (38a) to (38b), and then to (38c), a cognitive predicate, also accompanies the gradual shift of the *condition of the found* from a non-salient to a more and more salient substructure of the *finding* event, as represented by Figure 1.5.

(38) (a) They found **him**.
    (b) They found him **dead**. [depictive or predicative complement]
    (c) They found him **weird**. [predicative complement]

**Figure 1.5. Simplified semantic salience structures for They found him dead and They found him weird.**

![Diagram](image)
A semantic “complement” can thus be re-defined as an expression that constitutes an elaboration of a salient substructure within the event expressed by its head in a way, (Langacker 1987:300, cited in Croft 2001:275) which is typically the case for the argument of perception, cognition, or speech verbs. The diachronic process involves contextual expansion (see §1.4.4.1) of a construction to different main-secondary predicate combinations.

All in all, the above discussion has demonstrated that a line can be hard to draw between optional (i.e. adjunct) and obligatory (i.e. complement) status, since the difference may just be a matter of weaker or stronger selectional constraints for the secondary predicate with the main predicate, and languages vary with respect to the constraints they impose for secondary predication, making the distinction between predicative adjuncts and complements a complex issue. The attested developmental path from predicative complements to secondary predicate constructions can be conceptualized as the expansion of the construction to include a wider range of predicative expressions which do not constitute as salient an elaboration of a substructure of the main event as the original secondary predicate does. The historical development of DE1 (得, see §3.1) in Chinese also supports the association between predicative complements and secondary predicates. The more important issue for the current research is not to make a strict adjunct-complement distinction, but to observe the patterns of conceptual development among these functionally related notions.
1.3 The conceptual space for secondary predication

The discussion so far has demonstrated that depictives, manner predications, resultatives, and predicative complements are conceptually related notions. Given that the former three categories are prototypically properties, it is not surprising that the encoding of secondary predicates often correlates with the morphosyntactic constructions a language employs for predicative properties. One of the most important issues in establishing a typology for secondary predication, therefore, is placing the domain of secondary predication in the larger conceptual space of property word constructions.

A number of semantic maps have been proposed for depictives and related notions, with different constructions in focus (for depictives: Müller-Bardey 1990, König and van der Auwera 1990, Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann 2004, Himmelmann and Schultze-Berndt 2005, van der Auwera and Malchukov 2005; for manner predicates: Loeb-Diehl 2005; for secondary predication: Verkerk 2009). Van der Auwera and Malchukov (2005) propose a semantic map for depictive and related functions of adjectivals, including verbs and nouns as modifiers, property words in serial constructions, participles, and relative clauses. The semantic map is provided in Figure 1.6 below.

Figure 1.6 Conceptual Space for secondary predication (van der Auwera and Malchukov 2005:411, ‘adverbial’ changed to ‘manner’)
The semantic category of attributive modification is further divided into restrictive and appositive modification – the former serves to constrain the identity of the referent, while the latter only further specifies the referent. Van der Auwera and Malchukov’s map focuses on the relation between depictive adjectivals and non-depictive adjectivals more than the relation between depictives and adverbials, and allows for predictions of developmental paths based on conceptual contiguity. In terms of the depictive category, they focus only on prototypical state depictives (as in George left the party angry) rather than extending the scope to include semantic notions like functions or phases (as in As a young artist James lived in Dublin) or further semantic domains discussed by Himmelmann and Schultze-Berndt (2005). In addition, their adverbial category (represented as manner in the figure) only incorporates semantic notions such as typical manner, concomitance, and simultaneity. The semantic map does not include other plausible event-oriented concepts. It is also incomplete in that resultative meaning has not been situated, despite the fact that resultatives and depictives share semantic and formal similarity crosslinguistically.

Verkerk’s (2009) typological survey on secondary predication elaborates on van der Auwera and Malchukov’s semantic map based on a sample of 63 languages, but modifies van der Auwera and Malchukov’s category of adverbial to manner predication and adds resultatives as a category that connects to both depictives and manner predication. Verkerk identifies four general patterns languages can divide morphosyntactic constructions for depictives, resultatives, and manner predications, illustrated by Figure 1.7 below:
Languages may exploit an all-purpose strategy for expressing all three notions (a), as is the case in many Indo-European languages (e.g. Dutch, Italian, Spanish) and serial verb languages (e.g., Mandarin and Jaminjung). In addition, there are “splitting” languages (b-d) that employ constructions subsuming two out of the three functions, i.e., depictive-, resultative-, or manner-excluding.

Verkerk also suggests links between directionals, causatives, and sequentials as adjacent semantic categories to the three secondary predicate constructions (based on Loeb-Diehl 2005), but provides no further justification for the positioning of these categories, leaving the associations among them for further investigation. Verkerk’s conceptual space for depictives and related semantic notions is provided in Figure 1.8.
The tentative maps serve as a good stepping stone for studying the conceptual space for depictive and related expressions, if synchronic and diachronic data from more languages can be obtained, adding more detailed information into each semantic category and their relative arrangement.

1.4 Construction Grammar and Constructionalization

The diachronic development of the polysemous marker de in Mandarin will be studied under the framework of constructionalization (Traugott and Trousdale 2013). The framework draws on theories of construction grammar, cognitive linguistics, and grammaticalization, and aims to provide a coherent view of language change based on the previously proposed general principles. The study shares the following tenets of constructionalist approaches, identified by Goldberg (2013:3); see also (Croft and Cruse 2004).

(a) The basic unit of grammatical representation is a construction, a conventional pairing of form and meaning (see e.g. Lakoff 1987, Fillmore, Kay, and O’Connor 1988, Goldberg 1995, 2006).
(b) The linguistic system is a holistic model. Semantics, morphosyntax, phonology, and pragmatics are not autonomous, modular components, but are all interrelated aspects of our conceptual system. Semantic structure is mapped directly onto syntactic structure without derivational processes (see e.g. Goldberg 2002, Culicover and Jackendoff 2005).

(c) Constructions are organized in complex networks of nodes and links between nodes. The nodes are associated by relationships of inheritance, polysemy, and synonymy (e.g. Langacker 1987, Hudson 1990, 2007).

(d) Constructions are language-specific. There is a great range of crosslinguistic variation. Explanations for crosslinguistic generalizations are founded on domain-general cognitive processes (Bybee 2010, Goldberg 2013) and functional similarity of the constructions (Croft 2001, Haspelmath 2008).

In adopting the constructional approach to language, we also comply with the principles of cognitive grammar (e.g. Langacker 1987, 2008) and the usage-based model of language (e.g. Bybee 1985, 2010). As units of grammar, constructions are shaped by usage, and are thus highly sensitive to parameters such as frequency, linguistic context, and social-interactive context (see e.g. Barlow and Kemmer 2000, Bybee 2010).

1.4.1 Principles of usage-based and cognitive grammar

Bybee (2006) proposes that grammar be thought of as the cognitive organization of speakers’ experience with language. Mental representations of linguistic forms are built from usage tokens that have been sorted into categories. The memory of these items is represented as exemplars, which preserve rich details of linguistic experience,
including phonetic forms, meanings, contexts of use, and pragmatic inferences associated with an expression (Bybee 2010:14).

In this framework, language is viewed as a complex adaptive system (Hopper 1987), situated within the larger context of human behavior. Linguistic structures are created by the application of domain-general cognitive processes (Bybee 1985, 2010). Besides the tendency to memorize rich details associated with an experience, Bybee (2010:7-8) discusses several other domain-general processes that contribute to linguistic structures, including chunking, categorization, analogy, and cross-modal association.

*Chunking* is the process where repeated sequences of morphemes and words are packaged together in memory so that they could be stored and accessed as a unit. Chunking is basic to the creation of constructions, constituents, and formulaic expressions that are represented as sequential units. The formation of linguistic structure also requires *categorization*, the process where utterances are matched to existing mental representations. Linguistic categorization is founded on the ability of pattern-matching and identifying similarities among objects.

Also fundamental is the cognitive ability to make associations between experiences across different modalities. In language, the process provides the link between form and meaning, and also motivates semantic change originated from the reanalysis of contextual inference as part of a construction meaning (Bybee 2010).

1.4.2 Properties of constructions

Constructions, as defined above, are conventionalized pairings of form and meaning. The functions of constructions fall on a lexical-grammatical gradient. A construction may express the so-called ‘contentful’ materials that can be used
referentially (such as N, V, ADJ), as well as ‘procedural’ materials that signal linguistic relations, perspectives, deictic orientation, information-structure, as well as tense-aspectual information. Essentially, in this framework, there is no principled division between lexicon and grammar. Grammatical constructions display many of the same properties of lexical constructions, such as polysemy and metaphorical extensions (Croft 2001:27).

A form-meaning pairing also varies in morphological complexity and phonological specificity. It may be a single morpheme, -s, -ness, green, then, or complex units composed of analyzable chunks, e.g. pull strings, on top of. A construction may be phonetically specific, such as good, -ly, -ness, or it may be a schematic pattern lacking phonological specificity, such as N, V, or Transitive constructions. It may also consist of a partly schematic template, such as the root-based morphophonological templates of mimetics (ideophones) in Japanese (Akita 2009), and descriptive expressions in Chinese (see Chapter 2).

As mental representations of experience, constructions are shaped by frequency of use. A high token frequency of a construction will lead to the entrenchment of that construction, regardless of whether its properties are predictable from more schematic constructions. Furthermore, the frequency of different instances of a schema, i.e. type frequency, will result in higher productivity, represented by the entrenchment of a more abstract schema (Croft 2001).

1.4.2.1 Constructional networks

Linguistic knowledge is represented as schemas, abstractions from usage tokens that specify the rules and restrictions that allow speakers to understand and construct new
utterances. (Langacker 2008:215). The mental representation of linguistic knowledge does not consist of an unstructured inventory of constructions (Langacker 1987:63-76). Instead, constructions are structured in a complex cognitive network, with each construction being represented by a node (Croft 2001:25). The nodes are organized into sets and hierarchies based on what language users perceived as closely associated, via categorization of various levels of schematicity and degrees of formal and semantic similarity.

In many variants of construction grammar, taxonomic representations are central to the modeling of constructional networks (e.g. Goldberg 1995, Fillmore 1999, Croft 2001). In a taxonomic network, constructions are connected by inheritance relations based on categorizations of various levels of generality. A taxonomy of constructions is analogical to the taxonomic classification of objects. A more generic concept subsumes several more specific subtypes, and the more specific types are instantiations of the more general category. A *dining table*, for example, is a *table*, which is in turn a *piece of furniture*. Categories at lower levels of a hierarchy possess characteristics of the higher-level category. Likewise, a construction inherits the properties of a more schematic construction of which it is an instance. The sentence *I write*, for example, is an instance of the English Transitive construction, which is a member of the English Subject-Predicate construction.

Because Inheritance is asymmetrical; it specifies that the features of a more general schema will be passed on to the lower-level nodes, while allowing the instances to have their own idiosyncratic features. Inheritance relations therefore help ‘capture
generalizations across constructions’ while ‘allowing for sub-regularities and exceptions’ (Goldberg 1995:67).

Traugott and Trousdale (2013) propose at least three levels of hierarchy in a constructional network – a schema dominates its subschemas, which in turn dominates the micro-constructions that represent types. A simplified taxonomic network of the Quantifier Schema in English is shown below.

**Figure 1.9 A simplified Taxonomic network of the Quantifier Schema (Traugott and Trousdale 2013:17)**

![Taxonomic network diagram](image)

The Quantifier Schema is instantiated by two subschemas: one expresses large quantity, and one small quantity. Two subschemas are instantiated by a number of micro-constructions (only two are shown for each subschema), which represent specific type-constructions. Constructionalization (see §1.6 below) is a change that creates a new node. The constructional network will change as a consequence.

An essential characteristic of inheritance relations in constructional networks is the commonality of multiple inheritance. Constructional networks do not form a strict taxonomy, and a construction typically inherits from multiple parents (Croft 2001). The sentence *I haven’t eaten breakfast*, for example, is an instantiation of the Subject-Predicate, Negative, Auxiliary, Transitive Verb, and Present Perfect constructions.
Traugott and Trousdale (2013:61-62) argue that multiple inheritance also occurs with intermediate constructions, such as the well-known English Gerund construction that possesses both the properties of Nouns and Verbs. In a diachronic process, constructional changes may involve features of any of the associated constructions in a multiple inheritance relations.

Just like lexical items, grammatical constructions are also connected by their semantics. Constructions may have several related, polysemous functions, be connected with constructions with synonymous functions, or be functionally extended via metaphorical extensions.

Constructions are also prototype categories formed by clusters of co-occurring features (Fried 2008:47). The various formal, functional, and semantic parameters that define a construction may individually or jointly participate in constructional changes.

1.5 Mechanisms of change

In the literature of grammaticalization, two mechanisms are discussed as primary mechanisms of change – reanalysis and analogy.

1.5.1 Reanalysis

Reanalysis is defined as ‘a change in the structure of an expression or class of expressions that does not involve any immediate or intrinsic modification of its surface manifestation’ (Langacker 1977:58). Harris and Campbell (1995:61) suggest that the aspects of grammar affected by reanalysis include (a) constituency, (b) hierarchical structure, (c) category labels, (d) grammatical relations, (e) cohesion. The effect of reanalysis is not manifest unless the change is reflected in the manifestation of new syntactic distributions. Evidence that reanalysis has taken place is therefore only
available via a hindsight. An example of reanalysis is the change in the shift from Head-Modifier and Modifier-Head relations in the development of a binominal partitive to a quantifier (see §1.6.3 below).

Since Langacker (1977) the notion of reanalysis has been extended beyond morphosyntactic structures. Eckardt (2006), for instance, proposes the notion of ‘semantic reanalysis’, which roughly corresponds to semantic extension based on pragmatic strengthening/inference. Traugott and Trousdale (2013:36) argue that the term ‘neoanalysis’ (Andersen 2001) be used instead of ‘reanalysis’ because the latter implies that the process is applied to a pre-existing structure. A construction cannot be ‘re-analyzed’ if it has not been ‘internalized’ by a hearer; what has occurred instead is merely a ‘different analysis’. The term reanalysis and neoanalysis will be used interchangeably with the caveat that the application of the process does not presume that a convention has taken place.

Neoanalysis is used in a more general sense in Traugott and Trousdale (2013:38) to refer to the ‘modification of an element of a construction’, or the interpretation of a construction in a new way that differs from the original construction. The mechanism is derived from the general cognitive abilities of chunking, categorization, and association between meaning and form. This includes the reanalysis of constituent structure, re-interpretation of a contextual inference as part of the semantics of a construction, as well as adjustments of the defining parameters of a construction. This broad use of neo/reanalysis makes it the primary mechanism that underlies all constructional changes.

Importantly, reanalysis is not an abrupt change, but involves gradual, small-step readjustments, or ‘micro-changes’. The gradualness of reanalysis is consistent with
constructional approaches that treat linguistic patterns as clusters of multiple features, which may participate individually or collectively in constructional change (Fried 2008:47). Fried (2008, 2013) illustrates the diachronic process with the gradual shift in categorical status of participial adjectives in Old Czech from a (secondary) predicate to a nominal attribute, arguing that it is a result of a gradual reorganization of multiple constructional-internal properties, motivated by collocating elements, linear order, and alignment with existing schemas, e.g. the Modifier-Head schema in the language.

1.5.2 Analogy

The second mechanism of change is analogy. Broadly defined, analogy refers to ‘the process by which novel utterances are created based on previously experienced utterances’ (Bybee 2010:8). Speakers create a link between an utterance and an existing pattern based on comparison and similarity. An example of analogy includes the formation of the American English past tense form of *dive: dove* (from the original regular past tense form *dived*), based on analogy with words such as *drive: drove*.

Analogical change also places an essential role in the creation of various constructions in the history of Chinese, such as resultative verb compounds (Shi 2002) and the use of *de* in attributive and nominalization constructions based on analogy to existing constructions with similar functions (see Chapter 3). Analogy is an important source of productivity and innovation based on an extension of existing exemplars and schemas. It is compatible with the emphasis of the role of the constructional network in change. Constructions with partial formal and functional similarities may be an important model for analogical change.
1.6 Contractionalization

In this model, new constructions are formed via the process of constructionalization, defined in Traugott and Trousdale (2013):

Constructionalization is the creation of a new form$^{new}$-meaning$^{new}$ (combinations) of signs. It forms new type nodes, which have new syntax or morphology and new coded meaning, in the linguistic network of a population. (Traugott and Trousdale 2013:22)

Traugott and Trousdale argue that constructionalization requires reanalysis of both morphosyntactic form and semantic/pragmatic meaning. Formal changes alone, and meaning changes alone, are thus characterized as constructional changes in their framework, which are essential to, but may or may not lead to constructionalization. Some hold the stance that semantic change of a construction alone constitutes a new construction. This is because semantic change precedes change in form. Because the creation of a node is largely a gradual process, there might be a gradient as to when the increment of construction changes create a form-meaning pairing that is distinct enough from the original construction. Whichever stance one may take on the issue, it is important that form and meaning are both factored in a change in progress.

Gradual constructionalization requires prior constructional changes, the succession of small-step reanalyses. Because constructions are associated in networks, constructionalization affects the representation of the constructional network as a consequence.

1.6.1 Contexts in constructionalization

Linguistic knowledge is rooted in experience, which broadly define, is the context in which language is situated and used. Context includes the communicative, social, and cultural environment, as well as the general linguistic environment – phonology,
semantics, pragmatics, morphosyntax, and larger discourse. Context of use is the key to understanding both linguistic generalization and change.

The essential role of context has been established in the literature on grammaticalization. As Bybee et. al. (1994:297) put it, ‘Everything that happens to the meaning of a gram happens because of the contexts in which it is used’. Himmelmann (2004:31) also identifies the importance of the immediate linguistic environment in change, suggesting that grammaticalization process does not pertain to the grammaticalizing element alone, but to the element in the syntagmatic context it occurs.

Aside from linear order or syntagmatic distributions of adjacent elements, the conventionalization of pragmatic inference or implicature has also been identified as a significant contributing factor to change (Dahl 1985, Traugott and König 1991, Heine, Claudi, and Hünnemeyer 1991, Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994).

One of the most essential aspects of the constructionalist approach to change is its emphasis on the role of network context in a diachronic process. The development of individual patterns is matched to recurring paths of changes that affect multiple constructions. An adequate account of context in constructionalization needs to incorporate the alternative constructions available for expressing similar functions in the language, the general characteristics of a language, as well as systematic changes affecting the overall arrangement of the linguistic network (Traugott and Trousdale 2013:197).

The mental representation of a construction is constantly adjusted based on newly encountered exemplars. When encountering a new utterance, speakers try to map it to existing categories based on its similarity to previously experienced patterns. The process
of comparison where an experience is assigned to a category is called sanction (Langacker 1987:66-71).

In linguistic categorization, a distinction can be made between full sanction - when a token of usage can be fully subsumed under a schema, and partial sanction, when an utterance is only partly compatible with, and therefore an extension of an existing schema. There is a gradient between full and partial sanction. When a newly emerged pattern is aligned with an existing, more productive schema, it is said to become ‘sanctioned by a different schema’ (Traugott and Trousdale 2013: 49). Traugott and Trousdale argue that the emergence of a new construction is often motivated by an innovation that results in a partial mismatch (or partial sanction) as an instance of a schema in a network (other than that containing the original construction). A new node in the network may eventually be established, which allows the instances to be fully sanctioned by the new construction.

1.6.2 Contextual factors in different stages of change

Traugott and Trousdale (2013:199-207) propose that different types of contexts feature in different stages of change. In the early stage of change, the crucial contextual factors include ‘enriched pragmatic inference’ and ‘atypical morphosyntactic distribution’ (ibid:199). Change often emerges in contexts where both the original and the emerging functions are accessible (see ‘critical context’ in Diewald 2002; ‘bridging context’ in Heine 2002) with multiple pragmatic and structural ambiguities. Repeated association with the same pragmatic context may lead to the reanalysis of the pragmatic inference as part of the semantics of the construction, and the gradual morphosyntactic
readjustments due to chunking and routinization. These may lead to foregrounding of preferred pragmatic inference and gradual ‘pragmatic modulation’.

Through a series of small-step reanalyses, the new construction appears in semantic, pragmatic, and/or structural contexts where the original function is marginalized (Croft 2001) or no longer compatible (“switch context” in Heine 2002, and “isolating context” in Diewald 2002). The construction has become conventionalized and independent in its new function.

Once the construction has been conventionalized, it will continue to undergo contextual changes that further distinguish it from its old function. These typically involve what Himmelmann (2004) refers to as contextual expansion. Himmelmann (2004) identifies three types of changes that result in an increase in productivity in the grammaticalization process. The increase in productivity which occurs in the creation of a schematic construction pertains to the fact that a given expression becomes more widely applicable, i.e. it is used in more contexts.

- **host-class expansion** (construction-internally) – the class of elements the gram is in construction with, i.e. the host class, may be expanded.
- **syntactic-context expansion** – the larger syntactic context in which the construction as hand is used may change.
- **semantic-pragmatic expansion** – the semantic and pragmatic contexts in which the construction is used is expanded.

The extent and directions of change is constrained by the existing schemas in a language. De Smet (2012:629) proposes that a linguistic innovation always bears some resemblance to ‘existing patterns already licensed by the grammar’. In his view, syntactic change following a process of reanalysis will progress more easily if the product ‘resembles some established co-occurrence path’ (De Smet 2012:625). The tendency for a new member of an existing category to possess the characteristics of the new category it
now belongs to, and be used in ways at least partially similar to other members of that
category, can be explained by the contextual effect of existing schemas serving exemplar
templates (Goldberg 1995, Michaelis 2004:25). Alignment with sets of a network may
thus be a contributing factor to contextual expansion and productivity.

1.6.3 Illustration

Traugott and Trousdale (2013:23-26) illustrate constructionalization with the
development of English binominal partitives meaning ‘a part/share of NP’ like a
lot/bit/shred of a N into quantifier constructions. This section summarizes their
discussion.

In Middle English lot appears in lexical uses meaning ‘part’ or ‘group’, illustrated
by (39)-(40).

(39) *He ne was nohh wurrpenn mann... Forr to forrwerrpenn*

\[\text{he NEG was nothing become man... for to overthrow}\]

\[\text{ani3 lott Off Moysæess lare.}\]

any part of Moses’ teaching

‘He (Jesus) did not become incarnate…to overthrow any part of Moses’ teaching’ (c. 1200 *Ormulum*, 15186; [MED *lot* n1, 2c], from Traugott and Trousdale 2013:23)

(40) *Aʒʒ wass i þiss middelætf Summ lott off gode sawless.*

always was in this middle-earth certain group of good souls

‘There was always in this world a group of good souls.’ (c. 1200 *Ormulum*, 19150
[MED *lot* n1, 2e], from Traugott and Trousdale 2013:23)

The meaning ‘group’ in (40) is a semantic extension of the literal meaning ‘part’, but it is
still lexical because of the presence of the specific indefinite *summ*, cf. ‘a certain
group/some group of souls’, not ‘a certain many souls.’ The implication that a large
quantity is involved is part of the contextual inference associated with the meaning of
‘group’.
The foregrounding of the pragmatic inference is illustrated in (3) from the 18th century; *lot* starts to appear in contexts where the meaning of ‘quantity’ has become more salient.

(41) Mrs Furnish at St. James’s has ordered **Lots of Fans, and China, and India Pictures** to be set by for her, ‘till she can borrow Money to pay for ‘em.

(1708 Baker, *Fine Lady Airs* [LION: English Prose Drama], from Traugott and Trousdale 2013:24)

*Lots of* in (41) is still ambiguous between the meaning of ‘groups of’, where it is understood as ‘units for sale’ and ‘large quantities of’, where it is a quantifier of large quantities.

Traugott and Trousdale (2013:25) propose that the constructionalization of *a lot of*/*lots of* as quantifiers has taken place by the beginning of the 19th century, shown by (42a)-(42b). In (42), *lots of/a lot of* can only be read as a quantifier, and the unit/partitive reading is no longer available.

(42) (a) Learning at bottom, physic at top!

*Lots of business, lots of fun,*

Jack of all trades, master of none!

(1833 Daniel *Sworn at Highgate* [LION: English Prose Drama])

(b) He is only young, with **a lot of power**

(1985 Meredith, *The Amazing Marriage* [CL 3])

The semantic distinction is also reflected in their distinctive grammatical behavior.

Compare (43) and (44):

(43) the worthy Mr. Skeggs is bush and bright, for **a lot of goods is** to be fitted out of auction (1852 Stowe, *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* [COHA])

(44) (a) I have **a lot of** goods to sell, and you with to purchase **them**. (1852 Arthur, *True Riches* [COHA])

(b) pretty soon she brought down **a lot of** white rags. I thought **they** seemed quite heavy for their bulk (1865 Alger, *Paul Prescott’s Charge* [COHA])

Example (43) illustrates *lot* with the partitive reading, where the verb shows number agreement with *lot*, the first N of a binominal partitive construction. In (44), where the
quantifier function of *a lot of/lots of* has been conventionalized, the co-referential pronouns *them/they* agree with the second N, like quantifiers typically do. The grammatical change also reflects a change in the constituent structure, i.e. the head of the binominal structure has been reanalyzed from N1 to N2. The preposition *of* has also been reanalyzed as a phonological part of the quantifier. The examples show that constructionalization has taken place. The meaning has changed from *partitive* to *quantifier*, and there has been a change in the constituent structure, i.e. the reanalysis of the head relationship in the binominal. The preposition *of* has also been analyzed as a phonological part of the quantifier. The processes of semantic change and formal reanalysis may be represented below (based on Brems 2003:289 and Traugott and Trousdale 2013:25):

**Figure 1.10 Constructionalization of the English Binominal Quantifier Construction**

![Diagram](image)

Notably, the constructionalization of *a lot of/lots of* as quantifiers also include the alignment of the pattern with the existing quantifier schema, which includes quantifiers like *much, many, few, a little*, as well as another binominal member, *a deal of*. The incorporation of *a lot of/lots of* as new subschemas (micro-constructions in Traugott and Trousdale) increase the productivity of the quantifier schema, and also likely serves as a
template for several other new uses of partitives and measure expressions as quantifiers (Brems 2011).

1.7 Functions of DE in Mandarin Chinese

With the typological overview of secondary predication in section 2, we are now ready to provide an overview of the functions of Mandarin DE in constructions related to secondary predication. Mandarin is a serializing language spoken in Taiwan and the Northern and some Southern regions of China (see Chappell 2001a, 2005 for the subgroupings for Mandarin). It is a highly isolating language, largely lacking inflections. It makes use of compounding and reduplication processes in the formation of new words. It also has morphological templates for expressions specialized for vivid descriptions of sensation or sensory perceptions, e.g. smell, color, shape, sound, action, or movement. These typically involve reduplication and parallel structures (see Chapter 2 for descriptives).

Mandarin Chinese makes use of a number of strategies to express secondary predication, among which are verb serialization, compounding, and a general marker DE. Studying the synchronic overlaps in morphosyntactic coding and the diachronic development of related constructions help delimit the dimensions of conceptual space involved and the ways these concepts are covered crosslinguistically. As explained in beginning of the chapter, the phenomenon under investigation is the polysemous marker DE in Mandarin. The various functions of Mandarin DE relevant to the thesis are introduced in §1.5.
The major functions of Mandarin DE include verb complementation, attribution/nominalization, secondary predication, primary predication and predicative complementation.

Mandarin DE is associated with the so-called “DE-marked verb complement” construction (dai dé bùyǔ 帶『得』補語), pre-verbal secondary predication (zhuàngyǔ 狀語), and nominal modification (attributive and headless) construction. DE-marked expressions themselves are also attested as primary predicates (wèiyǔ 謂語) and predicative complements. Note that DE as a “verb complement marker” (dòngcí bùyǔ 動詞補語標記) should be distinguished from a DE-marked expression that functions as semantically as a predicative complement (in the sense of Noonan (2007[1985] and Himmelmann and Schultze-Berndt 2005, also see discussion in 1.7.1 below).

1.7.1 Verb complement constructions

The first major use of DE is in Chinese ‘verb complement’ (bùyǔ 補語) constructions, postverbal markers introducing subsidiary information about the event encoded by the verb (Lamarre 2001). Notice that the use of the term ‘complement’ in Chinese linguistics is distinct from the general use of ‘complement’ (e.g. Noonan 2007), a sentence or predication that functions as an argument of a predicate. Noonan (2007[1985]:120-147) discusses crosslinguistically attested semantic classes of predicates that take another predicate as its complement. The semantic classes relevant to the development of DE constructions will be discussed in Chapter 7.
In the Chinese linguistics literature, the term ‘complement’ has been used broadly to refer to an element that provides additional information about an event. In this definition, a complement corresponds to an element that elaborates an e-site of the semantic structure related to the event, regardless of whether it is conceptualized as a salient substructure. The following is an illustration of how the notion of complement has been used in various works in Chinese. The complement referred to in the original source is boldfaced.

(45) Phase complement (Hakka, Taiwan, Lai 2015:221, translation and glossing added)

佢影著一个人行過去。

3S see ZHE one CL person walk cross go

‘S/he sees/saw someone walk by.’

(46) Temporal complement (Enfield 2001:281)

(a) Cantonese (from Matthews and Yip 1994:205)

ngôh ga chē jā jó léuhng lihn géi

1 CL vehicle drive PFV two year some

‘I’ve been driving the car for over two years.’

(b) Mandarin

zhù le wǔ nián

live PFV five year

‘lived (there) for five years’

(47) Result complement (Hakka, Taiwan, Lai 2015:221, translation and glossing added)

佢洗碗洗到當慘

3s wash bowl wash CMP very tired

‘S/he washed the dishes till very tired.’


熱起不敢進屋

ye³⁴ te‘i²⁴ pu⁴⁴ kan⁴² tsin⁵⁵ u²⁴

hot CMP NEG dare enter house

‘so hot one dare not enter the house’. (Transcription added)
A phase complement, illustrated by in Hakka dò and go in (45), is a marker of completive aspect. The temporal complements in Cantonese and Mandarin shown in (46a-b) function as temporal adverbials. A complement may also refer to a predicate that is factually related to another predicate, such as result, extent, or manner complement shown in (47)-(49). Note that in (47)-(49) the complement is introduced by a particle following the verb, glossed as CMP. The [V CMP C] structure (where C stands for the complement) is a common pattern for Verb Complement constructions across different varieties of Chinese.

Verb Complement constructions in Chinese Linguistics therefore express semantic relations that overlap with, but do not completely correspond to the notion of predicative complements in Noonan (2007[1985]) or Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann (2005).

A Chinese verb complement (CMP) appears in the [V DE CMP] pattern, where V may be dynamic or stative. The verb V in this construction is a simple verb form that may be a ‘monosyllabic’ or a ‘simple’ disyllabic word (i.e. unmarked for tense, aspect, or modality, non-reduplicated, and generally without a nominal argument). A distinction is commonly made between a ‘potential’ vs. a ‘non-potential’ complement depending on whether it applies to the irrealis or the realis domain (see e.g. Lamarre 2001).

1.7.1.1 Marker of potential complement DE

As a linker of two predicates, the first function DE performs is the “potential” function, which appears in the pattern [V DE V]. The potential complements encode
several types of “agent-oriented” modality (Bybee 1985), which denotes the potential for an event to be achieved. Li and Thompson (1981:57) suggest that the potential complement is similar in function as an adverbial element in Mandarin: they have scope over elements that follow them, but not what precedes them. A few examples are provided in (50)-(51):

(50) 弟弟吃得完這碗麵
   didì  chī-de-wán  zhè wàn miàn
   younger.brother  eat-DE-complete  this CL noodle
   ‘Younger brother is able to eat up this bowl of noodles.

(51) 這條河你游得過去嗎?
   zhè tiáo hé nǐ yóu-de-guò-qù ma
   this CL river 2S swim-DE-cross-go INTERR.PART
   ‘This river, are you able to swim across it?’

An investigation of the diachronic development of DE-marked complement constructions shows that the potential complements are diachronically related to non-potential complements (see chapter 3). In a limited set of contexts, some [V DE V] expressions may be ambiguous between a potential and non-potential interpretation, as shown in (52).

(52) fēi  de  gāo
    fly  DE  high
    ‘to fly high’ [non-potential]
    ‘can fly high’ [potential] (Lamarre 2001:87)

1.7.1.2 Non-potential verb complements

The non-potential (realis) complements in the [V-DE (NP) VP] pattern are used to express various types of secondary predication, which is the primary focus of our investigation. The DE-marked predicate V contains the main event, and the complement following [V-DE] bears some factual link to the event denoted by [V-DE]. Non-potential
complements express various semantic relations that may be oriented towards either the primary event or a participant of that event.

Semantic classifications and the terminologies used for these categories have been inconsistent in the literature, most commonly including one or several of the following – ‘degree’/‘extent’ (chéngdù), ‘manner’ (zhuàngtài, qíngtài, qíngzhuàng), ‘result’ (jiéguǒ) (Lamarre 2001). S. Lü (1999:163-165), for example, describes the function of DE in non-potential complements as a marker that introduces a chéngdù (degree) or jiéguǒ (result) complement. Lamarre’s (2001) survey of verb complements in Chinese dialects, following Yue-Hashimoto (1993), classifies non-potential DE-marked complements into two broad classes: “manner” and “extent”. As many have noticed, even when researchers come up with the same labels for separate categories, the semantic range of instances included in these categories are not necessarily the same (see Q. Wang and J. Shi 1990, Lamarre 2001).

The two types of non-potential complements discussed in Lamarre (2001) are illustrated below.

(53) tā chánɡ de hǎo-tīnɡ
3S sing DE good-hear
‘S/he sings.’ (Lamarre 2001:85)

(54) chǎo de rénjiā shuì bù zháo
noisy DE other:people sleep NEG achieve
‘make so much noise that others cannot sleep’ (Lamarre 2001:86)

Though not clearly indicated, Lamarre’s “manner” category appears to refer to a complement that merely provides a qualitative description of an event or a participant, such as (53). An extent complement, on the other hand, provides a measurement of a scalar property associated with the main event based on the effect it has, such as one’s
inability to go to sleep in (54). The broad semantic classification serves the purpose of Lamarre’s survey, which compares the encoding of verb complements in different Chinese dialects in order to support the three-way distinction between potential, manner, and extent.

For the purpose of illustration, a brief introduction and classification of three major subtypes of non-potential complements is provided here. The examples (where cited) do not always correspond to the classification proposed in the original literature. The polysemous functions represent connected, gradient categories, which developed historically out of constructionalization (see Chapters 3, 7-8). The analysis presented here is meant to capture the conceptual overlaps between these general categories, and thus pave way for a better understanding of diachronic processes. Because the constructions are prototype categories, it is expected that there will be intermediate cases that may be instantiated by multiple schemas. The illustration here does not intend to be a comprehensive list of all possible patterns. In actuality, there are intermediate categories not captured by the crude generalization. A finer-grained classification of the situation types is more ideal for understanding the diachronic change overall, and I will discuss this in Chapter 7.

1.7.1.2.1 Result

A DE-marked resultative complement expresses resultative relations between two predicates, where the first is an event that brings about another action or state represented by the second predicate, a resultative complement.
(55) 我說話說得忘了時間。
  wò shuō-huà  shuō-de  wàng le  shíjiăn
1S talk-speech talk-DE forget PFV time
  ‘I forgot about time as a result of talking.’ (own data)

(56) 臉刮得光光的。
  liàn  guā  de  guāngguāng  de
face shave DE1 smooth/glossy REDU DE2
  ‘The face is/has been shaved clean.’ (own data)

(57) 小偷把他打得鼻青臉腫。
  xiǎotōu  bā  tā  dǎ-de  bǐ-cīng-liăn-zhǒng
thief OBJ 3S beat-DE1 nose-blue-face-swollen
  ‘He was badly injured from the thief beating him so hard.’

(58) 妹妹哭得眼睛都紅了。
  méimeī  kū-de  yǎnjīng  dōu  hóng le
younger.sister cry-DE1 eye all red RCS
  ‘Younger sister’s eyes were all red from crying.’

(59) 走路走得我腳都起水泡了。
  zǒu-lù  zǒu-de  wò  jiǎo  dōu  qì  shūpào  le
walk-road walk-DE1 1S feet all rise blister RCS
  ‘I walked to the extent that blisters formed on my feet.’

1.7.1.2.2 Measurement of extent or degree

Another broad category of DE-constructions involves a complement introduces an expression that provides a measurement of a scalar property encoded by [V DE]. An extent complement measures the magnitude of the event [V] by expressing its effect or result. The extent function usually indicates only excessive or higher than usual magnitude.

(60) 他醉得不省人事
  tā  zuǐ-de  bù-xǐng-rén-shì
3S be.drunk-DE1 NEG-understand-person-business
  ‘He is unconscious from being drunk.’ [resultative]
  ‘He is unconscious while being drunk.’ [depictive, manner]

(61) 累得受不了
  lèi  de  shòu-bù-liào
tired DE bear-NEG-end
‘Tired to the extent that it is unbearable/Unbearably tired.’  [extent]
‘Tired and as a result one cannot bear it.’  [result]

There can be interpretational ambiguity with respect to resultative and depictive or manner readings, when the first (main) predicate allows for an alternative construal as a simultaneous event with the second one, not as a main cause for the following state. The resultative relations between the main and the subsequent event also involve some degree of the main event being carried out. For (60), being drunk can be conceptualized as the cause for the person’s being unconscious; hence a resultative reading. Alternatively, the two predicates can both be construed as holding at the time of the utterance, thus DE marks a depictive relation between the two predicates. For (61), the event of being unable to bear may be conceptualized as a result of being tired, or a measurement of the extent. This is also true of (59) above, but in (59), it not definite what dimension/scalar property of the event, zuo ‘walk’, the “resultative” event measures.

The degree complement appears in the form of a degree expression, as in (62)-(64).

(62) 奇怪得不得了
qiduǎidebùdéliǎo
strange DE neg-DE.POT.end
‘Extremely strange.’

(63) 臭得要死
chòudeyàosǐ
stinky DE want die
‘Extremely stinky.’

(64) 好吃得很
hàochídehěn
delicious DE very
‘Very delicious.’

The degree predicate may be expressed via a hyperbolic expression lexicalized to indicate high degree, as in (62)-(63), or a degree adverb, as in (64). Note that there is a gradient
between a complement that is more likely to be interpreted as a ‘result from reaching a high extent’ and one that functions merely as a degree modification.

1.7.1.2.3 A simultaneous event as a qualitative description

Another broad category of complement introduced by \([V-DE]\) describes a simultaneous event whose primary function is to provide a qualitative description of an event site of the event introduced by \([V-DE1]\), not a scalar measurement of the extent or magnitude of the \(V1\) event. The elaboration may be oriented towards a participant or an event, including manner, depictive, and other types of properties.

• Manner

A manner complement elaborates on a property of the event denoted by \([V-DE]\), as illustrated by (65)-(67).

(65) 爷爷走得很慢
grandfather walk-DE1 very slow
‘Grandfather walks very slowly.’

(66) 颜色绿得可爱
color green DE lovely
‘The color is green in a lovely way’ (from Lu 1999: 164, originally classified as ‘result or extent’)

(67) 他唱歌唱得好听极了
3s sing-song sing DE good-hear extreme PF
‘He, in terms of singing, s/he sings extremely beautifully.’

• Depictive

A complement to \([V \ DE]\) may also describe a characteristic of a participant pertaining to the event \(V\) in general, similar to a depictive secondary predicate.
The complement is often applicable to both an event and a participant, and thus ambiguous between a manner and depictive interpretation, as shown in (68)-(69). The property ugly, for example, may be an evaluation of the physical attractiveness of the protagonist, or a description of how in the protagonist carries out the event. The emotion predicate ‘sad’, likewise, may refer to the mental state of the owner, and therefore be participant-oriented, or the way in which the crying action is carried out (i.e. the owner cried in a sad manner), and is thus event-oriented.

There is a subtype of verb complement in Chinese that differs from English depictives in that it expresses an individual-level property that is characteristic of a participant but pertains to the time frame of the event.

(70) 他們吃得很鹹

*tāmen chī-de hěn xián*

3P eat-DE1 very salty

‘They eat (their food) very salty.’

(71) 寶寶睡得太軟會影響發育

*baōbaō shuì-de tài ruǎn hù yǐngxiǎng fāyù*

baby sleep-DE1 too soft will affect growth

‘A baby, if (it) sleeps (on a mattress that is) too soft, (that) will affect its growth.’

(72) 我一件襯衫買得太大

*wǒ yī jiàn chènshān mǎi-de tài dà*

1S one CL shirt buy-DE1 too big

‘I bought one shirt (which was) too big.’
(73) 這家咖啡店櫃檯都請得很漂亮

zhè  jiā  kāfēi-diàn  guìtái  dōu  qīng  de
this  CL  coffee-shop  receptionist  all  hire  DE

hěn  piàoliàng
very  beautiful
‘This coffee shop, in terms of receptionists, they hire pretty ones.’
‘This coffee shop hires receptionists (who are) pretty.’

(74) 小孩子飯吃得不多

xiǎo-háizi  fàn  chī-de  bù  duō
small-child  rice  eat-DE1  NEG  much
‘Small children, rice they do not eat so much.’

• **Value and other properties**

[V-DE1] may introduce a complement that expresses an evaluation, such as hǎo
‘good’ in (75), or other types of adverbial relations (that are not prototypical sense of manner), such as in (76).

(75)  Evaluation: [cf. agentive adverb]

nà  liǎng  ge  fēngzi  zǒu-de  hǎo
that  two  CL  lunatic  leave-DE1  good
‘It’s good that those two lunatics left.’

(76)  今天天亮得早

jīntiān  tiān-liàng-de  zǎo
today  sky-light.up-DE1  early
‘The dawn came early today.’

1.7.1.2.4 Intermediate cases

There are several other intermediate categories besides the aforementioned categories, and an instance of a non-potential complement may often be interpreted in multiple ways.

• **Result – extent**

Example (77) illustrates the ambiguity between a result and an extent construal.

The event, “not speaking for three days”, may be construed as the result of the being
angered by the students, but it may also be construed as a measurement of the extent of anger.

(77) 学生生气了，他三天他不讲话。

学生 angry-de 3S three day NEG talk-word
‘The students made him so angry that he did not speak for three days.

- **Manner/result/depictive?**

Similarly, the eating action in (78) can be interpreted as the antecedent event bringing about the person’s having great gusto, or jīn-jīn-yǒu-wèi can be describing the manner of the person of consuming the food.

(78) (你看)他津津有味。

你看 3S look 3S chew-de1 delicious.ideophone
‘Look at him chewing (with such gusto).’ [manner]
‘Look at him having such gusto as a result of chewing.’ [resultative]

- **Manner or extent**

The following examples demonstrate the ambiguity between a manner simulative and an extent interpretation.

(79) 大厅裡亮得如同白昼。

大厅 DE resemble white-day
‘It is so bright in the hall that it resembles the day.’
‘It is bright in the hall like the day.’

(80) 团結得像一個人一樣。

团结 DE like one CL person one-kind
‘United in such a way that (they) are like one person.’
‘United to the extent that they are like one person.’

Both (79) and (80) may be interpreted as a qualitative description of the event introduced by [V-de], in (79) the brightness of the hall, and in (80) the unithood of the subjects. Both
of these also implicate an unusually high extent, and may be analyzed as an elaboration about the degree of the scalar property encoded by \[V-DE\].

1.7.1.2.5 \[V-DE\] as a supporting element for predication

Notably, when the semantic relation between the two predicates linked by \(DE\) is weakened due to semantic bleaching of the predicate originally conveying the primary event, the construction can resemble a predicative property construction.

(81) 那個女孩子長得很漂亮。
\(nà\) \(ge\) \(nüháiizi\) \(zhăn\)\(-de\) \(hĕn\) \(piăoliăng\)  
‘That girl is (very) beautiful.’

Less frequently:  ‘That girl has grown to be (very) beautiful.’ [resultative]

The state of being beautiful in (81) can be conceptualized as a result of growing, but in most contexts, the causal relation is so bleached that the sentence only describes the current state of the girl without any assumption of it as a result of growing, i.e. ‘grow’ has become like a copula (cf. ‘seem’, ‘appear’).

1.7.2 Pre-verbal secondary predicate

The second function of Mandarin \(DE\) is attached to a secondary predicate that appears in the preverbal position, which corresponds to the category of \(zhuăngyū\) (狀語) in Chinese linguistics. \(DE\) as a marker of pre-verbal secondary predicates contrasts with the complementation function of \(DE\), where \(DE\) is attached to a predicate that encodes the event to be elaborated on. When appearing before the main predicate, a \(DE\)-marked expression functions as an adjunct construction, i.e. a secondary predicate. In this position, the \(DE\)-marked expression can perform both depictive and manner functions, depending on the semantics of the expression.
The secondary predicate may appear in a number of morphophonological patterns, including disyllabic words (82)-(87), reduplicated templates (88)-(90), parallel structures (91)-(92), and complex structures (93)-(94) (see Chapter 2 for a more detailed discussion of the templates).

• **Disyllabic words**
  (82) 他飛快的跑過來。
  tǎ  fēi-kuài-de  pāo-guò-lái
  3S  fly-fast-DE  run-cross-come
  ‘He ran speedily (toward us).’

  (83) 裁判迅速的制止衝突。
  cáipàn  xùn-sù-de  zhízhǐ  chōngtú
  referee  fast-speed-DE2  stop  clash
  ‘The referee speedily stopped the clash.’

  (84) 受害者家屬傷心的趕過來。
  shòu-hài-zhē  jiāshū  shāngxǐn-de  gǎn-guò-lái
  PASS-harm-person  family  sad(ly)-DE  rush-cross-come
  ‘The family of the victim sad(ly) rushed hither.’

  (85) 興奮地說
  xīngfèn  de  shuō
  exited  DE  say
  ‘say excited(ly)’

  (86) 他謙虛的表示
  ta  qiānxū  de  biǎoshì
  3S  be.modest  DE  indicate
  ‘he indicates modestly (or: it is modest of him to indicate…’

  (87) 雨不停的下
  yǔ  bù-tíng  de  xià
  rain  NEG-stop  DE  go.down
  ‘It rains incessantly.’

• **Reduplicated templates**
  (88) 把熱熱的喝下去。
  bā  yào  rèrè-de  hē-xià-qù
  OBJ  medicine  hot.REDU-DE  drink-down-go
  ‘Drink the medicine hot.’
(89) 大野狼把鴨子活生生的吞下去。
   *dà-yě-láng bā yāzi huō-shēngshēng-de tūn-xià-qù*
   big-wild-wolf OBJ duck alive-raw.REDU-DE swallow-go.down-go
   ‘The big wild wolf swallowed down the duck alive.’

(90) 嘩啦啦的響
   *huālālā de xiǎng*
   IDEO DE make.sound
   ‘make sounds, going hualala’

• Parallel Structures

(91) 自言自語地說
   *zì-yán-zì-yǔ de shuō*
   self-speak-self-speak DE say
   ‘Speak (in such a way that it is apparently addressed) to oneself.’

(92) 小偷蹑手蹑腳的爬進屋裡。
   *xiăotóu niè-shōu-niè-jīăo-de pá jìn wū lǐ*
   thief creep-hand-creep-foot-DE crawl enter house inside
   ‘The thief crept into the house. / The thief crawled into the house stealthily.’

• Complex structures

(93) 說不出的高興
   *shuō-bù-chū de găoxìng*
   speak-NEG-exit DE happy
   ‘be unspeakably happy’

(94) 像年輕人一樣的矯健
   *xiăng niănqìng-rén yì-yăng de jiăojiàn*
   resemble young-person one-kind DE agile
   ‘as agile as a young person’

In such contexts, the DE-marked expression can perform both depictive and adverbial functions. The orientation of the expression does not affect the encoding of expression, contrary to the proposal in traditional grammars that these serve to ‘modify an adjective or verb’ (e.g. S. Lü 1999:160). In some cases, a DE-marked expression can be interpreted as both participant-oriented and event-oriented, e.g. with predicates denoting emotional states, such as *shāngxīn-DE, xīngfèn-DE* in (84)-(85), or bodily positions, such as *niè-shōu-niè-jīăo-DE* in (92), which can be interpreted both as a manner...
predication, describing the actual manner of the thief as he crawled into the house, or as the bodily gestures of the thief while crawling, which is more depictive-like.

1.7.3 Predicative

DE also marks a predicative expression (謂語 wèiyǔ in Chinese linguistics), which appears in two different information-packaging functions: a genuine predicational statement, and an identificational statement in the sense of Stassen (1997). Stassen (1997:100-106) proposes that a predicational statement merely adds new information to an already existing mental file, e.g. what characteristic an object possesses, which “class” an object belongs to. An identificational statement, on the other hand, suggests a reorganization of the mental-file structure of the addressee, which can be achieved by providing an alternative label for (or access route to) a file, creating a new file, or by establishing an inclusion relation between two files. Chinese DE-marked propositions may have an identificational and a predicational interpretation.

1.7.3.1 Predicative properties and descriptive events

DE may also be attached to a predicative property, which commonly involves reduplication or some sort of parallel structure. This type of DE-marked predicative expresses descriptive information. Examples (95a-c) illustrate a DE-marked descriptive expression functioning as the primary predicate.

(95) Predicative property
a. 他一輩子孤孤單單的。
   tā  yì  bèizi  gūgūdāndān-de
   3s one life lonely.REDU-DE
   ‘S/he is lonely his whole life.’

b. 他常常神經兮兮的。
   tā  chángcháng  shénjīng-xīxī-de
   3S often goofy-IDEO-DE
   ‘S/he is often goofy.’
c. 他兒子無精打采的。

\[\text{tā  ěrzi  wù-jīng-dā-cǎi-de}\]

3S  son  NEG.exist-energy-beat-spirit-DE

‘His/her son is listless.’

### 1.7.3.2 Qualitative predicates

A DE-marked predicative element may also appear with non-reduplicative properties to express a qualification of a participant. These express materials or definitive qualities, which serves more to ‘classify’ than to ‘describe’ the subject.

**Example (96):**

\[\text{zhè  píngguǒ  suān-de}\]

this  apple  sour-DE

‘This apple is sour.’

**Example (97):**

\[\text{zhè  bēi  kāfēi  liáng  de}\]

this  CL  coffee  cool  DE

‘This cup of coffee is cold.’

These are related to the *shi...de* construction, which adds a characteristic (function, material, content…) or establishes class membership of a participant. The copula *shi* is sometimes optional in informal speech. This construction is compatible with properties, but the properties are usually conceptualized as a defining characteristic or a relatively permanent property. This is especially true for predication of “material” and “gender” concepts.

**Example (98):**

\[\text{ta  shi  mai  cai  de}\]

3S  COP  sell  vegetable  DE

‘He is a vegetable merchant.’

**Example (99):**

\[\text{zhe  ben  xiaoshuo  jiang  yi-min  de}\]

this  CL  novel  talk.about  immigration  DE

‘This novel talks about immigration.’
(100) Characteristic - gender
我是女的
wo shi nu de
1S COP female DE
‘I am a woman.’

(101) Material
媽媽這條裙子是絲的。
mama zhe tiao qunzi shi si de
mother this skirt COP silk DE
‘This skirt of mother’s is silk.’

(102) Characteristic: Color
這支筆是紅色的。
zhe zhi bi shi hong-se de
this CL PEN COP red-color DE
‘This pen is red.’

(103) Characteristic: Color
天空是藍的。
tiankong shi lan de
sky COP blue DE
‘The sky is blue.’

(104) Characteristic: Size
這裡女孩子頭髮通常是很長的。
nu-haizi tou-fa tongchang shi chang de
female-child head-hair usually COP long DE
‘Here girls usually have long hair.’

1.7.4 Non-restrictive modification, secondary predication, and predicative complement

DE-marked predicative expressions may also appear in the postverbal position, and hold various relations with the predicate before it. In the post-nominal position, a participant-oriented DE-marked expression may be ambiguous with respect to a depictive and a non-restrictive modification reading.

(105) 她端來一碗湯涼的。(non-restrictive modification, depictive)
tā duān-lái yì wǎn tāng liáng-de
3S serve-come one:TS CL soup cold-DE
‘S/he served a bowl of soup (, which was) cold.’

Liáng-de in (105) can be interpreted as properties in postposed non-restrictive modification, where a DE-marked property expression appears after the noun it is attributed to. At the same time, the properties also can be interpreted as holding within the time frame of the main event.

The DE-marked predicative expression bàn-sǐ-bù-huó-de in (106) appears as a depictive secondary predicate.

(106) 老公經常下班回家半死不活的。
lǎogōng jīngcháng xiàbān hújiā bàn-sǐ-bù-huó-de
husband frequent get.off.work come.home half-dead-NEG-alive-DE
‘The husband often gets off work and comes home (appearing) half-dead.’

Note that the DE-marked expression in (106) is often simply treated as a primary predicate (wèiyǔ 講語) in Chinese linguistics. Semantically, the DE-marked element expresses a state of affairs simultaneous with comes home, which may be construed either as the secondary predicate or the primary predicate.

A DE-marked expression may also appear as a predicative complement of a regular complement-taking predicate (not marked by DE), as in (107)-(109), or the complement of a DE-marked verb complement construction, as in (110). DE can also optionally mark predicative complements and resulting states.

(107)我看他哭哭啼啼的
wǒ kàn ta kū-kū-tí-tí-de
1S see 3S cry.REDU-weep.REDU-DE
‘I saw him weeping and wailing.’

(108)我聽見他大吵大鬧的
wǒ tīn-jìàn ta dà-chāo-dà-nào-de
1S hear-arrive.ASP 3S excessive-squabble-excessive-make.noise-DE
‘I heard him squabbling and making a lot of noise.’
(109) 奶奶把房间掃得乾乾淨淨(的)

nānǎi  bā  fángjiān  sǎo-de  gāngānjingjing-de
grandmotherOBJ room sweep-DE clean. REDU-DE
‘Grandma has swept the room clean.’

(110) 我們都覺得怪怪的。

wǒmen  dōu  juéde  guàiguài-de
1P all feel strange. REDU-DE
‘We all felt kind of strange.’

1.7.5 Attributive modification (both restrictive and non-restrictive)

Finally, DE functions as a general marker of modification and nominalization, being attached to actions, properties, objects and events functioning as modifiers. DE is used for both non-restrictive and restrictive attributives, as shown in the distinction between (111) and (112)-(113).

(111) 媽媽煮了一鍋熱呼呼的湯

māma  zhǔ  le  yī  guō  rè-hūhū  de  tāng
one scoopPF oneCLhot-IDEODEsoup
‘Mother made a pot of hot soup.’

(112) 戴花的女生是我的同學

dài  huā  de  nǚshēng
wearflowerDEgirl
‘The girl who wears a flower is my older sister.’

(113) 哥哥的論文快寫完了

gēge  de  lúnwén  kùai  xiě-wàn  le
older.brotherDEdissertationsoonwrite-finishPF
‘Older brother’s dissertation is almost finished.’

In (111), there the modifier rè-hūhū is non-restrictive in that it does not help pick out a different referent – it refers to the same pot of soup. In (112)-(113), the restrictive modifiers help delimit the identity of the referents. The use of DE does not differentiate between a restrictive and a non-restrictive attribution.
DE2 also appears as a nominalizer, or a marker for headless modification, allowing for a modifier to be a defining characteristic for an understood referent that is recoverable in the discourse (examples mine).

(114) 北一女很多漂亮的。

běiyīnǚ hěn duō piàoliàng-de
PN very many beautiful-DE
‘There are lots of beautiful (girls) in Beiyinu High School.’

(115) 只有最穷的才走路和搭公車。

zhī yǒu zuì qiúng-de cāi zǒulù hàn dā-gōngchē
only exist most poor-DE then walk and take-bus
‘Only the poorest walk and take the bus.’

(116) 你覺得只有建中的才是人嗎？

nǐ juéde zhī yǒu jiànzhōng-de cāi shì rén ma
2S think only exist PN-DE then cop person interr.prt
‘You think only those who study at Jianzhong (high school) are humans?’

(117) 我遇過的才叫恐怖吧。

wǒ yù-guò-de cāi jiào kǒngbù ba
1S experience-exp-DE then call scary prt
‘What I experienced can (really) be called scary.’

(118) 姐姐喜歡的，她也喜歡。

jiějiě xīhuān-de tā yē xīhuān
older.sister like-de 3S also like
‘What older sister likes, she likes, too.’

1.8 Orthographical representations and issues with DE

Based on its synchronic uses, DE in Mandarin appears to be an all-purpose marker for modification, nominalization, secondary predication, and predicative constructions. The polysemous functions of DE discussed in the previous section demonstrate the close association between depictives, manner predications, predicative complements, and resultatives, which is marked synchronically by the same marker in similar structures. It also subsumes various semantic functions on van der Auwera and Malchukov’s (2005) and Verkerk’s (2009) semantic maps.
The issue, however, is more complicated than it appears. In Mandarin Chinese, DE [tā] has three forms in orthography: 得, 的, 地. For the purpose of distinguishing them, the three different written forms will be referred to as DE1, DE2, and DE3 throughout the dissertation. DE will be used as a generic term of all functions marked by DE [tā].

DE1 得
DE2 的 (archaic: 底)
DE3 地

The three Modern written forms represent three etymologically distinct sources (the archaic form of DE2, di 底, is replaced by DE(2)的 during the 13th century, see T. Mei 1988), but do not faithfully reflect their complex usage and diachronic developments. Reference grammars often provide prescriptive rules to specify which written form should be used for specific syntactic functions discussed above. An illustration of such rules of orthography can be found in S. Lü (1999) (labels in italics and notes in square brackets are mine):

(119) Rules of orthography (S. Lü 1999)
• DE1 (得) – DE connects a verb with a complement that describes an extent or a result [in the “V + DE + Complement” pattern] (p.163)
• DE2 (的)
  (a) (Attributive modification): DE is attached to an element that functions as a modifier of a noun [in the “Modifier+DE+Noun” pattern](p.157)
  (b) (Nominalizer/headless modification): DE is attached to an element to form a nominal [in the “Modifier DE” pattern](p.159)
  (c) (Predicatives) (謂語 wèiyǔ see §1.5.3): DE is attached to a predicative element or a proposition [in the pattern “Predicate/Proposition+DE”](p.161)
  (d) (Predicative complement): DE is attached to the complement of [V DE] (p.162)
• DE3 (地) – DE marks an element that [appears in the pre-verbal position and] modifies a verb or an adjective (p.162).
• The form 底 was once (from 1919-1930s) used for DE-marked genitive relations (e.g. wǒ di mǔqīn ‘IS DE mother’, zuòjiā di gǎnqíng ‘writer DE emotion’), but the form is now obsolete. Now 地 (DE3) is used for DE-marked expressions that modify adjectives and verbs; all other [non-V-DE complement] uses are written as DE2 (的) (p.156).
The prescriptive rules specify that the form 得 (DE1) is used for the Chinese ‘verb complement’ (bǔyǔ 補語) constructions discussed in section 1. DE in pre-verbal secondary predicates (S. Lü 1999:156) is written as 地 (DE3), and DE in attributive modification, nominalization, predicative, are all written as 的 (DE2). A summary of the prescriptive rules is provided in Table 1.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Pattern</th>
<th>Written form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Verb complementation marker</td>
<td>V-DE CMP</td>
<td>DE1 DE2 DE3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary predicate preverbal</td>
<td>Sec. Pred-DE Pred</td>
<td>DE1 DE3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predicative/complement</td>
<td>Pred-DE</td>
<td>DE1 DE2 DE3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attributive/ Nominalizer</td>
<td>Modifier DE N</td>
<td>DE1 DE2 DE3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The prescriptive rules have various issues. First, the rules do not explicitly account for cases that may be construed in multiple ways. For instance, although a distinction can theoretically be drawn between DE1, which introduces a verb-complement, and DE2, a nominalizer, the DE-marked element can be interpreted as either a verb complement construction with DE1 (得), or a headless modification with a DE2-marked topic (的) followed by a comment, as below:

\[
\begin{align*}
[V \text{ DE1}]_{\text{PRED}} & \quad [\text{Complement}] \\
[V \text{ DE2}]_{\text{TOPIC}} & \quad [\text{Comment}]
\end{align*}
\]

Because of such phonetic and functional parallels, some researchers treat nominalization and complementation as instantiations of a more general pattern. Loeb-Diehl (2005), for instance, analyzes Mandarin DE in (120) as a Predicational strategy, where the subject of the sentence is encoded either as a nominalized clause or a noun phrase, and a manner expression is encoded as the primary predication.
Loeb-Diehl’s interpretation is based on Li and Thompson’s (1981:625), who suggest that (120) (which they refer to as a complex stative construction) makes an assertion of the action encoded by [V DE]. (120) literally makes an assertion about the ‘running being quick’, either in general or at a particular time, and hěn kuài is essentially a comment about the hearer’s speed. Note that this contrasts with a sentence with the DE-marked secondary predicate in the pre-verbal position such as (121), where both the manner expression màn màn ‘slow’ and the action ‘walk’ are asserted.

(121) tā màn màn de zǒu
3S slow.redu DE walks
‘S/He walks slowly.’

Native speakers of Mandarin often fail to distinguish DE1 and DE2 constructions, the evidence being the frequent interchange between the orthographic representations DE1 (得) and DE2 (的) in writing or typing. They replace DE1 with DE2 (or less frequently, vice versa) in writing partly because of their phonetic similarity (both have reduced vowel quality and neutral tone), and partly due to the structural parallels between the two constructions. (122)-(124) are taken from real conversation on TV (with sub-captions) and online bulletin boards, all of which are written with DE2 (的).

(122) 那他寫的也沒錯啊
nà tā xiē-de yě méi cuò a
then 3S write-DE2 also NEG wrong PRT
‘Then what he wrote was not wrong, either.’
‘Then he did not write it wrong, either.’
‘Then it was not wrong of him to write, either.’
(123) 你說的對
\[ ní \quad shuō-de \quad dui \]
2S say-DE2 right
‘You said it right.’
‘What you said was right.’
‘It was right of you to say it.’

(124) 他在那部電影的真的不錯
\[ tā \quad zài \quad nà \quad bù \quad diànyǐng \quad yǎn-de \quad zhēn-de \quad bùcuò \]
3S LOC that CL movie perform-DE2 really-DE2 not.bad
‘He really performed not badly in that movie.’
‘In that movie, his performance really was not bad.’

A second problem with the prescriptive rules is that they are not always consistent and semantically motivated. The function of DE3, for example, is inaccurately described as a ‘modifier to adjectives and verbs’, which indicates event-orientation. As shown in §1.7.2 and (125), a preposed DE-marked adjunct may be used for both event- and participant-oriented secondary predicates.

(125) 發現爆竹花全身虛脫，臉色蒼白地倚在牆角。
\[ fāxiàn \quad bāozhúhuā \quad chuán shēn \quad xītuō \quad liǎn-sè \quad cāngbái-de \]
discover PN all body collapse face-color pale-DE3
\[ yǐ \quad zài \quad qiáng-jīào \]
lean at wall-corner
‘...found Baozhuhua leaning against the corner of the wall, completely lethargic, her face pale.’ (Academia Sinica Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Chinese)

The DE-marked element in (125) consists of two paralleled expressions describe the physical conditions of Baozhuhua – being lethargic and pale, both participant-oriented.

One may then presume that the preverbal position should be the sufficient criterion for the use of DE3, but this is not always the case. S. Lü (1999:163) suggests that the following usage of Mandarin DE should be written as DE2.

(126) 大白天的，還怕找不到路嗎?
\[ dà-báitiān \quad de \quad hái \quad pà \quad zhāo-bú-dào \quad lù \quad ma \]
great-white-day DE2 still fear find-NEG-arrive road INTERR
‘In broad daylight, need one worry about getting lost?’
(127) 走啊走的，天色可就黑了下來啦。
zhǒu a zhǒu de tiān-sè kějiù hēi le xià-lái la
walk PRT walk DE2 sky-color then dark PF go.down-come PRT
‘As (one) goes on walking, the sky has turned dark!’

(128) 老鄉們泡茶倒水的，熱情極了。
lǎo-xiāng-men qǐ-chá dào-shuǐ de rèqìng jí le
folk-PL make.tea-tea pour.water DE2 enthusiastic extreme PF
‘The folks, making tea, pouring water and so on, are extremely enthusiastic.’

(129) 鉗子，改錐的，放在這個背包裡。
qián-zi gǎizhù de fāng zài zhè ge bēi-bāo lì
wrench screw.driver DE2 put at this CL back-pack in
‘Wrench, screw driver and the like, are placed in this backpack.’

S. Lü (1999) describes DE2 in (126)-(127) as cause, reason, and condition expressions that occur sentence-initially, and the function of DE2 in (128)-(129) as an approximate description of kinds and sorts, similar to English *and so on, and the like*, and etc. These are simply categorized as ‘other uses’ of DE2, without linking these to other functions of DE2. The DE2-marked expression in (128) may also be circumstantial and belong with (126)-(127). A DE-marked parallel structure in the pre-verbal position, such as *zì-yán-zì-yǔ* in (91), is apparently semantically linked to (128), but should be written with DE3 according to the prescriptive rule.

To make up for the vagueness of the rules, additional syntactic, collocational, and semantic criteria are provided for further specification. What these criteria create are prototype categories, i.e. constructions. The mixture of the various criteria, however, allows for multiple construals and fails to unambiguously account for every actual usage.

The rules fail to predict, for instance, what form of DE to use for (130). Example (130) shows two pre-verbal DE-marked expressions, one marked by DE3 and one marked by DE2. Aside from the prescriptive rules of orthography failing to provide a clear guideline at times, most native speakers do not seem to distinguish the ‘adverbial’ DE3 (
地) from the ‘attributive’ and ‘predicative’ DE2 (的), and mix one with the other in writing.

(130) 孩子每天每天都安静地放著风筝，静静地没有半点声音。

 haste měitiān méitiān dǒu ānjǐng-de fāng zhe fēngzhēng
child everyday everyday all silent-DE3 fly STATE kite

jīngqiǎoqǐǎo-de méi-yǒu bàn diǎn shēngyīn
silent-DE2 NEG-EXIST half a little sound

‘The child flies his kite quietly everyday, silently (ly) without any sound.’

(Academia Sinica Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Chinese)

In (130), the writer’s choice of orthographic representations for the two synonymous state verbs ānjǐng ‘quiet’ (marked with DE3 地) and jīng-qǐaōqǐaō ‘silent’ (marked with DE2 的) does not seem to be positionally determined, since both DE-marked elements appear in the preverbal position. The choice between the two written forms is also not clearly motivated by semantic orientation, since these expressions should have the same semantic orientation (which is in fact left ambiguous and subject to construal). If the writer was following the rules, it would appear that jīng-qǐaōqǐaō was taken to be a predicative element, not a secondary predicate. One may argue that it is because jīng-qǐaōqǐaō is not obviously expressing a secondary event, since it is basically synonymous with the following clause, and not modifying it. A primary and a secondary predicate interpretation, however, are both possible and subject to construal.

Example (131) shows a sentence written with a DE3-marked expression in the preverbal position, which also does not necessarily express secondary information, or modifying the following event.
The two possible interpretations are shown in the English translations. These examples demonstrate the discrepancy between the orthographic rules and the proposed distinction between DE2 and DE3.

1.9 Periodization of Chinese and DE constructions in the history of Chinese

The three written forms of Mandarin DE, as proposed earlier, are linked diachronically to independent constructions with distinctive functions and collocational constraints. Before giving an overview of the history of DE constructions, we need to address the issue of the chronological framework.

Periodization of Chinese is not free of controversy, and varies considerably depending on the criteria adopted and the grammatical constructions under investigation. Periodization used by historical phonologists (e.g. Ting 1996), for example, varies from that based on syntactic criteria (e.g. Peyraube 1996), as well as periodization based on mixture of syntactic and phonological criteria (e.g. L. Wang 1980:43-44), and that for the study of specific constructions (e.g. Shi 2002, on the resultative verb compound construction). As an illustration of variety in periodization, a comparison of the periodization schemes proposed by Li. Wang (1980), Shi (2002) and Peyraube (1996) is shown in Table 1.3, along with the corresponding Chinese dynasties. Stages of transition indicated by Li Wang and Peyraube are boldfaced.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Periodization and Dynasties in Chinese History</th>
<th>Centuries</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>L. Wang (1980)</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Old ( ?~3 c. AD)</td>
<td>Pre-Archaic (14th -11th c. BC)</td>
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<td>Early Archaic (10th - 6th c. BC)</td>
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<td>Late Archaic (5th - 2nd c. BC)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Old (700-200 BC)</td>
<td>*Pre-Medieval (1st c. BC – 1st c. AD)</td>
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<td>Early Medieval (2nd -6th c.)</td>
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<td>Late Medieval (7th –mid-13th c.)</td>
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<td>*Transition: (3-4 c. AD)</td>
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<td>Middle (4-12 c.)</td>
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<td>Pre-Modern (901-1500)</td>
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<td>*Transition: (12-13 c.)</td>
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<td>Modern (13-19 c.)</td>
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<td><strong>Modern (1501-present)</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Contemporary (1919~)</td>
<td>Contemporary (mid-19th -20th c.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 1.3 Periodization and Dynasties in Chinese History*
The periodization scheme adopted by this study is based on Peyraube (1996), who proposes a relatively fine division of periods. In addition, we also adopt the term Classical Chinese to refer to the period between 5th to 3rd centuries B.C. (Norman 1988).

• Periodization of this dissertation (Peyraube 1996:164, *Classical Chinese period added):
  1. Pre-Archaic Chinese: Language of the oracle bone inscriptions. 14th-11th c. B.C.
  2. Early Archaic Chinese: 10th - 6th c. B.C.
  3. Late Archaic Chinese: 5th-2nd c. B.C.
    *(Classical Chinese: 5th - 3rd B.C.)
  5. Early Medieval: 2nd -6th c.
  6. Late Medieval: 7th -mid-13th c.
  7. Pre-Modern: mid-13th-14th c. (transition period)

Previous research has shown that the precursors of Mandarin DE in [V DE VP] verb complementation (DE1), attribution/nominalization (DE2), and pre-verbal secondary predicate (DE3) constructions have emerged by, and evolved into full-fledged constructions by the end of the Late Medieval Chinese period (L. Wang 1980, Ohta 1987, P. Yang 1989, Sun 1996, C. Liu 2001, C. Zhao 2002, see Chapter 3 for discussion about the early development of DE constructions). As will be discussed in Chapters 4-7, the results show that though predominantly distinctive in their respective functions and distributions, the DE constructions in Late Medieval Chinese already demonstrate certain degrees of collocational, functional, and structural overlaps. Considerable convergence of the DE constructions begins to be attested in Pre-Modern Chinese, particularly the Yuan Dynasty (AD 1279-1368), a pivotal period between the Late Medieval and Modern Chinese.
The merger of the DE constructions have taken place by the Yuan Dynasty (AD1271-1368), a period of Mongolian dominance. The period witnessed several drastic changes in the Chinese phonological system, e.g. the simplification of tones, vowel and coda inventories (L. Wang 1985). An assortment of some of the functions is illustrated by the following examples from Yuan Kan Za Ju San Shi Zhong (元刊雜劇三十種, henceforth Za Ju), a collection of drama scripts from the Yuan Dynasty (13th-14th c.).

In Za Ju, DE2 marks attributive modification and nominalization, as shown in (132)-(133).

(132) 济困的眾街坊 (元刊雜劇三十種)

ji-kun de zhong jiefang  
help-trouble DE many neighbor

‘Neighbors who help (us) in trouble’

(133) Nominalization/headless modification

zuo nu de zong xin-er fang-guai  
do daughter DE indulge heart-DIM let.out-rebel

‘(It is the case that) the one who is a daughter indulges in rebelling.’

The following sentences, where [V DE] is linked to another predicative event functioning as a verb complement, are attested with DE1, as in (134), and DE2, as in (135)-(137). It appears that DE2 and DE1 may be used interchangeably because of phonetic similarity, semantic parallel, and structural overlap (selected examples from Za Ju, 13th -14th c.):

(134) 我可也覲得尋常! (元刊雜劇三十種)

wo ke-ye qu de xunchang  
IS can.also look DE1 ordinary

‘I rather see them as ordinary.’
(135) 啼哭的摘膽剖心。（元刊雜劇三十種）

	ti-ku de zhai dan wan xin

cry DE2 rip gall gauge heart

‘Cry (so hard that it is as if) one’s gall was ripped and heart was gouged out.’
‘Cry in a manner (that it seemed like) one’s gall was ripped and heart was
gouged out.’

(136) 你孩兒吃的醉眼橫斜（元刊雜劇三十種）

ni hailer chi de zui yan heng-xie

2S child eat DE2 drunken eye slanted

‘Your child ate to the extent that his drunken eyes slanted.’
‘Your child ate in such a manner that his drunken eyes slanted.’

(137) 折倒的腰屈頭低。（元刊雜劇三十種）

zhedao de yao chu tou di

bow DE2 waist bent head lowered

‘Bowed to the extent that their waists were bent and heads lowered.’
‘Bowed in a manner that their waists were bent and heads lowered.’

The following examples where DE marks a modifying event in the pre-verbal

(138) 不住的罵寒儒，不住地推來搶去（元刊雜劇三十種）

bu-zhu de ma han-ru bu-zhu di tui-lai-qiang-qu

NEG-stop DE2 curse poor-scholar NEG-stop DE3 push-come-grab-go

‘Incessantly he curses the impoverished scholars, incessantly he jostles and pushes
around.’

(139) 劇地凍剝剝的雪上加霜！（元刊雜劇三十種）

chan di dong-bobo de xue shang jia shuang

suddenly DE3 freezing,REDU DE2 snow on add frost

‘Suddenly, it is freezing cold, snow piles upon frost (disasters are piling up on each
other.’)

(140) 勤勤的問當。（元刊雜劇三十種）

qingin de si wendang

frequent,diligent,REDU DE2 3 ask,greet

‘Frequently (or: diligently) ask after (one’s mother).

(141) 好生的送我到船上者，咱慢慢的相別！（元刊雜劇三十種）

haosheng de song wo dao chuan-shang zhe

good DE2 send 1S arrive ship-on IMP

zan manman de xiangbie

1P slow,REDU DE2 say,gooday

‘Well accompany me to the boat; we will slowly say our farewell to each other.’
The rich range of attested semantic relations DE2 can designate in Za Ju eludes a complete account here. The indistinction between the variant forms of DE may be a product of semantic and structural overlap, and equally likely, phonetic resemblance. As the following research of the history of DE constructions will reveal, the wide range of functions can be traced back to three etymologically distinct sources, one verbal and two nominal, which will be the thesis of this study. The orthographical representations of different uses of DE in Mandarin reflect to some extent the three major historical sources of Mandarin DE, but fail to capture much of the complexity of the interaction between the three constructions. The semantic, structural, as well as phonetic overlaps of the DE-constructions motivating such merge of use are worthy of exploration. The phenomenon has not been fully investigated, and the observations proposed here have to be verified by careful examination of the diachronic development and interaction between the DE-constructions.

The observations call for further examination with more extensive data in order to complete the semantic map for depictive and related notions. The development of DE-constructions will provide empirical data to evaluate the grammaticalization path suggested by existing semantic maps, where depictive is an intermediate category
between the development from (appositive) attributive modification to predicative adjectival on the one end, and adverbial relation on the other end.

The study of depictive constructions is largely restricted to a few Indo-European languages and highly inflected languages. The definition proposed by Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann (2004, Himmelmann and Schultze-Berndt 2005) excludes constructions such as complex and periphrastic predicates from the scope of secondary predication, as well as those that are not overtly marked for subordinate or adjunct status.

This research will instead approach the typology from the semantic pole and examine the properties and development of \textit{DE}-constructions used to express concepts in the domains related to secondary predication. From a synchronic perspective, the semantic range of these constructions reveals a close association between relevant conceptual categories. By examining the development of \textit{DE}-constructions from a diachronic perspective, we hope to refine the existing semantic maps, and reveal the conceptual or semantic motivations for the interaction between these constructions based on a number of crosslinguistically valid parameters.

1.10 Research questions

Given the aforementioned issues, the general goals of the research include the following:

- Based on Chinese data, extend the typology of secondary predication to incorporate languages employing strategies different from Indo-European languages or highly inflected languages.
- Examine the encodings of different semantic notions with different strategies in Mandarin, and the diachronic links between the encodings of different situation types.
• Situate secondary predication in the typological context of modifying and complex predicate constructions using both synchronic and diachronic Chinese data.

• Explore the semantic and morphosyntactic constraints on resultative, manner, and depictives as secondary predicates.

More specifically, the synchronic functions of \( DE \) reveal two pertinent issues. First, assuming the relative positions of the semantic categories on the map represent plausible paths of development from one construction to another, the diachronic paths of development of \( DE_1, DE_2, \) and \( DE_3 \) can provide further evidence to support the connection between the conceptual categories, or suggest modifications to the proposed developmental paths.

Second, given their overlap in semantic functions (both used to mark resultative, depictive, and adverbial meaning), it is worth examining how the constructions interact with each other through time. Furthermore, the diachronic development of \( DE \) should also be placed in the context of constructional network and typological changes in the history of Chinese, e.g. the development of verb serialization and verb compounding.

The research questions of the dissertation are the following:

• Do the synchronic functions and diachronic development of Mandarin \( DE \) constructions for secondary predication support the semantic maps proposed by Verkerk (2009) and van der Auwera and Malchukov (2005)?

• What do the historical development and interaction between the related constructions expressing different types of semantic notions reveal about theories of construction grammar and language change?
• What correlations between morphosyntactic encoding and semantic relations can be found based on the development of Mandarin strategies for secondary predication?

• What does the Mandarin data reveal about the correlation between typological features of a language and that of secondary predication?

1.11 Data and methodology

In Mandarin Chinese, DE is pronounced as [tə] (with neutral tone) in both attributive and predicative constructions. One of the most important factors that contribute to the indistinction of DE-constructions is phonological change — DE1, DE2 and DE3 had become phonetically similar by mid-14th century. The phonological changes are manifested by a comparison of the pronunciations of DE1 (得), DE2 (底的), and DE3 (地) in two rhyme dictionaries, Guangyun 廣韻 (1007-8) and Zhongyuan Yinyun 中原音韻 (1324) (reconstructions based on L. Wang 1980 and J. Ning 1985, respectively):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Guangyun</th>
<th>Zhongyuan Yinyun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DE1 (得)</td>
<td>[tək] &gt; [ti]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DE2 (底)</td>
<td>[təei] &gt; [ti]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(的)</td>
<td>[təek] &gt; [ti]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DE3 (地)</td>
<td>[di] &gt; [ti]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A comparison of the entries of 得, 底, 地, and 的 in the two rhyme dictionaries shows that the pronunciations of DE1, DE2 and DE3 had become similar by the time Zhongyuan Yinyun was compiled, with the only difference being tonal. Moreover, it is plausible that all three forms of DE had been phonetically reduced as grammatical markers, but this cannot be verified due to lack of data.

To limit the scope of the study, we focus on the interactions of the three DE-constructions in Late Medieval Chinese, before large-scale phonological changes have
rendered the three markers phonologically similar in Pre-Modern Chinese. The
dissertation will provide a detailed analysis of the development of DE1, DE2, and DE3 in
Late Medieval Chinese, particularly from the Tang to the Song-Jin Periods. Changes
happening outside of this time period will be discussed insomuch as they are relevant to
the establishment of the DE constructions.

The texts examined have been carefully selected to reflect the colloquial language
include Buddhist books, dialogue records, drama scripts, narratives and novels written in
vernacular language, to textbooks of Chinese for Korean speakers. A description of the
major texts consulted from the Late Medieval Chinese and the Pre-Modern Chinese
Periods is provided here (see Appendix for a full list of texts and electronic corpora.)

**Tang Dynasty (AD 618-907)**
- 敦煌變文 *Dunhuang Bian Wen* ‘Transformation Texts from Dunhuang’ (7th-9th
centuries)
  Narratives and stories written in vernacular language intended for advocating
  Buddhist doctrines to the general public.

**Five Dynasties (AD 907-960)**
- 祖堂集 *Zu Tang Ji* (AD 952)
  The earliest currently preserved collection of Chan Buddhism narratives (historical
documents of *chan zong* 禪宗 ‘School of Chan Buddhism’). The text includes
  narratives and documentation of dialogues among Buddhist monks.

**Song Dynasty (AD 960-1279)**
- 五燈會元 *Wu Deng Hui Yuan* ‘Collection of Five Canons’ (AD 1252)
  An anthology of five Chan Buddhist books from early 11th to mid-13th centuries. The
text also includes narratives and documentation of dialogues among Buddhist monks.

- 朱子語錄 *Zhu Zi Yu Lei* ‘Lectures of Zhuzi ’ (AD 1270)
  A collection of lecture notes of Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200) written by his students, who
came from various regions of China. Zhu Xi was born in today’s Jiangxi (江西)
Province, and lectured in various neighboring areas. The language of *Zhu Zi Yu Lei* is
argued to be based on “guanhua” (official language), with traces of southern dialects
(see discussion in §1.12).
• 張協狀元 Zhang Xie Zhuang Yuan ‘Zhang Xie, the Principle Graduate’ (12th-13th c.)
  A drama script collected and edited by scholars in Wenzhou (溫州).

• 五代史平話 Wu Dai Shi Ping Hua ‘A Historical Narrative of the Five Dynasties’ (circ. 13th century)
  A historical narrative written mostly in vernacular language and serving as the master script for storytellers.

Jin Dynasty (AD 1115-1234)
• 劉知遠 Liu Zhi Yuan (12th-13th c.)
  A drama script based on the story of the Emperor Gaozu (高祖) of the Later Han (後漢) Dynasty, Liu Zhi Yuan.

• 董解元西廂記 (Dong Jie Yuan) Xi Xiang Ji ‘The Story of the Western Wing (by Dong Jie Yuan)’ (12th-13th c.)
  A drama script based on the story of Yinying Zhiuan 封鶯傳 (Biography of Yingying, written by Yuan Zhen 元稹, AD 779-831).

Yuan Dynasty (AD 1271-1368)
• 元刊雜劇三十種 Yuan Kan Za Ju San Shi Zhong ‘Thirty Drama Scripts Published in the Yuan Dynasty’ (13th-14th c.)
  A collection of thirty drama scripts by various authors in the Yuan Dynasty.

1.12 Limitations of Data

This study is based on written documentation of historical Chinese, and like most studies on language change, relies on indirect evidence that may only reflect usage to a more or less extent. The data used in the study come from mixed sources, including electronic corpora, dictionaries of historical Chinese, modern printed copies of collected diachronic texts, as well as examples cited in the previous literature. Though older manuscripts are consulted occasionally when available, the data is mostly comprised of edited manuscripts, which may be ‘faithful’ to original text to varying degrees. As Traugott and Trousdale (2013) point out, because the syntactic structures have been prejudged in the edited texts, analysis based on such sources may be biased towards the intuition of the editors. This is a valid concern for the study of historical Chinese, which is typically written without any punctuation.
Diachronic investigation is especially restricted due to the availability of data. A balanced sample that reflects variability in genre, register, and dialectal differences is extremely difficult to maintain. There is little early documentation, for example, of historical Chinese in the informal register, and even rarer records of texts that reflect dialectal variations. Though we hope to select texts that represent regional differences, chances are that the written record reflects to some extent, the ‘prestige’ or ‘standard’ variety of Chinese. In addition, it is often unclear to what extent the language of the various texts reflects the mother tongue of their compilers and authors. Traces of influence from multiple dialects may also be observed in the language of a text. The language of Zu Tang Ji, for instance, has some traces the Southern Min dialect of Quanzhou (where the monks met, see R. Li 1999, X. Liu 1998), but is argued to reflect the Northern dialect of the capital, Chang’an from the preceding Tang Dynasty (which was used as a lingua franca), (T. Mei 1994, Sun 1996:5, M. Zhang 2003). The language of Zhu Zi Yu Lei (lecture notes of Zhu Xi), is argued to be based on guanhua (official language, the accepted ‘standard’), with traces of various southern dialects (Mei 1998:80-83, H. Yang 2001).

This study, therefore, does not intend to make an argument about the precise dialectal regions represented by a text. The results presented here are not intended to represent a complete survey of regional variation, but merely the variation in the usage of DE constructions shown in different texts. In Chapters 4-7, we will show that flexibility of construal was attested long before the DE constructions become phonetically similar, but did not become pervasive in the 13th-14th centuries, when changes in the phonological system in Chinese, and likely also phonetic reduction accompanying the
grammaticalization process, resulted in increasing phonetic resemblance of the DE constructions. The choice of an orthographical representation of DE is dependent on how closely a given context fits the prototypes of the subschemas of DE. Ambiguity in choice reflects multiple/conflicting criteria that fail to unambiguously link a particular instance to a schema, which may be functional, pragmatic, structural, and collocational. We suggest, therefore, that variation in the usage of DE in different texts validly demonstrates variation in construal, regardless of what dialect(s) the data is representative of.

Because the study is based on written forms alone, an issue also pertains to whether differentiation in writing reflects differentiation in mental representation (i.e. genuine variation in usage), or is merely coincidental because of lack of standardization. It may also raise the question to whether the mixing of written forms for different functions reflects genuine conceptual and functional overlap, or merely structural and phonetic parallels. As mentioned, we hope to mitigate this factor by focusing our investigation on Late Medieval Chinese, assuming that the pronunciations of the DE constructions are reasonably distinct at least until the 13th century, as indicated by a comparison of the forms in the rhyme dictionaries above. We are aware that there is no way to verify if there is any phonetic reduction or how the reduction works when DE is grammaticalizing, as there is no record of how the markers DE were actually pronounced in various constructions.

With the above valid concerns in mind, we take the position that (in)distinction in written documentation reflects the language users’ judgment based on a process of categorization, and the choices made represent a construal of the differences or similarities between categories or its exemplars. More importantly, because
constructional approaches consider both ‘form’ and ‘function’ as equally important in the creation and understanding of a construction, it does not rule out formal similarity as a factor of change. While it is not easy to single out the one factor responsible for the changes that have taken place or how the language user made a choice for a particular instance, the documentation still maintains adequate explanatory power, since the constructional approach embraces the possibility that there are multiple factors that jointly participate in a diachronic process.

1.13 Organization of the dissertation

The rest of the dissertation is organized follows. Chapter 2 discusses the morphophonological patterns that feature in the development of, and interactions between the DE constructions. Chapter 3 discusses the sources and precursors of DE1, DE2, and DE3 constructions and the early stages of their constructionalization. Chapter 4 focuses on the prototypical functions and distributions of DE2 and DE3 constructions in the Tang-Song Period. With the understanding of the characteristics of DE2 and DE3 constructions, Chapter 5-6 investigates how these constructions interact and extend to non-prototypical contexts. Chapter 7 examines further development of DE1 and DE2 constructions until the Yuan Dynasty, and illustrates how various formal and semantic parameters contribute to the overlapping distribution of the two constructions, and the creation of a more generalized schema marked by DE(2). Chapter 8 provides a synopsis of the findings and briefly introduces the development of the DE-constructions afterwards. It also discusses the implications of the dissertation for the typology of secondary predication and the constructionalist approach to language change.
Chapter 2

Morphophonological patterns of collocates of DE-marked constructions

2.1 Introduction

In Chapter 1, we have suggested that the DE constructions developed from different sources that initially had distinct functions and collocational preferences. Before investigating their respective trajectories of constructionalization in Chapters 3-7, Chapter 2 will introduce one essential dimension pertaining to the use of the DE constructions – the morphophonological forms of the collocating elements. Here we discuss the morphophonological patterns that define the selectional preferences of the DE1, DE2, and DE3-marked constructions attested in the sample (7th-13th centuries). An account of the structural templates is fundamental to understanding the formal composition of the DE-constructions, and to explaining the diachronic changes of the construction prototypes.

The description of the selectional preferences of the DE-constructions is based on several interrelated factors. Formally, a DE-marked element may be classified in terms of two parameters, each of which is gradient. First, an expression may be classified based on whether it is encoded by one of the “descriptive” templates (see §2.2.4 below for a definition) or has “regular” (non-descriptive) morphophonology. Second, a non-descriptive expression may be classified for its morphophonological complexity based on number of syllables, and the degree of analyzability and compositionality of the expression. A simplified scheme of classification is shown as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Descriptive</th>
<th>Non-descriptive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Simple</td>
<td>Complex</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The formal parameters feature differently in the two themes of this study: the distinction between \texttt{DE2} vs. \texttt{DE3} constructions (Chapters 4-6), and \texttt{DE1} vs. \texttt{DE2} constructions (Chapter 7).

### 2.2 The “regular” vs. “descriptive” continuum

This section discusses the regular vs. descriptive continuum. One major theme of our investigation involves the interaction between a \texttt{DE2}-marked nominal modifier and a \texttt{DE3}-marked secondary predicate (Chapters 4-6). The two types of modifying constructions have distinctive collocational patterns, which also reflect their distinct information-packaging functions. The most important parameter between the morphological form of a \texttt{DE2}-vs. \texttt{DE3}-marked modifying element is the descriptive vs. regular (non-descriptive) distinction. Initially, \texttt{DE2} constructions are distinct from \texttt{DE3}-constructions in that the former disfavor descriptive templates, while the latter favor them. Because descriptives are predominantly associated with \texttt{DE3}-constructions in the Song-Jin Period, much of the discussion about the descriptive vs. non-descriptive distinction will focus on the collocates of \texttt{DE3}.

Elements collocating with the \texttt{DE}-marked constructions fall on a continuum of regular vs. descriptive morphophonology. Chinese descriptives are semantically and structurally (phonologically) distinctive words that provide vivid descriptions and subjective evaluations of sensory experiences (see §2.2.2). Like all constructions, Chinese descriptives are prototype categories defined based on Chinese-specific structural and semantic criteria, and the subschemas of descriptives evolve and change over time.
The functions of Chinese descriptive expressions overlap significantly with what have been called ideophones (for African and Native American languages), mimetics (Japanese and Korean, e.g. Akita 2009), or expressives (Southeast Asian languages, e.g. Doke 1935:118, cf. Klamer 2001 on expressives). Ideophones are semantically and phonologically marked words often argued to be sound-symbolic. The semantic and structural markedness of ideophones can be captured by the following two definitions:

‘A vivid representation of an idea in sound. A word, often onomatopoeic, which describes a predicate, qualitative or adverb in respect to manner, color, sound, smell, action, state or intensity’. (Doke 1935:118)

‘[M]arked words that depict sensory imagery.’ (Dingemanse 2012:654)

2.2.1 Semantic range of ideophones

Ideophones are semantically distinctive in that they present sensory imagery, ‘the perceptual knowledge that derives from sensory perception of the environment and the body’ (Dingemanse 2012:655). More significantly, ideophones differ from regular descriptions in that they are understood as vivid impressions of sensory and perceptual experiences, often accompanied by performative gestures and uttered with emphatic acoustic foregrounding in actual use (Dingemanse 2012:657).

The sensory imagery depicted by ideophones includes not only perceptions of the external world, but also inner feelings and sensations. Depending on the experiential domains depicted, ideophones can be divided into three broad semantic categories (Akita 2009) as illustrated in (i)-(iii): (i) phonomimes, which represent mimicry of physical sounds, (ii) phenomimes, which represent visual or textual experiences, (iii) psychomimes, which represent internal experiences, such as bodily sensations and emotions, as illustrated by (1)-(3). The semantic range of experiences that may be expressed by ideophones is language-specific.
(1) [phonomimes]:
   a. Chinese (my example):  
      *xilili*  
      ‘(sound of) rain’
      *go’rogoro*  
      ‘thunder’

(2) [phenomimes]
   a. Emai (Schaefer 2001:243)
      ólí  áftánmi  ó o guo  yéyéyé
      the bird  SC  H  shake  with_a_quiver
      ‘The bird quivers.’ [lit. shakes with a quiver]
   b. Siwu (Dingemanse 2011:192)
      mũnũmũnũ   ‘sparkling of light’
      wũrũfũ   ‘fluffy’
      gake-no  ue-kara  koisiga  ba^rabara  oti-te  ki-ta.
      cliff-GEN  top-from  pebble-NOM  MIM  fall-CONJ  come-PST
      ‘Pebbles came falling *scatteringly* from the top of the cliff.’
   d. Chinese (example from *Xi Xiang Ji*, 13\textsuperscript{th} century)
      吃搭搭地拖将柳陰裏去 (西廂記)
      *chidada*  di  tuo  jian  liu  yin  li  qu
      IDEO  DE3  drag  take willow shadow  in  go
      ‘Drag (him) into the shadow of the willows with *rapid and sudden movements.*’

(3) [psychomimes]
   Japanese:  *u^kiuki*  
   ‘feeling happy and lighthearted’ (Akita 2009)

The semantic domains can be ranked in an implicational hierarchy in terms of the likelihood of a concept being expressed as an ideophone in a language, as suggested by Akita (2009) and Dingemanse (2012).

Akita (2009)  
Phonomimes  <  Phenomimes  <  Psychomimes

Dingemanse (2012:663)  
sound  <  movement  <  visual  <  other sensory patterns  <  other sensory perceptions  <  inner feelings and cognitive states

The three-way semantic distinction proposed by Akita (2009) will be adopted to describe the semantics of Chinese descriptive expressions.
2.2.2 Structural markedness

The distinctive semantics and depictive power of ideophones go hand in hand with their structural markedness. Ideophones are often noted for their marked morphophonological patterns compared to ordinary words. Dingemanse argues (2011: 43) that ideophones are commonly characterized by word structures deviant from regular words in that language, and tend to undergo expressive word-formation processes like lengthening and reduplication. Among these, association with reduplication, as illustrated by (1)-(3) above, is perhaps the most common feature of ideophones crosslinguistically.

The specific formal properties of ideophones that mark their special morphophonological status are, however, largely subject to the conventions of an individual language. Grammatically, ideophones tend to be only loosely integrated into the sentence, if at all (Dingemanse 2011: 43). The structural features vary across languages.

2.2.3 Iconic value

The feeling of vividness or liveliness conveyed by ideophones is often linked to their iconic value. A general belief about ideophones is that they are pervasively iconic, i.e. there is a non-arbitrary mapping between meaning and the linguistic gesture. Iconicity in ideophones, however, comes in different types and degrees. Dingemanse (2011, 2012) places a cautionary note on viewing all ideophones as iconic or exhibiting the same degree and type of iconicity. The first issue noted by Dingemanse is that ideophones are never exclusively iconic. Like all linguistic signs, they are symbolic in that they are subject to the conventionalization of a language, and indexical to the extent that they point to perceptions.
Secondly, there are different types of iconicity at play in ideophones (Dingemanse 2011:165). Dingemanse distinguishes between two types of iconicity in ideophones, *imagic iconicity* and *diagrammatic iconicity*. Imagic iconicity in ideophones pertains when the sounds of the word mimics a sound in the real world, which is easy to identify in the existence of onomatopoeia, e.g. the phonomimes shown in (1) above. Imagic iconicity in ideophones, however, has its obvious limitations because only sounds can be represented in the modality of speech. Furthermore, the linguistic re-creation of a physical sound is never a faithful representation of the original, but restricted by the physical limitations of the human vocal tract and the phonemic inventory and phonological constraints of a particular language. In fact, the majority of ideophones are not onomatopoeic.

*Diagrammatic iconicity* pertains when a relation between forms bears a resemblance to a relation between meanings. Dingemanse further distinguishes between two types of diagrammatic iconicity: *gestalt iconicity*, which involves a resemblance between word structure and the spatio-temporal structure of the perceived event, and *relative iconicity*, which is about the mapping of a relation between forms onto a relation between meanings.

Gestalt iconicity is perhaps most apparent when the syllable structure of the form represents some aspectual property of an event, e.g. the use of reduplication to represent aspectual properties such as iteration, continuation, or distributed events, e.g. Siwu *mùnyêmùnyê* ‘sparking, light’ and *gidigidi* ‘running energetically’, and the use of monosyllabic ideophones for instantaneous telic events (Dingemanse 2011:47).
Relative iconicity differs from gestalt iconicity in that it concerns the relationship between multiple lexical signs bearing a resemblance to multiple meanings. Dingemanse (2011:49) illustrates relative iconicity with Siwu ideophone ‘constellations’ with the same templatic morphology. The constellations of ideophones, which differ minimally from each other in form and meaning, consist of a stable segmental template and a variable part in which members of a sound-symbolic series appear. The vowel slots (represented by V) in the template $pVnbVlVV$ can be occupied by /ɔ/, /u/, or /i/, resulting in modifications to the basic meaning ‘protruding (of the belly).’

\[
pimbilii \\
pumbuluu \\
pomboloo
\]

‘protruding (of the belly)’ (/i/ is smallest, /ɔ/ is largest)

Although there have been proposals by Chinese etymologists that sound-symbolism\(^1\) existed in Old Chinese, the issue of relative iconicity cannot be further pursued in this study due to lack of information on the exact acoustic properties of diachronic Chinese descriptive constructions.

The final argument of Dingemanse, and perhaps the most pertinent to our investigation of Chinese “descriptives”, is that iconic value is not a requirement for ideophony. Even when the notion of iconicity has been extended to include the diagrammatic mapping between relations between forms and relations between meanings, it is still difficult to argue for the existence of apparent iconic value to many ideophones,

\(^1\) The tradition of explaining a word with another word with the same, or a similar pronunciation is called sheng xun (聲訓) ‘lit.sound-interpret’. This is illustrated by the following entry of a dictionary, Shi Ming (釋名, 3rd c.).

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
\text{mang} & \text{mang} & \text{ye} & \text{mang mang} & \text{wu} & \text{su} & \text{fian} & \text{ye} \\
\text{blind} & \text{vast,borderless} & \text{PRT} & \text{vast_borderless.REDU} & \text{NEG} & \text{with} & \text{see} & \text{PRT}
\end{array}
\]

‘Mang (blind) (means) mang (vast and borderless); vast and borderless with nothing to be seen.’

This tradition is based on the belief that sounds are related to meaning, and words that are similar in pronunciations may be semantically related. This method is often criticized for its vagueness, and is no longer adopted today.
especially those referring to internal experiences, e.g. there is no obvious iconic link, for example, between the Gbaya form sélélé and its meaning ‘absolute silence’ (Noss 2011:263, cited in Dingemanse 2012:657), or Siwu fututu and its meaning ‘purely white’ (Dingemanse 2011:50), or the Chinese form shabibi and ‘awkward and pretentious action’. It is often reported that native speakers of a language tend to view ideophones as good depictions of the sensory experience, even when there is no apparent link between their form and meaning. Such an intuitive perception of iconic value in ideophones is supported by personal communication with native speakers (Dingemanse 2011), as well as experimental results based on novel words (Akita 2009 on Japanese, with varying structural similarity to ideophones).

The explanation for such an intuition, Dingemanse (2011) suggests, is not iconicity per se, but rather that ideophones set up a depictive frame with their unusual structural properties, and invite people to treat them as a performance of a sensory imagery, a phenomenon he refers to as ‘coerced iconicity.’ The depictive power of an ideophone is endowed by a culturally conventionalized structural (acoustic) frame, which renders them as perceptually salient deviations from ordinary words in a specific language. Dingemanse compares the special status of ideophones in the stream of speech as the frame of a painting, and their acoustic properties as the canvas of a painting, which jointly invite the listener to visualize the scene as if it were physically experienced. Just like the imitative value of a picture is irrelevant to its ability to depict, a transparent iconic relationship is not required to evoke the listener’s imagination of actually being in the scene. Instead, the speakers of a language are socially conditioned to treat ideophones as adequate renditions of the depictive element, regardless of its imitative value.
Lexical iconicity, in the same vein, is only partly responsible for the “expressiveness” and “vividness” of Chinese “descriptives”. “Descriptive” templates, which prototypically involve reduplication, are Chinese-specific schemas that should be viewed as a “frame” that invites listeners to savor the expressions as depictions.

Essentially, the conclusion despite some commonly observed characteristics of ideophones crosslinguistically, the structural properties and semantic range of ideophones, like all constructions, are language-specific.

2.2.4 Morphophonological patterns of prototypical of descriptives

Among the most prominent of DE3-collocates constructions are templates involving reduplication. Chinese descriptive forms can be easily identified by their structural markedness, typically involving reduplication. The term reduplication is used here in the sense that the expression is composed of (at least) two syllables that are identical or partially similar in form, without assuming that the expression is necessarily derived from a base form. Reduplication typically increases the vividness of description and provides subjective quantification and qualification to the property or event involved.

It is important to note, however, that descriptives are also lexical constructions defined based on semantic and functional prototypes. An expression can match prototypical descriptive structures and semantics to varying degrees, resulting in more central and more peripheral “deviations” of descriptives.

Reduplicated templates fall into the following major types: AA, ABB, and AABB. Expressions that involve partial reduplication, e.g. alliteration, rhyming, or similarity in vowel quality, may also be considered more peripheral schemas extended from reduplication (see §2.3.3.1-2). Because the primary focus of our discussion is to
establish the patterns attested as DE-marked predicatives and secondary predicates, the
majority of the expressions discussed in §2.2.4 and §2.3 are attested with DE3, if not
specifically indicated. An asterisk (*) is placed behind an expression attested with DE2 in
these constructions.

2.2.4.1 AA Type reduplication

The AA type reduplication has three primary effects – (a) to provide vivid
descriptions of perceptual and psychological experiences, and (b) to provide subjective
quantification or qualification of a property on a gradient scale, (c) to describe continuity,
durativity, and progression.

2.2.4.1.1 AA templates that provide vivid representation of experiences

The first type of AA template represents vivid depictions of perceptual or
psychological experiences. This function is characteristic of the majority of the instances
of the AA template attested in Old Chinese (Ohta 1987[1958]:158). Many of them do not
have a corresponding base form A, or an A form is not frequently attested with a similar
meaning. The AA form as a unit functions as a descriptive. A few examples are provided
below for the three general semantic categories of mimes proposed by Akita (2009).

• **Phonomime** – mimicry of sound emission
  
  *dongdong* 咝啣 ‘sound of drum’
  *dangdang* 嘛啣 ‘sound of bell’
  *hoho* 呼呼 ‘sound of snoring’
  *nuonuo* 擣揔 ‘sound of chattering’
  *zhazha* 噵啣 ‘sound of chirping’

• **Phenomime** – description and representation of movement, visual or textural
  experiences
  (a) Visual experience
  *jiaojiao* 咻啣 ‘bright and white’
  *zhanzhan* 湛湛 ‘clear and deep (of water)’
  *congcong* 擀搲 ‘numerous and in disorder’
  *luoluo* 裸裸 ‘completely naked and exposed’


cuicui 淬淬 ‘pure and deep color as quenched metal’
mangmang 茫茫 ‘vast and borderless (of space)’
tantan 坦坦 ‘flat and unblocked (of space)’

(b) Manner of motion
bobo 波波 ‘hassle about, move back and forth’ (bo: wave)
youyou 悠悠 ‘run long and continuously’
kuan kuan 款款 ‘move slowly’
jian jian 漸漸 ‘move gradually and slowly’
tao tao 滔滔 ‘surging (of water), garrulous (of speech)’
gung gung 輾轟 ‘billowing, surging’> ‘move about or live purposelessly’
yang yang 揚揚 ‘complacently and proudly (speech or attitude)’

(c) Speed
jian jian 漸漸 ‘gradual.REDU’
jiji 急急 ‘hasty.REDU’ (does not seem to be quantified via REDU., but seems to be a regular property)
xu xu 魅魅 ‘in secret, stealthily’

• Psychomime – description of internal experience
sensen 森森 ‘fearsome, awe-inspiring’
xing xing 惺惺 ‘awake, discerning’
zizi 志志 ‘to one’s content, without constraint’
men men 悶闷 ‘sorrowful, dejected’
jian jian 煊煢 ‘anxious <fry.REDU’
yanyan 噸懶 ‘weak, listless’
xixi 飬飄 ‘feeling restless and uneasy’
juju 拘拘 ‘heart-throbbing, indicating uneasiness’
pipi 骤豎 ‘heart-pounding, indicating uneasiness’
xing xing 惺惺 ‘alert, awake, clear-minded’

2.2.4.1.2 AA pattern created via reduplication of a regular property

Another function of AA reduplication is to provide subjective quantification or evaluation of a property that represents multiple values on a gradient scale. Most of these are derived form reduplication of a regular monosyllabic property concept. In such cases, reduplication of these concepts may intensify or downplay the degree of the property, depending on the semantics of the property and the syntactic function it performs. It is important to note, however, that reduplication does not provide a definite quantification
of the properties, that is, a reduplicated property in the AA template does not necessarily indicate a degree that is ‘more A’ or ‘less A’ on a scale compared to the monosyllabic form A. In some cases, reduplication may also be associated with intimate or affectionate tones.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantics</th>
<th>glossing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Degree/scale:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weiwei</td>
<td>微微</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luelue</td>
<td>略略</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keke</td>
<td>可可</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yueyue</td>
<td>越越</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qiaqia</td>
<td>恰恰</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shenshen</td>
<td>深深</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distance:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yuanyuan</td>
<td>遠遠</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaoyao</td>
<td>遙遙</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pinpin</td>
<td>頻頻</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>changchang</td>
<td>常常/長長</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zaozao</td>
<td>早早</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Size</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xiaoxiao</td>
<td>小小</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dada</td>
<td>大大</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>changchang</td>
<td>長長</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical &gt; manner</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qingqing</td>
<td>輕輕</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mental &gt; speed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jiji</td>
<td>急急</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haohao</td>
<td>好好</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.4.1.3 Reduplication of an object concept

A final type of AA reduplication involves reduplication of object concepts. This is a peripheral function, and usually the object is a measurement of the progression of an event.

- [manner/progression of event]
  
  jiejie 篩篩 ‘notch.REDU > step by step, successively’
  didi 滴滴 ‘drop.REDU > drop by drop’

(4) 篩篩地看見許多道理（朱子語類）
  jiejie di kanjian xuduo daoli
  notch.REDU DE3 see many great_principle
  ‘(He) sees many great principles notch by notch (successively).’

(Zhu Zi Yu Lei, AD 1270)
Reduplication of object concepts may also have distributive and collective functions, but these do not seem to be highly associated with DE3 in the initial stage. The attested instances listed below are associated with DE2, one in an equational sentence, shown in (6), the other two occur in structures that are intermediate between attribution and predication, shown in (7)-(8) (see Chapters 5-6).

- **[distributive]**
  - renren* 人人 ‘person.\text{REDU} > everyone’
  - niannian* 年年 ‘year.\text{REDU} > every year, year by year’

- **[collective]**
  - shuangshuang* 雙雙 ‘pair.\text{REDU} > two, both (together)’

(6) 祇是人人底。(五燈會元)

\[\text{zhi} \text{ shi} \text{ renren} \text{ di}\]

simply COP person.\text{REDU} DE2

‘This is simply everyone’s (something everyone has).’

\[\text{(Wu Deng Hui Yuan, AD 1252)}\]

(7) 年年的光景如梭 （西廂記）

\[\text{niannian} \text{ de} \text{ guangjing ru suo}\]

year.\text{REDU} DE2 time like shuttle

‘Every year/year by year, the time is like a shuttle.’

‘The time every year is like a shuttle.’

\[\text{(Xi Xiang Ji, 13}^{\text{th}} \text{c.)}\]

(8) 我雙雙底早尋思貧女。（張協狀元）

\[\text{wo} \text{ shuangshuang} \text{ di} \text{ zao xunxi pin nu}\]

1 two.\text{REDU} DE2 early think.of poor woman

‘We two (or: we both) soon think of the poor woman.’

\[\text{(Zhang Xie Zhuang Yuan, 13}^{\text{th}} \text{c.)}\]

**2.2.4.2 ABB template**

Compared to the AA template, the ABB template is relatively infrequent in Archaic Chinese (Ohta 1987[1958]), but appears to be somewhat productive in my sample of
Medieval Chinese texts. The template consists of a monosyllabic element (A) and a disyllabic reduplicated element (BB). Some BB elements may function independently, but some are only found in the ABB template. There are four primary combinations in the ABB pattern in terms of the relations between A and BB.

2.2.4.2.1 The head-modifier ABB pattern

(a) A = property concept; BB = ideophone that further qualifies and enriches the semantics of A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Glossing</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gan-bobo</td>
<td>乾暴暴乾剥剥‘dry-cracking.IDEO’</td>
<td>(very) dry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hei-manman</td>
<td>黑漫漫‘black-vast.REDU’</td>
<td>vastly dark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fu-bibi</td>
<td>浮逼逼‘float-imminent.REDU’</td>
<td>afloat, unsteady (mentally uncertain)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lu-jiongjiong</td>
<td>露壓壓‘exposed-conspicuous.REDU’</td>
<td>lucid and conspicuous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leng-qiaoqiao</td>
<td>冷湫湫‘cold-sad.REDU’</td>
<td>sadly cold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qu-wanwan</td>
<td>曲彎彎‘bent-curved.REDU’</td>
<td>curved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huo-popo</td>
<td>活潑潑‘alive-lively.IDEO’</td>
<td>lively, vivacious(ly)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man-songsong</td>
<td>慢鬆鬆‘slow-loose.REDU’</td>
<td>loosely tied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ming-jiaojiao</td>
<td>明皎皎‘bright-white.and.bright.IDEO’</td>
<td>bright and white</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) A = action/event concept; BB = ideophone that further describes the manner or result of A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Glossing</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e-lulu</td>
<td>痞濕濕阿濕濕‘defecate-wet.REDU’</td>
<td>lit. wet from defecation (‘drippy’ with nonsense)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xiao-yinyin</td>
<td>笑吟吟‘smile-smile.IDEO’</td>
<td>smile slightly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di-liuliu</td>
<td>滴滴滴‘drop-turn.IDEO’</td>
<td>turn round and round</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xu-guagua</td>
<td>簸撲撲‘chatter-sound_of_chatter.IDEO’</td>
<td>chatter incessantly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ju-zhongzhong</td>
<td>居中中‘remain-middle.REDU’</td>
<td>remain in the middle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bao-hoho*</td>
<td>鮮齁齁*‘full-snorl.IDEO’</td>
<td>full and satiated</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.4.2.2 The subject-predicate ABB pattern

A = object concept, BB = ideophone that provides descriptive information of A.

The object concept represented by A and the descriptive information encoded by BB are in a subject-predicate relationship. The subject is usually a body part or a prop (e.g. weather) in the background, thus (unsurprisingly) the subject-predicate ABB expression is predicated of the real human subject.
Example | Glossing | Meaning
---|---|---
yan-xuanxuan | ‘eye-hang.REDU’ | with eyes handing (expect anxiously)
mao-shenshen | ‘hair-long.hair.IDEO’ | hairy, with long, messy hair
kou-mimi | ‘mouth-chatter.IDEO’ | chatter incessantly
lei-wangwang | ‘tear-water.full.IDEO’ | tearful, brimming with tears
nong-didi | ‘pus-drip.REDU’ | drippy with pus
yu-llin | ‘rain-pour.REDU’ | rainy, with rain pouring down

### 2.2.4.2.3 ABB forms with no apparent semantic head

These are ABB forms with no apparent semantic head, but function as a unit. These are usually phonomimes, but may also include phenomines.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
pululu | sound of things bumping together |
xilingling (*) | sound of incessant rain |
gulu | sound of rolling intestines; extremely hungry |
chidada | sound and manner of rapid movement |
yidada | sound and manner of grappling |
shabibi | act in an awkward and pretentious way |

### 2.2.4.3 The AABB template

The AABB templates are rare with DE3 in the 10th-13th century texts – only 11 types are found. Though not highly frequent in this period, the AABB template is apparently linked to other reduplicated patterns (AA, ABB) via partial formal and functional similarity. The primary semantic feature of the AABB template (in this period) is to provide vivid depictions of the related experience.

Like the AA and ABB templates, an instantiation of the AABB template may be linked to other templates in various ways. Some AABB forms are linked to a disyllabic AB form; some are linked to an AA and/or a BB form. An AABB may also be linked to an ABB form. There are also AABB forms that do not correspond to, and therefore are not derived from, reduplication of any base form. (AB represents non-reduplicated, disyllabic compounds.) It is important to note that the AABB forms do not necessarily
have corresponding base forms, and the same form may also be connected to and derived from various processes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Corresponding forms and related templates</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Glossing</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AA；BB &lt;tangtang&gt;＜mimi＞</td>
<td>tangtang-mimi</td>
<td>grand.REDU-dense-REDU</td>
<td>堂堂密密</td>
<td>显著并广泛</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AB&lt;youyou&gt;＜fanfan＞</td>
<td>youyou-fanfan</td>
<td>run_long.REDU-go_broad.REDU</td>
<td>悠悠汙汙</td>
<td>广泛和普遍</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AB &lt;mangdang&gt;</td>
<td>mangmangdangdang</td>
<td>vast_borderless.REDU</td>
<td>萧萧荡荡</td>
<td>漫长而广泛</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AB &lt;mengtong&gt;</td>
<td>mengmengtongtong</td>
<td>dim_vague.REDU</td>
<td>曼曼童童</td>
<td>模糊</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AB &lt;tasha&gt;</td>
<td>tatashasha*</td>
<td>dilatory and careless_REDU</td>
<td>聊聊蹙蹙</td>
<td>疏忽和草率</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AB, AA &lt;lengqing&gt;＜lengleng＞</td>
<td>lenglengqingqing</td>
<td>cold_sad.REDU</td>
<td>冷冷清清</td>
<td>冷清</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AB &lt;zhaoling&gt;</td>
<td>zhaozhaolingling</td>
<td>bright_clear-minded.REDU</td>
<td>昭昭凝凝</td>
<td>明亮和谨慎</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AB &lt;zimei&gt;</td>
<td>zizimeimei</td>
<td>beautiful_charming.REDU</td>
<td>婆婆媚媚</td>
<td>美丽和迷人</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AB &lt;buotengten＞g＞</td>
<td>buobuotengteng</td>
<td>roll_rise</td>
<td>士士士士腾腾</td>
<td>腾起</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>duoduohuohuo</td>
<td>sound of mumble</td>
<td>咕咕和和</td>
<td>咕咕</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xiuxiuxiaxia</td>
<td>sound of sobbing</td>
<td>嘤嘤啜啜</td>
<td>啰嗦</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>renrendada</td>
<td>sound of chatter</td>
<td>唆唆唆唆</td>
<td>喃喃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ninirire*</td>
<td>sound of mumbling</td>
<td>呲呫呫呫</td>
<td>呲呫</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A simplified network of the AABB template and other morphological templates is provided in Figure 2.1. The dotted lines represent partial mapping, and the solid lines represent full mapping.
Figure 2.1 The ABBB template and the network of related templates

Figure 2.1 shows that the ABBB template and other descriptive templates are linked in a network of family resemblance based on formal similarity. As already mentioned, the ABBB template merely represents a constructional blueprint without presuming a single derivational process - instances of this pattern may represent a reduplication of disyllabic AB forms, as the case of mengmengtongtong < reduplication of mengtong, or a combination of two AA patterns (i.e. AA+BB), as the case of youyoufanfan < youyou+fanfan. An instance of an ABBB pattern may also be partially linked to another AA string, or an ABB string, such as buobuotengteng < buobuo, buotengteng. Finally, an ABBB string, such as duoduohuohuo, may not correspond to any base forms.

2.2.4.4 Descriptive templates: Interim summary

It is essential to note that the classification does not assume that the attested instances of a template are necessarily “derived” from the same process, or that each reduplicated expression has a corresponding “base form”. An instance may be sanctioned by and connected to multiple templates. The expression lei-wangwang ‘tearful, lit tear-
watery.REDU’, for example, may be linked to the AA template, with lei ‘tear(s)’ functioning as its subject. It may also be aligned with the ABB template.

A general feature of all reduplicated templates is the perspectivization of time. Perceptual and mental phenomena encoded in reduplicated templates, in general, are likely to be construed as dynamic and transient. This is true of reduplicated templates that describe movement and action concepts, which are inherently dynamic and transient, but the dynamic construal also applies to perceptual properties and experiences encoded by reduplicated templates – aside from providing a stroke of vividness, the templates also indicate that the speaker is giving a subjective quantification, qualification, and evaluation of the properties, which makes these paradigms less compatible with a categorical, permanent, or inherent construal.

On the surface, the most discernable characteristic of descriptives is their structural markedness, which makes them stand out from regular words and phrases. The reduplicated templates are easily identifiable, structurally marked patterns that are highly associated with the transient conceptualization and subjective evaluation of events. There are expressions that have prototypical descriptive semantics, but are not encoded by reduplicated templates, e.g. monosyllabic phonomimes. The partially reduplicated templates (or partial resemblance) are also peripheral cases because of their partial similarity to reduplicated templates in terms of their semantics and formal properties (partial reduplication). They also bear resemblance to regular disyllabic words. These are therefore probably peripheral or borderline cases of “descriptives”.

In sum, the distinction between regular and descriptive expressions is dependent both on semantic and structural grounds. Structurally, descriptives are defined based on
their formal compatibility/similarity to a set of templates, typically involving reduplication. An expression may also contain a high iconic value (most prototypically imagic iconicity) while not bearing a formal resemblance to a reduplicated descriptive template, e.g. *cui* 吼 ‘sound of (something) snapping’.

2.3 The word (simple) vs. phrase/clause (complex) continuum

Regular (non-descriptive) expressions are morphological patterns not encoded in reduplicated patterns, i.e. expressions that do not conform to marked descriptive morphophonology and semantics. The non-reduplicated patterns are not dedicated to expressing descriptive semantics, and are thus usually more likely to be construed as regular descriptions, instead of vivid or impressionistic depictions.

Non-descriptive expressions fall on a continuum of “simple words” and “complex phrases/clauses”. It seems fit to stress that “wordhood” may be defined on various grounds, and is, as far as any proposed criterion may delimit, a matter of degree. Previous discussion (e.g. Haspelmath 2011) has yielded no typologically acknowledged definition of “word”, and the notion is particularly problematic in Chinese (Chao 1968:136-8, Packard 2000:ch.2). Packard (2000:ch.2) discusses various criteria under which the notion of “word” may be defined, including orthographic conventions, sociological salience (a sociological word, Chao 1968:136-8), ‘listedness’ in the mental lexicon, phonological autonomy, output of a word-formation process, syntactic independence, and cognitive relevance to linguistic operations.

The notion of ‘word’ relevant to the DE constructions is a compilation of morphophonological complexity, analyzability, and semantic compositionality.
Non-descriptive descriptions fall on a cline of morphosyntactic complexity. One of the measures of complexity is phonological weight (number of syllables). Simply put, monosyllabic and disyllabic expressions are more likely to be treated as simple words, while expressions that contain at least 3 syllables are more likely to be considered complex expressions.

The complexity of an expression pertains to the selectional preferences of \( \text{DE}_1 \) and \( \text{DE}_3 \)-marked constructions. \( \text{DE}_1 \) constructions select (predominantly monosyllabic) “simple” expressions over complex expressions. In terms of non-descriptive expressions, \( \text{DE}_3 \) seems to prefer simple words rather than complex expressions. Given that monosyllabic expressions are always “simple”, the issue with wordhood pertains to expressions that are two or more syllables in length.

### 2.3.1 Monosyllabic/simple (M)

Among the non-reduplicated patterns are monosyllabic expressions that are not further analyzable in terms of their internal structures. A monosyllabic element tends to become entrenched with \( \text{DE} \) as a unit and functions as a disyllabic word. Some of these will be revisited based on their semantic classes along with the discussions of \( \text{DE}_3 \) (§3.5.3, §4.3.2) and \( \text{DE}_2 \) (§5.3) secondary predicates.

- \( \text{te-di} \) 特地 ‘especially, lit. special-DE3’
- \( \text{zuo-di} \) 坐地 ‘sit, be seated, lit. sit-DE3’
- \( \text{pu-di} \) 撞地 ‘sound of falling, \text{SOUND.fall.down-DE3}’
- \( \text{cui-di} \) 嚓地 ‘sound of snapping, \text{SOUND.snap-DE3}’
- \( \text{hei-di} \) 黑地 ‘in the dark, lit. black-DE3’
- \( \text{che-di}* \) 徹底 ‘thoroughly, completely, lit. complete-DE2.bottom’

### 2.3.2 Expressions with two or more syllables

The disyllabic expressions that collocate with \( \text{DE}_3 \) as (mostly secondary) predicates are largely idiomatic or lexicalized units, though they vary in internal structure,
compositionality, and analyzability. Disyllabic strings are more likely to be analyzed as lexicalized units. Theoretically, lexical units differ from regular, complex expressions, but there is a grey area in between.

Non-descriptive expressions with two or more syllables fall on a continuum of complexity in terms of their compositionality and analyzability. Compositionality is concerned with the extent to which the link between form and meaning is transparent. From a constructional point of view, compositionality is best thought of in terms of match or mismatch between aspects of form and aspects of meaning (see Francis and Michaelis 2003 on incongruence and mismatch, and Traugott and Trousdale 2013:19). The Chinese compound word *qing-xin* ‘cordially, lit. pour-heart’, for example, is less compositional than *duo-jian* ‘shrug one’s shoulder (from perspiration), lit. shrug-shoulder’.

Analyzability is concerned with the extent to which speakers recognize, and treat distinctly, those component parts (Traugott and Trousdale 2013:19). The disyllabic expression *qing-xin*, though idiomatic, is more analyzable, for example, than the disyllabic binding word *douhou* ‘invigorated’ (see §2.3.3.1). Phonological weight, compositionality, and analyzability all play a role in the probability of an expression to be conceptualized by a complex expression. Particularly pertinent is the case of disyllabic expressions.

Table 2.1 illustrates that disyllabic words may differ in terms of how much of their meanings can be associated with its component parts, and whether a speaker may recognize and analyze these component parts. Note that although shown as binary
features, both compositionality and analyzability are gradient concepts and may vary by speakers.

| Table 2.1 Analyzability and compositionality in disyllabic units |
|-------------------------|-----------------|----------------|------------------|
| leiluo  | open, upright  | -              | No               | No               |
| zuo-zi  | (resist) with utmost effort | make-death | No               | Yes              |
| chang-lian  | continuously  | long-connect | Yes              | Yes              |
| qing-xin  | sincerely      | pour-heart    | No               | Yes              |

2.3.2.1 Disyllabic words/units (simple or compounded)

A disyllabic word in Chinese is an expression that is two syllables in length and functions as a semantically, pragmatically, and intonationally independent unit. Chinese words are commonly disyllabic units, though longer words can certainly be created via compounding. Many juxtaposed elements become lexicalized units and behave like individual words, instead of phrases with complex internal structures.

The creation of disyllabic words can be attributed to the process of disyllabification, an ongoing morphological process that began as early as Archaic Chinese. Two adjacent monosyllabic words tend to become entrenched as a disyllabic unit (L. Wang 1990:1-3, Shi 2002:68-69). The tendency of disyllabification represents a fundamental change from Archaic Chinese, which consists largely of monosyllabic words (“one syllable = one word”), to contemporary Chinese, in which the majority words are disyllabic chunks (Shi 2002:68). Disyllabification is an analogical force that affects grammatical and lexical constructionalization alike. Shi (ibid.) suggests that the increasing momentum of disyllabification in Medieval Chinese has an impact on the emergence of the resultative verb compound construction, which consists of a disyllabic [V(verb)-R(result)] unit. Increasing exemplars of disyllabic units in the same period likely
also serve as a catalyst for the entrenchment of [V DE] as a phonological and semantic chunk.

The internal structure and semantics of Chinese words (most commonly disyllabic units) fall on a continuum of compositionality and analyzability. The issue is further complicated by the lack of intonational cues for historical data, and the lack of morpheme and word boundaries in Chinese orthography. It is not always clear whether a disyllabic expression that is semantically compositional and structurally analyzable is a compounded word or a complex expression.

2.3.2.1.1 Disyllabic analyzable

Disyllabic words (not necessarily event-oriented) with analyzable internal structure (non-iconic) are attested both in attribution and (secondary) predication. The analyzable disyllabic expressions can be further categorized into the following subtypes:

- **Disyllabic words with a root and an affix**

Some disyllabic words have a recognizable root that contributes to its primary semantic content, but has an affix attached to it. Mostly commonly, this class includes properties suffixed by an archaic “predicative” and “modifying event” marker, e.g. *ran* (see §3.5.3.4).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>glossing</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>cong-ran</em></td>
<td>many_in_disorder-RAN</td>
<td>numerous and in disorder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>muo-ran</em></td>
<td>sudden-RAN</td>
<td>suddenly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>wu-ran</em></td>
<td>confused-RAN</td>
<td>confused, wrongly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hao-sheng</em></td>
<td>good-?</td>
<td>well, properly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **Disyllabic compounds**

Disyllabic compounds are expressions formed by two monosyllabic (non-affix) elements. Disyllabic compounds may have homogeneous (synonymous) or
heterogeneous composition. Depending on their semantics and internal structures, disyllabic compounds can be classified into the following subtypes:

- **Synonymous compounds** elements from same semantic category

  These include expressions formed by two monosyllabic synonymous elements from the same semantic category, and function as one word.

- **Property-Property Compounds**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perceptual/mental property</th>
<th>glossing</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>Compositional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xuan-he</td>
<td>luminous-conspicuous</td>
<td>luminous and conspicuous</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xian-lu</td>
<td>obvious-revealed</td>
<td>obvious</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ping-dan</td>
<td>flat-light(tast or color)</td>
<td>tasteless and pale</td>
<td>平淡地</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ping-bai</td>
<td>flat-white</td>
<td>for no reason</td>
<td>平白地</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bai-gan</td>
<td>white-dry</td>
<td>for no reason, in vain</td>
<td>白乾地</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speed</td>
<td>muo-hu</td>
<td>suddenly</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **Heterogeneous compounds**

  Heterogeneous compounds are formed by elements from different semantic categories. Most heterogenous compounds are lexicalized, disyllabic words used idiomatically to express manner, scale, quantity, magnitude, degree/extent, and physical properties and configuration. The following is an illustration of disyllabic compounds of various internal relations between elements that collocate with DE3 in the 10th-13th century texts examined. Table 2.2 shows that most of the disyllabic elements are used idiomatically (which makes them non-compositional) to refer to a property associated with an event or its participant, despite having various internal structures.
Table 2.2 An illustration of disyllabic elements attested with DE3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantics</th>
<th>Internal structure</th>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Glossing</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Compositional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>physical property</strong></td>
<td>Num-A</td>
<td><em>bai-mei</em> 百媚</td>
<td>hundred-charm</td>
<td>extremely charming</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sbj-Pred</td>
<td><em>lei-wang</em> 涕汪</td>
<td>tear-diffuse watery</td>
<td>tearful</td>
<td>v</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>manner of action</strong></td>
<td>AV</td>
<td><em>lan-fan</em> 潹翻</td>
<td>billow-turn.over</td>
<td>garrulous, eloquent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>ping-pu</em> 平鋪</td>
<td>flat-tile(v)</td>
<td>simple and straightforward (horizontally tiled)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>manner (aspectual)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>chang-lian</em> 長連</td>
<td>long-connect</td>
<td>continuously</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>posture/configuration</strong></td>
<td>VO</td>
<td><em>duo-jian</em> 握肩</td>
<td>pick.up-shoulder</td>
<td>shrug (one’s) shoulder (from perspiration)</td>
<td>v</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hyperbolic &gt; metaphoric (manner, extent)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>lian-tian</em> 連天</td>
<td>connect-sky</td>
<td>continuously, on a large scale, all over the place</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>xuan-tian</em> 煞天</td>
<td>‘(fire).bright.up-sky’</td>
<td>(fire, magnitude of action, etc.) is so fervent that it brightens up the sky</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>manner (mental) metaphorical</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>zuo-si</em> 做死</td>
<td>make-death</td>
<td>with utmost effort</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>fang-xin</em> 放心</td>
<td>put.down-heart</td>
<td>be at ease, be relieved</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>qing-xin</em> 倚心</td>
<td>pour.out-heart</td>
<td>sincerely(ly), wholeheartedly</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>manner, scale, quantity</strong></td>
<td>Num + CL/N</td>
<td><em>yi-pian</em> 一片</td>
<td>one-CL.piece</td>
<td>continuously, all over the place; on a large scale, completely, everywhere</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>yi-jing</em> 一徑</td>
<td>one-path</td>
<td>straightly, directly</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>yi-mi</em> 一謫</td>
<td>one-?</td>
<td>all, completely</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>yi-bu</em> 一布</td>
<td>one-CL.</td>
<td>everywhere,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>quantity</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>yi-jiao</em> 一脚</td>
<td>one-foot</td>
<td>a little, a bit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>yi-cuo</em> 一幕</td>
<td>one-tuft</td>
<td>a little, a bit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>degree</strong></td>
<td>Adj-N</td>
<td><em>shi-fen</em> 十分</td>
<td>ten-UNIT</td>
<td>extremely, very</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>da-gu</em> 大故</td>
<td>‘great-matter’</td>
<td>very, extremely</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>aspectual</strong></td>
<td>Neg V</td>
<td><em>bu-chuo</em> 不歇</td>
<td>NEG-cease</td>
<td>non-stop, continuously</td>
<td>v</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>bu-zhu</em> 不住</td>
<td>NEG-stop</td>
<td>non-stop, continuously</td>
<td>v</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N-V</td>
<td><em>shi-fu</em> 時覆</td>
<td>time-repeat</td>
<td>repeatedly, frequently</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3.2.1.2 The simple vs. complex continuum

Expressions composed of heterogeneous elements, or those incorporate participants, adjuncts, and tense-aspect-modality marking, are more likely to be
considered complex phrases/clauses. Given equal phonological weight, an expression of low compositionality and analyzability is closer to a simple expression than a highly compositional, analyzable element.

Generally, the \text{DE3}-marked predicative constructions disfavor a regular complex expression, especially those containing a participant NP. When a nominal does occur in a disyllabic word, the noun (participant) is usually incorporated, and stands for a prop, including a body part closely associated with the “real subject”. Therefore, the seemingly complex expression does not introduce any real core participant, but merely describes a state associated with the subject participant it is attributed to. Furthermore, the interpretation is usually metaphorical or hyperbolic. Consider, for example, the expressions \text{lian-tian} ‘lit. connect-sky’, \text{qing-xin} ‘lit. pour-heart’, \text{yi-jiao} ‘lit. one-foot’ in Table 2.2.

The more problematic cases are disyllabic AV, VO, S-Pred compounds (listed in Table 2.2) that have (largely) compositional semantics. The following disyllabic expressions, analyzable and non-idiomatic, may be intermediate between a lexicalized simple disyllabic element and a complex expression.

(9) \text{xian-zuo} \hspace{1cm} \text{wen-zuo} \hspace{1cm} \text{duo-jian} \hspace{1cm} \text{lei-wang}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\text{閑坐} & \text{‘lit. idle-sit’} \\
\text{穩坐} & \text{‘lit. steady-sit’} \\
\text{撮肩} & \text{‘lit. shrug-shoulder’} \\
\text{淚汪} & \text{‘lit. tear-profuse’}
\end{tabular}

Notice that \text{xian-zuo} ‘sit idly, lit. idle-sit’ and \text{wen-zuo} ‘lit. steady-sit’, like the somewhat idiomatic \text{leng-zuo} ‘lit. cold-sit, sit alone’, are attested with the posture predicate \text{zuo}. The modifying adjunct, \text{xian}, \text{wen}, and \text{leng}, element are arguably attached to the unit \text{zuo-di} ‘\text{sit-DE3}’, which is an instantiation of a schema consisting of a few \text{[posture-DE3]} combinations with progressive interpretations.
Very rarely is a nominal element in a disyllabic word interpreted literally as a participant of an event, except in duo-jian and lei-wang, one involving a body part, one a participant of a bodily process. The do, however, fit into the preferred disyllabic structure of a Chinese word. These units may be interpreted as complex expressions rather than words, but given the strong tendency of disyllabic combinations to undergo univerbation, they may simply be treated as single words. These may therefore be considered more peripheral cases of disyllabic words.

It may be also argued, for example, that disyllabic negative-verb combinations, bu-chuo ‘NEG-cease’ and bu-zhu ‘NEG-stop’ do not differ from the complex NEG + VP expressions in structure and semantics (see (11) below). They are, however, also more semantically bleached in that they provide only aspectual information (i.e. repetition and continuity) instead of describing circumstantial events (negative accompanying event). The word vs. complex expression division, therefore, also falls on a continuum. The disyllabic expressions discussed here are coded as disyllabic words in the sample, but a few of them may be intermediate between lexical units and complex phrases:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>tokens</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NEG V</td>
<td>不退</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>不住</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>不動</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-V_POSTURE</td>
<td>冷坐</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>閒坐</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>穩坐</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-V</td>
<td>淚汪</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-O</td>
<td>握鬱</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3.2.2 Complex expressions attested with DE3

Prototypical complex expressions are non-idiomatic/analyzable and non-reduplicated expressions that are at least three syllables long. Regular complex
expressions are rarely attested with DE3 (and not attested with DE1) in my sample of Late Medieval Chinese (see Chapter 4).

Shown below are the expressions attested with DE3 in the Song-Jin Dynasties Period that are (with relatively less dispute) classified as complex expressions, including complex verb phrases, juxtaposed adjectival expressions, and parallel structures. Table 2.3 shows the distribution of the structures of the complex expressions attested with DE3. These structures are illustrated in the following sections.

Table 2.3 Complex expressions attested with DE3 in the Song-Jing Dynasties sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pattern</th>
<th>Tokens</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V+ aspect</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG VO</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG V</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parallel AP + AP</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[NEG V] [NEG V]</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[VO] [VO]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3.2.2.1 Complex verb phrases

Complex verb phrases are predicates with additional elements, e.g. subject/object (overtly coded arguments), modifying elements, aspectual and/or modality markers, e.g. negation, resultative, existential marker, potential marker, predicative complements, and adverbials. Aspectually marked DE3-marked expressions are rare – only one V+ aspect is attested with DE3 with a posture predicate but no additional participant, as in (10)².

(10) V + aspect

排列著地

*pai-hang zhe di*

arrange-line CONT DE3’

‘while being arranged in a line’ (*Wu Deng*, AD 1252)

---

² One V+A+aspect combination is attested in a hortative sentence, also involving no additional participant, shown below.

• 踏實了地！

*ta shi le di*

step firm RCS DE3

‘Stand firm!’ (imperative) (*Xi Xiang Ji*, 13th c.)
The NEG-VO events, though they contain an extra participant, occur in a negative modality, and a separate clause.

(11) Neg + VP (3 types)
All of these seem to be specific idiomatic usage in Buddhist texts.

a. 不離絲髮地
   
   \textit{bu yi si fa di}
   \textit{NEG leave CL.string hair DE3}
   ‘without leaving a strand of hair’

   \textit{(Wu Deng, AD1252)}

b. 不用離絲髮地
   
   \textit{bu yong yi si fa di}
   \textit{NEG use move CL.string hair DE3}
   ‘need not move a strand of hair’

   \textit{(ibid.)}

c. 得不退轉地
   
   \textit{de bu tui zhuan di}
   \textit{DE1.get NEG retreat turn DE3}
   ‘able (to be in a condition) without retreating’

   \textit{(ibid.)}

Complex expressions involving the negative potential marker \textit{(bu-de)} are attested as secondary predicates only with \textit{DE2} in the sample.

(12) Negative potential

\textit{shuo bu-de de qiang}

\textit{speak not-DE1.get DE2 ravishing}

‘(She is) unspeakably ravishing.’

\textit{(Xi Xiang Ji, 12th -13th centuries)}

(13) A + V + complement

\textit{wan gan mianqiang de ba lushe men kai}

\textit{ten.thousand feel reluctant DE2 OBJ hostel door open}

‘Feeling extremely reluctant (he) opens the door of the hostel.’

\textit{(ibid.)}

2.3.2.2.2 Juxtaposition of expressions

Expressions composed by a juxtaposition of disyllabic elements with similar semantics and structures are classified as complex expressions.
• **Juxtaposed Adjectival phrases**

There are two instances where \(\text{DE3}\) collocates with two juxtaposed adjectival phrases (a set of disyllabic properties in juxtaposition).

(14) \(\text{he-yi jiao-ran}\) 赫奕皎然  ‘conspicuous-luminous + bright-RAN’,
\(\text{jiaojiao da-he}\) 皎皎坦赫  ‘bright_white.REDU + luminous-conspicuous’

\(\text{(Wu Deng, AD 1252)}\)

These are in fact similar to parallel structures and lexical repetitions discussed below.

• **Parallel structures as lexical reduplication**

Parallel structures are expressions consisting of two sets of structurally parallel expressions, initially usually 4 syllables in length. These include juxtaposition of multisyllabic phrases (of at least two syllables) with similar semantics and internal structures. They are coded as complex patterns. Until the end of the 13\(^{\text{th}}\) century, parallel structures do not frequently occur with \(\text{DE3}\), and are generally infrequent as secondary predicates.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parallel structure</th>
<th>expression</th>
<th>glossing</th>
<th>translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[VO] [VO]</td>
<td>(\text{tuo guan lu ding})</td>
<td>脫冠露頂</td>
<td>take off hat expose head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Neg V] [Neg V]</td>
<td>(\text{bu zhi bu jue})</td>
<td>不知不覺</td>
<td>NEG know NEG aware</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Exist N] [Exist N]</td>
<td>(\text{wu can wu kui* di }) (DE2)</td>
<td>無懟無愧</td>
<td>NEG.exist embarrassment NEG.exist.shame’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3.3 **Peripheral templates, extensions, and hybrid of more common patterns**

Some patterns that do not involve reduplication may be linked to descriptive templates based on partial structural similarity.
2.3.3.1 Unanalyzable disyllabic words with descriptive semantics

Binding words, called liammian ci (連綿詞) in traditional Chinese grammar, are disyllabic words that cannot be analyzed into smaller meaningful units, and are interpretable only as a whole. Many, though not all of these are alliterated or rhymed; some binding words collocating with DE3 also share semantic properties with mimetics (ideophones), which represent perceptual or psychological experiences in the form of sounds.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tuoya</td>
<td>吭呀地</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jiding</td>
<td>品叮地</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yixi</td>
<td>依稀地</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leiluo</td>
<td>磅礴地</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuoluo</td>
<td>崇穏地</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tasha*</td>
<td>閒顚底</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mieqie</td>
<td>慣懶地</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hutu</td>
<td>鶚突地</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>douhou</td>
<td>抖懄地</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mongdong*</td>
<td>懵懂底</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chenyin*</td>
<td>沈吟底</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3.3.2 Trisyllabic ABC patterns

A few trisyllabic non-reduplicated expressions are attested with DE2/DE3, both in predicative functions. They do not involve any of the reduplicated templates listed above, but like prototypical ideophones, they also provide imagistic impressions of sensations or sensory perceptions. These trisyllabic expressions all seem to have some degree of (partial) rhyming, alliteration, or segment harmony, and thus bear some resemblance to reduplicated ABB patterns. The A-IDEO and N-IDEO patterns are also similar in structure to some subschemas of ABB, where A is a property or an object, and BB is an ideophone, though not encoded a reduplicated form.
• A_{PROPERTY} + disyllabic non-reduplicated mimetic/ideophone
  This type has a simple property, combined with a disyllabic ideophone that
  enriches and vividifies the semantics of the property.
  *men-dahai*  悶答孩 ‘depressed-IDEO’
  lan-bieshe  懶別設 ‘listless-IDEO’
  ruan-langdang  軟郎當 ‘soft-IDEO’

• N_{SUB} + disyllabic non-reduplicated mimetic ideophone
  This type has a simple object concept combined with a disyllabic ideophone that
  describes the object.
  yan-mixi  眼眯晞 ‘eye-squint.IDEO’
  mian-muoluo  面魔羅 ‘face-deadpan.IDEO’

Note that *muoluo* (魔羅) is shortened from *muoheluo* (魔合羅), a type of *clay doll* (of
*Buddhist influence*) quite common in the Song-Yuan Period.

Table 2.4 illustrates disyllabic elements that share varying degrees of semantic
and structural similarity to descriptive templates.

**Table 2.4 Different disyllabic descriptive-like expressions and ‘iconic’ value**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reduplication</th>
<th>Semantics</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>(a) imgic iconicity</th>
<th>(b) diagrammatic iconicity</th>
<th>(c) Coerced iconicity = fits a “descriptive” template</th>
<th>Descriptive semantics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>phono-mime</td>
<td>呲嘅 tuoya ‘sound of roaring’</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Redu. - AA</td>
<td>phono-mime,</td>
<td>常嘪 dangdang ‘sound of ringing’</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partial Redu.</td>
<td>phono-mime,</td>
<td>眼眯 mixi ‘squint</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(x)</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>psycho-mime</td>
<td>沉吟 chenjin ‘contemplative and hesitant’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>抖摉 douhou ‘invigorated’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Redu. of regular property</td>
<td>property</td>
<td>大大 dada ‘big.REDU’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>小小 xiaoxiao ‘small.REDU’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(x)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Redu. of object concept</td>
<td>measures progress</td>
<td>滴滴 didi ‘drop.REDU’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>progression of event</td>
<td>節節 jiejie ‘notch.REDU’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>distributive collective</td>
<td></td>
<td>人人 renren ‘person.REDU’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.3.3.3 Parallel structures as lexical repetitions

It should also be noted that four-syllable expressions bear some semantic and structural similarity to the descriptive templates marked via syllable reduplication. Though not common with DE3 until the 13th century, the combination of parallel phrases of identical structure may also be construed as providing vivid illustrations of the event. As a rhetorical device, this group can be considered lexical “repetition”. The repetition of patterns potentially makes categorical expressions more “descriptive”.

They may not be typical of the descriptive templates attested with DE3-expressions until the Song-Jin Dynasties, but gradually become more productive after the 15th century. A pattern emerges after the 15th century (when DE2 has already taken over predicative functions) with parallel structures – phrases originally denote “types”, i.e. object concepts, when in parallel, become expressions of “characteristics”, and therefore “predicational.” These templates, illustrated by the following table, arguably become new subschemas of descriptives after 15th century (see §8.2 for a brief discussion of the semantics and usage of some of the newly emerged parallel structures.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parallel structure</th>
<th>expression</th>
<th>glossing</th>
<th>translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[Exist N] [Exist N]</td>
<td>you ying wu xing</td>
<td>有影無形</td>
<td>exist shadow NEG.exist form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[NP] [NP]</td>
<td>yan-ji liao-cai</td>
<td>滷黃脆菜</td>
<td>pickled-caltrop smoked-vegetable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>shao-nu nen-fu</td>
<td>少女嫩婦</td>
<td>young-girl tender-woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yan-tou zhi-lao-zui</td>
<td>鵝頭鵝嘴</td>
<td>goose-head bird?-beak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>da-chi-tian shangwu</td>
<td>大赤大咧午</td>
<td>big-red-day mid-noon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[SV] [SV]</td>
<td>ni che wo zhuai</td>
<td>你扯我拽</td>
<td>2s pull 1s hurl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[AV] [AV]</td>
<td>hun-shai-hun-liang</td>
<td>混晾晾晾</td>
<td>mixed-sun.dry mixed-air.dry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[VN] [VN]</td>
<td>dai tou shi lian</td>
<td>戴頭識臉</td>
<td>wear head recognize face</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 2.3.4 Collocational preferences of DE3-marked secondary predicates and predicatives

In general, a DE3-marked secondary predicate in the Tang-Song period prefers simple lexical units or elements encoded in descriptive morphology, and disfavors elements that deviate from these two prototypes. A DE3-marked primary predicate highly favors descriptives (see discussion in Chapter 3). Table 2.6 illustrates the descriptive vs. non-descriptive and the simple vs. complex continuum.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2.6 The descriptive vs. non-descriptive and simple vs. complex continuum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Descriptive</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AABB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2.4 Collocates of DE1- vs. DE2-marked primary events

So far we have focused on introducing the morphophonological forms of DE3/(DE2)-marked secondary predicates and predicatives, which features a distinction between descriptive and non-descriptive elements on the one hand, and simple vs. complex elements on the other.

Another major theme of our discussion involves the interactions between DE1 and DE2 constructions in marking an event to be elaborated by additional predicative elements, in the pattern of [V DE1 Pred] and [V(P) DE2 Pred]. The interaction between DE1 and DE2 is conditioned by their increasing functional overlaps as the constructions
develop. In terms of the formal dimension, the most important distinction involves whether DE is attached to a structurally simple or complex element (see for more discussion on simple vs. complex elements).

The verb V in the [V DE1 VP] construction is typically monosyllabic, such as cha (叉) in cha-DE1 in the resultative construction in (15). Disyllabic verb compounds consisting of two monosyllabic verbs are sporadically attested with DE1, such as ji-jiao (計校) ‘devise, lit.count-adjust’ in (16). Among the 64 types of verbs attested as V in the [V DE1 VP] construction in Bian Wen (7th-9th c.) and Zu Tang Ji (AD 952), 59 (92%) are monosyllabic, and 5 (8%) are disyllabic (see discussion in §3.3.1).

(15) 佬叉叉得血汪汪。(變文)

tie cha cha de xie wangwang
iron fork to.fork DE1 blood IDEO.watery
‘The iron fork forked (her) bloody.’ (Bian Wen 7th-9th c.)

(16) 莫遲聰明誇計校，計校得成身己老，

ji-jiao de cheng shen yi lao
devise DE1 finish/succeed body already old
‘When the devising is finished, one’s body is already old.’ (ibid.)

A DE2-marked VP topic has a much wider selection of structures, which may be structurally simple or complex. A DE2-marked complex element is provided in (17):

(17) 將謂有氣力底是。”(祖堂)

jiang wei you qi-li di shi
will say exist strength DE2 proper
‘Dongshan said: “(I) will say it is (the case that I) have strength.”’ (Zu Tang Ji, AD 952)

The selectional preferences for a DE1 and DE2 marked topic differ in that DE1 is highly restricted to simple verbs, while DE2 takes both simple and complex structures. Because there is not much variability in the morphological form of the DE1-marked
element in constructions related to (15), the elements that collocate with DE₁ will be illustrated later when the development of the construction is discussed.

2.5 Conclusion

The collocational preferences of the DE-constructions are determined by two morphosyntactic parameters: the descriptive vs. non-descriptive continuum, and the simple vs. complex continuum. We have demonstrated that Chinese descriptives are morphophonological constructions defined based on structural prototypes. The attested expressions that match the descriptive templates vary in their iconic value, and many are not iconic. Essentially, the descriptives are conventionalized formal templates indicating that the expressions are to be interpreted as “vivid descriptions” of a scene. The simple-complex distinction is also proven to be a matter of degree.

Notably, the DE-constructions may also select specific (small, closed classes of) lexical or grammatical items. Although these items may also be classified based on the above structural parameters, the specific combinations tend to become entrenched with DE, and may not follow the general morphophonological constraints of a DE-marked schema. This pertains particularly to DE₂/DE₃-marked deictic elements, and will be discussed in the subsequent chapters.
Chapter 3

Precursors of \( \text{DE}_1 \), \( \text{DE}_2 \), and \( \text{DE}_3 \) constructions

3.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the precursors of the three \( \text{DE} \)-marked grammatical constructions in question - \( \text{DE}_1 \)-marked \([V \text{DE}_1 \text{VP}] \) “verb complement”, \( \text{DE}_2 \)-marked nominal modification, and \( \text{DE}_3 \)-marked (secondary) predicate constructions. Previous research has uncovered that the Tang Dynasty is a critical period for the development of \( \text{DE}_1 \), \( \text{DE}_2 \), and \( \text{DE}_3 \) constructions (Sun 1996, F. Wu 1996, C. Zhao 2002, P. Yang 1989, among others). The discussion in this chapter will be centered on the usage of \( \text{DE}_1 \), \( \text{DE}_2 \), and \( \text{DE}_3 \) in this period. In addition, it is necessary to introduce relevant historical information of the constructions that predates this critical period of development, such as the modality and aspectual functions developed from the verb \( \text{DE}_1 \) ‘get, obtain, acquire’, and the emergence of \( \text{DE}_2 \) and \( \text{DE}_3 \) as semantically “light” or “general” nouns from locative nouns (\( \text{DE}_2 \text{ di} \) ‘bottom’ and \( \text{DE}_3 \text{ di} \) ‘ground’, respectively). Specifically, we will focus on the contextual expansions of the \( \text{DE} \) constructions from their lexical functions, and the global linguistic contexts that motivate and facilitate the emergence and establishment of these constructions. The early functions of \( \text{DE}_1 \), \( \text{DE}_2 \) and \( \text{DE}_3 \) constructions in the Tang Dynasty will go on to develop into constructions related to the domain of secondary predication, which will be the focus of Chapters 4-7.

The emergence of the three \( \text{DE} \) constructions is correlated with two general strategies for encoding the relationship between two linguistic elements – (i) juxtaposition, where the elements are simply placed side by side to each other with no extra marking, and the relationship is contextually inferred or based on the
conventionalized syntagmatic order of the elements, (ii) overt coding, where the relationship is indicated by an overt linguistic element. Almost all semantic relations may be encoded by these two strategies. Attributive modification and secondary predication can both be zero-marked (encoded by a juxtaposed strategy) and overtly marked by a particle. The DE constructions all arise from a being a lexical element in a juxtaposed relation to being the overt coding of a grammatical element.

- **Attributive modification**

There are two general schemas for headed nominal modification in Chinese – simple juxtaposition of modifier and head \([X_{\text{mod}} N_{\text{head}}]\) and overt coding (with a particle) between modifier and head \([X_{\text{mod}} \text{PRT} N_{\text{head}}]\). Headless modification may be achieved via overt coding on the modifier (\([X_{\text{mod}} \text{PRT}]\)), though an event or a property may be referred to (placed in a referential construction) without being marked by a particle (unmarked). Example (1) illustrates the two strategies for reference to an event – the two events, *hunlun* and *pipo*, when first mentioned, are referred to without being marked by a particle; they are marked by the particle *di* in the second mention.

(1) ‘According to the monk’s words: everyone only knows the (state of) being an undivided mass, but does not understand the (act of) hack open. What is being an undivided mass?’ The monk remained silent for a long time.

\begin{verbatim}
c...muo shigu pipo
NEG know hack_break
ru-he shi hunlun
like-what COP undivided_mass
shi liang jiu
monk great long
wen ru-he shi pipo di
ask like-what COP hack_break DE2
\end{verbatim}
(The person) asks: ‘What is (the act of) ‘hack open’?’

(Zu Tang Ji 13, AD 952)

The \([X_{\text{mod}} \text{PRT} N_{\text{head}}]\) and \([X \text{PRT}_{\text{NP}}]\) schemas constantly attract new members into their networks.

- **Attributive modification**
  - Juxtaposition
  - Attributive particle
  - [Modifier Head]
- **Headless modification**
  - Unmarked
  - Nominalizer
  - [Modifier]
  - [Modifier PRT]

- **Secondary predication**

Secondary predication in Chinese can also be overtly marked, in the pattern of \([\text{Event1 PRT}] [\text{Event2}],\) or simply juxtaposed, in the pattern of \([\text{Event1}] [\text{Event2}].\) The same schemas are also used for coordinated relations.

- **Strategies for secondary predication**
  - Juxtaposition
  - \([\text{Event1}]_{\text{MODIFYING}} [\text{Event2}]_{\text{PRIMARY}}\)
  - (secondary) predicate particle \([\text{Event1}]_{\text{PRT}} [\text{Event2}]_{\text{MODIFYING}} [\text{Event2}]_{\text{PRIMARY}}\)

- **The \([X \text{PRT}]\) schema**

The overt coding of a grammatical relation with a post-marked particle may be represented by the \([X \text{PRT}]\) schema. The \([X \text{PRT}]\) pattern plays a role in the creation of a nominalizer/light noun \([X_{\text{nmz}}]\) schema, the creation of a secondary predicate/predicate \([X \text{second. pred.}]\) schema, and the creation of the potential/ completive/ resultative \([X \text{aspect/modality}]\) pattern. These all start out as juxtaposition of two elements, and as the lexical meaning of the second element becomes more and more bleached, and grammatical meaning is incorporated into the pattern, \([X \text{PRT}]\) becomes a unit, where the particle marks a specific grammatical function. The process of constructionalization begins when the speaker/hearer reanalyzes (or construes) an expression as an instance of
a schema that the expression was originally not linked to. The expression becomes sanctioned by this schema when a new conceptual link is created (see discussion of constructionalization in §1.4-§1.6).

3.2 Precursors of the \([V \text{ DE}_1 \text{ VP}]\) construction for secondary predication

The first historical source of Mandarin DE is the verb DE\(_1\) (得) ‘get, acquire, obtain’. The functionality of the morpheme meaning “get” or “acquire” has been extensively studied for Chinese dialects from a historical (Sun 1996, Yue-Hashimoto 2001), comparative (Lamarre 2001) to a crosslinguistic comparative perspective (see Enfield 2001, F. Wu 2009 on the semantic extensions of ‘acquire’ in Southeast Asian languages). These studies include a vast amount of work on the diachronic extensions of the Chinese verb DE\(_1\) ‘acquire, get’. Van der Auwera et al. (2009) also examine modality expressions developed out of a predicate meaning ‘acquire, get’ in Northern Europe and Southeastern Asia, a phenomenon which they refer to as ‘acquisitive modality’.

As introduced in Chapter 1, the study of postverbal DE\(_1\) constructions are commonly subsumed under ‘verb complement’ (補語) constructions in Chinese linguistics, postverbal markers introducing subsidiary information about the event encoded by the verb. A distinction is commonly made between a ‘potential’ vs. a ‘non-potential’ complement depending on whether it applies to the irrealis or the realis domain.

The discussion in §3.2 focuses on the establishment of the DE\(_1\)-marked non-potential (realis) complement construction, which appears in the \([V \text{ DE}_1 \text{ VP}]\) pattern. The
diachronic development of the potential/modality functions will be discussed insomuch as they bear relevance to constructions with 得-marked primary events.

得 (得) originated from the verb 得 ‘get, obtain’ in Archaic Chinese, as in (2).

(2) 客得之，以說吳王。（莊子）
ke de zhi yi shui wu wang
stranger 得 get 3 use persuade PN king
‘The stranger got it (the medicine) and gave counsel to the king of Wu.
(Zhuang Zi, 300 BC)

Being semantically general, 得 developed modality, aspect, and complementation functions from its lexical sense ‘get, obtain’. These functions serve as precursors of [V 得 VP] secondary predicate constructions, known as verbal complements (補語) in Chinese linguistics. The construction developed from increasing morphosyntactic and semantic integration of juxtaposed predicates expressing separate events. Specifically, the constructionalization of [V 得 VP] secondary predication parallels the grammaticalization of two independent patterns: (i) the modality and aspectual functions of preverbal 得 in [得 VP] pattern, and (ii) the complementation and aspectual functions of 得 in the post-verbal position [V 得 NP] and [V 得 #] units.

3.2.1 Preverbal modality and aspectual functions of 得 in [得 VP]

One of the earliest functions 得 developed from its lexical sense is its modality function, which initially expresses the conditions on an agent with regard to the completion of an action (Sun 1996: 113-4, Peyraube 1999). These meanings (traditionally called 能性 (能性) or 可能 (可能) potential/possibility function) can be subsumed under agent-oriented modality (Bybee 1985), and 得 is particularly associated with enabling conditions, including the following:
(i) Internal ability - the capability of the agent enables the completion of the event.
(ii) Root possibility - the external circumstances allow the achievement of the event.
(iii) Permission or moral obligation (a social enabling condition).

The agent-oriented modality function of DE1 first appears in the pattern \([DE1 \text{ er } VP]\) in Archaic Chinese, where DE1 and the event are conjoined by the coordinating conjunction er. Examples (3)-(4) illustrate the transition of DE1 from its full verb to its modality functions. In (3), DE1 in the verb phrase \([DE1 \text{ er } wen]\) ‘lit. obtain and hear’ is compatible with a literal interpretation of ‘obtain’ and a more subtle pragmatic inference ‘being able to/get to hear’, since the former entails the latter.

(3) 夫子之文章，可得而聞也。夫子之言性與天道，不可得而聞也。 (《論語·公冶長第五》)

‘The writings of the master can be obtained and heard about.’
‘The writings of the master, one can obtain and hear about it.’

(Lun Yu, 5th c. BC)

The modal meaning in (2) (here concerned with possibility and ability based on both internal and external conditions) is primarily expressed by the modal verb ke ‘able, possible’. The association between DE1 and deontic modality is later foregrounded, as shown in example (4), which expresses ‘permission’ or ‘moral obligation’. No other modal element appears, and the modality function in this context is carried out solely by DE1. The literal meaning ‘obtain’, though maybe still present, is backgrounded at best.

(4) 為不善乎顯明之中者，人得而誅之 (莊子·庚桑楚)

‘He who conducts evil in broad daylight, anyone can (is permitted to) kill him.’
Or ‘anyone can get and kill him.’ (literal interpretation backgrounded)

(Zhuang Zi, 300 BC)
The $\text{DE}1 \text{ er VP}$ pattern shown in (3) and (4) is linked to the Verb Coordination Construction in Archaic Chinese which conjoins verbs with $\text{er}$. The construction is not only used for coordination, but is also extended to mark subordinate relations. Verb coordination with the conjunction $\text{er}$ was a common strategy in Archaic Chinese, but the construction declined over time as verb serialization and compounding started to gain more productivity (Shi 2002:54, also see Zhu 1985:22).

3.2.1.1 Establishment of modality functions in $\text{DE}1 \text{ VP}$

The modality reading of $\text{DE}1$ (or ‘potential’ function) emerges in a morphosyntactically tighter pattern $\text{DE}1 \text{ VP}$ in Archaic Chinese to mark enabling conditions. By the 5$^{\text{th}}$ century AD, the $\text{DE}1 \text{ VP}$ pattern is attested with ability, permission, and root possibility interpretations. Compared to the verb coordination construction shown in (3) and (4), $\text{DE}1$ in $\text{DE}1 \text{ VP}$ is structurally more integrated with the predicate encoding the resulting (or potential) event.

The $\text{DE}1$-introduced proposition in the possibility/potential sense is compatible with both realis and irrealis (hypothetical, negation) contexts, the former referring to a proposition that has been realized, as in (5).

(5) 當時何得顏色不異？ (世說新語) \\
\begin{align*}
\text{dangshi he de yanse bu yi} \\
\text{that_time what DE1 complexion NEG change}
\end{align*}

‘How did you manage not to change your complexion (= stay calm) back then?’
(Shi Shuo Xin Yu, AD 452)

In (6), the speaker, who didn’t follow the common rituals when drinking the wine he had stolen, responds to his brother’s questioning about his ‘lack of decency’. In his answer, $\text{DE}1$ profiles the permission or modal obligation of a behavior, which is deemed
acceptable social behavior. Since stealing is an improper social conduct itself, he argues, one should not need to follow the common rituals.

(6) 答曰：「偷，那得行禮！」(世說新語)

\[ tou \text{ na } de \text{ xing li} \]

steal how DE1 get.to act manner

‘While stealing, how can one/ how does one get to/why does one need to follow the rituals?’

*(Shi Shuo Xin Yu, AD 425)*

The causal, aspectual, and modality elements develop into individual constructions in different contexts. In the 10th century text *Zu Tang Ji*, [DE1 VP] pattern is used to express the speaker’s unexpectedness or surprise upon perceiving a phenomenon, with no apparent ‘cause’ encoded or implied.

(7) 師因見溪水云：此水得與摩流急。（祖堂集）

\[ shi \text{ yin } jian \text{ xi } shui \text{ yun} \]

master because see brook water say

\[ ci \text{ shui de yumuo liu ji} \]

this water DE1 such flow hasty

‘The master, upon seeing the water from the brook, said:’

‘The water is running fast!’

*(Zu Tang Ji, AD 952)*

(8) 師云：上岸稻得與摩好，下岸稻得與摩勿次第。（祖堂集）

\[ shang \text{ an } dao \text{ de yumuo hao} \]

up shore rice DE1 such good

\[ xia \text{ an } dao \text{ de yumuo wu cidi} \]

down shore rice DE1 such NEG order

‘The rice up shore is so good; the rice down shore is in such disorder!’

*(ibid.)*

(9) 雲巖問道吾：和尚適來問，何不祇對？道吾云：師兄得與摩靈利！（祖堂集）

\[ shi-xiung \text{ de yumuo lingli} \]

male.senor.apprentice DE1 such bright

‘My senior in learning, (you get to) so bright?!’

*(ibid.)*

In examples (7)-(9), the DE1-introduced proposition is acknowledged as a fact, but the acknowledgement of the fact poses a challenge to common sense, the speaker’s
belief, or his prior expectation. These examples may be a metaphorical extension (or contextual expansion) from the function of \( \text{DE}1 \) to mark ‘enabling conditions’. The construction marks speaker’s stance, and has thus moved into the domain of epistemic modality (see van der Auwera et al. 2007 for a discussion of acquisitive modals).

3.2.1.2 Enablement in realis contexts

In realis contexts, the \([\text{DE}1 \; \text{VP}]\) pattern encodes an event that has been realized due to external or internal enabling conditions. The event encoded by VP may be dynamic or stative, and may involve a change in reality or merely a change in potential (thus the agent remains in the same condition in reality).

3.2.1.2.1 Enablement to remain in stasis

The event introduced by VP may not involve a change in reality, but merely a change in potential. In (10)-(13), \([\text{DE}1 \; \text{VP}]\) expresses the success in overcoming a force (introduced in the previous discourse) that would otherwise bring about a change. The result is that the participant remains in stasis.

(10)  遇有萬金良藥，故得無死 (史記)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{shi} & \quad \text{you} \\
\text{happen_to} & \quad \text{possess} \\
\text{wan} & \quad \text{jin} \\
\text{ten_thousand} & \quad \text{gold} \\
\text{liang} & \quad \text{yao} \\
\text{good} & \quad \text{medicine}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{gu} & \quad \text{de} \\
\text{as_a_result} & \quad \text{DE1.get} \\
\text{wu} & \quad \text{si} \\
\text{NEG.exist} & \quad \text{die}
\end{align*}
\]

‘It happened that there was good worthy medicine, hence he got to live, (i.e., got “not to die”.)’

\((Shi \; Ji, \; 100 \; BC)\)

(11)  臣不敢言，故得全。 (史記)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{chen} & \quad \text{bu} \\
\text{official/servant} & \quad \text{NEG} \\
\text{gan} & \quad \text{yan} \\
\text{dare} & \quad \text{speak} \\
\text{gu} & \quad \text{de} \\
\text{thus} & \quad \text{DE1} \\
\text{quan} & \quad \text{be.intact}
\end{align*}
\]

‘I dared not speak, thus (I) got to be intact.’

\((\text{ibid.})\)
(12) 後並得存，同過江。  

*hou*  *bing*  *de*  *cun*

Later  together  DE1.be able to  survive

‘Later (they) all managed to (got to) survive.’  

*(Shi Shuo Xin Yu, AD 425)*

(13) 帝尋崩，得免。  

*di*  *xun*  *beng*  *de*  *mian*

emperor  soon  collapse  DE1.get  exempt

‘The emperor soon passed away, so he was exempt (from being executed by the emperor).’  

( ibid. )

### 3.2.1.2.2 Enablement of action

The [DE1 VP] pattern expresses success in bringing about a change, usually by overcoming a force (introduced in the previous discourse) that has been resisting the change. DE1 profiles the transition stage of change, which may result in a rest state, e.g. (14), or an action, e.g. (15)-(16).

(14) 燕人送歸，得立。  

*yen*  *ren*  *song*  *gui*  *de*  *li*

PN  person  send  return  DE1  establish

‘The people of Yen sent (King Zhaoxiang) back, and (he) got to be established (as king).’  

*(Shi Ji, 100 BC)*

(15) 拔其鬢眉為宦者，遂得侍太后。  

*ba*  *qi*  *xu*  *mei*  *wei*  *huan-zhe*

pull_out  3  mustache  eyebrow  be  eunuch-NMZ

*sui*  *de*  *shi*  *taihou*

then  DE1  serve  empress_dowager

‘(They) pulled out his mustache and eyebrows (and he) became an eunuch, then (he) got to serve the queen.’  

( ibid. )

(16) 勤方更見車，然後得去。  

*xu*  *fang*  *geng*  *mi*  *che*  *ran*  *hou*  *de*  *qu*

PN  then  replace  seek  carriage  such  after  DE1.get.to  leave

‘Xu then sought an alternate carriage, and then was able to leave.’  

*(Shi Shuo Xin Yu, AD 425)*

A similar development from acquisitive modality functions is discussed in van der Auwera et. al (2007) under ‘participant-external actuality’ (and ‘participant-internal
actuality’) observed for English ‘get’ and Swedish få ‘get’, e.g. *John got to learn Japanese.*/*John got to know the whole truth.*

### 3.2.1.2.3 Aspectual and causal meanings

The pre-verbal [DE1 VP] pattern initially profiles agent-oriented modality (meanings associated with enablement), but the modality function of DE1 in realis contexts is also associated with the elements of “force” and “change”. First, the use of DE1 to introduce an event implies the existence of a force that may potentially bring about a change in the protagonist. The force may

- have been overcome or lifted, and the participant remains in its current state (§3.2.1.2.1), or
- have successfully brought about the change (§3.2.1.2.2)

In either case, [DE1 VP] introduces a state of affairs that has been realized, and can be seen as introducing a “change” of some kind:

- A change in reality: The force has induced a change in reality, which resulted in a change of state or onset causation. DE1 profiles the transition phase leading to either the onset of an action or the completion/termination of an action.
- A change in “potential”: the overcoming or lifting of the force has enabled the participant to remain in its current state. Though there appears to be no external change, it involves a change of the potential world – what may have happened alternatively has been eliminated as a possibility.

Notably, although the event serving as the enabling condition is usually introduced in the previous discourse, it is only loosely conjoined with [DE1 VP]; the causal relations between the two events are encoded in coordination. The event leading up to the change
clearly belongs to another clause, often having an intervening object NP, conjunction, or adverb between DE1 and the previous event.

While the previous event can be interpreted as enabling the subsequent state of affairs based on context, it does not fit the canonical sense of a resultative where the result is a stative event. DE1 itself merely profiles the change, but does not encode the force leading up to the change; the force is implicated by the serial verb construction.

3.2.1.2.4 Participant-external actuality > causative / resultative

One of the most significant developments of the [DE1 VP] pattern from Archaic to Medieval Chinese is that deontic modality is no longer a prerequisite for [DE1 V] to have a completive/change interpretation, but can be backgrounded or non-existent in some contexts (cf. C. Zhao 2002 for the causative use of DE1 in Medieval Chinese, see also Enfield 2001:270 for grammatical functions developed from the verb “acquire” in East Asian Languages, and the semantic extension from “possibility” to “achievement” as a pragmatic inference in Northern Zhuang and Lao). By the end of Tang Dynasty (7th-9th c.), a new function has emerged where the profile of DE1 shifts from the ‘ability or possibility to overcome a force’ to the ‘completion or achievement’ of an event.

The [DE1 V] construction may profile only the change or include the force leading up to the change. The shift in function is partly made possible by contextual ambiguities.

Example (17) is from a passage describing a ship sailing under severe weather conditions.

(17) 乍驚下碇，便得停住。(入唐求法巡禮行記)
    zha jing xia ding bian de ting zhu
    sudden startle cast.down anchor then DE1 stop be_still
    ‘(We) were suddenly startled and cast down the anchor, and then
    (i)  (we were) able to stop (the ship). [root possibility (+ causation +change)]
    (ii) (we) got (the ship) to stop.  [causation + change]
    (iii) (we/the ship) got to (?) stop. [change]

(Ru Tang Qiu Fa Xun Li Xing Ji, AD 9th c.)
The [DE1 VP] clause in example (17) has three possible interpretations, as shown in the corresponding English translations (17i-iii). DE1 in the first interpretation profiles the meaning of ‘root possibility’, with the elements of causation (force) and change in the background. The association of DE1 (agent-oriented modality) with a force that has been overcome or lifted (in this case the severe weather conditions) is still preserved in this interpretation. DE1 in the second interpretation ‘got (the ship) to stop’ profiles both the force causing the ship to berth and the transition from movement to stasis. In the third interpretation (which may have either ‘the people on the ship’ or ‘the ship’ itself as the subject), DE1 profiles only the transition from movement to stasis.

In (18), the event introduced in the previous discourse can no longer be interpreted as an enabling condition for [DE1 VP], since the participant had no intention to overcome a force that resists the change.

(18) 兵喫河水，皆得醉。 （變文）

The non-potential function of [DE1 VP] pattern has two related interpretations depending on the context: ‘causative’ and ‘change’. Example (18) may profile either ‘causation’ (which entails change) or ‘change’ alone, but in (19), [DE1 VP] is clearly causative. It appears in one of a set of descriptions, in parallel with the causative structure [shiCAUSE VP].

(19) 呼吸毒氣，鼓擊狂風，得海底之沙飛，使天邊之霧卷。 （變文）
The dragons’ breath is poisonous air, their drum beats are fierce winds, (which) make the sand at the bottom of the sea roll up, (and) cause the fog in the corner of the sky to roll.’

(Bian Wen, 7th-9th c.)

The function of the [DE1 NP VP] pattern to introduce a change (or a force leading up to the change) has thus been established as a function of preverbal DE1. I will refer to this as the preverbal causative/resultative DE1.

An important development of preverbal DE1 from its modality/possibility function to its causative/resultative function is that the latter allows overt coding of an affected participant with the DE1-introduced event. A few more examples are provided in (20)-(22).

(20) 不報直入宅裏，得主人怪，但主心慟歎。（入唐求法巡禮行記）

bu  bao  zhi  ru  zhai  li
NEG  report  straight  enter  residence  in

de  zhuren  guai
DE1  owner  feel_strange
‘(We) entered the residence directly without notifying,
(i)  (and it) made the owner feel strange.’
(ii)  (and) the owner felt strange.’

(Ru Tang Qiu Fa Xun Li Xing Ji, AD 9th c.)

(21) 妇人決列（烈）感山河，大哭即得長城倒。（變文）
da  ku  ji  de  chang-cheng  dao
heavy  cry  then  DE1  great.wall  collapse
‘(She) cried heavily and then
(i)  (it) made the Great Wall collapse.’
(ii)  the Great Wall collapsed.

(Bian Wen, 7th-9th c.)

(22) 忽憶父兄枉被誅，即得五內心腸爛。（變文）

hu  yi  fu  xiong  wang  bei  zhu
sudden  recall  father  old_brother  unjust  PASS  kill
Suddenly (he) recalled that his father and brother were unjustly killed, (he) then got his five inner organs, heart, and intestines rotten.’

( ibid. )

With the possibility reading, the DE1-marked proposition in possibility usually does not appear with an overt object, but the causative/resultative interpretation can. One seeming exception to this is the proposition in (5) attested in Medieval Chinese in §3.2.1.1. The example is unusual because unlike most of the DE1 VP attested in Medieval Chinese, it has an overt NP subject yanse. Yanse ‘complexion’, however, is part of the human participant, and the [N SBJ - V PRED] combination is in fact predicated of the human subject (see §3.3.2.3.2).

The predicate introduced by DE1 may lack an overtly coded NP, as in (18), or it may contain an NP as the affected participant, which also functions as the subject of the DE1-introduced VP, as in (19)-(22). The [DE1 VP] pattern allows the following collocational patterns:

- V SIMPLE

- N SBJ V PRED

These patterns correspond to VP in the [V DE1 VP] secondary predication construction.

A schematic development of preverbal DE1 is shown below:

**Figure 3.1 Development of [DE1 VP] pattern**
3.2.1.2.5 [X DE1] strings and the pre-verbal [DE1 VP] pattern

The [DE1 VP] pattern may follow another non-verbal element (such as an adverb or a conjunction) in the pattern [X DE1 VP].

- Sequential or resultative

The DE1 VP pattern sometimes collocates with an adverb or a conjunction that expresses sequential relationship in the [Adv/Conj DE1 VP] pattern, such as ji DE1 ‘then DE1’ in (22)-(22) above, or sui DE1 ‘eventually DE1’, nai DE1 ‘then DE1’ below.

(23) 遂得天上天下，惟佛獨尊（變文）

\[\text{sui de tian shang tian xia wei fuo du zun}\]

then DE1 heaven up heaven down only Buddha sole revere

‘Then (as a result) Buddha is the only one dominant in and under heaven.’

(Bian Wen, 7th-9th c.)

(24) 是時相太子已訖。漸漸長大，習學人間伎藝，總乃得成。（變文）

\[\text{zong nai de cheng}\]

always then DE1 complete

‘(He) always succeeds gets to succeeds.’

(ibid.)

A few of the [Adv DE1] combinations, such as zhi DE1, may have been frequent enough to have become entrenched as a unit.

(25) 直得四支體折，五臟疼痛，不異刀傷，何殊劍切。（變文）

\[\text{zhi de si zhi ti zhe wu zang teng tong}\]

straight DE1 four limb body break five organ ache hurt

‘(Upon giving birth… the mother’s) four limbs break and the five inner organs hurt.’

(Bian Wen, 7th-9th c.)

(26) 遠公便為眾宣揚大涅槃經義，直得諸方來聽，雨驟雲奔，競來聽法。（變文）

\[\text{yuan gong bien wei zhong xuan-yang da-niepan-jing yi}\]

PN then for crowd advocate great-PN-sutra meaning

\[\text{zhi de zhu fang lai ting}\]

straight DE1 many direction come listen

‘Yuan Gong then advocated the meaning of the Sutra of Da Niepan, (and as a result) people from all directions came to listen (to his lecture).’

(ibid.)

- Interrogative

The [Adv DE1 VP] string inquires about the reason of or means for achieving a
certain action introduced by DE, such as zheng-DE (争得), he-DE (何得), an-DE (安得), na-DE (那得) ‘how can, lit. how-can’. These frequently appear as rhetorical questions in irealis contexts, but are also attested in realis contexts.

(27) 大地山河，尚猶朽壞，況乎泡電之質，那得久停？（變文）

```
da  di  shan  he  shang  you  xiu  huai  
great  earth  mountain  river  yet  still  rot  perish
```

```
kuang-hu  pao  dian  zhi  zhi  na  de  jiu  ting
CONC  bubble  lightening  MOD  material  where  DE 1  long  stay
```

‘Even the earth, mountains, and rivers will decay, let alone the (human body) made of the material of bubble and lightening; how can one stay for long?’

(Bian Wen, 7th-9th c.)

(28) 朕之無其詔命，何得夜半二人越對！（變文）

```
zhen  zhi  wu  qi  zhao-ming
1S_imperial  MOD  NEG  3  imperial.command
```

```
he  de  ye  ban  er  ren  yue  dui
what  DE 1  night  half  two  person
```

‘Without my (the emperor’s) imperial command, how come there were two people leaving the troops in the middle of the night?’

(ibid.)

The probabilities vary for these strings to be connected as the DE-1 VP functions.

Although some of these [X DE] strings may achieve some degree of unithood due to frequent collocation, many [X DE VP] strings are still likely construed an instantiation of both the [X DE] string and the [DE-1 VP] schema, and serve strengthen the resultative function of the [DE-1 VP] pattern.

• Negation

The combination of a negator with DE-1 to express negative potential, i.e. the lack of capability or probability to achieve, is one of the most common functions of DE-1. Among the several possible [NEG DE] combinations, e.g. bu-DE1 ‘NEG-DE1’ (不得), wei-DE1 ‘NEG-DE1’ (未得), bu-DE1 is by far the most common since Medieval Chinese, and likely
has become entrenched as a unit by the Tang Dynasty. The unit may either precede or follow a verb or a proposition to express negative potential, as illustrated by (29)-(30).

(29) 归去不得，便往卻回（变文）

\[
guī qu bu-de
\]

return go NEG-DE1

‘Unable to return; did not get to return.’

(Bian Wen, 7th-9th c.)

(30) 疲困不得前迸（变文）

\[
pi-kun bu-de qian jin
\]

fatigued NEG-DE1 forward proceed

‘Fatigued and unable/did not get to proceed.’

(ibid.)

Because of its early entrenchment as a unit, the negative potential or lack of achievement of an event is commonly expressed as \( bude V(P) \) or \( V(P) \ bude \). The negative potential marker \( bu-DE1 \), therefore, developed as an independent schema, and did not feature significantly in the establishment of the secondary predication and complementation functions of \([V \ DE1 VP]\).

3.2.1.2.6 \([DE1 NP]\) where NP represents increment of an event

From its sense of physical obtaining, \( DE1 \) is extended to mark metaphorical obtaining, the object being obtained is usually the measurement of ‘time’ or ‘distance’ incremented along with the progression of the action, in the sense of ‘it has been \( X_{time} \).’ There is no attested instance where the NP in \([DE1 NP]\) represents a ‘distance’, but it is found in the \([V \ DE1 NP]\) pattern.

(31) 除却虚日，在路行得四十四日也。（入唐求法巡礼行記）

\[
zai lu xing zheng de si-shi-si ri ye
\]

at road go exactly DE1 four-ten-four day PRT

‘(We have been) going on the road (=traveling) for exactly forty-four days.’

(Ru Tang Qiu Fa Xun Li Xing Ji, 9th c.)

This function is not directly related to the \([V \ DE1 VP]\) pattern, but it shows that the \( V \ DE1 \) NP adverbial functions developed from the integration of \( V…DE1 \ NP \).
3.2.2 Entrenchment of postverbal de1 in [V de1…] pattern

As noted in the previous section, although [de1 VP] often appears after some event or a series of events have been introduced into the discourse, the predicate before it is only loosely conjoined with [de1 VP] structurally. The grammatical functions of de1 in post-verbal position developed later than its preverbal modality and aspectual functions (Sun 1996:115). The various secondary predication (result, manner, extent) functions of de1 in the [V de1 VP] pattern developed while the post-verbal [V de1] gradually becomes an entrenched pattern, with the increase in unithood of [V de1], primarily in the following patterns:

- [V de1 NP]
- [V de1#]

3.2.2.1 Rarity of [V de1 V(P)] pattern in Archaic and Medieval Chinese

The [V de1 VP] pattern is only found sporadically in Archaic Chinese (Peyraube 1999, 2001), mostly with [de1 VP] serving as the complement of a complement-taking predicate (e.g. yu de1, lit. want get 欲得), as shown in (32).

(32) 秦欲得其三將戮之。(史記)

qin  yu  de  qi  san  jiang  lu  zhi
PN  want  de1.get  3.POSS  three  general  kill  3
‘(The State of) Qin wants to get their three generals and kill them.’

(Shi Ji, 100 BC)

Until the Early Medieval Chinese period, an event that is antecedent to the event marked by [de1 VP], if expressed in the previous discourse, is not tightly integrated with [de1 VP]. One oft-cited example of [V1 + de1 + V2] pattern from Early Medieval Chinese where V2 is an action enabled by the previous action marked by V1 before de1 (e.g. Y. Pan 1980, J. Yue 1984), presented in (33):
(33) 平子劵力，爭得脫，踰窗而走。

‘Ping’s son was strong, (he) struggled and got to escape.’

(Shi Shuo Xin Yu, AD 425)

This pattern resembles the resultative construction in form, but the pattern does not seem to be productive in this period of time. In this context, DE1 is strongly associated with the modality function introduced in §3.2.1.1. In Shi Shuo Xin Yu, DE1 still largely appears in the preverbal pattern [DE1+ VP], where DE1 marks the potential or ability to achieve a state or perform an action, and the VP stands for the state or action being achieved. In addition, the pattern [V₁ + DE1 + V₂] with a resultative reading remained practically unattested again until Tang Dynasty (P. Yang 1990:56-57). It is doubtful that this example from Early Medieval Chinese should be treated as evidence for the emergence of the resultative [V₁–DE1-V₂] construction in the 5th century (P. Yang, 1990, S. Jiang 1994, C. Zhao 2002).

The example is likely parsed as the following, with zheng ‘escape’ being an anterior event juxtaposed to the proposition [DE1 tuo] ‘got to escape’, associated with the preverbal DE1 modality function (cf. P. Li 1987, P. Yang 1990).

[zheng] [de tuo] struggle DE1 escape

[Event 1] [Event 2 (participant-oriented actuality)]

3.2.2.2 The development DE1 in [V DE1 NP]

The appearance of DE1 in the post-verbal position is attested sporadically in Archaic Chinese, almost exclusively with DE1 signaling physical obtaining, and the preceding V expressing an anterior event (Sun 1996). Post-verbal DE1 here refers only to a monosyllabic verb directly before DE1 without any intervening element. Until Early
Medieval Chinese (Six Dynasties, circ. AD 5th c.), the postverbal [V 得1] combination occurs primarily in the [V 得1 NP] pattern.

3.2.2.2.1 Different object

The [V 得1 NP] pattern is initially a serial verb construction representing two events – the event encoded by V, and the obtaining of the object encoded by 得1 ‘get’ NP. In (34)-(35), [V 得1 NP] encodes two separate events that occur sequentially, although the completion of the first event is factually related to the achievement of the second one. V and 得1 in [V 得1 NP] represent two events involving two different participants:

(a) (Agent) performs action V on (unexpressed) participant

(b) (Agent) obtains (= 得1) object denoted by NP

The different-object pattern [V 得1 NP] therefore corresponds to two juxtaposed predicates in the pattern [V (NP1)] [得1 NP2].

(34) 破得休屠王祭天金人。 (史記)

破得 (the Huns and) got the gold statue King Xiutu used to worship heaven.

(35) (She) cut down (her hair and) made two wigs, (and she) sold (the wigs) and got several Hu’s of rice.’ (Note: one hu equals approximately five pecks)

3.2.2.2.2 Same object

When V and 得1 shares the same object, there is a higher degree of integration between the two events – V represents the previous action, usually a manner predicate describing how the NP object has come into possession. V and 得1 form a complex
event, where DE1 links V with its argument. The anterior event can generally be interpreted as denoting the manner of obtaining the object.

(36) 孟孫獲得麋，使西巴持之歸。（韓非子）

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{mengsun} & \text{lie} & \text{de} & \text{ni} \\
\text{PN} & \text{hunt} & \text{DE1.get} & \text{fawn}
\end{array}
\]

‘Mengsun hunted and got a fawn.’

*Han Fei Zi*, 281-233BC, from F. Wu 2009:204

(37) 遷己聚斂得數斗焦飯。（世說新語）

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{yi} & \text{yi} & \text{ju} & \text{lian} & \text{de} & \text{shu} & \text{dou} & \text{jiaofan} \\
\text{PN} & \text{already.gather} & \text{collect} & \text{DE1.get} & \text{several} & \text{UNIT} & \text{rice crust}
\end{array}
\]

‘Yi already gathered, collected, and got several dou’s of rice crust.’

*Shi Shuo Xiu Yu, AD 425*

(38) 王太尉與射，賭得之。（世說新語）

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{wangtaiwei} & \text{yu} & \text{she} & \text{du} & \text{de} & \text{zhi} \\
\text{PN} & \text{with} & \text{play.archery} & \text{place.a.bet} & \text{DE1.get} & \text{3}
\end{array}
\]

‘Wang Taiwei played archery with him; (they) placed a bet (on the bull and Wang) got it.’

*Shi Shuo Xiu Yu, AD 425*

(39) 今見掘得彌勒佛像一體。（入唐求法巡禮行記）

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{jin} & \text{jian} & \text{jue} & \text{de} & \text{milefu} & \text{xiang} & \text{yi} & \text{ti} \\
\text{now} & \text{see} & \text{dig} & \text{DE1.get} & \text{Maitreya.Buddha} & \text{statue} & \text{one} & \text{body}
\end{array}
\]

‘Now it is seen that (sb.) dug and got a statue of Maitreya Buddha.’

*Ru Tang Qiu Fa Xun Li Xing Ji, AD 9th c.*

3.2.2.2.3 Semantic extension: From physical to metaphorical attainment

Around the Six Dynasties (AD 220-589), the semantics of the [V DE1 NP] pattern is extended from ‘obtaining a physical object’ to ‘acquisition of a metaphorical product’.

The pattern then develops multiple uses that are semantically diverse and actually fall on a cline of grammaticalization (see P. Yang 1989, F. Wu 2001, 2009 for semantic extension of [V DE1] in Medieval Chinese, cf. Enfield 2001 for paralleled semantic extensions of the verb ‘aquire’ in Mainland Southeast Asian languages), illustrated by examples (40)-(43) below.
The metaphorical acquisition sense has an NP that represents an object being obtained metaphorically via the progression or achievement of event V, including: (i) the quantitative increment of a theme along with the progression of an action, (ii) the product of an action.

• **NP as adverbial complement**

Around the 4th century, the [V DE1 NP] pattern is extended to take an NP that delimits an event temporally or qualitatively (i.e. the adverbials) such as the repetitions of an iterative process, or the ‘time’ or ‘distance’ incremented along with the progression of the event, which are a ‘byproduct’ created along with the unfolding of the event.

Aspectually, DE1 introduces an NP that marks the event as bounded in time (or metaphorically, by distance) or repetitions.

(40) 奇便放犬，犬就嘰咤，奇從後斫得數劍。 （<i>搜神記</i>，卷11 晉 干寶）

| ji | cong | hou | zhuo | de | shu | jian |
| PN | follow | after | hack | DE1 | several | sword |

‘Ji hacked (it with a sword) several times afterwards.’

<i>(Sou Shen Ji, circ. AD 336)</i>

(41) 從上房行得二十里，到劉使普通院宿。 (入唐)

| cong | shang-fang | xing | de | er-shi | li |
| from | principal-room | walk | DE1 | get | twenty |

‘(We) walked twenty Lis from the principal room…’

<i>(Ru Tang Qiu Fa Xun Li Xing Ji, 9<sup>th</sup> c.)</i>

(42) 止得三日。 (祖堂卷二。達摩)

| zhi | de | san | ri |
| stop | DE1 | three | days |

‘(They) stayed there for three days.’

<i>(Zu Tang Ji, 10<sup>th</sup> century)</i>

The development can be schematized as follows:

- **Semantics**: ‘obtain physically’
  - > increment (of time, distance, repetitions)
- **Function**: V<sub>2</sub> ‘obtain’ in a serial V<sub>1</sub> V<sub>2</sub> O pattern
  - > marker of adverbial complements (Time/Distance/Repetitions)
• Creation of a product and result

The NP object being acquired may also refer metaphorically the product of a creative process, such as writing or printing, as shown in (43)-(44), where a piece of written work is completed after the process of writing, and an image of the Buddha’s footprint is copied (thus created via the process of copying), respectively.

(43) 廿日，寫得相公狀 (入唐求法巡禮行記)

xie de xianggong diezhang
write DE1.get certified.scholar official.document
‘...Wrote up the official document for Xianggong.’

(Ru Tang Qiu Fa Xun Li Xing Ji, 9 c.)

(44) 打得佛跡來，今在京城，轉畫來此安置 (入唐求法巡禮行記)

da de fuo ji lai
hit DE1 Buddha footprint come
‘I copied (from stone rubbing) Buddha’s footprint and brought it thither.’

(ibid.)

The creation of product sense may refer further to the formation of an idea or a mental representation via perception or comprehension, as in example (45). The state of philosophical epiphany (the consciousness of the experiencer becomes one with the experienced object) is reached after meditation, the revelation being the product of the process.

(45) 并證得三昧坐處大椅子，並今見在。 (入唐求法巡禮行記)

bing zheng de san-mei zuo chu da yizi
also deduce DE1.get three-secrets sit place big seat

bing jin jian zai
also today see exist
‘Also, the seat he sat on while he came to apprehend Samādhi (meditative absorption) is still there.’

(Ru Tang Qiu Fa Xun Li Xing Ji, 9 c.)

Furthermore, the NP in DE1 NP may simply refer to a participant involved in the activity, as shown in (46)-(47).
The examples reflect a loss of the ‘acquisition’ element of DE1, and further semantic generalization of DE1 in the [V DE1 NP] pattern, since the NP itself merely denotes a participant of the process. Though an NP – the quilt in (46) and the rock in (47) – still appears as an argument of the verb, neither is “obtained” or “created” via the action. The product being obtained, if any, is no longer the NP itself, but the achievement of the action marked by the DE1-introduced NP participant.

- **Marker of perfectivity**

DE1 in the [V DE1 NP] pattern developed perfective functions around the time of the Tang Dynasty, as exemplified in (48)-(50). The complete loss of the ‘acquisition’ meaning is shown in (48)-(49). Note that in (48) DE1 collocates with shi ‘lose’, a lexical verb meaning the opposite of ‘acquire’.
‘(He) went after (the monk) until (he reached up) Dayu Mountain, but only saw his mortar and alms bowl and did not see the monk.’

(Zu Tang Ji, 10th century)

After postverbal DE1 has been established as a perfective marker in [V DE1 NP], an NP is no longer required, and the perfective function starts to appear in the post-verbal [V DE1#] pattern without an NP, as shown in (50).

(50) 二將勒在帳西角頭立地。營已入得，號又偷得。（變文）
ying yi ru de hao you tou de
camp already enter DE1 sign also steal DE1
‘The camp (they) have entered; the countersign (they) have also stolen.’
(Bian Wen, 7th–9th c.)

We use the term ‘marker of perfectivity’ here to refer to a general category subsuming uses of [V DE1] with different degrees of grammaticalization. F. Wu (2001, 2002, 2009) distinguishes ‘perfective aspect marker’ from ‘phase complement’ (my translations) in that the former refers to a more grammaticalized category than the latter. Various labels have been used, somewhat inconsistently, for these categories. The more grammaticalized “perfective aspect marker” is called wánzhěng tǐ biāojì (完整體標記 ‘perfective marker’) in F. Wu (2009), wánchěng tǐ zhùcí (完成體助詞 ‘perfective particle’) in F. Wu (2001), dōng xiàng bùyǔ (動相補語 ‘phase complement’) in F. Wu (2002); the less grammaticalized “phase complement” is called dōng xiàng bùyǔ (動相補語) in F. Wu (2001, 2009) and jiéguǒ bùyǔ (結果補語 ‘result complement’) in F. Wu (2002). These two grammatical categories are converged under the general category of ‘marker of perfectivity’ (wánchěngtǐ biaojì 完整體標記) in F. Wu (2001) (see Table 3.1 below for a comparison of various uses by F. Wu and Lamarre 2001).

The distinction between ‘perfective aspect marker’ and ‘phase complement’ is not easily drawn in practice, and is not made here because, as will be discussed in §3.2.3.3,
we propose that it is not necessary for \(\text{DE}1\) to become a highly grammaticalized perfective aspect marker for \([V \, \text{DE}1]\) to serve as a source schema schema for the development of \([V \, \text{DE}1 \, \text{VP}]\) resultative.

• **A note on the objectless \([V \, \text{DE}1\#]\) pattern**

The \([V \, \text{DE}1\#]\) pattern without an overtly coded NP object is attested (though rarely) in Archaic Chinese, but mostly in the physical sense of obtaining, when the object being obtained is recoverable from the previous discourse.

(51) 其後有人盗高廟坐前玉環，捕得，文帝怒，下廷尉治．(史記)
\[
\text{qi hou you ren dao gao-miao zuo qian yu huan} \\
\text{that after exist person steal high-template seat front jade ring} \\
\text{bu de} \\
\text{catch DE1}
\]
‘After that, someone stole the jade ring in front of the royal temple. (They) caught (him).’

\((\text{Shi Ji}, 100 \text{ BC})\)

The \([V \, \text{DE}1\#]\) pattern becomes an alternative to \([\text{DE}1 \, V]\) to mark modality functions around the 7\(^{th}\) century, though the latter is still a much more frequent strategy. In addition, though perfective uses like (50) are attested with \([V \, \text{DE}1\#]\) pattern, the pattern is predominantly associated with the potential function in irrealis contexts, as shown in (52)-(55). These also have the object participant as the subject.

(52) 猴猴尚教得，人何不畜發。（寒山子詩集，猴猴尚教得, \约 691~793\）
\[
\text{mihou shang jiao de ren he bu fen-fa} \\
\text{monkey still teach DE1 person how NEG make.effort}
\]
‘Even monkeys can be taught, why don’t people make effort?’

\((\text{Poem of Han Shan Zi}, \text{AD 691~793})\)

(53) 路境不可行得（入唐求法巡禮行記）
\[
\text{lu jing bu ke xing de} \\
\text{road path NEG able walk DE1}
\]
‘The path could not be walked through.’

\((\text{Ru Tang Qiu Fa Xun Li Xing Ji}, \text{AD 9}\text{th c.})\)
The kinds of precious colors cannot be recorded.

(55) 争抛得？(祖堂)
zheng  pao  de
how  abandon  DE1
‘How can (I) abandon (my sister)?’
(Zu Tang Ji, AD 952)

3.2.2.3 From perfective to durative

The completive reading of DE1 in [V DE1 NP] may have a durative reading when
the completion of action V implies a result state that continues for a certain period of time,
i.e. the profile of DE1 shifts from the transition stage to the rest state (or continuity in
applying force). In (56), for example, the cursing event happens after the woman has
successfully taken hold of the man’s mustache, but also while the pulling is still going on.
Such an interpretation is available only when there is another predicate of the agent
following the object, i.e. in the [V DE1 NP VP] pattern.

(56) 夫人聞言，淚流如雨，拋卻粧臺起來，拽得髭鬚咒呪：(變文)
zhuai  de  ci-xu  zhou-zu
pull  DE1  mustache  curse
‘Pulling his mustache, (she) curses…’
(Bian Wen, 7th-9th c.)

3.2.2.4 Cline of grammaticalization and semantic generality of DE1 in [V DE1 NP]

This section shows that functions of DE1 in the [V DE1 NP] pattern are
grammaticalized to varying extents, and the classifications of these functions are vague
and inconsistent in the literature. More importantly, though, all instances of [V DE1 (NP)]
facilitate the increasing entrenchment postverbal DE1, regardless of whether DE1 is fully
grammaticalized or not.
The reader may have noticed that there is not a clear semantic distinction between DE1 in the “result complement” [V DE1 NP] and perfectivity marker [V DE1 (NP)]. The discussion of the aspectual functions of DE1 in the [V DE1 (NP)] pattern usually distinguishes between “result complement” and “perfectivity or realization of an action”, but the definitions and the terminologies used to distinguish these functions have been both vague and inconsistent. F. Wu (2002) for example, distinguishes between jiégōu bǔ yǔ (lit. result complement) and dòng xiàng bǔ yǔ (phase complement, based on Wu’s (2001, 2009) translation). The former is defined as ‘a complement that expresses that an action is achieved or has a result’, and the latter as ‘a complement that expresses that an action is achieved or completed’. The definitions provide no clear indication of contrast in terms of the aspectual behavior of the two categories. No indication of difference in morphosyntactic behavior (such as obligatory or optional NP) has been provided for the two categories.

As I have noted, the semantics of DE1 in these patterns falls on a cline of increasing generality and grammaticalization in terms of two parameters:

- The loss of the lexical meaning of acquisition;
- The forgrounding and conventionalization of complementation (introducing another argument or descriptive expression) and a perfectivity/realization meaning.

Table 3.1 shows the functions of [V DE1 (NP)] and the terminologies and definitions, and classifications of these functions in the literature:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3.1 Review of [V de1 (NP)] classes proposed in the literature</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pattern</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DE1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Wu (2001)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Wu (2002)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Wu (2009)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamarre (2001), based on Jiang (1995:22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corresponding uses</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.3 Constructionalization of [V de1 VP] secondary predication

The paths of constructionalization for [V de1 VP] secondary predication are discussed in this section.

3.2.3.1 [V de1 NP] as the source construction

The most commonly proposed path of grammaticalization for [V de1 VP] resultative secondary predication is associated with the aspectual and complementation
function of $DE_1$ in the $[V \ DE_1 \ N]$ pattern. When followed by a predicate denoting a
temporally subsequent event predicated of participant N, it tends to be interpreted as the
result of the previous event. The process of grammaticalization is shown as follows:

- Possible path 1: $[V \ DE_1 \ NP] \ [VP] > [V \ DE_1 \ NP \ VP]$

  
  $[V \ DE_1 \ NP] \ [Pred] \ [VP] > [V \ DE_1 \ NP \ Pred]$

  | complelve | subsequent event (predicated of N) | resultative

  perfective

This path of grammaticalization of $DE_1$ (and other ‘manner complement’ markers)
is proposed by L. Jiang (1995:22, cited and schematized in Lamarre 2001:105), and
shown in Figure 3.2:

**Figure 3.2 Grammaticalization scheme for postverbal $DE_1$ (1)** (based on
schematizations by Lamarre 2001:105, 110, diagrams combined and structural patterns
added to, originally from L. Jiang 1995)

F. Wu (2009) proposes the following paths of semantic extension, with difference
as to what is included as result complement:
Both Lamarre (2001) (and L. Jiang 1995) and F. Wu (2009) treat the postverbal “perfective” or “realization” functions of \( \text{DE}1 \) in the \([V \text{ DE} NP]\) pattern as the source of the \([V \text{ DE} VP]\) construction, despite differences in terminologies and classifications of the aspectual categories\(^1\).

The analysis raises certain questions to be addressed below. First, it is not entirely clear whether the category of perfectivity or realization of an action includes the objectless \([V \text{ DE}1 #]\) pattern (it does not seem to be attested), as opposed to the perfective aspect marker category, which does not require an overt NP.

The proposed grammaticalization path based on functions of postverbal \( \text{DE}1 \) cannot fully explain the existence of \([V \text{ DE}1 V]\) patterns, since there are only very few \([V \text{ DE}1 #]\) with completive interpretations. When \([V \text{ DE}1 VP]\) secondary predicates are emerging, \([V \text{ DE}1 #]\) (without overt object NP) is predominantly associated with the irrealis potential sense, not the completive sense. If the perfectivity reading is rarely attested in the \([V \text{ DE}1 #]\) pattern, can it be the sole direct source of \([V \text{ DE}1 V_{\text{complement}}]\)

---

\(^1\) Notice that F. Wu’s (2009) semantic map indicates that the potential function is derived from the perfective functions, which may be disputed given that the modality functions of \( \text{DE}1 \) emerged earlier than its aspectual functions (see discussion in §3.2.1). Given that the focus of our analysis is \( \text{DE}1 \) in non-potential complement constructions, the issue with the potential \([V \text{ DE} (VP)]\) will not be contended here.
complements? Or should the manner complement marker be linked to the more grammaticalized perfective aspect marker ([V DE1 (NP)])? The latter seems to be what F. Wu (2001) proposes. In his later work, Wu (2009) treats what he calls the phase complement (dòngxiàng bùyǔ 動相補語) as the direct source of all manner complement markers (also see previous discussion in §3.2.2.3).

3.2.3.2 Links to the potential [V DE1] function

A possible solution to the issue raised in §3.3.1 is to include another source that may facilitate the creation of the [V DE1 VP] secondary predication – the postverbal potential [V DE1#] function shown in (51)-(54) above. A potential [V DE1#] may be juxtaposed with a predicate (or a DE1 introduced potential [DE1 VP]). A tighter integration between the two patterns may also develop into the [V DE1 VP] pattern. This path of development is represented below:

- Possible path 2: [V DE1Potential]+ [(DE1) VP] > [V DE1 VP]

A similar path of development has been proposed by Sun (1996), who suggests that preverbal [DE1 VP] merges with postverbal [V DE1] to create the [V DE1 VP] pattern.

3.2.3.3 Preverbal DE1 and DE1-marked secondary predication

The dilemma discussed in §3.3.1 may also be circumvented by acknowledging that a fully grammaticalized aspectual function of DE1 in the postverbal [V DE1] pattern is not necessary for [V DE1 VP] secondary predicates to develop, and may not be the sole source for DE1-marked secondary predicates. Instead, the constructionalization of [V DE1 VP] correlates with the rise of the post-verbal DE1 ([V DE1]) schema in general.

Table 3.2 shows the change in the relative frequencies of [DE1 VP] and [V DE1] strings in three texts. The results are based on my counts of the [DE1 VP] and [V DE1] in
Shi Shuo Xin Yu (5th c., complete text), Bian Wen (7th-9th c., patterns extracted from the first 250 tokens of DE1) and Zu Tang Ji (10th c., patterns extracted from the first 250 tokens of DE1).

**Table 3.2 The frequency of [DE1 VP] and [V DE1] strings**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Shi Shuo Xin Yu (complete text)</th>
<th>Bian Wen (first 250 tokens)</th>
<th>Zu Tang Ji (first 250 tokens)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DE1 VP : V DE1 token</td>
<td>89 : 7</td>
<td>78 : 40</td>
<td>73 : 54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DE1 VP : V DE1 ratio</td>
<td>12.71 : 1</td>
<td>1.95 : 1</td>
<td>1.35 : 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results in Table 3.2 show a rise in the [V DE1] pattern after the Tang Dynasty (7th-9th c.). The [V DE1] pattern is extremely rare in the time of Shi Shuo Xin Yu, but becomes increasingly frequent in Bian Wen and Zu Tang Ji. These strings appear in partially structurally and semantically related patterns with [V DE1 VP], and serve as an analogical force to attract more members to into the schema.

In addition, the potential, causative/resultative DE1 function discussed in §3.2.1.1-§3.2.1.3 had been well established at the time the secondary predication function of DE1 is developing. These functions in the [DE1 VP] pattern also facilitate the development of [V DE1 VP] pattern. The [V DE1 VP] construction may have developed from the juxtaposition of an anterior event encoded by V, and the resulting (or potential) event encoded by [DE1 VP]. At this period, the [V DE1 VP] pattern has both a potential and a resultative interpretation. The resulting [V DE1 VP] pattern thus has both a potential and a resultative interpretation. The possible path of development is schematized as follows:

- Possible path 3: [V(P)]…[DE1_potential, cause, result VP] > [V DE1 VP]

Compare (57)-(58) from Zu Tang Ji, one with a preverbal DE1-resultative, one with
a [V DE1 VP] resultative secondary predication.

(57) 師上堂良久，便起來雲：為你得徹困也。孚上座云：和尚敗闕也。（祖堂集）

\[ \text{wei} \quad \text{ni} \quad \text{DE} \quad \text{che-kun} \quad \text{ye} \]
\[
\text{because.of} \quad \text{2S} \quad \text{DE1} \quad \text{complete-trapped} \quad \text{PRT}
\]

‘I am completely baffled (= in a state where one cannot find words or solutions to a problem) because of you.’

\[(Zu\ \text{Tang\ Ji,}\ 10^{\text{th}}\ \text{century)}\]

(58) 清云：徑山問得徹困也。師笑云：徑山在浙中，因何問得徹困？（祖堂集）

\[ jingshan \quad \text{wen} \quad \text{DE} \quad \text{chen-kun} \quad \text{ye} \]
\[
\text{PNask} \quad \text{DE1} \quad \text{complete-trapped} \quad \text{PRT}
\]

‘Jingshan completely baffled (him) by asking (questions).’ (lit. Jingshan asked him (and as a result he was) completely baffled.)

\[(\text{ibid.})\]

The [V DE1 VP] pattern in (58) can clearly be parsed as an anterior event V combined with a DE1VP resultative (illustrated by (57)). It is important to acknowledge that a given instance of [V DE1 VP] can be linked to different patterns. Example (57) can potentially be linked to both the preverbal and postverbal DE1-patterns, as shown below:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{wen} & \text{DE} & \text{che-kun} \\
\text{[V]} & \text{[DE1] VP} \\
\text{[V DE1]} & \text{[VP]}
\end{array}
\]

### 3.3 DE1-marked secondary predication in Late Medieval Chinese

DE1-marked secondary predicate constructions in the [V DE1 VP] pattern come into shape in Late Medieval Chinese, around the time of Tang and Five Dynasties (7\textsuperscript{th}-10\textsuperscript{th} centuries, see L. Wang 1980, P. Yang 1990, S. Jiang 1994, F. Wu 2000, C. Liu 2001, C. Zhao 2002, among others). This construction is the precursor of DE-marked ‘verb complement’ construction in Mandarin, where the predicative VP is referred to as a verb complement of V. In this period, V is always a dynamic verb, and VP can be either a dynamic or a stative predicate that is causally linked to V. VP is broadly defined here to
include patterns of varying complexity. There are no intervening elements between V and DE1 VP.

3.3.1 Semantic and formal characteristics of V

The predicates that are attested as V are predominantly monosyllabic, though occasionally disyllabic verbs are attested. Out of the 64 Types of verbs attested as V in the [V DE1 V(P)] pattern, 59 are monosyllabic verbs. The 5 disyllabic verbs attested are all composed of synonymous monosyllabic compound verbs, e.g. ji-jiao ‘devise, lit. plan-count’. The type of verbs attested in Bian Wen and Zu Tang Ji are provided in Table 3.3

Disyllabic verbs are transcribed with a hyphen between the two syllables.

Table 3.3 Verbs attested as V in [V DE1 VP] secondary predication in Bian Wen and Zu Tang Ji

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V1</th>
<th>Semantic class</th>
<th>Semantics</th>
<th>Chinese character</th>
<th>pinyin</th>
<th># Bian Wen</th>
<th># Zu Tang Ji</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manner of obtaining</td>
<td>physical manipulation</td>
<td>grasp</td>
<td>將</td>
<td>jiang</td>
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<td>20</td>
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<td>zhuo</td>
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<td>zhai</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>pick</td>
<td>掳</td>
<td>cai</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Cause change of state</td>
<td>save, redeem</td>
<td>救</td>
<td>jiu</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>change-save/redeem</td>
<td>化救</td>
<td>hua-jiu</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Change of potential</td>
<td>avoid</td>
<td>免</td>
<td>mian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Change of location</td>
<td>arrive at</td>
<td>達</td>
<td>da</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transformation</td>
<td>Cause of transformation</td>
<td>Raise (bring up)</td>
<td>養</td>
<td>yang</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kindle</td>
<td>點</td>
<td>dian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>exercise</td>
<td>練</td>
<td>lian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bodily process</td>
<td>cry</td>
<td>嘆</td>
<td>ti</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motion</td>
<td>chase</td>
<td>趕</td>
<td>chen</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As illustrated by Table 3.3, all of the verbs attested as V are dynamic verbs (including the dynamic construal of cause-emotion and cognitive verbs). V may be semantically primitive and encode only the element of causation. The predicates coded as manipulative/causative verbs, e.g. ling ‘make’ or zhi ‘cause’, do not specify the anterior event that is causally linked to the resulting event, but only indicates the existence of a causative force.

(59) "Make them/Allow them to be full and satiated." (Bian Wen, 7th-9th c.)

(60) "Soon it brings disasters to oneself." (ibid.)

The other semantic classes of V specify the manner of cause, but may or may not entail a change of state at the end of the process. These collocational patterns demonstrate various subschemas that may affect the emergence of DE1-marked secondary predicate constructions. Predicates deonting manner of obtaining are the most closely associated with the lexical meaning of DE1 ‘obtain’. The manner of obtaining construal of V is largely restricted to path of motion predicates as the ‘resultating’ event, but may refer literally to transfer of possession or metaphorically to the inception of an event, or the creation or transformation of an object (see §3.3.2.1).
3.3.2 Semantics and morphosyntactic patterns of VP

The element functioning as VP varies in semantic content and morphological complexity. The predicative expression introduced by $DE1$ can be classified into three general semantic types: (a) a predicate that describes the path of motion, (b) a predicate that only marks the completion of the anterior event denoted by $V$, (c) a predicate that describes either a stative or a dynamic event that is causally related to $V$.

The predicate VP introduced by $DE1$ may or may not include an overtly coded NP subject. When it does not include an NP subject, the subject may have appeared before $DE1$, or is contextually recoverable. When the VP introduced by $DE1$ has an overtly coded subject, it also serves as the object of (the participant affected by) the event denoted by the predicate before $DE1$. The predicate VP includes several patterns of varying complexity, e.g. (i) a simple predicate, (ii) an descriptive element, e.g. the ABB template in (78) below (also see discussion of template in Chapter 2), (iii) a complex predicate of a subject-predicate pattern, or a parallel structure of a series of events (rarer).

3.3.2.1 Path of motion

- $V1_{MANNER \ DE1 \ (NP)} \ V2_{PATH}$

This type has a $V1$ denoting the manner of acquiring the NP object, accompanied by a path verb as $V2$, predominantly the directional predicate *lai* ‘come’ (sometimes combined with a predicate of path of motion, e.g. *ru lai* ‘lit. enter come’, *dao lai* ‘lit. arrive come’). The path verb signals the directional or deictic path (literal or metaphorical) of the participant being affected.

In *Bian Wen*, the path element is only attested after the NP subject in the [$V \ DE1$ NP Path] pattern. This pattern is related to, but different from the resultative of the
previous event, in that it expresses the motion of the possessor after the object’s coming into his possession, though the motion simultaneously affects the object being possessed.

(61) 見兒將飯舘來，望風即生•惜。（變文）
\[
\text{jian} \quad \text{er} \quad \text{jian} \quad \text{de} \quad \text{fan} \quad \text{buo} \quad \text{lai}
\]
see son hold/take DE1 rice bowl come
‘(She) saw her son taking a rice bowl hither.’

(Bian Wen, 7\textsuperscript{th}-9\textsuperscript{th} c.)

(62) 象兒取得荊杖到來，（變文）
\[
\text{xiang-er} \quad \text{qu} \quad \text{de} \quad \text{jing} \quad \text{zhang} \quad \text{dao} \quad \text{lai}
\]
PN Son take DE1 thorn staff arrive come
‘Xiang took the thorn staff hither.’

(ibid.)

Compare (61) and (62) with (56) in §3.2.2.3, where the predicate after DE1 NP, zhouzu ‘curse’, is clearly predicated of the human subject occurring in the previous discourse, not the mustache. The path of motion predicate in (61)-(62) is predicated of both the human subject and the object being possessed. Also note the durative interpretation of V DE1 when combined with path element.

The path predicate lai is also extended to express metaphorical transfer and inceptive aspect.

(63) 我若之處買得你來…即賣得你。況是摘得你來，交我如何賣你。（變文）
\[
\text{wo} \quad \text{ruo} \quad \text{zhi} \quad \text{chu} \quad \text{mai} \quad \text{de} \quad \text{ni} \quad \text{lai}... \\
\text{1S} \quad \text{if} \quad \text{that} \quad \text{place} \quad \text{buy} \quad \text{DE1} \quad \text{2S} \quad \text{come}
\]
\[
\text{ji} \quad \text{mai} \quad \text{de} \quad \text{ni}
\text{then} \quad \text{sell} \quad \text{DE1} \quad \text{3S}
\]
\[
\text{kuang} \quad \text{shi} \quad \text{lu} \quad \text{de} \quad \text{ni} \quad \text{lai} \quad \text{jiao} \quad \text{wo} \quad \text{ru} \quad \text{he} \quad \text{mai} \quad \text{ni}
\text{however} \quad \text{focus} \quad \text{abduct} \quad \text{DE1} \quad \text{2S} \quad \text{come} \quad \text{make} \quad \text{1S} \quad \text{how} \quad \text{sell} \quad \text{2S}
\]
‘If I had bought you from there…I could sell you. However, I have ABDUCTED you – how could I sell you?’

(Bian Wen, 7\textsuperscript{th}-9\textsuperscript{th} c.)

(64) 忆得這身侍你來，交人不省傍灶台（變文）
\[
\text{yi} \quad \text{de} \quad \text{zhe} \quad \text{shen} \quad \text{shi} \quad \text{ni} \quad \text{lai}
\text{remember} \quad \text{DE1} \quad \text{this} \quad \text{body} \quad \text{serve} \quad \text{2S} \quad \text{come}
\]
‘I remember that since I started serving you…’
In *Zu Tang Ji*, a path predicate is attested as V2 where there is no object NP between the two verbs, i.e., in the $[V_1 \text{DE} V_2]$ pattern. In such contexts, $\text{DE}$ often has a strong potential reading, which resembles the potential form in Late Medieval Chinese.

(65) 只到這裡豈是捉得到摩？（祖堂集）

```
zhī dào zhě lǐ qǐ shí ti dé qì muò
```

only arrive.at here INTER COP lift DE1 rise INTER.PRT

‘(You could) only take it this far, how can you think you can lift it up?’

(Zu Tang Ji, AD 952)

(66) 總說得出亦不得見。（祖堂集）

```
zōng shuō dé chu yì bù dé jiàn
```

although speak DE1 come.out concessive NEG DE1 see

‘If you don’t see it, although you can describe it, you cannot see it.’

(ibid.)

The potential reading is perhaps partially contributed by the irrealis context as well. In realis contexts, the path verb, aside from denoting the potential direction of a motion, can carry aspectual meaning as well. In the following conversation, the lions refer metaphorically to the six human sensations, and the act of taming the lions is compared to that of taking command of one’s sensations. The deictic path verbs do not really fall in the category of canonical resulting state, which is brought about by the previous event, but merely marks the action as completed.

(67) 藥山問：承汝解弄師子，弄得幾出？（祖堂集）

```
yaoshān wèn chéng rú jiē nòng shí zì
PN ask hear you know juggle lion
```

```
nòng dé jī chū
juggle DE1 how.many come.out
```

‘Yaoshan asked: I heard that you could juggle the lions (of the six human sensations). How many can you juggle with?’

(ibid.)
The \([\text{DE1}+\text{path}]\) combination later becomes specialized in potential contexts, which developed into a schema independent of the non-potential \([\text{V DE1 VP}]\) schema.

### 3.3.2.2 Marker of completive aspect

- \(\text{V1}_{\text{creation/transformation}} \text{DE1 (NP)} \text{V2}_{\text{aspect}}\)

  In this pattern, \(\text{V1}\) is usually a predicate of creation or transformation, and \(\text{V2}\) is an aspectual marker that indicates the completion of the event denoted by \(\text{V1}\), e.g. \text{cheng} ‘complete’, \text{chuan} ‘full, complete’.

(68) 計校得成身已老 （變文）

\[
\text{ji-jiao de cheng shen yi lao}
\]

device \(\text{DE1}\) finish/succeed body already old

‘When the devising is finished, one’s body is already old.’

(Bian Wen, 7\(^{\text{th}}\)-9\(^{\text{th}}\) c.)

(69) 不惜功夫養成。 （變文）

\[
\text{bu xi gongfu yang de cheng}
\]

NEG pity effort raise \(\text{DE1}\) finish/succeed

‘With much effort, he finished training (managed to train) his parrot.’

(ibid.)

(70) 織得錦成便裁截下 （變文）

\[
\text{zhi de jin cheng bian jie xia}
\]

weave \(\text{DE1}\) brocade complete then cut down

‘When (she) completed weaving the brocade, (she) cut it down.’

(ibid.)

(71) 我兒若修得合全 （變文）

\[
\text{wo er ruo xiu de cang quan}
\]

1S son if fix \(\text{DE1}\) barn complete

‘If my son (can) restore (fully fix) the barn…’

(ibid.)

Some elements, e.g. \text{che} ‘thorough, complete’, are not fully grammaticalized aspectual markers, and may still be read as a stative property.
It hasn’t been one or two days that he had completed study the scriptures.

‘It hasn’t been one or two days that he had studied the scriptures thoroughly/completely.’

(72) 未過得一兩日念得徹，和尚又教上別經。（祖堂集）

`wei guo de yi liang ri nian de che`

NEG pass DE1 one two day study DE1 thorough,complete

Che in (72) may be construed as the completion of the studying event, or the achievement of thorough understanding of the contents of the scriptures. The latter construal is ambiguous between a resultative (study (till the understanding is) thorough) and a manner interperatation (study thoroughly) (see § 3.3.1.2 below).

A predicate of path or completion is less semantically elaborate, and provide little semantic value except for marking the direction and/or aspectual contour of the anterior event. The non-potential interpretation of path and completive markers as VP in the [V DE1 VP] pattern gradually becomes peripheral in the subsequent development, and is eventually lost in Mandarin.

3.3.2.3 Stative or dynamic event causally linked to V

- \( V_{\text{DYNAMIC}} \) DE1 (NP) \( V_{\text{DYNAMIC,STATIVE}} \)

Aside from path directionals and completive aspect markers, the predicate introduced by DE1 may express a stative or a dynamic event that is factually related to the previous event. The DE1 introduced predicate most commonly expresses the resulting state or action of the event encoded by the predicate before it. DE1 links two causally and sequentially related events.

\[(\text{Agent } \rightarrow ) \text{ activity (force)} \rightarrow \text{patient } \rightarrow \text{resulting state/action}\]

\[(\text{Agent } \rightarrow ) \text{ activity } \rightarrow \text{resulting state/action}\]

The DE1-introduced predicate is attested in patterns of varying complexity.
3.3.2.3.1 No overtly coded affected NP

The predicate introduced by DEL may not have an overtly coded subject participant – the subject may have appeared before DEL, or is contextually-recoverable, as shown in (73)-(74).

(73) 隨有道，出鸚鵡，教得分明解人語。（變文）

long you dao chu yiwu
field exist path exit parrot

jiao de fenming jie ren yu
teach DEL clear know human speech
‘There was a path in the field, where a parrot came out. (The parrot) was taught (Or: (I) taught (the parrot)) to clearly know human speech.’

(Bian Wen, 7th-9th c.)

(74) 若化救得再活（變文）

ruo hua jiu de zai huo
if transform save DEL again live
‘If you can revive/save (her) so that she gets to live again…’

( Ibid. )

3.3.2.3.2 Overtly coded NP

The predicate following DEL may have an overt NP as its subject, and thus forms a complete subject-predicate (or topic-comment) structure.

• NP is a regular affected participant

The comment may describe an induced action, such as the abandonment of the thorn by Emperor Xiang in (75).

(75) 迷得襄王拋國位。（變文）

mi de xiang wang pao guo-wei
mesmerize DEL PN emperor abandon country-position
‘(She) mesmerized Emperor Xiang to abandon the thorn.’

(Bian Wen, 7th-9th c.)

The DEL-introduced event may also indicate a resulting state of the previous event. The subject may be a real object being affected by the previous action, such as (63)-(64).
• Descriptive subject-predicate $A_{SBJ}$-$BB_{PRED}$ pattern

The ABB descriptive expression is also attested as the $DE1$-introduced predicative.

• NP subject that denotes part of a greater whole

The subject of the subject-predicate pattern may also denote part of a greater whole (the subject NP appearing before $DE1$), e.g. the physique or body of a person, the magnitude of incremental entities.

(79) 直須折得形骸鬼不如（變文）

zhi xu zhe de xing-hai gui bu ru
till require bend/torture $DE1$ form-skeleton ghost NEG resemble
‘Until one tortured his body to the extent that it is worse than a ghost’s…’
(Bian Wen, 7th-9th c.)
The sins add up to a significant amount.

- The double-nominal construction

The participant NP which represents the whole can also appear as the subject of the DE1 introduced predicate, thus the topic-comment (subject-predicate) expression introduced by DE1 may have a complex predicative expression consisted of another subject-predicate pattern schematized as follows:

\[
[V \ DE1 \ NP_{SBJ} \ [NP_{SBJ} \ Pred]_{PRED}]
\]

\[\text{whole part}\]

This double-subject construction is commonly used to express inalienable possession, illustrated by (82)-(85):

(82) 千約萬束不取語，惱得老人腸肚爛。（變文）

\[\text{nao de lao ren chang du lan}\]

annoy DE1 old man intestine belly be.rotten

‘(The speech) annoyed the old man (such that) his intestines got rotten.’

(Bian Wen, 7th-9th c.)

(83) 二將當時夜半越，誇得皇帝溼背汗流。（變文）

\[\text{xia de huangdi qia bei han luo}\]

scare DE1 emperor watery back sweat flow

‘(It) scared the emperor (such that) sweat ran down all over his back.’

(84) 生時百骨自開張，誇得渾家手腳忙。（變文）

\[\text{hu de hun jia shou jiao mang}\]

scare DE1 all family hand foot busy

‘(The birth) scared the whole family (such that they are) in a disorderly haste (lit. their hands and feet are busy.)’

(85) 王孙這日便掛跡，置得九宮人浩浩。（變文）

\[\text{wang-sun zhe ri bian paixie}\]

king-grand.child this day then put_on_a_show

\[\text{zhi de jiu gong ren haohao}\]

place DE1 nine palace person IDEO.vast(water)
‘The royalty then puts on a show this day, (and) arranges the nine places (in such a way that they are) packed with people.’ (or: causes the nine palaces to be packed with people). ‘(He) placed the nine palaces full of people.’

(ibid.)

The types of VP attested in [V ㄎㄧ l VP] resultatives in *Bian Wen* and *Zu Tang Ji* are listed in Table 3.4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of VP</th>
<th>Semantics of VP</th>
<th>Token frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Overtly coded NP subject</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Path</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspect</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other events</td>
<td>Dynamic</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stative</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dynamic or stative</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dynamic + Stative</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No NP subject</td>
<td>Path</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aspect</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aspect or stative property</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other events</td>
<td>Dynamic</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stative</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dynamic or stative</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V ㄎㄧ l NP or V ㄎㄧ l Pred</td>
<td>Stative-value</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.3.3 Semantic prototype and frequently associated pragmatic inferences

In this period, the predicate after V ㄎㄧ l is predominantly a resulting event, i.e. the consequence of the previous event. The ㄎㄧ l-resultative construction in the Tang and Five Dynasties consists of the following basic semantic elements.

- **Force/Causation:** There is transmission of force between the shared participant of the anterior event and the resulting event(s).
- **Change:** The onset of the resulting event represents a change from the onset of the anterior event. The change may involve a state or an activity.
- **Telicity:** The onset of the resulting event marks the anterior event as temporally bounded.
The constructional prototype encodes these basic elements, but V and VP may be more or less elaborate in terms of their semantic content. While all of the above elements are present in the two events linked by resultative relations, one or some of the elements may be foregrounded in DE1-marked resultatives. Besides expressing the resulting event, a few instances are also analyzable as expressing the manner in which an event is performed due to various pragmatic inferences associated with the context.

3.3.3.1 Alternative construal of result as a simultaneous event (manner/depictive)

In a few instances, the result of an event may be alternatively construed as a simultaneous state of affairs.

3.3.3.1.1 Temporal overlap

The first factor leading to the simultaneous construal of a result is the inference the conceivable temporal overlap between the anterior and the resultative events.

(86) 父娘啼得淚汪汪。
father  mother  cry  DE1  tear  IDEO.watery
‘(Their) parents cry (themselves) tearful.’
‘(Their) parents cry tearful(ly).’
‘(Their) parents cry with tears running down.’

(Bian Wen, 7th-9th c.)

In (86), although the state of being tearful perhaps comes some time after the crying action, and therefore fits the definition of a ‘resulting state’, it is also natural to conceptualize “being tearful” as a simultaneous event that remains true while the crying action is conducted, thus a depictive. In addition, the description may be interpreted as a manner of crying, i.e. the parents cry tearfully (cry in such a way that their eyes are watery or running down with tears), or simply as a physical property of the criers – i.e. they cry (being) tearful. Notably, there is not a strict formal distinction between event- vs.
participant-orientation. The combination of lei ‘tear’ and the ideophone wangwang, derived from the movement of water, describe the great quantity, and likely also the movement and the shimmering of the tears. This shows the lack of strict distinction between a stative and dynamic construal of the expression – the expression may also be translated as ‘(with) tears running (down)’.

### 3.3.3.1.2 Result associated with manner of performance

In addition, a ‘result’ may be alternatively construed as manner because it is correlated with how the action is carried out.

(87) 倍加彈感人情，終不分疏出姓名。(變文)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bei jia tan de gan ren qing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>double add play DE1 touch person feeling</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘He played to the effect that it touched people’s feelings even more.’

‘He played even more touchingly.’

*(Bian Wen, 7th-9th c.)*

In (87), gan ren qing ‘touching, lit. touch person feeling’ indicates the psychological effect of the performance on people, and thus originally a resultative, but it is also clearly correlated with the manner in which the instrument is played – the effect it has on people is determined by the nature of the performance. The expression gan ren qing has a dynamic construal as a cause of emotion, and a stative construal as a general quality of the performance.

The manner-result ambiguity also applies to the result of a cognitive process, such as fenming ‘clear’ in (88).

(88) 與我子細說看，令我心開悟，解得佛法分明。（變文）

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ling wo xin kaiwu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>make IS heart enlightened</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

jie de fuo fa fenming

interpret/understand DE1 buddhist principle clear
‘Make my heart enlightened, and interpret/understand the Buddhist principles (so that they become) clear/clearly.’

(Bian Wen, 7th-9th c.)

In (88), the result state fenming ‘clear’ refers to a change of the mental representation of the Buddhist principles, after a process of interpretation and understanding. The understanding is correlated with the manner of interpretation. The predicate fenming may also be construed as a predicate of evaluation (see §3.3.3.1.3 below).

3.3.3.1.3 Evaluation of result construed as evaluation of manner

DE1-marked resultatives are also semantically associated with evaluation. This is partly facilitated by the fact that the object complement of V-DE1 (initially of acquisition of knowledge, creation, cognition), for instance, can be interpreted either as the content itself, or as an evaluation of the content.

In Tang and Five Dynasties, most of the cases attested are likely still linked to the complementation/aspectual function of DE1. The [V DE1 NP VALUE] pattern where the NP is defined by a value is illustrated by (89)-(92) below.

The interpretation of shi as an evaluation is a plausible (though backgrounded) alternative in (89), where shi ‘truth, real’ more likely refers to the facts being discovered after the investigation.

(89) 又救切斷佛教，恐在路諸州府檢勘得實，科違敕之罪。（入唐求法巡禮行記）
kong zai-lu zhu zhou fu
fear at-circuit many small(prefecture) prefecture

jian kan de shi
collate examine DE1 truth/fact
‘…fearing that the circuits and many prefectures would investigate and find out the truth.’

(Ru Tang Qiu Fa Xun Li Xing Ji, 9th c.)

In (89), shi ‘truth (n.), real (a.)’ refers to the facts being discovered after the investigation. What is the “reality” or “truth”, however, is to some extent dependent on
how the facts are examined and investigated, and may have the potential to be extended
to ‘way of investigation’ (manner). Such an interpretation is a plausible (though
backgrounded) alternative.

In *Bian Wen*, predicates of perception *ren* ‘recognize’ and manipulation *zuo* ‘do’,
are attested that involve a “product” as an object-complement, as in (90)-(91).

(90) 駿馬彪鞍穿鎖甲，旗下依依認得真，只是季布鍾離末，終之更不是餘人。(變文)

Example (90) with *ren* ‘recognize’ as V1 is a perception/cognition verb, but the
achievement of recognizing someone (instantly or as a run-up process) involves the
experiencer’s creation of a mental image of the stimulus, where *zen* ‘real’ as V2 is a
value attributed both to the product (the mental image) of the perceptual process (i.e. that
the images are real, or the recognition that the identities are real) and the perceptual
experience itself (manner), i.e. that the perception itself is clear.

The evaluative expression *bu ren* ‘lit. NEG good’, can be also be interpreted as an
evaluation of the result upon the completion of the event (result), the appraisal of the
deed itself as spiteful or evil (complement), or even be extended to describe the ‘manner’
of the action, i.e. how the event was performed made it an evil deed.

(91) 些些小事，何得紛紛，直欲危他性命，作得如許不仁。(變文)
The same complementation vs. manner/evaluation ambiguity can be found in (92) from the Buddhist text *Zu Tang Ji*, where the postverbal DE takes an object complement defined by an evaluation of its content.

(92) 體理得妙。（祖堂集）

\[ \text{tili} \quad \text{de} \quad \text{miao} \]
understand \hspace{0.5cm} \text{DE} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{wonder/wondrous(ly)}

‘Understand the wonder./Understand wondrously.’

*(Zu Tang Ji, AD 952)*

Example (92) has a cognitive predicate *tili* ‘experience-understand’ which takes a nominal complement *miao* ‘wonder, mystery’. In these examples, the value expression is primarily attributed to the object of the action (participant-oriented), but an evaluation of the condition/manner in which the event is carried out (event-oriented) may be perceived based on inference. The examples show that the event-oriented functions of \([V \hspace{0.5cm} \text{DE} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{VP}]\) may also be facilitated by the fluid categoricity of word classes in Chinese – the N in \([V \hspace{0.5cm} \text{DE} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{N}]\) may encode both the ‘product of the process’ and a quality.

\[ [V \hspace{0.5cm} \text{DE} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{N}] \]
Creation/Cognition Product, result > evaluation

3.3.3.1.4 Resultive predicate as a measurement of the effect of anterior event

Some of the resultative events not only describe a change, but also imply that the change is induced by an excessive force. A description of a resulting event often implies a measurement of the magnitude of the force inducing the event.

(93) 嚴（喊）得山崩石烈（裂），東西亂走，南北奔衝。（變文）

\[ \text{han} \quad \text{de} \quad \text{shan} \quad \text{beng} \quad \text{shi} \quad \text{lie} \]
shout \hspace{0.5cm} \text{DE} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{mountain} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{collapse} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{rock} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{crack}

dong \quad xi \quad luan \quad zou \quad nan \quad bei \quad ben \quad chong
east \hspace{0.5cm} \text{west} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{chaotic} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{move} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{south} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{north} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{run} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{rush}

‘(The troop) shouted (and as a result) mountains collapsed and rocks cracked, moving about chaotically east and west, rushing south and north.’

*(Bian Wen, 7th-9th c.)*
In (93), the predicate after \( \text{DE1} \) introduces three clauses to elaborate the effect of the troop’s shouting. The description is apparently hyperbolic, since the mere shouting of the troop could hardly bring about such a drastic effect in reality. Being an extreme exaggeration, the resulting events are naturally associated with inference that a certain dimension of the shouting event exists in an excessive degree, which is most likely the magnitude of shouting, or perhaps the great number of soldiers involved. The inference of excessive extent is later reanalyzed as profiling a measurement of the magnitude of the action, instead of the real resulting action of the previous event (see Chapter 7).

In sum, the \([ \text{V} \ \text{DE1} \ \text{VP}]\) resultative construction is a prototype category composed of the following elements:

- **V(event)**
  - [(a) onset of change]
  - [(b) cause]
  - [(c) specify manner of cause]

- **DE1**
  - (a) completion of anterior event
  - (b) elaboration of result (correlated with manner)
  - (c) measurement the effect of V
  - (d) evaluation of the result

The pragmatic inferences associated with resultatives later become conventionalized functions in the Song Dynasty, which will be discussed in Chapter 7.

### 3.4 Precursors of \( \text{DE2} \)-constructions

The origin of the modification marker/nominalizer \( \text{DE2} \) (的) has been an issue of considerable dispute. It is generally agreed that the written form \( di \) (底) in Medieval Chinese started to be replaced by \( de \) (的) in the 13\textsuperscript{th} century (T. Mei 2000[1988]). A number of hypotheses, however, have been proposed regarding the direct source \( \text{DE2} \). Noticing that \( di \) (DE2 底) shares functional and structural overlaps with the previously existing grammatical markers \( zhi \) (之) and \( zhe \) (者), some linguists propose that \( \text{DE2} \) is a
lexical substitution due to phonetic change from zhi (之) (L. Wang 1980, T. Mei 2000[1988]) or zhe (者) (e.g. S. Lü 1984[1943]). Other theories propose that DE2 (di 底) developed from the demonstrative di (底) (C. Feng 1990, 1991, Shi and Li 2001) or the locative/directional di (底) (L. Jiang 1999, Z. Chu 2002). Until today, no single proposal for the direct source of DE2 is generally agreed upon among Chinese linguists (see F. Wu 1996:323-26, Peyraube 1996:193-94, M. Liu 2008:24-25 for further review of these proposals). Recently, the focus of research has shifted from determining the single direct origin of DE2 to identifying constructions with paralleled developmental paths and existing networks of constructions with similar functions that may serve as models for analogy (cf. Yap et. al. 2010, S. Jiang 1999). Although we adopt the view that the lexical source of DE2 is ultimately the noun di ‘bottom’, it is our understanding that the lexical source alone has a minor role in terms of the process of constructionalization. The development of DE2 into a multi-functional marker of nominal modification is heavily influenced by the existing patterns and the constructional networks. We will, therefore, focus rather on discussing the various schemas that serve as models of analogy for DE2 constructions.

The lexical use of di (DE2) ‘bottom’ occurs in the [N di] pattern to refer physically to ‘the bottom of N’, where N is an object concept designating a location. This is illustrated in (94) attested in Archaic Chinese, where se di (DE2) ‘the bottom of (the instrument) se’ is sanctioned by the strategy of juxtaposition of an attributive modifier to its head.
(94) 越，瑟底孔。（禮記·鄭玄注）

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{yue} & \text{se} & \text{di} & \text{kong} \\
\text{PN} & \text{PN.stringed_instrument} & \text{DE2.bottom} & \text{hole}
\end{array}
\]

‘Yue, the hole at the bottom of se (a stringed instrument).’

(Annotation of Li Ji, by Zheng Xuan, AD 2\textsuperscript{nd} c., from HANCHI)

[N\text{LOC DE2}], originally meaning ‘bottom of N’, is then metonymically extended to refer to the location N itself. The specific ‘bottom’ interpretation may co-exist with a more semantically bleached/general interpretation ‘location’, shown in example (95).

(95) 復歸虛無底，化作長黃虬。（杜甫詩）

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{fu} & \text{gui} & \text{xuwu} & \text{di} \\
\text{again} & \text{return emptiness} & \text{DE2}
\end{array}
\]

‘It again returns to (the bottom of) emptiness…’

(Poem of Du Fu, AD 8\textsuperscript{th} c.)

3.4.1 The emergence of grammatical functions of DE2

The grammatical functions of DE2 emerged by the end of the Tang Dynasty (9\textsuperscript{th} century), but they are attested only sporadically across different texts.

3.4.1.1 Semantic generalization of [N DE2] to refer to N

DE2 in the pattern [N\text{LOC DE2}] becomes semantically generalized, and [N\text{LOC DE2}] no longer means ‘the bottom of N’, but ‘the location N’. The function probably emerges
in the Tang Dynasty, as illustrated by (96) from Bian Wen, where DE2 is attached to the directional hou ‘back’ to refer to ‘(the) back’.  

(96) 隨手出火，燒卻前頭草，後底火來，他自定。前頭火著，後底火滅。（變文）

\[\text{shao que qian tou cao …}\]

\[\text{burn INCEP front head grass}\]

\[\text{qian tou huo zhao hou di huo mie}\]

front head fire kindle back DE2 fire extinguish

‘(The fire) burns the grass in the front…’

‘Fire is kindled in the front; fire is extinguished in the back.’

‘Fire in the front is kindled; fire in the back is extinguished.’

\[(\text{Bian Wen, AD 7}\textsuperscript{th}-9\textsuperscript{th} \text{c.})\]

A parallel semantic extension is also attested for the directionals shang ‘up, above’ and xia ‘down, below’ in the same period, shown in (97).

(97) 有錢石上好，無錢劉下好，士大夫張下好。（《全唐詩》卷 867《選人語》）

\[\text{you qian shi shang hao wu qian liu xia hao}\]

have money PN up good NEG money PN under good

\[\text{shi dafu zhang xia hao}\]

literati officialdom PN under good

‘(If one) has money, (going to) Sir Shi is good; (if one) has no money, (going to) Sir. Liu is good; (for) literati and officialdom, (going to) Sir. Zhang is good.’

\[(\text{Quan Tang Shi, circ. 8\textsuperscript{th} century})\]

In (96), parallel patterns are also attested for tou in the same context. The generalized locative light noun tou, originally ‘head’, is attached to the locative qian

---

\(^2\) A possible example of [N\textsubscript{loc}-DE2] with a general locative interpretation before the Tang Dynasty (618-907 AD) is cited by Yap et al. (2010), shown in (1) below:

(1) 自兹迄今，洪勳彌彰，椉威九河，魏、趙底服，逈轍崎、潼，連城冰泮（宋書）

\[\text{wei zhaod fudi}\]

PN PN DE2. bottom clothes

‘The clothes (soldiers) from Wei, Zhao, and the like.’ (Song Shu, 420-589 AD, cited in Yap et al. 2010:74)

Yap et al. interpret [wei zhaod di] in (1) as ‘the locations Wei and Zhao’, and argue that [wei zhaod di] as a unit is juxtaposed to fu ‘clothes’ to form a nominal. A cautionary note should be added, however, that [di fu] in the same context is commonly annotated as ‘(cause to) comply’ in dictionaries, where di means ‘(make) level, cause’ and fu means ‘comply’. A parallel is found in the synonymous expression [di shu] 底屬, which is composed of di ‘(make) level, cause’ and shu ‘belong’. Given that there are no known similar instances of [N\textsubscript{loc} di] with the general locative interpretation in the same period, it is controversial whether Yap and Matthews’s interpretation for this instance is valid. It is however safe to argue that the function had already emerged in the Tang Dynasty.
‘front’ to form a directional noun, meaning ‘(the) front’. The \([N_{\text{DIR}} \text{loc}]\) pattern appears in two syntagmatic strings, as schematized in (98a-b). The \([N_{\text{DIR}} \text{loc}]\) (\text{loc} represents a semantically general locative noun) is the modifier to the following noun in (98a). The \([N \text{loc} N \text{V}]\) string shown in (98b) can be interpreted in two ways: (i) The \([N \text{loc} N]\) as a whole functions as the subject of the following VP; (ii) \([N_{\text{DIR}} \text{loc}]\) functions as a locative adverb to the following subject-predicate combination \([N_{\text{SBJ}} \text{VP}_{\text{PRED}}]\).

\[(98)\]

\begin{align*}
\text{(a) } & \quad \left[ [N_{\text{DIR}} \text{loc}]_{\text{MOD}} \right. \\
& \quad \text{qian} \quad \text{tou} \quad \text{cao} \\
& \quad \left. \right]_{\text{NP}} \\
\text{(b) } & \quad N_{\text{DIR}} \quad \text{loc} \quad N \quad \text{VP} \\
& \quad \text{qian} \quad \text{tou} \quad \text{huo} \quad \text{zhao} \\
& \quad \text{hou} \quad \text{di} \quad \text{huo} \quad \text{mie} \\
\text{(i) } & \quad \left[ N_{\text{DIR}} \text{loc} \right]_{\text{SBJ}} \quad \text{N} \quad \text{Pred} \\
\text{(ii) } & \quad \left[ N_{\text{DIR}} \text{loc} \right]_{\text{adv}} \quad \text{N}_{\text{SBJ}} \quad \text{Pred}
\end{align*}

The \([N \text{DE}2 N]\) pattern, which syntagmatically resembles modification by an object concept marked by \text{DE}2, already exists in the early stage, as shown in example (94), but it is not until later that \([N \text{DE}2 N]\) is aligned with the \([\text{Mod PRT Head}]\) schema, and \text{DE}2 is reanalyzed and entrenched as a marker of modification. Example (96) shows that referring expressions marked by \text{DE}2 \([X \text{DE}2]\) also had the potential to appear as secondary predicates/adverbials.

3.4.1.2 \([X\text{-DE}2]\) and participant-denotation

The pattern \([N_{\text{LOC}-\text{di}}]\) is extended from denoting a location to representing a referent closely associated with the locative noun in the Tang Dynasty, as illustrated by the \text{DE}2-marked locative directionals in (99), shangtou ‘above’, dongtong ‘east’, and xitou ‘west’, formed by the \([\text{directional+locative noun}]\) pattern illustrated by (96)-(97) above.

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(99) 弟（第）一（且）道上頭（底）。弟二東頭底。弟三更道西頭底。（變文）
**di-yi qie dao shang-tou di di-er dong-tou di**
rank-first just say above-head DE2 rank-second east-head DE2

**di-san geng dao xi-tou di**
rank-three also say west-head DE2
‘First talk of (the ones) above; second, (the ones) in the east, third, talk further of (the ones) in the west.’

*Bian Wen, AD 7th-9th century*

The associative function of *di* (DE2) in [N di] may have been metaphorically extended to non-locative relations in 7th-8th century, where [N di(DE2)] collocates with a non-locative noun, and refers to a participant associated with a nominal in general.

Examples (100) and (101) illustrate the only two documented instances of non-locative [N di(DE2)] nominal in the Tang Dynasty, frequently cited as the “earliest” examples of [X-DE2] nominal (cited from Wu 1996:315).

(100) 定知帯帽底，儀容似大哥。（《朝野亀載》，見《太平廣記》）
**ding zhi wei-mao di yirong si da ge**
must know veil-hat DE2 appearance resemble old brother
‘(You) must know the one with a veiled hat looks like my big brother.’

*(Chao Ye Jian Zai, circ. 7th-8th century)*

(101) 张底乃我輩一般人，此終是其坐處。（《隋唐嘉話》）
**zhang di nai wo bei yi ban ren**
PN DE2 COP 1S generation one kind person
‘Mr. Zhang (= the one whose last name is Zhang) is one of our kind.’

*(Sui Tang Jia Hua, circ. 7th-8th century)*

The [N di(DE2)] expression refers to a contextually-recoverable anaphoric head. The most prominent object concept associated with the participant is marked by *di* (DE2) – the veiled hat in (100), and the last name of the man in (101), respectively – and serves as the grounding element that helps the hearer situate the referent.

3.4.1.3 Headless Anaphora

The DE2-marked associative pattern ([X-DE2]NP) has been further extended to collocate with verb phrases in *Bian Wen*. (102) and (103) in *Bian Wen* illustrate [VP DE2]
as a null anaphoric head construction, where the DE2-marked expression alone functions as a referring expression.

(102) 阿姨道底是那。（變文）

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
 ayi & dao & di & shi & na \\
\text{nun} & \text{say} & \text{DE2} & \text{right} & \text{PRT}
\end{array}
\]

‘What the nun says was right.’

(Bian Wen, 7th-9th century)

(103) 此是俗門作底。（變文）

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
 ci & shi & su & men & zuo & di \\
\text{this} & \text{COP} & \text{secular door} & \text{do} & \text{DE2}
\end{array}
\]

‘This is what the secular world does.’

(ibid.)

Finally, [Adj-DE2] combinations are attested, though very rarely, in Tang Dynasty, as shown in (104)-(105) from the poems of Du Fu.

(104) 怪底江山起煙霧。（杜甫詩《奉先劉少府新薦山水障歌》）

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
 guai & di & jian & shan & qi & yan & qu & \\
\text{strange} & \text{DE2} & \text{river} & \text{mountain} & \text{rise} & \text{smoke} & \text{fog}
\end{array}
\]

‘Strangely, smoke and fog rise from the river and the mountain.’

‘What is strange, smoke and fog rise from the river and the mountain.’

(Poem by Du Fu, in Quan Tang Shi, AD 8th Century)

(105) 特底解人頃。（杜甫詩《暮容承裹素飽見過》）

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
 te & di & jie & ren & yi \\
\text{special} & \text{DE2} & \text{untie} & \text{person} & \text{jaw}
\end{array}
\]

‘It (e)specially makes one laugh.’

‘What is special, it makes me laugh.’

(Poem by Du Fu, in Quan Tang Shi, AD 8th Century)

It is not entirely clear whether these should be interpreted as referring expressions or simply secondary predicates, since they both express speaker-oriented evaluation to a proposition. DE2 in this example is annotated as ‘DE1’ in the Dictionary of Phrases in Chinese Poetry (Shi, Ci, Qu Yuci Huishi, X. Zhang 1953), presumably with the complementizer interpretation. The [Adj\_Value DE2] combination may also be parsed as a referring expression ‘what is strange’/ ‘what is special’ introducing significant information in a juxtaposed equational structure.
The development of DE2 (by the end of Tang Dynasty, 9th c.) from a locative noun to the headless modification function in the [X di(DE2)] pattern is represented below (cf. L. Jiang 1999). The [Adj di(DE2)] pattern is placed in parenthesis because of the above-mentioned issues.

(106) Locative noun: \[N_{LOC} \text{di}\] \leftrightarrow [SEM: the location N]
    Self-designating: \[X_{N/V-di}\]NP \leftrightarrow [SEM: the fact/person X]
    Associative: \[N_{LOC} \text{di}\] \leftrightarrow [SEM: one at/associated with location N]
                \[N_{REG} \text{di}\] \leftrightarrow [SEM: one at/associated with object N]
                \[NP \text{di}\] \leftrightarrow [SEM: one associated with action VP]
                ([Adj \text{di}] \leftrightarrow [SEM: one that is Adj])

3.4.1.4 Demonstrative pronoun/determiner and Interrogative

Di (DE2) is also occasionally attested as a demonstrative and an interrogative pronoun. The demonstrative function seems to be compatible with the predominantly referential functions of DE2 in its early development. The developmental paths of such functions from the lexical meaning of di are, however, rather opaque and not fully reconstructible. For the sake of comprehensiveness, two examples of demonstrative uses of DE2, and two of its interrogative uses, are provided in (107)-(108) and (109)-(110), respectively.

(107) tao-ye xingling zai di wu
     knead-mold temperament-spirit at this.DE2 matter
     ‘(In terms of) molding one’s soul, it is in this matter.’
     (Poem by Du Fu, from Quan Tang Shi, 8th Century AD)

(108) se wo jiang lai dao wo shi di
     seek_out 1S take come speak 1S it/be DE2
     (...)
及至入來，說我如此。

ji zhi ru lai shuo wo ru ci
until arrive come say 1s as this

‘(After) you sought me out and brought me thither, you speak of me as such.’ (…)  
‘After I came thither, you speak of me as such.’

(Bian Wen, 7th-9th century)

(109) 阿婆向兒言說，索得屈期醜物入來，與我作底。
suo de quqi chou wu ru lai
seek get.DE1 strange ugly thing enter come

yu wo zuo di
with 1s do what.DE2

‘You sought out such strange ugly thing (and brought it) thither; what do I do with it?’

(Bian Wen, 7th-9th century)

(110) 柳映江潭底有情（李商隱）
liu ying jiang tan di you qing
willow reflect river lake that/what.DE2 exist affection

‘The willow reflects itself on the lake – how lovely it is!’

(Poem of Li Shangyin, from Quan Tang Shi, 9th Century AD)

The demonstrative and interrogative interpretations seem to be interconnected, and
interchangeable in certain contexts, as in (111)-(112).

(111) 漢之廣矣！（詩經）
han zhi guang yi
it wide exclamatory/interrogative

‘How wide is the river Han!’
‘Lit. (River) Han, it is wide!’

(Shi Jing, 11th-7th c. BC)

(112) 人焉廋哉（論語）
ren yan sou zai
person it/what hide exclamatory/interrogative

‘How can one hide!’

(Lun Yu, 5th c. BC)

There is a debate about whether examples like (111)-(112) should be interpreted as an
interrogative or a demonstrative. In fact, in such an exclamatory context, the
demonstrative and the interrogative interpretation yield the same interpretation. There are
other markers that exhibit both demonstrative and interrogative functions.
3.4.1.5 Attributive modification [X doğ2 N]

Finally, doğ2-marked nominals with an overt nominal head (in the \([X_{VP/Adj} doğ2 N]\) pattern) have also emerged by the 9th century (see, for example, F. Wu 1996:314), as illustrated by (113)-(114) in *Bian Wen*. Headed attributive modification with non-locative nouns (proper names or regular nouns) is not attested in *Bian Wen* or documented in the literature.

(113) 汝等昨夜見底光（變文）

ru-deng zuo-ye jian di guang
2-p yesterday-night see DE2 light
‘The light you saw yesterday.’

(Bian Wen, 7th-9th c.)

(114) 相勸勸語底事（變文）

xiang quan zhi lun hao di shi
mutual encourage just talk good DE2 thing
‘Encourage one another and talk only of good things.’

(ibid.)

3.4.2 Local contexts (construction-internal)

There are two proposals about how \([X \, doğ2 \, N]_{NP}\) emerge as a construction for attributive modification. The first proposal (e.g. Yap, Choi, and Chung 2011, Jiang 1999) suggests that the headed attributive function of doğ2 developed when the headless anaphoric \([X \, doğ2]_{NP}\) construction is juxtaposed to a nominal in apposition, i.e. the extension of \([X-\, doğ2]\) to take a non-anaphoric, common noun head. Based on this proposal, the doğ2-marked relative clause in (113) likely develops from the process shown in (115) below. DE2 in the \([X \, doğ2 \, N]\) pattern is later reanalyzed as a marker of attributive modification.
(115) Headless anaphoric modification > attributive modification
[[ru-deng zuo-ye jian]_{NMZ} \text{di}_{NPI} \text{guang}_{NPI}} \quad \text{‘what you saw last night, (the) light’}
[[ru-deng zuo-ye jian \text{di}_{MOD} \text{guang}_{NP}} \quad \text{‘the light you saw last night’}

The structures and semantics of DE2 in constructions where it functions as a locative light
noun, an associative marker, and a relativizer are listed in (116).

(116) Locative light noun \quad [X_{LOC} \text{di} \ [N] \leftrightarrow \text{SEM: N at the location X}]
Associative \quad [X \text{di} \ N] \leftrightarrow \text{SEM: N of } X_{LOC}
Relative clause \quad [X \text{di} \ N] \leftrightarrow \text{SEM: N that is associated with X (in a certain way)}

Another proposal suggests a different path of development of DE2 from a
demonstrative to a relativizer (Shi and Li 1998, 2002, Feng 1991), which can be
schematized as follows:

(117) Demonstrative > relativizer
[[ru-deng zuo-ye jian] [\text{di}_{SEM} \text{guang}] \quad \text{‘you saw last night, that light’}
[[ru-deng zuo-ye jian \text{di}_{REL} \text{guang}]_{NP} \quad \text{‘the light you saw last night’}

The two proposals are not necessarily in opposition to each other as plausible
paths of the grammaticalization of DE2. The process where “new modifier constructions
arise when the anaphoric-head modifier construction is extended to take a non-anaphoric,
common noun head” is observed both in Chinese and across languages. The
grammaticalization path where a pre-nominal determiner is re-analyzed as a marker of
modification is also attested for the modification marker zhi in Archaic Chinese. It might
be the case that both the nominalizer and the demonstrative functions of DE2 have
contributed to the adnominal/relativization function of di (DE2), though the former may
have played a more significant role in the process.

A more significant challenge to both proposals, however, is the low frequency of
both demonstrative and nominalizer/headless modification uses of DE2 in the Tang
Dynasty. Yap, Choi, and Chung (2010) argue in favor of the nominalizer > relativizer
path, suggesting that adnominal uses of DE2 had already been established in Zutangji (AD 952) before the demonstrative uses of DE2 become frequent in the Song Dynasty (AD 960-1279). The demonstrative usage, therefore, may not be frequent enough to trigger reanalysis and re-interpretation of [X][DE2 N] into a regular [modifier PRT head] construction. One inevitably notices, however, that the argument against DE2-demonstratives as the context for reanalysis due to its low frequency before the 10th century also applies to [X-DE2] as a headless anaphoric construction as a source for reanalysis, since the latter uses are equally infrequent in Tang Dynasty. The development seems to go against the general belief that grammatical functions develop from micro-realignment of form and meaning motivated by frequent and repetitive use (reference). What seems to have happened, instead, is sporadic spotting of various “grammatical” uses of DE2. The phenomenon may, however, be explained by analogy of DE2 to various constructions discussed in §3.4.3 below.

The frequency of distribution of DE2 in Bian Wen in Table 3.5 (my stastics) shows that all of the grammatical functions of DE2 discussed above are low in frequency.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Pattern</th>
<th>Example no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Headless modification</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. Light noun</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>[NP LOC DE2]SP</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[NP LOC DE2] NP (ADV)</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii. nominalizer</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>[VP DE2]SP</td>
<td>102-103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Attributive modification</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. relativization</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>[VP DE2 N]SP</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii. adjectival</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>[Adj DE2 N]SP</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Demonstrative</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Interrogative</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.5 shows that only 16 instances of DE2-marked nominals are attested in Bian Wen, indicating that DE2 is much less entrenched than other established constructions for (nominal) modification (e.g. there are 3004 tokens of zhi and 1078 tokens of zhe in Bian
In various grammatical functions). There is one instance of DE2 as a demonstrative pronoun, and one as an interrogative, illustrated by (108) and (109) above (§3.4.1.4), respectively.

Out of the 16 DE2-marked nominal constructions in Bienwen, there are 10 tokens of headless [X-DE2] modification (4 can be interpreted as headless or headed), and 6 tokens of attributive modification [X-DE2-N]. 7 out of the 10 instances of DE2-marked headless modification collocate with locative nouns, suggesting its early association with ‘location’ derived from its lexical meaning. 3 out of the 10 instances collocate with verb phrases. 5 out of the 6 instances of DE2-marked (headed) attributive modification collocate with event/action concepts, and only one property concept is attested in this construction. The head noun is always a simple noun that is not otherwise modified.

Another related issue that seems to challenge both proposals to explain the early development of DE2 is the apparently abrupt leap in host-class expansion in its early stages. Based on the distribution in Bian Wen and documented examples in the literature, the attested grammatical instances of DE2 in the Tang Dynasty demonstrate the functions and collocational patterns presented in Table 3.6. An x in single parenthesis means the pattern is attested but rare, and an x in double parentheses represents a rare pattern that may be interpreted as performing functions other than referential.

Table 3.6 Collocational patterns of different functions of DE2 in Tang Dynasty (AD 7th-9th c.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>[X DE2]</th>
<th>[X DE2]</th>
<th>[X DE2 N]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X =</td>
<td></td>
<td>Self-designating</td>
<td>Associative</td>
<td>Attributive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N LOCATIVE/DIRECTIONAL</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>(x)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N PROPER NAME/ PRONOUN/ REGULAR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(x)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adj</td>
<td></td>
<td>((x))</td>
<td></td>
<td>(x)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Because none of the functions are frequently attested, there is not enough evidence to show that [X De2] and [X De2 N] have become entrenched schemas for creating referential expressions in the Tang Dynasty. Not only are the grammatical functions of De2 very low in frequency, but the expansion of collocates also seem to occur randomly, instead of following a gradual path of contextual extension as one would expect. The discontinuous collocational preferences shown in Table 3.6 also pose a problem to explanations based solely on semantic generalization of the local patterns of De2. For instance, there is not a smooth transition from locative noun to regular noun. Only locatives/directionals are attested with De2 in Bian Wen, and according to literature, regular object concepts are extremely rare for [N De2], and not attested for [N De2 N].

There also seems to be a sudden transition of De2’s collocates from locative/direction to VP in Bian Wen, given that [VP De2] and [VP De2 N] are both attested in Bian Wen, but not elsewhere. One would have to explain how the pattern [V De2] emerges from [Loc De2]. Finally, the emergence of [Adj De2 N] (hao De2 shi) cannot be solely explained away through reanalysis of [Adj De2] and [N] in apposition, since it is questionable whether [Adj De2] for participant denotation is established as a schema. The [Adj De2 N] pattern emerges when [Adj De2] is rarely attested. There is no trace of small-step reanalysis and ambiguities in interpretation in the same context.

Finally, there is not enough historical documentation of De2-genitives to support the idea that De2 developed genitive/associative function in the headed [NP De2 NP] before it developed relativizing (and property attribution) functions [V De2 N] and [Adj De2 N]. There seems to be a developmental gap between [N Loc De2 N], where the locative interpretation is accessible, and [N De2 N], where the interpretation is only
The discontinuous functions that seem to be contextual leaps of DE2 may have been due to its partial analogy to [Mod zhe N] combined with its idiosyncratic pragmatic constraint.

An investigation of the other strategies for similar functions in Chinese provides a more comprehensive view of the emergence of DE2 as a marker of headless and attributive modification.

3.4.3 Models for the [X DE2] pattern as a referring expression

As discussed in the beginning of §3.4, the emergence of DE2 is likely partly motivated by analogy to various post-nominal particles – zhi (之), zhe (者), suo/xu (所/许) – that function as markers of referring expressions (cf. T. Mei 1991, L. Wang 1980, and S. Lü 1984[1943], 1955, among others).

3.4.3.1 Light noun uses of other locative nouns/nominalizer > possessive/adnominal

The most notable influence to early development of DE2 is the development from locative nouns in the [N loc] pattern into an “associative” marking simply to refer to an individual associated with N, or an individual named by N (the “self-designating” function, zi-zhi (自指), see e.g. D. Zhu 1983). The early development of DE2 parallels the grammaticalization paths attested for several other locative nouns in Chinese in the same period (L. Jiang 1999). The locative nouns in the [N loc] pattern often develop “associative” or “genitive” uses, albeit with varying degrees of semantic generalization. The most often cited developmental paths are of the locative suo/xu (likely dialectal variations), literally ‘place’, which in the [N suo/xu] pattern indicates the physical location where N is at, roughly translatable as “there” (examples from L. Jiang 1999).
(118)書及彚皆在超高所。（《史記·李斯列傳》）

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{edict} & \quad \text{and} & \quad \text{seal} & \quad \text{both} & \quad \text{at} & \quad \text{place} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘The edict and the seal are both with Zhaogao (lit. at Zhaogao’s place).’

(Shi Ji, 100 BC)

(119)劉尹至王長史許清言。（《世說新語·品藻》）

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{liuyin} & \quad \text{zhi} & \quad \text{wang} & \quad \text{zhangshi} & \quad \text{xu} & \quad \text{qing-yan} \\
\text{arrive} & \quad \text{at} & \quad \text{adjunct(official)} & \quad \text{place} & \quad \text{clear-talk} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘Liyin went to Wang Zhangshi’s (place) to talk of philosophy (and recent affairs, etc.).’

(Shi Shuo Xin Yu, AD 5th c.)

A metaphorical interpretation of [N su/xu] is also available for (118), where [Zhaogao su] may refer to solely to Zhaogao (a metaphorical location), instead of Zhaogao’s place.

In (120)-(124), the physical interpretation is no longer available for [N su/xu], which refers to participant N alone (examples from L. Jiang 1999).

(120)于父母所，少作供養，獲福無量。（雜宝藏經）

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yu} & \quad \text{fu} & \quad \text{mu} & \quad \text{shao} & \quad \text{zuo} & \quad \text{gong} & \quad \text{yang} \\
\text{at} & \quad \text{father} & \quad \text{mother} & \quad \text{place} & \quad \text{slight} & \quad \text{do} & \quad \text{supply} & \quad \text{provide} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘Provide for one’s parents slightly…’

(Za Bao Zang Jing, 4th-5th c.)

(121)王有大恩在我許……（舊雜譬喻經）

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wang} & \quad \text{you} & \quad \text{da} & \quad \text{en} & \quad \text{zai} & \quad \text{wo} & \quad \text{xu} \\
\text{emperor} & \quad \text{exist}/\text{have} & \quad \text{great} & \quad \text{favor}/\text{grace} & \quad \text{at} & \quad \text{1st} & \quad \text{place} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘I am greatly indebted to the emperor. (The emperor did a great favor for me).’

(Jiu Za Pi Yu Jing, 4th-5th c.)

(122)午言之趙張敖所。（史記·田叔列傳）

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wu} & \quad \text{yan} & \quad \text{zhi} & \quad \text{Zhao} & \quad \text{wang} & \quad \text{zangao} & \quad \text{xu} \\
\text{PN} & \quad \text{speak} & \quad \text{it} & \quad \text{PN} & \quad \text{emperor} & \quad \text{PN} & \quad \text{place} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘Wu told it to the Emperor of Zhao and Zhangao.’

(Shi Ji, 2nd c.)

(123)此果我所，汝等勿取。（《生經》大正藏 3.73 下）

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ci} & \quad \text{guo} & \quad \text{wo} & \quad \text{ru} & \quad \text{deng} & \quad \text{wu} & \quad \text{qu} \\
\text{this} & \quad \text{fruit} & \quad \text{1st} & \quad \text{POSS} & \quad \text{2} & \quad \text{P} & \quad \text{NEG} & \quad \text{take} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘This fruit is mine; you(pl.) shall not take it.’

(Sheng Jing, 3rd-4th c.)

(124)此是杯渡许。（《高僧傳·杯渡》）

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ci} & \quad \text{shi} & \quad \text{beidu} & \quad \text{xu} \\
\text{this} & \quad \text{COP} & \quad \text{PN} & \quad \text{POSS} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘This is Beidu’s.’

(Gao Seng Zhan, 6th c.)
In (120), \(fu\ mu\ suo\) still collocates with the spatial particle \(yu\) ‘at’, indicating a metaphorical spatial relation. \([N\ suo/xu]\) is fully established as a self-designating particle when the \([N\ suo/xu]\) pattern begins to collocate with a wider range of predicates (such as the predicate of speech \(yan\) ‘speak’ in (122)), and is therefore functioning as a regular participant in the discourse. The function of \([N\ loc]\) as a metaphorical location is then extended to a genitive or an associative interpretation, referring to a participant possessed by or otherwise associated with the participant denoted by \(N\).

The constructionalization of a locative noun as an associative/genitive particle in the \([N\ loc]\) pattern is shown in (125):

(125) Development of associative/genitive functions of \([N\ loc]\) with null-anaphoric head

| Structure: | [N loc] > [N loc] > [N-loc]NP |
| Frame: | motion, spatial motion, spatial non-spatial |
| Meaning: | ‘Location where \(N\) is at’ ‘\(N\)’ ‘\(N\)’ |
| Function: | Lexical/physical location > Metaphorical location > self-designating particle |

| Structure: | [N-loc] |
| Frame: | unspecified |
| Meaning: | participant associated with/possessed by \(N\) |
| Function: | associative or genitive particle |

The establishment of associative/genitive function of locative nouns in the \([N\ loc]\) pattern may serve as a model for analogy for similar functions to develop for \([N\ DE2]\).

Yap et al. (2010) argue that the development of \(DE2\) into an attributive marker is initially enabled by alignment with the \([NP\ n]\) possessive constructions, especially the \([NP\ loc]\)-derived possessive constructions (namely, \([NP\ suo/xu]\)) that developed in Medieval Chinese (their Middle Chinese):
The development of these [NP] [n] possessive constructions (where n stands for light noun) was crucial in providing di with fertile ground for analogy with nominalizer zhe (Simpson and Wu 2001; see also Rhee 2008); …Middle Chinese thus saw the rise of a wide selection of [NP] [light noun]-type possessive constructions, namely [NP suo/xu/di~de].

(Yap, Choi and Cheung 2010:65)

Yap, Choi and Cheung (2010) use the term ‘light noun’ in the sense of ‘formal noun’ or ‘bound noun’ as in Korean kes and Japanese no...a light noun is a semantically bleached noun that is highly grammaticalizable.

There is still a potential problem as to whether the genitive/associative functions of suo/xu are frequent enough to serve as models for analogy. In most of the texts I examined, suo appears to be an “agent marker” and “nominalizer” in the structure [N suo V (N)] e.g. fashi suo yan (法師所言, from Bian Wen) ‘what the magus says, lit. magus suo speak’ or [suo V (N)]. N suo/(xu) is a well-attested string, but usually in [N suo V (N)], not in [N suo] alone or [N suo N]. The pattern is likely dialectal. It is possible that N suo may serve as a model for partial analogy for N di, but there is not a complete pattern match in all the dialects.

3.4.3.2 The nominalizer/topic marker zhe

Another construction that serves as a model of analogy is the nominalizer/pronoun zhe ‘one which/that’, which appears in the [X zhe] pattern as a marker of referring expressions since Archaic Chinese. The element before zhe may be an action, a property, or an object concept, as illustrated by (126)-(128).

(126) 不知我者，謂我士也驕。（詩經 國風 魏風）

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
bu & zhi & wo & zhe \\
\text{NEG} & \text{know} & 1S & \text{NMZ} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Those who do not know me’

(Shi Jing, 11th-7th c. BC)
Aside from its nominalizer/associative function, [X zhe] has been established as a topic marking construction in Archaic Chinese. Action and property concepts may collocate with zhe both in the associative or topic-marking function. [N zhe] does not have an associative function, but merely refers to the NP itself. This is what has been called a self-designating (zi zhi 自指) function in Chinese linguistics. (129)-(130) illustrate the self-designating [N zhe]:

(129) 孔羔者，山陽人也。（史記）
 Konghao zhe shanyang ren ye
 PN TOP PN person ASSERT
 ‘(In terms of) Konghao, he is from Shanyang.’

(130) 黑者天地之性也。（變文）
 Hei zhe tian di zhi xing ye
 black TOP heaven earth zhi nature ASSERT
 ‘(Speaking of) black, it is the nature of heaven and earth.’

3.4.4 Development of schemas in the [Mod prt N] pattern

There are several existing schemas of attributive modification in the [Mod prt N] pattern that may serve as models of analogy to trigger the syntactic expansion of DE2 into the [Mod di N] pattern, and subsequently the reanalysis of DE2 as a marker of modification. The most prominent schema is the [A/V/N zhi N] modification construction that emerges in Archaic Chinese and remains productive until Medieval Chinese. Some
more peripheral schemas, such as the \([N \text{ loc } N]\) pattern developed from the \([N \text{ loc }]\) associative/genitive, and to a lesser extent, the \([A/V/N \text{ zhe } N]\) schema that is attested in Archaic and Medieval Chinese, but remains a much more peripheral schema compared to the nominalization/topicalization function of \text{zhe}. The development of \([\text{Mod PRT } N]\) schemas is briefly introduced.

3.4.4.1 \textit{Zhi: demonstrative pronoun/determiner} > marker of modification

The attributive function of \textit{zhi} developed from a demonstrative pronoun/determiner roughly translatable to English ‘it, that’, as illustrated by (131).

(131) 之子于歸，駟駘其馬。（詩經）

\begin{verbatim}
zhi zi yugui
that child marry.female
\end{verbatim}

‘That girl is getting married (going to her future home).’

\textit{(Shi Jing, 11^{th} – 7^{th} Century BC)}

\textit{Zhi} as a demonstrative determiner in the pattern \([zhi N]\) may be reanalyzed as a marker of modification when \([zhi N]\) is preceded by an expression associated with the participant. The expression before \([zhi N]\) may be an object, an action, or a property, which relates to \([zhi N]\) in three possible ways: (i) Participant associated/possessed by topic noun, (ii) participant (most likely object) in an action, (iii) Participant possessing a property. In all of these relationships, \textit{zhi} was originally a determiner of the NP.

Adnominal functions of \textit{zhi} in \([X zhi N]\) pattern are already pervasive in Archaic Chinese, as illustrated by examples (132)-(134) from \textit{Shijing} (11^{th} – 7^{th} centuries BC). It is reanalyzed into a modification marker, and the expression before it is reanalyzed as a modifier/grounding element. This is basically the second possible path of development of \textit{di} proposed by some.
(132) 舟人之子（詩經·小雅）

zhou ren zhi zi

Boat person that son

‘The boatman’s son’

(Shi Jing, 11th -7th c. BC)

(133) 琐兮尾兮，流離之子。（詩經·國風·鄘風）

suo xi wei liu li zhi zi

drift PRT displaced PRT drift wander that child

‘Drifting, displaced, wandering around (is) that child.’

‘Drifting, displaced, that child who is wandering around.’

(134) 我覩之子，衰衣縵裳。（詩經·國風·鄘風）

wo go zhi zi gun yi xiu shang

I S meet that child embroidered clothing embroidered clothing

‘I meet the man (= the emperor), (he) wears the embroidered clothing.’

‘The/that man I meet, (he) wears embroidered clothing.’

(1bid.)

The examples above illustrate the potential ambiguity between zhi as a demonstrative
determiner and a marker of attributive modification. Because zhi modification
construction developed from its (prenominal) determiner function, it does not appear in
headless/anaphoric constructions, but always takes a nominal head. The process of
reanalysis is schematized below:

(135) Juxtaposition of an expression and a noun

(a) Determiner > Genitive marker

N zhi N

[zhouren] [zhi zi] > [zhouren zhi zi]
Possessor Possessed Possessor GEN Possessed
boatman that child

(b) Determiner > Relativizer

VP zhi N

[wo guan] [zhi zi] > [wo guan zhi zi]
Subject Verb Object RC relativizer head
I see that child

(c) Determiner > modification marker

Adj zhi N

[liuli] [zhi zi] > [liuli zhi zi]
Modifier Head Modifier MOD. marker head
displaced that child
3.4.4.2 [X zhe] and [X suo/xu] in nominal apposition

Another general context for a modification particle to emerge is in “nominal apposition”, where two nouns that refer to the same participant are placed in juxtaposition. Both [N suo/xu] and [A/V/N zhe] developed adnominal functions when they are juxtaposed to another nominal in apposition, and the postposed referent-marking particle is reanalyzed as a marker of the modification.

Examples (136)-(139) (from L. Jiang 1999) show the [N loc] structure develops into a headed genitive construction [N1 PRT N2] when it is attached to another noun in apposition, in the pattern [N1 loc N2].

(136) 誰能救濟我所壽命。（《撰集百緣經・菩薩授記品一・婆持加困病緣》）
shui neng jiu ji wo suo shou ming
who can save aid 1S SUO life.span life
‘Whoever that can save my life…’
(Zhuan Ji Bai Yuan Jing, circ. 3rd c.)

(137) 身所惡露眾惡。（文殊師利問菩薩義經）後漢迦疣譯，大正藏 14.440 下
shen suo e lu zhong e
body SUO bad fluid many bad
‘The many foul fluids of/in the body.’
(Wen Shu Shi Li Wen Pu Sa Zhi Jing, AD 2nd Century)

(138) 亦不專求自許本衣。（《唐寶贊經》）
yi bu zhuang qiu zi xu ben yi
also NEG specially pursue self POSS original clothes
‘(They) didn’t particularly look for their original clothes (the original clothes of themselves). ’
(Jiu Za Pi Yu Jing, AD 4th-5th Century)

(139) 仁祖是勝我許人。（《世說新語·規箴》）
renzu shi sheng wo xu ren
PN COP superior 1S POSS person
‘Renzu is one who is better than me.’
(Shi Shuo Xin Yu, AD 5th Century)

The associative/genitive interpretation may be motivated by various structures. The genitive meaning may be derived from its association to the juxtaposed [Possessor-
Possessed] genitive schema, where [N1 loc] as a self-designating NP is aligned with the possessor, and the N2 is aligned with the possessed. Alternatively, the [N1 loc N2] expression may be derived from nominal apposition, where [N1 loc] refers to ‘one that is associated with/possessed by N’, and N2 is the possessed. The [N1 PRT N2] may also be motivated partially by analogy to the existing [Modifier PRT Head] (or their [Possessor PRT Possessed] subschema) schema, where suo may be aligned and reanalyzed with a genitive/associative particle. The last analysis is proposed by L. Jiang (1999), who suggests that the reanalysis from suffix to “nominal modification marker” (which she called a “structural particle”) is more of an analogy to the existing structure [N zhi N] and [N zhe N].

(140) (a) form: \([\text{wo suo}]_{\text{SELF}} \text{ shouming} \)  
meaning: ‘I’ ‘life’  
structure: POSSESSOR POSSESSED

(b) form: \([\text{wo suo}]_{\text{ASSO}} \text{ shouming} \)  
meaning: ‘mine’ ‘life’  
structure: NPi (=) NPj  
(nominal apposition)

(c) form: \([\text{wo} \text{ suo} \text{ shouming}] \)  
meaning: [I POSS life ]  
structure: POSSESSOR GEN/ASSOC POSSESSED

3.4.4.3 Zhe: Nominalizer > relativizer / modification marker

The nominalizer/topic marker zhe is attested in adnominal functions in the pattern [Adj zhe N] (which likely also emerged from nominal apposition) in early texts such as Shi Jing (11th – 7th c. BC), as in (141), primarily in thetic (presentational) contexts.

(141) 彼蒼者天，繽我良人。 （詩經秦風）
   bi  cang   zhe   tian
thatblue   NMZ/MOD   sky
‘That blue sky’
‘The blue one, sky’

200
The [A/V/N zhe N] pattern is occasionally attested after Pre-Medieval Chinese, as shown in (142)-(143), but the function remains peripheral for zhe.

(142) 開弦者音烈而高飛（戰國策）
wen xian zhe yin lie er gao fei
hear string NMZ sound fierce and high fly
‘(It) hears that the sound of the strings was fierce, and flies high.’
(Zhan Guo Ce, 1st century BC, cited in Jiang 1999)

(143) 昨日來者太師官（宋 乙卯入國奏請）
zuori lai zhe taishi-guan
yesterday come NMZ PN-official
‘The Taishi official who came yesterday’
(Yi Mao Ru Guo Zou Qing, 1075 AD)
(cited in Jiang 1999, also in Yap and Wang 2011:72)

3.4.5 A summary of constructions related to \textit{DE2}-modification in Tang and Song

Dynasties

All of the aforementioned schemas may serve as a model of analogy for the adnominal functions of \textit{DE2} in [X \textit{DE2} N] to emerge. The grammatical functions of \textit{DE2} in the Tang Dynasty have a significant overlap with the aforementioned modification constructions (both headless and headed). The range of grammatical functions and collocational preferences of \textit{DE2}, however, do not have a complete match with any of the constructions. The overlaps in distribution and functions, modified from L. Jiang (1999:307), are provided in Table 3.7, with the plus symbol in parenthesis (+) representing attested but less prominent patterns. The patterns that are attested with \textit{di} in the Tang Dynasty and those in \textit{Zu Tang Ji} are also provided for comparison. (The proposed collocational patterns different from Jiang 1999 are marked in *)
Table. 3.7 The functions of zhi, zhe, suo/xu in Tang Dynasty (Modified from L. Jiang 1999:307)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Functions</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>c</th>
<th>a'</th>
<th>b'</th>
<th>c'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>genitive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>associative</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>relative clause</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>light noun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NMZ of property</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NMZ of action</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structures</td>
<td>N _ N</td>
<td>A _ N</td>
<td>V _ N</td>
<td>regular N</td>
<td>A _</td>
<td>V _</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zhi (之)</td>
<td>~ 13th century</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>( + )</td>
<td>( + )</td>
<td>( * + )</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zhe (者)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suo/xu (所/許)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th-9th century</td>
<td>Zutangji (10th Century)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>( + )</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>( + )</td>
<td>(( + ))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[adnominal uses]</td>
<td>[light noun or nominalizer uses]</td>
<td>[NP x NP] a = genitive</td>
<td>[NP x NP] a' = light noun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[AP x NP] b = associative</td>
<td>[AP x NP] b' = nominalization of property</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[VP x NP] c = relative clause</td>
<td>[VP x NP] c' = nominalization of action</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After Tang Dynasty, DE2 gradually started to take over the functions of the other grammatical markers via contextual expansion and analogy (Yap, Choi, and Chung 2010, L. Jiang 1999). The patterns in Zutangji show that DE2 has developed into a more full-fledged marker for both headless and headed modification.

The discussion is intended to show that there is no one “source” that solely contributes to the emergence and of DE2-modification constructions in the Tang Dynasty. Instead, the development of DE2 is the history of its succession of the various functions of other constructions of similar functions.

3.5 Precursors of DE3-constructions

This section introduces the precursors of DE3-marked secondary predicate and predicative constructions. S. Lü (1984[1943]) proposes that DE3 is of unidentifiable etymology, but notices that DE3 performs functions similar to Classical Chinese particles such as ran (然), er (爾), ru (如) and ruo (若). L. Wang (1980) argues that DE3, like DE2, is also derived from zhi (之). We propose that the lexical source of DE3 is likely the locative...
noun di (地) ‘ground’ (Ohta 1987[1958], F. Wu 1996), given that DE3 shares the same
written form as the lexical noun di (地) ‘ground’, and that there is a natural semantic
extension from “ground” to “condition”, which is compatible with the early grammatical
uses of DE3. The establishment of DE3-marked predicative related functions, however,
should be placed into the general context of constructional networks.

3.5.1 Semantic generality and ambiguity between ground and e-site elaboration

The grammaticalization of DE3 (地) into a marker of (secondary) predication is
partly associated with its semantic generalization into an abstract noun denoting a
condition, quantity, or degree. Since Archaic Chinese, DE3 has a number of semantic
extensions from its lexical meaning ‘ground, location’, including ‘condition’,
‘circumstances’, and ‘extent’, which can fill the role of the nominal head of an attributive
modification construction [Modifier N].

The ‘condition’ interpretation of DE3 is initially accessed via semantic extension
from its lexical meaning ‘location, ground’ when [Modifier di_location] serves as the
destination of a motion predicate. The possibility for ambiguity between a ‘location’ and
a ‘condition’ interpretation in the same context persisted for centuries, as shown in (144)
from the Archaic Chinese text Sun Zi and (145) from the Late Medieval Chinese text

Bian Wen, respectively.

(144) 投之亡地而后存，陷之死地然后生。(《孫子。九地》)
    tou zhi wang di er hou cun
    throw 3 die location/condition CONJ later survive

    xian zhi si di ran hou sheng
    sink 3 die location/condition such later live

‘Throw it (the army) into a lethal location/condition, and then it will survive; throw it
into a deadly location/condition, and it will live.’

(Sun Zi, circ. 6th c. BC)
(145) 慈親到沒艱地（變文）

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ci-qin</th>
<th>dao muo</th>
<th>jianxin</th>
<th>di</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>loving-kin</td>
<td>arrive</td>
<td>submerge</td>
<td>difficult</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘My loving mother arrived and vanished into the difficult place/condition.’  
(Bian Wen, 7th -9th c.)

A [Modifier DE3_location] unit functions as the locative argument of the verbs tou ‘throw’ and xian ‘sink’ in (144), and dao muo ‘arrive + submerge’ in (145), with DE3 ambiguous between a literal (location) and a metaphorical interpretation (condition, circumstances).

The intended meaning of [Property di] ‘in an X condition’ may be accessed via either metonymic or metaphoric extension, as illustrated below:

(a) The participant arrives at/is in a location which has property X
   
   > **METONYMIC** The participant is likely to be affected by property X of the location
   
   > The participant in an X condition.

(b) The current condition of the participant is a location **METAPHOR**

   The (metaphorical) location has property X

   > The participant is in an X condition.

The emergence of DE3 as a marker of (secondary) predication is likely facilitated by both paths of semantic extension. The argument is strengthened by the fact that the early uses of DE3-marked secondary predicates fall on a continuum of their likelihood to be accessed through metonymic extension to association with a lexical ‘ground/location’ interpretation vs. directly via an established ‘condition’ sense through metaphorical extension.

**3.5.2 The establishment of the ‘condition’ sense of DE3**

Although the ‘condition’ interpretation of DE3 in [Adj DE3] has been available since Archaic Chinese, it appears in the same constructions as DE3 in its lexical ‘location’
sense, and is accessed indirectly via metaphorical extension. The ‘condition’ sense of DE3 is not truly established until [Adj DE3] becomes a regular schema for property predication, and the speaker no longer needs to activate it via the locative or spatial constructions exemplified above.

Only one possible instance of such usage is attested before the Tang Dynasty. Example (146) from Shi Shuo Xin Yu (AD 425), where DE3 is attached to ruxin ‘such, like this, this way,’ a manner demonstrative referring deictically to a “condition” recoverable from the discourse, is often cited as the earliest attested use of DE3 as a predicative/adverb marker (S. Lü 1984[1943], F. Wu 1996). [Ruxin DE3] functions as the grounding element, the premise of the following rhetorical question.

\[(146) \text{shijun ruxin di ning ke douzhan qiu sheng}\]

‘Mister, (being) like this (lit. Mister’s condition like this) – how can you gain victory in a battle?’

(Shi Shuo Xin Yu, AD 425)

The predicate has a human subject (shijun), thus the literal interpretation (where [Adj DE3] serves as a predicate nominal classifying its subject as ‘an A location’) is not available in this context. For the lack of other similar uses in the same period, this is generally considered an isolated case (guli 孤例) before the Tang Dynasty. This case is likely still instantiated by the [modifier-head]NP schema for nominal modification, with DE3 ‘condition’ functioning as its head, literally meaning ‘Mister’s condition like this’. DE3, however, does not contribute significantly to the semantics of the expression, except that what is being predicated of is a ‘condition’, something already indicated by ruxin and the nature of predication. This single use of DE3 shows that as the nominal head which
carries little semantic content when predicating a condition, DE3 has the potential to
develop into a semantically light noun for manner and property predication.

A much later example from Bian Wen in (147) illustrates the usage of DE3 as a
measure of ‘quantification’ in [Adj-DE3], which then functions as a predicative
complement of can ‘remain, be left’. Similar to example (146), DE3 does not contribute
significantly to the semantics of the expression, since what is being ‘a little’ is a quantity
and is already known information.

(147) 唯殘少地。（變文）
wei can shao di
only remain a.little DE3.quantity
‘There was only a little left.’

(Bian Wen 7th–9th c.)

Examples (146)-(147) show that an [Adj DE3] denoting ‘condition Adj’, or
‘quantity/extent Adj’ has the potential to appear in property predication even before DE3
is established as a marker of (secondary) predication. The rarity of such usage even in
Tang Dynasty, however, suggests that [Adj DE3] schema has not yet been established as a
regular schema for property predication. In the majority of cases, the ‘condition’
interpretation is still accessed either via the PROPERTY OF PHYSICAL LOCATION AFFECTS
THE CONDITION OF A PARTICIPANT IN THAT LOCATION metonymy, or the STATES ARE
LOCATIONS metaphor.

3.5.3 Emergence of [X-DE3] (secondary) predicates

The [X-DE3] pattern for property/state predication emerged in the Tang Dynasty
(7th–9th Century AD). The attested instances of [X-DE3] in Bian Wen are likely still
linked to other word-formation schemas, though DE3 may have started forming a link to
the existing constructions for event-modification (via suffixation). The associated
functions are discussed below. By the 9\textsuperscript{th} century, there are three contexts where potential [X-DE3] predicates occur: [Adj\textsubscript{atmosphere}-DE3\textsubscript{location/condition}], and [Adj\textsubscript{property/manner}-DE3\textsubscript{condition}], [V\textsubscript{POSTURE/DOWN.MOTION}-DE3\textsubscript{ground}]. The first two contexts are more closely associated with the development of DE3 in the modifying event/secondary predication schema.

3.5.3.1 Atmospheric condition > manner

The [Adj DE3] pattern ‘(in) an Adj location’ starts to appear in the pre-verbal position to describe the atmospheric condition in which an event is performed, e.g. ‘(in) a dark/black location.’ The entire [X DE3] expression functions as the grounding element for the primary event. The function is closely associated with the lexical ‘ground, location’ meaning, but it is structurally aligned with canonical pre-verbal secondary predicates.

(148) 黑地踏著破斷索。 (《維摩碎金》變文)
\textit{hei\ di\ ta\ zhaopu\ duan\ suo}
black\ DE3\ step\ stative\ broken\ rope
‘…(He/one) steps on a broken rope in the dark.’
\textit{(Bian Wen, 7\textsuperscript{th} - 9\textsuperscript{th} c.)}

(149) 暗地行刀聲劈劈， (《漢將王陵變》變文)
\textit{an\ di\xing\ dao\ sheng\ pipi}
dark\ DE3\ use\ sword\ sound\ IDEO
‘In the dark, the swords act on one another, clanging.’
\textit{(ibid.)}

(150)和尚猥地誇談 (《降魔變文》)
\textit{heshang\ wei\ di\ kuatan}
monk\ corner\ DE3\ boast
‘The monk boasted in private/behind people.’
\textit{(ibid.)}

(151) 私地詔宰相 (《醜女緣起》變文)
\textit{si\ di\ zhaoyi\ zaixiang}
private\ DE3\ summon\ one\ prime.minister
‘Call in a prime minister in private.’
\textit{(ibid.)}
The link between DE3-marked atmospheric expressions and the lexical interpretation is indicated by the fact that some [Adj DE3] atmospheric expressions are also attested as locative arguments or subjects. The expressions are likely still instantiated by the modifier-head schema. Compare for example:

(152) 誰知黑地翻為白，黑地相逢知是誰？（變文）
shei  zhi  hei  di  fan  wei  bai
who  know  black  DE3.ground  turn  be  white
hei  di  xiang  feng  zhi  shi  shei
black  DE3  RECI  meet  know  COP  who
‘Who knows that black texture/ground would turn white? Meeting in the dark, how can one know who it is?’

(Bian Wen, 7th-9th c.)

(153) 各歸私地（變文）
ge  gui  si  di
each  return  private  DE3.ground
‘Each return to one’s own (=private) place.’

(ibid.)

3.5.3.2 The emergence of [X DE3] secondary predicate schema

A few [X DE3] expressions that are unambiguously depictive/manner secondary predicates are attested by the 9th century, as illustrated below. This sub-schema differs from the atmospheric condition schema in that the instances can only be interpreted in the metaphorical sense of DE3 ‘condition’, and are not associated with the lexical meaning ‘ground, location’. The emergence of these expressions indicates that the [X DE3] secondary predicate schema is being formed, although not highly frequent. These expressions fall into the following types depending on their semantics and phonological patterns.
3.5.3.3 The ‘special’ marker

DE3 occurs in the expression te-di (特地) ‘lit. special + DE3’. The combination appears to be increasingly entrenched and is extended to express various concepts related to excessiveness, unusualness and unexpectedness.

- **Degree**
  (154) 特地更悶。（《賈子賦》變文）
  *te di geng men*
  special DE3 more stuffy/depressed
  ‘(The sparrow) became even more depressed.’
  *(Bian Wen, 7th-9th c.)*

- **Speaker’s epistemic attitude (unexpectedly…)**
  (155) 阿娘特地又塗。（《目連緣起》變文）
  *a-niang te di luo san-tu*
  mother special DE3 fall three-way
  ‘Mother had fallen into the three ways of hell (despite my good deeds)!’
  *(ibid.)*

- **Subject’s mental attitude - specially**
  (156) 因茲特地送資財。（《醜女緣起》變文）
  *yin zi te di song zicai*
  because 3 special DE3 give money
  ‘Therefore, (they) specially gave money (to her).’
  Note: Roughly means “to make special effort to do something”
  *(ibid.)*

3.5.3.4 Manner and depictive

[X-DE3] is also attested as manner and depictive secondary predicates in the preposed position. These include a few monosyllabic elements (*hu di* ‘sudden DE3’ and *muo di* ‘rapid DE3’ > ‘suddenly, rapidly, instantly; huo di’ ‘sound (of rapid movement) DE3’) that describe the speed of an event. One instance of a depictive, *can di* (這)

---

3 The expression *tedi* still exists in Mandarin, but *di* is pronounced as [tî], unlike the phonetically reduced predicative property marker/adverbializer of the same source. The expression later becomes lexicalized, the evidence being that it is sometimes additionally marked by DE2 in the Qing Dynasty, as shown in (2):

(2) 考你們特地的遠來（醒世姻緣傳）
  *nian ni-men te-di de yuan lai*
  consider 2-P special-DE3 DE2 far come
  ‘Considering that you(pl.) have come afar…’
  *(Xing Shi Yinyuan Zhuan, 17th c.)*
‘dim/sad DE3’, is attested in Bian Wen, which describes the countenance of feeling gloomy or dejected, but can also be interpreted as a manner.

(157) 聞語怪地歎雙眉（變文）

\[
\text{wen} \quad \text{yu} \quad \text{can} \quad \text{di} \quad \text{lian} \quad \text{shuang} \quad \text{mei}
\]

hear speech dark/dim DE3 fold pair eyebrow

‘(Buddha) heard the speech and frowned gloomily/with a darkened complexion.’

(Bian Wen, AD 7th-9th c.)

(158) 忽地一朝，別開惡事（變文）

\[
\text{hu} \quad \text{di} \quad \text{yi} \quad \text{zhao} \quad \text{bie} \quad \text{wen} \quad \text{e} \quad \text{shi}
\]

sudden DE3 one morning other hear bad matter

‘Suddenly heard the bad news one day.’

(ibid.)

(159) 翻地維摩染病羸（變文）

\[
\text{muo} \quad \text{di} \quad \text{weimuo} \quad \text{ran} \quad \text{bing} \quad \text{lei}
\]

sudden DE3 PN infect illness weak

‘Suddenly Weimuo got sick (and became) weak.’

(ibid.)

(160) 合懺馬門bullet（霍）地開來（變文）

\[
\text{heju} \quad \text{mamen} \quad \text{huo} \quad \text{di} \quad \text{kai} \quad \text{lai}
\]

closed cabin-door rapid/onomatopoeic DE3 open PFV

‘The closed cabin door opened rapidly/suddenly.’

(ibid.)

The above examples of [X DE3] all have monosyllabic X. One instance is attested where [X-DE3] takes a reduplicated expression to mark manner/depictive. Given that [Mod\_REDU-Head\_MONO]NP is a disfavored pattern (usually the head accompanies another modifier), this instance is an indication that [X DE3] is emerging as a secondary predicate schema and collocates with reduplicated expressions, a construction that later becomes one of the central sub-schemas of DE3-marked predicative-functions in by the 13th century.

\[4\] Huo (霍) can also be used onomatopoeically, as the sound of rapid movement, e.g. wings fluttering. In another version, the word is written as yan (問) - the sound of door opening.
The suffixation schema of modifying-event creation likely serves as a model for the emergence of [X DE3] secondary predicates, particularly the then-productive suffix -\textit{ran} (然). The attested cases of [X-DE3] with an adverb denoting speed are already attested with -\textit{ran} before or in the Tang Dynasty, i.e. huoran, huran, muoran.

\textit{De3}-marked expressions functioning as pre-verbal secondary predicates fall on a continuum of lexical (atmospheric condition) and figurative (e.g. manner, depictive, result, purpose) interpretations.

First, [X \textit{DE3}] expressions ‘(in) an X location’ describing atmospheric conditions may be metonymically or metaphorically extended to modify other aspects of an event, (manner, result, purpose, etc.) following the suggested paths above. The first path of metonymic extension is based on the implication that the location (atmospheric condition) may have an impact on the current state of the participant, or the manner in which an action of an event is performed. To conduct an action in a ‘dark’ or ‘private’ location, for example, is often linked to the agent’s hope to conceal the event from others, and is therefore likely to perform the action in a covert manner. A manner interpretation is certainly available for examples (150)-(151) above.

The atmospheric condition function of \textit{De3} may also be extended to ‘result’ first via a metonymic link, sometimes with the connotation conventionalizing as a sense of the expression, thus becoming a metaphor.
(162) 白地断肝肠。（李白 《越女词》）

bai di duan gan chang
white ground break liver intestines
‘(Her) liver an intestines broke (= She was agonized) for no reason.’
(Yue Nu Ci, Poem of Li Bai, from Quan Tang Shi, 8th c.)

(163) 独舂独磨…（变文）
du chong du muo…
alone hull alone grind

空地磨●（秈）大戾。
kong di mou shu da li
empty DE3.ground grind sorghum great furious
‘…hulling alone, grinding alone…on an empty ground (= in vain) I grind the sorghum and become greatly furious.’
(Bian Wen, 7th-9th c.)

_Bai di_ in (162), literally ‘(on) white/plain ground’ refers metaphorically to something happening without reason or explanation – ‘plain ground’ is generally considered barren and will not yield crops, it is thus unexpected for a desired result (a metaphorical product) to be achieved on plain ground. A similar path of semantic extension is also attested with _kong di_ ‘empty ground, in vain’ in (163), with the implication that an empty ground tends to be barren and unproductive.

The possibility of the collocates of _DE3_ to appear as secondary predicates independently also has an impact on whether a potential link may be created between [X-DE3] and the existing schemas for secondary predication. Many _DE3_-marked properties describing an atmosphere may appear as a secondary predicate (though their frequencies vary) without additional marking. (164)-(165) may be alternatively accessed via the established ‘condition’ sense, not via the lexical ‘ground’ sense. They may potentially be linked to the modifying event suffixation schema [ADV _], where _DE3_ is aligned with the existing markers for modifying events.
(164) 見夫出後便私行（變文）

\[ \text{jian fu chu hou bian si xing} \]

see husband exit after then private go

‘After seeing her husband exit, she went out secretly.’

\((Bian Wen 7^{th} - 9^{th} \text{ Century AD})\)

(165) 也被無常暗將。 (變文)

\[ \text{ye bei wu-chang an qu jiang} \]

also PASS NEG.exist-constant dark take obtain

‘Also possessed by inconstancy.’

\((\text{ibid.})\)

3.5.3.5 The lexical-figurative continuum

Table 3.8 shows the possible interpretations of an \([X \text{ DE3}]\) expression attested as preverbal secondary predicates in the Tang Dynasty. An \(x\) in parenthesis means the usage is attested but uncommon (x). Atmospheric condition + manner means that the two interpretations often co-exist in the same context. The manner/depictive column suggests that there is a context where the atmospheric condition interpretation is ruled out, and only the established metaphorical sense is available.

**Table 3.8 Possible interpretations of an \([X-\text{DE3}]\) expression attested as preverbal secondary predicates in the Tang Dynasty**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DE3-collocates</th>
<th>Can function as secondary predicate alone</th>
<th>Atmospheric condition</th>
<th>Atmospheric condition + manner (likely in the same context)</th>
<th>manner/depictive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lexical</td>
<td>Metonymic</td>
<td>Established metaphorical sense</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>黑地</td>
<td>hei ‘black’</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>暗地</td>
<td>an ‘dark’</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>私地</td>
<td>si ‘private’</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>窗地</td>
<td>wei ‘corner, concealed’ (X)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>白地</td>
<td>bai ‘white, empty’ (X)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>空地</td>
<td>kong ‘empty’</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>特地</td>
<td>te ‘special’</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>修地</td>
<td>can ‘sad’</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>繭地</td>
<td>hu ‘sudden’</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>薤地</td>
<td>muo ‘rapid, sudden’</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>羿地</td>
<td>kuo ‘IDEO.fast’</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>蝴蝶地</td>
<td>yuanyuan ‘still, lofty_REDU?’</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All examples are attested in *Bian Wen*, except for *baidi* (白地) from Li Bai’s poem *Yue Nu Ci* (8\(^{th}\) c.), shown in (162) above. The attested instances fall into four types. Type
I can only be interpreted as an atmospheric condition. Type 2 can be interpreted as atmospheric condition and manner in the same context, as the first interpretation often implies the latter. A context may also be construed where only the manner/depictive/result interpretation is intended. Type 3 may be used to indicate the atmospheric condition or the result interpretation, but usually only the literal or the metaphorical sense is intended, and not both. This has to do with the fact that the property ‘empty’ of the location has a weaker consequential link to the manner of an event being performed, and being on an empty/barren ground has very little effect on the manner/result of many actions, such as thinking or grinding grain. The fourth type can only be interpreted in the metaphorical sense of condition, or purely as a secondary predicate denoting manner/depictive.

These expressions fall on a continuum of [X DE3] as a grounding element (the circumstances interpretation) and [X DE3] as an e-site elaboration of an event (the manner interpretation). The former serves as a grounding element, and the latter serves as an e-site elaboration. The semantic extension involves the shift of [X DE3] from a grounding element to an e-site elaboration. The [X DE3] expression has two interpretations, first as the grounding element, indicating the metaphorical location in which the movement is carried out, second as an elaboration on the manner (an e-site of the movement), in a non-returning manner/condition. The compatibility of an expression with DE3 as its nominal head with both interpretations increases its semantic compatibility of the modifying event (adverb and secondary predicate) schema.

The semantic flexibility to interpret [Adj DE3] as either participant- or event-oriented, and either as a ground element or as an e-site elaboration is a significant context
for [X DE3] to emerge as a secondary predicate. A simplified illustration of the constructional networks associated with the subschemas of DE3 is provided in Figure 3.4.

**Figure 3.4 Constructional networks related to the subschemas of DE3**

![Diagram of constructional networks related to the subschemas of DE3]

Note that although only DE3 and ran are shown as subschemas of the [Modifying event PRT] schema, several other Classical Chinese particles in may also be attached to modifying events (see S. Lü 1984[1943]), each with its own idiosyncrasies. The following example shows that the modal particle/topic marker hu (乎) may also be attached to the manner event ji ‘eager(ly)’ in Bian Wen.

(166) 念佛急乎歸舍去（變文）
    nian fuo ji hu gui she qu
    chant Buddha eager(ly) TOP return home go
    ‘Pray to Buddha and rapidly/eagerly return home.’
    *(Bian Wen, 7th - 9th c.)*

At the early stage the “prototypical function” and “category” of the construction is still fluid, and DE3’s function is primarily dependent on the prototypical function of the “collocate” it takes. The prototype of a schema may change over time. The change is driven by variant and new/alternative ways of parsing, and reorganization, creation, and sometimes disconnection of links among schemas. The weight of the parameters that
define a construction may be re-organized, old parameters may disappear, and new parameters emerge.

3.5.4 [Action + DE3] Continuous/progressive

A few expressions attested in Bian Wen also seem to be entrenched in the [Posture+DE3] pattern. The progressive/continuous schema does not seem to have direct influence to its function as a marker of modifying events because of its restricted collocation with posture and downward motion predicates. When DE3 co-occurs with posture verbs, e.g. li ‘stand’ and wo ‘lie,’ which literally means stand or lie on the ground, the semantics of DE3 ‘ground’ is contextually accessible and not salient. Because these situations profile the resulting/rest state (rather than the transition stage) of the postures, the continuous, stative reading associated with posture predicates is re-assigned to DE3.

(167) 門前有一老人立地。 (《莊子變文》)

*men* qian *you yi* lao ren li *di*
‘There was an old man standing in front of the door.’

(Bian Wen, 7th - 9th c.)

(168) 正見雀兒臥地，面色恰似倉土。 (《莊子賦》變文)

*zheng* jian que-er *wo di*
‘…Saw the sparrow lying (on the ground).’

(169) 后妻向床上臥地不起。 (《莊子變文》)

*houchi xiang chuang shang wo di bu qi*
‘(His) second wife lay on the bed, not able to rise.’

When [V-DE3] is followed by another predicate, it serves as a secondary predicate, e.g. (169).

(ibid.)
In most cases, DE3 is ambiguous between a lexical ‘ground’ and a ‘stative/progressive’ interpretation. In (169), however, the lexical reading can obviously be excluded because the location is overtly expressed by another directional noun, *chuang shang* ‘on the bed’.

The progressive reading is compatible with some dynamic verbs (involving motion towards the ground), e.g. *fu* ‘stoop, bend (down),’ *ta* ‘stomp’, as in (170)-(171). DE3 associated with other dynamic verbs can potentially also be interpreted as marking continuous aspect, but in all such cases the lexical reading is probably preferable.

(170) 東方朔得此言，伏地大笑。（《前漢劉家太子傳》變文）

```
dongfangshuo de ci yan fu di da xiao
PN DE1.get this speech stoop DE3.ground big laugh
```

‘Dongfangshuo heard such speech (and) laughed heavily (while) *stooping.*’

(171) 鷯子即退，踏地叫。（《鷯子賦》變文）

```
yanzi ji hui ta di jiao-huan
sparrow then return step DE3.ground call/cry.out
```

‘The sparrow has returned, crying out, stomping (the ground).’

The expression *li di* ‘standing, immediately lit.stand-DE3’ (立地) is also attested as a secondary predicate of manner (speed), which is a metonymic extension from the stative/progressive reading of *li* ‘stand,’ meaning the action is performed instantly (without hesitation, lit. standing).

(172) 當處對面平章，立地便書文契。（《降魔變文》）

```
dang chu dui mian pingzhang
be.at location opposite face discuss
```

```
[li di] bian shu wenqi
stand DE3 then write contract
```

‘At that location (he) discusses (the issue) face to face; at the location (he) stands (he) writes a contract.’

The continuous/progressive function of DE3 is primarily restricted to posture predictes and predicates of downward motion. Though such usage is sporadically attested,
DE3 has not developed into a dominant marker of durative aspect. The emergence of this schema is acknowledged here, but will not be the focus of our investigation in Chapters 4-6.

The distribution of X-DE3 (secondary) predicates in *Bian Wen* is provided in Table 3.9 for ease of reference. The frequency of these functions is obviously low.

### Table. 3.9 Distribution of DE3-marked (secondary) predicates in *Bia Wen*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Subschema</th>
<th>Token (Type)</th>
<th>Semantic class of collocates</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Predicative complement</td>
<td>Quantitative</td>
<td>1 (1)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>a little (bit)</td>
<td>shao-di (少地) ‘a little-DE3’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preposed Adjunct [X-DE3] PRED</td>
<td>Continuous and progressive</td>
<td>4 (3)</td>
<td>Posture predicates</td>
<td>lying,</td>
<td>wo-di ‘lie-DE3’ (卧地*2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>fu-di (伏地) ‘lie-DE3’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>standing li-di (立地) ‘stand-DE3’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atmosphere</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 (1)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>in the dark</td>
<td>hei-di (黑地*2) ‘black-DE3’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atmosphere or manner</td>
<td></td>
<td>7 (4)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>in the dark, in private, privately</td>
<td>an di (暗地*3) ‘dark-DE3’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>si di (私地*2) ‘private-DE3’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wei di (猥地) ‘corner/behind-DE3’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>in vain, alone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manner/depictive?</td>
<td></td>
<td>8 (6)</td>
<td>emotion 1 (1)</td>
<td>sadly, gloomily</td>
<td>can di (惨地) ‘dark/dim/sad-DE3’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mental 1 (1)</td>
<td>be still</td>
<td>yuanyuan di (瞑瞑地) ‘stand still.REDU DE3’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>speed 6 (4)</td>
<td>suddenly</td>
<td>hu di (忽地*2) ‘sudden-DE3’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>muo di (蓦地*2) ‘mount.horse-DE3’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>huo di (霍地) ‘quick.SOUND-DE3’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>li di (立地) ‘stand-DE3’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘special’ marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7 (1)</td>
<td>(e)specially, unexpectedly</td>
<td>te di (特地*7) ‘special-DE3’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pred [X-DE3]#</td>
<td>(Extended states of)</td>
<td>3 (2)</td>
<td>Posture predicates</td>
<td>stand(ing) ly(ing)</td>
<td>li di (立地*2) ‘stand-DE3’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>postures</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wo di (卧地) ‘lie-DE3’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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3.5.5 Summary of DE3 constructions in Tang Dynasty

Here is a description of DE3 secondary predicate constructions in the Tang Dynasty (7th - 9th centuries). The semantic, syntactic, and collocational constraints of DE3 secondary predicate constructions in Tang Dynasty are listed in (173) (the >> symbol represents peripheral patterns):

(173) Form: [X DE3]
Semantics: ‘(in) an X condition’
Syntax: Adv/secondary predicates (>> arguments)
Collocates: (a) Semantic class: Adv, Adj >> descriptive
          (b) Morphophonology: Monosyllabic (>> reduplicated)
Information packaging: ground, e-site elaboration

Reduplicated templates, which are typical of descriptives, are not common with DE3 in this period – only 1 token, yuanyuan di (DE3), is attested in Bian Wen. Descriptive templates become more common with DE3 in the Song Dynasty, after the DE3-marked modifying event schema becomes fully established (see discussion in Chapter 4).

3.6 Conclusion

In the Tang and Five Dynasties period, the precursors of the three DE constructions to be investigated have emerged from their lexical functions. From its lexical function ‘get’, DE1 is established in the [V DE1 VP] pattern for resultative relations. DE2 ‘bottom’ is established as a marker of attributive modification and nominalization. DE3 ‘ground’ construction is primarily associated with secondary predication. The semantic extensions from their lexical meanings are influenced by their collocating elements, pragmatic inferences, analogy to existing patterns and alignment with existing constructional networks.
Chapter 4

Primary functions of DE2 and DE3 in the 10th-13th centuries

4.1 Overview

Previously in Chapter 3, we presented the functions of DE2 and DE3 that emerged by the end of the Tang Dynasty (the 9th century). This chapter introduces the main functions of DE2 and DE3 in the following period, from the Five Dynasties to the Song-Jin Periods (the 10th-13th centuries). In this period of time, the two markers develop further in distinctive domains - DE2 is mainly used for nominal modification (both headed and headless), and DE3 mainly for predication, but especially for secondary predication (broadly construed to include manner). While DE2 and DE3 seem to occupy the opposite poles of two propositional acts, reference and predication, they are similar in that they are both used for modification, although DE2 is mainly used for referent modification, and DE3 for predicate modification (“secondary predication”). The DE2 vs. DE3 distinction discussed in this chapter lays out the first major theme of our investigation: the attribution vs. predication continuum in the domain of secondary predication. With the general picture in mind, we may then discuss in Chapters 5-6 the deviations of DE2 and DE3 from their respective functional prototypes, via intermediate categories between attribution and predication, i.e. the extension of DE2 into predication and DE3 into attribution.

The statistics discussed in this chapter are based on the following texts (see descriptions in §1.11):

- Zu Tang Ji 祖堂集 (AD 952)
- Wu Deng Hui Yuan 五燈會元 (AD 1252)
- Zhu Zi Yu Lei 朱子語類 (AD 1270)
For Tables 4.1-4.7 and Figure 4.2, the statistics are based on the first 10 chapters (卷) of *Zhu Zi Yu Lei*, and the entire text for all the others. For Tables 4.8-10, the statistics include the entire texts of all listed above, including *Zhu Zi Yu Lei*.

Table 4.1 shows the frequency of distribution of \( \text{DE2} \) and \( \text{DE3} \) in attributive and predicative functions in the 10\(^{th}\)-13\(^{th}\) centuries sample.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>DE2</th>
<th>DE3</th>
<th>DE2: DE3</th>
<th></th>
<th>DE2</th>
<th>DE3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attribution</td>
<td>1741</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>193: 1</td>
<td>Attributive [X DE N]</td>
<td>1064</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Headless [X DE] (as arguments)</td>
<td>677</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predicative</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>1: 5</td>
<td>Secondary predicates</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Predicative (+ complements)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Predicative or secondary predicate</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attributive: Predicative</td>
<td>25:1</td>
<td>1: 39</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As shown in 4.1, the primary functions of \( \text{DE2} \) and \( \text{DE3} \) remain distinctive in the 10\(^{th}\)-13\(^{th}\) centuries, with \( \text{DE2} \) predominantly appearing in attributive modification, and \( \text{DE3} \) primarily appearing in predicative-related functions. The distribution also shows some overlap in their functions, where \( \text{DE3} \) appears in attribution, and \( \text{DE2} \) appears in predication.

The frequency count of \( \text{DE3} \) in predication includes \( \text{DE3} \)-marked secondary predicates, predicatives (including predicative complements), and instances that are ambiguous between a primary and a secondary predicate interpretation. The table only shows the primary functions of \( \text{DE2} \) and \( \text{DE3} \); their distribution in other minor patterns and functions that are intermediate between attribution and predication will be presented.
in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6. It will be argued that DE2 and DE3 have varying degrees of functional and distributional overlap in different texts (varieties) due to contextual expansion of both constructions, with their primary functions remaining distinct. Focus will be placed on the overlapping semantic/pragmatic, structural, and collocational contexts, as well as the general properties of the language.

4.2 Primary functions of DE2

DE2-marked attributives are low in both token and type productivity in the Tang Dynasty (see §3.3). By the 10th century (shown in the text Zu Tang Ji, completed in AD 952 in the Five Dynasties Period), nominal modification has become established as the primary function of DE2-constructions. Attributive modification (in [Mod DE2 N] pattern) and headless modification (in [Mod DE2] pattern) constitute 94% of the instances of DE2-marked expressions.

4.2.1 DE2-marked (pre-nominal) modifiers: [X-DE2 N]

In (headed) attributive modification, a DE-marked expression, most typically preposed, serves as the modifier to a noun. The [X-DE2] expression provides certain background information that facilitates the understanding of the head noun (Larson 1983, in Croft 2001:349).

4.2.1.1 Restrictive modification

The earliest attested DE2-marked attributives are restrictive modifiers, which function to (a) (re-)identify a previously established referent or (b) define a generic category. In the first scenario, the DE2-marked modifier helps the hearer identify a specific referent by relating it to an event or a proposition, usually established in the previous discourse. The referent is often still active (a discourse file has been opened and
is at the center of the hearer’s consciousness). Example (1) from Zu Tang Ji illustrates a 
de2-marked restrictive modifier that serves to better identify the referent encoded by the 
nominal head housheng. The relative clause, combined with a property expression, 
specifies that the speaker is not referring to any junior person, but the one ‘who came 
yesterday (and was) frivolous’.

(1) 昨來到和尚處問佛法，輕忽底後生來東石頭上坐。(祖堂 4)

昨來 to your (the monk’s) place yesterday to ask about Buddhist principle, the frivolous one, that junior has come to sit on the east rock.

(Zu Tang Ji 4, AD 952)

In another scenario, a restrictive modifier collocates with a generic head, where the 
modifier defines a generic category narrower than indicated by the head alone. This is 
already attested with de2 in the Tang Dynasty, as illustrated by (2) in Bian Wen:

(2) 相勸直論好底事。(變文)

Advise each other simply of good things.’ (Bian Wen, AD 7th-9th century)

Identification of a referent (both specific and generic), as illustrated by examples (1)-(2), 
is one of the primary information packaging functions associated with de2-attributives. 

The fact that de2-modifiers should start out as restrictives is less than surprising, since 
the restrictive function is also the central function of nominal modification in general.

Besides restricting the identity of its head, de2 as an overt marking of the 
modifier (as opposed to simple juxtaposition of an unmarked modifier to the head) also 
seems to place the modifiers in focus. Such an association of de2-attributives with focus
marking is especially clear in *Zu Tang Ji, Wu Deng*, and *Zhu Zi*, which due to their specific genres (dialogues, debates and lecture notes), contain a lot of information questions and identity (definitional) statements, canonical identificational contexts.

Before discussing the correlation between DE2 construction and focus marking, we will introduce the notion of focus. Here the notion of a focus construction is used interchangeably with an identificational construction. The function of an “identificational” (or “focus”) construction is to equate two semantic elements known from two different descriptions (Stassen 1997:12, Croft in preparation). An instantiation of the basic identificational function can be found in equational sentences of two referents, such as the *Morning Star* and the *Evening Star* in (3).

(3) The Morning Star is the Evening Star. (Morning Star = Evening Star)  
(Stassen 1997:12)

More broadly, an identificational construction can equate any two semantic elements. In (4a-b), “Jerry” is equated with “the one who made the tea”, as represented by the equation in (4c).

(4) Identificational construction:
   a. JERRY made the tea.
   b. It was JERRY who made the tea.
   c. the one who made the tea = Jerry

An identificational sentence identifies (or focuses) on a part of a presupposed proposition, which is taken to be shared knowledge between the speaker and the hearer (Lambrecht 1994, also see discussion of pragmatic presupposition in Chapter 8). Discourse contexts that are typically construed as identificational may be broadly classified into two categories – information gap and contrast. The analysis of “focus” presented in Figure 4.1 is based on Dik (1997:330-35), with additions of the subtypes of contrastive focus discussed in Myhill and Xing (1996) (cf. Croft in preparation).
The discourse contexts typically involving focus presented in Figure 4.1 are discussed below.

- **Information gap: Presupposed open proposition + focus**

  In this context, the identificational/focus construction supplies information (the focus) to a presupposed proposition with an information gap, hence a presupposed “open” proposition (Prince 1986). In (4) above, Jerry is the focused element, which supplies information about the maker of the tea in the presupposed open proposition *Someone made the tea*. A classical context with a presupposed open proposition is an information question-answer pair, as illustrated by (5a-b) (Dik 1997:328), where the information gap is underlined, and the focused element is capitalized.

  5a. Information question (questioning): Where is John going?
  
  b. Answer to information question (completive): John is going to the MARKET.

  Example (6) illustrates an instance where the presupposed open presupposition is evoked in the discourse context.

  6. ...So I learned to sew books. They’re really good books. **It’s just the COVERS that are rotten.** (Prince 1978:896; from Studs Terkel, Working, p.409)  
  [POP: **Something** is ‘amiss’ with the books.]  
  [Focus: COVERS]
In (6), the addressee can deduce that the speaker sews books because there is something is wrong with them that needs fixing, and the speaker fills the information gap with the *it*-cleft construction.

- **Contrast: Full (closed) proposition + contrast**

  The second type of identificational context involves contrast. Contrastive focus includes two subtypes: (i) parallel, (ii) counter-presuppositional.

  (i) Parallel

  In parallel contrast, contrastive focus is assigned to a set of elements placed in parallel constructions (Dik 1987:332). Myhill and Xing (1996) identifies three subtypes of parallel contrast, illustrated by (7a-c).

  (7) (a) Listing: A set of contrastive elements appear in otherwise identical propositions. ‘He brought back all the goods, and he also brought back his kinsman Lot and his goods...’ (Myhill and Xing 1996:314)

  (b) Nonverbal contrast: The verbs are identical in meaning, and at least two sets of contrasting non-verbal elements (Myhill and Xing 1996:316)

    Sally made the salad but Ronald made the hamburgers. (Chafe 1976:35, cited in Myhill and Xing 1996:307)

  (c) Verbal contrast: The verbs have opposite values, and at least of two contrasting non-verbal elements (Myhill and Xing 1996:314)

    “...and they will kill me (=Abraham) and they will spare you.”

    ‘We will give our daughters to you and we will take your daughters for ourselves...” (Myhill and Xing 1996:315-6, English translations of Biblical Hebrew examples)

  (ii) Counter-presuppositional

  For counter-presuppositional contrast, there is no information gap in the presupposed proposition (hence a full/closed proposition), but the speaker wishes to
contrast, challenge, or modify part of it. Subtypes of counter-presuppositional contrast are illustrated by (8) (examples from Dik 1997:335, contrastive elements boldfaced):

(8) Counter-presuppositional contrast
- Rejecting:
  A: John grows potatoes.
  B: No, he doesn’t grow them.
- Replacing:
  A: John grows potatoes.
  B: No, he sells them.
- Expanding:
  A: John grows bananas.
  B: He also sells them.
- Restricting:
  A: It seems John grows and sells potatoes.
  B: No, he only sells them.
- Selecting:
  A: Are you going to rent or buy a car?
  B: I am going to buy one.

In the Buddhist texts, the most frequent patterns are ruhe shi…[X DE2 N] and [X DE2 N] zuomo(sheng) ‘what/how is an/the N that (is) X’. Many of these DE2-marked attributes are based on propositions established in the previous discourse. In (9), three participants are introduced into the discourse, each associated with a proposition, shown in (9-1)-(9-3). In the latter discourse, the propositions re-appear as DE2-marked modifiers in (9-4)-(9-6) to help identify referents as the topics of the three information questions.

(9) 主人有言：有一句，如山如岳；有一句子，如透網鱼；有一句子，如百川水。如何是山如岳底句？[…]“如何是透網鱼底句？”[…]“如何是如百川水底句？”

(zhu ren you yan)

host person have speech

[1] you yi ju ru shan ru yue
exist one sentence like mountain like peak

[2] you yi juzi ru tou wang yu
exist one sentence like go.through net fish
'The host once said:
[1] “…There is one sentence (which is) like a mountain, like a peak;
[2] there is one sentence (which is) like fish escaping through the net;
[3] there is a sentence (which is) like the water in a hundred rivers.”
[4] “What is the sentence that is ‘like a mountain, like a peak’?” (…)
[5] “What is the “fish escaping through the net” sentence?”(…)
[6] “What is the sentence that is like the water is a hundred rivers?”

(Zu Tang Ji, 952 AD)

The structures of the modifiers in (1) and (9-4)-(9-6) show that DE2 may collocate with a combination of complex, heterogeneous elements the speaker regards as helpful to the hearer in identifying the referent. In a sense, the modifier serves more as a “label” or “name” than as a characterization of a participant. This is supported by the fact that the proposition in (9-2), a similitive expression characterizing the head juzi ‘sentence’ re-appears partially quoted as the modifier in (9-5), and instead of characterizing the participant, it serves only to associate the participant with the previously established proposition and disambiguate it from the other referents.

In the beginning, DE2-marked attributive properties (such as in (10)) are low in frequency, and the majority of the few attested cases are restrictives, in line with the general tendency of DE2-attributives. The DE2-marked modifier bu an in (10) is a typical restrictive modifier, which assigns a property (established in the previous discourse) to the nominal head to help the hearer ‘pick out’ the referent.
(10) 因兩個僧侶同行，一人不安，在涅槃堂里將息，一人看。有一日，不安底上座喚同行云：

\((\text{yin} \ \text{liang} \ \text{ge} \ \text{sengzao} \ \text{tong} \ \text{xing} \ \text{yi} \ \text{ren} \ \text{bu} \ \text{an})\)

because two CL monk together travel one person NEG well

\((\text{zai} \ \text{niepan-tang} \ \text{li} \ \text{jiangxi yi} \ \text{ren} \ \text{kan} \ \text{ta})\)

be.at Nirvana-hall in rest one person watch 3s

\((\text{you} \ \text{yi} \ \text{ri} \ \text{bu} \ \text{an} \ \text{di} \ \text{shangzuo} \ \text{huan} \ \text{tong-xing} \ \text{yun}...\)

exist one day NEG well DE2 monk HON call together-travel say

‘There were two monks traveling together; one (of them) was unwell, (and) rested in the Nirvana Temple; (the other) one watched him. One day, the monk (Sthavira) who was unwell (lit. the unwell one, the monk) called out to his companion and said…

\((Zu \ Tang \ Ji, \ AD \ 952)\)

Aside from referent-identification and category-restriction, the attested property attributes in \(Zu \ Tang \ Ji\) are similar in function to those in example (11), where DE2 seems to mark a modifier as a topic.

(11) 洞山問：“闍梨名什摩？”對云：“玄機。”“作摩生是 alguien總機？”（祖堂集）

\((\text{dongshan} \ \text{wen} \ \text{sheli} \ \text{ming} \ \text{sheme})\)

PN ask monk LW name what

\((\text{dui} \ \text{yun} \ \text{xuan} \ \text{ji})\)

respond say mysterious principle

\((\text{zenmuosheng} \ \text{shi} \ \text{xuan} \ \text{di} \ \text{ji})\)

what/how COP mysterious DE2 principle

Dongshan asked: “What is your (the monk’s) name?”

(The monk) responded: “(A) mysterious principle.”

(Dongshan asked): “What is that mysterious principle?” or “What is a mysterious principle?”

\((Zu \ Tang \ Ji, \ 952 \ AD)\)

In (11), the first occurrence of the modifier “xuan” is simply juxtaposed to its head. The second mention of the participant, xuan di ji, is overtly marked by DE2, which indicates that the attribute xuan ‘mysterious’ as the topic of an information question. The appearance of DE2 clarifies that the speaker is not merely inquiring about a “mysterious principle” in general, but about the mysterious principle previously mentioned, and further, about how and why the other speaker calls it a mysterious principle.
In addition, the tendency of DE2-marked attributive properties to be in contrastive focus is manifest in the following example from Wu Deng, where the DE2-marked attributes - *qu* ‘curved’, *zhi* ‘straight’, *xuan* ‘black’, *bai* ‘white’ – appear in parallel to the previously established propositions, and reaffirm the argument brought forth.

(12) 未必是松一向直。棘一向曲。鶴便白。鳥便玄。洞山道。這裏也有曲底松。也有直底棘。也有玄底鶴。也有白底鳥。(選摘自九世 文殊真禪師法嗣 瑞州洞山鏡瞻禪師)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wei-bi} & \quad \text{shi} & \quad \text{song} & \quad \text{yixiang} & \quad \text{zhi} \\
\text{NEG-mandatory} & \quad \text{COP} & \quad \text{pine} & \quad \text{always} & \quad \text{straight} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{thorn} & \quad \text{always} & \quad \text{curved} & \quad \text{swan} & \quad \text{then} & \quad \text{white} & \quad \text{crow} & \quad \text{then} & \quad \text{black} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dongshan} & \quad \text{dao} & \quad \text{zheli} & \quad \text{ye} & \quad \text{you} & \quad \text{qu} & \quad \text{di} & \quad \text{song} \\
\text{PN} & \quad \text{say} & \quad \text{here} & \quad \text{also} & \quad \text{exist} & \quad \text{curved} & \quad \text{DE2} & \quad \text{pine} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ye} & \quad \text{you} & \quad \text{zhi} & \quad \text{di} & \quad \text{ji} \\
\text{also exist} & \quad \text{straight} & \quad \text{DE2} & \quad \text{thorn} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ye} & \quad \text{you} & \quad \text{xuan} & \quad \text{di} & \quad \text{hu} & \quad \text{ye} & \quad \text{you} & \quad \text{bai} & \quad \text{di} & \quad \text{wu} \\
\text{also exist} & \quad \text{black} & \quad \text{DE2} & \quad \text{swan} & \quad \text{also exist} & \quad \text{white} & \quad \text{DE2} & \quad \text{crow} \\
\end{align*}
\]

“…it is not necessarily the case that pines are always straight, thorns are always curved; swans are always white, crows are always black.” Dongshan says: “Here there are **curved** pines, as well as **straight** thorns, as well as **black** swans, as well as **white** crows.” (Wu Deng, AD 1252)

These examples show that DE2-marked property attribution is likely associated with referent identification and focus-marking at the early stage.

4.2.1.2 DE2-marked non-restrictive modifiers (characteristic)

The modification construction marked by DE2 begins to appear as non-restrictive attributives by the 12th century. Though all non-restrictive modifiers provide merely subsidiary information, which does not help restrict the identity of the participant denoted by the head, they may be classified into three subcategories: (a) a definitive, individual-level characteristic, (b) a factual, simultaneous state of affairs, and (c) a vivid, simultaneous impressionistic description based on subjective evaluation (see example
Example (13) from Wu Deng illustrates a non-restrictive modifier denoting an individual-level characteristic of the participant. The expression, *qian sheng bu chuan* ‘thousands of saints do not deliver it’, a maxim often quoted in Buddhist debates, is cited 10 times in *Wu Deng* (as shown in (14)) and may safely be regarded as shared knowledge among the monks. The modifier *qian sheng bu chuan* is considered a characteristic of “the only truth” in the Buddhist tradition, and does not seem to restrict the identity of its head.

(13) 見性成佛。有千聖不傳向上一路在。（五燈）

\[ \begin{array}{ccc}
\text{jian} & \text{xing} & \text{cheng} \\
\text{see} & \text{human\_nature} & \text{become} \\
\text{fo} & \text{Buddha} & \text{exist} \\
\text{you qian} & \text{thousand} & \text{NEG} \\
\text{sheng bu chuan di} & \text{NEG} & \text{deliver} \text{DE2} \\
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{ccc}
\text{xiang} & \text{shang} & \text{yi lu zai} \\
\text{toward} & \text{up one road be.at} \\
\end{array} \]

‘In terms of seeing through human nature and becoming a Buddha, there is the upmost road (the only truth) that the saints do not deliver.’

(Wu Deng, AD 1252)

(14) 向上一路。千聖不傳。（五燈）

\[ \begin{array}{cccc}
\text{xiang} & \text{shang} & \text{yi lu qian sheng bu chuan} & \text{NEG deliver} \\
\text{toward} & \text{up one road thousand saint} & \text{NEG deliver} \\
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{cc}
\text{‘(In terms of) the upmost road (the only truth), the thousands of saints do not deliver (it).’} \\
\end{array} \]

(ibid.)

The non-restrictive in (13) is a permanent characteristic of the participant, and is thus temporally independent and not contingent or dependent on another event. Another possibility is for the non-restrictive modifier to encode a transient state of affairs that is simultaneous to the event in the main clause, much like a depictive, as shown in (15)-(16). Sentences (15)-(16) may both be translated in English as a pre-nominal attributive modifier, or a post-nominal relative clause. A translation into an English depictive is also provided for comparison.
The non-restrictive in (15) describes a non-gradable, simultaneous event encoded by a non-descriptive construction. Example (16), where the modifier is encoded in a reduplicated descriptive ABB template (see Chapter 2), is highly marked for DE2-attributives. The distribution is obviously also affected by difference in genre and the mode of discourse. This issue will be re-visited in Chapter 6, with the comparison of DE3-attributives.

4.2.1.3 Issues with the restrictive vs. non-restrictive distinction

The restrictive vs. non-restrictive distinction is a pragmatic one, not a logical one. The distinction is based on the (intended) effect the modifier has on the hearer’s conceptualization of the identity of the referent, but the effect is not always definable based on traditional “set theory” (William Croft, p.c.). The following section discusses the issues with identifying restrictive vs. non-restrictive attributes that pertain to our current analysis.

The nouns modified by the previously cited DE2-marked restrictive attributives are predominantly simple (not otherwise modified) common nouns, which is prototypical of restrictive modification. That is, there is no additional modifier between [Modifier DE2] and the following noun. The more problematic cases occur when the head noun refers to
an inherently uniquely identifiable participant, or when the head noun is complex, e.g. already takes a modifier, or does not have a particular prominent attribute.

Example (17) shows a DE2-marked relative clause with a modified proper name as its head. The passage is a self-introductory monologue of an actor.

(17) 言着姓名自覺愚濁心先倦。是逐糧趁熱底劉知遠。(劉知遠)

*yan zhe xingming zi jue zhuo xin xian juan*
speak DUR last_name-first_name self feel dim heart before tired

*shi zhu liang chen shou di liuzhiyuan*
be chase food pursue ripen DE2 PN
‘Before speaking of my name, I (myself) feel my dim heart become weary – I am one who moves around to seek a living, Liu Zhiyuan.’

*(Liu Zhi Yuan, 12th-13th c.)*

The DE2-marked relative clause characterizes the living condition and occupation of the referent, whose name Liu Zhiyuan is specified. Because a proper name is inherently uniquely identifiable, one may be tempted to analyze the DE2-marked modifier as non-restrictive. In this case, however, it is probably more properly analyzed as a restrictive modifier, because the proper name itself has not registered with the audience as an unique individual – it is the DE2-marked modifier that characterizes the referent that helps more to establish its identity.

Example (18) illustrates a DE2-marked relative clause with a modified noun as its head. The discourse function of the DE2-marked modifier is analyzed as a restrictive, although the head “ai sheli” ‘short monk’ has a modifier.

(18) 問聲色話底矮閥裂在麼。(五燈)

*wén sheng-se hua di ai sheli zai muo*
ask sound-color speech DE2 short monk.LW be.at INTERR
‘Is the one who asked about the sound and color, the short monk here?’

*(Wu Deng, AD 1252)*

The dialogue where the monk asks the speaker about sound and color has just been
presented in the previous discourse, and the current discourse involves another occasion where the speaker asks whether the monk is present. The group is first presented with the information “the one who asked about the sound and color”, which helps narrow down the identity of the referent by relating to the event of “asking about sound and color”, although the modifier *ai* likely also help identify the referent.

Modifiers of nominals in predication and simulative (including simile and metaphor) constructions also pose a problem to the restrictive vs. non-restrictive analysis, because there are two sets of identities involved - the identity of the subject, and the identity of the predicative nominal (or the standard of a simulative). In such cases, the modifier may have a pragmatic relationship to its head different from that of the subject expression.

Until the 13th century, *de*2-marked generic restrictives attested usually appear in predication as classificational or characterizational statements, as shown in (19). In some cases, the head contributes very little to the semantics of the subject (other than its known ontological type, e.g. person, matter, thing); it is the modifier that characterizes the subject. In (19), the modifier *da wu* ‘greatly apprehending’ is a characteristic of the subject, and the head *ren* ‘person’ does not add too much information to the head. Compared to restrictive attributes that identify a specific referent, whose function is to “select” from a group, this type of attribute often functions to “characterize” and “classify”. 

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(19) 我是大悟底人。（祖堂集）

wo shi da wu di ren
ls COP great apprehend DE2 person

‘I’m a greatly apprehending person (=one who has achieved enlightenment).’

(Zu Tang Ji, AD 952)

The situation is more complicated for the modifier of a characterizational statement with a complex head. As mentioned, the relationship between the modifier and its head is not always compatible with the pragmatic effect it has on the identity of the subject of the sentence. This is shown in example (20) from Wu Deng, which has two sets of DE2-marked attributives in predication.

(20) 若不如是。盡是依草附木底精靈。喫野狐涕唾底鬼子。（五燈）

ruo bu ru shi jin shi yi cao fu mu di jingling
if NEG as such all COP attach grass cling wood DE2 spirit

chi ye hu ti tuo di gui-zi
eat wild fox phlegmspit DE2 ghost-DIM

‘If (you) do not do as such, you are all spirits that attach to the grass and trees, ghosts that eat the phlegm of wild foxes.’

(Wu Deng, AD 1252)

Taken literally, the modifiers seem to have different pragmatic statuses with respect to their heads. In folk belief, spirits are said to attach themselves to grass and trees to obtain temporary tangible forms. Ghosts, on the other hand, are less commonly associated with the consumption of the phlegm and spit of wild foxes. Based on these criteria, it can be said that the first modifier is non-restrictive, while the latter one is restrictive with respective to its head. The two sets of modifiers, however, are both intended to be metaphorical attributes, with “attaching to grass and trees” referring metaphorically to “in lack of originality, blindly follow whatever others say” and “eating the phlegm and spit of wild foxes” to “being fooled by meretricious words.” In a way, it is not essential whether the attribute is taken as restrictive or non-restrictive to its head, because both expressions are essential in characterizing the subject. It is less significant
whether the subject is classified as a member of a set which incidentally (or always, for that matter) possesses the trait introduced by the modifier (the non-restrictive interpretation) or a member of a set defined by the modifier (the restrictive interpretation).

Another set of parallel expressions in (21) also illustrate that the modifier of a predicative nominal may have a pragmatic effect on its head different from that on the subject of the sentence.

(21) 如此見解。即是落空亡底外道。魂不散底死人。 (五燈)

such view then COP fall empty DE2 out-law

spirit NEG disperse DE2 dead person

‘With such views,’
(i) ‘one is a heretic that falls into emptiness, a dead man with undispersed spirits.’
(ii) ‘…one falls into emptiness, just like a heretic; (one) is a dead person, (albeit) with undispersed spirit.’
(iii) (it would be as if) you were among the dead, except that your spirit is undispersed.”

(Wu Deng, AD 1252)

The first relative clause, *luo kongwu* ‘fall into emptiness’ appears to characterize heretics, those who do not pursue the truth from within (non-restrictive to its head), but may also be construed as defining a subset of heretics to Buddhism among the other sorts (restrictive to its head). The second modifier, *hun bu san*, seems to be more clearly restrictive to its head, since dead people’s spirits are undispersed only under specific circumstances in Chinese folk belief. In a way, the attribute “falling into emptiness” is as important as “being a heretic” in characterizing the subject. The situation is slightly different for the other expression ‘a dead man with undispersed spirits’. *Being a dead person*, metaphorically meaning ‘without the ability to make sound intellectual judgments’ is the primary characterization being established, while “with undispersed spirits” is a characterization of the discrepancy between the subject referent (a live
person) and the head of the predicative noun ‘a dead person’, i.e. the only thing that the 
subject and a dead person does not have in common is that its spirits are undispersed
(=alive). The modifier is therefore not restrictive to the identity of the head in the same 
way as it defines a generic category (e.g. in (19) above).

Observe that the restrictive vs. non-restrictive (or characteristic vs. non-
characteristic) distinction is inconsequential in interpreting these two characterizational 
statements. Unlike the head ren ‘person’ in (19), which provides insignificant or known 
information, for both sets of attributives in (21), both the modifier and the head is 
important in characterizing the subject, and may be taken as two predications, as 
paraphrased in (21-iii).

Difficulty in distinguishing between restrictive and non-restrictive modification is 
also shown in the following example, where the addressee is described as a chair that 

does not resemble (a chair).

(22) 不似像底交椅。（張協）

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
bu & si-xiang & di & jiaoyi \\
\text{NEG} & \text{resemble} & \text{DE}2 & \text{chair}
\end{array}
\]

‘(You’re) a chair that does not resemble (a chair).’

\textit{(Zhang Xie, 12\textsuperscript{th}-13\textsuperscript{th} c.)}

In the previous context, the addressee talks of others’ tendency to lean or depend
on him, hence the speaker’s response. A plausible interpretation is that the addressee 
possesses the quality of a chair, to be leaned on or relied on, although there is no formal 
resemblance between the addressee and a chair. Alternatively, the speaker might be 
commenting on the addressee’s lack of physical resemblance to a chair alone, when the 
addressee (as a comic character) attempts the form of a chair as physical comedy. The 
former interpretation is neutral with respect to a restrictive and a non-restrictive reading, 
while the latter interpretation would favor a restrictive reading with respect to the head.
Examples (20)-(22) above, which are practically similatives in the form of equatives, display a complete parallel to DE2-marked attributives as simulative expressions. The modifier of the standard in a simulative, therefore, also poses a similar problem to the analysis of its real discourse function. In (23)-(24), the modifier specifies a non-prototypical feature usually not associated with the referent denoted by the head, but is instead a feature of the subject referent.

(23) 一匹戰馬，似鋸了牙的活象。（西廂記）

yi pi zhan ma si qiao le ya de huo xiang
one CL war horse resemble chisel PF tusk DE2 live elephant
‘(There is a) warhorse, (which is) like a de-tusked live elephant.’

(Xi Xiang Ji, 12th-13th c.)

(24) 似出家的子路，剣了髮的金剛（西廂記）

si chu-jia de zilu xiao le fa de jingang
resemble exit-home DE2 PN cut PF hair DE2 Vajrasattva
‘(The monk) is like a Zilu who has become a monk, a Vajrasattva who has shaved his head.’

[Zilu = a strong, burly warrior, who is NOT a monk]
[Vajrasattva = a strong, burly Bodhisattva, who does NOT shave his head]

(Beibid.)

Being de-tusked is not a prototypical feature of live elephants, nor did Zilu (a historical figure noted as a strong, burly warrior) ever become a monk, nor does a Vajrasattva (a strong, burly Bodhisattva) usually have a shaved head. The modifiers therefore seem to define a narrower generic category. Similar to (21), however, it is the head noun that is performing the characterizational function, and the modifier is inconsequential in establishing the comparison. For (23), the simulative relation is established primarily between the warhorses and live elephants as a hyperbolic description of their size – being de-tusked (since horses don’t have tusks) is merely subsidiary information in this comparison. For (24), the subject is primarily characterized as similar to Zilu and a Vajrasattva; it makes little difference if the modifier appears or not in (24); it is the head
that characterizes the subject, the modifier merely specifies some property that is
generally not associated with the head, but true of the subject. That is, the modifier may
be restrictive with respect to its head, but the modifier-head combination is not
contrasting the category denoted by the head as opposed to a category that does not
possess the property.

Yet another discrepancy of pragmatic statuses may be found in example (25).

(25) 如何見得月下悲泣皇后，便似泣竹的湘妃別了舜主。（劉知遠）
ruhe jian de yue xia bei ti huanghou
how see DE1 moon under sad cry queen

bian si qi zhu de xiang-fe bie le shun-zhu
then resemble weep bamboo DE2 PN-consort farewell PF PN-master
‘How can one bear to see the queen that weeps sadly under the moon, just like
Consorts of Xiang (when they/who) weep at the bamboos when bidding farewell to
master Shun.’ (Liu Zhi Yuan, AD 13th c.)

The head of the DE2-marked expression in (25) is a proper name (which is inherently
uniquely identifiable), and the modifier does not restrict the identity of the head, but
specifies a particular related incident or life stage of the participant, so as to disambiguate
the characteristic being attributed to the subject. Consorts of Xiang are noted for their
beauty and sensibility, but in (25), the narrator intends to make a comparison between the
subject referent (the queen) solely to the Consorts of Xiang concerning their “famous
weeping” at the bamboos as a farewell to their master Shun.

Notice that the problematic cases discussed in this section only constitute a small
portion of the tokens attested. In most cases, it is clear whether a modifier is restrictive or
non-restrictive. These cases, though far from pervasive, still indicate that besides the
restrictive vs. non-restrictive distinction, another pragmatic constraint is also relevant to
the distribution of DE2 attributives. After examining the examples, it suggests that DE2-
marked modifiers usually involve some characterization of the head that is
conceptualized as definitive, non-gradable, factual, or permanent. The preference in conceptualization is also highly correlated with the template in which the modifier is encoded. The contrast between regular and descriptive templates will be revisited in Chapter 6. The distribution between DE2-marked restrictive and non-restrictive modification until the Song-Jin Period is provided in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2 Information packaging functions and formal patterns of DE2-marked attributives

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<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
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<th>V</th>
<th>VI</th>
<th>VII</th>
<th>SUM</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Zu Tang Ji</td>
<td>Wu Deng</td>
<td>Zhu Zi (ch.1-10)</td>
<td>Liu Zhi Yuan</td>
<td>Zhang Xie</td>
<td>Xi Xiang Ji</td>
<td>Wu Dai Shi Ping Hua</td>
<td>AD 952</td>
<td>AD 1252</td>
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<tr>
<td>SUM (clear attributive)</td>
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<td>INFO. PACK</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>55</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>102</td>
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<td>162</td>
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<td>130</td>
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<tr>
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<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As shown in Table 4.2, overall 90.4% of DE2-marked attributives are restrictives, and only 9.6% of them are non-restrictives. The distribution of restrictives and non-restrictives is correlated with the genre of the text. DE2-marked non-restrictives a significantly lower in probability in texts (I, II, III) involving more information statements and argumentation (see Smith 2003), and significantly higher with some texts that involve more narration and description (IV, VI). The association is far from axiomatic, however, as illustrated by the low probability of non-restrictives in Zhang Xie (V) and Wu Dai Shi (VII), which as a drama script and a historical narrative, respectively, consist primarily of descriptive and narrative passages. It can be argued, therefore, that non-restrictive modification is a less prototypical function of DE2-marked attributives, and is highly associated with descriptive discourse.
4.2.2 DE\textsuperscript{2}-marked headless modification

DE\textsuperscript{2}-marked headless modification construction is already attested by the 9\textsuperscript{th} century, where a DE\textsuperscript{2}-marked expression alone functions as a referring expression. The head of the NP may be anaphoric (established in the previous discourse) or generic.

4.2.2.1 Participant-nominalization

A DE\textsuperscript{2}-marked headless expression most commonly refers to a participant (type). Participant-nominalization is more commonly attested with action (event) concepts (simple or complicated ones) and object concepts. Property concepts are much less common as the modifier to a DE\textsuperscript{2}-marked headless nominal. An example of headless modification via property concept is provided in (26).

(26) 糖甜底摘來。(五燈)  
\begin{tabular}{llll}
jian & tian & di & zhai & lai \\
select & sweet & DE\textsuperscript{2} & pick & come \\
\end{tabular}  
‘Select the sweet ones, pick them (and bring) here.’ (Wu Deng, AD 1252)

4.2.2.2 Event nominalization

A significant new development of DE\textsuperscript{2}-marked headless constructions that emerged in Zu Tang Ji (AD 952) is event nominalization, where [Event DE\textsuperscript{2}] refers factually to an event, instead of a participant associated with the event. In Chinese, an event can often be referred to (i.e. nominalized) without extra marking. Example (27) (= (1) in Chapter 4, repeated) from Zu Tang Ji illustrates zero-coded event concepts, hunlun and pipo, first as complements of the knowledge predicate shiqu ‘know’, then as topics of the information questions encoded in an equational structure, introduced by the copular shi. The last occurrence of pipo exemplifies DE\textsuperscript{2}-marked event-nominalization, which refers to an event as the topic of an information question.
According to the monk’s words: everyone only knows the (state of) being an undivided mass, but does not understand the (act of) hack open. What is being an undivided mass?

‘According to the monk’s words: everyone only knows the (state of) being an undivided mass, but does not understand the (act of) hack open. What is being an undivided mass?’ The monk remained silent for a long time.

(The person) asks: ‘What is (the act of) ‘hack open’?’

(Zu Tang Ji: 13, AD 952)

Though reference to action concepts is often unmarked in Chinese, the occurrence of DE2 further strengthens the referentiality of the expression and decreases ambiguity and adds to ease of processing (see Liu 2010). The same is also attested with the older nominalizer zhe.

DE2-marked event nominalization in Zu Tang Ji primarily appears in identificational contexts. The informational question encoded by an equational structure in (27), where the event pipo is treated as a mental file, is one prominent context for DE2-marked event concepts to occur. Besides information questions, another prominent identificational context is when DE2 marked event-nominalization appears as a contrastive topic, as illustrated by (28)-(30). The examples involve two or more sets of [Event-DE2] expressions as contrastive topics, and the hearer is asked to compare or choose one over the other. The examples also all involve shi ‘be proper’, which is related to its copula use.
(28) 臥底是，不臥底是？(祖堂集)
wo  di  shi  bu  wo  di  shi
lie.down  DE2  proper  NEG  lie.down  DE2  proper
‘Is lying down (the) proper (action), or not lying down (the) proper (action)?’

(Zu Tang Ji, AD 952)

(29) 語底，嘿底；不嘿底，不語底；總是，總不是。(祖堂)
yu  di  muo  di  bu  muo  di  bu  yu  di
speak  DE2  silent  DE2  NEG  silent  DE2  NEG  speak  DE2
zong  shi  zong  bu  shi
always  proper  always  NEG  proper
‘To speak, to be silent, to not be silent, to not speak; always (it is) proper, always (it is)
improper.’
(Or: The matter of speaking, the matter of being silent, the matter of not being silent,
the matter of not speaking).

(ibid.)

(30) 師曰：“若無氣力，爭解與摩道得？”洞山云：“將謂有氣力底是。”(祖堂)
shi  yun  ruo  wu  qili  zheng  jie  yumuoa  dao  de
monk  say  if  NEG.exist  strength  how  know  such  speak  DE1
dongshan  yun  jiang  wei  you  qili  di  shi
PN  say  will  say  exist  strength  DE2  proper
‘The monk said: “If you have no strength, how can you speak like that?”
‘Dongshan said: “(I) will say it is (the case that I) have strength.”

(ibid.)

The event-nominalization function of headless DE2 constructions ([X-DE2]NP) is
closely associated with its ‘nominal complement’ function. In this function, the head
noun, most frequently shi ‘matter, thing, fact’, is semantically light, and merely specifies
the DE2-modifier as constituting a matter or a fact. Because of the nature of the head
noun, the modifier does not restrict the identity of a discourse referent in the same sense
as in (1) - (2) above:

i. It does not “pick out” the referent from a number of possible participants

ii. It does not define a narrower generic category (in which all the members
possess the characteristic introduced by the modifier).
iii. It is the DE2-marked modifier, instead of the nominal head, that is carrying the weight of the reference-identifying function.

A typical DE2-marked nominal complement is provided in (31).

(31) 问：被三衣即這邊人，那邊人事作摩生？師云：那邊人被沉衣服？學人不會。師云：不闊

學云：不闊底事作摩生？（祖堂集）

[1] wen pi san-yi ji zhe-bian ren
ask wear three-clothing then this-side person

na-bian ren shi zenmuosheng
that-side person matter how

[2] shi yun na-bian ren pi sheme yifu
master say that-side person wear what clothing

[3] xue-ren bu hui
learn-person NEG understand

[4] shi yun bu que
master say NEG lack

[5] xue-ren yun bu que di shi zuomuosheng
learn-person say NEG lack DE2 matter how

[1] (A monk) asks: “One who wears a cassock (lit. the three of clothing of a monk) is a person on this side.

(a) What about the matter of the people on that side?
(b) What about the matter, the people on that side?


[5] The pupil asks:

(a) What about the matter of not in lack?
(b) What about the matter, (being) not in lack?  
(Zu Tang Ji, AD 952)

The translations in (31-1a-b) and (31-5a-b) are intended to show that [X shi zuomuosheng], whether X contains DE2 or not, may be parsed in two ways. The first possibility involves shi ‘matter’ as the semantically light head modified by [nabian ren] and [bu que DE2], respectively, and the second with [nabian ren]/[bu que DE2] as the topic, and shi ‘matter’ as the dummy subject of the interrogative word zuomuosheng. The
two construals yield practically the same interpretation. The two possibilities in parsing are schematized in (32).

(32) (a) Form  
[**bu que DE2**] shi [**zuomosheng**]  
[**nabian ren**] shi [**zuomosheng**]  
Function [Modifier NP_{Head} Topic Interrogative]

(b) Form  
[**bu que DE2**] [shi **zuomosheng**]  
[**nabian ren**] [shi **zuomosheng**]  
Function Topic Subject Interrogative

This function is more frequently attested in Buddhist debates, in line with the tendency for DE2-marked event nominalization to be in focus.

4.2.2.3 Headless DE2-modification construction as a predicative nominal

As mentioned in the previous discussion, DE2 is generally used to form a referring expression, i.e. a noun. When used in predication, its function is that of a predicative noun (Stassen 1997, see also Croft in preparation). A DE2-marked predicative nominal is often introduced by *shi*, a copula of demonstrative origin. The development of DE2-marked predicative nominals is therefore closely associated with that of *shi*. A DE2-marked NP, either [X DE2 N] or [X DE2], functions as NP2 in the [NP1 shi NP2] equational structure.

[X-DE2] as a predicative nominal is not common in the Tang and the Five Dynasties Periods, since the head of a modified NP tends to be expressed in predication, e.g. (19) above. *Dawu di ren* in (19) is predicative, with a generic head that is low in semantic content, *ren* ‘person’. The earliest example of [X-DE2] as a predicative nominal introduced by *shi* is attested in *Bian Wen*. The DE2-marked headless NP serves two functions: it identifies one participant (“luxury”) with an alternative description (“what the secular world does”) marked by DE2; it also contrasts the DE2-marked predicative NP with the predicative NP (the deed of the Buddha) in the previous clause.
Do not provide luxury. This is not the deed of the Buddha; this is what the secular world does.

(Bian Wen, AD 7th-9th c.)

4.2.2.3.1 The \textit{shi}...\textit{DE2} equational constructions and property predication

The \textit{shi}...\textit{DE2} pattern is an equational strategy primarily used for identity statements. When the modifier of a \textit{DE2}-marked predicative nominal is a property, the \textit{X} \textit{shi} \textit{Y} property-\textit{DE2} structure translates into English as \textit{X is a Y property one}. In English, the same strategy (the copula \textit{be}) is used for both nominal predication and object predication. Consider, for example, \textit{She is tall} vs. \textit{She is a tall girl/one}.

The former sentence is a regular property predication, while the latter is a characterizational statement with a predicative nominal denoting as a generic category to which the subject is assigned membership. Both are, however, predicational. An issue pertinent to our current discussion is whether there is an association between \textit{shi}...\textit{DE2} equational strategy and property predication. Property predication is primarily a \textit{DE3}-dominant pattern, and it is worth exploring whether \textit{DE2} may have been extended to the domain of predication via predication of a headless nominal with a property modifier. Because the primary focus here is to investigate the interaction between \textit{DE2}- and \textit{DE3}-constructions, we will limit our discussion to [\textit{shi} Property \textit{DE2}].

Results show that the \textit{shi}...\textit{DE2} pattern Property predication with the equative \textit{shi}...\textit{DE2} remains uncommon until the Song-Jin Dynasties Period - altogether 18 instances are attested in the sample, and most of them are identificational statements.
• Referent-identification and category-identification

A *shi* _DE2_ statement can identify a referent by equating it with another specific entity (marked by _DE2_), as in (34), in which *da de dun hua* (a topic of discussion) is equated with an entity already established in the previous discourse, denoted by the _DE2_-marked headless noun phrase *na da di* ‘that big one’.

(34) 只是一箇大底包在中間...『大德敦化』是那大底．大底包小底，小底分大底．（子語錄）

*zhi shi yi ge da di bao zai zhongjian...*

*da de dun hua shi na da di*

big moral gentle.firm nurture _COP_ that big _DE2_

‘...There is simply something big that wraps (the heaven and the earth) in the middle...“the great moral that gently nurtures” is that big one.’

*(Zhu Zi 94, AD 1270)*

• Referent (or category)-identification

[X-D_Number] in the equational structure may be extended from “identification of a specific referent” to “identification of a generic category”. Example (35) from *Zu Tang Ji*, the only case of [*shi*...Property _DE2_] predication before 10th century in my sample, is a particular case that allows for both interpretations.

(35) 時有學人問：“如何是敗壞底?”師提起杖。“如何是非敗壞底?”師亦舉起杖。(祖堂集)

*shi you xueren wen ruhe shi baihuai di...*

*ruhe shi fei baihuai di*

what/how _COP_ NEG decayed _DE2_

‘At that time a student asked: “What is a decayed one?/What is something decayed?”…

‘What is a not decayed one?/What is something not decayed?’

*(Zu Tang Ji, AD 952)*

In (35), the speaker either asks the hearer to pick out a referent based on the property defined by [Prop- _DE2_], i.e. which is a decayed/ a not decayed one, or asks the
hearer to define the generic category of entities denoted by [Prop-DE2], i.e. what is
something decayed/something not decayed?

Example (36) illustrates a predicative [property-DE2] that identifies a generic
category, as a headless nominal that fills the position of X in the information question

\textit{What/which is X?}

(36) 語居家曰。精底割一斤來。(居家放下刀。叉手曰。長史)。那箇不是精底。
\begin{tabular}{l}
a) yu tujia yue jing di ge yi jin lai \\
speak butchersay lean DE2 cut one UNIT come
\end{tabular}

\begin{tabular}{l}
(b) na ge bu shi jing di \\
which CL NEG COP lean DE2
\end{tabular}

(a) ‘(The customer) told the butcher: “Cut me one Jin of lean (meat).”’
(b) ‘(The butcher said):“…Which of this is not lean (meat)?”’

\textit{(Wu Deng Hui Yuan 3, AD 1252)}

The DE2-marked headless nominal, \textit{jing di} ‘lean DE2’ refers to a generic type defined by
the property ‘lean’, with its head ‘meat’ clearly recoverable from context. The speaker
(the butcher) is essentially asking the addressee (the customer) to identify \textit{which of the
meat does not belong to the category “lean meat”}.

Instead of identifying a specific referent or a generic category, a [Prop-DE2] in the
\textit{shi...DE2} construction is also evoked by contexts where (part of) the proposition it
introduces, such as a characteristic of an entity, is placed in focus, i.e. it ‘picks out’ (part
of) the proposition it introduces. [Prop-DE2] no longer provides another “label” or
“access” to the mental file it is equated with, instead, it fills an information gap, or
contrasts part of an asserted proposition.

Most of the attested contexts for \textit{shi...DE2} property predication are discourse
contexts typically construed as identificational, such as those involving \textit{contrast} and
\textit{information gap} discussed above (see Myhill and Xing 1996, Dik 1997:330-35). These
are discussed in the following sections.
• **Counter-presuppositional**

In (37), the *shi...DE2* construction introduces a new proposition that rejects one part of an asserted proposition.

(37) 僧問。承師有言。世界壞時。此性不壞。如何是此性？師曰。四大五陰。曰。此猶是壞底。

[1] *seng wen cheng shi you yan*
  monk ask according master exist speech

  *shijie huai shi ci xing bu huai*
  world decay time this human.nature NEG decay

  *ruhe shi ci xing*
  what COP this human.nature

[2] *shi yue si da wu yin*
  master say four big five element

[3] *yue ci you shi huai di*
  say this still COP decayed DE2

[1] ‘The monk asked: “According to the master’s words, when the world decays, the human nature does not decay. What is the human nature?”’

[2] ‘The master said: “The four essential elements (of life) and the five functions (of humans).”’

[3] ‘(The monk) said: “These are still DECAYED ones.”’

*(Wu Deng Hui Yuan 4, 1252AD)*

The process of reasoning can be sketched below:

(38) Asserted proposition (inferred based on context):

- The human nature is the four essential elements and five functions (*si da wu yin*).
- The human nature is not decayed.
- The four essential elements and five functions (*si da wu yin*) are not decayed.

New proposition: The four essential elements and five functions (*si da wu yin*) are still DECAYED ones.

In (39), a proposition is encoded in the *shi...DE2* pattern to reject the presupposition that the addressees are NICE. The presupposition is inferred based on the assumption that those who accuse others of being ill-mannered would have good manners.

(39) 只冤他知遠無禮，您兩個也不是平善底。（劉知遠諸宮調）

  *zhi yuan ta zhiyuan wu li*
  only to.wrong 3S PN NEG.exist manner
nin liang ge ye bu shi ping-shan di
2P two CL also NEG COP peaceful-kind DE2
‘You simply accuse Zhiyuan of being ill-mannered – You two are not NICE ones either.’

(Liu Zhi Yuan, AD 12\textsuperscript{th}-13\textsuperscript{th} c.)

- **Counter-expectation**

In some cases an identificational statement is employed without a clear indication of a presupposition. The \textit{shi...DE2} construction is frequently employed in \textit{Zhu Zi Yu Lei}, which, as a collection of lecture notes, involves many explanatory passages that classify and characterize entities. These seem to involve counter-expectation, but no real contrast or focus is placed on the properties.

(40) 譬如一濺清水，清泠徹底，看來一如無水相似，他便道此淵只是空底 （朱子 67）
\textit{piru yi yuan qing shui qing leng che-di}
for_example one CL clear water clear cold thorough-DE2.bottom
\textit{kanlai yi ru wu shui xiangsi}
appear simply like NEG.exist water RECI-resemble
\textit{ta bian dao ci yuan zhi shi kong di}
3S then say this pond just COP empty DE2
‘Let’s say there is a pond of clear water, clear and cold through the bottom, appearing simply like there is no water – He then says that the pond is simply \textit{empty}.’

(41) 其間男子，婦人，僧，道，雜色，無所不有，但都是假底． (朱子 139)
\textit{qi jian nanzi furen seng dao za-se}
3 between man woman Buddhist.monk Taoist.priest motley-color
\textit{wu suo bu you dan dou shi jia di}
NEG NMZ NEG exist but all COP fake DE2
‘Among these (in the performance), there are men, women, Buddhist monks, Taoist priests, all sorts of people, but they are all \textit{fake}.’

(41) (Zhu Zi 67, AD1270)

Example (42) appears in the beginning passage of a text. The master likely places the property \textit{hao} ‘good’ in the [\textit{shi...DE2}] equational pattern to challenge the shared expectation that the monk should behave well at a gathering, thus be classified as ‘good’.

In other words, it is unexpected that the monk is not ‘(a) good (one)’. 

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As soon as a monk came forth, the master said: “Not (a) good (one).”

(Wu Deng Hui Yuan 8, AD 1252)

In (33), it is probably presupposed that the shouting would come to an end at the some point, but instead, the men go on shouting without stop.

They shouted all over the place, simply without stop!

(Liu Zhi Yuan, AD 12th-13th c.)

Listing

Listing of a set of contrasting referents in otherwise parallel propositions is discussed in Myhill and Xing (1996) as a subtype of contrast. There are a number of passages in Zhu Zi that involve listing of several shi…DE2 statements which provide a defining characteristic of a property of a participant and contrast it with the characteristics of others. Since the primary purpose of the lectures is to provide definition, explanation, and elaboration of sets of terms and concepts in the classical texts, the statements often come in lists of paralleled structures [A is X; B is Y…]. Some of these may be interpreted as focus statements with the DE2-marked propositions in contrast, as (44) – (47).

However, that one is shallow; this one is deep; that one is loose, this one is dense.’

(Zhu Zi 28, AD 1270)

善射者不須問他外面圈子是白底，是黑底，是朱底，(朱子語類 第三十卷)
‘One that is good at archery does not need to ask whether the external circle (of the target) is white, black, or red.’

*(ibid:30)*

(46) 問魂魄，曰：氣質是實底；魂魄是半虛半實底；鬼神是虛分數多，實分數少底（朱子語類 3）

*(47) 悔是逞快做出事來了，有錯失處，這便生悔… (朱子語類 67)*

Stassen (1997) points out that it is not always easy to distinguish between an identificational and a predicational nominal. Though the construction often involves some type of focus, \([X \text{shi PROPERTY-DE2}]\) may function as a classificational statement, which answers the question ‘in which file should I classify X’ (see Stassen 1997). In other words, the speaker is making an assertion that ‘Property-DE2 is the file in which I classify X’. A DE2-marked property as a characterizational or classificational statement is
usually conceptualized as a defining characteristic, instead of a transient state the
participant holds.

(48) 若是聰明底，纔聞與能說著。便知去處。(五燈)

\[ \text{ruo} \quad \text{shi} \quad \text{lingli} \quad \text{di} \quad \text{cai} \quad \text{wen} \quad \text{yumuo} \quad \text{shuo} \quad \text{zhe} \]

if COP clever DE2 just hear such say ASP

\[ \text{bian} \quad \text{zhi} \quad \text{qu} \quad \text{chu} \]

then know go place

‘If (a) clever (one), upon hearing I speak as such, (he) knows where to go.’

\( \text{(Wu Deng Hui Yuan 15, AD 1252)} \)

The distribution of the 18 instances of \( shi \ldots DE2 \) property predication in the sample is
provided in Table 4.3.

**Table 4.3 Shi…Property DE2 pattern from 7th-13th century**

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<td>1252</td>
<td>AD 1270</td>
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The distribution shows that \( shi \ldots DE2 \) property predication is generally rare till the 13th
century, and is highly associated with identificational contexts, as is expected. Notably,
although identificational contexts remain more prevalent for \( shi \ldots DE2 \) property
predication, over time the pragmatic constraint is loosened and \([shi\) Property DE2\] may be
interpreted as a purely classificational/characterizational for semantic categories that tend
to be conceptualized as inherent/permanent properties or complementary values (e.g.
gender, color, material, true/false, right/wrong, also see discussion in Chapter 8). The
information introduced is, however, conceptualized as permanent, factual, or characteristic of the referent denoted by the subject NP. This contrasts with predicative properties marked by DE3, which usually provide descriptions of a momentary property as the speaker perceives it.

The *shi*...DE2 focus construction can develop into a “stance” construction where DE2 is attached to an entire proposition. Aside from the *shi*-introduced cleft-type focus construction, some DE2-marked propositions may have been expressed via juxtaposition without a copula. These however, all also linked to DE2-marked nominalization in identificational contexts (see §5.5.3).

### 4.3 Primary functions of DE3

As shown in §4.1, DE3 is primarily associated with predicative functions, especially secondary predication. The [Property DE3] pattern is only attested as secondary predicates before the 10th century (see Chapter 3). In the 10th-13th centuries, because of the expansion of types of collocates (see §4.3.1-5 below), DE3-expressions start to appear in a wider range of syntactic contexts. The newly attested syntactic contexts of [X-DE3] in this period include primary predication, independent expressions, predicative complements, loosely conjoined events in a thematic chain, and occasionally, attributive modification (see Chapter 6 for DE3-marked attributives). Among these functions, DE3 is primarily associated with predicative-related functions (including both primary predication and predicative complements). With ambiguous cases excluded, secondary and primary predicates still constitute 75% of all DE3 expressions attested in the 10th-13th centuries sample. DE3-marked secondary predicate and predicative functions are introduced in the following section.
4.3.1 DE3-marked secondary predicates

Secondary predication remains one of the most prominent functions of DE3-expressions in the 10th-13th century. A DE3-marked secondary predicate functions as the secondary part of a complex predicate, canonically appearing before the primary predicate, as in [X-DE3]PRED1 PRED2.

4.3.1.1 Secondary predicates and templates of collocation

DE3-marked secondary predicates are attested with various morphophonological patterns, classified into descriptive vs. non-descriptive, and simple vs. complex (see Chapter 2 for illustration). The expressions are coded for the morphological pattern into the following types. The non-descriptive templates include monosyllabic (M), disyllabic (D) and complex (CX) elements. Descriptive templates include AA, ABB, and AABB patterns, all involving syllable reduplication. The ABC pattern includes trisyllabic expressions that exhibit partial similarity to the ABB pattern, and may therefore be treated as a peripheral prescriptive schema.

The distribution of morphophonological templates attested as DE3-marked pre-verbal secondary predicates is provided in Table 4.4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pattern</th>
<th>#</th>
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<th>% Type</th>
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<td>M</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>13.3%</td>
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<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>27.3%</td>
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<td>98</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>42.0%</td>
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<td>ABB</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABC</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>2%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>218</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(M=monosyllabic; D=disyllabic; ABC=trisyllabic expressions that bears some formal resemblance to ABB template; CX=non-reduplicated, complex expressions)
In terms of both type and token frequency, the most central template to collocate with DE3 is the reduplicated AA pattern, taking up more than 40% of both the instances and types attested, followed by disyllabic (24%) and monosyllabic (17%) expressions, and then by the reduplicated ABB (8%) template. The descriptive AABB and ABC patterns and the non-descriptive CX pattern each occupies 2% of the sum.

To posit a general observation in terms of the collocational preferences of DE3-marked secondary predication, the most central feature involves reduplication. Overall, 58% of the expressions are encoded by descriptive patterns, which involve some form of reduplication (that evoke a “depictive frame” according to Dingemanse 2012, see §2.2.3).

The rest are mostly simple monosyllabic (M) and disyllabic (D) patterns, which are usually unambiguously conceptualized as a secondary predicate in the preverbal position. Complex expressions (parallel structures, verb phrases with arguments and/or aspectual markers), which are neither simple “words” nor descriptive templates, are not common. Two out of the five instances coded as CX are parallel structures. If parallel structures, which demonstrate lexical repetitions, are considered an extension of the reduplication schema typical of the descriptive templates, genuine complex expressions as DE3-marked secondary predicates are even rarer.

The bulk of DE3-marked secondary predicates in this period are therefore either descriptive expressions or non-descriptive simple words (see Chapter 2 for intermediate cases among disyllabic expressions).

4.3.1.2 Semantic relations

The pre-verbal DE3-marked expressions fall into various semantic classes. Commonly they encode manner expressions – a property of the event denoted by the
following predicate. Participant-oriented expressions may often be construed as both participant- and event- oriented information simultaneously. Crucially, however, the distinction between participant- vs. event- orientation is not reflected linguistically via the marking of \( \text{DE3} \); many expressions may be interpreted both ways, and may encode both simultaneously.

A \( \text{DE3} \)-marked pre-verbal expression most frequently elaborates a certain qualitative feature of an event (magnitude, scale, continuity, iteration, manner). They are also commonly found with depictions of a participant. These secondary predicates vary in terms of how much descriptive imagery they provide. There are regular manner adverbs that only provide one-dimensional descriptions of a property on a scale. In addition, \( \text{DE3} \) also often collocates with elements that evoke vivid imagery of a physical or mental experience holistically (these are often encoded in special morphophonological templates, see discussion about mimetics and descriptives in Chapter 2).

§4.3.1.2.1-2 will illustrate the range of semantic relations between a pre-verbal \( \text{DE3} \)-marked expressions and the event it co-occurs with, without focusing on the semantic nuances and differentiation between “regular description” and “vivid depictions”, and the morphophonological templates associated with such a distinction. For ease of illustration, in §4.3.1-4.3.4, the morphophonological pattern of a \( \text{DE3} \)-marked expression is indicated by a bracketed abbreviation representing the pattern (see Table 4.4). For example, an instance of AA pattern will be marked as [AA] above. Unless specified, the examples selected for each semantic relation do not necessarily contain an exhaustive list of all types of templates that are attested with \( \text{DE3} \) for that semantic
relation. The following is an illustration of the types of preposed DE3-marked expressions typically construed as secondary predicates till the 13th century.

4.3.1.2 Depictive expressions (participant-oriented)

A preposed DE-marked predicate may encode a prototypical depictive secondary predicate, where the DE3-marked expression represents a simultaneous, participant-oriented stative event, and the following predicate encodes a dynamic event. The most typical instances of depictives are expressions of physical properties, such as (49)-(50).

(49) 冷湫湫去。(五燈 6 瑞州九峰道慶禪師)

[leng-qiuqiu di qu]
cold-sorrowful.REDU DE3 go
‘(I) go (pass away) sadly cold.’

(Wu Deng, AD 1252)

(50) 紅彪彪地戴一頂頭巾 （西廂記）

[hong-biaobiao di dai yi ding tou jin]
red-flamboyant.REDU DE3 wear one CL head veil
‘(He) wears a (head) veil, flamboyantly red.’

(Xi Xiang Ji, 12th-13th c.)

In (51), DE3 is attached to an expression that describes the attire of a participant. The expression, composed of a parallel structure, encodes a simultaneous state of affairs resulting from the anterior events of removing the hat and as a consequence, exposing one’s head.

(51) 見說平日亦脱冠露頂地臥（朱子）

[jian-shuo ping-ri yi tuo guan lu ding di wo]
hear_say ordinary-day also take_off hat expose head DE3 lie
‘It is said that in ordinary days, he also lies with his hat taken off and his head exposed.’

Cognitive states may be construed as inner states of a participant, and therefore participant-oriented. The cognitive states wuwu ‘idle, motionless’ in (52) and bu zhi bu jue ‘without realizing, unconscious(ly)’ in (53), may therefore be analyzed as depictives.
(52) 兀兀地思量甚麼。（五燈 5 澤州藥山惟儼禪師）
[AA]
\[wuwu \; di \; si-liang \; sheme\]
\(\text{motionless/idle.REDU} \; \text{DE3} \; \text{think} \; \text{what}\)
‘What are you thinking about idly?’
\((Wu \; Deng \; 5, \; \text{AD} \; 1252)\)

(53) 不知不覺地又住了．（朱子）
[CX-parallel structure]
\[bu \; zhi \; bu \; jue \; di \; you \; zhu \; le\]
\(\text{NEG} \; \text{know} \; \text{NEG} \; \text{aware} \; \text{DE3} \; \text{also} \; \text{stop} \; \text{PF}\)
‘(He) stops again without realizing (it).’
\((Zhu \; Zi, \; \text{AD} \; 1270)\)

An event-oriented construal is often available for a cognitive, emotion, and posture/configuration, depending what type of predicate it is associated with (see DE3-marked event-oriented secondary predicates below).

4.3.1.2.2 Event-oriented DE3-marked secondary predicates

Some DE3-marked pre-verbal expressions are clearly event-oriented. These can provide information about the time of the event, or aspectual information about an event, such as frequency, iteration, and duration.

- Time of event (descriptive, inexact)
  (54) 孩兒早早地伏輸。（西廂記）
  [AA]
  \[hai-er \; mei \; zaozao \; di \; fu \; shu\]
  \(\text{child-DIM} \; \text{PL} \; \text{early.REDU} \; \text{DE3} \; \text{obey} \; \text{lose}\)
  ‘Children, surrender early (soon)!’
  \((Xi \; Xiang \; Ji, \; 12^{th}-13^{th} \; \text{c.})\)

- Aspectual information – Frequency, iteration, repetition
  (55) 時覆地 又長吁。（劉知遠）
  [D]
  \[shifu \; di \; you \; chang \; xu\]
  \(\text{repeatedly} \; \text{DE3} \; \text{also} \; \text{long} \; \text{sigh}\)
  ‘(She) sighs deeply, \text{time and again}.’
  \((Liu \; Zhi \; Yuan, \; 12^{th}-13^{th} \; \text{c.})\)

(56) 不住地觀知遠。（劉知遠）
[D]
\[bu-zhu \; di \; guan \; zhiyuan\]
\(\text{NEG-stop} \; \text{DE3} \; \text{watch} \; \text{PN}\)
‘(She) watches Zhiyuan \text{continuously}.’
Some expressions not only provide aspectual information, but also describe the magnitude and extensiveness of some aspect of the event, such as the loudness of shouting, or the brightness and fierceness of the fire being kindled.

(57) 頻頻地稽首。 (西廂記)

pinpin di qishou
frequent.REDU DE3 kowtow
‘(He) kowtows repeatedly.’

(Xi Xiang Ji, 12th-13th c.)

(58) 長長地新。 (朱子)

changchang di xin
long.REDU DE3 new
‘It (remains) new for a long time.’

(Zhu Zi, AD 1270)

- Magnitude, extent, continuity

Some expressions not only provide aspectual information, but also describe the magnitude and extensiveness of some aspect of the event, such as the loudness of shouting, or the brightness and fierceness of the fire being kindled.

(59) 一遏地殺呼高叫。 (劉知遠)

yi-mi di sha-hu gao-jiao
one-obsessed DE3 extreme-call high-shout
‘(They) keep shouting out loudly altogether.’

(Liu Zhi Yuan, 12th-13th c.)

(60) 連天地叫殺不住。 (西廂記)

lian-tian di jiaosha bu zhu
linked-sky DE3 call_out NEG stop
‘(They) continuously (and loudly) call out without stop…’

(Xi Xiang Ji, 12th-13th c.)

(61) 垣天地燒著草垛。 (西廂記)

xuan-tian di shao zhe cao duo
light_up-sky DE3 burn PROG hay stack
‘The haystack burns extremely fervently (lit. lighting up the sky).’

( ibid.)

- Physical configuration + aspectral progression of the event

The DE3-marked expression may also contain certain information about the physical configuration of a participant of the event, and at the same time, describes the manner in which the event progresses.
(62) 滴滴地流滿粉腮（西廂記）

\[\text{AA}\]
\[\text{dididi di liu man fen sai}\]
drop.REDU DE3 flow full powder cheek
‘(Tears) run down her powdery cheeks drop after drop.’
\[(Xi Xiang Ji, 12^{th}-13^{th} \text{ c.})\]

(63) 一步地都行上（西廂記）

[D]
\[\text{yi-bu di dou xing shang}\]
one-step DE3 all move up
‘(They) move forward in parallel steps…’
\[(ibid.)\]

• Degree/quantitative determiner

The DE3-marked secondary predicates in (64)-(65) encode the degree in which an action is performed, and thus serves as quantitative determiners.

(64) 略略地高聲（張協狀元）

\[\text{AA}\]
\[\text{luelue di gao-sheng}\]
slightly.REDU DE3 high-sound
‘Raise your voice (even) slightly…’
\[(Zhang Xie, 12^{th}-13^{th} \text{ c.})\]

(65) 恰恰地好（朱子語類）

\[\text{AA}\]
\[\text{qiaqia di hao}\]
just.REDU DE3 good
‘Just/exactly right.’
\[(Zhu Zi, AD 1270)\]

• Manner

A DE3-marked expression may also encode typical manner predications, such as speed.

(66) 忽地有人欺負我（五燈會元）

[M]
\[\text{hu-di you ren qifu wo}\]
sudden-DE3 exist person bully 1s
‘Suddenly, there are people bullying me…’
\[(Wu Deng, AD 1252)\]

(67) 吃搭搭地拖將柳陰裏去（西廂記）

[ABB]
\[\text{chidada di tuo jian liu yin li qu}\]
IDEO.swiftly DE3 drag take willow shadow in go
‘Drag (him) swiftly into the willow shade.’

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The manner of motion expression, *bobo* ‘move about’, originally depicting the movement of water (*bo*, lit. wave), describes how the seeking event progresses, and is thus compatible with an event-oriented construal.

**Condition/explanation**

DE3 is also attested with a few expressions that provide an explanation for the cause of, or condition in which an event is performed.

*Ping-bai* ‘for no reason, lit. level-white’ in (70) is semantically similar to *ping-di(DE3)* (平地) ‘unexpectedly, for no reason, lit. level-DE3.ground’ and *bai-di(DE3)* (白地) ‘in vain, for no reason, lit. white-DE3.ground’. These are DE3-marked atmospheric conditions metaphorically extended from the lexical meaning of DE3 to express the (lack of proper) explanation for an event to occur. These groups of DE3-marked expressions are only attested with monosyllabic elements in the Tang Dynasty. In the Song-Jin Dynasties period, some disyllabic elements with similar semantics appear, composed of a
combination of two of these elements, e.g. ping-bai in (70). The newly emerging disyllabic words such as ping-bai, however, may function independently as an adverb, as opposed to ping-di and bai-di, which need to be combined with DE3 as a unit to express the same meaning.

The DE3-marked secondary predicate in (71) encodes the general condition in which the action in performed, and may broadly construed as manner. Fangbian, which means to take an opportunity, or do something while there is a chance, encodes how Hongniang chooses a proper time to advise her master, who has been weary from distress.

(71) 那紅娘方便地勸道 (西廂記)

na hongniang fangbian di quan dao
that PN takes_opportunity DE3 advise say
‘Hongniang takes an opportunity to advise her (or: advises her when there is a chance), saying…’

(Xi Xiang Ji, 12th-13th c.)

- **Circumstances - Atmospheric condition**

In (72), the DE3-marked element, yu-linlin, which appears in the ABB pattern, expresses an atmospheric condition ‘(with) rain pouring down’. This expression differs from atmospheric condition expressions such as hei-di ‘lit. black-DE3’ or an-di ‘lit. dark-DE3’ attested in the Tang Dynasty, which can still be linked to the lexical sense of DE3.

(72) 黃昏雨淋淋地被趕出 （五燈）

huanghun yu-linlin di bei chen chu
dusk rain-pour.IDEO DE3 PASS expel exit
‘At dusk, with the rain pouring down, (the monk) was driven out.’

(Wu Deng, AD 1252)

- **Participant vs. event-orientated construals**

Whether an expression is event- or participant-oriented may be subject to construal. Description of a mental or emotional state may often be construed both as a
property of a participant, thus predicated of the inner state, or a property of an event, thus predicated of the manner of activity which reflects the effect of a mental or emotional state.

- **Mental/emotional states**

  (73) 愁答孩地獨自淚涟涟 （西厢记）
  
  [A-BC]
  
  men-dahai di duzi lei-lianlian
depressed-IDEO DE3 alone tear-profuse_water

  ‘Feeling depressed, she is alone, tearful.’

  (Xi Xiang Ji, 12th-13th c.)

  (74) 但恭敬地进  （朱子）
  
  [AA]
  
  dan gonggong di jin
just pious.REDU DE3 progress

  ‘Just progress piously…’

  (Zhu Zi, AD 1270)

  (75) 急急地要做孔子  （朱子语类）
  
  [AA]
  
  jiji di yao zuo kongzi
eager.REDU DE3 want be Confucius

  ‘(One) wants to be Confucius eagerly…’

  (ibid.)

  A DE3-marked expression is also likely to be conceptualized as an event-oriented secondary predicate when it is combined with an event in the same experiential frame it evokes. The phenomenon is illustrated by the phonomimes in (76)-(77).

- **Sound > manner**

  (76) 直须碎地折断地断（五灯）
  
  [M] [M]
  
  zhi xu cui di zhe bo di duan
just must IDEO DE3 bend IDEO DE3 break

  ‘It must break (by bending), going cui, break, going bo.’

  (Wu Deng, AD 1252)

  (77) 师曰。幸自轡轡地转。何须恁么。 （五灯 13）
  
  [AA]
  
  xing-zi lulu di zhuang he xu nenme
original-self sound.IDEO DE3 turn what need this

  ‘(The wheel would) turn (rumble) by itself – what’s the need in doing so?’

  (ibid.)
The phonomimes *cui di* and *bo di* in (76), though descriptive of the sounds of an object, are also imitative of the rapid, instantaneous breaking of an object. When combined with a predicate of *breaking*, they are more prone to be construed as event-oriented properties. In example (77), the ideophone *lulu*, which describes the sound and manner of movement, is likely to be construed as an e-site elaboration of the manner of the motion event, *zhuan* ‘turn’, instead of a separate assertion predicated of the wheel.

Similarly, though *zhaozhailingling* in (78) is more naturally conceptualized as an elaboration on how the things in question differ, instead of an independent assertion from *bie* “differ” because the monosyllabic predicate *bie* is prosodically unlikely to be treated as an independent assertion, as shown in the second translation.

(78) 昭昭霧霧地別 （朱子）
[AABB]
zhaozhao-lingling di bie
lucid. REDU-distinct. REDU DE3 differ
‘They differ lucidly and distinctively.’ [secondary predicate]
‘They are lucid and distinct, (they) differ.’ [coordinated event disfavored reading]
(Zhu Zi, AD 1270)

An example with a DE3-marked expression of physical configuration is shown in (79). If the physical configuration of a participant has a great impact on the manner in which an event is performed, it may be construed as event-oriented.

- Posture/configuration + predicate of motion/residing

(79) 長連床上排行着地銷將去（五燈）
[CX]
chang-lian-chaung shang pai-hang zhe di xiao jiang qu
long-connect-bed on arrange-line DUR DE3 erode take go FUT
‘(The bodies of the monks) erode away in a row on the connecting beds.’
(Wu Deng, AD 1252)
4.3.2 Predicative properties and events

A DE3-marked predicative is a DE3-marked expression that functions as a semantically and structurally (morphophonologically) independent predicate, or as the primary predicate of a clause. Predication is also a DE3-predominant function in this period, with the exception of Zu Rang Ji and Zhang Xie (see Chapters 5 and 6). Below is an illustration of the templates attested as DE3-marked predicatives in the sample of texts until the late 13th century (from Tang to Song-Jin Period).

In terms of the pattern of the predicate, the most frequent to appear as DE3-marked predicatives are the reduplicated ABB pattern (55%), followed by the AA (28%) pattern, which occupy 84% percent of all the instances. Compared to the composition of DE3-marked secondary predicates, the relative frequencies of monosyllabic and disyllabic templates are significantly lower, each taking up only 5% of the sum. The AABB, ABC, and CX templates remain consistently rare. The AABB template, though rare in general, is linked to the central schema because of partial similarity.

Table 4.5 Statistics of DE3-predicatives vs. templates

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Pattern</th>
<th>Token</th>
<th>Token %</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Type %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>M</td>
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<td>5%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>54%</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABC</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3.2.1 Monosyllabic and disyllabic non-reduplicated properties

Compared to DE3-marked secondary predicates, there is a much lower frequency for monosyllabic and disyllabic expression to appear. DE3-marked monosyllabic and non-reduplicated disyllabic properties are relatively rare compared to reduplicated
expressions as predicatives - only 8 instances (10%) of these templates are attested as predicatives, as shown in Table 4.5 above. These templates become marginalized as a subschema of DE3-marked predicates in subsequent development, and are close to complete obsolescence in contemporary Mandarin (see §8.4.2.3.2-3).

(80) 立掙了渾身森地（西廂記）
\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{li} & \text{zheng} & \text{le} & \text{hun-shen} & \text{sen} & \text{di} \\
\text{immediate} & \text{dazed} & \text{PFV} & \text{all-body} & \text{somber} & \text{DE3}
\end{array}
\]
‘(He is) immediately dazed; his whole body (is) sober.’
\[(Xi \ Xiang \ Ji, \ 12^{th}-13^{th} \ c.)\]

(81) 雖說道昏，然又那曾豇然地暗地 (朱子)
\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
\text{sui-shuo} & \text{dao} & \text{hun} & \text{ran} & \text{you} & \text{na} & \text{ceng} & \text{wan-ran}
\end{array}
\]
although-say truth dim CONJ CONC how EXP stubbornly

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{nen} & \text{di} & \text{an} & \text{di}
\end{array}
\]
such DE3 dark DE3
‘Although the truth is dim, has it ever been simply dark as such!’
\[(Zhu \ Zi, \ AD \ 1270)\]

The DE3-marked disyllabic predicatives are heterogeneous in their internal structure – cong-ran is a combination of a monosyllabic descriptive and ran, an archaic descriptive marker; mieqie is a rhyming disyllabic ideophone (the second element is of untraceable origin), and lei-wang is of a subject-predicate structure. The disyllabic schema is a peripheral schema for DE3-marked predicatives, being low in both type and token frequency.

(82) 爭奈竹林蘭若，山水院舍人眾。現在撮然地。（五燈）
\[
\begin{array}{ccccccc}
\text{zheng-nai} & \text{zhu-lin} & \text{lanruo} & \text{shan-shui} & \text{yuan-she}
\end{array}
\]
how-do bamboo-grove Buddhist_temple mountain-water residence

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{xianzai} & \text{cong-ran} & \text{di}
\end{array}
\]
now numerous_disorderly-RAN DE3
‘(If you say you don’t see), what about the bamboo groves, Buddhist temples, natural scenery, abodes, now (appear) numerous, in disorder.’
\[(Wu \ Deng, \ AD \ 1252)\]
(83) 上座莫恁麼憊獃地。（五燈會元 10 金陵淨德院智箋達觀禪師）

[D-rhyme]

\[\text{shangzuo} \quad \text{muo} \quad \text{nenmuo} \quad \text{mieqie} \quad \text{di}\]

\text{HON.monk} \quad \text{IMP.NEG} \quad \text{such} \quad \text{wretched_self-depreciating} \quad \text{DE3}

‘Honorable monks, do not be wretched and self-deprecating as such.’

(84) 不能應對，眼兒裡空恁泪汪汪地。（西廂記）

[D]

\[\text{bu-neng} \quad \text{yingdui} \quad \text{yan-er} \quad \text{li} \quad \text{kong} \quad \text{nen} \quad \text{lei-wang} \quad \text{di}\]

\text{NEG-able} \quad \text{cope} \quad \text{eye-DIM} \quad \text{in} \quad \text{simply such} \quad \text{tear-watery} \quad \text{DE3}

‘Unable to cope, (his) eyes (are) simply tearful as such.’

(Xi Xiang Ji, 12\text{th}-13\text{th} c.)

4.3.2.2 Reduplicated templates

Reduplicated templates are more likely to function as primary predicates than other templates.

(85) 若辯不出。長安路上輒輒地。（五燈）

[AA]

\[\text{ruo bian} \quad \text{bu} \quad \text{chu} \quad \text{changan} \quad \text{lu} \quad \text{shang} \quad \text{gungun} \quad \text{di}\]

\text{if} \quad \text{interpret} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{exit} \quad \text{PN} \quad \text{road} \quad \text{on} \quad \text{roll.REDU} \quad \text{DE3}

‘If you cannot interpret it, (you are) rolling (living purposelessly) on the roads of Changan.’

(Wu Deng, AD 1252)

(86) 及乎到後。曲彎彎地。（五燈）

[ABB]

\[\text{ji} \quad \text{hu} \quad \text{dao} \quad \text{hou} \quad \text{qu-wanwan} \quad \text{di}\]

\text{till} \quad \text{PRT} \quad \text{arrive} \quad \text{after} \quad \text{curved-bent.REDU} \quad \text{DE3}

‘After it arrived, (it was/became) curved.’

(Wu Deng, AD 1252)

(87) 只管嘩嘩嘩地。（西廂記）

[AABB]

\[\text{zhi-guan} \quad \text{xiuxiuxiaxia} \quad \text{di}\]

\text{only-take_charge} \quad \text{sound.sob.IDEO} \quad \text{DE3}

‘(She)…simply sobs (going) xiuxiuxiaxia.’

(Xi Xiang Ji, 12\text{th}-13\text{th} c.)

4.3.2.3 Complex expressions

Complex expressions are rarely attested as DE3-marked predicatives. The examples encountered are parallel structures composed of a juxtaposition of two disyllabic adjectival phrases.
(88) 如太陽燦然地。更莫思量。(五燈 10 金陵報恩匡遼師)
[CX-paralleled ADJ phrases]
ru taiyang heyi jiao-ran di geng muo siliang
like sun illustrious grand bright RAN DE3 more IMP. NEG contemplate
‘(The truth is) just like the sun, illustrious and bright – think no further…’
‘Like the sun, (the truth is) illustrious and bright…’

(Wu Deng 10, AD 1252)

4.3.3 DE3-marked predicative complements

Broadly-defined, DE-marked predicatives also include DE-expressions functioning as predicative complements, which consist primarily of complements of predicates of causative/manipulation, perception, modality, and speech (indirect quotation only). In most cases, the marking on predicative complements seem to follow the “descriptive” vs. “referential/identification” contrast associated with DE3 and DE2, respectively, i.e. the marking on predicative complements either pair with that of regular predicative descriptives or that of “predicative nouns”. Regular predicatives are generally not distinguished from DE-marked “semantic” predicative complements in the literature, i.e. DE-marked expressions that serve as the complement of another predicate, but appear in juxtaposition in serialization. [X-DE] in these functions are usually simply treated as predicatives in the literature. A few instances are provided below for illustration.

• Complement of a manipulation predicate
(89) 做好事亦教做顯顯地，都無些含洪之意（朱子）

zuo hao-shi yi jian zuo xianxian di
do good-matter also make do manifest REDU DE3
‘When doing good, (he) also makes it obvious.’

(Zhu Zi, AD 1270)

• Predicative complement of an immediate perception predicate
(90) 只見街上闊闊地（朱子）

zhì jian jie shang honghong di
only see street on noisyIDEO DE3
‘There is (lit. (one) simply sees) the street going honghong (being extremely boisterous).’

(ibid.)
• Complement of an imperative

(91) 上座莫恁麼懷地。 (五燈會元 10 金陵淨德院智箚達觀禪師)

\[D\text{-}rhyme\]
\begin{align*}
\text{shangzuo} & \quad \text{muo} & \quad \text{nenmuo} & \quad \text{mieqie} & \quad \text{di} \\
\text{HON. monk} & \quad \text{IMP. NEG} & \quad \text{such} & \quad \text{wretched} & \quad \text{self-deprecating} \\
\end{align*}

‘Honorable monks, do not be \textit{wretched and self-deprecating} as such.’

(Wu Deng, AD 1252)

• Complement of a modality predicate

(92) 得不退轉地 (五燈)

\[CX \]
\begin{align*}
de & \quad \text{bu} & \quad \text{tui} & \quad \text{zhaun} & \quad \text{di} \\
\text{get} & \quad \text{NEG} & \quad \text{return} & \quad \text{return} & \quad \text{DE3} \\
\end{align*}

‘one is capable of not receding or returning,…’

(93) 如今若要知。不用移絲髮地。不用少許工夫。 (五燈)

\begin{align*}
\text{ru-jin} & \quad \text{ruo} & \quad \text{yao} & \quad \text{zhi} & \quad \text{bu} & \quad \text{yong} & \quad \text{yi} & \quad \text{si} & \quad \text{fa} & \quad \text{di} \\
\text{like-today} & \quad \text{if} & \quad \text{want} & \quad \text{know} & \quad \text{NEG} & \quad \text{need} & \quad \text{move} & \quad \text{strand} & \quad \text{hair} & \quad \text{DE3} \\
\end{align*}

‘Now if you want to know (the ultimate truth), (you) need not move a strand of hair (= use a lot of effort).’

(ibus.)

Interestingly, many studies separate the DE-marked “complements” for V-DE constructions (\([V\text{-DE}]\ [\text{Pred}]\text{CMP}\)) from regular predicates and complements of other verbs. The “complements” of [V-DE1] construction (see Chapter 3), however, also behave much like regular predicates. This is manifested by the following example, in which the primary event [shuo-DE1] appears in the first clause, and the second clause is a regular predicative without a primary event. The [V DE1] primary event is becoming increasingly like a (secondary) topic (also see discussion of DE1 in Chapter 7).

(94) 六十四卦，只是上經說得齊整，下經便亂董董地。 (朱子語類)

\begin{align*}
\text{liu-shi-si} & \quad \text{gua} & \quad \text{zhi-shi} & \quad \text{shang-jing} & \quad \text{shuo-de} & \quad \text{qizheng} \\
\text{six-ten-four} & \quad \text{hexagram} & \quad \text{only-COP} & \quad \text{above-canon} & \quad \text{say-DE1} & \quad \text{tidy} \\
\end{align*}

\[ABB\]
\begin{align*}
xia-jing & \quad \text{bian} & \quad \text{luandongdong-di} \\
\text{lower-canon} & \quad \text{then} & \quad \text{chaotic-IDEO-DE3} \\
\end{align*}

‘(In terms of) the sixty-four hexagrams, it is only Shangjing (the upper half) that explains (the hexagrams) clearly; Xiajing (the lower half), however, is messy.’

(Zhu Zi, AD 1270)
4.3.4 The secondary predicate vs. primary predicate ambiguity/continuum

Sections 4.3 presents prototypical DE3-marked secondary predicates and prototypical DE3-predicatives. The boundary between the so-called DE3-marked “adverb/secondary predicate” and predicative constructions, however, is not as clear as presented above. A preposed [X-DE3] may be structurally and semantically integrated to the subsequent predicate to varying degrees. The likelihood of interpreting an [X-DE3] as independent from or closely associated with the following predicate is correlated with the relative phonological weight of the DE3 expression, as well as the range of plausible construals of the semantic relations between the DE3-marked expressions and the subsequent predicate.

A DE3-marked predicate with the following structural properties is more likely to be interpreted as a secondary predicate, instead of an independent predicate, under the conditions discussed in (95):

(95) Syntactic:

- The DE3-marked predicate appears in the pre-verbal position, in the pattern
  
  \[\text{[Pred-DE]}_{\text{secondary}} \text{[Pred]}_{\text{primary}}.\]

- There is no over marking of clausal status (e.g. a conjunction) on the [X-DE] expression and the other predicate.

Morphophonological:

- The DE3-marked predicate and/or the predicate associated with it does not carry enough relative morphophonological weight to serve as an independent predicate.
  
  (a) It has a monosyllabic or disyllabic, non-reduplicated [X-DE] that is not (or seldom) attested as a primary predicate.
(b) The primary predicate has low phonological weight, i.e. is short.

**Semantic:**

- There is a close semantic association between the [X-DE] event and the other event. Typically [X-DE] is an apparent property of the other event, e.g. speed, degree, or manner ideophones (when combined with specific framing event), or monosyllabic and disyllabic scene-setting and circumstantial predicates.

- [X-DE3] is associated with a predicate denoting an event that is likely to be more semantically salient

**Implicature:**

- When [X-DE] encodes a stative (descriptive) event, but the following predicate encodes a dynamic event.

### 4.3.4.1 No obvious “semantic salience” or modifying relation

The criteria in (95) represent a cluster of characteristics that jointly define a prototype, not necessary and sufficient conditions, for a DE-marked predicate to be construed as a secondary predicate. The more an [X-DE] fits the above characteristics, the more likely it will be interpreted as a secondary predicate. When a DE-marked expression is not clearly formally and semantically integrated (i.e. entrenched to express an event-oriented property in the pre-verbal position) to the following predicate, the semantic relationship between them is subject to construal depending on the pragmatic and linguistic context. (cf. absolutive clauses in Thompson, Longacre and Hwang 2007). The following section will discuss several instances that allow for multiple interpretations.
4.3.4.2 Pre-verbal [X-DE3] with no apparent modifying relation

The canonical position for a DE3-marked secondary predicate to appear is before the primary event, as in [Pred-DE3]_secondary [Pred]_primary. However, not all pre-verbal DE3-marked expressions are unambiguously secondary predicates. Section 4.3.2 has already demonstrated that [Reduplicated-DE3] may function as semantically and syntactically independent predicates. Without explicit signal of semantic relations, an [X-DE3] adjacent to another predicate is open to a predicative (coordinated with the other predicate) and a secondary predicate (ground or e-site elaboration to the other predicate) interpretation. The ambiguity is illustrated by the English translations for each example.

In some contexts, the coordinated interpretation is preferred. In example (96), the event of ‘tears overflowing’ and ‘eyebrows being knitted’ can be conjoined by the common denominator of simultaneity without either event being secondary or backgrounded, thus it is more compatible with a coordinated (complex-figure) interpretation, though a secondary predicate reading is not entirely ruled out.

(96) 驚見紅娘涕汪汪地眉兒皺。(西廂記)

[ABB]

jing jian hongniang leiwangwan di mei-tou zhou
surprise see PN tear-profuse.REDU DE3 eyebrow-head wrinkled
‘To my surprise I see Hongniang,
(i) her tears (are) overflowing, her eyebrows (are) knitted.’ [coordination]
(ii) ‘…with her tears overflowing, her eyebrows are knitted. [subordination] (Xi Xiang Ji, 12th-13th c.)

The DE3-marked emotion expression in (97) is also flexible between a secondary predicate and a predicative construal. Three different construals are reflected by the English translations (97-i)-(97-iii).

(97) 閑答孩地獨自個 (西廂記)

[A-BC]

men-dahai di du-zi ge
depressed-IDEO DE3 alone-self CL
(i) ‘(He is) dejected, alone.’  
(ii) ‘(He is) dejected, being alone.’  
(iii) ‘Dejected, (he) is alone.’  

(Xi Xiang Ji, 12th-13th c.)

The translation in (97-i) shows a construal of the two events, *being dejected* and *being alone* as coordinated. In (97-ii), *men-dahai* is treated as the primary predication, and *du-zi ge* the secondary predicate. (97-iii) illustrates the typical construal of a DE3-marked element as a preverbal secondary predicate.

In (98), a DE3-marked element descriptive of the manner of smiling collocates with a stative predicate describing the abundance of happiness reflected by the appearance of a participant. Because these are different perspectivizations of the same phenomenon, the DE3-marked event may be construed as a modifying secondary predicate, or a predicative in coordination with the following predicate.

(98) 笑吟吟地喜滿香腮。(西廂記)

[ABB]

\[
xiao-yinyin \quad di \quad xi \quad man \quad xiang \quad sai
\]

smile-smile.IDEO DE3 happiness full fragrant cheek

‘She smiles broadly; happiness fills her fragrant cheeks.’

‘Smiling broadly, happiness fills her fragrant cheeks.’

(Xi Xiang Ji, 12th-13th c.)

When combined with predicates of existence/location, temporal/aspectual information, simulative, classification, or predicates encoding an irrealis event (e.g. potential or negated), the DE3-marked event is not apparently less semantically salient, nor is it in an obvious modifying relation to the associated event. In such cases, the DE3-marked event may potentially be construed as a secondary predicate, a predicative in coordination with the other predicate, or even the primary predicate (expressing a more salient event).
4.3.4.2.1 [+ (Non)-existence in space]

A predicate of existence makes an assertion about the (non)-existence of an object in space, and a locative specifies the location of an object in space. Both types of predicates are easily conceptualized as encoding a grounding event. When combined with an [Descriptive-DE3], there is a potential to construe both events – the sensory experience evoked by [Descriptive-DE3], and the predicate that follows – as the figure, or take either one as the figure, and the other as the grounding event.

(99) 皈依地無一絲頭時如何。(五燈 第十卷溫州大寧院可弘禪師)
[AA]
\[\text{jiaojiao }\text{di }\text{wu }\text{yi }\text{si-tou }\text{shi }\text{ru-he}\]
\small{bright-REDU \ DE3 \ NEG \ one \ thread-head \ time \ like-what}
‘What about when it is \text{bright}, without a string?’
‘What about when it is so bright that there is not a string?’ \rightarrow \text{inferred}

(Wu Deng 10, AD 1252)

(100) 只帖帖地在這裏 (朱子語類)
[AA]
\[\text{zhi }\text{tietie }\text{di }\text{zai }\text{zheli}\]
\small{just \ fit\_well.\ REDU \ DE3 \ at \ here}
‘It simply is here \text{soft and fitted}.’

(Zhu Zi, AD 1270)

4.3.4.2.2 [+ Existence (duration) in time]

A predicate expressing temporal/aspectual information, similar to a predicate of existence, is easily construed as a grounding event.

(101) 皈依坦坦地。亘古至今。也未曾有纖毫間斷相。(五燈卷十)
[CX: parallel ADJ phrases]
\[\text{[1] jiaojiao }\text{dahe }\text{di}\]
\small{bright \ illustrious \ DE3}

\[\text{[2] gen }\text{gu }\text{gen }\text{jin}\]
\small{through \ ancient \ through \ present}

\[\text{[3] ye }\text{wei }\text{ceng }\text{you }\text{xianhao }\text{jianduan }\text{xiang}\]
\small{also \ NEG \ EXP \ exist \ slight \ cessation \ appearance}

(speaking of the ultimate truth)
[1] (i) ‘\text{Bright and illustrious},’ \hspace{1cm} \text{[depictive secondary predicate]}
(ii) ‘\text{Brightly and illustriously},’ \hspace{1cm} \text{[manner secondary predicate]}

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(iii) ‘(It is) **bright and illustrious**, [coordinated (primary) predicate]

[2] (i) (it) extends from ancient to present; [coordinated (primary) predicate]
    (ii) from ancient to present, [adverb of time]

[3] (i) there is never any sign of interruption. [coordinated (primary) predicate]
    (ii) without any sign of interruption. [depictive/manner secondary predicate]

(Wu Deng 10, AD 1252)

Example (95), where a DE3-marked perceptual property *jiaojiao dahe di* ‘bright and illustrious DE3’ is followed by a predicate of time and then by a predicate of existence, is open to multiple interpretations – each of the predicates can be taken as a secondary predicate, or a (one of the) primary predicate. It can even be argued that *jiaojiaodahe-di* ‘bright and illustrious’ encodes the primary event, with the subsequent clauses specifying the time and manner of the state of being ‘bright and illustrious’. The assorted combinations are illustrated by the corresponding English translations for each predicate above.

4.3.4.2.3 [+ Classificational]

Ambiguity in terms of a secondary vs. primary predicate construal is observed when the DE3-marked expression collocates with a classification sentence.

(102) 而所為自帖帖地皆是義理．(朱子)

```
[AA]  er suo wei zi tietie di jie shi yiyan
and OBJ do natural soft_fitting.REDU DE3 all COP righteous_affair
‘…and then his deeds are **naturally soft and fitting** [primary-1], (and are) all righteous affairs [primary-2].’
‘…and then his deeds, **naturally soft and fitting** [secondary], are all righteous affairs [primary].’
‘…and then his deeds are **naturally soft and fitting** [primary], (being) all righteous affairs [secondary – circumstantial].’
```

(Zhu Zi, AD 1270)

In (96), the other predicate is a predicative nominal introduced by the copula *shi*, which classifies or characterizes the subject *suo wei* ‘one’s deeds’ as ‘righteous affairs’. The
predicative nominal, like *tietie di* ‘soft and fitting’, assigns a property to the subject, the
difference merely being that the former presents an impression, and the latter introduces
an assertion. The example is also open to multiple construals depending on which
predicate is being foregrounded.

4.3.4.2.4 [+ Irrealis]

By the same token, examples (103)-(104), where a DE3-expression is preposed to
an irrealis event, also exhibits secondary vs. primary predicate ambiguity.

(103) 雲門尋常乾燥燿地，錐割不入 (五燈會元)

[ABB]
yunmen xunchang gan-bobo di zhui zha bu ru
PN ordinary dry-IDEO DE3 awl prick NEG enter
‘Yumen is ordinarily brisk/neat/straightforward; even an awl cannot prick into him.’
‘Yunmen is ordinarily (so) dry (that) event an awl cannot prick into him.’ → inferred
(Wu Deng, AD 1252)

(104) 終身黒涔涔地，莫之通喩也. (朱子)

[ABB]
zhong-shen hei-cuicui di muo zhi tongxiao ye
end-body black-pure.REDU DE3 NEG arrive apprehend PRT
‘(One is) completely dark all his life, not becoming apprehensive.’
(Zhu Zi, AD 1270)

4.3.4.2.5 [+ Similative] (often in descriptive mode)

Also commonly combined with a DE-marked secondary predicate is a similative
expression, which also ascribes a quality to the subject, and is not clearly semantically
more “salient” than the DE-marked expression. An alternate construal of a tighter
semantic integration can be posited, where the similative is a further specification of the
degree of the blackness depicted by *hei-manman*. 
4.3.4.2.6 [+ Grammaticalizing aspectual marker]

A DE3-marked expression is also ambiguous between a secondary and a primary predicate when it is combined with a predicate that is grammaticalizing into an aspectual marker, e.g. *qu* ‘become, lit. go,’ which predominantly performs an aspectual function, but a more literal motion/directional reading is not entirely inaccessible.

4.3.4.3 Loosely conjoined events in a serial/thematic chain

The predicative vs. secondary predicate ambiguity is especially noticeable when a descriptive [X-DE3] appears in the middle of a serial chain. In such cases, it is not always clear whether [X-DE3] is one of the several coordinated predicates or a secondary predicate, i.e. forming a complex expression with the predicate following it.
‘(The ox), always present, (is) lucid and conspicuous all day, unwilling to leave even if you try to drive it away.’

( Zu Tang Ji, 952 AD, also in Wu Deng, AD 1252)

In example (107), the DE3-marked expression is followed by another predicate. Both are predicated of the subject participant, the white ox, which is established in the previous discourse. Lujiongjiong di can function as an independent predicative property by itself, and be taken as coordinated with “unwilling to leave”. Alternatively, it can also be interpreted as a property simultaneous to “always being present” and “not willing to leave when being driven away” (a depictive).

The dynamic ideophone marked by DE3 in (108), daodaodada di, can function as an independent predicate describing the manner of speech. One way of interpreting the DE3-marked expression is as a coordinated event to the events encoded by the predicates before and after. Alternatively, daodaodada di can be taken as a manner expression modifying the subsequent predicates.

(108) 如今每日鳴鼓陞堂。切切怛怛地。問者口似紡車。答者舌如霹靂。(五燈 16)  

rujin mei ri ming gu sheng-tang daodaodada di  
now every day sound drum rise-hall chatter.IDEO DE3  
wen zhe ko si fangche da zhe she  
ask NMZ mouth resemble spinning.wheel answer NMZ tongue  

ru pili  
resemble lightening  
‘Now (the monks) beat the drum and launch a debate everyday, [1]chattering (going “daodaodada”), [depictive/manner adverb] [2] (they) chatter (go “daodaodada”) [predicative] those who ask with/have mouths like spinning wheels, those who answer with/have tongues like lightening.’

(Wu Deng 16, AD 1252)
4.3.5 Collocational patterns and the secondary vs. primary continuum

The probability of a DE₃-marked expression to appear in the pre-verbal position as a secondary predicate/adverb is partly correlated with its morphophonological structure. Table 4.6 provides the distribution of morphophological patterns with DE₃-marked expressions ambiguous between a secondary and a primary predicate interpretation.

**Table 4.6 Morphophonological patterns for DE₃-marked expressions ambiguous between secondary and primary predicate interpretations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Token frequency</th>
<th>Token %</th>
<th>Type frequency</th>
<th>Type %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AA</td>
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<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABB</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AABB</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABC</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CX</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>58</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As shown by Table 4.6, DE₃-marked expressions that are ambiguous between secondary and primary predicate interpretations are primarily ABB and AA templates. Descriptive AABB and ABC templates are not common, in line with their low frequency in general. In terms of non-descriptive templates, monosyllabic elements are not attested, and only one instance of disyllabic template is attested. The two CX expressions attested are both parallel adjective phrases.

Table 4.7 and Figure 4.2 below show the correlation between morphophonological templates and the interpretation of a DE₃-marked expression as a secondary or a primary predicate.
Table 4.7 Phonological template, functions, syntactic positions – overall comparison

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Secondary predicate</th>
<th>Ambiguous</th>
<th>Predicatives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AA</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABB</td>
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<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>5%</td>
<td>1%</td>
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<td>7%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>2%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The statistics show that monosyllabic and disyllabic templates are much more likely to appear as $\text{DE}3$-marked secondary predicates than predicatives. The reduplicated AA template is a central subschema for both secondary and primary predication, but tends to be more frequent as preposed secondary predicates. The ABB pattern appears to be more versatile than AA in that it is the dominant pattern for $\text{DE}3$-predicatives, but also occupies 50% of the instances that are ambiguous between a secondary predicate and a primary predicate interpretation.

The rest of the templates (AABB, ABC, and CX) seem rare across the board. AABB and ABC templates, which are associated with descriptives, are slightly more likely to facilitate ambiguity in construal between secondary and primary predication.

This leaves the complex expressions. There are 7 types of complex expressions attested with $\text{DE}3$. A closer examination reveals that these also fall into different patterns. Among these, there are 3 complex patterns that behave like a clause or a predicate with objects and aspectual markers – these are the real outcasts. The remaining 4 complex patterns are parallel structures, patterns that are partially similar to lexical reduplication. Both the complex patterns and the parallel structures are relatively rare before the 13th century, but the latter seem to have developed into a prominent descriptive template,
which constitutes of a phrasal repetition of similar sorts of properties, events, categories, and other states of affairs.

**Figure 4.2 Phonological template, functions, syntactic positions – overall comparison**

The fact that there is a great proportion of DE3-marked expressions that are ambiguous between the predicative and secondary predicate interpretation, and the fact that many of these are reduplicated AA and ABB patterns, suggest that the DE3-marked expressions developed around two general schemas: the secondary predicate and the predicative schema. The two schemas are defined based on a cluster of tendencies, including syntactic positions and template of the collocating expression. This leaves much room for multiple interpretations, a tendency increased by the overall typological feature of serialization in Chinese. For the reduplicated templates, there seems to be a much higher probability of being interpreted both ways, thus the interpretation is solely based on contextual information and the semantic relations between DE3 and the adjacent predicates.
4.4 **DE2- and DE3-marked similatives, equatives, interrogatives, and demonstratives**

Now that the primary functions of DE2 and DE3 in the 10\(^{th}\)-13\(^{th}\) centuries have been presented, we will give attention to a few semantic categories that have not been specifically addressed in the previous sections. They include DE2- and DE3-marked similatives and equatives (§4.4.1-2), interrogatives (§4.4.3), and deictic elements (demonstratives, §4.4.4-5). The usage and distribution of DE2 and DE3 are distinct in these categories, which, not surprisingly, are dependent on their respective primary functions.

The functions of DE2- and DE3-marked elements in similatives and equatives, both low in frequency in this period, are discussed as an illustration of how they reflect the respective functional prototypes of DE2 (“reference to a type”) and DE3 (“predication of a property”).

DE2-/DE3-marked interrogatives and demonstratives are discussed separately because these semantic categories consist of small classes of grammatical elements, whose semantics are associated with, but distinctive from the typical semantics of the other elements associated with DE2 and DE3, respectively. DE3-marked demonstratives elements, for example, are referential in nature, contrary to typical DE3-marked descriptive expressions. In addition, DE2-/DE3-marked deictic elements and interrogatives are not bounded by the morphophonological preferences generally applied to predication and secondary predication. Specifically, DE3-marked monosyllabic or disyllabic deictic elements appear freely as predicatives, contrary to the general rareness of such elements in DE3-marked predicatives.
Interrogatives and deictic elements associated with DE2 and DE3, however, exhibit clear collocational preferences and distinctive information-packaging functions, in line with the constructional prototypes of DE2 and DE3, respectively.

4.4.1 Similatives and equatives

Before comparing DE2- and DE3-marked similatives and equatives, §4.4.1 provides a brief introduction to these semantic categories. Equatives and similatives involve both participant-oriented and event-oriented components. An equative construction establishes a comparison of equality between two participants based on a certain quality, and a similative construction establishes a similarity relation between two participants in the performance of an event (Haspelmath and Buchholz 1998, Himmelmann and Schultze-Berndt 2005:33). The equative differs from the similative in that the former expresses identity of degree or extent, while the latter expresses identity of manner (Haspelmath and Buchholz 1998:313), as illustrated by (109a-b).

(109)  (a) She is as tall as you. [Equative]
       (b) She fights like a man. [Similative]

Haspelmath and Buchholz (1998: 279) identify five components of an equative construction, the comparee, the parameter marker, the parameter, and the standard, illustrated below:

(110) Components of an equative construction:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>My sister is as pretty as you</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CMP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. CMP: comparee
2. PAM: parameter marker
3. PARA: parameter
4. STM: standard marker
5. STAN: standard
The encoding of equality and similarity in Mandarin consists of a standard marker preceding the standard, and a standard/parameter marker between the standard and the parameter. Compare the Taiwanese Mandarin equative and simulative constructions in (111)-(112) (examples mine). Some Mandarin speakers distinguish between the preposed standard marker for equatives and similatives. The preposed standard markers include gēn, hàn/hé ‘with’ for equatives and xiàng (literary: rú, sì) ‘be like, resemble’ for similatives. The postposed standard/parameter marker parameter/standard markers include yíyàng, (yì)bān ‘just like, of the same kind/manner, lit. one-kind’.

The parameter of an equative construction comes after the standard (introduced by the parameter/standard marker), as in (111).

(111) Mandarin equative [same degree/extent specified]

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CMP</th>
<th>STM</th>
<th>STAN</th>
<th>PAM/STM</th>
<th>PARA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>你</td>
<td>nǐ</td>
<td>gēn/xiàng</td>
<td>zhū</td>
<td>yíyàng</td>
<td>bèn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>with/like</td>
<td>pig</td>
<td>one.kind</td>
<td>stupid</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

‘You are as stupid as a pig.’

Example (112a) illustrates a simulative encoded as the secondary predicate (DE is optional), (112b) shows a simulative predication, which establishes a similation between two participants (without an overtly coded simulative event).

---

1 Equatives and similatives in Mandarin may also be expressed via a DE-marked topic-comment structure, developed from a merger of DE1 and DE2 constructions (the historical development of the DE-marked topic-comment construction will be discussed in Chapter 7). DE-marked equative and similative predications are shown below:

(a) Equative

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CMP</th>
<th>PARA</th>
<th>STM</th>
<th>STAN</th>
<th>STM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nǐ</td>
<td>bèn</td>
<td>de</td>
<td>gēn/xiàng</td>
<td>zhū</td>
<td>yíyàng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>stupid</td>
<td>DE</td>
<td>with/like</td>
<td>pig</td>
<td>one.kind</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

‘You are as stupid as a pig./You are so stupid that you are like a pig.’

(b) Similative (overtly coded topic predicate)

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>tāmēn</th>
<th>shūi</th>
<th>de</th>
<th>xiàng/gēn</th>
<th>sì-zhū</th>
<th>yíyàng</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>sleep</td>
<td>DE</td>
<td>like/with</td>
<td>dead-pig</td>
<td>one.kind</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

‘They sleep like dead pigs.’
In Taiwanese Mandarin, the preposed standard markers for equatives and similatives are sometimes used interchangeably. Examples (112a-b) demonstrate that for some Mandarin speakers, equatives and similatives are not distinguished by the preposed standard marker, but by the semantics of an overtly coded accompanying event, if there is one. A predicate expressing a scalar property will yield an equative interpretation, and a non-scalar predicate will yield a similative interpretation. Equality and similarity may be encoded via the same construction in Chinese; the difference lies merely on the semantic level, and is dependent on whether a parameter is overtly coded.

### 4.4.2 『DE2 and DE3-marked similatives and equatives in Song and Jin Dynasties』

In Medieval Chinese, equatives and similatives may both be marked by *si* (似) and *ru* (如) (see Peyraube 1990 and C. Zhang 2005 for discussions of the diachronic change of *ru* and *si* from postverbal to preverbal position, which later enabled equative and similative functions to be distinguished). In the Song-Jin Dynasties period, attested 『DE2-similatives are expressed as headless nominal modifications, and 『DE3-similatives largely as secondary predication or predicatives. In this sense, the semantic category of simulation can be subsumed under 『DE2’s major function of nominal modification, and 『DE3’s major function of (secondary) predication.
In this sense, DE2-/DE3-marked similatives and equatives may be subsumed under either the major functions of DE2 or DE3, because they exhibit the same general distinction in terms of prototypical information packaging functions – DE2 as a marker of nominal modification, and DE3 as a marker of predicate modification or predication. DE2 and DE3, therefore, are associated with these semantic categories in distinctive ways. Their roles in expressing equative and simulation are reflected by their distinctive selectional differences.

4.4.2.1 DE2-marked headless equative and simulative modifiers

DE2-marked headless similatives are not common in the Song-Jin Period. Aside from a small class of demonstratives, a few simulative expressions are attested as DE2-marked headless modifiers. Approximately in the Song Dynasty, DE2-marked nominals begin to collocate with equative and simulative modifiers. Examples (113)-(114) demonstrate a DE2-marked equative modifier in a headless and an attributive modification construction, respectively.

(113)似門前樟樹樣大底。買一朵歸來與娘插在肩頭上。（張協狀元）

si men qian zhang shu yang da di
like door front Camphor tree kind big DE2

mai yi duo gui lai
buy one CL return come
‘One as big as the Camphor tree in front of the door, buy one back…’

(Zhang Xie 12th-13th c.)

(114)兩邊的心緒，一樣的愁懷。（西廂記）

liang bian de xin-xu yi yiang de chou-huai
 deux side DE2 heart-thoughts one kind DE2 sorrow-bosom
‘The thoughts of the two individuals; the same sorrow-filled hearts.’

(Xi Xiang Ji, 12th-13th c.)
4.4.2.2 DE2-marked simulative predication

The [X DE2] headless NP construction (with an unexpressed generic head) can encode the standard in the simulative predication construction. [X DE2] as a standard establishes a set or a type defined by the attributive property, X. Since X is the only defining characteristic of the generic type, [X DE2] as the standard also indicates the parameter of similarity, which is not otherwise encoded. Three examples of this pattern are found in the Song-Jin Period (12th-13th century), each with a monosyllabic property marked by DE2, as in (115)-(117).

(115) 好似呆底。（張協狀元）
  *hao-si dai di*
  great-resemble dull DE2
  ‘Just like idiots (lit. dull ones).’
  *(Zhang Xie 12th-13th c.)*

(116) 誰然一見如癡的（西廂記）
  *pie-ran yi jian ru feng di*
  glance-RAN one see resemble insane DE2
  ‘With one glance, he seems insane (like an insane one).’
  *(Xi Xiang Ji, 12th-13th c.)*

(117) 悄一似害的。（西廂記）
  *qiao yi si de*
  silent one resemble sick DE2
  ‘Just like she is sick (a sick one).’
  *(ibid.)*

The DE2-marked modifier defines the standard as well as the parameter, identified only by a single trait, being idiotic, insane, and sick, respectively. People with these qualities are easily identified as a group, and have lexicalized counterparts in both Mandarin and English, i.e. fēngzǐ ‘lunatic’, daāizi ‘idiot’, and bīngrén ‘patient’.

The function of [X-DE2] as a standard in the simulative construction is predicative instead of identificational. Instead of equating the comparee with another established “file” in the discourse, it merely adds information to the comparee by establishing a
similative relation with another entity, i.e. *like an idle one > be idle, like a crazy one > be
crazy, like a sick one > be sick*. It is thus closer to a genuine predication than the *shi…DE2*
identificational/focus construction. Though [X DE2] in these sentences refers to a “type”,
they sound less assertive than their lexicalized counterparts.

Similative expressions incorporating the standard (and sometimes the parameter)
are attested with DE2 both in attributive modification and headless anaphoric
modification, but are not attested with DE3, since DE3 is not attached to a nominal to refer
to a type.

### 4.4.2.3 DE3-marked similative predication

DE3 is occasionally attested in a similative construction, but the DE3-expression
specifies only the manner of similarity without an indication of degree. Example (118) (=
(88), repeated) has the standard marker preceding the noun indicating the standard,
followed by a DE3-marked reduplicated form describing the manner (parameter) in which
the comparee is similar to the standard.

Example (118) does not entail that the comparee and the standard share the property
defined by the parameter to the same degree, although it may be associated with such an
inference. (118) is therefore more properly translated as a similative “like the sun, (it is)
bright and luminous”, but not an equative “(it is) as bright and luminous as the sun”. An
equative interpretation, however, may be inferred (see also (105) above).

### 4.4.3 DE2-and DE3-marked interrogatives

DE2 and DE3 are attested with interrogatives specialized for different functions.
4.4.3.1 De2-marked interrogatives

De2 is associated with the interrogative shen ‘what’ (甚) and shenmuo ‘what’ (甚麼), which inquire about a participant. Example (119) illustrates De2 attached to shen to inquire about a participant.

(119) 這事甚底。（張協狀元）
zhe    shi   shen   di
this    COP  what    DE2
‘What is this?’

(Zhang Xie, 12th-13th c.)

The discourse participant being inquired about may not be an object, but may be less prototypical entities such as the content of a performance, or the cause/stimulus, result, subsequent event. These functions are also covered by the interrogative what in English. The extension from inquiry about a participant to inquiry about manner or reason is also observed for the English what – cf. Why are you so sad? vs. What are you so sad about?

(120) 小哥。你唱甚底。
ni    chang     shen   di
2s    sing     what    DE2
‘What are you singing?’

(Zhang Xie, 12th-13th c.)

(121) 只會噉相你笑甚底。
ni    xiao     shen   di
2s    laugh    what    DE2
‘What are you laughing about?’

(122) 君且接取些鞭。又妨甚底。
you    fang     shen   di
also    matter    what    DE2
‘What does it matter?’

(123) 淨 我去討那夫人。
    jing               wo     qu     tao     na     furen
male.character   1s     go     ask.for    that    lady

(122) 君且接取些鞭。又妨甚底。
you    fang     shen   di
also    matter    what    DE2
‘What does it matter?’

(123) 淨 我去討那夫人。
    jing               wo     qu     tao     na     furen
male.character   1s     go     ask.for    that    lady

(Zhang Xie, 12th-13th c.)

(121) 只會噉相你笑甚底。
ni    xiao     shen   di
2s    laugh    what    DE2
‘What are you laughing about?’

(122) 君且接取些鞭。又妨甚底。
you    fang     shen   di
also    matter    what    DE2
‘What does it matter?’

(123) 淨 我去討那夫人。
    jing               wo     qu     tao     na     furen
male.character   1s     go     ask.for    that    lady

(Zhang Xie, 12th-13th c.)

(121) 只會噉相你笑甚底。
ni    xiao     shen   di
2s    laugh    what    DE2
‘What are you laughing about?’

(122) 君且接取些鞭。又妨甚底。
you    fang     shen   di
also    matter    what    DE2
‘What does it matter?’

(123) 淨 我去討那夫人。
    jing               wo     qu     tao     na     furen
male.character   1s     go     ask.for    that    lady

(Zhang Xie, 12th-13th c.)

(121) 只會噉相你笑甚底。
ni    xiao     shen   di
2s    laugh    what    DE2
‘What are you laughing about?’

(122) 君且接取些鞭。又妨甚底。
you    fang     shen   di
also    matter    what    DE2
‘What does it matter?’

(123) 淨 我去討那夫人。
    jing               wo     qu     tao     na     furen
male.character   1s     go     ask.for    that    lady

(Zhang Xie, 12th-13th c.)
4.4.3.2 DE3-marked interrogatives

DE3 is combined with interrogatives that are specialized for the manner, cause, or reason of an event, such as zen ‘how’ (怎), zhenmuo ‘how’ (怎麽), zhensheng ‘how’ (怎生), ru-he ‘how, lit. like-what’ (如何).

(124) 不知是怎麽地一掃？ （三朝北盟會編 142）

bu zhi shi zhenmuo di yi sao
NEG know FOC how DE3 one sweep

yong ruzhou sao wei-fu yong saozhou sao
use soft_broom sweep be-also use (hard)_broom sweep

‘I wonder like what will (that) “one sweep” be?’

(San Chao Bei Meng Hui Bien 142, AD 1194)

(125) 百般言語難能喚，這般材料怎地發跡？（劉知遠 352）

zhe ban cai liao zen di faji
this kind material how DE3 rise.to.power

‘How could this kind of material rise to power?’

(Liu Zhi Yuan, 12^{th}-13^{th} c.)

(126) 而今不去講學，要修身，身如何地修！（朱子語類 卷第九 學三 論知行）

shen ruhe di xiu
body how DE3 cultivate

‘How does one cultivate his character?’

(Zhu Zi Yu Lei, AD 1270)

DE2 and DE3 show clear collocational preferences over specific interrogatives.

The distributions of interrogatives attested with DE2 and DE3 in Table 4.8 demonstrate clear functional and collocational differences – DE2 is primarily attested with participant interrogatives, and DE3 interrogatives of manner, cause, and reason.
Table 4.8 Distribution of DE2- and DE3-marked interrogatives in the 10th-13th c. sample of texts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary function</th>
<th>Token frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DE2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manner, cause, reason (how)</td>
<td>zen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>zensheng_</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ruhe_</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participant (what)</td>
<td>shen_</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sheme_</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

DE2 is occasionally attested with interrogatives that highly favor DE3, as shown by the distributions in each text in Table 4.9. These instances may be viewed as an extension of DE2 via the conceptual association between interrogation about a participant, and interrogation about a manner/cause/reason, which are events conceptualized as entities.

Table 4.9 DE2 and DE3-marked interrogatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>VI</th>
<th>VII</th>
<th>VIII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wen</td>
<td>Zhu Tang Ji</td>
<td>Zhang Xie</td>
<td>Wu Dai Shi Ping Hua</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th-9th c.</td>
<td>952 AD</td>
<td>1270AD</td>
<td>1252 AD</td>
<td>12th-13th c.</td>
<td>12th-13th c.</td>
<td>12th-13th c.</td>
<td>Late 13th c.?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DE2</td>
<td>DE3</td>
<td>DE2</td>
<td>DE3</td>
<td>DE2</td>
<td>DE3</td>
<td>DE2</td>
<td>DE3</td>
<td>DE2</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruhe_</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>37</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shen_</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sheme_</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.4.4 DE2- and DE3-marked deictic elements

The final semantic category to be discussed in this chapter is deictic elements (demonstratives) marked by DE2 and DE3\(^2\). DE2 and DE3 are both attested with deictic elements (demonstratives). In terms of pragmatic functions, demonstratives may refer to concrete entities in the surrounding situation (exophoric use), or to refer to something in

---

\(^2\) Personal deictics, such as wo ‘1’, ni ‘2’, ta ‘3’ attested with DE2 are incorporated with DE2-marked modifiers.
the discourse – an anaphoric use of a demonstrative refers to a previous discourse participant, while the discourse deictic use refers to propositions (Himmelmann 1996, Diessel 1999, 2006).

DE2 and DE3 are paired with deictic elements that match their prototypical functions. There are two types of DE-marked deictic elements that pertain to our discussion - deictic elements that refer to participants, and deictic elements that refer to manner, degree, and quality. Not surprisingly, DE2 is primarily paired with the former, and DE3 with the latter.

4.4.4.1 Deictic elements (demonstratives) that refer to participants

Some deictic elements are primarily used to refer to entities. They are attested with DE2 (and not DE3), and function as demonstrative determiners and demonstrative pronouns. There are three demonstratives for entities attested with DE2:

兀底  wu-di/de  this/that-DE2  that, there is/are
這底  zhe-di/de  this-DE2  this
那底  na-di/de  that-DE2  that

These demonstratives often appear independently, and need not be marked by DE, as in (127).

(127)爹娘不聽這句話。萬事俱休。（張協）
\begin{align*}
die & \text{ niang} \ & bu \ & ting \ & zhe \ & ju \ & hua
\end{align*}
father  mother  NEG  listen  this  CL  sentence
‘(If) dad and mom wouldn’t listen to my words…’
\textit{(Zhang Xie, 12\textsuperscript{th}-13\textsuperscript{th} c.)}

Example (128) illustrates a DE2-marked demonstrative pronoun.

(128)問。如何免得生死。師曰。用免作甚麼。曰。如何免得。師曰。這底不生死。（五燈）
\begin{align*}
zhe \ & \ di \ & bu \ & sheng \ & si
\end{align*}
this  DE2  NEG  life  death
‘This is not affected by life or death.’
\textit{(Wu Deng, AD 1252)}

The demonstratives associated with DE2 vary based on dialects. In Zhang Xie and
Xi Xiang, *wu* ‘that’ is often attested with *DE2* in presentational contexts. The thetic construction opens a discourse file for a referent, and to a greater or lesser extent, simultaneously provides the hearer with some information about the referent.

(129) 巽底一間小屋四扇舊門。 (張協)

`wu-di yi jian xiao wu si shan jiu men`

this-DE2 one CL small house four CL old door

‘There are one small house and four doors.’

*(Zhang Xie, 12th-13th c.)*

(130) 巽的門外張郎來也！ (西廂記)

`wu-de men wai zhang lai lai ye`

this-DE2 door outside PN M come PRT

‘Here comes Mr. Chang outside of the door.’

*(Xi Xiang Ji, 12th-13th c.)*

In *Xi Xiang Ji*, the demonstrative-DE2 combination, *wu di*, serves as the demonstrative modifier of the noun meaning ‘kind’ or ‘manner’. The whole combination then functions as the demonstrative modifier of manner, property or degree.

(131) 須看了可憎底千萬，巽底般媚臉兒不曾見。 (西廂記)

`wu-di ban mei lianer bu ceng jian`

this-DE2 kind beautiful face NEG EXP see

‘This kind of beautiful face (or: A face beautiful as such) they haven’t seen.’

*(ibid.)*

The proximal demonstrative *zhe* ‘this’ and dialectal variants of the distal demonstrative *wu* and *na* ‘that’ are marked by *DE2* exclusively. The demonstratives introduced in this section are predominantly used for nominal modification, but may sometimes be extended to express simulative predication (see §5.4.5.2).

4.4.4.2 Deictic elements that express similation of manner, degree, or quality

The second type of deictic element attested with *DE* refers to a property, manner, or degree, whose identity is accessible in the physical or discourse context. They express simulative functions, but the standard and/or parameter of simulation is represented by the
demonstrative. This category has not been extensively studies from a typological perspective, and will be referred to as manner demonstratives here.

Different sets of manner demonstratives are preferred for nominal modification and predication (including predicate modification), although the distinction is probabilistic rather than categorical. Note that these demonstratives can appear independently.

4.4.4.2.1 Manner deixis preferred for nominal modification

The first type is composed of a simulative marker ban (…般) ‘kind, manner’ yang (…樣) ‘manner, appearance’ or ru ‘be like, resemble’, often combined with a deictic element. This type is often preferred as a simulative modifier, as shown in (132)-(133), but may be used as a simulative secondary predicate, as in (134).

(132) 有這般人(朱子)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{you} & \quad \text{zhe} & \quad \text{ban} & \quad \text{ren} \\
\text{exist} & \quad \text{this} & \quad \text{kind} & \quad \text{person}
\end{align*}
\]

‘There is this kind of person./There is such a person.’

(Zhu Zi, AD 1270)

(133) 今卻不理去做這樣工夫，(朱子 113)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{jin} & \quad \text{que} & \quad \text{bu} & \quad \text{nai} & \quad \text{fan} & \quad \text{qu} & \quad \text{zuo} & \quad \text{zhe} & \quad \text{yang} & \quad \text{gongfu} \\
\text{today} & \quad \text{however} & \quad \text{NEG} & \quad \text{endure} & \quad \text{trouble} & \quad \text{go} & \quad \text{do} & \quad \text{this} & \quad \text{manner} & \quad \text{effort}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Yet now they are impatient to make such efforts.’

(134) 蓋某性，讀書須先理會得這樣分曉了，方去涵泳它義理。 (朱子)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{du-shu} & \quad \text{xu} & \quad \text{xian} & \quad \text{lihu} & \quad \text{de} & \quad \text{zhe-yang} & \quad \text{fexiao} & \quad \text{le} \\
\text{read-book} & \quad \text{need} & \quad \text{first} & \quad \text{understand} & \quad \text{DE} & \quad \text{this-kind} & \quad \text{clear} & \quad \text{RCS}
\end{align*}
\]

‘In terms of study, I need to first understand clearly as such (so clearly)…’

(134) 今卻不理去做這樣工夫，(朱子 113)

(134) 蓋某性，讀書須先理會得這樣分曉了，方去涵泳它義理。 (朱子)

4.4.4.2.2 Manner deixis preferred for predication

Another group of manner demonstratives are favored for simulative and equative predications, which include variants of nen (恁 ‘so, as such’) and yumuo (與麼 ‘so, as such’).

295
(135) "Such a lot of time I stayed in an empty room. Now it is still as such."

(136) "(It is) simply fine and delicate as such!" (Or: it is simply so fine and delicate!)

(137) "The rice upshore is so prosperous!"

4.4.4.3 DE2 and manner demonstratives preferred for nominal modification

Unsurprisingly, manner demonstratives preferred for nominal modification are paired with DE2. Examples (138)-(140) illustrate DE2-marked simulative modifiers composed of a demonstrative and a noun (mostly in the [DEM-N_{SIM}] pattern, where N_{SIM} is a noun meaning kind, type, manner, or appearance.

(138) "(Something) like this, it is impossible to discuss (it in worldly terms)."

(139) "There is also one like this."

(140) "One like this, there is no chance for him to be a good person."
4.4.4.4 DE3 and manner deixis preferred for predication

The manner demonstratives preferred for predication include *nen-di, nenmuo-di, yumuo-di*. They are predominantly associated with DE3:

- *nen-di*: that.(way)-DE3, such, that, so, unexpectedly
- *nenmuo-di*: that.way-DE3, such, that, so,
- *yumuo-di*: this.way-DE3, such, this, so…

Examples (141)-(145) demonstrate these manner demonstratives in exophoric use, which, by definition, focuses the hearer’s attention on entities in the situation surrounding the interlocuters (Diessel 1999:94). Note, however, that these manner demonstratives refer to conditions, instead of entities in the surrounding.

(141) 若與摩地不[疼]痛作什摩?（祖堂集）

```plaintext
ruo yumuo di bu tengtong zuo sheme
like as.such DE3 NEG hurt do what
‘Like this (being as such), how can it not hurt?’
(Zu Tang Ji, AD 952)
```

(142) 師乃展手曰。乞我一錢。曰。和尚因何到恁麼地。（7 潞州保福院從展禪師）

```plaintext
shi nai zhan shou yue qi wo yi qian
monk then spread hand say beg 1S one CL.money
yue heshang yin he dao nenmuo di
say monk because.of what arrive such DE3
‘The monk opened his hand and said: ‘I beg you to give me a penny!’’
‘(The other monk) said: ‘How did you (monk) become like this/as such?’’
(Wu Deng, AD 1252)
```

(143) 因舉手中扇云：只如搖扇，熱時人自會恁地搖。（朱子6）

```plaintext
yin ju shou zhong shan yun zhi ru yao shan
then raise hand middle fan say just like wave fan
re shi ren zi hui nen-di yao
hot time person self will that.way-DE3 wave
‘(He) therefore raised the fan in his hand and said: “Just like waving the fan, when it is hot, people will naturally wave (the fan) like this/in this way.”’
(Zhu Zi, AD 1270)
```
(144) 小童添炭，撥開火散亂。先生曰：可拂殺了，我不愛人恁地，此便是燒火不敬。（朱子 7）

xiao tong tian tan bo kai huo san luan
small boy add charcoal push open fire scatter messy

xiansheng yue wo bu ai ren nen di
master say 1S NEG love person that.(way) DE3
‘The little boy added charcoal, (making) the fire spread apart in a mess.’
‘The master said: “I do not like people doing this.”’

(145) 把奴家直恁地輕。（張協）

ba nujia zhi nen di qing
OBJ 1S.F straight thus DE3 slight
‘(you) simply slight me as such!’

(Zhang Xie, 12th-13th c.)

Many of these are used as discourse deixis, i.e. nen-di stand for a property, action, or proposition previously established in the discourse.

(146) 藥何嘗有性，只是他所生恁地。

yao hechang you xing zhi shi ta suo sheng nen di
medicine how exist nature only COP 3S SUO be.born as.such DE3
‘How could herbal medicine have nature? It is just like this/as such by nature.’

(Zhu Zi, AD 1270)

(147) 且粗恁地說，但也難分。（朱子 87）

qie cu nen di shuo
then rough that.way DE3 speak
‘(I) then roughly explain it as such/this way.’

(148) 金之氣，如何似一塊鐵恁地硬！（朱子）

jin zhi qi ruhe si yi kuai tie nen di ying
metal MOD energy resemble one CL iron as.such DE3 hard
‘The force of jin (the element of “metal”), how come it is as hard as a piece of iron!’

(149) 恣地，如何解理會得！（朱子 107）

nen di ruhe jie lihui de
as.such DE3 how know understand DE1.get
‘(Being) like this/as such, how can you understand?’

(150) 論語讀多少？曰：兩日只難看。曰：恁地如何會長進！（朱子 19）

yue liang ri zhi za kan
say two day only mixed read

yue nen di ruhe hui zhang-jin
say such DE3 how will grow-improve
(Shu Qi) says: ‘I only read it along with other (books) every other day.’
(Zhu Zi) says: ‘Like this/as such, how will you improve!’

4.4.4.5 Overall distribution of the three classes of deictic elements

DE2 and DE3 have distinctive collocational preferences over different groups of deictic elements. Participant demonstratives, as well as manner demonstratives composed of a nominal-derived simulative marker appear exclusively with DE2. The other group of manner demonstratives, which is favored in predication, is primarily associated with DE3, but is also occasionally attested with DE2. Table 4.10 shows the overall distributions of the three classes of deictic elements attested with DE2 and DE3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preferred reference</th>
<th>Typical information-packing function</th>
<th>Token frequency</th>
<th>DE2</th>
<th>DE3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Participant</td>
<td>Nominal modification</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>zhe_</td>
<td>這</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>na_</td>
<td>那</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wu_</td>
<td>兮</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manner, property,</td>
<td>Preferred in predication</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>event</td>
<td>nen_</td>
<td>咸</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dou nen_</td>
<td>咸</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>zhi nen_</td>
<td>兩</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nenmuo_</td>
<td>兩摩</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yumuo_</td>
<td>與摩</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preferred in</td>
<td>Preferred in nominal modification</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>modification</td>
<td>ban_</td>
<td>般</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>zhe ban_</td>
<td>這般</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yi ban_</td>
<td>一般</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>X ban_</td>
<td>一般</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>zhe yang_</td>
<td>這樣</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(ru)he yang_</td>
<td>(如)何樣</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ru...yang_</td>
<td>如...樣</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ru-fa_</td>
<td>如法</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ru-ci_</td>
<td>如此</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While the distributions in Table 4.10 represent the distinctive information-packing functions of DE2 and DE3, they also provide explanations for extensions to non-prototypical combinations of a collocating element and an information function.

A construction typically used for an information-packing function is sometimes extended to take a non-typical collocate. For instance, an element primarily used in
similative (secondary) predication, and highly favors DE3, may be attested with DE2 as a similative modifier. This is illustrated by the DE2-marked deictic element nenmuo in (145), which is an existential construction, a classic strategy to present a participant.

- Typical information function of DE2, atypical [deictic–DE2] combination:

(151) 存在處處有恁麼底。（五燈會元）
zaizai chuchu you nenmuo di
be_at.REDU place.REDU exist such DE2
‘There are ones like that everywhere.’

(Wu Deng Hui Yuan, AD 1252)

An atypical combination of nen–DE2 may also illustrated by (146), where nen refers to a condition that functions as a determiner of the noun shi.

(152) 教專與自家心契合。若恁底時，病痛自去，義理自明。（朱子 116）
ruo nen di shi bing-tong zi qu
if this DE2 time illness-pain self go
‘If/When like this (lit. such a time), pain and illness will cease by themselves.’

(Zhu Zi, AD 1270)

Alternatively, DE2 or DE3 in a preferred [deixis–DE] combination is sometimes extended beyond its typical information-packaging function. This phenomenon is demonstrated by extensions of preferred [deixis–DE2] into (secondary) predication, as in (153)-(154), as well as preferred [deixis–DE3] combinations into nominal modification, as in (155).

- Typical [deictic–DE2] combination, atypical information-packaging function of DE2:

(153) 樞密侍郎王莫要如此底死爭（三朝北盟會編 29）
shumi shilang muo yao ru-ci di si-zheng
PN-government official NEG want like-this DE2 die-fight
‘Mr. Shumi Shilang, do not fight eagerly as such.’

(San Chao Bei Meng HuiBien, AD 1194)

(154) 所以孝宗盡被這樣底欺，做事不成，蓋以此耳。（朱子）
suoyi xiqozong jin bei zhe-yang di qi
therefore PN completely PASS this-manner DE2 bully
‘Therefore, Emperor Xiao Zong was always bullied this way.’

(Zhu Zi, AD 1270)
There are so many virtuous people and noble men.

Variants of the demonstrative *nen* ‘that (way)’ (including its combination with a marker of counter-expectation *dou* or *zhi* ‘suddenly, unexpectedly’ and *nenmuo* ‘that way, such’) is predominantly marked by DE3, even when used attributively.

- Typical [deictic-DE3] combination, atypical information-packaging function of DE3:

Finally, another aspect involved in the extension into non-prototypical usage is the element of referentiality. Though specialized for different information-packaging functions, manner deixis is in a sense, still referential. The element of referentiality is distinct from the prototypical descriptive nature of DE3-marked expressions, but is aligned with the prototypical function of DE2 constructions. This also partly explains why DE2 is occasionally paired with a DE3-dominant element in the DE3-dominant function of (secondary) predication. The issue will be discussed again in §5.4.5.
The observations show that knowledge of a construction includes general schematic patterns and functions, as well as local collocational preferences. Change often appears in contexts involving atypical combinations of parameters that define the prototype of a construction. Such phenomena will be revisited in Chapters 5 and 6, where the minor functions of DE2 and DE3 are discussed, respectively.

4.5 Conclusion

In Chapter 4, we have shown that DE2 and DE3 are distinctive in their primary functions till the Song-Jin Dynasties. One of the most obvious differences is syntactic in nature – DE2-marked expressions primarily appear as referring expressions, while DE3-marked expressions are non-referential, and predominantly function as predicative expressions.

In terms of pragmatic/discourse functions, DE2 is highly associated with “identification” and “contrast”, while DE3 is primarily associated with “description” and “illustration”. DE3 is also associated with descriptive templates to a much greater extent.
than DE2. The distinctive collocational preferences of DE2 and DE3 are, to a great extent, a reflection of their distinctive prototypical discourse/pragmatic functions.

In the following two chapters, we will discuss the extensions of DE2 and DE3 constructions into the functions dominated by the other marker, i.e. predicative functions of DE2 and nominal modification functions of DE3. In other words, the extensions, or minor functions of DE2 and DE3 are in most cases the respective primary functions of the other introduced in Chapter 4. For ease of reference, a comparison of the attested functions of DE2 and DE3 in the Song-Jin Dynasties Period, and the corresponding “minor” functions of the other construction to be addressed in Chapters 5-6, are provided in Table 4.11.

Table 4.11. A comparison between the functions of DE2 and DE3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predicative-related functions</th>
<th>DE3</th>
<th>DE2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Either primary or secondary predicate</td>
<td>4.3.4</td>
<td>5.4.3 (serial chain)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary predicate</td>
<td>4.3.2</td>
<td>5.4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predicate complements</td>
<td>4.3.3</td>
<td>5.4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary predicates: event-oriented</td>
<td>4.3.1.2.2</td>
<td>5.4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary predicates: participant-oriented (depictive)</td>
<td>4.3.1.2.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intermediate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Similatives</td>
<td>4.4.2.3</td>
<td>4.4.2.1-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manner demonstratives</td>
<td>4.4.4.4, 6.3.1</td>
<td>4.4.4.3, 5.4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambiguous between secondary predicate and attributive</td>
<td>6.3.2-4</td>
<td>5.2.2, 6.3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominal-related functions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identificational</td>
<td>5.4.3.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equational (identificational) with “headless” description</td>
<td>4.2.4.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postnominal nonrestrictive modification</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>5.2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postnominal restrictive modification</td>
<td>5.2.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Headless” modification: event (reason, cause, condition)</td>
<td>4.2.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Headless” modification: participant</td>
<td>4.2.2.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prenominal nonrestrictive modification</td>
<td>6.3.2.1.1 (incl. thetic contexts)</td>
<td>4.2.1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prenominal restrictive modification</td>
<td>(6.3.4.1)</td>
<td>4.2.1.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.1 Introduction

The primary functions of \textit{DE}2 and \textit{DE}3 have been introduced previously in Chapter 4. In Chapters 5 and 6, we explore the developments of \textit{DE}2 and \textit{DE}3 from opposite poles of the attribution-predication continuum, i.e. the extension of \textit{DE}2 into the domain of predication, and \textit{DE}3 the domain of attributive modification. The developments presented in Chapters 5-6 are minor patterns of \textit{DE}2 and \textit{DE}3 attested in the 10th-13th century texts. “Minor patterns” may be understood in the following senses: (i) the functions are not attested for \textit{DE}2 (or \textit{DE}3) in every variety represented in the sample and are therefore generally not regarded in the literature as a regular or common function, semantic extension or path of grammaticalization, (ii) the functions, when attested, are not among the prominent functions of \textit{DE}2 (or \textit{DE}3), and as a consequence, these \textit{DE}2- (or \textit{DE}3-) associated patterns are not the most prominent strategies for expressing the functions. Significantly, these minor functions are attested in syntagmatic and pragmatic contexts that are intermediate between typical \textit{DE}2-marked attributives and typical \textit{DE}3-marked predicatives.

Chapter 5 discusses the extension of \textit{DE}2 from nominal modification to predicational functions in the 10th-13th centuries. As discussed in Chapter 4, \textit{DE}2 is primarily associated with nominal modification (reference-marking and identificational constructions), and \textit{DE}3 with secondary and primary predication (manner and descriptive expressions in predication). Specifically, \textit{DE}2 marks attributive modification in the [Modifier \textit{DE}2 NP] pattern, where the \textit{DE}2-marked modifier appears in the pre-nominal
position. In terms of pragmatic function, DE2-marked modifiers are primarily restrictive. DE2 also functions as a marker of nominalization or headless modification in the [Modifier DE2] pattern, which can refer either to a participant or an event. In terms of collocation patterns, DE2-marked modifiers are not commonly encoded in reduplicated templates. Finally, DE2-marked nominals are typically referential.

Chapter 5 shows that DE2 develops predicative functions through two major paths of extension. The first path is via non-canonical nominal modification, such as non-restrictive pre-nominal and post-nominal modifiers. Another path is via identificational (equational) constructions on the way to proper predication constructions (secondary and even primary), in intermediate contexts between reference to an event (identity/focus marking) and predication of an event (see discussion of identificational/focus constructions in §4.2.1).

5.2 Non-prototypical nominal modification

The first possible path for DE2 to extend into predicative functions is via non-prototypical nominal modification.

5.2.1 Postposed attributives

DE2-marked postnominal attributives emerged around the 12th century, in the Song Dynasty. In Chinese, the post-nominal position is a less canonical position for modifiers to appear. Crosslinguistically, a postnominal modifier is usually less semantically integrated to its head (Croft 2009, Croft in preparation). Like canonical modifier-head attributives, postposed attributives developed from juxtaposition of the headless modifier construction to its head. The positioning of the head before the
modifier is likely due to the pressure of topic continuity (see (2)-(3) in the following section).

5.2.1.1 Postposed restrictives

DE2-marked postnominal attributives can be “restrictive” with respect to its head, which may help (i) pick out a specific referent from the set introduced as the topic, or (ii) define a narrower generic subset. The latter, a conditional attribute, usually establishes a condition for the ensuing comment, and is ambiguous between a participant (one that is X…) and an event (being X…) interpretation. The interpretations of a DE2-marked postposed restrictive modifier can be schematized as follows:

(1) Meaning of post-nominal X-DE2 restrictive modifier

Structure: NP X-DE2
Meaning:

Among NP, the X one(s)... [participant]
In terms of NP, the X one(s)... [participant]
(if) being X... [event]

Though not high in frequency, postposed restrictives are attested in texts of different genres, e.g. Zhu Zi Yu Lei (AD 1270, a collection of lecture notes), Dong Xi Xiang (a drama script), and Wu Dai Shi Ping Hua (a history narrative), which suggests that the pattern is routinizing as a subschema of the [X-DE2] attributive construction, though it remains much less frequent than prenominal modifiers.

(2) 那時西突厥部族大的，呼做鐵勒，延陀，阿史那也。(五代史平話)

na-shi xi-tujue buzu da de huan-zuo tiele yantuo ashina ye

‘At that time, (among) the West Turkic tribes, the big ones are called Tiele, Yantuo, Ashina.’

(Wu Dai Shi Ping Hua, 12th-13th centuries)

(3) 人凝重闊大底好，輕薄小相底不好（陸象山語錄）

ren ningzhong kuoda di hao

person dignified wide.broad DE2 good

qingbo xiao-xiang di bu hao

frivolous small-appearance DE2 NEG good
‘(In terms of) people, (a) (being) dignified and generous is good, (being) frivolous and narrow-minded is not good.’

(b) dignified and generous ones are good, frivolous and narrow-minded ones are not good.

(Lu Xiang Shan Yu Lu, 1139-1193 AD)

(4) 文字是底固當看，不是底也當看（朱子語類11）

wenzi shi di gu dang kan
word correct DE2 originally should read

bu shi di ye dang kan
NEG correct DE2 also should read

‘In terms of words, the correct ones one should read, the incorrect ones one should also read.’

(Zhu Zi Yu Lei, AD 1270)

(5) 婦女知音的從古少，知音的止有個文君 (董西廬)

funu zhi yin de cong gu shao
woman know music DE2 from ancient rare

‘In terms of women, those who know music are rare since ancient times.’

(Dong Xixiang 12th -13th centuries)

5.2.1.2 Postposed non-restrictive modifiers

[X-DE2] as a post-nominal non-restrictive modifier also emerged in Song Dynasty (12th -13th centuries), e.g. in oral-style history narratives Xuan He Yi Shi and Wu Dai Shi Ping Hua, when a new referent is introduced into the discourse, and [X-DE2] simultaneously provides additional information to the referent. The information introduced by the DE2-expression is typically individual-level, factual information, e.g. the (first and/or last) name of the head. Since such a postposed [X-DE2] expression relates to a stable, permanent, or defining characteristic about the participant, instead of an incidental, transient event simultaneous to the event encoded by the following predicate, it clearly still belongs to the domain of reference.

(6) 堡中有佛舍，尼名孫深意，（在堡上住坐…（五代史平話）

bao zhong you fo-she
castle middle exist Buddhist-house
ni ming sunshenyi de zai bao shang zhu-zuo
‘There is a Buddhist dwelling in the castle; a nun named Sun Shenyi dwells in the castle.’

(Wu Dai Shi Ping Hua, 12th-13th centuries)

(7) 庶有以自別於一時僭竊之徒竊於大位的。〈五代史平話〉
shu you yi zi bie yu
thus exist with self distinguish at
yi-shi jian-qie zhi tu dao yu da wei de
one-time arrogate-steal MOD lot rob at big position DE2
‘…thus there is something to distinguish us from the lot who momentarily arrogate and steal, (those who) rob the grand position (= the throne).’

(Wu Dai Shi Ping Hua, 12th-13th centuries)

5.2.1.3 Distribution in different texts and correlation with reduplicated patterns

The distribution of all DE2-marked attributives provided in Table 5.1 shows that
DE2-marked post-nominal modifiers are most frequently observed in Wu Dai Shi Ping Hua, a colloquial reinterpretation of historical narratives written in Classical Chinese, since the frequently employed zhe (者) for this function in classic Chinese is replaced by di (DE2) in the colloquial language of the time.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Texts</th>
<th>祖堂 Zu Tang Ji</th>
<th>朱子 Zhu Zi Yu Lei</th>
<th>五燈 Wu Deng Hui Yuan</th>
<th>劉知 遼 Liu Zhi Yuan</th>
<th>張協 狀元 Zang Xie Zhuang Yuan</th>
<th>董西厢 (Dong Jie Yuan) Xi Xiang Ji</th>
<th>五代史平話 Wu Dai Shi Ping Hua</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AT</td>
<td>952 AD</td>
<td>1270 AD</td>
<td>1252 AD</td>
<td>12th-13th c.</td>
<td>12th-13th c.</td>
<td>12th-13th c.</td>
<td>13th c.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attributive [X DE2 N]</th>
<th>132 (R=1)</th>
<th>166 (R=4)</th>
<th>382</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>18</th>
<th>142 (R=12)</th>
<th>213 (R=1)</th>
<th>1064</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Postposed N X-DE2</td>
<td>Restrictive</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-restrictive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>21</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Headless</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>677</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The frequency of reduplicated templates attested are listed in the parentheses, which also shows that reduplicated templates are rare for both pre-nominal and post-nominal DE2-marked modifiers. Only one post-nominal DE2-marked reduplicated
expression is attested in the sample, which is also ambiguous between a postposed non-restrictives and a secondary predicate interpretation, as illustrated in (8).

(8) 大雪下。渾身都似冰。我雙雙底，早尋思貧女（張協狀元）

\[ wo \text{ shuangshuang } di \text{ zao } xunsi \text{pin-nu} \]

1 pair.Redu DE2 early think.of poor-woman

‘We two (both) soon think of the poor woman.’

‘We, both together, soon think of the poor woman.’

\(Zhang \ Xie, \ 12^{\text{th}}-13^{\text{th}}\) centuries\)

The collective expression, shuangshuang-di in Zhang Xie can be interpreted either as referring to the two people as a duo ‘we both/the two of us’, i.e. a post-nominal attributive, or to their being in the temporary state of thinking together, i.e. a secondary predicate. Note that in Zhang Xie the distinction between DE2 and DE3 is less apparent in predicative functions, similar to the patterns in Zu Tang Ji. DE2-marked descriptive predicatives are more frequent than DE3-marked ones in Zhang Xie.

A few reduplicated post-nominal DE2 expressions that can be interpreted as non-restrictive modifiers are observed in Zhu Zi Yu Lei, where there is very little intrusion of DE2 into the domain of (non-identificational) predication, but they are extremely rare, e.g. (9). No similar usage is observed in our sampling (the first 10 chapters) of Zhu Zi Yu Lei, which the statistics in Table 5.1 is based on.

(9) 源頭便是那天之明命，滔滔汩汩底，似那一池有源底水。（朱子語類 57)

\[ yuan \text{tou } bian \text{shi } na \text{tian } zhi \text{ming } ming \]

source then COP that heaven MOD bright decree

\[ taotao-mimi \text{ di } \]

surge.gurgle.IDEO DE2

\[ si \text{ na }yi \text{chi } you \text{ yuan } di \text{shui} \]

resemble that one pond exist source DE2 water

\(^1\) Table 5.1 only accounts for the statistics DE2 in the first 10 chapters of Zhu Zi Yu Lei. The reduplicated post-nominal expressions discussed here are spotted outside of the 10 chapters, and are extremely rare. It is still worth noting that such a function of DE2 is attested in Zhu Zi Yu Lei.
‘The source is the bright decrees of heaven
(a) (it) flows continuously [predicative]
(b) flowing continuously [depictive]
(c) (which) flows continuously, [non-restrictive attributive],
(d) one that flows continuously [non-restrictive attributive],
just like a pond of living water.’

(Zhu Zi Yu Lei Ch. 57, AD 1270)

Taotaomimi-di (in the pattern of [X_REDUC-DE2]) in (9) expresses a transitory and dynamic state of affairs encoded in the reduplicated form, which can be attributed to the subject participant established in the previous clause, or taken as a simultaneous event to the subsequent predicate.

The participant, tian zhi ming ming ‘the bright decrees of heaven’, has just been introduced into the discourse in the equational structure with the copula shi. Appearing right after the subject participant, and before a similative expression, taotaomimi-di may be translated into English as (9a) a predicative serving as the background for the subsequent event, instead modifying it, (9b) a secondary predicate, (9c) and (9d) a non-restrictive modifier, which still belongs to the domain of reference, either referring an event (9c) or a participant (9d), though the latter interpretation is less preferable for dynamic concepts.

The translations in (10a)-(10c) represent functions that are parallel to [X_REDUC-DE3] expressions as a juxtaposed predicate in a serial chain discussed in §5.3.3 below. This pattern ([X-DE] in the middle of a serial construction) is a DE3-dominant pattern in the Song Dynasty. Aside from [X-DE3] expressions with monosyllabic property X (which seem to be largely restricted to the preposed position), an [X-DE3] can function both as the single (main) predicate of a sentence, as well as a secondary predicate when placed in a serial construction.
(10) "He does not have enough respect, being dilatory and listless, [predicative as background event]
(a) being dilatory and listless, [non-restrictive modifier]
(b) (a dilatory and listless one), [non-restrictive modifier]
it is naturally not sufficient for people to respect him."
(Zhu Zi Yu Lei Ch. 45, AD 1270)

Because there seems to be little interpretative difference for an [Descriptive-DE2] and an [Descriptive-DE3] in the post-nominal position, the following instances attested in Zhu Zi, where an expression is written as DE2, seem to be of little difference from a DE3-marked manner expression. Compare (11) and (12), both found in Zhu Zi, where the property huopopo is marked by DE2 and DE3, respectively.

(11) ‘Yueru (leap-like) means the principle appears vivaciously in front of one’s face.’
(Zhu Zi Yu Lei Ch. 60, AD 1270)

(12) ‘(One should) see through this, and the principle will flow around here vivaciously.’
(Zhu Zi Yu Lei Ch. 8, AD 1270)

Other than the written form itself, there is not much information in the discourse to determine whether the participant-oriented DE2/DE3-marked expression in (11) and (12) is a post-nominal attributive or a secondary predicate, because either reading will apply in such contexts. In any case, the dynamic construal of the property imposed by the reduplicated encoding also diminishes the categorical, definitive sense associated with
DE2, making the expression even closer to a typical descriptive secondary predicate regardless of which particle it is associated with.

5.2.2 Pre-nominal non-restrictive descriptive modifiers

Another path for DE2 to extend from nominal modification to predicate modification is when a DE2-marked pre-nominal modifier becomes construed as a secondary predicate. A DE2-marked modifier is ambiguous between a non-restrictive modification and a secondary predication construal, particularly in presentational contexts, when the identity of the participant is being established, and the modifier merely provides descriptive information, but does not help disambiguate the identity of the referent. One such example is provided in (13).

(13) xilingling de ye-yu-er ji po chuang
    ‘Going xilingling, the night rain breaks the window.’
    ‘The night rain, which goes xilingling, breaks the window.’  
    (Xi Xiang Ji, 12th-13th c.)

This type of ambiguity is observed primarily in Xi Xiang Ji, where DE2-marked non-restrictive modifiers, particularly DE2-marked descriptive modifiers, are more frequent because of the abundance in descriptive narratives. The syntagmatic, collocational, and pragmatic contexts are also the contexts for the predicative-dominant DE3 to develop attributive functions. In other words, they are the contexts where DE2 and DE3 develop overlapping functions from opposite directions of the attribution-predication continuum. A more detailed discussion of the development of DE2 into the domain of (secondary) predication via prenominal non-descriptive modifiers will be provided in Chapter 6 along with a discussion of DE3-marked attributives (see §6.3).
5.3 $\text{DE2}$-marked secondary predicates associated with its lexical meaning

In the 10th-13th centuries, there are a few [M-$\text{DE2}$] (monosyllabic degree adverb/property + $\text{DE2}$) expressions attested as preposed secondary predicates. These monosyllabic elements are entrenched with $\text{DE2}$, and the lexical sense of $\text{DE2}$ ‘bottom’ may still be accessed metaphorically or metonymically. These expressions are thus specific to $\text{DE2}$ (i.e. not attested with $\text{DE3}$), and form small homogeneous groups at that time. Similar to early $\text{DE3}$-marked expressions which derived from the lexical interpretation of “ground” (see §3.4.3.1), these have not become highly generalized models that attract many new members. These secondary predicates fall into two groups, where $\text{DE2}$ may still be associated with and interpreted as ‘bottom’, and are listed in Table 5.2.

### Table 5.2 Lexicalized $\text{DE2}$-made secondary predicate

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantics</th>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>glossing</th>
<th>translation</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. degree/result</td>
<td>che-di</td>
<td>through-$\text{DE2}$</td>
<td>completely, thoroughly</td>
<td>底底</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jin-di</td>
<td>end-$\text{DE2}$</td>
<td>completely, thoroughly</td>
<td>底底</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jie-di</td>
<td>exhaust-$\text{DE2}$</td>
<td>completely, thoroughly</td>
<td>底底</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. depictive/manner</td>
<td>hun-di</td>
<td>turbid-$\text{DE2}$</td>
<td>turbid(ly)</td>
<td>濁底</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gun-di</td>
<td>rolling-$\text{DE2}$</td>
<td>rolling</td>
<td>輪底</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first class includes a few “degree/extent/result” adverb marked by $\text{DE2}$, which likely developed from metaphorical extension of the lexical meaning “bottom”, e.g. *che-di* ‘completely, thoroughly, lit. through-$\text{DE2}$.bottom; through the bottom’, *jin-di* ‘completely, lit. complete-$\text{DE2}$.bottom’.

(14) 一時徹底會取好。（五燈）

yi-shi  che-di  hui-qu  hao
one-time  thorough-$\text{DE2}$  understand  good
‘It is good that (you) understand thoroughly at once.’

(Wu Deng Hui Yuan, AD 1252)

(15) 家貧遭劫時如何。師曰。不能徹底去。（五燈）

bu  neng  jin-di  qu
NEG  able  complete-$\text{DE2}$  go
‘Cannot be completely gone.’
(16) 金銀錢物竭底將去。 (三朝北盟會編 30)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>jin</th>
<th>yin</th>
<th>qian</th>
<th>wu</th>
<th>jie-di</th>
<th>jiang</th>
<th>qu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gold</td>
<td>silver</td>
<td>money</td>
<td>object</td>
<td>exhaust-DE2</td>
<td>take</td>
<td>go</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘...gold, silver, money and objects were completely taken away.’

(San Chao Bei Meng Hui Bian 30, AD 1194)

Secondly, two types of DE2-marked manner/depictive expressions where DE2 may be interpreted lexically are observed in Wu Deng Hui Yuan, both as descriptions of the water of Yellow River, i.e. gun-di ‘roll-DE2, rolling through the bottom, rolling’, hun-di ‘turbid-DE2, turbid (through) the bottom, turbid’. Given that they only occur in one context (to describe the Yellow River in the context of a Buddhist allegory) and are not found elsewhere, these probably do not serve as models for analogy, either.

(17) 黃河輾底流。 (五燈會元)

huang-he  gun  di  liu
yellow-river roll DE2 flow
‘The Yellow River flows rolling (through the bottom).’

(Wu Deng Hui Yuan, AD 1252)

黃河渾底流。 (五燈會元)

huang-he  hun  di  liu
yellow-river turbid DE2 flow
‘The Yellow River flows turbid (through the bottom).’

(ibid.)

In both types of expressions, the lexical meaning of di ‘bottom’ does not contribute significantly to the semantics of the expression, and therefore has the potential to become semantically bleached. Among those listed in Table 5.2, only chèdǐ (徹底) remains in use in Mandarin, but it functions as a lexicalized unit, with di pronounced with a full vowel [i], unlike the grammatical functions of DE2.

5.4 DE2 in predicative-related functions

Though primarily functioning as a marker of referentiality, DE2 is also attested in expressions that encode ‘manner’ and ‘condition’ in predication. The majority of DE2-
marked predicative-related functions are observed in *Zu Tang Ji*, *Zhang Xie Zhuang Yuan*, and *Xi Xiang Ji*. In other texts, such functions are predominantly marked by DE3 (or unmarked), but sporadic cases of DE2-marked predicatives are still observed. Table 5.3 lists the distribution of DE2-marked secondary predicates and predicatives until the 13th century.

### Table 5.3 DE2-marked predicative-related functions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Functions</th>
<th>Zu Tang Ji</th>
<th>Wu Deng Hui Yuan</th>
<th>Zhu Zi Yu Lei (ch.1~10)</th>
<th>Liu Zhi Yuan</th>
<th>Zhang Xie Zhuang Yuan</th>
<th>Xi Xiang Ji</th>
<th>Wu Dai Shi Ping Hua</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Token</td>
<td>AD 952</td>
<td>AD 1252</td>
<td>AD 1270</td>
<td>12th - 13th c.</td>
<td>12th - 13th c.</td>
<td>12th - 13th c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary predicates</td>
<td>51 (46)</td>
<td>12 (9)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3 (3)</td>
<td>34 (31)</td>
<td>2 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary predicates Deictic</td>
<td>10 (3)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10 (3)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary predicate or attributive</td>
<td>14 (14)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>14 (14)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predicative/Complement</td>
<td>18 (18)</td>
<td>11 (11)</td>
<td>2 (2)</td>
<td></td>
<td>5 (5)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predicative/Complement Deictic</td>
<td>7 (1)</td>
<td>1 (1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5 (2)</td>
<td>1 (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent/stand-alone</td>
<td>9 (9)</td>
<td>6 (6)</td>
<td>2 (2)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As Table 5.3 shows, there are 18 instances of predicative DE2 expressions (including predicative complements), mostly attested in *Zu Tang Ji* and *Zhang Xie Zhuang Yuan*. 51 instances of DE2-marked secondary predicates are observed, primarily in *Zu Tang Ji*, *Zhang Xie Zhuang Yuan*, and *Xi Xiang Ji*.

Cases that are ambiguous between secondary predicate and attributives (see (13) in §5.2.2 above, and discussion in Chapter 6), and DE2-marked stand-alones ambiguous between predicatives and identificational construals (see §5.5.3 below) are also listed in Table 5.3 for comparison.
Statistics for DE2-marked manner demonstratives are listed separately in the Table 5.3, and will also be illustrated separately in §5.4.5 because it involves a closed class of elements (also see previous discussion in §4.4.4). As can be seen, however, the use of DE2-marked manner demonstratives into manner predication, patterns with the general degree of flexibility for DE2 to enter predicative functions in a text.

5.4.1 DE2-marked (preposed) secondary predicates

In §5.4.1.1 – §5.4.1.6, we discuss the semantics and collocational patterns of DE2-marked secondary predicates. DE2 is attested with monosyllabic adverbs, disyllabic non-reduplicated elements, complex expressions, and reduplicated templates. The collocational patterns of DE2-marked secondary predicates overlap greatly with DE3, with only a few possible DE2-specific patterns. Table 5.4 shows the collocational patterns of DE2-marked secondary predicates. Those that are ambiguous between an attributive and a secondary predicate construal are also listed for comparison.

Table 5.4 DE2-marked secondary predicates and patterns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pattern</th>
<th>Secondary predicate</th>
<th>Attributive or secondary predicate</th>
<th>Overall</th>
<th>Secondary predicate only</th>
<th>Including ambiguous cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>token type</td>
<td>token type</td>
<td>token type</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-descriptive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>6 3</td>
<td>2 2</td>
<td>8 5</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>14 13</td>
<td></td>
<td>14 13</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cx</td>
<td>5 5</td>
<td></td>
<td>5 5</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>descriptive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AA</td>
<td>18 15</td>
<td>4 4</td>
<td>22 19</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABB</td>
<td>5 5</td>
<td>8 8</td>
<td>13 13</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AABB</td>
<td>1 1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 1</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABC*</td>
<td>2 2</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 2</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>51 44</td>
<td>14 14</td>
<td>65 58</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*ABC is a peripheral subschema of descriptive templates

5.4.1.1 Monosyllabic manner expressions

Monosyllabic manner expressions (*muo, hu ‘sudden’, *qiao ‘silent’) are attested with DE2 only in Zu Tang Ji in the sample.
(18) heshang muo di shi sheng bian tuo
monk sudden DE2 lose voice then spit
‘The monk suddenly cried out and spit.’
(Zu Tang Ji, AD 952)

(19) shu xia zuo hu di shui zhao
tree under sit sudden DE2 sleep inceptive
‘(He) sat under the tree (and) suddenly fell asleep.’
(ibid.)

(20) qiao di bian qu
silent DE2 then go
‘Then (they) left silently.’ (Being silent, they then left.)
‘(They) left, silent.’
(ibid.)

These adverbs also function independently as secondary predicates, and collocate with DE3 and ran (a modifying event-marker, see Chapter 3) in the same text, e.g. (21)-

(21) muo di qi lai shen shou yun
sudden DE3 rise come reach hand say
‘(He) suddenly rises up, reaching his hand and says…’
(ibid.)

(22) ci seng qiao ran bian qu
this monk silent RAN then go
‘The monk left silent(ly).’
(ibid.)

Worthy of note is that in the early stage of its development, some DE2-marked secondary predicates may also be associated with information gap/identificational contexts. The string [muo di qu] ‘go suddenly’, shown in (23), for instance, is attested 3 times in Zu Tang Ji, all in a similar context – as an answer to an inquiry for direction. As a response, muo di ‘suddenly’ does not provide relevant information to the question at first glance, but it seems to be associated with certain Buddhist allegory. The speaker
probably intends to place *muo di* in focus. The marking of DE2 on an adverb may, therefore, still be linked to focus-marking in such contexts. The possible association between DE2-marked predicative expressions and focus-marking is further investigated in section §5.5.3.2.

(23) 有人問老婆：趙州路什處去？（祖堂集）
婆婆云：蓦底去。

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>you</th>
<th>ren</th>
<th>wen</th>
<th>lao-po</th>
<th>zhaozhou</th>
<th>lu</th>
<th>sheme chu</th>
<th>qu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

exist  person  ask  old-woman  PN  road  what  place  go

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>po</th>
<th>yun</th>
<th>muo</th>
<th>di</th>
<th>qu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

old_woman  say  sudden  DE2  go

‘Someone asked the old woman: Which direction (should I) go towards the road of Zhaozhou?’
‘The old woman said: “Go suddenly.”’

(Zu Tang Ji, AD 952)

5.4.1.2 Disyllabic non-reduplicated elements

A total of 14 disyllabic non-reduplicated elements are attested as DE2-marked secondary predicates in the sample. A locative expression marked by DE2 is observed in *Zu Tang Ji*, as in (24).

(24) 不拋相公，頭邊底坐看相公。（祖堂集）

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bu</th>
<th>pao</th>
<th>xianggong</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

NEG  throw.away  male.HON

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tou</th>
<th>bian</th>
<th>di</th>
<th>zuo</th>
<th>kan</th>
<th>xianggong</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

head  side  DE2  sit  look  male.HON

‘(He) did not throw Mr. (Pei’s body) away, but sat by his head looking at him.’

(Zu Tang Ji, AD 952)

Example (24) may have been a residue of the early light noun function of [locative-directional + DE2] (see discussion of directional+DE2 in §3.4.1.1).

A few DE2-marked disyllabic expressions involve manner (*yin-qin* 殷勤 ‘attentive, accommodating, lit. sincere-courteous’, *shi-sheng* 失聲 ‘to cry out loud, lit. lose-voice’),
purpose (*te-gu* 特骨 ‘make special effort (to do something), lit. special-bone’, or cognitive state (*bu-jue* 不覺 ‘unaware, lit. not-aware’).

(25) 又何苦特骨底要嫁狀元（張協狀元）

_You he-ku te-gu di yao jia zhuangyuan_

also what-hardship special-bone **DE2** want marry **TITLE**

‘Why go out of your way to marry a Zhuangyuan (one who gets the top score in an imperial exam)?’

(_Zhang Xie Zhuang Yuan, 12th-13th c._)

There are a few types of collocates of **DE2**-marked secondary predicates that express collective and distributive relations, which are not common with **DE3**. These include two non-reduplicated collective expressions and a time expression that are also attested with **DE2** in _Zhang Xie_, shown in (26)-(27). The collective expression *liang-xiang* is an exact quantification that is more compatible with the inclination of a participant nominalizer to specify factual qualities.

(26) 兩相底逢。 (張協狀元)

_liang-xiang di feng_

two-RECI **DE2** meet

‘The two meet each other.’

(_Zhang Xie Zhuang Yuan, 12th-13th c._)

The temporal adverb *xin-lai* ‘recently’ situates the event in a specific time frame, but is not descriptive of an atmospheric condition. The semantics of this expression, being referential (in that it provides a temporal reference point) rather than descriptive, differs from the prototypical **DE3**-marked descriptive events.

(27) 怎知道新來底彼妥嫌。(張協狀元)

_zen zhidaoding xin-lai di bei ta qixian_

how know new-come **DE2** PASS 3S loathe

‘How (could I) expect recently I am loathed by him…’

(_ibid._)

Because the token frequency of these expressions is not significant enough for a definitive conclusion to be drawn, the disjunction of **DE2** and **DE3**’s collocates in
secondary predication may simply be an indication that the (particle-marked) modifying event schema is experiencing host-class expansion.

In addition, DE2 also collocates with two disyllabic expressions that serve figuratively as an explanation, source or cause to the following event. The disyllabic [SV] and [VO] compounds with such uses are only attested with DE2 in Xi Xiang Ji.

(28) 天生的口不倉合。（董西廬）
\[ tian-sheng de kou bu ceng he \]
‘They are born never to have their mouths shut.’  
\( Xi \ Xiang \ Ji, \ 12^{th} -13^{th} \) centuries

(29) 唸得逆子賊臣望風的惡。（董西廬）
\[ hu de ni-zi zei-chen wang-feng de pa \]
‘(We) frighten the rebels and traitors (such that) they fear at the sight of (us).’  
\( Xi \ Xiang \ Ji, \ 12^{th} -13^{th} \) centuries

These are not prototypical manner expressions, but encode anterior events, which seem somewhat deviant from the prototypical descriptive and manner expressions marked by DE3. DE3 is attested with a few property expressions (e.g. bai-di 白地, ping-bai-di 平白地) with a partially similar condition/explanation function, but the DE3-expressions are restricted to the negation of an obvious cause (see example (64) in Chapter 4, and a discussion of result/purpose DE3-marked expressions based on metaphorical extension from the ‘location’ sense in Chapter 3).

5.4.1.3 Trisyllabic descriptive expressions

There are two tri-syllabic expressions attested with DE2 with descriptive semantics (but they differ in internal structures) attested in Xi Xiang Ji – titungluan, and lan-bieshe.
Tituanluan is an expressive depicting the roundness of an object. Tuan and luan both mean ‘round’, but the history of ti is not clearly traceable. Note that this expression does not belong to the typical head-modifier or subject-predicate A-BB type expressive, but it involves alliteration of the first two syllables, and rhyming of the latter two, which makes it somewhat perceptually similar to a typical ABB expressive. The expression lan-bieshe has a clear semantic head lan ‘lazy’, with bieshe, an unanalyzable disyllabic expressive which adds a colorful undertone to the “laziness” described by lan. Bieshe is also a (partially) rhyming unit somewhat perceptually similar to the BB pattern in the A-BB template.

5.4.1.4 Complex expressions

Complex expressions are generally rare with DE3-marked predicatives. Complex expressions attested with DE2-marked secondary predicates include the potential construction, parallel structures, and a verb phrase with modifying adjuncts.

5.4.1.4.1 Potential construction

A few negative potential expressions in the [V-buNEG-V] pattern are attested with DE2. These expressions describe the possibility for an action to be achieved, and are used
hyperbolically to describe the unusually high degree of a property on a scale. The
figurative interpretation is compatible with that of a degree adverb, which is attested with
de3. The literal interpretation, and collocation with a potential construction, however,
does not match the prototype of de3-marked modifying events.

(32) 面如說不得的誇。(董西廬)

\[
\text{lián-ér} \quad \text{shuo-bu-de} \quad \text{de} \quad \text{qiang}
\]
\[
\text{face-dim} \quad \text{say-NEG-de1.get} \quad \text{DE2} \quad \text{ravishing}
\]
‘(Her) face is unspeakably ravishing.’

\[(Xi \ Xiang \ Ji, \ 12^{\text{th}} - 13^{\text{th}} \text{centuries})\]

5.4.1.4.2 Parallel structures

There are two parallel structures attested with de2-marked secondary predicates,
both manner expressions in Xi Xiang Ji.

(33) 東傾西側的做些醜顰老，聞生沒死的尊笑。（董西廬）

\[
\text{dōng-qíng-xí-ce} \quad \text{de} \quad \text{zuò} \quad \text{xie} \quad \text{yan} \quad \text{qūlào}
\]
\[
\text{east-tilt-west-lean} \quad \text{DE2} \quad \text{make} \quad \text{some} \quad \text{dirty} \quad \text{posture}
\]
\[
\text{wēn-shēng-muo-si} \quad \text{de} \quad \text{de} \quad \text{pei-xiao}
\]
\[
\text{make_use-alive-risk-death} \quad \text{DE2} \quad \text{DE2} \quad \text{compensate-smile}
\]
‘Tilting and leaning here and there, he makes some ugly postures; with utmost effort
(as if he is making full use of the fact of being alive and not dead), he puts up a
smiling face just to please her.’

\[(Xi \ Xiang \ Ji, \ 12^{\text{th}} - 13^{\text{th}} \text{centuries})\]

Somewhat different from simple juxtaposition of descriptions, both expressions in (33),
especially the second one, are interpreted as an impressionistic “type” – thus dōng-qíng-
xi-ce does not exactly specify the action of tilting to the east and leaning to the west, but
provides a vivid description of the deliberate staggering postures made by the participant,
and wēn-shēng-muo-si refers hyperbolically to the extreme effort and devotion the
participant put into his acts. The appearance of a [Manner DE2 DE2] pattern with wēn-
shēng-muo-si in (33) is rare, but note that the [Property/Manner DE3 DE2] pattern is
occasionally attested with some lexicalizing [X-DE3 combinations, such as pu-di de
(IDEO.fall-DE3 DE2 仆地的), te-di de (special-DE3 DE2 特地的), attested later in Shui Hu Zhuan (水滸傳) in the Ming Dynasty (17th century).

Such a usage suggests that aside from a routinizing mental representation of a modifying event schema, which takes a particle after a modifying event, some speakers might also have created a separate schema that prefers a particle to be attached to an expressive expression. Examples such are these are, not surprising, rarely documented in diachronic texts (and are indeed rarely documented today). The [Descriptive DE3 DE2] combination is, however, attested in several modern Chinese dialects. The issue will be re-visited in Chapter 6.

5.4.1.4.3 Regular complex expressions

Complex verb phrases with modifying adjuncts and complements expressions, as illustrated by (34), are also attested as DE2-marked secondary predicates in the pre-verbal position.

(34) 萬感勉強的把旅社門開（董西廬）
wan gan mianqiang de ba lushe men kai
ten.thousand feel reluctant DE2 OBJ hostel door open
‘Feeling extremely reluctant (he) opens the door of the hostel.’
(Xi Xiang Ji, 12th -13th centuries)

5.4.1.5 Reduplicated templates as secondary predicates

Altogether 24 DE2-marked expressions that occur as secondary predicates in the sample are encoded in reduplicated templates, i.e. are descriptive elements, which largely overlap with DE3-marked reduplicated templates in terms of semantic categories. A degree adverb weiwei ‘slight-REDU’ encoded via the reduplicated AA template is provided in (35).
(35) 咲相公有一日微微底不安，非久之間便死。（校堂集）
peixiangong youyi ririweiweidi bu-an
PN male.HON exist one day slight.REDU DE2 unwell
‘Mr. Pei was slightly unwell one day.’

(36) 此世界日月短促，則須急急底事了却去。（校堂集）
ci shijieriyueduan cu
this world sun-moon short hasty
ze xuxijidishi liaoqu qu
then must hasty.REDU DE2 matter terminate go
‘This world is short in time; it must be the case that all matters terminate hastily.’

Example (36) illustrates a DE2-marked manner expression in the reduplicated AA pattern.

(37) 颜色變異，呵呵底笑。（校堂集）
yanse bianyi hehe di xiao
face-color change IDEO.sound DE2 laugh
‘(His) complexioned changed, chuckling.’

(38) 搓撓臨時自由，不是你呢呢惹惹底便解會得。（校堂集）
cuo-cha lin jizi you
rub-apply.to encounter time self let
bushi niminiredi bianjiehuidede
NEG COP 2S IDEO.sound DE2 then understand DE1.get
‘(To) deal with issues spontaneously upon facing them, (it is not what you can understand) simply by chattering incessantly.’

Two phonomimes attested with DE2 in pre-verbal position are provided in (37)-(38), which also encode the manner of an action.

Notice that in (38), the DE2-marked element is placed in focus, as shown by the copula/focus marker shi. The DE2-marked atmospheric condition/manner secondary predicate in (39) likely also involves contrast, as manifested by the two sets of parallel
expressions with opposite semantics – *mian bi* ‘face the fall’ vs. *tangtang* ‘openly, unconcealed.’

(39) 他家面壁坐，有個摸索處。忽然堂堂坐，你向什摩處摸索？((祖堂集)十四。百丈)

\[
tajia \quad mian \ bi \quad zuo \quad you \quad ge \quad muosuo \quad chu
\]

3  face wall sit exist CL feel_about place

\[
huran \quad tangtang \quad di \quad zuo \quad ni \quad xiang \quad sheme \quad chu \quad muosuo
\]

if open.REDU DE2 sit 2S toward what place feel.about

‘Other people sit facing the wall – there is still a place to feel about. If sitting openly (unblocked), where can you feel about (in search of the truth)?’

(ibid.)

5.4.2 DE2-marked predicative properties/actions

[X-DE2] is attested as the primary predicate (with or without an overt subject) of the clause. Overall, DE2-marked expressions as primary predicates seem to be the less prominent among the functions of DE2 across the texts, but in Zu Tang Ji and Zhang Xie, these functions are frequent enough to be considered among the subschemas of DE2-constructions. DE2-marked predicatives include 4 non-reduplicated disyllabic expressions (two rhyming words) and two regular disyllabic expressions, and 10 reduplicated expressions. The following sections illustrate the predicative expressions marked by DE2 in varying templates.

5.4.2.1 Disyllabic non-reduplicated expressions

Altogether 4 disyllabic non-reduplicated expressions are attested as DE2-marked predicatives. Three of them are disyllabic unanalyzable manner descriptives (cf. binding words see §2.3.3.1 for a discussion of the descriptive vs. regular word continuum).

Predicatives with DE2 and DE3 can encode both dynamic and stative concepts, which can be oriented towards a participant or an event. DE expresses various aspectual (continuous) or discourse (imperative, assertive, etc.) functions. Chenyin (沈吟) in (40) depicts a state
of deep contemplation, accompanied by silence, hesitation, or muttering, usually due to a
difficult, unsolvable problem.

(40) 歸宗沉吟底。僧便問…（祖堂集）
  guizong  chenyin  di  seng  bian  wen…
  PN  contemplate  DE2  monk  then  ask
  ‘Guizong is pensive. The monk then asks…’
  ‘Guizong being pensive, the monk then asks…’
  ‘Lit. Guizong, (a) pensive (one).’ or ‘(the fact of) Guozong being pensive.’
  (Zu Tang Ji, AD 952)

Diexie (跫蹤) in (41) describes the movement of a horse in small steps. Notice that
the disyllabic expression, diexie, though is a partially reduplicated form that bears a
structural resemblance to prototypical descriptives.

(41) 馬蹄蹀躞底。 （張協狀元）
  ma  ti  diexie  di
  horse  hoof  trot  DE2
  ‘The horse hooves are trotting.’ (Zhang Xie Zhuang Yuan, 12th-13th centuries)

The expression duzi ‘alone’ in Zhangxie is a regular compounded word composed of du
‘alone’ and zi ‘self’. Note that the DE2-marked element duzi in (42), in parallel with the
proposition wu fu ‘has no husband’, clearly involves contrastive focus.

(42) 它又無夫，協獨自底。 （張協狀元）
  ta  you  wu  fu  xie  du-zi  di
  3s  also  NEG.exist  husband  PN  alone-self  DE2
  ‘She has no husband (anyways); Xie is (=I am) alone (=single).’
  (ibid.)

5.4.2.2 Reduplicated expressions

This section illustrates DE2-marked predicatives (excluding the independent and
stand-alone DE2-marked propositions discussed in §5.4.3.2) encoded in reduplicated
templates.
Examples (43) and (44) are from *Zu Tang Ji* and *Zhang Xie Zhuang Yuan*, respectively, where DE2 has a higher degree of overlap with DE3 in predicative-related functions.

(43) 舉措悉皆索索底，時長恬恬底。(祖堂集)

\[
\text{jucuo} \quad \text{xijie} \quad \text{suosuo} \quad \text{di}
\]

\[
\text{deed/act} \quad \text{all} \quad \text{careful_fearful.IDEO} \quad \text{DE2}
\]

\[
\text{shi} \quad \text{chang} \quad \text{tiantian} \quad \text{di}
\]

\[
\text{time} \quad \text{often} \quad \text{quiet_composed.IDEO} \quad \text{DE2}
\]

‘His actions are all careful and fearful, oftentimes quiet and composed.’

‘He acts carefully and fearfully, oftentimes quiet and composed’

(\textit{Zu Tang Ji}, AD 952)

(44) 你又恁地孤孤單單。我恁地白白淨淨底。只是嘴鳥。(張協狀元)

\[
\text{ni} \quad \text{you} \quad \text{nun} \quad \text{di} \quad \text{gugudandan}
\]

\[
\text{2S} \quad \text{also} \quad \text{such} \quad \text{DE3} \quad \text{lonely.REDU}
\]

\[
\text{wo} \quad \text{nun} \quad \text{di} \quad \text{baibaijingjing} \quad \text{di} \quad \text{zhi} \quad \text{shi} \quad \text{zui} \quad \text{wu}
\]

\[
\text{1S} \quad \text{such} \quad \text{DE3} \quad \text{fair_clean.REDU} \quad \text{DE2} \quad \text{only} \quad \text{be} \quad \text{mouth} \quad \text{black}
\]

‘You are lonely as such (anyways); I am \textit{fair and clean} as such; only my mouth is black.’

(\textit{Zhang Xie Zhuang Yuan}, 12\textsuperscript{th}-13\textsuperscript{th} centuries)

Observe that the DE2-marked element in (44), \textit{baibaijingjing}, is in parallel with the \textit{gugudandan} in the previous proposition.

Example (45) is attested in *Wu Deng Hui Yuan*, where the distinction between referential DE2 and predicative DE3 is overall well-kept.

(45) 爾每日口嘰嘰底作麼。(五燈會元)

\[
\text{er} \quad \text{mei-ri} \quad \text{kou-laolao} \quad \text{di} \quad \text{zenmuo}
\]

\[
\text{you} \quad \text{ever-day} \quad \text{mouth-chatter.IDEO} \quad \text{DE2} \quad \text{what/how}
\]

‘Why do you chatter incessantly every day?’

(The fact of your chattering incessantly every day, what’s that about?)

(\textit{Wu Deng Hui Yuan}, AD 1252)

At first glance, the DE2-marked reduplicated expressions seem to be semantically and structurally no different from typical DE3-marked reduplicated expressive predicates. \textit{Suosuo} in (43) and \textit{kou-laolao} in (45) are phonomime/phenomimes: the former depicts
the trembling or rustling sounds (from one’s subtle movement) due to fear or caution, and is semantically extended to describe swift movement; while the latter is a subject-predicate ABB pattern with laolao mimicking the sound and depicting the manner of incessant mumbling. The other two expressions, tiantian ‘quiet, non-agitated, composed’ in (43) and baibaijingjing in (44) (< reduplication of bai-jing ‘fair(white) and clean) describe stative properties. Example (43) lists two DE2-marked predicatives in parallel. Baibaijingjing di in (44), also clearly appears in an identificational context, where the speaker, a beggar, attempts to convince a woman to marry him.

In (45), kou laolao di as a proposition may be taken as a regular predicative (where DE2 is marking a predicative expressive just like DE3; see the first English translation), but it may also be analyzed as the topic for further inquiry, in which case DE2 is marking the establishment of a topic (see the second English translation), an extension of the event-nominalization function of DE2 discussed in §4.2.2.2 (see also independent/stand-alone DE2-marked expressions in §5.5.3 below).

Because it is not uncommon in Chinese for a proposition in contrastive focus and an event as a topic to be zero-marked, there is no definitive evidence to argue against the analysis that DE2 is functioning simply as a marker for predicative descriptives in these examples. It is however reasonable to suggest that these DE2-marked expressions may be associated with identificational contexts.

5.4.3 DE2-marked predicates in a serialization chain

Similar with DE3-marked predicatives, an [X-DE2] predicative expression can appear in a serial chain, and may encode a state of affairs that is simultaneous,
subsequent and/or causally related to the event denoted by the adjacent predicate(s). In (46), a DE2-marked predicative in a number of juxtaposed events that may be sequential or causally linked.

(46) 南風吹來，飽胸飽肚。 （祖堂集）

\[nan\ feng\ chui\ lai\ bao\ hoho\ di\]

south wind blow come full IDEO DE2

‘The south wind is blowing thither, (I’m) **full and satiated.**’ (a full and satiated one) (Zu Tang Ji, AD 952)

In example (46), the events of *the south wind blowing thither* and *the speaker’s being full and satiated* can be interpreted as two independent events happening at the same time, or causally related – the wind blowing thither makes the speaker full and satiated. *Bao* ‘full’ is a participant-oriented bodily state, and *hoho* is onomatopoeic, depicting the sounds one makes when feeling satiated and full.

Similarly in (47), the DE2-marked predicative *xie-lili* ‘blood-dripping.REDU’ is the result of being hit by a stick. In this context, it may be translated in English either as the primary or a secondary predicate. *Drippy with blood* can also be interpreted as a simultaneous event to the events denoted by the following predicates.

(47) 打一查血潺潺底沒投奔。在廟中彎踞睡。 (張協狀元)

\[da\ yi\ zha\ xie-lili\ di\]

hitone stick blood-drip.REDU DE2

\[mei\ tou-ben\ zai\ miao\ zhong\ wan-quan\ shui\]

NEG.exist seek_shelter at temple in bend-curl sleep

‘Hit by a stick, you were **drippy with blood**, without a shelter, sleeping curled in the temple.’

‘(They) hit you with a stick - **drippy with blood**, you were without a shelter, slept curled in the temple.’

(Zhang Xie Zhuang Yuan, 12th - 13th centuries)
5.4.4 \textit{DE2}-marked predicative complements

An [X-DE2] as a unit can function as the semantic complement to another predicate. Although both [X-DE2] and [X-DE3] can appear as predicative complements, neither is considered a dedicated marker for predicative complements (see §4.3.3 for DE3-marked predicative complements). In the literature, DE2/DE3-marked predicatives and DE2/DE3-marked (semantic) predicative complements are often both coded as predicatives. This is likely because complementation is often achieved in Chinese via verb serialization, and there is no apparent difference in the coding and distribution between DE-marked predicatives and DE-marked complements.

The fact that DE2 may be attached to predicative complements, however, should be acknowledged\textsuperscript{2}, and the contextual factors further investigated. In terms of collocational patterns, DE2-marked predicative complements include disyllabic words, manner demonstratives/similatives, reduplicated templates, as well as complex expressions. A DE2-marked complex expression as a predicative complement (e.g. (49) below) appears to have an especially clear link to DE2-marked nominalized events. The following sections introduce DE2-marked complements and the semantic types of the complement-taking predicate.

5.4.4.1 Immediate perception

[X-DE2] is observed as complement of an immediate perception verb. According to van der Auwera and Malchukov (2005), such a sentence can be analyzed either as a complementative (complement of a predicate of perception) or a depictive. In Zu Tang Ji, the same predicate \textit{chenyin} also appears as a DE2-marked predicative, as shown in (48).

\footnote{\textsuperscript{2} Some verb-originated aspectual or modality markers, such as 得 DE1 or 著 zhe (continuous) also developed into complementizers, appearing between the complement-taking predicate and its complement.}
5.4.4.2 Achievement

Noonan’s predicates of achievement include predicates that express the
realization or manner of achievement, or the manner or reason for lack of achievement.

One example of [X-DE2] as the complement of dao ‘arrive’ (in a metaphorical sense) in
this category is illustrated in (49).

(49) 從此後，其僧修福作利益，日夜不停，直到手指三分只有一分底。（祖堂集卷十六南泉）

5.4.4.3 Modality

This class is broadly defined to include any overt marking of epistemic or deontic
modality. [X-DE2] is only attested as complements of deontic modality in Zu Tang Ji.

(50) 如對尊嚴長，須得兢兢底。（祖堂集）
(51) 若無人體得，莫只與潦醉慢慢底，有什摩成辦時？大須努力！（祖堂集）

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{muō} & \quad \text{zhī} & \quad \text{yùmuō} & \quad \text{zui-man-man} & \quad \text{di} \\
\text{NEG} & \quad \text{only} & \quad \text{such drunk-slow} & \quad \text{REDU} & \quad \text{DE2}
\end{align*}
\]

you shèmuō chéng ban shì exist what succeed do time
‘…don’t be oblivious and sluggish like this – what can you manage to do?’

(52) 汝大須修行，莫終日口密密底。（祖堂集）

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{muō} & \quad \text{zhōng-rì} & \quad \text{kō mì mí} & \quad \text{di} \\
\text{NEG} & \quad \text{end-day} & \quad \text{mouth IDEO.thick/dense} & \quad \text{DE2}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Do not have your mouth thickly blocked all day, i.e. do not mumble or talk nonsense.’

(52) (ibid.)

5.4.4.4 (Indirect) speech

One DE2-marked expression is attested as the predicative complement of an indirect speech predicate in \textit{Wu Deng Hui Yuan}, as shown in (53). As noted earlier, complementation is often achieved without extra marking.

(53) [1] 當時答洞山甚麼話？…（公曰。今日放衙早。）

[2] 潭曰。聞答洞山大聖在揚州出現底。是否。 （五燈會元卷十五洪州太守許式）

[1] \textit{dangshi da dongshan sheme hua...} then answer PN what speech

[2] \textit{tan yue wen da sizhou da-sheng zai} PN say hear answer PN great-saint at

\textit{yangzhou chuxian di shì fou} PN appear DE2 yes not

[1] (Tan asks): “What words did you answer Dongshan then?”

[2] (The hearer responds with something completely irrelevant.)

[2] Tan says: “I heard (it is the case that you) answered ‘The Great Saint of Sizhou appeared in Yangzhou.’ Is this true?”

(\textit{Wu Deng Hui Yuan}, AD 1252)

The appearance of DE2 here may be associated with the speaker’s strong intention to seek affirmation, as his question is not properly addressed by the hearer, who deliberately
provides only irrelevant information. This instance is obviously associated with the nominalization/identificational function of DE2.

In addition, [X-de2] also functions as the complement of a direct speech predicate. A DE2-marked element as the complement of a direct speech predicate most typically occurs in two situations: as an independent expression, or as the answer to an information question. These contexts are also associated with an identificational construal. DE2-marked expressions that appear as independent/stand-alone propositions in direct quotes are not coded as predicative complements, but are discussed with DE2-marked stand-alone in §5.5.3.1-2.

5.4.5 DE2-marked deictic elements in secondary predication and predicatives

Deictic elements, as previously discussed in §4.4.4, may be used to express simulative relations. Different classes of deictic elements are specialized for different referents (participant vs. manner, property, degree) and different information-packaging functions (nominal modification vs. predication). DE2 and DE3 are selected by distinctive classes of deictic elements, which is a reflection of their prototypical information-packaging functions.

The documented extensions of the deictic elements into atypical functions with DE2 are shown in Table 5.5 (based on Table 4.10, added to). Notice that these include cases that are observed or documented in the literature, but are not included in the statistics of the sample listed in Table 5.3 above.
Table 5.5 Deictic elements with DE2 and extensions into atypical functions (based on Table 4.10, added to.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preferred reference</th>
<th>Typical information-packing function</th>
<th>collocation with DE2/DE3</th>
<th>Atypical/extension attested with DE2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Participant</td>
<td>Nominal modification</td>
<td>DE2 only</td>
<td>zhe 總</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>na 那</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wu 元</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manner, property, event</td>
<td>Preferred in predication</td>
<td>DE3 &gt;&gt; DE2</td>
<td>nen ren zhi nen ren  (Secondary) predication, predicative complement</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nemuo 堤</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>DE3 only</td>
<td>ban ...般</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>zhe ban ...般</td>
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<td>yi ban 一般</td>
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<td>X ban ...般</td>
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<td></td>
<td>zhe yang 這樣</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(ru)he yang (如何)</td>
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<td>ru...yang 如...樣</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rafa 如法</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ru ci 如此</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Where there is a clearer division between the referential DE2 and the predicative DE3 in general, the participant/type (DE2-marked) vs. manner/property (DE3-marked) similatives are kept distinct to a greater extent (with a much lower degree of overlap), often manifested by preferences over specific closed classes of manner demonstratives.

5.4.5.1 DE3-prone deictic elements attested with DE2 in predication

The manner demonstrative nen (恁), which is predominantly associated with DE3, is sometimes attested with DE2 in simulative predication. Such an extension is observed in Zhang Xie Zhuang Yuan and Dong Xi Xiang, varieties where DE2 more freely enters the domain of (secondary) predication.

(54) 我婆且自寬心。張協為人恁底村。婆要鏡。沒時豈敢上婆門。 （張協）

\[\text{zhangxie} \text{weiren} \text{nen di cun} \]

\[\text{PN} \text{behavior as.such DE3 vulgar} \]

‘Zhangxie’s behavior is so vulgar.’

\[\text{（Zhang Xie, 12}^{\text{th}}-13^{\text{th}} \text{c.)} \]
The DE2-marked demonstrative *nen* ‘such’ is attested in *Zhang Xie* as the complement of predicates of knowledge *shi* ‘know’, immediate perception *jue* ‘feel’, and commentative *ganxie* ‘thank, be appreciative that…’.

(55) 自來不識恁底。平日我衣冠濟濟。 (張協莊元)

\[
\text{zi-lai} \quad \text{bu} \quad \text{shi} \quad \text{nen} \quad \text{di}
\]

\begin{align*}
\text{from} & \quad \text{NEG} & \text{know} & \text{such} & \text{DE2}
\end{align*}

‘(I have) never known (=experienced) such (a condition) ever.’

*(Zhang Xie Zhuang Yuan, 12th-13th centuries)*

(ibid.)

(56) [旦末] 君想是少些個衣。自覺寒多形恁底。 (張協狀元)

\[
\text{zi} \quad \text{jue} \quad \text{han} \quad \text{duo} \quad \text{xing} \quad \text{nen} \quad \text{di}
\]

\begin{align*}
\text{self} & \quad \text{feel} & \text{cold} & \text{much} & \text{appearance} & \text{such} & \text{DE2}
\end{align*}

‘(I myself) feel very cold and my appearance is such.’

(ibid.)

(57) [生旦] 深感謝我公恁底。且得遮卻血污衣。 (張協狀元)

\[
\text{shen} \quad \text{ganxie} \quad \text{wo} \quad \text{gong} \quad \text{nen} \quad \text{di}
\]

\begin{align*}
\text{deep} & \quad \text{thank} & \text{1} & \text{HON.male} & \text{such} & \text{DE2}
\end{align*}

‘(We) thank you deeply for doing this.’

(ibid.)

*Nen* is also attested with DE2 as a complement of achievement predicate in *Xi Xiang*.

(58) 你還待要跳龍門，不到得恁的。 (西厢記)

\[
\text{bu} \quad \text{dao} \quad \text{de} \quad \text{nen} \quad \text{de}
\]

\begin{align*}
\text{NEG} & \quad \text{arrive} & \text{DE1} & \text{such} & \text{DE2}
\end{align*}

‘You couldn’t have become as such.’

*(Xi Xiang Ji, 13th c.)*

Aside from a general tendency for the DE2-marked nominalization construction to be extended to manner in these varieties, the extension may also be motivated by the referential nature of deictic elements, which partly matches the functional prototype of DE2. The dimension of referentiality explains the fact that the unusual combination of *nen*-DE2, though far from common, is attested even in texts such as *Zhu Zi*, where DE2 seldom enters the domain of predication. The token frequency is so low that no tokens are found in the sample selected (Chapters 1-10).
(59) 便都恁底胡叫胡說 (朱子 124)

\[\text{bian dou nen di hu jiao hu shuo}\]

then all as.such\text{DE2} reckless shout reckless speak

‘They then shout and speak recklessly as such.’

\[(Zhu Zi, \text{AD 1270})\]

(60) 不要恁底看（朱子 58）

\[\text{bu yao nen di kan}\]

NEG want as.such\text{DE2} look

‘Do not see (interpret) it as such.’

\[(ibid.)\]

5.4.5.2 \text{DE2}-marked deictic element referred to participant extended to predication

A deictic element specialized for reference to a participant may be extended to express similation of manner/property in predication. This is observed only in Zhang Xie Zhuang Yuan, as illustrated by the [demonstrative-\text{DE2}] combination \text{[wu-DE2]} in (61).

(61) 相煩李大公兀底早來。（張協狀元）

\[\text{xiang fan lidagong wu-di zao lai}\]

RECI trouble PN this-\text{DE2} early come

‘How much trouble we brought upon you, Mr. Li! (You) come this/so early.’

\[(Zhang Xie, 12^{th}-13^{th} \text{c.})\]

\text{Wu-DE2} typically appears in presentational contexts and functions as a demonstrative to introduce new participants into the discourse (see §4.4.4.1).

5.4.5.3 Deictic elements preferred for similative modification attested with \text{DE2} in predication

Deictic elements referring to manner/property/degree encoded in the \text{[DEM-N\text{\text{SIM}}]} (\text{zhe-ban (這般) ‘this kind’}, \text{zhe-yang (這樣) ‘this manner’) or \text{[SIM-N\text{\text{SIM}}]} patterns (\text{ru fa (如法)‘like-way’}, \text{ru ci (如此) ‘like this’}) typically function as similative modifiers, though they may be extended to similative secondary and primary predication. They are attested exclusively with \text{DE2}, even when being extended to similative predications. The combination of \text{DE2} and these elements in predicative-related functions are attested in
texts where DE2 more freely extended to predicative functions, e.g. Zu Tang Ji and Zhang Xie, shown in (62)-(64).

Examples (62) and (63) illustrate the DE2-marked simulative expression zhe-ban di (這般底) as a (headless) simulative modifier and a simulative expression functioning as a predicative complement, respectively.

(62) 師云：這般底論劫不奈何。《祖堂集》
   zhe-ban  di  lunjie bu-nai-he
   this-kind  DE2  discuss NEG-do-what
   ‘(One) like this, it is impossible to discuss (it in worldly terms).’
   (Zu Tang Ji, AD 952)

(63) 我不可著汝這般底。《祖堂集》
   wo  bu  ke  zhuo  ru  zhe  ban  di
   1S  NEG  able  make  2S  this kind  DE2
   ‘I cannot make you (behaving) like this.’
   ‘I cannot make one (behaving as) such as you.’
   (ibid.)

Zhe-ban-DE2 (這般底) ‘lit. this-kind-DE2’ in (63) is attested with a manipulative predicate which takes a resulting situation as its complement. Notice that is ambiguous between a participant and a manner construal, the former denoting ‘the kind of person like you’ and the latter ‘(behaving) like this’.

Example (64) illustrates a DE2-marked demonstrative functioning as a secondary predicate in Zhang Xie.

(64) 你還欲要見它時。如法底高叫奴萬福。《張協》
   ru  fu  di  gao  jiao  nu  wan-fu
   likeway  DE2  high  shout  servant ten.thousand-happiness
   ‘Shout out Your servant wishes you all the happiness as such.’
   (Zhang Xie, 12th-13th c.)

These DE2-exclusive deictic elements that predominantly function as simulative modifiers are also attested in simulative predication in texts where the distinction between
DE2-marked nominal and DE3-marked predicatives is generally well-kept, such as Zhu Zi, as in (65)-(66), and San Chao Bei Meng Hui Bian, as in (67).

(65) 所以孝宗盡被這樣欺凌，做事不成，蓋以此耳。（朱子）

```
suoyi xiqozong jin bei zhe-yang di qi
therefore PN completely PASS this-manner DE2 bully
```

‘Therefore, Emperor Xiao Zong was always bullied this way.’

(Zhu Zi Yu Lei, AD 1270)

(66) 賢人君子有這般底多。（朱子 72）

```
xian-ren junzi you zhe-ban di duo
virtuous-person noble.man exist this-kind DE2 many/much
```

‘There are so many virtuous people and noble men.’

( ibid. )

(67) 慕密侍郎莫要如此底死爭（三朝北盟會編 29）

```
shumi shilang muo yao ru-ci di si-zheng
PN.government_official NEG want like-this DE2 die-fight
```

‘Mr. Shumi Shilang, do not fight eagerly as such.’

(San Chao Bei Meng Hui Bien, AD 1194)

These deictic elements, then, prefer DE2 over DE3, regardless of whether they occur as attributive determiner, or as a degree delimiter to an event.

As discussed in the previous section, the use of DE2 with deictic elements in predication is conditioned by various parameters. Among them is the general referential nature of deictic elements. Both the selectional preferences and extensions into atypical combinations and functions are motivated by partial similarity to the constructional prototype of DE2.

5.5 Developmental paths of DE2 into predicative-related functions

This section discusses the possible paths for DE2 to develop from a marker of nominal modification to a marker of predicative functions.

5.5.1 Did DE2-marked predicatives develop from postposed non-restrictives?

There is no clear evidence to show that DE2 developed into post-nominal non-restrictives before it developed predicative functions. Although the post-nominal position
is a prominent place for appositives to develop, the earliest DE2-marked postposed descriptive properties, observed in Zu Tang Ji, seem to be clear cases of predicatives instead of post-nominal non-restrictive modifiers. It might be the case that non-restrictive modifiers are generally rare, and have not been documented in the early texts. In any case, because [X-DE2] as a postposed non-restrictive only provides background or descriptive information to a previously introduced referent without further restricting its identity, it is functionally closer to a predicative expression in terms of its information structure.

Another plausible explanation is that the development of DE2-marked predicatives and the postposed non-restrictives are influenced by more than one schema, as reflected by the notable differences in the semantics and internal structures of the DE2-marked post-nominal non-restrictives attested. The “factual” postposed non-restrictives attested in Wu Dai Shi Ping Hua are distinct from the predicatives in Zu Tang Ji. Examples (9)-(11) from Zhu Zi Yu Lei (in §5.2.13), where the DE2-marked expression express a transient state of affairs encoded in the reduplicated templates, seem to be closer to the predicatives in Zu Tang Ji. The non-restrictives attested may have developed from different models. The factual expressions as postposed non-restrictives, as mentioned, likely derived from analogy to pattern of zhe (mainly in Wu Dai Shi Ping Hua and other oral history narratives), and are also more compatible with the referential function of DE2. The instances from Zhu Zi Yu Lei and Zhang Xie Zhuang Yuan are relatively rare, as reduplicated templates generally are with DE2-attributives. These are closer to secondary predicates or predicatives, and may be an analogy based on the general [Reduplicated PRT] or [Reduplicated DE3] schema, with DE2 referring to an event, instead of a participant.
5.5.2 From participant nominalizer to marker of predicative event

The development of DE into a marker of secondary and primary predication may be explained by the semantic extension from participant to event nominalization. The participant-nominalizer functioning as a classificational statement in the [Subject $X_{PROPERTY/MANNER-dt}$] pattern meaning ‘Subject is an X one’ may be metonymically extended to property predication meaning ‘Subject is $X_{PROPERTY}$’.

The development from participant to manner nominalization has been observed crosslinguistically. Loeb-Diehl (2005) shows that participant nominalizers (called “agent nominalizer” by Loeb-Diehl) may develop into markers of manner expressions. Two such examples are the suffix -cā in Classical Nahuatl and -rā in Yagua (a Peba-Yaguan language from Peru). The former is originally a marker of agentive nouns (Andrews 1975:212) meaning ‘person who is an X/X-ing one’ and the latter is a neutral (i.e. gender-unspecified) agent-nominalizer. Both are attested to mark manner expressions, as shown in (68)-(69).

(68) Classical Nahuatl (Uto-Aztecan, Aztacan)

\[mauh-cā\] 6-tzahtzi-c

be.afraid-PCP 3-shout-SG

‘She shouted frightendly.’ (Andrews 1975:32)

(69) Yagua (Peba-Yaguan) (Derbyshire & Payne 1990:417, from Loeb-Diehl 2005:158)

\[Juán\] rupiíy tápii-dee-rā

PN walked.be.slow-DIM-PCP,NEUT

‘Juan walked a little slowly (Juan walked, (as) a little slow one)’

In Chinese, there is also some evidence that a participant nominalizer may develop predicative and secondary predicate functions, although not all can encode an extensive range of semantic relations as secondary predicates. The originally nominal classifier ge, for example, has developed both attributive/nominalization and predicative-
related functions in several Southern Chinese dialects, as shown in example (70) in Wu Deng.

(70) 欲识曹溪旨，云飞前面山。分明真实谛，不用别追攀。（五灯 10 杭州光慶寺迎安禅師）

yu want shi know caoxi zhi idea yun fei cloud qianmian fly shan mountain

distinct-clear real-real GE NEG use otherwise chase reach

‘If you want to know the idea of Caoxi, (it is) just like the clouds flying over the mountain in front of you. It is/(being) distinctive and real/(a distinctive and real one); there is no need to go after it otherwise.’

(Wu Deng Hui Yuan, AD 1252)

Similar usage of ge is observed in (71)-(72) from the modern-day Jinhu Dialect, Jiangsu Province of China³. Note that in Jinhu dialect, the classifier and nominalizer ge collocates with both a disyllabic modifier-head compound tie-ying ‘iron-stiff’ and a reduplicated expressive ABB expression feihonghong.

(71) Jinhu Dialect, Jiangsu Province of China (Zhu 1993:89)

mian-chuang tie-ying ge
sleep-bed iron-hard GE

‘The bed is iron-hard.’

(72) Jinhu Dialect, Jiangsu Province of China (Zhu 1993:90)

lian shai dao fei-honghong ge
face bask_in_sun arrive crimson-red.REDU GE

‘Face is sun-burned until/to the extent that (it is) crimson red.’

In addition, the participant/event nominalizer zhe is attested with expressions denoting temporal relations in Old and Middle Chinese, e.g. bi-zhe ‘recently, recent-ZHE.NMZ’, jin-zhe ‘now, lit. today-ZHE.NMZ’, gu-zhe ‘(in) ancient times, lit. ancient-ZHE.NMZ’.

³ The article was published in Chinese. The examples are written in Chinese characters without phonetic transcription or glossing. The phonetic transcription here is a transliteration of the characters into Mandarin Chinese (since I do not speak the Jinhu Dialect), and the glossing is also mine.
The uses of ZHE in temporal phrases also finds its parallel with the DE2-marked relative tense marker xin-lai ‘recent(ly), lit. new-come’ observed in Zhang Xie (see (27) in §5.3.1).

It is not surprising that temporal relations are more likely to align with participant nominalizers, since the specification of time is more referential than descriptive in nature.

Another semantic domain where either reference to a “type” (a participant) or denotation/reference to a “manner” (state/property) applies is the similitative relation.

Similative of manner is metonymically derived from similitative of a type.
5.5.3 From event-nominalization (identificational) to manner predication

As discussed in §4.2.3, DE2 is attested as a nominalizer of events especially when the event is in contrastive focus. [X DE2] as an event nominalization construction, which originally only fulfills the role of a topic or a participant and is often in contrastive focus, may have been extended to function as a predicative complement, secondary predicate, or predicative without marking a focused element. This explanation suggests that the unit [X DE2], which denotes an event X, may expand its pragmatic (information packaging) function into the domain of predication along with the loss of preference over contrastive contexts. The predicative-related functions may therefore be an extension from the event nominalization function without necessarily involving focus or contrast.

5.5.3.1 DE2-marked stand-alone propositions

§4.2.2.3.1 discussed the functions of DE2 in the equational structure introduced by the copula shi, arguing that most such DE2-marked predicates are identificational statements. A DE2-marked expression may function as a proposition without a supporting element such as shi, such as (77).

(77) 這個你喍底。（張協）
    zhe ge ni chi di
    this CL 2S eat DE2
    ‘This is one that is meant for you (to take).’

Like DE2-marked event concepts functioning as contrastive topics and predicative nominals, most DE2-marked stand-alone propositions are associated with identificational contexts.

A DE2-marked independent proposition may function unambiguously as a counter-presuppositional statement, where the DE2-marked new proposition challenges
one part of an asserted (full/closed) proposition. A proposition-final DE2 (or DE2-marked stand-alone sentences) as a marker of a counter-presuppositional statement is often called a stance-marker. Such a function is already attested in *Zu Tang Ji*, as shown in (78).

(78) [1] wenshan yun sheme chu de zhe ge lai
PN say what place get this CL come
[2] dui yue wu zhe ge
respond say NEG.exist this CL
[3] jiashan yun zhe ge you bei lao seng zuo que di
PN say this CL still pass old monk sit cont DE2

[1] Wenshan says: ‘Where did you get this?’
[2] (Luopu) responds: ‘This does not exist.’
[3] Jiashan says: ‘The old monk is still sitting on this.’ (Lit. This one, the old monk is still sitting on.)

The passage in (78) is a philosophical debate between three monks about the ‘existence’ and ‘non-existence’ of reality. Wenshan’s initial inquiry in (78-1) about the object in question (a seat) is based on the assumption that the object exists, and Luopu contradicts this proposition by responding that the seat ‘does not exist’ in (78-2). Jiashan’s response in (78-3) contradicts the proposition in (78-2) by pointing out that the old monk is still sitting on the seat, thus it cannot be non-existent.

Two facts hold in the situation in (78). First, that the seat equals to the one that the old monk is sitting on, and second, that the old monk is sitting on the seat. The primary intention of the speaker in (78-3) is obviously not to equate the seat as something the old monk is sitting on, but to bring forth the proposition that the old monk is still sitting on the seat, so as to contradict the previous proposition that the seat is ‘non-existent.’ The sentence in (78-3) therefore involves foregrounding of the truthfulness of the proposition, and backgrounding of reference to the participant based on the additional information.
provided in the proposition. The foregrounding of pragmatic implicature is represented in (79).

(79) Foregrounding of pragmatic implicature (a > b)
a. Focus on participant [This = the one the old monk is still sitting on] 
b. Focus on truthfulness of proposition [Truth = the old monk is still sitting on this]

The function DE2-marked stand-alone proposition to mark contrast is not restricted to Buddhist texts. (80) illustrates a DE2-marked counter-presuppositional proposition in *Zhang Xie*, a drama script.

(80) [1] Jing [male character]: ‘The old lady has treasure; (how could) she not tell you (the old man)?’
[2] Muo [male character]: ‘(I) don’t know (indeed).’

(80) [1] Jing [male character]: ‘The old lady has treasure; (how could) she not tell you (the old man)?’
[2] Muo [male character]: ‘(I) don’t know (indeed).’

(80) [1] [淨]婆婆有寶。不與公公道。  —《張協狀元》
[2] [末]不知底。

[1] [jing]  
old.woman popo have bao treasure  
bu NEG with yu old.man say dao

[2] [muo]  
NEG bu zhi di know DE2

[1] Jing [male character]: ‘The old lady has treasure; (how could) she not tell you (the old man)?’
[2] Muo [male character]: ‘(I) don’t know (indeed).’

(Zhang Xie Zhuang Yuan, 12th-13th centuries)

The DE2-marked proposition *bu zhi di* in (72-2) contradicts the proposition in (72-1) which indicates that he (the male character *muo*) knows about the treasure.

5.5.3.2 Case study: DE2-marked stand-alone propositions and alternative strategies in three Buddhist texts

This section compares similar passages across three Buddhist texts where stand-alone DE2- or DE3-marked propositions in the form [Proposition-DE] are attested. These DE-marked stand-alone propositions constitute an intermediate semantic hybrid category where DE2 and DE3 overlap in distribution, involving mixed contextual information in terms of different parameters that define the construction prototypes.
Some varieties allow the extension of \([X \text{DE}2]\) from event nominalization to manner predication without any focused element involved. Independent \([\text{Proposition-DE}2]\) is more common as an answer to Buddhist “riddles” packed as information questions, similar to the English question \([\text{What/how/which is } X?]\) answered by \([(X \text{is}) \ldots \text{Prop}].\)

An independent \([X-\text{DE}2]\) in this context may be interpreted as an ordinary predicative without an overt subject, either with the event \(X\) itself as the predicate, or as a classificational statement ‘(Sbj is) an \(X\) one’. Because the \([X-\text{DE}2]\) expression is often a focused or contrasted element, the occurrence \(\text{DE}2\) may also be marking the information packaging function. The independent propositions marked by \(\text{DE}2\) thus seem to be a transitional stage between event nominalization as predicatives and participant nominalization as classificational statements (or identificational vs. predicational).

This oral tradition is documented in \(\text{Zu Tang Ji}\) and preserved in subsequent Buddhist texts. Because they often relate allegorically to abstract philosophical concepts, it can be somewhat obscure what \([X-\text{DE}2]/\text{DE}3]\) is actually attributed to or predicated of. In addition, the questions are not always addressed directly – the answers to such questions can focus on a referent, a property or an event as a general suggestion. Despite the occasional elusive nature of the real denotation of the proposition, the three Buddhist texts \(\text{Zu Tang Ji (AD 952)}, \text{Jing De Chuan Deng Lu (AD 1004)}, \text{and Wu Deng Hui Yuan (AD 1252)}\) document several similar anecdotes and debates among Buddhist monks. The overlaps and differences in linguistic structures, specifically the selection between \(\text{DE}2\)-, \(\text{DE}3\)-, and zero-marked propositions provide a ground for analyzing the semantic, pragmatic, and morphophonological contexts for a particular construction to be selected.

In \(\S 5.5.3.2.1-4\), where applicable, the contexts attested with a \(\text{DE}2\)-marked stand-alone
proposition in Zu Tangji will be jointly discussed with passages narrating the same anecdotes in Jing De Chuan Deng Lu and Wu Deng Hui Yuan as a comparison of the possible strategies that may be used in a similar context. The passages from the three different texts will be listed in parallel for ease of comparison, with text from Zu Tang Ji, Jing De Chuan Deng Lu and Wu Deng Hui Yuan labeled as #Z, #J, and #W, respectively. Attested examples from non-Buddhist texts are also included in discussion.

5.5.3.2.1 Focus/contrastive

Example (81) shows two versions of the same dialogue documented in Wu Deng Hui Yuan and Jing De Chuan De Lu. Both conversations involve a DE2-marked proposition as a counter-presuppositional statement, similar to (78) and (80) discussed above.

(81) [1] (#J) 宋曰。道也者不得。 (景德傳燈錄)
[1] (#W) 宋曰。若是道也著不得。 (五燈會元 4)

[2] (#J) 師曰。 有着不得？ 無著不得？ (景德傳燈錄)
[2] (#W) 師曰。是有著不得？ 是無著不得？ (五燈會元 4)

[3] (#J) 宋曰。總不恁麼。 (景德傳燈錄)
[3] (#W) 宋曰。總不恁麼。 (五燈會元 4)

[4] (#J) 師曰。著不得底。 (景德傳燈錄)
[4] (#W) 師曰。著不得底裡！ (五燈會元 4)

1 [1] (#J) song yue dao ye zhuo-bu-de
[1] (#W) song yue ruo shi dao ye zhuo-bu-de
PN say if be say also make-NEG-get.DE1

[2] (#W) shi yue shi you zhuo-bu-de shi wu zhuo-bu-de
master say be exist make-NEG-DE1 be not.exist make-NEG.DE1

3 [3] (#J) song yue zong bu renme
[3] (#W) song yue zong bu renme
PN say all NEG such
The conversation involves a philosophical debate about existence, and whether an understanding of existence vs. nothingness can be achieved by speech. The proposition in (81-4), suggesting that ‘it cannot be done’, contradicts what is proposed in (81-3), that the discussion or question proposed in (81-2) is itself inappropriate. By proposing an answer to the question in (81-3) - that it cannot be done - (81-4) contradicts the presupposition brought forth by (81-2). The DE2-marked proposition in *Wu Deng Hui Yuan* is marked with an additional final-particle, which further strengthens the element of contrast. In both texts, the proposition is marked by DE2. Notice that in addition to the element of contrast, the proposition is a complex negative potential expression, *zhuo-bu-de*, a pattern not attested with DE3.

### 5.5.3.2.2 Propositions where there is an information gap

Another context for a DE2-marked proposition to appear is as the answer to an information question, as in (82).

(82) [1] (#Z) 問。不歷古今事如何?
[1] (#J) 問。不歷古今時如何?
[1] (#W) 問。不歷古今時如何?

[2] (#Z) 師云。卓朔底。
[2] (#J) 師曰。卓朔地。
[2] (#W) 師曰。卓朔地。
[3] (#Z) 又問：歷古今事如何？
[3] (#J) 曰：古今事如何？
[3] (#W) 曰：古今事如何？

[4] (#Z) 師云。任爛底。
[4] (#J) 師曰。任爛。
[4] (#W) 師曰。任爛。

[1] (#Z) wen bu li gu jin shi ru-he
[1] (#J) wen bu li gu jin shi ru-he
[1] (#W) wen bu li gu jin shi ru-he
ask NEG undergo past present matter time like-what

[2] (#Z) shi yun zhuoshuo di (DE2)
master say vigorous/outstanding DE2 DE3

[3] (#Z) you wen li gu jin shi ru-he
[3] (#J) yue gu jin shi ru-he
[3] (#W) yue gu jin shi ru-he
again ask say undergo past present matter like-what

[4] (#Z) shi yun ren lan di (DE2)
[4] (#J) shi yue ren lan ø
[4] (#W) shi yue ren lan ø
master say let rotten DE2 ø

[1] (#Z) ‘(The pupil) asked: “What about the matter of not experiencing the past and the present?/ Not experiencing the past and the present, what about it?”’
[1] (#J) (#W) ‘(The pupil) asked: “What about the time (when) one does not experience the past and the present?/ When not experiencing the past and the present, what about it?”

‘It is a matter of being vigorous/outstanding.’

[3] (#Z) ‘(The pupil) asked again: “What about the matter of experiencing the past and the present?”/ The matter of experiencing the past and the present, what about it?’
[3] (#J) (#W) ‘(The pupil said)’: What about the matter of the past and the present?”
‘The matter of the past and the present, what about it?’

For a discussion about the structural ambiguities involved in this particular context, refer to (31)-(32) in §4.2.2.2.
The master said: “Let (it) rot (= let it be).” [(A case of) letting it be.]

The master said: ‘Let (it) rot.’ (=let it be).

The speaker in (82) asks two sets of information questions in seek of the hearer’s comments on two conditions – not experiencing the past and the future, and experiencing the present and the future. The information questions are initiated by the interrogative word ruhe ‘how/what, lit. like-what’ originated from a similative combined with an interrogative pronoun. The hearer’s responses to these questions are two sets of expressions, the first a property concept, and the second an event concept, both marked by DE2. The responses include a property expression zhuoshuo ‘vigorous/outstanding’, which has no clear referent in the discourse, and an action ren lan ‘lit. let rot’ as a suggestion to the hearer.

Example (83) is attested in Zu Tang Ji, where DE2 is also extended to mark regular predication.

(83) 　[1]问：如何是皮？
       [2]師云：分明個底。
       [3]如何是骨？
       [4]師云：綿密個。
       [5]如何是髓？
       [6]師云：”更密于密。"

      （祖堂集。卷十。鏡清）

      [1] wen  ru-he  shi  pi
        ask   like-what COP skin

      [2] shi  yun  fen-ming  ge  di
        master say  distinct-clear COL DE2

      [3] ru-he  shi  gu
        like-what COP bone

      [4] shi  yun  mian-mi  ge
        master say  fine-dense COL

      [5] ru-he  shi  sui
        like-what COP marrow
In example (83), the skin, bone, and bone marrow are commonly used metaphors among Buddhist monks as allegories to varying degrees of understanding to knowledge. In this case, the three elements have not been established in the previous discourse, but are shared knowledge among the interlocutors. The answers to the questions ‘What is the skin?/the bone?/the bone marrow?’ illustrate that the answer can identify a type (defined by a property) or a property (the property associated with the referent). The first two answers, marked by \( \text{DE}^2 \) and/or the classifier \( \text{ge} \), is ambiguous between identification of a generic type and a property associated with a type, suggesting that the skin is ‘(a) clear and distinct (one)’ and the bone is ‘(a) fine and dense (one)’, while the last answer identifies the property of the bone marrow ‘denser than dense’. The focused element (answer to information question) need not be overtly marked, thus it is difficult in a way to know whether \( \text{DE}^2 \) is really marking focus or is simply there as a marker of a predicated property.

Example (84) is a different conversation documented in \textit{Wu Deng Hui Yuan}, but the speaker in (84) seems to have a similar content to the answer in (83). The proposition involving \textit{fenming} in (84), while also clearly linked to the event-nominalization function, is marked only by the classifier-derived \( \text{ge} \). [nominalization of event > assertive]
(84) 师曰。汝識某甲否。曰。分明箇。（五燈卷3 洪州百丈山懷海禪師）

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>shi</th>
<th>yue</th>
<th>ru</th>
<th>shi</th>
<th>mou-jia</th>
<th>fou</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>master</td>
<td>say</td>
<td>2s</td>
<td>recognize</td>
<td>somebody</td>
<td>not</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

yue fenming ge
say distinct-clear CL
‘The monk says: do you know “somebody” or not?’
‘(The other monk) says: ‘Clear(ly).’ (Or: It is clear./(The matter) is a clear (one).)’

(Wu Deng Hui Yuan, AD 1252)

The following example from Wu Deng Hui Yuan (a similar passage is also attested in Jin De Chuan Deng Lu) further confirms that the independent DE2 proposition construction is highly associated with focus. In Wu Deng Hui Yuan (and Jing De Chuan Deng Lu), DE2 is rarely employed in predication unless as an identificational or classificational statement, and DE3 serves as the primary marker of reduplicated predicative properties. The reduplicated property, jiji, which is primarily associated with DE3-predicatives, is marked by DE2 here, followed by an exclamatory/interrogative particle ni which clearly marks a focused element.

(85) [1] (#J)(#W) 問。寂寂無依時如何。 (五燈8 景德傳燈錄)
[2] (#J)(#W) 師曰。寂寂無聲! (五燈8 景德傳燈錄)

[1] (#J)(#W) wen jiji wu yi shi ru-he
ask lonely/silent NEG rely time like-what

[2] (#J)(#W) shi yue jiji di ni master say lonely/silent DE2 PRT

[1] (#J)(#W) ‘The pupil asked: “What to do when one is alone with nothing to rely on?”’
[2] (#J)(#W) ‘The master said: Alone and silent!’ (It is the case of being alone and silent!)

5.5.3.2.3 Predicative and identificational

Example (86) illustrates a situation where a DE2-marked reduplicated property as a proposition, tangtangmimi di, appears as a predicative statement in Zu Tang Ji.
Tangtangmimi is often used in Buddhist texts to depict the state of truth being easily perceivable and reflected in all matters of existence.

Here there is no contextual information on what the proposition is predicated of, thus the hearer responds with an information question inquiring about the subject of the proposition, What is Prop? (Prop = dangdang mimi di). The two occurrences of the propositions tamgtangmimi/dangdangmimi (which are variant phonetic forms) can both
be translated either as a predicative property, i.e. “unconcealed and omnipresent”, or a
classificational statement “(an) unconcealed and omnipresent (one).” The first occurrence
of tangtangmimi is predicational in both interpretations, but the second time it appears as
a focused element because it is the topic of an information question. In Zu Tang Ji, the
master’s responses are both marked by DE2. In Jing De Chuan Deng Lu, DE2 is replaced
by DE3 in the first response, and the second answer is unmarked.

Another example that involves identificational/predication ambiguity is shown in
(87).

(87) [1] (#Z) 师云：東湖水滿也未？ (祖堂集)
     [1] (#W) 师云：洞庭湖水滿也未。 (五燈會元)
[2] (#Z) 對云：未。 (祖堂集)
[2] (#W) 曰：未。 (五燈會元)
[3] (#Z) 师云：如許多時雨，水尚未滿！ (祖堂集)
[3] (#W) 師曰。許多時雨。水為甚麼未滿。 (五燈會元)
[4] (#Z) 道吾云：滿也。 (祖堂集)
[4] (#W) 道吾云。滿也。 (五燈會元)
[5] (#Z) 雲巖云：湛湛底。 (祖堂集)
[5] (#W) 雲巖云。湛湛地。 (五燈會元)

  [1] (#Z) shi yun dong-hu shui man ye wei
  [1] (#W) shi yun dongting-hu shui man ye wei
        monk say PN-lake water full also not_yet

  [2] (#Z) dui yun wei
       (W) yue wei
        respond say not_yet

  [3] (#Z) shi yun ru-xu duo shi yu
       (W) shi yue xu duo shi yu
        monk say as-such much time rain

  (#Z) shui shang wei man
  (#W) shui wei sheme wei man
        water still for what not_yet full

       (#W) Daowuyun man ye
        PN say full PRT
The monk said: ‘Is the water in Donghu Lake full or not?’

The monk said: ‘Is the water in Dongting Lake full or not?’

(The other monk) responded: ‘Not yet.’

(The other monk) said: ‘Not yet.’

The monk said: ‘It has been raining for such a lot of time, and the water is still not full yet?!’

The monk said: ‘It has been raining for such a lot of time. Why is the water not full yet?’

Daowu said: “(The lake) is full.”

Daowu said: “(The lake) is full.”

Yuyan said: “(It is) full and deep.” (It is) a full and deep one./’It IS full and deep.’

Yuyan said: “(It is/IS) full and deep.”

The descriptive element, *zhanzhan*, is marked by DE2 in *Zu Tang Ji*, and by DE3 in *Wu Deng Hui Yuan*. [X-DE] in (87) has a recoverable subject referent in the discourse, the Donghu Lake. *Zhanzhan di* ‘full and deep’ is predicated of the Donghu Lake, either as a regular predicative property ‘full and deep’ (with DE2-marked expression referring to the property itself) or as a classificational statement ‘a full and deep one’. The proposition *zhanzhan* may be conceptualized a regular predicative involving no contrast, which is adding to Daowu’s comment that the lake is full, or it may be conceptualized as a counter-presuppositional statement further contrasting the previous monk’s response that the lake is not full yet.

5.5.3.2.4 An overall comparison between similar passages in three Buddhist texts

The following is a comparison between several similar passages related to DE2-marked propositions in three Buddhist texts *Zu Tang Ji, Jing De Chuan Deng Lu*, and *Wu Deng Hui Yuan*, which document a fair amount of overlapping dialogues between monks.

A DE2-marked proposition in one text may be marked by DE3 or unmarked in another text.
The attested instances (including their morphophonological patterns and contexts) represent clusters of parameters characteristic of typical DE2 and DE3 constructions, thus speakers may resort to either construction, or even the unmarked strategy to encode an expression in such a context. The prototypical features that are associated with the constructions are listed in (88) (R=reduplication, *=unspecified).

(88)  | Syntactic function | Pragmatics/Info. | Pattern | Semantics |
-----|--------------------|-----------------|---------|-----------|
     | DE2: Topic/Argument| Referent-marking| Non-R > R| Event/action > property |
     |                    | Identificational|         |            |
     |                   |                |         |            |
     | DE3: Predicative   | *               | R > Non-R| Descriptive property |
     |                   |                |         |            |
     | Zero:              | *               | *        | *          |

Overall, the patterns remain similar for Chuan Deng Lu and Wu Deng, where property predication, whether contrastive or not, is predominantly marked by DE3, as opposed to the pattern in Zu Tang Ji, where DE2 is used for both propositions in identificational contexts and regular predicatives, regardless of their morphophonological patterns.

A comparison between the similar passages involving DE2-marked stand-alone propositions in three Buddhist texts is provided in Table 5.6.
Table 5.6 A comparison between similar passages involving DE2-marked stand alone propositions (#: unmarked, --: not applicable)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Referent</th>
<th>Pred. Nominal</th>
<th>Iden -</th>
<th>Contrast</th>
<th>Info gap</th>
<th>Predicative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
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<td>✓</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pattern</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>CX</th>
<th>CX</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Semantics</td>
<td>Proper -ty</td>
<td>Property</td>
<td>Property</td>
<td>Property</td>
<td>Proper -ty</td>
<td>Action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text</td>
<td>DE2</td>
<td>DE2</td>
<td>DE2</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>DE2</td>
<td>DE2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zu Tang Ji 祖堂集</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>DE3</td>
<td>#</td>
<td>DE2</td>
<td>DE3</td>
<td>#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chuan Deng Lu 景德傳燈錄</td>
<td>DE3</td>
<td>DE3</td>
<td>#</td>
<td>DE2</td>
<td>DE3</td>
<td>#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wu Deng Hui Yuan 五燈會元</td>
<td>DE3</td>
<td>DE3</td>
<td>#</td>
<td>DE2</td>
<td>DE3</td>
<td>#</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.6 Semantic maps

The predicative-related functions of DE2 are more established in three of the texts, *Zu Tang Ji, Zhang Xie Zhuang Yuan, and Xi Xiang Ji*. The predicative functions of DE2 developed from two primary paths: (i) from DE2-marked non-prototypical modification to (secondary) predication, (ii) from nominalization/identificational constructions to (secondary) predication. Section 5.6 presents the semantic maps of secondary predication based on the two developmental paths for DE2-marked predicative functions.

The first map, shown in Figure 5.1, illustrates the path from attribution to (secondary) predication by way of non-prototypical modification. Notice that the extensions in semantic and information-packaging functions follow the same trajectory for pre-nominal and post-nominal nominal modification.
Figure 5.1 From non-prototypical modification to secondary predication

pre-nominal: [Mod DE2 N]
post-nominal: [N Mod DE2]

Especially in Xi Xiang Ji, the extension of DE2 into secondary predication is more apparently associated with the descriptive nature of the text, which exhibits a more liberal use of DE2-marked non-restrictive nominal modification with descriptives, and the ambiguity between secondary predication and non-restrictive modification (see a more detailed discussion and comparison with DE3-marked attributives in Ch6).

Another major path involves the extension of DE2-marked nominalization/identificational constructions into regular predication, most well-attested in Zu Tang Ji and Zhang Xie. The correlation between focus-marking and predicative-related functions in Zu Tang Ji and Zhang Xie is listed in Table 5.7. Stand-alone expressions, where the DE2-marked expression seems to be the whole proposition, instead of the predicate alone, are also listed for ease of comparison.

Table 5.7 DE2-marked predicative-related functions and focus-marking in Zu Tang Ji and Zhang Xie

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zu Tang Ji</th>
<th>Non-focus</th>
<th>Possible focus</th>
<th>Focus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Zu Tang Ji</td>
<td>Zhang xie</td>
<td>Zu Tang Ji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary predicate</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stand-alone (Including answer)</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predicative</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complement</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Overall, 42% (16/38) of the DE2-marked predicative-related functions attested in Zu Tang Ji and Zhang Xie are likely associated with focus-marking. DE2 appears to be highly associated with focus-marking in stand-alone expressions, and moderately
correlated with focus-marking in secondary predicates. DE2-marked predicatives and predicative complements are not associated with focus-marking in these two texts.

In sum, there are several possible developmental paths of DE2 from a marker of referentiality and a marker of predicative events in different texts. In Zu Tang Ji and Zhang Xie, the semantic extension seems to form a continuum in a conceptual space. DE2 as a participant nominalizer has not only been semantically extended to refer to an event in focus, but also develops other non-referential functions. The syntactic expansion of the [X DE2] pattern from arguments/topics to predicatives and secondary predicates is first enabled by its semantic expansion to encode event concepts. The semantically general [X DE2], which represents ‘an event X’ as the topic or arguments is then extended to mark a manner, condition, or an event that functions as a secondary predicate/primary predicate via analogy to the existing modifying-event schema. The same extension is also observed in Wu Deng, though its rarity suggests a much less degree of conventionalization. In Wu Deng, the few DE2-marked predicatives and secondary predicates is associated with DE2-marked topic (see (45)) and stand-alone constructions (see §5.5.3.2), and predicative complement in contrastive focus (see (53)). They demonstrate developmental paths for DE2 similar to those in Zhu Tang Ji and Zhang Xie, only with less entrenchment of DE2 in the predicative-related schemas.

These uses represent an extension of the event-nominalization function, as well as the loosening of a pragmatic constraint. Because of the loss of preference over focused elements, DE2 is able to appear as a manner-denoting light noun without marking focused elements. The loosening of pragmatic constraint from a focused element to a neutral one probably occurs simultaneously with the incorporation of [X-DE2] into the modifying
event schema, where DE2 serves merely as a particle attached to the modifying event. [X-DE2] competes with [X-DE3], and is sometimes incorporated (though not always prominently) as one of the subschemas in the [Modifying event PRT] network, but in all the texts, DE3 is always available as a marker for predicative-related functions.

The nominalization and predicative-related functions of DE2 can be arranged as connected regions of a conceptual space. The following figure shows the semantic map of the related functions of [X DE2] in Zu Tang Ji, Zhang Xie, and Wu Deng, with the predicative-related functions shown in blue.

**Figure 5.2 Developmental paths of DE2 from nominalization/identificational into predication (Zu Tang Ji, Wu Deng Hui Yuan, Zhang Xie Zhuang Yuan)**

The conceptual category of predicative complements is only half-colored in blue because some predicative complements also function like arguments. The figure shows that the predicative functions may develop directly from either event nominalization (linked by solid lines) or participant-nominalization (linked by dotted lines). The pragmatic context preferred by event nominalization, +focus, is enclosed in parentheses in the predicative functions, which shows that the preference over identificational contexts for event-denotation becomes less salient for predicative functions. The same figure may apply to Zhang Xie Zhuang Yuan, (thought there are no attested instances of
event-nominalization attested as contrastive topics) with the focus-marking function becoming less relevant in most predicative-related functions.

5.7 Asymmetric collocational preferences for different functions

Though a less common pattern, data shows that participant-nominalizers may extend to mark events, including manner and states in predication. A potential issue with both developmental paths proposed in §5.6 for DE2-marked predicatives is that in both cases, DE2 is expected to retain to some extent its collocational preferences in headless modifier constructions, including both participant and event nominalization.

In Chapter 4, we have demonstrated that collocation with reduplicated templates is generally disfavored by the major DE2-marked constructions, including (pre-nominal) and headless attributives. Now we will examine the overall tendency of DE2-collocates including the minor functions of DE2. The distribution of DE2-marked reduplicated and non-reduplicated templates in different functions is listed in Table 5.8.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 5.8 Reduplication and DE2-marked expressions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Functions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raw frequency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Attributive [X-DE2 N]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Postposed attributive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Ind/Answer/Stand-alone (event)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Secondary predicate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Predicatives/complements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Ambiguous between adv/attr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.8 shows that the overall probability for reduplicated expressions to collocate with all functions of DE2 is only around 4% (75/1886) in my sample from Tang to Song-Jin Period⁵. The preference of DE2-attributives over non-reduplicated expressions is evidenced by the distribution of non-reduplicated vs. reduplicated patterns for all DE2-

---

⁵ Excluding lexicalized adverbs such as chedi 後底 and instances with demonstratives zhe-di, nen-di, zhi-nen-di, etc. (追底，併底，直底).
marked attributives (functions 1-3). An examination of the distribution of collocates of
the predicative-related functions, however, shows a much different tendency. Just like
DE3-marked predicatives, DE2-marked (secondary) predicates have a greater tendency to
collocate with reduplicated expressions. Although the overall frequency of DE2-marked
stand-alone predications is low, they seem to be an intermediate category for attributives
and predicatives – though there is a preference for non-reduplicated expressions, the ratio
is not as high as the DE2-marked attributives. The selectional preferences of DE2,
therefore, differ significantly for its referential and predicative functions. The semantic,
syntactic, pragmatic, and collocational patterns functions of DE2-marked nominalization
constructions and predicative-related constructions are summarized in Table 5.9.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 5.9 Parameters associated with different DE2-marked constructions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pattern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semantic-denotation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semantics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Function</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pragmatics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collocate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The asymmetry in collocational patterns for DE2-marked attributives and
predicatives raises certain issues among previous attempts to establish the paths of
development. We have proposed that a few DE2-marked secondary predicates, e.g.
manner demonstratives preferred for attributition, such as zhe-ban (這般), the marking of
temporal reference such as xin-lai-DE2 (新來底), are likely exclusive to DE2. Some
complex patterns serving as predicative complements, e.g. san fen zhi you yi fen di (手指
are also clearly more linked to the DE2-nominalization than the modifying event schema. The general collocational patterns for DE2-marked predicatives, however, are highly similar to those of DE3.

Most scholars do not have an issue acknowledging predicative complements such as DE2-marked complex expressions like the ones shown in (49) and (53) (*san fen zhi you yi fen di 三分只有一分底*) and (*sizhou dasheng zai Yangzhou chuxian di 幽州大聖在揚州出現底*) as an extension of the nominalization function of DE2, but are hesitant to view DE2-marked predicatives encoded in reduplicated patterns as derived from the nominalization function. The appearance of DE2-marked predicatives is sometimes called “intrusion into the territory of DE3”, but not much explanation is provided beyond the vague statement that they are “similar elements”. Liu (2008), for instance, refers to DE2 in (40) and (48) attested in *Zu Tang Ji* as a verbal-suffix (*chenyin di 沈吟底*, variant form *yinchen di 吃吟沈底*), once as a predicative complement, and twice as predicatives). Liu argues that it is a function of DE2 distinct from “a marker of descriptive expressions” that has later become obsolete, and does not link these cases of DE2 to the nominalization function.

In any case, the asymmetry in the probability of reduplicated templates calls for an explanation in terms of development. How would one explain the apparent sudden leap for the original DE2-marked headless modification construction into a new construction both different from the original construction in terms of the semantics and collocational preferences? Specifically, how did the reduplicated patterns, which are very unlikely to be nominalized by DE2 in the first place, get extended to event-predication from a DE2-marked nominalized event? How does a secondary predicate that is unlikely
to be applicable to a participant (which must be referring to the subevent/event-oriented property directly) be directly derived from participant-nominalization construction?

The difference in collocation may be explained by a partial inheritance of a general schema, or the loss of collocational constraint when the construction develops polysemous functions independent from the original construction. Collocational preferences are not associated with the markers DE2 or DE3 alone, but are also reflections of the prototypical pragmatic functions of a construction.

5.8 Conclusion

The development of DE2 into predicative and related constructions may be explained partly by naturalness of semantic extension, but it likely also involves analogy to existing networks, and a constant negotiation and reconceptualization of what a pattern represents in a variety. The degree of semantic extension differs in each variety represented by the text selected.

The discussion above aspires to show that a construction is a conceptual blueprint, a prototype consisting of multiple parameters. Contexts involving information associated with different parameters point to incongruence with the prototype – for example, incongruence of information packaging function and preferred morphophonological template may lead one speaker to opt for a strategy with reference to a specific parameter, but another speaker may make a choice based on another parameter.

The attested usage cannot be explained away by a single factor alone. The occurrence of DE2 or DE3 in overlapping contexts needs to be explained by a full-fledged examination of all relevant contextual factors, including construction-internal factors (morphophological pattern of the collocate, information packaging function, linear order,
and semantics) and external factors (e.g. the overall structure of the language, existing models for analogy).
Chapter 6

Minor Functions of DE3

6.1 Introduction

Chapter 6 introduces the nominal modification functions of DE3 attested in the 10th-13th centuries, along with the development of DE2 into the domain of secondary predication in similar contexts. As discussed in Chapter 4, DE3 is primarily associated with predicative functions, particularly secondary predication in this period. A DE3-marked secondary predicate typically appears in the pre-verbal position, and are highly associated with descriptive morphophonology, especially elements encoded via reduplication.

The minor patterns of DE3 developed partly due to a drift away from predicate “modification” (secondary predication) to referent modification. One possible path of development is via a postnominal modifier that is construed as belonging to the domain of reference (cf. DE2-marked postnominal modifiers in Chapter 5, which are modifiers construed as predications). Another path is via secondary predicates (particularly via the participant-oriented construal), where the depiction marked by DE3 is construed as modifying the referent rather than combining with the predication.

The functions occur in contexts that are intermediate between the prototypical (secondary) predication and the prototypical nominal modifier schemas, i.e. when the DE3-marked predicate modifier approaches a nominal modifier with respect to its syntagmatic structure (e.g. being adjacent to a nominal, particularly in the canonical pre-nominal modifier position), and/or information-packaging function (e.g. association with thetic and presentational contexts, where the boundary between a predicate and a nominal
modifier is blurred). Even when construed as a nominal modifier, DE3 still preserves its collocational preferences over specific morphophonological patterns and lexical items.

The minor functions of DE3 discussed in Chapter 6 include attributive modification (both pre-nominal and post-nominal) and cases that are ambiguous between attributive modification and (secondary) predication.

6.2 Post-nominal modifiers

Crosslinguistically, it is common for non-restrictive modifiers to occur in the post-nominal position, often as afterthought expressions. In Mandarin, non-restrictive modification can appear in the post-nominal position without extra marking. It is similar to the so-called “adjoined relative clauses”, which involve two juxtaposed clauses, one is “subordinated” and seemingly adverbial in function, but has a shared participant with the other clause, which can be construed as the head and the subordinate clause construed as adverbial. Example (1) is the Mandarin translation of the famous Warlpiri example of an adjoined relative clause in Hale (1976).

(1) 我射中一隻鴨鵝在喝水。
   wō shè zhòng yī zhī érmíáo zài hē shǔǐ
   1s spear hit one CL emu at drink water
   ‘I speared an emu, which was drinking water.’

Example (1) is also what Li and Thompson (1981:611ff) call “descriptive clauses”. Van der Auwera and Malchukov (2005) refer to these as appositive relative clauses marked by verb serialization. These “descriptive clauses” provide additional information about a newly-introduced referent. Li and Thompson distinguish such post-nominal clauses/expressions from pre-nominal relative clauses, suggesting that the former provides an “incidental description”, while the latter indicates a “pre-established class”, as shown in (2) and (3). Note that both are non-restrictive in the following contexts.
(2) He wears a shirt which is too big.
\[ tā chuān le yī jiàn tài dà de shàngyī \]
3s wear PF one CL too big DE shirt
‘He wears a shirt which is too big.’

(3) He wears a shirt too big.
\[ tā chuān le yī jiàn shàngyī tài dà \]
3s wear PF one CL shirt too big
‘He wears a shirt, which is (happens to be) too big.’

6.2.1 DE2- and DE3-marked expressions

Previously in §5.2.1, we discussed DE2-marked post-nominal modifiers, suggesting that they are nominals in apposition to its head. In line with the general rarity of descriptive headless anaphoric modifiers with DE2, post-nominal DE2-marked descriptive properties are uncommon in the Song Dynasty (see §5.2.1.3).\(^1\) DE3-expressions are occasionally attested as attributive modifiers, both in the pre-nominal and post-nominal position. An [X-DE3] expression alone can establish the property/state of X being true (a predication and a condition/circumstance), but it cannot refer to a generic category possessing the quality X (one who/which X). The DE3-marked expression in (4), for example, is only interpretable as a property of the monks, but cannot be construed as establishing a category based on the property, i.e. ‘unreliable ones.’

\(^1\) Here are two examples in the Sung Dynasty.

(1) Yet one cannot get rid of this blue one.
\[ yī she bu de ze ge cangcang di \]
also rid.of NEG DE1.get this CL blue.REDU DE2
‘Yet one cannot get rid of this blue one.’

(2) I fear that it only deals with these numerous disorderly ones, then what good is it?
\[ dan kong zhī liao ta fenfen di \]
but fear only end? 3 numerous.disorderly.REDU DE2
\[ ze yì he yī \]
then also what good
‘I fear that it only deals with these numerous disorderly ones, then what good is it?’

(Zhu Zi Yu Lei, AD 1270)

(He Nan Cheng Shi Yi Shu, circ.12th century)
Because DE3 cannot turn a non-nominal concept into a referring expression, a DE3-marked expression by itself cannot be interpreted as a participant, unlike DE2-attributives, which are genuine cases of a null anaphoric or a generic head construction (a referring phrase) functioning as modifiers. However, given the proper context, a DE3-marked expression can be reanalyzed as being in the domain of reference, and thus be interpreted as an attributive modifier.

The attested cases of DE3-marked “modifiers”, unlike DE2-modifiers, are not instances of anaphoric/generic head constructions, but are predicatives (secondary predicates) re-interpreted as modifiers. Most DE3-marked nominals are neo-analyzed based on other contextual parameters (pragmatic and structural contexts), and are often still interpretable as predicatives.

6.2.2 DE3-marked post-nominal attributives

A non-restrictive modifier in the post-nominal position is a plausible position for DE2 and DE3 to overlap in function. While a DE2-marked headless expression becomes structurally closer to a predicate in the post-nominal position, a DE3-marked post-nominal expression may be interpreted as belonging to the domain of reference. DE2 and DE3, then, are approaching the same function from opposite directions.

An essential criterion is the presence of a nominal, which can be re-interpreted as the head of the DE3 expression. Adjacency to the nominal head is also an important contextual trigger for the attributive interpretation of an [X-DE3]. If there is an
intervening element between a nominal and an [X-DE3] expression, the [X-DE3] expression is much less likely to be interpreted as an attributive modifier.

DE3-marked post-nominal modifiers are difficult to identify, since most cases that can be read as a non-restrictive modifier can also be interpreted as predicatives. When a post-nominal DE3-marked expression is in the middle of a serial chain, it has the potential to be interpreted as a predicative property, a non-restrictive modifier, as well as a preposed adjunct. There are a few cases where a detached DE3-expression might be interpreted as a (postposed) non-restrictive modifier (e.g. *lujiongjiong-di* in (107), §4.3.4.3), but in these cases the predicative/secondary predicate interpretation is still preferred. Since there are other elements (mostly other predicates) between the nominal and the DE3-marked expression, it seems more desirable to analyze these cases as belonging to the domain of predication, instead of the domain of reference, which is not a prototypical function of DE3.

A DE3-descriptive is more likely to be interpreted as a non-restrictive modifier when it appears after a newly introduced participant in the presentational construction. In such cases, the DE3-marked expression is simply one of the juxtaposed descriptive clauses in the serial chain, which constitutes part of the information introduced by the presentational construction.

(5) 有一大事在爾尿囊裏粪堆頭。光燦燦地 круг陀陀地。 (景德傳燈錄)

"There is a great matter in your urine bag, on your dunghill, glitteringly bright, smoothly round."

*(Jing De Chuan Deng Lu, AD 1004)*
When adjacent to the nominal in a presentational construction, a DE3-marked expression is both functionally and structurally close to postnominal modifier.

(6) 有人長歡喜，有人嘆追迫地。 (祖堂集)

\[\text{you ren chang huanxi you ren chen-popo di} \]
exist person long happy exist person upset-ideo DE3

‘There are people (who are) always happy; there are people (who are/appear to be) upset.’

(7) 只聽得書舍裡，一聲仆地。 (董西廬)

\[\text{zhi ting-de shu-she li yi sheng pu-di} \]
only hear-de1 book-house in one sound ideo-de3

‘One only hears inside the study, there is a sound going pu.’

(Zu Tang Ji, AD 952)

Notably, the DE3-marked expression in this context is more naturally translated as a relative clause, instead of a predicative.

A DE3-marked expression as may be interpreted as a postposed modifier when the NP and the DE3-expression jointly functions as a predicative complement:

(8) 不應有文字軟郎當地 (朱子語類)

\[\text{bu ying you yi wenzi ruan-langdang di} \]
NEG should exist one word soft-bulky.ideo de3

‘There shouldn’t be a word being feeble/that is feeble.’

(Zhu Zi, AD 1270)

In (8), the DE3-marked expression is a predicative property that the speaker believes shouldn’t be possessed by the head, i.e. there shouldn’t be a word (by the author) feeble. Such an expression is semantically close to a restrictive clause that defines a subset of the head, i.e. there shouldn’t be a word (by the author) that is feeble. The different semantic nuances are illustrated below via two English translations.

There shouldn’t be a word \[ ((\text{being}) \text{ feeble}) \] \text{PREDICATE} 

[that is feeble] \text{MODIFIER}
In fact, the DE3-marked expression in (8) translates more properly into English as a relative clause, not a predicative property. Though DE3 does not have nominalizing and (referential) functions by itself, the attested examples suggest that a DE3-expression can enter the domain of reference in this context.

In (9) and (10), the nominal associated with DE3 is the product of a cognitive process. The nominal head is introduced into the discourse as the object complement of the perception predicate, and then elaborated by the DE3-marked modifier.

(9) 此又是見得一箇意思活潑潑地。（朱子語類）

`ci you shi jian de yi ge yisi huo-popo di`

this also COP see DE1 one CL meaning alive-vivacious.REDU DE3

‘This is also seeing the meaning (of the text) (as) vivacious.’

‘This is also seeing a meaning (of the text) (that is) vivacious.’

(Zhu Zi Yu Lei, AD 1270)

(10) 今看文字未熟，所以鵲突，都只見成一片黑漆漆地。（朱子語類）

`dou zhi jian cheng yi pian`

all just see become one CL

`hei-cuicui di`

black-completely_black.Ideo DE3

‘One simply sees (the meaning) as extensively, completely black (i.e. opaque).’

‘Lit. (One) simply sees (the meaning) as a vastness, which is completely black.’

(ibid.)

The nominal complements, yisi ‘meaning’ in (9) and the [numeral + classifier] construction yi pian ‘lit. one flat-surface’ in (10), may both be construed as a participant which the DE3-marked expression is predicated of. Alternatively, they may be construed as a nominal head with a postposed modifier marked by DE3. The DE3-marked modifier is intermediate between a non-restrictive and a restrictive. It is non-restrictive in the sense that the participant head respectively, has obviously been established in discourse by the presentational construction, while the subsequent DE3-marked expression is both predicating and (perhaps) in a sense, restricting it.
The [numeral + classifier] construction *yi pian* ‘lit. one flat-surface’ in example (10) incurs another type of ambiguity in that it does not actually refer to a participant, but instead presents an event of ‘being vast and extensive’. This is similar to the [numeral + noun] combination *yi sheng* ‘lit. one sound’ in (7) above, which functions more to report the event (that there is a sound) than to identify the sound. The presentation of an event via a nominal construction, as will be discussed in §6.3.2, is another intermediate category between referential and predicative constructions where \( \text{DE}_2 \) and \( \text{DE}_3 \) overlap in distribution.

Still another phenomenon leads us to revisit the association between \( \text{DE}_3 \) and deictic elements previously discussed in §4.4.4 (also see Table 4.10). Though \( \text{DE}_3 \)-marked expressions are non-referential in general, \( \text{DE}_3 \) can be attached to deictic elements (demonstratives) which refer anaphorically or deictically to an event, property, or condition. Note that manner deixis, such as *nen* ‘(as) such’ in (11), can also function independently.

(11) 說得來恁大，故人皆喜其快。纔不恁說，便不滿意，殊不知未是如此。(朱子語類)

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
\text{shuo-de-lai} & \text{nen} & \text{da} & \text{gu} & \text{ren} & \text{jie} & \text{xi} & \text{qi} & \text{kuai} \\
\text{say-DE1-come} & \text{such} & \text{big} & \text{so} & \text{person} & \text{all} & \text{like} & 3 & \text{brisk}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ccccccc}
cai & bu & nen & shuo & bian & bu & manyi \\
\text{just} & \text{NEG} & \text{such} & \text{say} & \text{then} & \text{NEG} & \text{satisfied}
\end{array}
\]

‘(He) speaks of it so broadly, thus people all like its briskness;’

‘(one) only does not speak of it as such, and people are not satisfied.’

(Zhu Zi Yu Lei, AD 1270)

As discussed in §4.4.3.2, there is a much higher preference for markers for anaphoric property/event in predication to collocate with \( \text{DE}_3 \).

(12) 師曰：若與摩地不疼痛作何摩？(祖堂)

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{ruo} & \text{yumuo-di} & \text{bu} & \text{tengtong} & \text{zuo-sheme} \\
\text{like} & \text{such-DE3} & \text{NEG} & \text{hurt} & \text{do-what}
\end{array}
\]

‘As such, how can it not hurt?’

(Zu Tang Ji, AD 952)
They did as such no matter what.

(Zhu Zi Yu Lei, AD 1270)

The [DEM-DE3] combination can function as a headless anaphoric expression, as in (14)-(15).

(14) 我不愛人恁地，此便是燒火不敬。（朱子）

wo bu ai ren nen-di
1S NEG like person such-DE3

ci bian shi shao huo bu jing
this then COP burn fire NEG respect
‘I do not like people doing this; this is kindling a fire without respect.’ (Referring to a child’s adding charcoal.)

(15) 只是如日用底道理，恁地是，恁地不是，事事理會得箇是處，便是道也。（朱子）

zhishi ru ri-yong daoli nen-di shi nen-di bu shi
just like daily principle such-DE3 proper such-DE3 NEG proper
‘Just like the daily principle – such is proper; such is improper.’

The construction, however, cannot refer to a participant without an overt nominal head.

De3-marked deictic elements will be discussed again in §6.3.1.

Aside from their DE-marked deictic elements, the primary functional difference between DE2 vs. DE3 postposed clauses seems to be the construal of “temporality” encoded by their morphophonological paradigms. The post-nominal non-restrictive modifier function is compatible with both DE2 and DE3, the former characterizing the participant head as an appositive NP, the latter providing transient descriptive information about the head as a predicative property. In general, DE2-marked expressions provide more permanent information (individual-level property) of the participant, and is therefore more clearly associated with the domain of reference than that of predication.
DE3-expressions, in line with their general descriptive function, relate to temporary, stage-level states of affairs, and therefore tend to be more easily associated with the subsequent predicate to form a depictive or manner expression.

Because the interpretation between a classifying DE2 and a descriptive DE3 expression in predication is dependent primarily on the morphophonological paradigms of the expression associated with it, when the original DE2 and DE3 constructions become increasingly similar phonetically, the distinction between a more inherent and a more temporary property is solely dependent on the morphological paradigm. When new patterns arise that do not fit into the existing schemas and can be interpreted either ways, along with the process of phonetic reduction rendering the two morphemes increasingly similar, one can no longer distinguish between a DE2 vs. DE3 marked post-nominal non-restrictive.

6.3 Pre-nominal DE3-marked attributives

A clear DE3-marked attributive appears in the [X DE3 N] pattern as the modifier of a referring expression. As discussed in the previous sections, attributive modification ([X DE2 N]) has been established as a primary function of DE2 by 12th-13th centuries, but DE3-marked attributives are sporadically attested in the Song Dynasty. Table 6.1 shows the distribution of collocational patterns of DE2 and DE3 attributives, including those ambiguous between attributives and secondary predicates. Notice that the statistics also include DE-marked deictic elements, which will be discussed again in 6.3.1.
Table 6.1 A comparison of DE2 and DE3-marked attributives (and cases ambiguous between attributives and secondary predicates)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>VI</th>
<th>VII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attr</td>
<td>Zu</td>
<td>Tang</td>
<td>Ji</td>
<td>Wu</td>
<td>Deng</td>
<td>Hui</td>
<td>Yu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>952</td>
<td>AD</td>
<td>1252</td>
<td>AD</td>
<td>12070</td>
<td>12-13 c.</td>
<td>12-13 c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DE2</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>382</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DE3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attr or SP</td>
<td>DE2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DE3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Attr = attributive, SP=secondary predicate)

A comparison between the distribution of DE2 vs. DE3-attributives in Table 6.1 shows that DE3-attributive is a much more peripheral pattern, which is hardly surprising, given that the DE3-expressions originated in predication. Table 6.1 also provides the distribution of DE3-marked expressions ambiguous between a (secondary) predicate and an attributive interpretation. The majority of DE3-marked attributives (excluding demonstratives) are attested in text VI (Xi Xiang Ji), which also exhibits a significantly higher number of cases ambiguous between nominal modifiers and secondary predicates both for DE2 and DE3. Notice that DE2-marked modifiers with such ambiguous construals are attested only in Xi Xiang Ji, in similar contexts with DE3 (also see §5.2.2).

6.3.1 Specific collocational preferences

DE3-marked attributives (including the ones that also have predicative interpretations) demonstrate the same pattern of collocational preferences as their predicative and secondary predicate functions, as shown in Table 6.2.
Table 6.2. Token and type frequencies of attested templates DE3-marked attributives (including ambiguous cases)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Token #</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Monosyllabic property/phononime</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disyllabic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regular property</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-reduplicated phononime</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduplicated templates</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AA</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABB</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AABB</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deictic/demonstrative</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUM</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As shown in Table 6.2, regular monosyllabic and disyllabic properties are rare with DE3-marked attributives. The attested expressions consist predominantly of reduplicated templates. A few non-reduplicated phononimes are also observed in the sample. These will be exemplified later in §6.3.2. A few manner demonstratives that highly favor DE3 over DE2 are also attested as attributive modifiers, predominantly in the form nen-di (恁地).

Though mostly attested in predication, the [DEM-DE3] combination seems to have become entrenched as a unit, and may function as an attributive determiner. Such a phenomenon is observed in Zhu Zi, Zhang Xie, and Xi Xiang, and Wu Dai Shi Ping Hua, although such usage is rare in general. Table 6.3 lists the distribution of DE3-marked demonstratives in attribution in the sample).

Table 6.3 DE3-marked manner demonstratives in attributive modification

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>VI</th>
<th>VII</th>
<th>VIII</th>
<th>SUM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bian Wen</td>
<td>Zu Tang Ji</td>
<td>Zhu Zi Yu Lei (1-10)</td>
<td>Wu Deng Hui Yuan</td>
<td>Liu Zhi Yuan</td>
<td>Zhang Xie Zhan g Yuan</td>
<td>Xi Xiang Ji</td>
<td>Wu Dai Shi Ping Hua</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attr</td>
<td>7-9 c.</td>
<td>952 AD</td>
<td>1270 AD</td>
<td>1252 AD</td>
<td>12-13 c.</td>
<td>12-13 c.</td>
<td>13 c.</td>
<td>13 c.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Att or SP</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DEM</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>All</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DEM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Attr = attributive, SP=secondary predicate)

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The combination *nen-di* (lit. such-DE3 恣地) appears to be especially entrenched in the text *Zhu Zi Yu Lei*. (Notice that for the text *Zhu Zi Yu Lei*, statistics is only shown for the first 10 chapters in Table 6.1-6.3). In the complete book of *Zhu Zi Yu Lei*, 1877 tokens of *nen-di* (such-DE3 恣地) are attested, among which 36 tokens are observed in the pre-nominal position to function as a determiner, and the rest are attested in secondary or primary predication. One token of *nenmuo-di* (lit. such-DE3 恣麼地), a variant of *nen-di* (lit. such-DE3 恣地), is also attested in attribution. As suggested in §4.5.2, this shows the entrenchment of the preferred combination *nen* (恁) and DE3 (地), both are highly preferred in predication.

(16) 子路自是恁地人，好物事，猶要與眾人共用了。（朱子語類）

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{zilu} & \text{zi} & \text{shi} & \text{nen} & \text{di} & \text{ren} \\
\text{PN} & \text{self} & \text{COP} & \text{that/such} & \text{DE3} & \text{person}
\end{array}
\]

‘Zilu is such a person for sure.’

(Zhu Zi Yu Lei, AD 1270)

*Nen-di* ‘such-DE3’ as an attributive determiner also appears to be synonymous with *zhe-ban* (這般) ‘this-kind, such’; the latter is predominantly used as an attributive determiner, but is occasionally attached to properties and events similar to *nen-di*, as illustrated by (17)-(18).

(17) 然而這一句說師，亦只說平常恁地師，卻不說是孔子這般師。（朱子語類）

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{raner} & \text{zhe} & \text{yi} & \text{ju} & \text{shuo} & \text{shi} \\
\text{however} & \text{this} & \text{one} & \text{sentence} & \text{speak} & \text{teacher}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{yi} & \text{zhi} & \text{shuo} & \text{pingchang} & \text{nen-di} & \text{shi} \\
\text{also} & \text{only} & \text{speak} & \text{ordinary} & \text{such-DE3} & \text{teacher}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
\text{que} & \text{bu} & \text{shuo} & \text{shi} & \text{kongzi} & \text{zhe-ban} & \text{shi} \\
\text{but} & \text{NEG} & \text{speak} & \text{COP} & \text{Confucius} & \text{this-kind} & \text{teacher}
\end{array}
\]

‘However, (when) this sentence speaks of teacher,’

‘it speaks of ordinary teachers as such,’

‘but (it) does not speak of such a teacher as Confucius.’

(Zhu Zi Yu Lei, AD 1270)
We have discussed in §4.4.4.5 that *zhe-ban* is not attested with DE3, but occasionally attested with DE2 in predication. The phenomenon appears to be conditioned both by the extension of typical information-packaging function, and by the local collocational preferences over DE2 or DE3.

There are only four instances of *nen* attested with DE2 (恁底) in *Zhu Zi Yu Lei*. Two of these are attested in attribution, e.g. (19), and two in secondary predication, e.g. (20) (=chapter 5, eg. (60). The combination is rare compared to the over 1877 tokens of *nen-di* (恁地 DE3) as predicative determiners, and the 37 tokens of *nen-di* (恁地 DE3) attested as attributive.

(19) 問：「孟子亦有恁底意否？」 (朱子語類)

*mengzi yi you nen di yi fou*
PN also have such DE2 meaning not

‘Does Mengzi also have such a philosophy or not?’

*(Zhu Zi, AD 1270)*

(20) 便都恁底胡叫胡說 (朱子 124)

*bian dou nen di hu jiao hu shuo*
then all as.suchDE2 reckless shout reckless speak

‘They then shout and speak recklessly as such.’

*(ibid.)*

In addition, there are three instances of *[nen-DE3 DE2 N] observed in Zhu Zi Yu Lei*, illustrated in (21).

(21) 只是恁地底人，一旦得高官厚祿，只是為害朝廷，何望其濟事？ (朱子語類)

*zhishi nen-di di ren yidan de go-guan*
however such-DE3 DE2 person once DE1.get high-position

*hou-lu zhishi wei hai chaoting*
generous-salary simply make damage court

‘However, such a person, once he obtains a high position and a generous salary, he simply does harm to the court.’

*(ibid.)*
The creation of these nominals illustrated above seems to be instantiated by two general schemas: (i) [Modifier/(determiner) PRT Head] schema, (ii) [Modifier/(determiner) Head] schema, illustrated below:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
[\text{DET } ] & \text{[Head]} \\
[\text{DET PRT Head}] & [\text{DET PRT Head}] & [\text{DET PRT Head}] \\
[nen \text{ DE3 N}] & [n en \text{ DE2 N}] & [n en \text{ DE3 DE2 N}] \\
\end{array}
\]

The manner deixis attested as attributive determiners seem to be more correlated with selectional preference of DE3 over specific items and the entrenchment of \([nendi(DE3)]\) as a unit. In addition, the \([n en \text{ DE3 N}]\) string also fits into the general [Modifier/determiner PRT Head] schema in structure. DE3 does not seem to be established as a marker of attributive modification as DE2 is in the \([X \text{ DE2 N}]\) and the headless \([X \text{ DE2}]\) constructions.

### 6.3.2 Information packaging, syntagmatic and semantic contexts

A DE3-marked expression in the pre-nominal position is more likely to be conceptualized as an attributive because it bears a structural resemblance to the canonical modifier-head pattern. An examination of the semantic, pragmatic, and structural contexts of the attested expressions suggest that the probability of interpreting an \([X-DE3]\) as an attributive is facilitated by the semantic relationship between the event encoded by DE3, the semantic association between DE3 and the nominal functioning as the head, and the event being reported.

#### 6.3.2.1 Pragmatic context

The typical function of a DE3-marked expression is to provide descriptive information, not to give a factual or defining criterion for restricting a category. Commonly, the DE3-marked modifier does not play a major role in restricting or
identifying the referent, but merely provides certain descriptive information about the 
participant.

A DE3-marked modifier may be non-restrictive because it is attributed to known 
discourse participants. Usually the identity of a participant is known, or is being 
established in the same statement the DE3-modifier appears. The nominal head refers to a 
specific participant, not a generic type, and the identity of the referent is contextually 
accessible and non-contrastive. This is most common in narratives, where the narrator is 
expected to give the reader (and in the case of drama scripts, the audience) some 
background and descriptive information about the participants.

DE3-marked modifiers of specific referents often appear in contexts often 
conceptualized as thetic, where the information presented, both the participant and the 
event, are new (Sasse 2006, also Croft in preparation).

6.3.2.1.1 Presentational (object-oriented)

The focus of a thetic construction may be to introduce a participant into the 
discourse. This is common in narratives, where a new participant is presented along with 
some additional information about it, illustrated in English by the second intonation unit 
from Chafe’s (1980) Pear Film narrative in (22). The additional information provided is 
often descriptive, here encoded by a non-restrictive relative clause in English. This 
deviates from the regular topic-comment structure, thus the extra information is not an 
ordinary predicate.

(22) Pear Film narrative:
   3,25  there are three other boys, 
   3,26  .who are there.

A presentational in Chinese is often introduced by the existential marker you, or a 
predicate of immediate perception, such as jian ‘see’ or ting ‘hear’. A noun introduced by
the presentational construction with a DE3-marked modifier with descriptive information is illustrated by (23). Because the identity of the participant is established by the presentational construction, the information encoded by the modifier is inconsequential to identifying the participant.

(23) 人這小路上去，那樹林深處，見一個小小地莊舍，僻靜田地裏，前臨剪徑道…(五代史平語)

na  shulin  shen  chu  
that  woods  deep  place

jian  yi  ge  xiaoxiao  di  zhuangshe
see  one  CL  small.REDU  DE3  adobe
‘In the depth of the woods, there is (lit. one sees) a small(ish) adobe…’
(Wu Dai Shi Ping Hua circ. 13th century)

The DE3-marked modifiers in (24)-(25) below describe the attire or a body part of the characters (the monk in (24), and the female character in (25)), whose identities are obviously known to the reader/audience based on their association with the possessor.

Example (24) is from the monologue of a monk in the drama, who reports his actions to the audience while performing them. The DE3-marked modifier merely provides descriptive information about the monk’s robe, whose identity is established as a result of being directly presented.

(24) 把破設設地僊衫揭起，手提着戒刀三尺 （董西廬）

ba  po-sheshe  de  pianshan  jie-jiang  qi
OBJ  broken-IDEO  DE3  monk.robe  take.up-take  rise
‘(The monk) takes up (his) ragged robe…’
(Xi Xiang Ji, 12th-13th c.)

Example (25) shows a DE3-attributive modifying Yingying, the main female character of the play Xi Xiang Ji, whose identity has already been established and is still active during the course of the play.
Presumably, the actors are visible to the audience, but a detailed scanning of all
the objects may not be visually accessible, especially given the usually impressionistic
acting style, costumes, and makeup of traditional Chinese theater. The vivid descriptive
imagery provided by the DE3-modifiers helps evoke the imagination of the audience as if
the graphic details are truly presented to them.

Clear instances of DE3-attributives like (23)-(25) above are not common. As
shown in Table 6.1, the majority of plausible DE3-marked attributes may alternatively be
interpreted as a (secondary) predicate. There are 26 instances of DE3 expressions that are
ambiguous between an attributive and a (secondary) predicate interpretation. Most of the
cases (21 out of 26) are attested in Xi Xiang Ji, and seem to be associated with a cluster of
semantic, pragmatic, and structural contexts. The following sections will discuss the
contexts where DE3-expressions may be interpreted as, or have come to be used as,
modifiers to nouns. It will become clear that DE3-attributives are sanctioned by the
strategy of simple juxtaposition for nominal attribution, are predominantly non-restrictive,
and have an alternative secondary predicate interpretation. Finally, as should be obvious
by now, there is a tendency for DE3-attributives to appear in descriptive discourse.

6.3.2.1.2 Event-reporting function

Aside from object-oriented presententials, the [X DE N] pattern (particularly R
DE3 N) is also highly associated with event-reporting thetic contexts. The focus of such
statements is to report an event, a state, or a situation, although the participants of the
event are also introduced into the discourse (Sasse 2006). Frequently observed scenarios include unexpected events, meteorological conditions (weather events, perceptual stimuli in the surroundings), body sensations, and scene-setting and descriptive clauses.

The association of DE3-marked attributives with the event-reporting function is especially significant in the drama script Xi Xiang Ji, when the actor (or narrator) is expected to provide an account of what is going on at the current moment while he is carrying out the action. The event-reporting function is associated with several structural, semantic, and pragmatic ambiguities, introduced below in §6.3.2.1.3.

6.3.2.1.3 Event-reporting and structural ambiguity of the [X-DE3 N Pred] pattern

The increase in [X-DE3 N] in specific descriptive passages, particularly in Xi Xiang Ji, may be partially attributed to its alignment with the “descriptive thetic” function, a strategy to present new participants and report on a current state of affairs especially common in verses (poems, etc.) in Old and Middle Chinese. The discourse template often involves a descriptive element in the initial position, immediately followed by the subject participant, then by an event predicated of the subject, in the pattern [Descriptive + N + (predicate)]. The predicate following the subject is often a relatively factual depiction. The schema is exemplified in (26)-(29).

Examples (26)-(27) are examples of object-oriented presentationalss, which introduce the yellow birds and the white horse as topics into the discourse (but note these also often serve as background scenery or are allegorical to the real themes of the poem).

(26) 交交黃鳥，止於棘。（詩。秦風。黃鳥）

jiao jiao  huang niao  zhi  yu  ji
sound, IDEO yellow bird  stop  at  thorn
‘Going jiao jiao, the yellow birds rest on the thorn.’
‘The yellow birds, (which) go jiao jiao, rest on the thorn.’

(Shi Jing, Qin Feng, 11th – 7th centuries BC)
(27) 靈靈白駒，在彼空谷。（詩。小雅。白駒）

\[ jiaojiao \quad bai \quad ju \quad zai \quad bi \quad kong \quad gu \]

bright white REDU white horse at that empty valley

‘(There is) a brightly white horse at that empty valley.’ [attributive]

‘Brightly white, there is a white horse, at that empty valley.’ [depictive]

(Shijing, Xiao Ya, 11th – 7th centuries BC)

The structure allows the speaker to provide some descriptive information about
the participant being introduced without disrupting the flow of information packaging.

Note that there are two sets of modifiers in (26)-(27), the descriptive element \( jiaojiao \)
‘ideophone’ appears before the simple descriptive \( huang \) ‘yellow’, and the reduplicated
\( jiaojiao \) ‘brightly white’ before the simple \( bai \) ‘white’. The order reflects iconically the
conceptual distance of the two property expressions from its head – the simple property
\( huang \) and \( bai \) express defining, permanent characteristics of the birds/the horse, while
the reduplicated expressions describe a dynamic manner that is cotemporal with the main
event of the clause in (26), and \( jiaojiao \) provides a transient, dynamic, vivid imagery of
whiteness and brightness.

Examples (28)-(29) may be construed as event-oriented thetic statements, with
‘the wind blowing’ and ‘the moon rising’ as describing background scenery, and the
reduplicated expressions providing subsidiary descriptive information. The descriptive
elements may, however, also be construed as modifying the nominal directly following it.

(28) 風吹風漸冷，淡淡月初生。（宋 陸游《泛舟至東村》詩）

\[ sousou \quad feng \quad jian \quad leng \]

sound IDEO wind gradual cold

\[ dandan \quad yue \quad chu \quad sheng \]

faint REDU moon initial born

‘The wind, which goes \( sousou \), gradually becomes cold; the moon, (which is) faint,
has just risen.’ [attributive]

‘Going \( sousou \), the wind gradually becomes cold; faint(ly), the moon has just risen.’
[depictive/manner]

(Poem of Lu Yiu, AD 12th century)
A few characteristics of the schema should however be noted. First, the same structure is exploited for both participant- and event-oriented thetic contexts. The probability of interpreting an instance as an object- or an event-oriented presentational is dependent on the pragmatic context and the semantic relations between the descriptive and the predicative. Second, there is no sharp formal distinction between non-restrictive attribution and (secondary) predication in presentational contexts. As shown by the translations, though the reduplicated expressions in (26) and (27) are more likely to be interpreted as non-restrictive attributives, a secondary predicate interpretation is nonetheless still accessible. (28)-(29) are more likely to be interpreted as secondary predicates than (26)-(27), but the attributive interpretations are equally plausible. The ambiguity between the attributive and the predicative interpretation of the descriptive element is schematized below, where the descriptive element is represented by R:

- Non-restrictive attributive: $[R-N]_{SUBJ} [Pred]$
- Secondary predicate: $[R]_{ADV/PRED} [N_{SUB}-Pred]$

Finally, there is often no extra marking on the descriptive element, since simple juxtaposition is commonly used for both attribution (appositive) and predication (depictive/manner) in Old and Middle Chinese.

Compared to the [NP Descriptive Predicate] structure, a descriptive before a nominal is more likely to be interpreted as a non-restrictive attributive and as a (secondary) predicate. This is true for both stative and dynamic concepts alike. Examples
(26)-(29) illustrate the lack of structural distinction between attribution and predication in such presentational contexts, where a participant is first introduced in the discourse, and some information about it is provided simultaneously.

In Chinese oral literature (including drama scripts), there is a tradition for the actors to give an account of the on-going events as they act. These are often typical thetic contexts. The increasing association with DE3 and reduplicated (and ideophonic) elements, as well as the abundance of presentational contexts in narratives, encourage the emergence of the [R DE3 N Pred] pattern, which matches the collocational preference and the pragmatic context of the descriptive thetic construction, albeit with the overt marking of DE3 on the descriptive element. Most of the cases attested in Xixiang that are ambiguous between a non-restrictive attributive modifier and a secondary predicate interpretation. These may occur in the [X DE3 NP Pred] pattern.

From the perspective of constructional change, the shift of [X DE3] from the pre-verbal position ((N) X DE3 Pred]) typical of a secondary predicate to the pre-nominal position marks an important transition of a DE3-marked (secondary) predicate to an attributive modifier. The transition makes the DE3-marked expression structurally more distant from the (primary) predicate, and thus less likely to be conceptualized as a secondary predicate by the hearer. A DE3-marked expression in the prenominal position ([X DE3 N]) is also more likely to be interpreted as an attribute of the subsequent noun because of its structural parallel to canonical nominal modification.

[X-DE3] in the [X-DE3 NP Pred] structure may be interpreted either as a preposed adverbial/secondary predicate or as a preposed non-restrictive modifier to the noun
directly following it. The structures that render these two interpretations are represented in the following Figure 6.1.

**Figure 6.1 Structure ambiguities in the [X-de3 NP Pred] pattern**

![Diagram](image)

Besides the structural context, which renders the de3-expression more like a nominal modifier and less like a (secondary) predicate, the semantic/pragmatic context also enhances the flexibility in interpretation. The ambiguity is enhanced in several semantic contexts.

6.3.2.1.4 **Stronger association between de3-descriptive and the nominal head**

Many examples involve a de3-marked dynamic manner expression followed by a nominal that entails or encodes the occurrence of an event, e.g. meteorological nouns, emotions, and perceptual stimuli in natural surroundings. Although these are encoded as nominals, their occurrence is often intended to report an event. The manner expressions before them can therefore be naturally conceptualized as a property of the event encoded by the nominal, as illustrated by the [manner + emotion] combination in (30) and [onomatopoeic + sound] combination in (31).

(30) 法聰親了，勃騰騰地無明發。(董西廂)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>fakong</th>
<th>qu</th>
<th>le</th>
<th>buotengteng</th>
<th>di</th>
<th>wuming</th>
<th>fa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PN</td>
<td>look</td>
<td>PF</td>
<td>rolling_up.IDEO</td>
<td>DE3</td>
<td>anger</td>
<td>come.out</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Facong, seeing that, becomes steaming with anger.’
‘Lit. Rolling upwards, his anger comes out.’ [depictive]
‘His anger, (which is) rolling upwards, comes out’. [non-restrictive modifier]

*(Xi Xiang Ji, 12th-13th c.)*
6.3.2.1.5 [N-V] combinations that can be interpreted as nouns or predicates

Reference to an event without overt coding is not uncommon in Chinese. It is even plausible to interpret the [X-DE3] expression as being an attribute of an entire [NP-VP] combination, particularly in literary genres that allow for fluidity in syntactic classes.

This is common for [X DE3 N Pred] serving as the complement of an immediate perception predicate, or weather concepts in [N-V] pattern that can be interpreted as either an event or an object. An [X-DE3] encoding a manner concept may be interpreted as having scope over the whole event, instead of the overtly encoded participant alone.

The two possible interpretations are illustrated by the English translations of (32).

(32) 听得幽幽角奏，當當地鐘響，啞啞地雞叫。(董西廬) (both onomatopoeia)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>word</th>
<th>DE</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ting</td>
<td>DE1</td>
<td>head-get</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de</td>
<td>DE3</td>
<td>horn play</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dangdang</td>
<td>DE3</td>
<td>bell ring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zhong</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xiang</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ji</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jiao</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘(He) hears the horn playing faintly, the bell ring, going dangdang, the roosters crow, going qiqi.’ [secondary predicate interpretation]

‘(He) hears the faint playing (sound) of the horn, the ringing of the bell going dangdang, the crowing of the roosters going qiqi.’ [Non-restrictive attributive interpretation]

(Xi Xiang Ji, 12th-13th c.)

Examples (30)-(32) show that an attributive [X-DE3] can be interpreted as having scope over an entire [NP-VP] combination when the entire proposition is nominalized.
These DE3-marked attributives are all non-restrictive, in line with the descriptive nature of DE3. It is not surprising that DE3-attributives are associated with these nominalized event concepts.

6.3.2.1.6 Event nouns functioning as predicates

The line between attribution and predication is even more blurred when a DE3-marked descriptive property (including dynamic manner) is attributed to an event concept encoded in a nominal form (without a subsequent predicative expression) that alone functions as a thetic statement, as in (33)-(36).

(33) 師曰，臨崖看缺眼。特地一場愁。（五燈會元）
   lin yai kan hu yan
   near cliff look sea.shore eye
   te di yi chang chou
   special DE3 one CL.extended.time sorrow
   ‘Looking at the seashore near the cliff,
   (a) ‘(There is) a special stretch of sorrow.’ [attributive reading]
   (b) ‘Especially, (there is) a stretch of sorrow.’ [secondary predicate reading]
   (Wu Deng Hui Yuan, AD 1252)

(34) 快睹當，哇叮地一聲，架過截頭古定刀。（董西廬）
   jiding di yi sheng
   sound.IDEO DE3 one sound
   jia guo jie-tou guding-dao
   support pass sever-head PN-sword
   (a) ‘(With) a sound that goes jiding,’ [attributive]
   (b) ‘Going jiding, (there is) a sound,’ [secondary predicate]
   (the monk) held up the Guding sword (horizontally against his shoulder).
   (Xi Xiang Ji, 12th-13th c.)

(35) 只聽得哇叮地一聲，和尚性命如何？（董西廬）
   zhi ting-de jiding di yi sheng
   just hear-DE1 sound.IDEO DE3 one sound
   heshang xingming ruhe
   monk life how
   ‘(One) just hears a sound that goes jiding’
   ‘(One) just hears jiding, (there is) a sound.’
   is the monk alive or dead? (ibid.)
(36) 張生是日心將碎，猛把殘生棄。手中把定套頭兒，滿滿地兩眼兒淚。（董西廈）

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{shou} \quad \text{zhong \ ba} \quad \text{ding} \quad \text{taotou-er} \\
&\text{hand} \quad \text{middle OBJ} \quad \text{firmly pullover-DIM}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{manman \ di} \quad \text{liang \ yaner \ lei} \\
&\text{full.REDU \ DE3 \ two \ eye \ tear}
\end{align*}
\]

‘He grasps the pullover firmly in his hand,
‘Full, his two eyes (are) with tears.’ [secondary predicate]
‘lit. (His) two eyes (which) are full of tears.’ [attributive]

(ibid.)

\textit{Yi chang chou} ‘a (stretch of) sorrow’ in (33) merely reports a sudden emergence
of sorrow, and \textit{yi sheng} ‘a sound’ in (34)-(35) the existence of the noise, and finally,
\textit{liang yan-er lei} in (36) does not really mean to present “tears in the eyes” as a new
participant, but rather to report on the physiological result of becoming tearful. In other
words, the event is presented in the form of a participant (commonly with a numeral
(often \textit{yi} ‘one’) and a classifier), and the DE3-expression, which is originally a secondary
predicate that modifies the event, formally resembles a nominal modifier.

The head noun does not really open a discourse file for a participant - it is an
event conceptualized and presented as an entity. The DE3-modifier before the nominal
form matches the canonical position and function of an attributive. It can nonetheless be
interpreted alternatively (and is perhaps still better analyzed) as a (secondary) predicate
modifying the presentational statement, as shown in the translations. The two
interpretations, illustrated by Figure 6.2 below, will be reflected in the corresponding
English translations of the examples.
6.3.2.1.7 Weak relationship between [X-DE3] and the predicate

Another semantic context that encourages the interpretation of a pre-nominal [X DE3] as an attributive is when the nominal is followed by a predicate that also describes a property of the nominal. Besides temporal overlap, there is no clear modifying relation between the DE3-marked event and the event encoded by the subsequent predicate, similar to the relationship that holds between examples discussed in §4.3.4. It is therefore plausible to interpret X-DE3 as a property of the nominal participant.

In (37)-(38), both [X-DE3] and the subsequent predicative expression are stative. It appears that both the [X-DE3] expression and the stative predicate are properties of the participant, but the reduplicated property marked by DE3 is encoded as a depictive secondary predicate in the pre-nominal position, and the post-nominal predicate is encoded as the primary event. Because the DE3-property appears right next to a nominal, and is therefore parallel in structure to the regular [attributive-head] pattern, it can also be interpreted as an adjoined non-restrictive (appositive) modifier.

(37) 香噴噴地，軟柔柔地，酥胸如雪。 （董西廬）

\[
\text{xiang-penpen \ di \ ruan-rourou \ di \ su \ xiong} \\
\text{fragrant-spray.REDU \ DE3 \ soft-tender.REDU \ DE3 \ satiny \ breast} \\
\text{ru \ xue} \\
\text{resemble \ snow}
\]

‘Fragrant, tenderly soft, her satiny breasts are like snow.’ (i)
‘(Her) fragrant, tenderly soft, satiny breasts are like snow.’ (ii)

\(\text{Xi Xiang Ji, 12^{th}-13^{th} c.}\)
Non-trivially, the nominals attested with these \( \text{DE3} \)-attributives are also not salient participants in the discourse, but together with the preposed \( \text{DE3} \)-modifier (or the \( \text{DE3} \)-secondary predicate) and the subsequent predicate, function as a predicative description of the human participant that possesses the body part. The primary purpose of the speaker is not so much to ‘open discourse files’ for the breasts of the female character, or the physical build of the monk, but to describe the human possessors with the \([\text{X-DE3 N Pred}]\) combination. These examples illustrate the conceptual contiguity between depictives and non-restrictive property concepts and participant- vs. event- oriented presentationals.

Example (39) illustrates an intermediate case of event- vs. object- oriented thetic contexts, as shown in the non-restrictive attributive vs. the depictive translation of the sentence.

(39) 不忍見，盈盈地粉淚，滄損釵髪。 (董西廬)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bu-ren} & \quad \text{jian} & \quad \text{yingying} & \quad \text{di} & \quad \text{fen-lei} & \quad \text{yan-sun} \\
\text{NEG-bear} & & \text{see} & & \text{limpid.clear.REDU} & & \text{DE3 powder-tear drown-damage}
\end{align*}
\]

\( \text{dian-wo} \)
floral.ornament-dimple
(One) cannot bear to see
(a) \textbf{(her) limpid and clear} tears drown the floral(-decorated) cheeks.’ [non-restrictive attributive]
(a) \textbf{limpid and clear}, (her) powder-(tainted) tears drown the floral(-decorated) cheeks.
[depictive]

\( \text{Xi Xiang Ji}, \ 12^{\text{th}}-13^{\text{th}} \text{ c.} \)

\textit{Yingying} ‘limpid, clear’ a stative perceptual property, is obviously attributed to tears, and only simultaneous to the “drowning” activity. Being in the pre-nominal position makes is
prone to the interpretation of a nominal modifier. Though a secondary predicate interpretation is still accessible, it is obviously being backgrounded. The primary focus of the sentence is not to introduce the “powder-tainted tears”, but to report the activity of the protagonist’s weeping.

6.3.3 Parallel with DE2-attributives (primarily in Xi Xiang Ji)

The reader may be skeptical as to whether the DE3-marked expressions illustrated above, most involving reduplicated elements, can really be interpreted as nominal modifiers, or are only superficially similar in structure to modifiers. The following overlapping patterns attested with DE2 in Xi Xiang Ji, however, suggest that the two constructions are interacting in these specific contexts, and that there is indeed possibility for interpreting the DE3-expressions as nominal modifiers.

While the phonological change starts to take place at the end of 13th century, DE2 and DE3 becomes increasingly similar in pronunciation, and there is less and less formal difference between the predicative DE3 and nominal DE2, and the original distinction between the two constructions in these contexts, slight as it was, becomes even more neutralized. Such is observed in Xi Xiang Ji, where DE2 is also used in the above similar contexts as DE3.

In fact, another essential contextual factor that facilitated the ambiguity between a DE3-marked secondary predicate and a non-restrictive modifier is the higher frequency of DE2-marked non-restrictive modifiers in the same text, especially those encoded in the descriptive template. Consider the DE3-marked dynamic descriptive concepts in (40)-(41).
(40) 罡軍聞言，冬冬擂戰鼓，滴流流地雜彩旗搖。 （董西廬）
  di-liuliu  di  za  cai  qì  yào
turn-IDEO  DE3  mixed  color  flag  wave
  ‘Spinning round and round, the mix-colored flags wave.’ (i)
  ‘The continuously-spinning, multi-colored flags wave.’ (ii)

(41) 埂埀騰騰地塵頭蔽日色，半萬賊兵勝到來。 （董西廬）
  buobuotengteng  di  chentou  bi  ri  se
ing-up.IDEO  DE3  dust  cover  sun  color
  ‘Rolling up, the dust covers the sun.’ (i)
  ‘The dust, which is rolling up, covers the sun.’ (ii)

Both (40) and (41) have a DE3-marked dynamic descriptive template in the pre-nominal position. The expressions both encode dynamic manner concepts – di-liuliu encodes the manner of spinning, and buobuotengteng the manner of dust rolling up in the air. While not typical modifiers of participants, even these may be so construed, given that both dynamic and stative descriptive modifiers are attested with DE2-marked nominals in the same text (compare the DE2-marked descriptive modifiers introduced below, which may encode dynamic and stative concepts). The DE3-marked expressions in (40) and (41) may thus also be interpreted as both secondary predicates (translations (40-i) and (41-i)) and non-restrictive modifiers (translations (40-ii) and (41-ii)).

6.3.3.1 Event-reporting and the nominal form

First, nominal expressions in the [R DE2 N] pattern are attested in Xixiang to report events that collocate with [R DE3 N] thetic patterns, i.e. meteorological conditions and background scenery. Example (42) illustrates three sets of expressions, all with the structure [X-DE2 NP].

(42) 觸目凄涼千里種，見滴流流的紅葉，漸零零的微雨，率刺刺的西風。 （董西廬）
  jian  di-liuliu  de  hong  ye
  see  turn::IDEO  DE2  red  leaf
xi-lingling  de  wei  yu
sound.IDEO  DE2  light  rain

lu-lala  de  xi  feng
sound.IDEO  DE2  west  wind

‘(One) sees the swirling red leaves, the splashing (xilingling) light rain, the whistling (lu-lala) west wind.’

(Xi Xiang Ji, 12th-13th c.)

While these are indisputably nominals functioning as complements to the perception predicate jian ‘see’, the dynamic manner modifiers – the whirling, the splashing, and the whistling - can clearly be associated with more than the leaves, the rain drops, and the wind, and be conceptualized as attributes of the events as a whole, namely, the motion of the leaves falling, the rain dropping, and the wind blowing.

Example (43) illustrates a participant-oriented [X-DE2] descriptive with an expression yi nuo ‘one-grasp’ that represents either an event ‘(so thin as to constitute only) one grasp’ or a participant ‘the thin one that fits one grasp’, the former with a depictive [X-DE2], the latter an appositive.

(43) 解舞的腰肢，瘦豔豔的一搦。（董西廬）
jie  wu  de  yaozhi  shou-yanyan  de  yi-nuo
know  dance  DE2  waist  thin-IDEO  DE2  one-grasp
‘(Her) waist that is capable of dancing, emaciated, (it constitutes only) one grasp!’ (i)
‘(Her) waist that is capable of dancing, the emaciated one that fits one grasp!’ (iii-a)
(Xi Xiang Ji, 12th-13th c.)

Furthermore, even seemingly undisputable object concepts can be placed in a sequence of structures with phrases that are ambiguous between an object and an event interpretation. Such an ambiguity is observed in example (44), where the event is encoded in a juxtaposed nominal structure [NP NP] specifying the force (wind) and the affectee (curtains).
The onomatopoeic ideophone *xi-lielie* can be conceptualized as an attribute of the wind, the curtains, or both; it can also be taken as a simultaneous event accompanying the whole *curtains blowing in the wind* action. Evidence that the [NP NP] combination can potentially be interpreted as constituting an event is supported by fact that it belongs to a set of event-reporting thetic statements in a sequence of similar structures. The following statement in [R DE2 NP Pred] (R= reduplicated) exhibits the same kind of ambiguity illustrated by Figure 6.2.

Example (45) shows that DE2 also appears in the [X DE2 N Pred] pattern that exhibits a similar flexibility in construal to [X DE3 N Pred] – X can be a property of N, or a property of the predicate. The reduplicated form *niannian* ‘every year, year by year’ may be interpreted as a distributive quantifier attached to the nominal *guangjing* ‘time, lit. light and scenery’, or an adverbial quantifying the event of ‘time resembling a shuttle.’

(44) 浙南的toggleClassui幕，滴流流的落葉紛柯。（董西廬）

*xi-lielie*  de  *xiao*  *feng*  *lian-mu*
IDEO  DE2  morning  wind  hanging.curtain

*di-liuliu*  de  *luo*  ye  *ci*  *ke*
turn:IDEO  DE2  fall.down  leaf  leave  tree

‘(There is) the morning wind and the hanging curtains that go ‘*xilielie;’ [non-restrictive attributive]
‘(In) the wind the hanging curtains (blows), going xilielie.’[secondary predicate]

‘The turning leaves fall down the tree.’ [non-restrictive attributive]
‘Turning, the leaves fall down the tree.’ [secondary predicate]

(*Xi Xiang Ji*, 12th-13th c.)

(45) 年年的光景如梭，急煎煎的心绪如火。（董西廬）

*nian-nian*  de  *guangjing*  ru  *suo*
year:REDU  DE2  time  resemble  shuttle

*ji-jianjian*  de  *xin-xu*  ru  *huo*
anxious:IDEO  DE2  sentiment  resemble  fire

‘Year after year, the time resembles a shuttle.’  (i)
‘The time every year resembles a shuttle.’  (ii)
‘Anxious, my sentiments are like fire.’ (i)
‘(My) anxious sentiments are like fire.’ (ii)

(Xi Xiang Ji, 12th-13th c.)

6.3.3.2 The increasing use of DE2 in non-restrictives as a contextual factor

Notably, the nominalized events illustrated by (42)-(45) above are formally parallel with the regular modifier-noun construction marked by DE2, and therefore can potentially be neo-analyzed as instantiations of the regular attributive construction. DE2-attributives are seldom attested with reduplicated expressions to serve non-restrictive and purely descriptive functions in the other texts, possibly partly due to the difference in genre and narrative style. Even non-restrictive attributives with regular properties or relative clauses are seldom attested with DE2. The frequency of DE2 in non-restrictive (including definitional and descriptive) is significantly higher in Xi Xiang, which also partly explains the higher frequency of DE3-attributives in this particular text.

Another issue to explore is that descriptives, especially dynamic descriptives, are not commonly attested with DE2-attributives in other texts, presumably because they cannot “define” a stable type or category, and are therefore not common in expository prose (as opposed to narrative).

As illustrated previously in §6.3.3.1, there appears to be a considerable degree of liberty in combining dynamic descriptives with a nominal in Xi Xiang Ji. The dynamic descriptives coded by DE3, like is attested with DE2-attributives discussed in §6.3.3.1, may be interpreted as modifiers to a nominal. The possibility of interpreting a [R-DE3 N] unit as a modifier-head construction is reinforced by the parallel structure of [R-DE2 N] in the same text.
(46) 則待不煩惱呵，咁的一聲仆地氣運倒。 (董西廂)

\[ \text{xu de yi sheng pu-di qi yun dao} \]
\[ \text{IDEO.sound DE2 one sound IDEO.fall-DE3 energy circulation fall} \]

‘(With) a sound that goes xu, he falls down (to the ground.)’

‘Going xu, (there is) a sound, he falls down (to the ground.)’

(Xi Xiang Ji, 12th-13th c.)

When choosing between DE2 and DE3, the speaker may resort to at least two parameters – the function of the [X-DE] expression and the morphophonological pattern of X. The frequent association of DE3 with reduplicated properties and dynamic manner expressions may lead some speakers to reinterpret DE3 as a necessary suffix to these expressions, and therefore use them with DE3 instead of DE2 in attributive modification. On the other hand, the speaker may choose to mark the attributive modifier with DE2 regardless of its morpho-phonological pattern, since DE2 is overall a general marker for modification of nominals. The possibility of weighing one criterion over others, along with the author’s need to compose in certain fixed rhythmic patterns (the passages are designed to be chanted), resulted in multiple structural and semantic ambiguities between DE2 and DE3 expressions observed in Xi Xiang (and later in similar drama scripts like Za Ju in the 14th century).

Given the multiple structural and semantic ambiguities, it is not hard to understand that that similar events, when fitted into the fixed rhythmic patterns of the

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2 In some dialects of Chinese, “descriptive” attributive properties are marked by both DE3 and DE2, while “qualifying” attributive properties are marked by DE2 only. Two examples from the Wenshui dialect (Zhu 1980:163) of Chinese are provided here:

a. 甜-[tiw3]
   sweet-DE2
   ‘something sweet’

b. 白格冬冬[tiw3]
   white REDU.IDEO DE3 DE2 one CL noodle
   ‘A bowl of white noodles’
particular tunes of the opera, are found with the dynamic manner ideophones marked by 
either DE2, as in (44) above, or DE3, as in (47) below.

(47) 浙零零地雨打芭蕉葉，急煎煎的促織兒聲相接。 （董西廂）

[1] xilingling di yu da baijao-ye
    IDEO DE3 rain beat banana-leaf

[2] jijianjian de cuzhi-er sheng xiang-jie
    hasty-IDEO DE2 cricket-DIM sound REC1-connect

[1] ‘The rain that goes “xilingling” beats the banana leaves’
    ‘“Xilingling,” the rain beats the banana leaves.’
[2] ‘Hastily, the sounds of the crickets intersect with one another.’
    ‘The hasty cricket sounds intersect with one another.’
    ‘The hasty crickets; (their) sounds intersect with one another.’
    (Xi Xiang Ji, 12th-13th c.)

Example (47) shows two sentences in the presentational context, where the actor
describes the sounds of rain and cricket chirps in the surroundings. The DE3-marked
descriptive element xi-lingling in (47-1) demonstrates the ambiguity between a non-
restrictive modifier and a secondary predicate, as shown by the English translations. The
DE2-marked expression in (47-2) exhibits the same ambiguities as DE3 in (47-1), but
allows an additional interpretation shown in the third English translation above.

The third interpretation is sanctioned by the Chinese double-nominal construction for
possessive relations. In this construal, the juxtaposition of cuzhier ‘crickets’ (with the
DE2-marked element as a nominal modifier) and sheng ‘sound’ encodes a possessive
relation between the two entities, while sheng also serves as the subject of the following
predicate.

Examples (48)-(49) below each exhibits two sets of parallel structures where there is
a weakened semantic association between [X-DE] and the subsequent predicate ([N
Pred]), rendering the structure ambiguous between a depictive and a non-restrictive
modifier interpretation. Example (48), a passage depicting the appearance of the female character, consists of illustrates one expression with DE2, and one with DE3.

(48) 曲彎彎的宮樣眉兒，慢鬆鬆地合歡鬢小。（董西廬）

\[\text{qu-wanwan} \quad \text{de} \quad \text{gong-yang-mei-er}\]
\[\text{bent-curved REDU} \quad \text{DE2} \quad \text{palace-kind-eyebrow-DIM}\]

\[\text{man-songsong} \quad \text{di} \quad \text{hehuan-ji} \quad \text{xiao}\]
\[\text{slow-loose.REDU DE3 PN-chignon small}\]

‘Curved, (there are) her eyebrows in Gongyang patterns; loose, (her) Hehuan chignon is small.’ (i)

‘(There are her) curved eyebrows in Gongyang patterns; (her) loose Hehuan chignon is small.’ (ii)

\[(Xi \ Xiang \ Ji, \ 12^{th}-13^{th} \ c.)\]

In (48), there is only a slight semantic difference between these two expressions. The first expression marked by DE2 appears in the form of a referring expression (a purely nominal form), but may be properly interpreted as a predication (Curved are her eyebrows in Gongyang patterns), even a presentational sentence in English. The second sentence, marked by DE3, consists of two properties, both ascribed to the chignon of the female character. Like (37)-(38) in §6.3.2.1.7 above, there is no apparent semantic relation aside from temporal overlap between the two properties associated with the participant, and thus the DE3-marked descriptive property, mansongsong, is as plausible a depictive secondary predicate as an attributive modifier.

In the same vein, the two DE2-marked expressions in (49) exhibit a similar type of depictive vs. non-restrictive attribution ambiguity.

(49) 鬱厥厥的心緒如麻，瘦豔豔的病體如柴。（董西廬）

\[\text{men-yanyan} \quad \text{de} \quad \text{xin-xu} \quad \text{ru} \quad \text{ma}\]
\[\text{dejected-weak.IDEO DE2 heart-emotion resemble hemp}\]

\[\text{shou-yanyan} \quad \text{de} \quad \text{bing} \quad \text{ti} \quad \text{ru} \quad \text{chai}\]
\[\text{thin-IDEO DE2 ill body resemble firewood}\]
‘(My) dejected sentiment is (messy) like hemp, my emaciated body is like (a piece of) firewood.’
‘Dejected, (my) sentiment is (messy) like hemp; emaciated, (my body) is like a piece of firewood.’

(Xi Xiang Ji, 12th-13th c.)

An unusual combination of \[X_{\text{SOUND-DE}2} + \text{NP} + \text{NP} + \text{VP}\], where a dynamic concept (phonomime) serves as a depictive, and the primary predicate is a stative predicate, is found in (50).

(50) 簸簌的裙前刀兒短。 (董西廈)

\[
\begin{align*}
susu & \quad \text{de} & \quad \text{qun-er} & \quad \text{qian-dao-er} & \quad \text{duan} \\
\text{PHONO} & \quad \text{DE2} & \quad \text{skirt-DIM} & \quad \text{front-hemline-DIM} & \quad \text{short} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘Going susu, the skirt’s front hemline is short.’ [depictive?]
‘The skirt, which goes susu, (has a) short front hemline.’ [non-restrictive modifier]

(ibid.)

Two events are reported in (50) – the skirt is making a sound, \textit{susu}, with the movement of the wearer, and the front hemline of the skirt are short. Though the \text{DE2}-marked ideophone, \textit{susu}, is possibly construed as a secondary predicate, these two events associated with the skirt are not typically depictive relations, nor do they seem to be causally related, since “the front hemline being short” is a stable, intrinsic property of the skirt. The structural and semantic ambiguities may be exploited to further the artistic effects of the narrative.

Why are \text{DE3}-marked attributives particularly associated with presentational contexts? First, They usually occur in the descriptive form – these are transient properties of events. Even when they are attributed to a participant, they still often have a transient, cotemporal interpretation. Second, because the primary purpose is event-reporting, the statement is processed holistically. It makes little difference whether the \text{DE3}-marked “subevent” is attributed to the participant or the predicated event – what matters is that the whole situation, including the subevent introduced by \text{DE3}, is packaged as a whole.
Another issue has to do with the DE2-marked nominal expressions in the [Descriptive DE2 N] form. Many of these are analyzed as nominals, which is justifiable because that is the primary function of DE2. There is a strong association between [Descriptive DE2 N] and the event-reporting thetic contexts. For example, there are many passages where [Descriptive DE2 N] appears independently as a description (of the body part and attire of a character). The DE2-expression in (48) above, for example, is likely to be analyzed as (unambiguously) a nominal expression at first glance. A closer examination, however, would reveal that this could equally be treated as a thetic statement, translatable roughly into English as Curved is her eyebrows in Gongyang pattern, or rather, Curved, (there are/she has) her eyebrows in Gongyang pattern, Curved, her eyebrows are in Gongyang pattern. In any case, the event being reported is packaged into a nominal expression, with a descriptive element in the form of a modifier.

6.3.4 Contexts other than thetic

6.3.4.1 DE3-marked attributive with a generic head (restrictive or non-restrictive?)

A few DE3-marked modifiers are attested with a generic head and appear to be providing some definitive criterion. It seems to be less intuitive for a DE3-marked modifier to appear with a generic head, given that the concepts are encoded as transient and impressionistic, and less ideal as the defining criterion of a category. §6.3.4.1 shows that these are either special cases or non-restrictive modifiers. Finally, the DE3-marked determiner for anaphoric/deictic properties and events, which is primarily used in predication, has become increasingly entrenched as a unit, and is attested in attribution as well.
There are only four DE3-marked modifiers attested with a generic head, shown in (51)-(52) and (53)-(54) below. (51) is from Wu Deng, where the DE3-marked expression appears at the final position after a string of criteria that restrict the nominal head han ‘man’.

(51) 須是有節操。極慷慨。斬得釘。截得鐵。硬剝剝地漢始得。 (五燈會元 16 婁州智者法銓禪師)

xu shi you jiecao ji kangkai zhan de ding
need COP exist moral very generous chop DE1.get nail

jie de tie ying-bobo di han shi DE
sever DE1.get iron hard-IDEO DE3 man start DE1.get

‘It takes a man who has morals, extremely generous, is able to chop nails, is able to sever iron, tough, then it works.’

(Wu Deng Hui Yuan, AD 1252)

Notably, the “modifier” that defines han ‘man’ is composed of a long, complex structure, so the DE3-marked expression is not functioning as a restrictive/definitive modifier alone. In addition, it is likely that DE3 is not there to mark the modifier ying-bobo as “restrictive”, but is simply an extension from the increasing collocational preference of DE3 over reduplicated expressions.

Example (52) from Zhu Zi Yu Lei has a DE3-expression with a generic head chu ‘place,’ which refers metaphorically to “condition.”

(52) 玄，只是深邃而至於黑窣窣地處，那便是眾妙所在。 (朱子)

xuan zhi shi shen yuan er zhi yu
mysterious only COP deep far and arrive at

hei-susu di chu
black-IDEO DE3 place

‘(Speaking of) “xuan” (the mysterious), (it is) just far-reaching until a “rustling” black place (=condition).’

(Zhu Zi Yu Lei, AD 1270)

Example (52) involves multiple ambiguous interpretations. Though its predicative functions are becoming more entrenched, DE3, which develops from a locative noun, is
likely to still be linked to the locative interpretation. *Hei-susu di* in (52) can therefore either mean ‘an extremely black condition’ or simply ‘being extremely black’. The expression *zhi yu* in (52) ‘till, until, lit. arrive at’ is a grammaticalizing form which can take a locative or an event (a metaphorical location) as its complement. While *hei-susu di* alone can function as the complement, it is also ambiguous between a pure predicative property and a metaphorical locative interpretation (where DE3 is a semantically light head). Because it is already entailed that the complement of *zhi yu* indicates either a physical or a metaphorical destination, the nominal expression *hei-susu-di chu* is not really much different from *heī-susu-di* alone. The appearance of the head *chu* is probably a reinforcement of the metaphorical locative reading of the whole expression. In any case, the speaker wishes to describe the depth of *xuan* ‘the mysterious’ as being able to reach a metaphorical ‘rustling black place’. The nominal expression with *chu* as its head is not intended to identify a ‘rustling black place’ as opposed to the possible range of other places which are not ‘rustling black’, but merely to provide a description of the metaphorical place denoted by *chu* as being such.

Compare (52) with (53) attested in *Zhu Zi Yu Lei*, where *heī-cucu di* alone functions as the complement of *dun yu* ‘place at’. The locative interpretation is apparently more or less accessible in (53).

(53) 公意意思是要靜，將心歸於黑卒卒地，說但只此處做工夫。 (朱子)  

*jiang*  *xin*  *dun*  *yu*  *heī-cucu*  *di*  

take heart place at black-IDEO DE3/ground

*shuo*  *dao*  *zhi*  *yu*  *ci*  *chu*  *zuo*  *gongfu*  
say speak only at this place make effort

‘(You mean that one should) place one’s heart at a completely dark location; (you) say that one only (needs to) make an effort here.’

*(Zhu Zi Yu Lei, AD 1270)*
One example is attested where a DE3-attribute modifies the nominal in a similative expression, shown in (54). Youyou ‘long-running, continuous’ appears to be characteristic of passing water in general, and is therefore non-restrictive (and in this case, non-definitive) with respect to its head.

(54) 人死后渾如悠悠地逝水，瀟瀟地不斷東流。 （董西廂）

ren  si  hou  hun  ru  youyou  di  shi  shui
person  die  after  all  be.like  long.continuous.REDUDE3  passing water

yanyan  di  bu-duan  dong  liu
long.continuous.REDU  DE3  NEG-stop  east  flow
‘After one dies, he is like the passing water that runs long, flowing continuously towards the east.’

(Xi Xiang Ji, 12th-13th c.)

As discussed in §4.2.1.3 with DE2-attributives of similative nouns, it is less essential whether the modifier is characteristic (non-restrictive) or non-characteristic (restrictive) with respect to its head. What is more essential seems to be the morphophonological pattern of the element serving as the modifier. It may also be argued that the DE3-marked expression is modifying the action of water passing. The example is coded as non-restrictive.

Finally, there is one instance in Wu Deng Hui Yuan where DE3 is attached to a reduplicated expression serving as the modifier of shi ‘time’, and the whole expression then serves as an adverbial clause, as shown in (55).

(55) 問。碌碌地時如何。師曰。試進一步看。 （五燈 西川靈鼇禪師）

lulu  di  shi  ruhe
bustle.REDU  DE3  time  like-what
‘How about when (one is) bustling about?’

(Wu Deng Hui Yuan, AD 1252)

The DE3-marked expression lulu-di in (55) can indeed be interpreted as restrictive, when one takes [lulu-di] to be the grounding element of shi ‘time’, and [lulu-di shi] ‘the
time of bustling around’ as a relative clause. It should be noted that the \([X \text{shi}_{\text{TIME}} \text{ruhe}]\) pattern (semantics: [When/if X is true, then what?]), a pattern that is instantiated by both the modifier-head and the topic-comment structure, can be parsed in two ways, just like the \([X \text{shi} ‘\text{matter}’ \text{zuomosheng}]\) pattern discussed in §4.2.2.2 for \(\text{DE}2\) (illustration of structure in (26), §4.2.2.2).

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{X}_{\text{PROPOSITION}} & \text{N} & \text{Interrogative} \\
\text{(a)} & \text{[Mod head]} & \text{SUBJECT} & \text{[INTERR]} \\
\text{(b)} & \text{[Proposition]} & \text{Subject} & \text{Interrogative} \\
\text{\textit{lulu-di}} & \text{\textit{shi}} & \text{\textit{ruhe}}
\end{array}
\]

In addition, no matter how it is parsed, \([X \text{shi} + \text{Proposition}]\), attested 838 times in \textit{Wu Deng Hui Yuan}, is obviously a grammaticalizing pattern for adverbial subordination of temporal and conditional relations. A parallel example without \(\text{DE}3\) is illustrated by (56).

(56) \text{問。終日朦朧時如何。師曰。擇寶瀾沙中。 (五燈)}
\text{zhong-ri menglong \textit{shi} \textit{ruhe}}
\text{all-day hazy time what}
\text{‘What about when being hazy all day?’} \\
\textit{(Wu Deng Hui Yuan, AD 1252)}

Because the simple juxtaposition strategy for [Mod-head] construction is still prominent at that time, the [Proposition \text{shi}] subordinator construction can very well be considered an instantiation of this pattern. It may well be argued that \textit{lulu-di} as a unit is functioning as the modifier/grounding argument, and that the modifying relation is not really encoded by \(\text{DE}3\), but by simple juxtaposition. The instantiation is parallel in structure with the regular schema for attributive modification. What appears to be a \(\text{DE}3\)-attributive in (56) is in fact sanctioned by the general schema [Proposition \text{shi}], with \textit{lulu-di} functioning as a predicative proposition.
Interestingly, though structurally similar with \([X \textit{shi} \text{MATTER Prop}]\), the adverbial use of \([X \textit{shi} \text{time Prop}]\) is not attested with \(\text{DE2}\) in the Song-Jin Dynasty. It is not until later did the pattern become completely aligned with the attributive \([\text{Modifier } \text{DE2} \text{Head}]\) construction. This suggests that though they are associated subschemas, the adverbial construction is not entirely undistinguished from the topic-marking construction (discussed in §4.2.2.2) that tends to be associated with \(\text{DE2}\).

### 6.3.4.2 Modifier of a nominalized event

\(\text{DE3}\)-expressions are also attested with nominalized events, e.g. when a \(\text{DE3}\)-modified event is functioning as the topic, or as the complement of a complement-taking predicate, exemplified by (57)-(58).

(57) 而今略略地中和，也喚做中和．（朱子）

\[
\begin{align*}
erjin & \quad \text{luelue} & \quad \text{di} & \quad \text{zhong} & \quad \text{he} \\
\text{now} & \quad \text{slight} & \quad \text{DE3} & \quad \text{equilibrium/equilibrate} & \quad \text{harmony/harmonious} \\
ye & \quad \text{huan} & \quad \text{zuo} & \quad \text{zhong} & \quad \text{he} \\
\text{also} & \quad \text{call} & \quad \text{be} & \quad \text{equilibrium/equilibrate} & \quad \text{harmony/harmonious}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Nowadays (even) a slight \(\text{zhong he}\) (equilibrium and harmony) is called \(\text{zhong he}\) (equilibrium and harmony).’

‘Nowadays even being slightly equilibrate and harmonious is called equilibrate and harmonious.’

\((\text{Zhu Zi Yu Lei, AD} \ 1270)\)

(58) 但用工做向前去，但見前路茫茫地白，莫問程途，少問自能到．（朱子）

\[
\begin{align*}
dan & \quad \text{jian} & \quad \text{qian} & \quad \text{lu} & \quad \text{mangmang} & \quad \text{di} & \quad \text{bai} \\
\text{just} & \quad \text{see} & \quad \text{front} & \quad \text{road} & \quad \text{vast.REDU} & \quad \text{DE3} & \quad \text{white} \\
muo & \quad \text{wen} & \quad \text{cheng} & \quad \text{tu} \\
\text{NEG} & \quad \text{ask} & \quad \text{distance} & \quad \text{journey}
\end{align*}
\]

[In terms of studying]

\(\text{(a) one sees only a vast (amount of) white the road ahead [nominal]}
\text{(b) one sees that the road ahead is vastly white [predicate]}

– do not ask of the distance of the journey…’

\((\text{ibid.})\)
The DE3-marked anaphoric demonstrative nen-di (恁地) is also attested as the determiner of an event functioning as the topic or a predicative complement. These may either be translated into English participial forms, or directly into a nominal form.

(59) 似恁地凄凉，恁地愁绝，下场知他怎者！（董西廬）

si    nen-di    qi-liang    nen-di    chou-jue
resemble that-DE3 sad-cold that-DE3 worried-extreme

xiachang zhi ta kan zhen zhe
ending know 3s see interrogative NMZ
(a) ‘Being as sad as such, as depressed as such,
(b) ‘Such sadness, such extreme depression’
who knows how I will end up?’

(Xi Xiang Ji, 12th-13th c.)

(60) 此恨凭谁訴？似恁地埋怨，教人怎下得？（董西廬）

ci    hen ping shei su
this hatred rely who tell

si    nen-di    manyuan jiao ren zen xia de
like such-DE3 complain/t make person how bear DE1.get
‘This hatred, who can I tell it to?’
‘A complaint as such, how can one bear it?’
‘(My) complaining as such, how can one bear it?’

(ibid.)

A similar structure with zhe-DE2 ban ‘such, lit. this DE2 kind’ and wu-DE2 ban ‘such, lit. that DE2 kind’, a similitative with a DE2-marked noun ban ‘kind’ is illustrated by (61) from the same text, Xi Xiang Ji, showing that there is in fact little semantic difference in the DE3-marked “predicative topic” expressions in (59)-(60), and the DE2-marked “nominal” expressions in (61).

(61) 比似他時，再相逢也，這的般愁，兀的般悶，終做話兒說。（董西廬）

zai    xiang feng ye zhe de ban chou
again REC1 meet PRT this DE2 kind worried

wu de ban men zhong zuo hua-er shuo
thisDE2 kind gloomy end take.as speech-DIM say
‘(When we) meet again, such worry, such gloom, (being worried as such, being gloomy as such), will eventually become something we can talk about.’

(ibid.)
6.4 Conclusion

Much like the development of DE2 from nominal modification into predication, the development of DE3 from predicative-related functions into the domain of nominal modification is facilitated by syntagmatic, pragmatic, and network contexts. The findings further illustrate that constructions are multidimensional categories, whose composition are subject to constant adjustment as the speaker are exposed to new linguistic experiences. The results also show that constructional knowledge includes both general schemas, as well as specific, local patterns. In the case of DE3-constructions, collocational preferences over descriptive templates and specific items, such as the manner demonstratives, also contribute to a partial alignment of DE3 with nominal modifier constructions, as shown in §6.3.4. Finally, the paths of extension also demonstrate a continuum between nominal predication and secondary predication, as DE2 and DE3 move from opposite directions into the intermediate regions of their constructional prototypes.
Chapter 7

Comparison between DE1 and DE2 constructions

7.1 Introduction

Chapter 7 investigates the second theme of the dissertation – the interactions between DE1 and DE2 constructions. The phenomenon pertains to a DE-marked element that refers to an event (or a substructure of an event) of which something is predicated. The referential function is a sub-schema of the DE2-marked nominal constructions discussed in Chapter 4. For DE1, it involves the structural unithood of [V DE1] and the semantic and structural reanalysis of the [V DE1] unit as a topic to be predicated of (from postverbal DE1 secondary predication constructions).

As discussed in Chapter 3, there have been several proposals about the formation of [V DE1 VP] construction in the Medieval Chinese (P. Yang 1989, 1990, Sun 1996, C. Zhao 2002, among others, also see Yue-Hashimoto 2001, Peyraube 1996). We have argued that the establishment of the [V DE1 VP] resultative schema is affected by both the postverbal [V DE1] and preverbal [DE1 VP] schemas (cf. Sun 1996). In Chapter 7, we focus our discussion on the semantic changes and structural reanalysis that lead to functional and formal parallels between [V DE1 VP] and [V DE2 + Pred] patterns. Notice that we do not claim that the DE2-marked nominal construction is the primary source for development of the [V DE1 VP] into a topic-comment structure. Instead, we argue that these historically separate schemas develop semantic and structural overlaps and finally converge in contexts where they are no longer distinguishable, due to functional and formal (structural and phonetic) similarity.
Some global changes in the language relevant to the development of [V de Pred] construction will also be noted here. The development of [V de1 Pred] construction is connected to the resultative verb compound construction, which develops in the Medieval Chinese (P. Li 1989, Mei 1991) and becomes widely used in the Tang Dynasty (S. Jiang 1994:183, Shi 2002). The [V de1] pattern, like the resultative verb [VR] compounds, both predominantly appear in disyllabic units. The unithood of [V de1] may be partly strengthened by analogy to the VR compound construction, and both are under the general influence of the process of disyllabification (see Shi 2002, also see discussion in §2.3.2.1).

The discussion in this chapter consists of two major parts – (i) the roles of de1 and de2 in the establishment of [V de Pred] as a strategy for secondary predication from the Song-Jin Dynasties Period to the Yuan Dynasty (§7.2-3), and (ii) the extension of de2 into the complementation/aspectual function in the Song-Jin Period (§7.4) and the Yuan Dynasty (§7.5).

Specifically, §7.2 investigates the development of de1 constructions in the Song (960-1279) and Jin (1115-1234) Dynasties. The focus of discussion will be placed on the constructionalization of non-resultative [V de1 VP] predications from contextual inferences frequently associated with the resultative, and the accompanying semantic and structural developments that facilitate the overlaps between [V de1 VP] with the [V de2] [Pred] topic-comment structure. §7.3 introduces the structural and semantic overlap between de1 and de2 [V de1 VP] constructions in the Song-Jin Period and later in the Yuan Dynasty, when the pronunciations of de1 and de2 become increasingly similar.
§7.4-5 discuss the extension of DE2-marked nominalization constructions to mark complementation and aspectual functions. §7.4 discusses the use of DE2 in the complementative (complement of immediate perception predicates) and equational structures in the Song-Jin Period. The discussion provides the background for §7.5, which introduces the expansion of DE2 into more syntactic functions in the Yuan Dynasty, including aspectual and complementation functions that are previously marked by DE1 and other aspectual markers. The extension into these domains is partly due to phonetic resemblance and structural parallel. In addition, certain instances involving DE2 may allow multiple construals, being ambiguous between a regular complementation or aspectual construction, and an equational strategy (a previously established function of DE2).

7.2 The development of DE1 in the Song (960-1279) and Jin (1115-1234) Dynasties

In §3.2, we discussed the precursors of DE1 constructions, arguing that DE1-marked [V DE1 VP] construction is the product of the merger of the [V DE1 NP], [V DE1], and the [DE1 V(P)] patterns – pre-verbal and post-verbal DE1 constructions developed separately from its lexical sense ‘get, obtain’. The [V DE1 VP] pattern is mainly used for resultative relations in the Tang (618-907) and the Five Dynasties (907-979). V is a simple predicate, predominantly monosyllabic. VP may be a simple or a complex structure, with or without an overtly coded NP subject.

The [V DE1 VP] resultative may be associated with the following contextual inferences (see §3.3.3):

1 The potential complements (see discussion in §3.4.2.4.1) in the [V1 DE1 V2] construction developed along the non-potential [V DE1 VP] constructions. The focus of our discussion will be placed on the development of non-potential constructions in the Song-Jin Dynasties Period.
• There is a temporal overlap between the anterior event and the resultative event (§3.3.3.1.1).

• The result is associated with the manner in which the action is carried out (§3.3.3.1.2).

• The result is a measurement of the effect (or magnitude) of the anterior/ causative event (§3.3.3.1.3).

• The result is an evaluation of (an aspect of) the anterior event (§3.3.3.1.4).

Some of the resultatives, therefore, had backgrounded or alternative construals of manner, depictive, extent and evaluation in the Tang-Five Dynasties Period. These contextual inferences become conventionalized functions of the construction later in the Song-Jin Period. The essential developments of ĐE1-marked secondary predicate constructions in the Song-Jin Period include semantic, host-class, and syntactic expansions. In this period, the [V ĐE1 VP] pattern becomes more elaborated, and allows for a more types of verbs to occur as V and VP. The relationships that holds between V and VP can include more than resultative relations – extent, manner, evaluation, and simultaneous physical states are also found as VP.

7.2.1 ĐE1-marked resultative constructions

The [V ĐE1 VP] pattern is still commonly exploited to mark resultative relations in the Song-Jin Period. Instances attested under the general ĐE1-marked resultative schema, like in the previous period, may be classified into several subschemas based on their semantic profiles.

V may be semantically general and functions more like an indicator of a ‘cause’ than an anterior event leading up to the result. In (1) and (2), respectively, shì ‘make’ and
hai ‘cause harm’, one neutral and one adversative, are both semantically general in that they only indicate the event after DE1 was brought about by a force, but do not specify what the causative event is.

(1) 使得我恁地。 (張協狀元)

shi  de  wo  nen-di
make  DE1  IS  such-DE3
‘(You) made me like this/as such.’  (Zhang Xie, 12th-13th c.)

(2) 都為他害得人來病。 (西廬記)

dou  wei  ta-jia  hai  de  ren  lai  bing
all  for  3s  cause_harm  DE1  person  come  sick
‘It was all because of him that made me become sick.’  (Xi Xiang Ji, 12th-13th c.)

A semantically general predicate as V may also profile ‘change’. [Luo DE1] in (3), for instance, is entrenched in the metaphorical sense that the subject ends up in (or falls into) an adversative condition. The event that leads up to the condition is not specified.

(3) 落得一個瘦損。 (張協狀元)

luo  de  yi  ge  shou-sun
fall  DE1  one  CL  thin-wane
‘(I) end up being emaciated.’  (Zhang Xie, 12th-13th c.)

These two subschemas of resultatives, represented by (1)-(2) and (3) represent two essential elements in a resultative, ‘causation’ and ‘change’, as discussed in §3.3.3. They thus exhibit a formal semantic overlap with, as well as a formal resemblance to other types of resultatives, manifested by the [V DE1 VP] schema.

When the anterior event is specified by V, the resultatives may be classified into subschemas based on whether they involve a measurement of magnitude. In one type of resultative, the resulting state does not profile the magnitude of the force of the dynamic process. This subtype of resultative typically appears in the [V1 DE1 V2] pattern, with no intervening nominal or adjunct between the two predicates, as in (4) and (5).
Initially it was very soft, and then later it congealed (and became) solid.

(Zhu Zi Yu Lei, AD 1270)

After a few days, (the moon) gradually moves to the center (so that it is centered).

(ibid.)

Another type resultative predicate introduced by DE_1 provides a measurement of ‘extent’ or ‘degree’. When the result is a scalar property, the extent may be introduced by a construction of degree construction, e.g. the manner/degree/property deixis in (6), or the intensifier in (7).

The yin and the yang fought above, hit and as a result shattered (it) as such (i.e. shattered to such an extent.’

(Zhu Zi Yu Lei, AD 1270)

(The piece of iron) just does not work as well as when its edges are well-sharpened (i.e. grind to the extent that it is very sharp.)’

(ibid.)

This type of resultative in fact expresses a ‘resulative extent’. Because the result of an event is often determined by how the action is carried out, degree modification of the resulting state may be construed as a measurement of the force of causation. This contextual inference, however, is not associated with one specific aspect of the causative event – the resulting state may have reached a certain degree due to excessive force, prolonged duration, frequent repetition, speed, or other aspects of the event that may be generally subsumed under “manner”. “Resultative extent” as an inference goes through a series of structural and semantic adjustments before becoming
established as an independent ‘extent’ function (see §7.2.3).

§7.2.2-8 discuss the conventionalization of the new functions of the DE1-
secondary predication schema in the Song-Jin Period from various contextual inferences
associated with DE1-marked resultatives.

7.2.2 From result to depictive/manner

In §3.3.3, we have already discussed the possible paths of semantic extensions from
resultatives to manner and depictive predication, and that manner and depictive are
conceptually adjacent categories. In the Song-Jin Period, V2 no longer has to express a
result of the V1 event, but can encode an event construed as temporally simultaneous with
V1.

The development from resultative to depictive and manner predication is based on
the inference that there is a temporal overlap between the anterior causative event and the
subsequent resultative event. Depending on its semantics, the V2 event may be construed
as a property of the V1 event (manner), or a participant of V1 (depictive). It is however
common to find that an instance may be construed in both ways, as in (8)-(9) below.

(8) 唱得快活。 (張協狀元)
   *chang de* *kuaih*uo
   sing DE1 happy
   ‘(I’m) singing happy(ly).’
   *Zhang Xie, 12th-13th c.*

(9) 說得好孤悽。 (張協狀元)
   *shuo* de *hao gu-qi*
   say DE1 great solitary-desolate
   ‘You speak so desolately/(while appearing) very desolate.’
   (ibid.)

Examples (8)-(9), which take an emotion predicate as V2, both allow for the manner vs.
depictive ambiguity.
The similative predicate in (10) is also intermediate between event- and participant-orientation. The first construal describes the manner of crying, while the second construal likens the appearance of Yingying to that of being demented.

(10) 鶯鶯哭得似痴呆（西廂記）

\[ \text{yingying} \quad \text{ku} \quad \text{DE1} \quad \text{si} \quad \text{chidai} \]

‘Yingying cries (in such a manner) like she is demented.’ [manner/depictive]  
\[(Xi \ Xiang \ Ji, \ 12^{th}-13^{th} \ c.)\]

Examples (8)-(10) illustrate how depictives and manner predications are both related to resultatives, when an event can be interpreted as simultaneous instead of subsequent to the state of affairs denoted by the second predicate after \( \text{DE1} \). Note that the similative predication in (10) has another construal as describing the extent of the crying event, which is linked to the resultative extent function discussed in §7.2.1.

- **Spurious resultative and manner**

Another factor that leads to the construal of a resultative relation as a manner predication is that the result is correlated with the manner in which the activity was conducted.

(11) 紋如繩兩頭紋得緊（朱子語類）

\[ \text{jiao} \quad \text{ru} \quad \text{sheng} \quad \text{liao} \quad \text{tou} \quad \text{jiao} \quad \text{DE1} \quad \text{jin} \]

‘In terms of \text{jiao} (to be unflexible), (it is) like the two ends of the strings are twisted tight/tightly twisted…’  
\[(Zhu \ Zi \ Yu \ Lei, \ AD1270)\]

(12) 從來固結得牢（西廂記）

\[ \text{conglai} \quad \text{guli} \quad \text{DE1} \quad \text{lao} \]

‘From the beginning, (the wall of attackers) are congealed firm(tly)/tight(tly).’  
\[(Xi \ Xiang \ Ji, \ 12^{th}-13^{th} \ c.)\]

This type of resultative corresponds to what Washio (1997) calls spurious resultative.

Washio proposes that in this type resultative, the resulting state is such because of the manner in which an action is carried out. The stative predicate \text{jin} ‘tight’ and \text{lao} ‘tight,
firm” may therefore be construed as predicated of the participant, or predicated of the event. Washo argues that in English, a spurious resultative may be encoded as a simple adjective, or marked by a manner encoding -ly. This is reflected in the English translations of (11)-(12).

The development from result to manner and depictive relations attested for the DE1 construction is illustrated by the following Figure 7.1:

**Figure 7.1 The result-manner-depictive continuum**

![Diagram of the result-manner-depictive continuum](image)

The development echoes what has been established in the typological works such as Verkerk (2009), discussed in Chapter 1.

**7.2.3 From result to excessive extent/degree**

An important change in this period is the conventionalization of the “extent” function, in which a resulting event is reanalyzed as a measurement of a scalar property reaching a certain degree. The intermediate stage between a pure resultative to an extent predication is what we call a “resultative extent”. While the canonical resultative profiles a force leading to the realization of another event, the resultative extent function profiles the resulting event as a measure of the strength of the force. The following examples illustrate the structural and semantic factors that likely facilitate the transition from result to extent function.

- **From a dynamic change-of-state to a stative, scalar property**

  An essential factor concerns the semantics of the predicate serving as the “cause”.

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Example (13) illustrate a cause-emotion predicate *xia* ‘scare, be scared’ that result in events encoded by the three predicates after *DE*, two out of three being hyperbolic expressions based on Chinese folk physiology.

(13) 賈奕誠得魂飛天外，魄散九霄，俯伏在地 （宣和遺事）

\[ jiayi \quad xia \quad de \quad hun \quad fei \quad tian \quad wai \]
\[ PN \quad scare \quad DE1 \quad spirit \quad fly \quad heaven \quad out \]

\[ po \quad san \quad jiu \quad xiao \quad fufu \quad zai \quad di \]
\[ soul \quad scatter \quad nine \quad sky \quad prostrate \quad at \quad ground \]

‘Jiayi is so scared that his spirit flies outside of heaven, that his soul is scattered into the ninth layers of the sky, that he prostrates on the ground.’

*(Xuan He Yi Shi, 13th c.)*

Notice that although the cause-emotion predicate *xia* ‘scare, be scared’ is construed as a dynamic change of state predicate ‘become scared’ in this context, it may alternatively be interpreted as a stative scalar property ‘be scared’.

In (14), the cause is a change-of-state predicate, *shou* ‘(become) thin’, which encodes the protagonist’s process of emaciation from excessive distress.

(14) 禁不得這般愁悶，直瘦得肌膚如削。 （宣和遺事）

\[ jin\text{-}bu\text{-}de \quad zhe \quad ban \quad chou \quad men \]
\[ bear\text{-}NEG\text{-}DE1 \quad this \quad kind \quad sorrow \quad depression \]

\[ zhi \quad shou \quad de \quad jifu \quad ru \quad xiao \]
\[ simply \quad thin \quad DE1 \quad skin \quad resemble \quad peel \]

‘Unable to bear such distress, (he has) simply (become) so thin that his skin is like a peel.’ [extent]

‘...simply thin in such a way that the skin is like a peel.’ [manner]

*(Xuan He Yi Shi, 13th c.)*

Although *shou* in this context may still be construed as a process of *becoming thin*, it often has an alternative construal as a stative, scalar property. In the stative construal of *shou* ‘thin’, the description *has skin like peel* is a measurement of the extreme ‘thinness’ of the participant. A “cause” that may potentially be construed as a stative property allows for the conventionalization of the extent function, i.e. the measurement of a scalar
property. It is also descriptive of the *manner* of thinness. Extent is thus also an intermediate category between “result” and “manner”.

The transition from a dynamic change-of-state to a stative property construal is also affected by the position of the affected participant in the sentence. Compare (15), an example from *Bian Wen* (7\(^{th}\) - 9\(^{th}\)) presented previously in Chapter 3, with (13) above.

(15) 謝得皇帝治背汗流。（變文。漢將王陵變）

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{xia} & \quad \text{de} & \quad \text{huangdi} & \quad \text{qia} & \quad \text{bei} & \quad \text{han} & \quad \text{liu} \\
\text{scare} & \quad \text{DE} & \quad \text{emperor} & \quad \text{watery} & \quad \text{back} & \quad \text{sweat} & \quad \text{flow}
\end{align*}
\]

‘(It) scared the emperor (such that) sweat ran down all over his back.’ *(Bian Wen, 7\(^{th}\) - 9\(^{th}\) c.)*

Both (13) above and (15) involve a cause-emotion predicate *xia* as the causative event. The cause-of-emotion predicate *xia* in (15), which has the stimulus (the two generals) as the subject, appears to be less closely linked to an excessive extent interpretation than *xia* in (13), which has an experiencer-subject (Jia Yi). The effect of patient or affectee as subject will be discussed again in §7.2.6.3.

Another context that facilitates the extent construal concerns the semantics of the resultative predicate. The measurement of extent or degree, other than the encoding of degree modification on the resultative predicate (see (6)-(7) above), may be introduced by an elaboration of the event(s) causally related to the anterior event. This is also illustrated by (13), where the result consists of three events encoded by the three predicates following [V-DE1]. These hyperbolic expressions may potentially be reinterpreted as profiling a measurement of the magnitude of the action, instead of the real resulting action of the previous event. That is, the degree is associated with the inference of an extent that is out of the ordinary.

The gradual semantic shift from profiling the “result” to the measurement of an
“extent” is also indicated by the degree adverb *gou* ‘enough’ in (16), followed by the potential effect of reaching the extent.

(16) 天、天啓得人來報，把深恩都變做仇。（西廂記）

\[\text{tian men de ren lai gou} \]

\[\text{weather stifle, stifling person come enough}\]

\[\text{ba shen en dou bian zuo chou} \]

\[\text{OBJ deep favor all change into hatred}\]

‘The weather stifies people enough; (it) could turn great gratitude into hatred.’

[Iferred]:
‘The weather is stifling enough to turn great gratitude into hatred.’
‘The weather is so stifling that it could turn great gratitude into hatred.’

\[(Xi Xiang Ji, 12^{th}-13^{th} c.)\]

Hyperbolic descriptions of potential effects, when functioning as the resultative predicate, do not make predications about actual occurrences. The “result” introduced is rather intended as an illustration of the “force” reaching a certain extent. In addition, the potential effect of the weather predicate *men* ‘stifle, be stifling’ no longer marks *men* as a telic event. Example (16), therefore, no longer qualifies as a canonical resultative.

7.2.3.1 Conventionalization of “extent” reading

As illustrated above, the gradual transition from the resultative extent to the pure extent interpretation involves the backgrounding, and finally loss of the construal of the event denoted by V1 as a dynamic process. The semantic change is manifested by the emergence of a V1 that may only be construed as a stative, scalar property, and not a dynamic process. A canonical example of an extent secondary predicate is provided in (17), where the property *du* ‘malicious’ may only be construed as a stative scalar property.

(17) 你毒得大驚人。（張協狀元）

\[\text{ni du de da jing-ren} \]

\[\text{2S malicious DE1 great surprise-person}\]

‘You are malicious to an very surprising extent.’
‘You are very surprisingly malicious.’

\[(Zhang Xie, 12^{th}-13^{th} c.)\]
The effect of being malicious, that it *greatly surprises people*, is encoded by a degree-modified cause-emotion predicate with a generic noun. The V2 predicate expresses a measure of the extent of maliciousness on a scale, which, according to the speaker, is high to a very surprising extent. The extent predicate in (17) is “resultative” in the sense that it specifies the “resulting state” of a scalar property reaching an (excessive) extent. By comparison, the extent resultatives provide a quantification of the extent of an action by specifying its result.

The establishment of the extent function involves the semantic change of V2 from the result of an action, to the result of V1 reaching a degree. In addition, because V2 no longer marks the completion of V1, the aspectual contour of the event introduced by [V1 DE1] has changed from telic to atelic:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Resultative extent</th>
<th>[V1 DE1 V2]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Extent</td>
<td>dynamic, telic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>stative, atelic</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The semantic reanalysis of V2 from being resulting event ascribed to a participant to the measurement of an extent of a property is a drift away of from the participant-orientation to event-orientation. Notice that the predicative ‘extent’ in (16) and (17) is no longer adequate as a description of a participant, at least not so without a substantial semantic change.

**7.2.3.2 Emergence of degree reading**

The establishment of the extent construal allows further generalization of the construction to a function that I will refer to as ‘degree’, where V2 is merely a degree modifier, most commonly describing a property close to the high end of the scale.
(18) 娶花娘子。病得利害。（張協狀元）

\[\text{shenghua niangzi bing de lihai}\]

PN miss be.sick DE1 extreme

‘Ms. Shenghua is extremely sick.’ (Zhang Xie, 12th-13th c.)

The ‘primary event’ bing ‘get/be sick’ in (30) is an physiological condition
construed as a state/property. Lihai ‘extreme’ indicates the degree of seriousness of the
illness. In the Yuan Dynasty, the degree function is attested with a genuine property
qiong ‘poor’ combined with a degree marker, indicating a true establishment of the
degree function.

(19) 誰似俺公婆每窮得煞。（元刊雜劇三十種。相國寺公孫汗衫記雜劇。第三折）

\[\text{she si an gongpo-men qiong de sha}\]

who like IS parent.in.law-PL poor DE1 extreme

‘Who are so very poor like my parents in law?!’ (Za Ju, 14th century)

The functional changes of the \[\text{V}_1 \text{ DE1 V}_2\] construction include the conventionalization
of extent and degree meanings, which involve both host-class expansion and the change
of the semantic relationships between V1 and V2. In addition, the predicate introduced by
DE1 also moves from being a predication about a participant towards being an elaboration
of the event denoted by \[\text{V DE1}\]. The conventionalization of the new meanings is
accompanied by the loss of “causation” as a semantic element, which renders the two
events linked by DE1 as simultaneous. The development discussed in this section is
shown in Figure 7.2:

Figure 7.2 From result to extent and degree

[Diagram: resultative measurement of magnitude/force \rightarrow extent measurement of scalar property \rightarrow degree]

7.2.4 Establishment of evaluation function

Another essential process where DE1 develops functional changes from primarily
resultative (participant-oriented, subsequent) to simultaneous, event-oriented expressions
(manner) is the shift from ‘evaluation of result’ to ‘evaluation of manner’. This involves the semantic change where the effect of an action is re-interpreted as an evaluation of the performance/content. As suggested in the beginning of §7.2 (also see §3.3.3.1.3), the predicate in the \([V_1 \text{ DE} V_2]\) pattern may be alternatively construed as an evaluation of the previous event based on its resulting product, especially the object complement of acquisition of knowledge, creation and cognition predicates. The evaluation-manner function becomes a conventional function in the Song-Jin Period.

Compared to the previous period, where the evaluative interpretation is backgrounded and sporadic, in the Song Dynasty, an evaluative comment becomes common as \(V_2\) in the \([V \text{ DE} V_2]\) pattern. (20)-(21) illustrate two instances where a typical value expression is predicated of the content of a creative process. In (20), \textit{hao} ‘good’ is predicated of the content of the poem, i.e. what the poem says, which is also a comment on how the poem was composed.

(20) 今有康節先生做八句詩，道得好， （朱子語類）
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{jin} \quad \text{you} \quad \text{kangjie} \quad \text{xiansheng} \quad \text{zuo} \quad \text{ba} \quad \text{ju} \quad \text{shi} \\
\text{today} \quad \text{EXIST} \quad \text{PN} \quad \text{mister} \quad \text{compose} \quad \text{eight} \quad \text{CL} \quad \text{poem}
\end{array}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{dao} \quad \text{de} \quad \text{hao} \\
\text{say} \quad \text{DE} \quad \text{good}
\end{array}
\]
‘Now there is the eighty-lined poem Mr. Kangjie composed, (which is) well said.’
\((\text{Zhu Zi Yu Lei, AD 1270})\)

In (21), the evaluation \textit{shi} ‘proper’ is predicated of the content of \textit{jun-zhi} ‘(to give a) royal command’, which refers sarcastically to a proposition the hearer made in the previous discourse. The speaker addresses his evaluation to the content of the “royal command”, reflected in the English translation with a nominal topic and an evaluative comment (see alignment with topic-comment structure in section §7.2.6).
The fact that the speaker sarcastically packages the hearer’s previous expression of opinion as giving a “royal command” suggests that the evaluation may also be partly attributed to the way in which the hearer addressed him, i.e. an evaluation of manner.

The evaluation of the product or content may be construed as directed to the manner in which the product of speech or writing is created. The evaluative comment may also be predicated of other processes, such as *andun* ‘settle’ in (22).

In (22), the speaker addresses the issue of the principles of heaven, proposing that they need a place to settle. The event of ‘settling’ is then introduced as a topic encoded by [V DE1], followed by an evaluative comment. The comment of ‘being improper’ may be assigned based on various reasons, for example, the way the ‘settling’ action is performed, or the result of ‘settling’ event. Both of these are e-sites of the event [V DE1].

The above examples support the observation that evaluation is an intermediate category between result and manner. In fact, the distinction between a typical manner predication and an evaluative comment is also gradient. A V2 as a predicative comment to an e-site of an event falls on a value-manner continuum. This is partly due to the fact
that manner and value are both qualitative comments, the difference being that the former
is a description, while the latter is an assessment. Expressions such as xini ‘fine, delicate,
in detail’, qiao ‘exquisite’ and miao ‘fine’ are evaluatives of manner in (23)-(24).

(23) 孔子說得細膩（朱子語類。卷第四）

\[\text{xini} \quad \text{shuo} \quad \text{de} \quad \text{xini}\]

Confucius say DE1 in.detail

‘Confucius explained in detail.’

(Zhu Zi Yu Lei, AD 1250)

(24) 甚般價好花兒開。佐得恁巧。傘兒簇得絕妙。（張協狀元）

\[\text{shen} \quad \text{ban} \quad \text{ge} \quad \text{hao} \quad \text{hua-er} \quad \text{nao} \quad \text{zuo} \quad \text{de} \quad \text{nen} \quad \text{qiao}\]

what kind CL good flower-DIM lively arrange DE1 such exquisite

\[\text{san-er} \quad \text{cu} \quad \text{de} \quad \text{jue} \quad \text{miao}\]

umbrella-dimcluster DE1 extreme fine

‘What kind of good flowers are lively, arranged in such an exquisite manner; the
umbrellas are clustered extremely finely.’

(Zhang Xie, 12\textsuperscript{th} -13\textsuperscript{th} c.)

The evaluative comment may also be applied to the extent or degree of an action, as
shown in (25). Notice that extent is by nature an intermediate category between result and
manner, since the latter is associated with how the event is carried out (see the discussion
of the spurious resultative above).

(25) 没些兒斟量。沒些兒懼懽，做得過火。（西廂記）

\[\text{mei} \quad \text{xier} \quad \text{zhenliang} \quad \text{mei} \quad \text{xier} \quad \text{judan} \quad \text{zuo} \quad \text{de} \quad \text{guo-huo}\]

NEG.exist a.little discretion NEG.exist a.little fear DO DE1 excess-fire

‘Without discretion, without fear, he was over the line.’

(Xi Xiang Ji, 12\textsuperscript{th}-13\textsuperscript{th} c.)

7.2.5 Manner and other event-oriented predications

Aside from value, the [V1 DE1 V2] pattern also expresses a variety of manner
predications and general event-oriented properties. This newly emerged function is
accompanied by host-class expansion of both V1 and V2, the former collocating with
more semantic classes of dynamic verbs as V1, and the latter extending to more types of
event-oriented properties such as typical manner predicates. Prototypical manner
predications, such as speed, are shown in (26)-(29).

(26) 這個事極是轉得速 （朱子語類）
\textit{zhe ge wushi ji shi zhuang de su}
this CL matter extreme COP rotate DE1 fast
‘This matter rotates extremely fast.’ (Zhu Zi Yu Lei, AD 1270)

(27) 只是氣旋轉得緊 （朱子語類）
\textit{zhishi qi xuanzhuang de jin}
only atmosphere spin DE1 tight
‘(The heaven) is just atmosphere spinning fast.’ (ibid.)

(28) 磨來磨去，磨得急了，便拶許多溼滑．（朱子語類）
\textit{muo lai muo qu muo de ji le}
rub come rub go rub DE1 speedy RCS
\textit{bian zan xu-duo zhazi}
then press many sediment
‘(The atmosphere) rubbed (against itself while moving around); when the rubbing became rapid, it forced out many sediments.’ (ibid.)

(29) 問：日是陽，如何反行得遲如月？曰：正是月行得遲．（朱子語類）
\textit{zheng-shi yue xing de chi}
precisely-be moon move DE1 slow
‘It is precisely true that the moon moves slowly.’ (ibid.)

Example (30) illustrates a predication of aspectual qualification via the $[V_1 \; DE1 \; V_2]$ pattern, which may be broadly construed as manner.

(30) 他那源頭只管來得不絕 （朱子語類）
\textit{ta na yuan tou zhiguan lai de bu-jue}
3S that source-head simply come DE1 NEG-end
‘Its source simply comes continuously.’ (ibid.)

The $[V_1 \; DE1 \; V_2]$ pattern also expresses other event-oriented relations, such as time.

(31) 問：物有夏秋間生者，曰：生得較遲．（朱子語類）
\textit{wen wu you xia qiu jian sheng zhe}
ask object exist summer fall between be.born NMZ
\textit{yue sheng de jiao chi}
say be.born DE1 compare late
‘(The student) asks: ‘In terms of creatures, there are those born between summer and fall.’
(The lecturer) says: ‘They are born relatively late.’ (Or: Their birth is relatively late).

(Zhu Zi Yu Lei, AD 1270)

(32) 發得早時不費力。（朱子語類）
fa de zao shi bu fei-li
emerge DE1 early time NEG consume-energy
‘When emerging early, it is not strenuous.’

In (31)-(32), the predication following [V DE1] is construed as an evaluation of time. Interestingly, the predicative evaluation of time is not encoded as an adverb in English, either. Note that chi ‘late’ is used as a manner predication in (29) above, but an evaluation of the time of the event in (31); there is no structural distinction between the two uses. The lack of formal distinction again supports the manner vs. evaluation continuum on the one hand, and the association between manner and other event-oriented concepts on the other. The development of value, manner, and other event-oriented predications discussed in this section is summarized by Figure 7.3.

Figure 7.3 The evaluation schema and its links to result and event-oriented functions

7.2.6 Semantic and structural alignment with discourse topic

The various relations between [V DE1] and the subsequent predicate discussed in
the previous sections shared an important feature: the predication after DE1 essentially functions as a comment to a substructure of the event encoded by [V DE1]. Importantly, the development of the [V DE1 Pred] schema from Tang to Song-Jin periods is associated with various semantic and structural features that contribute to the semantic, pragmatic, and structural overlaps of [V DE1] with a discourse topic. These features are tied to the various sub-schemas of the construction. The structural and semantic reanalysis takes place gradually with the accumulation of exemplars that fall under the pattern. This section discusses various parameters that motivate the alignment of [V DE1] with a discourse topic.

7.2.6.1 Chunking and unithood of [V DE1]

As discussed in §3.2.2, the postverbal [V DE1...] complementation/aspectual function of DE1 starts to expand in the Tang Dynasty. A number of frequent V DE1 strings are attested. Via the process of chunking, V DE1 strings become increasingly entrenched as a schema. The increasing unithood and routinization of [V DE1] as a conventionalized sequence progresses gradually from Tang Dynasty to the Song-Jin Period, as more types of [V DE1] sequences strengthen the schema and attract more members into the network. The structural reanalysis probably motivates, and is at the same time strengthened by, the semantic reanalysis of the predicative part as a comment, and the various functional expansions that follow this alignment are discussed in §7.3.2.

In addition, the [V DE1] pattern is more structurally integrated than the [DE1 VP] string. V DE1 as a unit is phonetically more closely integrated to the verb immediately preceding it, than the predicate that follows it. The unithood of [V DE1] is reflected in its requirement for specific morphophonological patterns, i.e. V is predominantly
monosyllabic, and there are no intervening elements between V and DE1. What follows DE1 is much more structurally and semantically diverse – the predicative expression(s) after DE1 can be simple or complex units, with or without an overtly marked subject, and in the case of resultative and extent expressions, the predicative part may be composed of multiple, elaborate expressions, or even clauses with multiple events and participants.

The unithood of [V DE1] is also partly affected by analogy to the resultative verb compound schema in Chinese, which involves the juxtaposition of two monosyllabic verbs [V1V2] (see Mei 1991, Peyraube 1996, Shi 2002, D. Xu 2006, for discussion on resultative verb compounds; see also Yue-Hashimoto 2001 on verb complement constructions in Chinese).

Given its lack of structural diversity, the [V DE1] schema is generally more likely to be stored as a chunk than [DE1 VP]. Table 7.1 shows the type and token frequencies of [V DE1] and [DE1 V] patterns out of the most frequent 50 concordances of the element immediately adjacent to DE1 ([X DE1] and [DE1 X]) in Zu Tang Ji and Zhu Zi Yu Lei. The results show that there is a rise of both the relative type and token frequencies of the [V DE1] pattern, and a decline of both in the [DE1 V] pattern.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pattern</th>
<th>Zu Tang Ji (10th c.)</th>
<th>Zhu Zi Yu Lei (1270)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type</td>
<td>V DE1</td>
<td>DE1 V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Token/Type</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>12.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V DE1:DE1 V (ratio)</td>
<td>1.18</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[V DE1] units serve as models for analogy for postverbal DE1 constructions to develop, and also contribute to the later structural match between [V DE1] units and [V(P) DE2]
nominalization constructions. With the increasing unithood of [V DE1], a [V DE1 Pred] string is likely to be parsed as [V DE1] + Predicate.

7.2.6.2 Structural and semantic parallel

The alignment of [V DE1] with the discourse topic is partly facilitated by its structural features. The event being predicated of, encoded by [V DE1], often appears in the initial, topic position. The discourse function of [V DE1] also tends to parallel that of a topic. That is, the event denoted by [V DE1] is often already introduced in the previous discourse, and continues as a topic. The predicative after [V DE1] makes an assertion about an e-site of the [V DE1] event, but [V DE1] is not being asserted.

(33) 這一箇氣運行，磨來磨去，磨得急了，便揑許多渣滓 (朱子語類)
    muo  lai  muo  qu  muo de ji le
    rub  come  rub  go  rub DE1 speedy RCS

    bian  zan  xu-duo zhazi
    then  press  many  sediment
    ‘(The atmosphere) rubbed (against itself while moving around); when the rubbing became rapid, it forced out many sediments.’ (Zhu Zi Yu Lei, AD 1270)

(34) 問：物有夏秋間生者。曰：生得較遲 (朱子語類)
    wen  wu  you  xia  qiu  jian  sheng  zhe
    ask  object  exist  summer  fall  between  be.born  NMZ

    yue  sheng  de  jiao  chi
    say  be.born  DE1  compare  late
    ‘(The student) asks: ‘In terms of creatures, there are those born between summer and fall.’
    (The lecturer) says: ‘They are born relatively late (=in terms of (their) birth, it is relatively late).’” (ibid.)

The construction makes an assertion about the event introduced as a complement, but not the [V-DE1] event.

7.2.6.3 Decreasing semantic salience of [V DE1]: cause downgraded

The alignment of [V DE1] with a topic, or something to be commented on, leads to two subsequent developments. These are both instantiations of the evaluative schema,
which introduces a predicative comment.

One type of semantic change pertinent to the alignment of \([V \text{ DE1}]\) with topic is its decreasing semantic salience as a causal event. The alignment of the construction with the topic-comment structure, for instance, may be illustrated by (35), where the affected participant, patient, or experiencer (non-agent, non-theme) of a change of state or activity predicate appears as the subject of the \([V1 \text{ DE1} V2]\) construction.

(35) 一堂神道塑得精神。 (張協状元)

\[
yi \text{ tang shen dao su de jingshen}
\]

\[\text{one hall deity spirit mold DE1 spirited}\]

‘(There is) a hall of (statues of) deities (which are) molded vigorous/vivid.’

(Zhang Xie, 12th -13th c.)

\(V_2\) in (35) should originally indicate a result of the \(V_1\) event, because the predicate, \(su\) ‘mold’, involves change. The appearance of the affectee as the subject makes the \([V \text{ DE1}]\) combination look like ‘stative resultatives’ (Nedjalkov and Jaxontov 1988: 6), “verb forms that express a state implying a previous event.” The primary information of (35), however, is not that ‘the process of molding’ resulted in the vivid appearance of the statues, but merely that the statues look vivid (which presumably resulted from the process of molding). The semantic change involves the shift of profile from the causative to the resulting event, and then the construal of the result as a current state. A similar phenomenon has also been addressed previously in §7.2.3, when comparing the semantic differences between examples (13) and (15), one with the experiencer of the cause-emotion predicate before the \([V \text{ DE1}]\) unit, \([xìa \text{ DE1}]\), and one after it.

Another type of development involves the semantic expansion of \([V \text{ DE1}]\) from reference to an e-site of an event (result, manner) to reference to the event itself.
Example (36) also involves a patient (the door) as the subject of a change-of-state predicate, po ‘break (broken)’. Unlike (35), where the event of molding in is demoted and insignificant, the fact that the door is broken is obviously important information. The $V_2$ event qiaoqi ‘odd, particular’ may be construed either as an evaluation of the way the door is broken (a result/manner ambiguity), or the speaker’s judgment of the fact that the $V_1$ event even takes place, i.e. it is peculiar that the door is broken. The example shows the emergence of the factive (commentative) function of $[V_1 \text{DE1} V_2]$ event.

The development discussed here may have also been affected by the reduced selectional restrictions a verb imposes on the semantic roles of its subject NP. T. Mei (1991) argues that there is a neutralization of restriction on the semantic role of the subject NP from Archaic to Medieval Chinese. In Archaic Chinese, the verb coordination construction in the $[V_1 V_2]$ pattern selects specific semantic roles of the subject – A unit of two coordinated transitive verbs, such as $V$-sha in (37a), only takes an Agent/Force subject, and a Transitive (Vt) + Intransitive (Vi) unit, such as $V$-si in (37b), only takes a Patient/Undergoer subject. The constraint is illustrated by (37a-b) (examples from T. Mei 1991).

(37) (a) Agent/Force + Vt + Vt + Patient/Undergoer

\[
\text{an beng jin ya sha wo zhe}
\]

‘The bank collapsed and completely crushed and killed the people lying (there).’

*(Shi Ji, 100 B.C.)*
More than a hundred people, because of the charcoal collapsed, were all crushed and died.'

(Lun Heng, A.D. 15)

T. Mei (1991) suggests that the resultative verb compound construction is established when a transitive-intransitive verb unit \([\text{Vt+Vi}]\) (in other words, \([\text{V+R}]\)) begins to take an Agent subject, as shown in (38). After pattern in (38) is established, there is an ambiguity as to whether an Agent or a Patient NP is involved in an “NP +VR” pattern (see also Peyraube 1996:192-3). The Agent/Patient V1+Vi pattern then emerges.

(38) Agent/Force +Vt+Vi+Patient/Undergoer

'It was the neighbor’s old yellow dog, (he) then beat it to death.’

(You Ming Lu, 5th c.)

T. Mei (1991) proposes that the neutralization of constraints is linked to the change from the “Subject-Predicate” in Archaic Chinese to the “Topic-Comment” structure in Medieval Chinese. The difference lies in that the verb imposes a more strict selectional restriction on the subject, but not the topic. As can be seen in (39)-(40) (from T. Mei 1991), the \([\text{V DE1}]\) pattern established in the Medieval Chinese also allows for either an Agent or a Patient as the NP immediately before it, in line with the general tendency in the language. The possibility to place a Patient as the subject may have facilitated decreasing semantic salience of the \([\text{V DE1}]\) event discussed in this section.

(39) Agent/Force + [\text{V DE1}] +VP

‘The wild wind blows (can blow) it open.’

(Xia Yun, Poem by Tsao Song, 9th c.)
(40) Patient/Force + [V DE1] + VP  
\[ \text{shen} \quad \text{shui} \quad \text{you} \quad \text{yu} \quad \text{xian} \quad \text{de} \quad \text{chu} \] 
\text{deep} \quad \text{water} \quad \text{exist} \quad \text{fish} \quad \text{hold_in_mouth} \quad \text{DE1} \quad \text{exit} 

\text{‘There is fish in the deep water (that) can be/is carried out.’} 

(Lu Zi, Poem by Du Xunhe, 9th c.)

7.2.7 Factive

The construal of [V DE1] event as a topic to be predicated of, as in (41), leads to the conventionalization of a factive interpretation, where the predicate following [V DE1] is an evaluation about the existence or realization of the event itself (cf. commentative in Noonan 1985/2007).

(41) 然来得已不是; 及至, 又無可為者…（朱子語類）  
\[ \text{ran} \quad \text{lai} \quad \text{de} \quad \text{yi} \quad \text{bu-shi} \] 
\text{however} \quad \text{come} \quad \text{DE1} \quad \text{already} \quad \text{NEG-proper} 

\[ \text{ji} \quad \text{zhi} \quad \text{you} \quad \text{wu} \quad \text{ke} \quad \text{wei} \quad \text{zhe} \] 
\text{till} \quad \text{arrive} \quad \text{also} \quad \text{NEG.exist} \quad \text{able} \quad \text{do} \quad \text{NMZ} 

\text{‘However, the coming of it (the wish) was already improper; when arrived, there was also nothing to do.’} 

(Zhu Zi Yu Lei 110, AD1270)

The factive interpretation in (41) is an illustration of further movement of the predicative following [V DE1] towards event-orientation.

7.2.8 Copular functions of [V DE1]

When the event denoted by [V DE1] loses not only its semantic salience, but also its semantic substance, [V DE1] functions only to introduce a predicative comment about a participant. In this function, the [V DE1] unit begins to resemble a copula, a supporting element that accompanies a predication. Because [V DE1] no longer denotes an event, the predicate following the VP is semantically the primary predication. The construction may be described as the ‘copular’ function of [V DE1], or the (primary) ‘predicative’ function of the original secondary predicate.
The DE1-copular construction may be traced to resultatives. Compare the following functions in (42) to (44) with the causative result schema discussed before.

(42) 好乾、好羞，你做得無功受禄。（西廂記）
    hao-gan-hao-xiu ni zuo de wu gong shou lu
    good-drink-good-delicacy 2S do DE1 NEG merit receive reward
    ‘(There is) all the fine food – you receive a reward without deserving it!’
    (Xi Xiang Ji, 12\(^{th}\)-13\(^{th}\) c.)

(43) 也無閒話，只辦得燈前魑魅地哭。（西廂記）
    ye wu xian-hua
    also NEG leisure-speech
    zhi ban de deng qian xuxu di ku
    only do DE1 lamp front dark.REDU DE3 cry
    ‘There are no extra words, (they) simply weep secretly in front of the lamp.’
    (ibid.)

(44) 張生聞語，轉轉心勞攘。使作得似風魔（西廂記）
    zhang sheng wen yu zhuanzhuan xin laorang
    PN MR. hear speech turn.REDU heart toil
    shi-zuo de si fengmuo
    make-do DE1 resemble mad
    ‘Mr. Zhang heard the speech, unsettled, his heart was restless, (he) seemed mad…’
    (ibid.)

While clearly linked to resultatives, [V DE1] in these examples no longer encode a process, but merely functions to introduce current events.

- **Depictive > copula**

  The copular functions of DE1 may also be a development from a depictive.

  Compare examples (45)-(46) involving sheng-DE1 ‘lit.be.born-DE1’ (also see sheng-DE1 in (34) above).

(45) 生得蔽隔之甚，無可通處（朱子語類）
    sheng de bi-ge zhi shen
    be.born DE1 blocked-divided that excessive
    ‘(The beasts) are born (with their nature) extremely blocked and divided.’
    (Zhu Zi Yu Lei 110, AD1270)

(46) 那個白兔生得霜毫錯落，玉體輕盈；四蹄壯健疾如風，雙睛鮮明光耀日。（五代史平話）
    na ge bai-tu sheng de
    that CL white-rabbit be.born DE1
That rabbit has frosty hair that strews randomly, a beautiful body light and graceful, four paws strong and fast like the wind, and a pair of eyes bright and shiny in the sun.

*(Wu Dai Shi Ping Hua, 13th c.)*

In (45), *sheng*-DE1 still refers to the process of ‘being born’, and is a canonic instantiation of a depictive. In (46), *sheng*-DE1 no longer refers to the process of the rabbit being born, but to the general physical properties of the rabbit. In this function, it has a meaning similar to English *appear* or *be*, which is essentially used to introduce a predicative property without making reference to (or emphasizing) the process that is simultaneous with, or leading up to it. When a [V DE1] combination no longer contributes significantly to the semantics of the whole proposition, its function resembles that of a copula, and the secondary predicate becomes the sole predicate. The development of a copula-like function of V-DE1 is compatible with the general schema formed along with the accumulation of various subchemas. The examples show further deviations and extensions from the original resultative functions, schematized by Figure 7.4.
Figure 7.4 The development of predicative (copular) and factive functions

7.2.9 Summary

The distribution of the semantic relations expressed by the predicative element introduced by [V \( \text{DE}_1 \)] is provided in Table 7.2.

Table 7.2 Functions of \( \text{DE}_1 \)-marked predicative relations from 7\(^{th}\) to 13\(^{th}\) centuries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Tang Dynasty (7(^{th})-9(^{th}) c.)</th>
<th>Five Dynasties (10(^{th}) c.)</th>
<th>Song-Jin Period (12(^{th})-13(^{th}) c.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Bian Wen</td>
<td>Zu Tang Ji</td>
<td>Zhang Xie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>66</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Result</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Evaluation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Manner</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Extent</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Degree</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Factive (copula, value)</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sum</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

439
A comparison between the early functions in *Bian Wen* and *Zu Tang Ji* and the texts in the Song-Jin Period shows that development of the predicate from resultative to several simultaneous event relations. The various functions derive from the conventionalization of various aspects of contextual inferences, as indicated by the numbered groupings in the leftmost column. These include alternative construals of a resultative (#1) as an evaluation of an aspect of the event (#2), a description of a simultaneous event (#3), and a measurement of an extent or degree (#4). Furthermore, the loss of semantic salience and semantic content of an [V DE1] event contributes to the copular function of [V DE1] (#5), and the overall alignment with the topic-comment structure made it possible for a factive (#6) evaluation function to emerge. The instances that are ambiguous between two or several construals represent intermediate categories of development.

Overall, whether the ‘secondary’ predication following [V DE1] is descriptive of an extent, a degree, a manner, a participant (i.e. a depictive), or an evaluation, the predication may be broadly construed as an elaboration of an e-site of the event structure denoted by [V DE1]. The factive function, where [V DE1] refers to the event itself, is compatible with this general schema, shown as follows:

\[
[V \text{ DE1} \quad + \quad \text{Predicate}] \\
E\text{-site of } V \quad \text{comment} \\
V
\]

The semantics of the construction has arguably changed from its original \([V \text{ and as a result Pred}]\) to \([\text{In terms of } V, \text{ it is Pred}]\).

Notably, depictive is not a primary function of this construction, but often co-occurs with a manner or resultative construal. This is likely due to the preferred information-packaging function of the [V DE1 Pred] construction. A non-resultative
predication more appropriately introduces a general property or evaluative comment of (an e-site of) the event, instead of a purely incidental property of a participant that is temporally simultaneous with the event. In addition, the [V DE Predicate] construction is used as one of the strategies employed for property predication, where [V DE1] stands as a topic or secondary topic that the predicate is ascribed to.

7.3 **DE2 and the [V DE Pred] functions**

As shown in §4.2.2, DE2 developed a number of functions from its nominalization functions, including both topic and focus-marking. A DE2-marked participant nominalization construction may function as the topic. The function appears early, when the nominalization function of DE2 is being established. (47)-(48) illustrate early examples where a DE2-marked participant nominalization refers to the content of a speech predicate, followed by an evaluative comment.

(47) 阿姨到底是那 (変文)

\[
\text{ayi} \quad \text{dao} \quad \text{di} \quad \text{shi} \quad \text{na}
\]

nun say DE2 right PRTASSERT

‘What the nun says is right.’ (Bian Wen, 7\textsuperscript{th}-9\textsuperscript{th} c.)

(48) 許君妙會，說底相應。（祖堂集）

\[
\text{xu} \quad \text{jun} \quad \text{miao} \quad \text{hui} \quad \text{shuo} \quad \text{di} \quad \text{xiang} \quad \text{ying}
\]

PN mister wonderful understand speak DE2 RECI correspond

‘Mr. Xu understands wonderfully, what he said corresponds.’ (Zu Tang Ji, AD952)

Especially when it refers to the product or content of a process, the DE2-marked noun has a structural and semantic match to [V DE1] in the [V DE1 Pred\(_\text{VALUE}\)] pattern. The content of speech represented by [V\(_\text{speech}\) DE2], as the product of a creative event, is not a typical participant. The participant it refers to is conceptually adjacent to the product or result as an e-site denoted by [V DE1] in a [V DE1 Pred] construction.
A DE2-marked event nominalization construction often functions as a contrastive topic, as illustrated by (49) from Zu Tang Ji (see discussion in §4.2.2.2). The comment is commonly a typical value expression, such as shi ‘proper’, hao ‘good’.

(49) 坐底是? 躺底是? (祖堂集)

\[
\text{zuo} \quad \text{di} \quad \text{shi} \quad \text{wo} \quad \text{di} \quad \text{shi} \\
\text{sit} \quad \text{DE2} \quad \text{proper} \quad \text{lie_down} \quad \text{DE2} \quad \text{proper}
\]

‘To sit is proper? To lie down is proper?’ (Zu Tang Ji, AD952)

The event-nominalization function of DE2 is well-established in the Song-Jin Period. The following examples attested in Zhu Zi illustrate that a DE2-marked event may function as the topic of an evaluative comment, which does not need to be contrastive.

(50) 頥得了，見得破底好。（朱子語類）

\[
\text{xiao-de} \quad \text{le} \quad \text{jian-de-po} \quad \text{di} \quad \text{hao} \\
\text{understand-DE1} \quad \text{PFV} \quad \text{see-DE1-break} \quad \text{DE2} \quad \text{good}
\]

‘(If one can) understand (this), (and can) see through (this), (that) is good.’

‘It is good to understand and to see through this.’ (Zhu Zi, 1270 AD)

(51) 不如觀己底妥貼（朱子）

\[
\text{buru} \quad \text{guan} \quad \text{zi} \quad \text{di} \quad \text{tuotie} \\
\text{rather} \quad \text{watch} \quad \text{self} \quad \text{DE2} \quad \text{proper}
\]

‘Instead, it is more proper to observe yourself.’ (ibid.)

In (52), the DE2-marked event noun refers to the event of the participant’s dying/death. The DE2-marked event may be construed as the object argument of yan ‘examine’.

(52) 驗他死的虛實。（五代史平話）

\[
\text{yan} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{si} \quad \text{de} \quad \text{xu} \quad \text{shi} \\
\text{examine} \quad \text{3S} \quad \text{die/death} \quad \text{DE2} \quad \text{false} \quad \text{real}
\]

‘…to examine whether he really died (lit. examine whether his dying/death is false or real.)’ (Wu Dai Shi Ping Hua, 13th c.)

Examples (50)-(52) illustrate a DE2-marked event as topic followed by a commentative predicate. The event nominalization function of DE2 appears in the [Proposition-DE2 + value] pattern, where the DE2-marked proposition is the topic. (50)-(52) illustrate the following schema, where Y is an evaluation/comment of X:
Pattern: \[X \text{ DE2}] \quad [Y_{value}]

Function: TOPIC \quad COMMENT

This function of \text{DE2} corresponds to the factive function of \text{DE1} that emerged in the Tang-Song Period, shown in (41) above. Different from \[V \text{ DE1}], which always takes a simple monosyllabic or synonymous disyllabic predicate, a \text{DE2}-marked event may be either complex, e.g. (50)-(51), or simple, e.g. (52). Associated with a network with a wider range of extensions and more flexible collocational patterns, \[V(P) \text{ DE2} \text{ PRED} \] has the potential to subsume the functions of \[V \text{ DE1}]. Note that the semantic parallel between \[V(P) \text{ DE2} \text{ PRED} \] and the \[V \text{ DE1 VP}] pattern often pairs with a value predication.

7.3.1 \text{DE1} and \text{DE2}: overlaps in structural and semantic contexts (Song-Jin Period)

The distribution of \text{DE1} and \text{DE2} remain largely distinct in the Song-Jin Period, despite the semantic and structural parallels with \text{DE1}-constructions. In the sample, there is one instance of \[V \text{ DE2 Pred} \] attested in \textit{Zhang Xie}, one in \textit{Zhu Zi}, one in \textit{Wu Dai Shi Ping Hua}, and seven instances in \textit{Xi Xiang Ji}. These are illustrated below.

- Evaluation of a result

\text{DE1} and \text{DE2} appears in the same passage in \textit{Zhu Zi Yu Lei}, where both \text{DE1} and \text{DE2} mark a speech verb and are followed by an evaluation of the product of the speech, shown in (53). Such instances are not very commonly marked by \text{DE2} in Song Dynasty, but there is a good semantic and structural match between \text{DE1} and \text{DE2} in this context.

(53) 大凡文字，上古聖賢說底便不差。到得周程張邵們說得亦不差。（朱子語類）

dafan wenzi shanggu shengxian shuo-di bian bu cha
generally.speaking words ancient saint say-DE2 then not bad

dao-de zhou cheng zhang shao men shou-de yi bu cha
arrive-DE1 PN PN PN PN PL say-DE1 also not bad

‘Generally speaking, in terms of words, what the ancient saints said was not bad; when it comes to Zhou, Cheng, Zhang, Shao,’
(i) “What they said was also not bad.”
(ii) “They said it also not badly.”

\textit{(Zhu Zi Yu Lei, 1270 AD)}
Sentence (54) shows a DE2-marked event *gaizao* ‘build’ followed by an evaluative comment *fei xiaoke* ‘not ordinary’. It seems clear that DE2 marks participant-nominalization in this context – the product of the building process marked by DE2 refers to the grand temple *Pu Ji Si*.

(54) 那是國家修造了數載，其間蓋造的非小可，想天宮上光景，誰他不過。（董西廬）

*guojia xiu-zao le shu zai yu guo*

country repair-make PF several year over pass

*qi-jian gai-zao de fei xiao-ke*

between build-make DE2 NEG ordinary

‘The country built it for over several years, during the time, what was made is not ordinary.’

*(Xi Xiang Ji, 13th c.)*

Example (55) from *Xi Xiang Ji* illustrates a DE2-marked NP functioning as the topic of inquiry.

(55) 您那門親事議論的如何？（董西廬）

*nin na men qinshi yilun de ruhe*

2.HON that CL marriage discuss DE2 what

‘In terms of that match or yours, how is the discussion (going)?’

*(ibid.)*

The DE2-marked NP matches the structure and semantics of a DE1-marked secondary predication/complementation construction. The DE2-marked headless modification construction, translated as ‘discussion’ here, refers to the progress or the result of the activity in question, which just like the [V DE1] patterns, elaborates on an e-site of *yilun* ‘discussion’.

Occasionally, DE2 is attested to mark the primary event in a resultative secondary predicate in the Song-Jin Period.

(56) 貧女那賤人。十人打底九人沒下。（張協狀元）

*shi ren da di jiu ren meixia*

ten person beat DE2 nine person die

‘I would beat nine out of ten people to death.’

*(Zhang Xie, 12th -13th c.)*
The following DE2-marked nominalizations also demonstrate the same structure and function (and semantic ambiguities) as DE1-marked secondary predications.

(57) bu mingbai dange de ru-ci
NEG understand delay DE2 like-this
‘I cannot understand (how) it has delayed like this.’

(58) junrui yingying yue wei de jin
PN PN more cuddle DE2 tight
‘Junrui and Yingying cuddle even more more closely.’

The further it develops, the [V DE1 VP] construction becomes more structurally and semantically aligned with the topic-comment structure marked by DE2 (which has DE2 marking a topic followed by some evaluative comment), shown below.

- [V DE1 ] [Pred]
  E-site of V comment

- [V(P) DE2 ] [Pred]
  Topic comment

7.3.2 The dominance of DE2 in [V DE VP] constructions in the Yuan Dynasty

The Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368) is a significant period of time for the convergence of DE1 and DE2 constructions. Though it only lasted less than a century, the period witnessed several drastic changes in the Chinese phonological system, e.g. loss of the Medieval Chinese entering tone (入声 rùshēng, i.e. syllables ending in oral stops) and stop codas, and devoicing of Medieval Chinese voiced obstruents (L. Wang 1985:ch7). Some morphosyntactic residues of Mongolian influence are observed in Yuan Dynasty texts, such as the extensive use of animate plural marker men (often written as 每), the use of locative case marking gendi (根底), the use of existential marker you (有) in the sentence-
final position, and the use of he (呵) for topic-marking and modality functions (C. Li 1999, G. Cao 2003:504).

Most significantly, the overall simplification of phonological inventory also contributes to the increasing similarity between the three markers DE1, DE2, DE3, and likely also the durative marker zhe (著)\(^2\). An investigation of the use of written forms DE1, DE2, and DE3 and zhe in Yuan Dynasty, especially in Yuan Kan Za Ju (henceforth Za Ju) and other drama scripts, provides a clear illustration of this stage of great transition. Although DE1, DE2, and DE3 are all still attested in their original prototypical functions in Za Ju, the form for the nominalizer/modification marker DE2 (mostly written as 的, a few written as 底) is obviously also commonly used for functions previously dominated by the complementizer/aspectual marker DE1 (得), the durative marker (地) and the predicative/secondary predicate marker DE3 (地).

7.3.2.1 DE2-marked [V DE VP] constructions in Za Ju

In the drama scripts from the Yuan Dynasty (13\(^{th}\)-14\(^{th}\) c.), DE2 is expanding on a greater scale into the verb complementation and secondary predication functions of DE1 due to phonetic similarity and functional and structural overlap. In my sample of Yuan Za Ju, the [V DE2 VP] pattern for secondary predication has exceeded that of [V DE1 VP] (86 vs. 59 tokens respectively). The sample includes the first thirteen drama scripts in Yuan Kan Za Ju San Shi Zhong ‘Thirty Drama Scripts Published in the Yuan Dynasty’ (元刊雜劇三十種), i.e. from Guan Zhang Shuang Fu Xi Shu Meng (闞張雙赴西蜀夢) ‘Guanyu and Zhangfei go to Western Shu together in Dream’ to Zhao Shi Gu Er (趙氏孤兒) ‘The

\(^2\)Note that zhe (著) and zhe (著) are also etymologically different morphemes, which has a verbal and a nominal origin, respectively. They have also become phonetically similar in the Yuan Dynasty, and have various structural functional overlaps, which are beyond the scope of the dissertation.
Orphan of Zhao’.

The following sentences, where an event is represented by [V DE] and linked to a predicative comment, are written with the modification DE2 (的). They match the pattern and functions of the DE1 (得) constructions (selected examples from Yuan Kan Za Ju San Shi Zhong, the 13th-14th c.).

• **Result**

The DE2-marked event represents a cause, followed by an event (or a series of events) as its consequence.

(59) 引的我半生忙，十年悶，無明夜攘攘勞勞。（元刊雜劇三十種）

\[ \begin{array}{lllllllll}
\text{yin} & \text{de} & \text{wo} & \text{ban} & \text{sheng} & \text{mang} & \text{shi} & \text{nian} & \text{nao} \\
\text{cause} & \text{DE2} & \text{IS} & \text{half} & \text{life} & \text{busy} & \text{ten} & \text{year} & \text{restless} \\
\text{wu} & \text{ming} & \text{ye} & \text{rangranglaolao} \\
\text{NEG.exist} & \text{light} & \text{night} & \text{in turmoil.REDU} \\
\end{array} \]

‘(It) makes me busy for half of my life, restless for ten years, being in turmoil in the dark night.’

(Za Ju, 13th-14th c.)

(60) 折末絮得你囑囑，休想勸的我心回。（元刊雜劇三十種）

\[ \begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{zemuo} & \text{xu} & \text{de} & \text{ni} & \text{kou} & \text{kun} \\
\text{as.such} & \text{chatter} & \text{DE1} & \text{2S} & \text{mouth} & \text{tired} \\
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{lllllllll}
\text{xiu} & \text{xiang} & \text{quan} & \text{de} & \text{wo} & \text{xin} & \text{hui} \\
\text{NEG} & \text{think} & \text{persuade} & \text{DE2} & \text{IS} & \text{heart} & \text{return} \\
\end{array} \]

‘Even if you chatter till your mouth is tired, never expect to persuade me to change my mind.’

(ibid.)

(61) 在生時清俸祿養的紅白。（元刊雜劇三十種）

\[ \begin{array}{llllllllll}
\text{zai} & \text{sheng} & \text{shi} & \text{qing} & \text{fenglu} & \text{jiang-yang} & \text{de} & \text{hong-bai} \\
\text{at} & \text{life} & \text{time} & \text{apply} & \text{official} & \text{salary} & \text{rest-maintain} & \text{DE2} & \text{red-white} \\
\end{array} \]

‘When alive, they apply for the official salary and nourish themselves red and white (i.e. healthy and good-looking).’

(ibid.)

• **Resultative extent**

The result of [V DE2] implies a measurement of the extent of V1 action.
(62) 那兩口兒忒別損，折倒的腰屈頭低。（元刊雜劇三十種）
zhedao  de  yao  chu  tou  di
suffer  DE2  waist  bent  head  lowered
‘Suffer to the extent that their waists were bent and heads lowered.’

• Resultative extent (or manner)

The result of [V $\text{DE2}$] implies a measurement of the extent of the action $V$, but at the same time, may be construed as the manner in which the event $V$ is performed.

(63) 啼哭的摘膽剜心。（元刊雜劇三十種）
ti-ku  de  zhai  dan  wan  xin
cry  DE2  rip  gall  gouge  heart
‘Cry (so hard as if) one’s gall was ripped and heart was gouged out.’
‘Cry in a manner (that it seemed like) one’s gall was ripped and heart was gouged out.’

(Za Ju, 13th-14th c.)

(64) 你孩兒吃的醉眼横斜，醉墨淋漓，倒在長街。（元刊雜劇三十種）
ni  haier  chi  de  zui  yan  heng-xie
2S  child  eat  DE2  drunken  eye  slanted
zui  muo  linli  dao  zai  chang  jie
drunken  ink  drenched  fall down  at  long  street
‘Your child drank to the extent (in such a manner) that his drunken eyes slanted, that he was drenched in drunken ink, that he laid at the long street.’

(ibid.)

Extent and degree functions are also commonly marked by $\text{DE2}$.

(65) 氣的肚裏生嗔，愁的似地懸天昏。（元刊雜劇三十種）
qi  de  du  li  sheng  chen
angry  DE2  belly  in  be born  anger
chou  de  si  di  can  tian  hun
worried  DE2  resemble  earth  sad  heaven  dizzy
‘Angry to the extent that anger rises in the belly; worried to the extent/in such a way that it is as if the earth is sad the heaven is dizzy.’

(ibid.)

• Manner

[V $\text{DE2}$] is followed by a predicate that describes the manner in which the event $V$ is performed.
(66) 但說的事事知，子說謊心話，不肯做本分生涯。（元刊雜劇三十種）

\[
\text{shuo \ de \ shi \ shi \ zhi} \\
\text{speaking \ DE2 \ matter \ matter \ know}
\]

‘You speak (as if/like you) know everything.’ (ibid.)

- **Degree, manner/result**

[V DE2] is followed by a predicative comment that evaluates the degree or manner/result of the [V DE2] event.

(67) 是兩下裏人來的稀草長的荒。（元刊雜劇三十種）

\[
\text{shi \ liang-xia \ li \ ren \ lai \ de \ xi} \\
\text{be \ two.side \ in \ person \ come \ DE2 \ rare}
\]

\[
\text{cao \ zhang \ de \ huang} \\
\text{grass \ grow \ DE2 \ desolate}
\]

‘(The reasons are) twofold – the coming of the people is rare, the growing of the grass is unconstrained.’

(68) (Za Ju, 13\textsuperscript{th}-14\textsuperscript{th} c.)

- **Extent**

The predicate following [V DE2] is a result of V reaching a certain extent. The predicate therefore measures the extent of V.

(68) 這孩兒何曾夜啼，無些驚氣。嬌的不肯離懷，懶慵挪步，怕見獨立。（元刊雜劇三十種）

\[
\text{jiao \ de \ bu \ ken \ li \ huai} \\
\text{delicate \ DE2 \ NEG \ willing \ leave \ bosom}
\]

‘(The child) is so delicate that it is unwilling to leave the caretaker’s bosom.’ (ibid.)

(69) 淋的不尋俗（元刊雜劇三十種）

\[
\text{lin \ de \ bu \ xun-su} \\
\text{pour \ DE2 \ NEG \ follow-ordinary}
\]

‘The rain is pouring unusually (heavily)/Or: (I am) extremely soaked (in rain).’ (ibid.)

- **Value**

The predicate following [V DE2] is an evaluation of an e-site of the event V.

(70) 這大夫好，調理的是，診候的強！（元刊雜劇三十種）

\[
\text{zhe \ dafu \ hao \ tiaoli \ de \ shi \ zhenhou \ de \ qiang} \\
\text{this \ doctor \ good \ take_care \ DE2 \ proper \ prescribe \ DE2 \ strong}
\]

‘This doctor is good – in terms of conditioning, it is property, in terms of prescription,
it is robust.’

(71) 你見的差了也！（元刊雜劇三十種）
\[ ni \ jian \ de \ cha \ le \ ye \]
2S see DE2 wrong RCS PRT
‘You see this wrongly!’
‘Your view is wrong!’

(Za Ju, 13th–14th c.)

(72) 傳說的開無虛謊（元刊雜劇三十種）
\[ an \ shuo \ de \ kai \ wu \ xu \ miu \]
1S say DE2 complete NEG.exist false wrong
‘What I say is completely without falsity.’

(73) 五陵豪氣三千丈，打扮的不尋常。（元刊雜劇三十種）
\[ daban \ de \ bu \ xunchang \]
dress_up DE2 not usual
‘(They) dress up in an unusual way./They have unusual outfits.’

• **Evaluation of degree**

[V DE2] is followed by a predicate is an evaluation of the excessive degree of a scalar property denoted by [V DE2].

(74) 這雪飄在俺窮漢身邊冷的分外（元刊雜劇三十種）
\[ zhe \ xue \ piao \ zai \ an \ qiung \ han \ shen \ bian \]
this snow float at 1S poor man body side
\[ leng \ de \ fenwai \]
cold DE2 extraordinary
‘The snow floating next to the body of me, the poor man, it is extraordinarily cold.’

(75) 林的不尋常，聽得便眉舒，不朗朗搖響鈴皮鼓。（元刊雜劇三十種）
\[ lin \ de \ bu \ xunsu \]
soak/rain_pour DE2 NEG ordinary
‘I am extremely soaked (in rain).’
‘The rain is pouring unusually heavily/Or: (I am) extremely soaked (in rain).’

• **Evaluation of extent**

The predicate following [V DE2] describes an excessive extent of an e-site of [V DE2]. In the case of (75), it may be measuring either of the magnitude of the rain pouring down, or how soaked the person is in the rain.
• Evaluation of time

In (76), [V DE2] introduces a predicative evaluation of the time when the [V DE2] event is carried out.

(76) 去的遲呵，著則兩班文武在丹墀候等。（元刊雜劇三十種）
qu de chi he zhuo ze liang ban wen wu zai danxi hou deng
‘(His) coming being late…’

Za Ju, 13th-14th c.)

7.3.2.2 V DE as topic

A [V DE] combination also functions like a topic in Za Ju, and the predicate following it is linked to a comment. Examples (77)-(78), with [V DE1] and [V DE2] respectively, illustrate how [V DE] refers to an event already mentioned in the previous discourse. The event encoded by [V DE] is not being asserted, but is presupposed.

(77) 都是賊子奏，奏得您繼母焦，焦得您父王愁。（元刊雜劇三十種）
dou shi zeizi zou
all COP traitor report
zou de nin ji-mu jiao
report DE1 2_HON step_mother anxious
jiao de nin fu-wang chou
anxious DE1 2_HON father-king worry
‘It was all because the traitors reported: their reporting made your stepmother anxious; her being anxious made your king father worry.’

(78) 韶華又斷送，斷送的老盡英雄。（元刊雜劇三十種）
shaohua you duan-song duan-song de lao jin yingxiong
time again break-send break-send DE2 old complete hero
‘Time passes again, with its passing, all the heroes grow old.’
‘With time passing, all the heroes grow old.’

(V DE2 Pred) in (79) also resembles a topic-comment structure. The marker he (啊) is a particle that marks the topic of a proposition and can also perform discourse functions.
This provides evidence that [V DE] in [V DE + Pred] pattern does not make an assertion about the event V, but is associated with a construction which has the discourse function of providing further comments about the event denoted by [V DE].

7.3.2.3 Structural ambiguity between relative clause and secondary predication

The [V DE2 Pred] pattern exhibits another type of ambiguity when Pred contains a nominal subject. A DE2-marked [V DE2 NP VP] pattern may between two construals, one with [V DE2] as a relative clause modifying NP, one with [V DE2] referring to an e-site of V. The NP is thus construed either as the nominal head of [V DE2 NP], or as the NP subject of the predicate introduced by [V DE2].

(80) 官裡待報答你那血濺的戰袍紅，草染的征靴綠。（元刊雜劇三十種）

(a) DE2 as relativizer:
‘The office is awaiting to requite you for the battle robe (that is) red from the blood splattered (over it), the battle-boots (that are) green from being dyed by the grass.’

(b) DE2 as marker of e-site of V:
‘The office is awaiting to requite you for the fact that the blood spattered your battle robe red, and the grass dyed your battle boots green.’

The two construals represented by (a) and (b) are parsed as follows (shown for the first clause only):
The ambiguity is facilitated by the fact that the two [V DE2 NP VP] strings as a whole function as the predicative complement of *baoda* ‘requite’. There is no significant change to the semantics of the whole proposition whether one opts for construal (a) or construal (b). In either construal, the two strings essentially represent the same events that are being requited for.

The same ambiguity in construal applies when the NP in the [V DE2 NP VP] string not only represents an affected participant of the [V DE2] event, but also refers metonymically to the event itself.

(81)  你揮的玉塵特遲，打的金鐘暢緊。（元刊雜劇三十種）

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{ni} & \text{hui} & \text{de} & \text{yu} & \text{zhu} & \text{te} \\
2s & \text{wave} & \text{DE2} & \text{jade} & \text{whisk} & \text{especially} & \text{late}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
da & \text{de} & \text{jin} & \text{zhong} & \text{chang-jin} \\
\text{beat} & \text{DE2} & \text{golden} & \text{bell} & \text{smooth-tight}
\end{array}
\]

‘Your waving of the jade whisk is rather slowly; your beating (playing) the golden bell is fluid.’

‘You wave the jade whisk rather slowly; (you) beat (play) the golden bell fluidly.’

\((Za\ Ju, 13^{\text{th}}-14^{\text{th}}\ c.)\)

In (81), the jade whisk and the golden bell are objects in the events of waving and playing, respectively. The comments *chi* ‘slow/late’ and *chang-jin* ‘fluid(ly)’, however, are not predicated of the objects themselves. The predications are instead comments about the events. This is different from the relationship that usually holds between an NP subject of the predicative comment to [V DE] in the [V DE Pred] pattern. Because the NPs are representative of events, there is not a great semantic difference whether the event is
represented by [V DE2 NP] or by [V DE2] [NP]. The first construal is parsed as a modifier-head structure with a DE2-marked relative clause, and the second construal a juxtaposition of two topics, the first is the event referred to by [V DE2], and the elaboration of the event by specifying the NP participant.

7.4 DE2-marked complementation and aspectual functions

The convergence of DE1 and DE2 is also attested in complementation functions. Sporadic overlap in distribution is attested in the Song-Jin Period. Both DE2 and DE1 are attested in presentational constructions in Zhang Xie, accompanying an immediate perception verb jian ‘see’.

(82) jian di fu men gao song pu-cong zong-heng
see DE2 hall gate high stand servant-retainer vertical-horizontal
‘There is (lit. they see) the gate of the hall standing high, the servants everywhere.’
(Zhang Xie, 12th - 13th c.)

(83) dan jian de lang hu zhi zong bei fong sasa
just see DE1 wolf tiger MOD trace sad wind IDEO
shi wen de yuan nao zhi yun yue ye huihui
often hear DE1 ape monkey MOD rhythm moon night bright
‘There are (one sees) simply traces of wolves and tigers; the sad wind rustles’
‘There are (one hears) often rhythms of apes and monkeys; the night moon shines bright.’
(ibid.)

7.4.1 Discourse contexts of DE2 in equational structures

Aside from the [Proposition-DE2+ evaluation] function reviewed in §7.3, a DE2-marked NP also appears in an equational structure as the topic (also see the discussion of DE2-marked comment in the equational structure in §4.2.2.3).

The expression serving as the comment may be explanatory (predicative), adding more information to the already established DE2-marked topic, as shown in (84).
More commonly, a DE2-marked topic appears in identificational contexts, as shown in (85).

The statement in (85) appears in a character’s self-introductory monologue from Zhang Xie Zhuang Yuan. It is not obvious at first glance why instead of a simple predicative, the information is packaged via an equational pattern with a DE2-marked topic. The statement, however, appears in the middle of several paralleled topic-comment statements, the topics being suο weι (his deeds), gεngzhi (his integrity), hao di (what he likes).

Although the speaker is not addressing any questions in the discourse, one can think of the DE2-marked nominal topic, like the other topics, as attempts to address the presupposed open propositions in contexts – when introducing oneself, it is presumed that one would discuss one’s career, character, and likes and dislikes.
Two issues require further notice. First, the equational structure often appears with a copula *shi*, such as (84), but it can also appear appositively without any copula, as shown previously in (85), and (86) below.

(86) 最怕的愁到黄昏，孤灯一点，被儿冷落又難溫。眼前不見意中人，枕滿離痕。 （西廂記）

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllllllllll}
zui & pa & de & chou & dao & huang-hun & gu & deng & yi & dian \\
most & fear & DE2 & sad & till & dawn & solitary & lamp & one & dot \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllllllllll}
bei-er & leng-luo & you & nan & wen \\
quilt-DIM & cold, desolate & also & difficult & warm \\
\end{array}
\]

‘What I fear most, feeling sad till dawn, in the solitary, feeble lamp, the quilt is cold and desolate, difficult to warm up.’

\[
(Xi \ Xiang \ Ji, 12^{th}-13^{th} \ c.)
\]

Second, there is no one-to-one correspondence between the contextual information and linguistic marking of focus. Propositions can be packaged via regular predicative constructions even when focus is intended. On the other hand, information packaged via an identificational structure may not be clearly associated with focus-marking.

7.4.2 Pragmatic functions of the DE2-marked identificational pattern

Example (87) illustrates a frequently exploited discourse pattern in drama scripts, where a DE2-marked nominalization construction fills the role of topic of an equational sentence.

(87) 沒道路放七五隻獵犬，生擒底是麂鹿獐兎。有采時捉一兩個大蟲。（張協状元）

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllllllllll}
mei & daolu & fang & qi & wu & zhi & lie-quan \\
NEG.exist & way & let.out & seven & five & CL & hunt-dog \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllllllllll}
sheng & qin & di & shi & mi & lu & nau & zhang \\
alive & catch & DE2 & COP & elk & deer & monkey & roebuck \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllllllllll}
you-shi & cai-zhuo & yi & liang & ge & dachong \\
exist-time & pick-catch & one & two & CL & tiger \\
\end{array}
\]

‘If there is no way (to rob or steal), I let out a few hounds, what I catch alive are elk, deer, monkey, and roebuck; sometimes I catch one or two tigers…’

\[
(Zhang \ Xie, 13^{th} \ c.)
\]
In terms of (87), there is in fact no obvious reason to package the regular proposition \([V + \text{NP}_{\text{obj}}]\) in the structure of an identificational construction, because no apparent contrast is intended in the discourse. The sentence with the \(\text{DE2}\)-marked topic appears in a series of parallel structures (see the discussion of listing function in Myhill and Xing 1996). One may argue that the \(\text{DE2}\)-marked part is special in that the animals are caught alive, but it does not seem any more special than catching tigers, which are packaged in the regular \([V+\text{NP}_{\text{obj}}]\) pattern in the following clause. The seemingly bizarre use of an equational strategy attracts the attention of the audience, who in traditional street theater is often faced with various distractions.

The juxtaposition of an identificational strategy among several regularly packaged propositions is still commonly used in drama scripts and oral style narratives after the Song-Jin Period in order to capture the audience’s attention. As will become clear in our discussion of drama scripts in the Yuan Dynasty, the indeterminacy, combined with phonetic change that renders phonetic indistinction between \(\text{DE1}\) and \(\text{DE2}\), results in ambiguity in certain contexts, as it is not always clear whether the speaker intends to place focus (\(\text{DE2}\) construction) on a proposition, or to simply package the information with a regular \(\text{DE1}\) proposition (note that the lack of focus-marking does not indicate lack of focus in context).

### 7.5 Expansion of \(\text{DE2}\) into complementation and aspectional functions: Yuan Dynasty

In the Yuan Dynasty, (particularly in *Za Ju*), it appears that \(\text{DE2}\) (i.e. the form dominant in nominalization and attributive-related functions) is commonly used for aspectional and complementation functions. In these functions, the position and semantics of \(\text{DE2}\) overlap with the general \([V \text{ PRT NP (+ Pred)}]\) schema of the aspectional particles.
and complementizers, including the previously developed function of \(\text{DE}_1\) in the \([V\ \text{DE}_1 \ NP\ (+\ Pred)]\) pattern, the durative \(\text{zhe}\), and the perfective \(\text{le}\).

Because \(\text{DE}_2\) appears to be the marker generalized to include the functions of other markers, this section will focus on the functional expansion of \(\text{DE}_2\) in the Yuan Dynasty, particularly the complementation and aspectual functions of \(\text{DE}_2\) and its parallel with \(\text{DE}_1\), \(\text{zhe}\) and \(\text{le}\) attested in this period. The examples cited include texts representative of northern dialects of Chinese in the 13th-14th century – Za Ju, selected samples of Northern drama scripts, and Lao Qi Da, a text for Korean learners of Chinese – and data from southern dialects (\(\text{Nan Xi}\) 南戲) cited in the literature.

### 7.5.1 Perfective/completive/complementation

\(\text{DE}_2\) commonly appears as the perfective marker/complementizer in the Yuan Dynasty, as illustrated by (88)-(90) from the Southern Drama Scripts Za Ju.

(88)  
倒著牛背上著羊筍，偷的生瓜來連皮吃。(元刊雜劇三十種)  
\(\text{dao} \ \text{qi} \ \text{niu} \ \text{bei} \ \text{shang} \ \text{pin} \ \text{qiang-di}\)  
reverse ride bull back on appreciate PN-flute  
\(\text{tou} \ \text{de} \ \text{sheng} \ \text{gua} \ \text{lai} \ \text{lian} \ \text{pi} \ \text{chi}\)  
stole \(\text{DE}_2\) raw melon come along with skin eat  
‘…(we) rode backwards on the bull’s back and played the Qiang flute; stole the raw melons and ate them with skin.’  
\((\text{Za Ju, 13}\text{th-14}\text{th c.})\)

(89)  
喚的婆婆惡頑，他道老兒歡喜是個廝兒胎。(元刊雜劇三十種)  
\(\text{huan} \ \text{de} \ \text{ge} \ \text{wenpo} \ \text{ping} \ \text{mai}\)  
summon \(\text{DE}_2\) CL midwife feel pulse  
‘I summoned a midwife to feel (her) pulse.’  
\((\text{ibid.})\)

(90)  
出的門外，我這裏聽著，他好歹吩咐孫福叔叔些話兒，我這裏聽著他。(元刊雜劇三十種)  
\(\text{chu} \ \text{de} \ \text{men} \ \text{wai} \ \text{wo} \ \text{zheli} \ \text{ting} \ \text{zhe}\)  
exit \(\text{DE}_2\) door out I here listen DUR  
‘(Having) exited the door, I am here listening…’  
\((\text{ibid.})\)
The same usage of DE2 is attested in *Cuo Li Shen*, a Southern drama script (the genre originally developed in the Wenzhou in Southern China), as shown in (91).

(91) 來到這圍墙直下柳樹邇邇。向這河中掬的長流水，洗了面皮。（《宦門子弟錯立身》第12出，永樂大典戲文)

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
\text{Lai} & \text{dao} & \text{zhe} & \text{wei}-\text{qiang} & \text{zhi} & \text{xia} & \text{liu}-\text{shu} & \text{zhou-hui}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
\text{come} & \text{arrive} & \text{this} & \text{enclose-wall} & \text{straight} & \text{go.down} & \text{willow-tree surrounding}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
\text{xian} & \text{zhe} & \text{he} & \text{zhong} & \text{ju} & \text{de} & \text{chang} & \text{liu} & \text{shui}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
\text{from} & \text{this} & \text{river} & \text{middle} & \text{scoop.with.hands} & \text{DE2} & \text{long} & \text{flow} & \text{water}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
\text{xi} & \text{le} & \text{mian} & \text{pi}
\end{array}
\]

wash \: \text{face} \: \text{skin}

‘(I) arrive at the enclosed wall, go straight to the side of the willow tree, from the river (I) scooped the long-running water, (and I) washed my face.’

(*Cuo Li Shen*, Act 12, 14th c. *Yong Le Da Dian Xi Wen*, from HANCHI)

The examples above are all attested in a similar context – the actor’s online report of a series of events while carrying out the actions. There is no obvious contrast or focus involved in the narration.

DE2 appears to mark the realization of an action. Liu (2008) treats DE2 in cases like (88)-(91) as a completive marker only. Following Koosaka (1997), Liu comments that DE2 has the same the functions as DE1 (see the complementation/aspectual functions of DE1 (得), introduced in §3.2.2) and the perfective marker le (了). DE2 in (88)-(91) is therefore treated only as an alternative written form of DE1 due to phonetic resemblance that occurred frequently in the Yuan Dynasty.

7.5.2 DE2 and the durative marker zhe

In the Yuan Dynasty, DE2 is also commonly used as a durative marker in the [V DE NP (VP)] pattern. The dominant marker for durative aspect is zhe (著), which also started to develop after the Tang Dynasty. Note that the completive/perfective DE1 (得) also developed durative interpretations (see §3.2.2.3), and the durative zhe is also attested
occasionally as a marker of perfective aspect. Because \( \text{DE1} \) and \( zhe \) also overlap in their functions (though with different probability), it is not always clear whether it is \( \text{DE1} \) or \( zhe \) that contributed to a particular instance of the aspectual/complementation functions of \( \text{DE2} \) in the Yuan Dynasty. The functional adjacency and overlap between \( zhe \) and \( \text{DE1} \) is additional evidence to support the naturalness of semantic extension from temporal anteriority to temporal simultaneity.

The overlapping structural distributions and functions of \( \text{DE2} \) with the durative marker \( zhe \) are illustrated by (92)-(93) from Lao Qi Da (Original Print), a textbook of Chinese for Korean speakers, and (94)-(96) from Yuan Kan Za Ju, collected drama scripts in the Yuan Dynasty. These instances of \( \text{DE2} \)-marked duratives are most commonly interpreted as the result of a phonetically reduced durative marker \( zhe \) (Liu 2008). Jiang (1994) proposes that it is likely that the marker \( zhe \) has also become phonetically similar to \( \text{DE2} \) in the Yuan Dynasty, thus the lack of distinction (see §7.5.3 below for further structural and semantic reasons)

(92) 僭高麗田地里將甚麼行貨來？俺將的幾個馬來。
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{n}\text{in} & \quad \text{kaoli} & \quad \text{tian-di li} & \quad \text{jiang} & \quad \text{sheme} & \quad \text{hang-huo} & \quad \text{lai} \\
\text{2.HON} & \quad \text{Korea} & \quad \text{field} & \quad \text{in} & \quad \text{take} & \quad \text{what} & \quad \text{goods} & \quad \text{come}
\end{align*}
\]
\begin{align*}
\text{an} & \quad \text{jiang} & \quad \text{de} & \quad \text{ji} & \quad \text{ge} & \quad \text{ma} & \quad \text{lai} \\
\text{1S} & \quad \text{take} & \quad \text{DE2} & \quad \text{several} & \quad \text{CL} & \quad \text{horse} & \quad \text{come} \\
\text{‘What goods did you bring here from Korea?’} \\
\text{‘I brought several horses here.’} & \quad (\text{Lao Qi Da, 14}\text{th c.}, \text{Original Print, Left 20:04-05})
\end{align*}

(93) 你將甚麼行貨來？俺將著幾個馬來。
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ni} & \quad \text{jiang} & \quad \text{sheme} & \quad \text{hang-huo} & \quad \text{lai} \\
\text{2S} & \quad \text{take} & \quad \text{what} & \quad \text{goods} & \quad \text{come}
\end{align*}
\]
\begin{align*}
\text{an} & \quad \text{jiang} & \quad \text{zhe} & \quad \text{ji} & \quad \text{ge} & \quad \text{ma} & \quad \text{lai} \\
\text{1S} & \quad \text{take} & \quad \text{DUR} & \quad \text{several} & \quad \text{CL} & \quad \text{horse} & \quad \text{come} \\
\text{‘What goods did you bring here?’} \\
\text{‘I brought several horses here.’} & \quad (\text{Lao Qi Da, 14}\text{th c.}, \text{Original Print, Right 21:09-10})
\end{align*}
(94) 扶策的我步瑶階（元刊雜劇三十種）

\[
\text{fuce de wo bu yao-jie support DE2 IS step(v.) jade-stair}
\]

‘They support me (while I) step up the jade stairs.’

(Za Ju, 13\textsuperscript{th} - 14\textsuperscript{th} c.)

(95) 子轉的一雙小眼將人認（元刊雜劇三十種）

\[
\text{zi zhuan de yi shuang xiao yan jiang ren ren simply turn DE2 one pair small eye OBJ person recognize}
\]

‘(The baby) simply looks at people, rolling a pair of small eyes.’

(ibid.)

(96) 把老夫監押的去遊街 (元刊雜劇三十種)

\[
\text{ba laofu jianya de qu youjie OBJ old.man imprisoned DE2 go parade.through.the.street}
\]

‘(He) made me (the old man) parade the street imprisoned.’

(ibid.)

DE2 is also attested with posture predicates in the \([V\text{POSTURE}-\text{DE}2]\) pattern in the Yuan Dynasty\textsuperscript{3}.

(97) 教客人每則這棚底下坐的吃飯。（原本老乞大 12 右 01）

\[
\text{jiao keren men ze zhe peng di-xia zuo de chi-fan make guest PL then this shed under sit DE2 eat-rice}
\]

‘Have the guests sit under the shed to eat their meal.’

(Lao Qi Da, 14\textsuperscript{th} c., Original Print, Right 12:01, 14\textsuperscript{th} c., cited from Liu 2008:121)

The combination (also lexicalized) was originally dominated by DE3 (\textit{zuo} di ‘sit DE3’坐地, see §3.5.4), but the semantic value of DE3 (originally ‘ground’) is lost. The durative interpretation comes from contextual inference based on the aspectual potential of the posture predicate, and after the 15\textsuperscript{th} century the posture-DE3 pattern is replaced by the more general durative marker \textit{zhe}. The attested instance with DE2 combined with a

\textsuperscript{3} There is also an instance of \([\text{zuo} \text{DE2}]\) attested in \textit{Wu Dai Shi Ping Hua} (13\textsuperscript{th} century) that may have the same function. I have previously coded it as a nominalizer DE2 because it is more likely to be interpreted that way.

* 殿上坐的，戴著冕旒，穿著王者衣服（五代史平話）

\[
\text{dian shang zuo de dai zhe guan-mian court on sit DE2 wear DUR crown-hat}
\]

‘The one sitting on the court was wearing a crown’ [DE2-marked headless modification]

‘Sitting on the court, (he) was wearing a crown…’ [DE2-marked durative]

(Wu Dai Shi Ping Hua, 13\textsuperscript{th} century)
posture predicate is likely due to structural and phonetic similarity, as well as the increasingly generalized functions of De2 in the Yuan Dynasty.

7.5.3 Ambiguous cases

At this point, there appears to be little worth further discussion because the aspectual and complementation functions of De2 are analyzed as functions derived from other constructions as a result of phonetic change. However, in Za Ju, De2 appears in a wide range of contexts, some of which allow much liberty in interpretation. Aside from phonetic factors, I propose that structural, semantic and pragmatic contexts also facilitate the ambiguity in interpretation, and allow the use of De2 as a rhetoric device in interactive narratives. Particularly, they are attested in contexts where De2 may be construed as a complementizer or aspectual marker, or a marker of nominal modification, topic, or contrastive focus, i.e. its previously developed functions.

7.5.3.1 Relative clause vs. complementation

It is not always clear, for example, whether a De2-marked expression, such as in (98), should be interpreted as a relativizer (a prototypical function of De2) or as a marker of complementation/aspect (a previously dominant function of De1). Though there is a slight semantic difference, in the following contexts, it appears to be relatively insignificant whether one interprets De2 as a relativizer or a complementizer.

(98) 存的孫劉曹操，平分一國作三朝。（元刊雜劇三十種）
    cun  de  sun  liu  caocao
    remain  De2  PN  PN  PN

    ping  fen  yi  guo  zuo  san  cao
    equal  divide  one  country  do  three  court

‘The remaining Sun, Liu, and Caocao,’ [relative clause]
‘(There) remain Sun Liu, and Caocao’ [aspectual/complementation]
they divided the country into three courts.’

(Za Ju, 13th-14th c.)
In (98), the DE2-marked expression either presents the discourse participants with additional details (the relative clause interpretation of [cun DE2]), or presents an event while elaborating on its participants (the complementation/aspectual interpretation of DE2). In either construal, the participants have been presented, and incidentally function as the subject of the following predicate.

DE2 in (98) appears in the same position as the aspectual marker and complementizer. Compare (98) with (99), which consists of two clauses of the same structure, the first involving aspectual marker le, and the second with DE1 and the same predicate cun ‘remain’.

(99) 棄了個小冤家淪涼殺他，存得個老尊堂快活殺我。（元刊雜劇三十種）

| qi le ge xiao yuanjia qiliang sha ta |
| abandon PF CL little brat make_desolate extreme 3s |

| cun de ge lao zuntang kuaihuo sha wo |
| exist DE1 CL old mother.HON please extreme 1S |

‘Abandoning the little brat makes him extremely desolate; the remaining (i.e. survival) of my old mother pleases me extremely.’

(Za Ju, 13th-14th c.)

Example (100) shows the same ambiguity as (99), with a DE2-marked expression in an existential sentence.

(100) 我在江村裏住，肚皮裏飢上來，俺則有油鹽和的半盞野菜。（元刊雜劇三十種）

| du-pi li ji shang lai |
| belly-skin in hungry go.up come |

| an ze you you yan huo de ban zhan ye cai |
| 1S then have oil salt mix DE2 half bowl wild vegetable |

(a) [SBJ ] [V ASP/CMPL OBJ ]
(b) [ ]RC [NP_{HEAD} ]

‘When hunger rises in my stomach,’
(a) I then have oil and salt to mix with half bowl of wild vegetables.’ [aspectual/complementation]
(b) I then have half a bowl of wild vegetables mixed with oil and salt.’ [relative clause]

(ibid.)
DE1 in (101) may also be ambiguous between an aspectual/complementizer and a relativizer reading, because the DE1-marked part appears in an equational structure, and the position of DE1 matches that of DE2 as a relativizer.

(101) 食楚江萍勝似梁肉，受用的是新釣得鱸魚旋筍酒，樂以忘憂。（元刊雜劇三十種）

(a) ‘What I enjoy is catching the perch fresh (and eating it) with filtered wine.’
(b) ‘What I enjoy is the newly caught perch with filtered wine.’

(Shao Yong de shi xin diao de lu-yu xuan chou jiu receive-use DE2 COP new to_fish DE1 perch-fish add filter wine)

7.5.3.2 DE2 in identificational/equational structures revisited

As noted in §7.4, by the end of the Song-Jin Period (13th century), DE2 has developed a number of functions from its nominalization functions, including both topic and focus marking. These functions are also pertinent to the later functional overlap and convergence of DE1 and DE2 introduced here. In the Yuan Dynasty, certain [CTP-DE1] combinations are linked to variants of DE2 constructions likely due to both sound change and the loss of the ‘potential’ and ‘obtain’ meanings of DE1 in these combinations. The option of placing a CTP in a nominalization construction has always been available, but the frequency is much lower before the Yuan Dynasty.

The major parameter for semantic ambiguity is that the information may be construed as packaged either via a DE2-marked focus/identificational construction, or simply as a regular assertion with DE2 functioning as a complementizer or an aspectual marker.

§7.4.2 introduced the [X DE2] [NP] equational structure, where the DE2-marked expression is equated with another nominal. As mentioned in §7.4.2, the equational structure is often overtly marked with a copula shi, but a juxtaposed pattern without any
copula is also commonly attested in drama scripts in the Yuan Dynasty. Example (102) illustrates a pair of equational structures with a DE2-marked expression as the equational topic.

(102) 貧道穿的磊落衣，吃的是藜藿食。（元刊雜劇三十種）

\[\text{pin-dao chuan de buluo yi} \]
poor-monk wear DE2 coarse_linen clothes

\[\text{chi de shi li-huo shi} \]
eat DE2 COP wild_weeds food

‘I the humble monk, (what I) wear (are) coarse linen clothes; what I eat is wild weeds as food.’

\[(Za Ju, 13^{\text{th}}-14^{\text{th}} \text{ c.})\]

Note that the first expression in the pair does not have a copula (shi), but the second one does. The speaker, a Daoist monk, introduces the audience to his daily routines. The DE2-marked expression appears to introduce the presupposed open proposition (POP) of an identificational sentence, the presupposition being that the audience expects the actor to address such topics as the details of his life. The NP that [X-DE2] is equated with fills the information gap. Notice that example (98) also involves parallel structures, possibly placing a focus on each of the NP following the DE2-marked element.

An element preceding DE2 may also be placed in focus. The DE2-marked expression introduces a focused element in (103), i.e. the element that the fellow’s spine is composed of. The example also does not take a focus marker shi, which appears to be optional in Za Ju.

(103) 这厮則除了鐵天靈，銅脖項，銅腦袋石鐫就的脊梁。（元刊雜劇三十種）

\[\text{zhe si ze chu le tie tianling tong bo-xiang} \]
this fellow then except RCS iron scalp copper neck

\[\text{tong naodai shi juan-jiu de ji-liang} \]
copper head stone engrave-make DE2 spine
'This fellow, besides (having) an iron scalp, a copper neck, a copper head, STONE is what his spine is made of.'

A DE2-marked expression in the [X DE2 Y] equational structure has the following primary functions. In identificational contexts, the element that appears before DE2 may be a presupposed open proposition or a focused element. The identificational contexts, as discussed in §4.2.2.3, may involve a presupposed open proposition or sets of contrastive elements in parallel constructions. [X DE2 Y] may also appear in the presentational context to introduce new discourse participants or report events (§7.4.1). It may also be employed to present the speaker’s attitude towards a proposition. These functions will be discussed in §7.5.3.3-5.

7.5.3.3 DE2-marked CTP or DE2-marked focus/identification construction

As shown in (103) above, DE2 in an equational structure may also mark a preceding element as the focus. Because a DE2-marked expression can express a focused element without being accompanied by a copula, a DE2-expression in a potentially identificational context can be analyzed as a focus-marker or simply a complementizer/aspectual marker.

- Presupposed open proposition evoked in previous discourse context

The DE2-marked element may be interpreted as the focused element when the element fills an information gap in a presupposed open proposition evoked in the discourse context. Example (104) illustrates a passage from *Sha Guo Quan Fu*, a drama composed in the Yuan Dynasty.

(104) 俺兄弟兩個無錢，俺兩個閨房里賭的半瓶酒兒。（《殺狗勸夫》）

\`
an xiong-di liang ge wu qian
1 brothers two CL NEG money
\`

\`
an liang ge wen caofang li she de ban ping jiuer
1 two CL ask brewery in borrow DE2 half CL wine.DIM
\`
'We two brothers had no money, (so) we BORROWED half a bottle of wine from the brewery.'

*(Sha Gou Quan Fu, 14th c., version from J. Liu and S. Jiang 1995:181)*

The speaker explains to the audience that he and his brother have no money. Based on this proposition, they should not be able to buy a birthday present. The speaker goes on to explain that they borrowed (i.e. ‘purchase’ with credit) half a bottle of wine to bring as a birthday gift for an acquaintance. The context involves an information gap (the means by which the speaker and his brother obtained the wine), with a presupposed open proposition evoked in the discourse context (the brothers didn’t have money but managed to get the wine).

Liu (2008: 116) argues that DE2 in (104) ‘places emphasis on the means of a realized action, i.e. the predicate of the sentence’, and that the copula shì has been omitted in this context. Liu also analyzes the function of the DE2-marked expression in (104) is to ‘emphasize’ the means by which an action is completed, which is parallel with one of the functions associated with DE2 as a nominalizer. Liu has not provided a clear definition of the notion of ‘emphasis’, which appears to be used interchangeably with the notion of ‘focus’.

While DE2 in (104) likely involves focus-marking, the possibility to link a particular instance of DE2 to different constructions renders alternative analyses of the same instance. A similar passage from another version of the same drama, from Quan Yuan Qu, involves DE1 instead of DE2, as illustrated by (105). The narration may therefore be taken as a complementation/aspectual [V DE NP] pattern with the focused element unmarked, and the contrast implied.

*(105)*：俺兩個無錢，去問醋房裏賭得半瓶酒兒（全元曲《楊氏女殺狗勸夫》楔子）

\begin{align*}
\text{an} & \quad \text{liang} & \quad \text{ge} & \quad \text{wu} & \quad \text{qian} \\
1 & \quad \text{two} & \quad \text{CL} & \quad \text{NEG} & \quad \text{money}
\end{align*}
We two had no money, we got half bottle of wine by borrowing from the brewery.’

[optional interpretation: it was from asking for credit from the brewery that we got…]

(Yang Shi Nu Sha Gou Quan Fu, version in Quan Yuan Qu, 14th c.)

Example (106) further supports the view that this type of ambiguity is commonly
observed in Yuan Dynasty.

(106) 賈員外為錢干絕嗣，說的俺祖公名字。（元刊雜劇三十種）

Example (106) explains to the audience how Landlord Jia lies about his lineage for
money and falsely identifies the speaker’s ancestor as his own. The focused element, the
purpose for such an action, appears before the DE2-marked predicate shuo. If interpreted
as a complementation/aspectual construction, the explanatory reading is only implied.
The attested [V DE2 NP] pattern where DE2 is ambiguous between focus-marking and
complementation/aspectual reading.

7.5.3.4 Focus marking and parallel structures

This section discusses the possible reasons for a DE2-marked equational or focus
construction to be used in a narrative. It has been discussed in §7.4.3 that because of the
interactive nature of drama scripts, the actor/narrator needs to capture the attention of the
audience. Aside from non-musical parts narrated by the actors, Chinese drama scripts are
composed of lyrics written to accompany existing tunes or fixed rhythmic patterns, often
involving similar structures in parallel as a rhetorical device.
Parallelism is one of the most frequently used rhetoric devices in drama scripts. These involve contrasting referents or parts of the proposition in otherwise parallel propositions. The strategy is especially common with scene-setting passages and the on-line reporting of events. Parallelism may involve identical structures, but it also commonly involves minor pattern variations among a set of parallel descriptions. A DE2-marked expression in a set of parallel constructions, for example, may be paired with a construction marked by the aspectual marker DE1 or zhe.

It is important to note that the focus-making function is merely one of the possible construals; the [V DE2 NP] pattern among a set of parallel structures may also be interpreted as a purely aspectual/complementative construction. Contrastive focus may of course be marked via intonational patterns or even physical performance, but the composition of the lyrics also ensures that many structural devices are exploited to serve the same purpose.

There are several cases where a durative/complementation construction is paired with a DE2-marked pattern ambiguous between a juxtaposed equative structure and a durative/complementation interpretation. In the literature, some of these instances of DE2 are analyzed as a durative marker (hence phonetic variant of zhe), but others as DE2-marked equatives. There is sufficient evidence to show that an equative structure without the copula shi is not uncommon in the Yuan Dynasty. Such a tendency allows for interpretational flexibility of many instances.

Example (107) shows an instance where [V DE2 NP] and [V zhe NP] appear in two successive clauses, with the possibility of interpreting DE2 as a durative marker or a nominalizer.
(107)身穿的緋麻三月服，心懷著今古一天愁。（元刊雜劇三十種）

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{shen} & \quad \text{chuan de} & \quad \text{sima} & \quad \text{san-yue-fu} \\
\text{body} & \quad \text{wear} & \quad \text{DE2} & \quad \text{linen} & \quad \text{mourning\_apparel} \\
\text{xin} & \quad \text{huai} & \quad \text{zhe} & \quad \text{jin} & \quad \text{gu} & \quad \text{yi} & \quad \text{tian} & \quad \text{chou} \\
\text{heart} & \quad \text{feel/have} & \quad \text{stative} & \quad \text{present} & \quad \text{ancient\_one} & \quad \text{CL} & \quad \text{worry} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘(What) I’m wearing (is) linen mourning apparel; I’m harboring anxiety from the present and the past.’

(Za Ju, 13\textsuperscript{th}-14\textsuperscript{th} c.)

The parallel expressions in (108) do not illustrate structural ambiguity, but rather the semantic and pragmatic similarity between a DE2-marked attributive modification construction and a zhe-marked object complement in this particular context.

(108)穿著底紫羅袍便似酒布袋，乘著白象笏似睡餥鈔。（元刊雜劇三十種）

\[
\begin{align*}
[\text{Modifier} & \quad \text{MOD} & \quad \text{NP}] & \quad [\text{Pred}] \\
\text{chuan} & \quad \text{zhe} & \quad \text{di} & \quad \text{zi} & \quad \text{luo-pao} & \quad \text{bian} & \quad \text{si} & \quad \text{jiu} & \quad \text{bu-dai} \\
\text{wear} & \quad \text{DUR} & \quad \text{DE2} & \quad \text{purple\_satin-gown} & \quad \text{then} & \quad \text{like} & \quad \text{wine\_sack} & \quad \text{like} & \quad \text{wine\_sack} \\
\text{bing} & \quad \text{zhe} & \quad \text{bai} & \quad \text{xiang} & \quad \text{hu} & \quad \text{si} & \quad \text{shui} & \quad \text{hundun} \\
\text{hold} & \quad \text{DUR} & \quad \text{white\_elephant-shaku} & \quad \text{like} & \quad \text{sleep} & \quad \text{wonton} & \quad \text{like} & \quad \text{sleeping\_tusks\_tusk} & \quad \text{wonton} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘The purple satin gown that I am wearing is like a wine sack; I am holding a white elephant-tusk shaku, which is like a sleeping (i.e. laid down) wonton.’

(Za Ju, 13\textsuperscript{th}-14\textsuperscript{th} c.)

The two sentences in (108) are part of an actor’s monologue, which introduces the actor’s appearances to the audience. Each sentence performs two essential discourse functions:

(i) Introduces an object associated with the appearance of the speaker

(ii) Provides extra information about the object

Both the DE2-marked NP in the first sentence and the zhe-marked proposition in the second serve to introduce an object – the purple satin gown, and the white elephant-tusk shaku, respectively. Also note that the relative clause marked by DE2 is marked by zhe, which specifies the aspectual information. Having introduced the object, the actor then describes the object further with a similitative expression in predication. The information about the gown and the shaku, like wine sack and like a ‘sleeping’ wonton, respectively,
is then presented to the audience. The latter is translated as a postposed non-restrictive modifier in English.

Observe that the DE2-marked pre-nominal modifier and the zhe-marked verb bing ‘hold’ both serve as a grounding element for the newly introduced participant. Because the narration appears in a presentational context, there is little difference whether the information is introduced as a modifier (marked by DE2) or a predicate (marked by zhe).

The following examples also illustrate DE2-marked expressions appearing in a set of parallel structures that can be interpreted as a headless relative clause.

(109) 但用的民夫，將百姓差，題起來痛傷情老臣心內駭。（元刊雜劇三十種）
\[\text{dan yong de min-fu jiang baixing chai}\]
yet use DE2 civil, worker OBJ common, people dispatch
‘Yet (who) they exploit (are) civil workers, and they dispatched common people.’

(Za Ju, 13\textsuperscript{th}-14\textsuperscript{th} c.)

(110) 你觀國風雅頌式古訓，誦的典謹訓居堯舜，（末云）說的溫良恭儉行忠信（元刊雜劇三十種）
\[\text{ni guan guofeng ya song shi gu xun}\]
2S look PN PN PN display ancient motto

\[\text{song de dian muo xun gao ju yao shun}\]
recite DE2 PN PN PN PN reside PN PN

\[\text{shuo de wun liang gong jian}\]
say DE2 gentility goodness humility frugality

\[\text{xing zhong xin}\]
act loyalty honesty

‘You read Guofeng, Ya, Song (ancient classics) and display ancient mottos,’
‘(What) you recite (are) Dian, Muo, Xun, Gao (ancient books of good emperors) and you reside where Yao, Shun (ancient saints) are,’
‘(What) you speak of (are) gentility, goodness, humility, frugality, and your act out loyalty and honesty.’

(ibid.)

The flexibility in interpretation is also manifested by the following passages from different versions of the same drama, illustrated by (111)-(112).
In (111), the DE2-marked expression appears among a list of predicative expressions, and is also ambiguous between an aspectual/complementizer and nominalizer function. As discussed earlier, these all appear in a similar discourse context where the actor reports his actions while performing them. Because of the nature of drama scripts, and the particular type of interaction they call for, the syntactic role of the DE2, whether as a nominalizer or an aspectual marker/complementizer, is relatively insignificant.

Note that in another version of the drama collected in Quan Yuan Qu, the passage is adapted into the passage shown in (112). The perfective le is replaced by DE2, and there is no marking of DE2 on the predicate describing the sleeve-rolling action.

Examples (113)-(114) are the same passages from two versions of the same drama. They both involve a set of parallel structures, where the DE2-marked expression possibly involves focus. (113) only differs from (114) in that the durative zhe is used instead of the perfective le in the second sentence.
(113) 你胖着臉嘯喝的我，我好心兒搭救了你，背將來暖處和衣睡。（《殺狗勸夫》第二折）

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ni} & \quad \text{pian} & \quad \text{zhe} & \quad \text{lian} & \quad \text{henhe} & \quad \text{de} & \quad \text{wo} \\
\text{you} & \quad \text{make\_stiff} & \quad \text{DUR} & \quad \text{face} & \quad \text{berate} & \quad \text{DE2} & \quad \text{1S}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wo} & \quad \text{hao-xin-er} & \quad \text{daliu} & \quad \text{le} & \quad \text{ni} \\
\text{1S} & \quad \text{kind-heart-DIM} & \quad \text{save} & \quad \text{PF} & \quad \text{2S}
\end{align*}
\]

‘You shout at me with a long face, (while) I kindly saved you.’
‘It is with a stiff face that you berate me; it was with a good heart that I saved you.’

(Sha Gou Quan Fu, 14th c., version from J. Liu and S. Jiang 1995:192)

(114) 你進著臉嘯喝的我，我好心兒搭救著你，（全元曲·楊氏女殺狗勸夫。第二折）

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ni} & \quad \text{pian} & \quad \text{zhe} & \quad \text{lian} & \quad \text{henhe} & \quad \text{de} & \quad \text{wo} \\
\text{you} & \quad \text{make\_stiff} & \quad \text{DUR} & \quad \text{face} & \quad \text{berate} & \quad \text{DE2} & \quad \text{1S}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wo} & \quad \text{hao-xin-er} & \quad \text{daliu} & \quad \text{zhe} & \quad \text{ni} \\
\text{1S} & \quad \text{kind-heart-DIM} & \quad \text{save} & \quad \text{DUR} & \quad \text{2S}
\end{align*}
\]

[same translations as (113)]

(Sha Gou Quan Fu, 14th c., version in Quan Yuan Qu)

7.5.3.5 [CTP DE Proposition] and the equational/identificational strategy

The DE2-marked equative strategy is employed to describe the surroundings, report ongoing events, introduce new participants, or present the speaker’s evaluation or emotional response to a proposition. These situation types are correlated with complement-taking predicates that are more commonly encoded via the DE1-construction in the Song-Jin Period. In the drama scripts of the Yuan Dynasty, several of these categories are packaged as a DE2-marked headless nominal in an equative pattern, and may be sanctioned by a more generalized DE2 schema.

A DE2-marked equational structure may introduce an entire proposition as a focus element that fills the information gap evoked in the discourse context.

(115) 不知的其中未（《殺狗勸夫》頭一折）

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bu} & \quad \text{zhi} & \quad \text{de} & \quad \text{qi} & \quad \text{shemuo} \\
\text{NEG} & \quad \text{know} & \quad \text{DE2} & \quad \text{it} & \quad \text{what}
\end{align*}
\]

‘I don’t know what it is. (Or: What I don’t know (is) what it is).’

(Sha Gou Quan Fu, 14th c. version from J. Liu and S. Jiang 1995:182)
The speaker in (115) suspects that the gift wine she received is likely adulterated or of inferior quality. [bu zhi de] may be linked to the zhi-DE1 (知得) in the [CTP-DE1] pattern, or marks the a topic of the equative construction. Note that although commonly processed as a unit, frequent combinations of [CTP-DE1] are still analyzable. The [CTP DE2] instances attested may reflect a change in pronunciation of [CTP DE1], or is indeed a DE2-marked topic.

The same type of ambiguity is also attested with several DE2-marked complement-taking predicates that appear in the [CTP DE2 Proposition] pattern. The DE2-marked equational structure has an increasing productivity and may have attracted into the category new members previous sanctioned by other constructions. A few DE2-marked complement-taking predicates that may be construed as the topic of an equational structure are provided below. For each instance attested with DE2, a similar pattern marked by DE1 is provided for comparison.

7.5.3.5.1 Commentative

Commentative predicates provide an emotional reaction or evaluation or a judgment to a proposition that is presupposed (Noonan 1985/2007). Example (116) introduces a DE2-marked emotion predicate as a commentative.

(116) 拂淖了塵埃滿面，喜的咱夫妻團團。（元刊雜劇三十種）
    *fu-chuo le chenai man mian*
    wipe_off PF dirt full face

---

4 This phenomenon is already attested in the Song Dynasty. In §5.5.3.1, I analyzed the following response from Zhang Xie as a stand-alone identification construction (with polarity focus). An alternative construal would suggest that it is a variant written form of zhi-DE1 (知得), with the contrast implied in the discourse.

- 不知底（張協狀元）
  *bu zhi di*
  NEG know DE2
  ‘I don’t know (in deed).’ (Zhang Xie, 12th-13th c.)
Wiping off the dirt over my face, (what) I’m happy (about is) that us husband and wife are now reunited.’

(Za Ju, 13\textsuperscript{th}-14\textsuperscript{th} c.)

A DE1-marked commentative with the same predicate is provided in (117) for comparison.

(117) 喜得您無是無非出戰場。 (元刊雜劇三十種)

\begin{verbatim}
xi de nin wu-shi-wu-fei chu zhan-chang
\end{verbatim}

‘We’re happy that you exited the battle field without any harm.’

(ibid.)

7.5.3.5.2 Desire/hope

The DE2-marked predicate in (118) expresses the desire of the speaker for the proposition to be realized.

(118) 只愿的南京有俺親娘，我寧可獨自孤孀， (元刊雜劇三十種)

\begin{verbatim}
zhi yuan de Nanjing you an qin-niang
\end{verbatim}

‘I only hope (What I hope is only) that there is my birth mother in Nanjing; (if so) I would rather be alone and widowed.’

(Za Ju, 13\textsuperscript{th}-14\textsuperscript{th} c.)

A similar pattern is attested with DE1 in (119).

(119) 愿得同心結永掛合歡樹。 (元刊雜劇三十種)

\begin{verbatim}
yuan de tong-xing-jie yong gua he-huan-shu
\end{verbatim}

‘(I) hope that our Tongxin knot (= symbol of true love) forever hangs on the Hehuan tree (=albizia plant, symbol of happy marriage).’

(ibid.)

7.5.3.5.3 Immediate perception

Immediate perception predicates, e.g. see, hear, watch and feel, convey the sensory mode by which the subject directly perceives the event coded in the complement (Noonan 1985/2007). Immediate perception predicates, especially predicates of seeing,
with \texttt{DE2} in \textit{Zhang Xie} (see §7.4). The combination of the \textquote{see} verb with \texttt{DE2} is also used in presentational constructions in the Yuan Dynasty, as shown in (120).

\begin{quote}
\textit{an nail jing fei su ye mei nin xia-min ju}  
\textit{1S there scene NEG ordinary also exist 2P low-commoner live}
\end{quote}

\textit{jian de yu wu yun xia cai che tian qu}

\begin{quote}
\text{‘Where I live, the scenery is not ordinary; there are also no you commoners living there. There are (or: \textit{What one sees are}) misty rain and rosy clouds, colorful throughout the corners of the sky.’}
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textit{(Za Ju, 13\textsuperscript{th}-14\textsuperscript{th} c.)}
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\text{Example (121) illustrates two \texttt{DE2}-marked immediate perception predicates, \textit{wen} and \textit{ting}, that are also modified by a property in the pre-verbal position. Aside from introducing the perceptual stimuli in the immediate surrounding, the \texttt{DE2}-marked expressions (in the [\texttt{Adj CTP DE2}] pattern) also convey the speaker’s attitude towards these events, which are indicated by the modifying elements \textit{chou} and \textit{juan}.}
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textit{meng ting de ku sheng ye hou}
\text{‘Suddenly (I) hear one’s sound of cry choking up his throat.’}
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textit{(Gui Si, by Guan Hanqing, 13\textsuperscript{th} c., \textit{Collection of Drama and Qu by Guan Hanqing}, from HANCHI)}
\end{quote}
7.5.3.5.4 Negated proposition

There are also cases where a negated CTP is combined with DE2. Some of these can be linked to a DE2-marked equative.

(123) 枕著野水橫橋，不聽的紅塵內是非聞。（元刊雜劇三十種）

\[\text{lie}_\text{on} \quad \text{DUR} \quad \text{wild} \quad \text{water} \quad \text{horizontal} \quad \text{bridge}\]

\[\text{bu} \quad \text{ting} \quad \text{de} \quad \text{hongchen} \quad \text{nei} \quad \text{shì-fei} \quad \text{nao}\]

\(\text{NEG} \quad \text{hear} \quad \text{DE2} \quad \text{world} \_ \text{of} \_ \text{mortals} \quad \text{in} \quad \text{right-wrong} \quad \text{noisy}\)

‘Lying on the wild water and the cross bridge, (what) I don’t hear (is) the noisy affairs in the mortal world.’

(ibid.)

A negated CTP DE1 combination is shown in (124) for comparison.

(124) 不聽得月殿樂聲齊。（元刊雜劇三十種）

\[\text{bu} \quad \text{ting} \quad \text{de} \quad \text{yue} \quad \text{dian} \quad \text{yue} \quad \text{shèng} \quad \text{qi}\]

\(\text{NEG} \quad \text{hear} \quad \text{DE1} \quad \text{moon} \quad \text{palace} \quad \text{music} \quad \text{sound} \quad \text{in} \_ \text{harmony}\)

‘I cannot hear in the moon palace, the sound of music (is) in harmony.’

(ibid.)

Despite difference in presupposition, these [CTP-DE2] patterns may all be linked to the DE2-marked equational structure in the texts examined. All in all, an instance may be linked to multiple constructions, which results in minimal semantic change. The ambiguity in terms of the [CTP DE Proposition] pattern can be parsed as follows:

- \([\ldots] \quad \text{CTP} \quad \text{DE} \quad \text{Proposition}\]
  - (a) \([\ldots] \quad \text{Modifier} \quad \text{NMZ} \quad \text{[POP]}\]
  - (b) \([\ldots] \quad \text{CTP} \quad \text{COMP} \quad \text{COMPLEMENT}\)

7.5.3.5.5 A DE2-marked CTP that expresses a propositional attitude

Some DE2-marked CTPs are possibly also linked to the DE2-marked sentential adverbs (these are probably also linked to DE-marked secondary predication). Example
(125) shows that DE2 is also attested with predicates that express the speaker’s epistemic attitude toward a proposition.

Example (125) illustrates a DE2-marked predicate composed encodes the speaker’s attitude. The DE2-marked predicate xian-jian in (125) is composed of a predicate of appearance xian ‘appear, obvious’ and a predicate of perception jian ‘see’. Crosslinguistically, immediate perception predicates often develop into markers of epistemic modality. As is shown in (125), the speaker is committed to the truthfulness of the proposition as if it were directly seen.

The commitment is further strengthened by the element xian, expressing that it appears to be or is obviously so. An instance of DE2-marked appearance predicate expressing the speaker’s propositional attitude is illustrated by (126).

The speaker further strengthens his epistemic attitude with the superlative zuo ‘the most’, and with an overt copula shi signaling that the proposition is packaged in an equational strategy.

More commonly DE2 appears in the expression yan-jian DE2 ‘eye see DE2’ to introduce the speaker’s prediction of an imminent event, especially severe adversity in
the foreseeable future. Obviously etymologically related to the immediate perception
sense, the string appears to be entrenched to express speaker’s epistemic attitude.

(127) 眼見的苦賦賦血泊裡躺著屍骸
"yan jian de ku-yanyan xie-bo li
  eye see DE2 suffer-listless.REDU blood-pool in"

tang zhe shihai
lie DUR CORPSE
‘Perceivably, (= it is foreseeable that) there in the cheerless pool of blood lies the
corpse (of my child).’

(Za Ju, 13th-14th c.)

(128) 眼見的死在今朝，更歎殤痛離
"yan jian de si zai jin zhao
  eye see DE2 die at today morning"
‘Perceivably, (= it is foreseeable that) I will die immediately.’

(ibid.)

Though most frequently attested with DE2 in Za Ju, the string [yan jian] may also
be associated with other schemas to express a similar function. In Za Ju, the expression
yan jian DE is attested 10 times with DE2, and only once with DE1, as in (129).

(129) 眼見命掩泥，這場災怎生回避！
"yan jian de ming yan quan ni
  eye see DE1 life bury river mud"
‘Perceivably, (= it is foreseeable that) my life will (soon) be buried in the mud.’

(ibid.)

The unit is also attested with the copula shi to express the same function, thus is
clearly encoded with an equational strategy, shown in (130).

(130) 呀！眼見是，喪荒郊。
"yan jian shi sang huang jiao
  eye see COP lose desolate wilderness"
‘What I see is (=It is foreseeable) that I will soon lose my life in the wilderness!’

(ibid.)

In addition, DE2-marked propositional attitude predicates may also be linked to its
function as a marker of a secondary predicate, which started devekoping in the Song-Jin
Dynasties Period (see discussion in Chapter 5), and becomes pervasive in the Yuan Dynasty.

The \( DE_2 \)-marked examples may be sanctioned via multiple schemas at the same time. The three schemas that may be linked to a \( DE_2 \)-marked expression for epistemic attitude are illustrated below for the string \( yan \ jian \ DE \) (shown in (127)-(128) above):

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{Equational} & \underline{yan} & \underline{jian} & \underline{DE} & \underline{Proposition} \\
\text{Complementational/aspectual} & [\underline{SBJ} \ CTP \ CMPL/ASP] & [\underline{Complement clause}] \\
\text{Secondary predicate} & [\underline{Predicate} \ SP] & [\underline{Primary predicate}] \\
\end{array}
\]

\( \text{MOD} = \text{modifier}, \ \text{NMZ} = \text{nominalizer}, \ \text{CMPL} = \text{complementizer}, \ \text{ASP} = \text{aspectual marker}, \ \text{SP} = \text{marker of secondary predicate} \)

The functional versality of \( DE_2 \) in \textit{Za Ju} has been demonstrated by its extensions into the aspectual and complementation functions of \( DE_1 \) and \( zhe \). Such an expansion of usage results in ambiguity of construals between the newly-emerging aspectual/complementation function of \( DE_2 \), and its previously-established nominalization/focus functions. Aside from phonetic similarity, the ambiguity between a \( DE \)-nominalizer/focus-marker and a \( DE \)-complementizer/aspectual marker interpretation is facilitated by the fact that focus and aspectual information are both contextually accessible, and need not be overtly marked. In contexts where both construals are available, shifting from one to another construal often does not result in a great semantic difference.

Alternative construals for the same instance are also motivated by two types of formal similarities. First, the phonetic similarity between \( DE_1 \), \( DE_2 \), and likely the durative \( zhe \) promotes the interpretational ambiguity in terms of parsing the \([V \ DE \ NP]\) and \([V \ DE \ Prop]\) strings. Second, the elements of the equational structure marked by \( DE_2 \)
and the complementation construction marked by DE1 appear in similar syntagmatic strings.

Table 7.3 compares the distribution of DE1 and DE2 in [V DE1 Pred] and DE-marked complementation functions in Za Ju (based on a sample of the first 13 drama scripts, see §7.3.2.1). Alternative construals, if available, are listed in a separate column and marked by +.

Table 7.3 The convergence of functions of DE1 and DE2 in the sample of Za Ju (+: alternative construal)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>DE1</th>
<th>DE2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[V DE Pred]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[V DE Pred] predication</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[V1-DE-V2]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potential</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ [V DE NP] attributive</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complementation/Aspectual</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complementation</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complementation/Aspectual + attributive</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ nmz in equational/identificational</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ secondary predicate</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.3 shows that DE2 has a considerable degree of distributional overlap with DE1 in Za Ju. Both DE1 and DE2 are used for the [V DE Pred] and the DE-marked complementation/aspectual functions. DE2 is more frequent than DE1 in the [V DE1 Pred] predication function. In terms of the complementation/aspectual functions, DE1 is slightly more frequent than DE2 for the cases without alternative construals. DE2, however, is shown to be often associated with cases that are ambiguous between complementation/aspectual and identificational interpretations. If instances with alternative construals are included, DE2 is overall more frequent than DE1 as a complementation/aspectual marker. All in all, the data show that DE2 has extended its functions to domains previously dominated by DE1.
7.6 Conclusion

Based on an investigation of semantic, pragmatic, syntagmatic, and network contexts, we propose factors beyond phonetic resemblance that may have contributed to the alignment of DE1 and DE2 in the [V DE Pred] construction, as well as the multifunctionality of DE (predominantly in the form of nominalizer/modifier DE2 的) complex predicate constructions in the Yuan Dynasty and beyond.
Chapter 8

Theoretical Implications

8.1 Synopsis of the study

This dissertation refines the typology of secondary predication by carrying out a detailed historical study of Mandarin DE (得/的/地) constructions for secondary predication. The body of the dissertation is dedicated to the development of three precursors to Mandarin DE in Late Medieval Chinese: (i) resultative [V DE VP] construction (得 DE1), (ii) DE-marked nominal modification construction (底/的 DE2), and (iii) DE-marked preverbal secondary predicates (地 DE3). These independent schemas in Late Medieval Chinese (7th to mid-13th c.) also developed structural and functional parallels, which, later coupled with the lack of phonetic distinction of DE in these constructions in Pre-Modern Chinese (mid-13th to 14th c.), facilitate the creation of a general DE schema from Yuan Dynasty (AD 1271-1368) and beyond.

One theme of the study deals with the establishment and merger of DE1 and DE2 constructions in the [V DE VP] topic-comment schema, where [V DE] as the topic refers to an e-site of the event V, and VP introduces a predicative comment. The conventionalization of the [V DE1 VP] resultative may be attributed to influences from the preverbal [DE1 VP] and postverbal [V DE1…] schemas that developed independently from the lexical verb DE1 ‘get, acquire’ (see discussion in §3.2-§3.3, cf. Sun 1996). The [V DE1 VP] pattern, originally used for resultative relations, extends to other functions based on various contextual inferences associated with the resultatives, including manner/depictive, extent, degree, evaluative, and commentative (factive) predications. Specific [V DE1] combinations may also function as a supporting element (copula) to
introduce a predicative comment. In addition, the \([V \text{DE}1 \text{VP}]\) pattern becomes increasingly similar to a topic-comment structure, where \([V \text{DE}1]\) refers to an e-site of the event \(V\), or the event \(V\) itself. The \([V \text{DE}1 \text{VP}]\) construction is later aligned with, and submerged under the \(\text{DE}2\)-marked topic-comment structure (§7.2-3, also see summary in §8.7 below).

Another theme of the study concerns the interaction between \(\text{DE}2\) and \(\text{DE}3\) as they deviate from their constructional prototypes and enter the territory of the other from opposite poles of the attribution vs. predication continuum. \(\text{DE}2\) ‘bottom’ and \(\text{DE}3\) ‘ground’, both of nominal origin, developed primarily nominal modification and event modification (secondary predication) functions, respectively (§3.4-5). The two constructions remain largely distinct until the Song-Jin Period (Chapter 4), but both have extended to functions that deviate from their constructional prototypes and enter the territory of the other (Chapters 5-6). \(\text{DE}2\) developed predicative functions via two primary paths. The first path is via non-canonical nominal modification, specifically non-restrictive modifiers, both in the pre-nominal and post-nominal position (§5.2). The second path is via identificational (equational) constructions to secondary and primary predication, in intermediate contexts between reference to an event and predication of an event (§5.4-5). \(\text{DE}3\) also developed attributive functions via non-prototypical modification, when secondary predicates are construed as non-restrictive nominal modifiers, particularly in presentational and thetic contexts (§6.3). This is also a context where \(\text{DE}2\) develops predicative functions, from the opposite pole of the attribution vs. predication continuum (§6.3.3). Mode of discourse also plays a significant role in whether \(\text{DE}2\)-nominalization constructions can be extended to proper predication. \(\text{DE}2\)
and DE3 seem to have a greater degree of overlap in cases ambiguous between non-restrictive attribution and secondary predication in Xi Xiang Ji, a drama script that abounds with descriptive narratives.

The different information packaging functions of DE2 and DE3 are manifested by their distinctive collocational preferences in their functional prototypes. The most apparent is the common association between DE3 and descriptive elements in predication, and the rarity of descriptive elements collocating with DE2 in attribution. DE2 and DE3 are also attested with distinctive classes of interrogatives and demonstratives (§4.4.3-4). The extensions of DE2 into predication and DE3 into attribution seem to also be partly conditioned by preferences over specific lexical items – a preferred combination of [Demonstrative-DE] may be preserved even when extended to non-prototypical functions (§5.4.5.2, §6.3.1).

Through the multiple trajectories previously discussed, DE2, originally a marker of nominal constructions, gradually takes over the functions of DE1 and DE3, and becomes established as a polysemous marker in a set of constructions. By the Yuan Dynasty (14th century), phonetic changes, host-class expansion, and functional generalizations have resulted in an increasingly more generalized marker DE (usually written as 的 (DE2)), which has, from then on, developed a broader range of functions.

8.2 Development of DE(2) beyond the Yuan Period

After the Yuan Dynasty, the constructions that DE2 has been established in have since also developed a broad range of new functions – they take a broader range of collocates, mark a greater range of semantic relations, become associated with new
discourse-pragmatic functions, and even replace old constructions in particular semantic domains.

One such phenomenon is the host-class and accompanying semantic-pragmatic expansion of de2-marked secondary predicates. New patterns start to collocate with de2 that may be extensions from the previously established descriptive patterns based on partial semantic and templatic similarity (for a list of the detailed account of the collocational patterns attested with de2, see M. Liu 2008, ch.4-5). The new subschemas are connected in a network of family resemblance. For instance, new patterns arise that involve variations of repetition and parallelism, such as templates with lexical/structural repetitions (see discussion in Chapter 2). These expressions, rare as secondary predicates until the Song Dynasty, have been coded as complex expressions. They have, however, become common after the Yuan Dynasty, and seem to be incorporated into the descriptive network as a subschema (also see similar usage in Mandarin illustrated by (127)-(129) in Chapter 1).

The parallel structures seem to have developed two primary functions: (a) to describe durativity or repetition of similar actions; (b) to characterize a participant (or a series of actions) by creating a vague category of shared features. The two elements are not mutually exclusive.

Repetition is related to temporality, and the repetition of similar phrases denoting actions reflects the aspectual nature of ongoing or repetitive actions. A pattern of (partial) repetition, attested with de2 in several variations of [V a V…] structure, is used to express durative or cyclic/repetitive actions, as exemplified in (1).
Parallel expressions similar in semantics and structure may be interpreted as on-going activities involving repetitive or similar actions. It is conceptualizable, for example, that the women in (2) kept dragging and pulling one another for a while.

In addition, the synonymous (but slightly various) elements the phrases are composed of indicate that instead of an accurate description, the exact content of the activities are left to the interpretation and imagination of the listener. To be more specific, the parallelism seems to create a ‘type’ characterized by the shared features of the juxtaposed events.

In addition, the combination of synonymous (but slightly varied) elements indicates that instead of an accurate description, the exact content of the activities are left to the interpretation and imagination of the listener. To be more specific, the parallelism seems to create a ‘type’ characterized by the shared features of the juxtaposed events.
The element of characterization via the creation of a ‘kind’ is illustrated by examples (3)-(4), where the parallelism involves juxtaposition of two nominal expressions. These expressions create a category based on shared features of the two NPs, while also assigning these features to the participant the parallel phrase is predicated of.

(3) 他少女嫩婦的，留著他在屋裡，有何算計？（金瓶梅詞話第七回）

\[ ta\; shao\; nu\; nen\; fu\; de \]
3S young girl tender womanDE2

\[ liu\; zhe\; ta\; zai\; wu\; li\; you\; he\; suan-ji \]
keep CONT 3S at house exist what count-plan
‘She is a young girl (She, a young girl/ She is young and innocent), what do you plan to do keeping her in the house?’

(Jin Ping Mei 7, circ. 16th century)

(4) 所以近來也甚雁頭鵝嘴的，不大旺相。 （醒世姻緣第四回）

\[ suoyi\; jin\; lai\; ye\; shen\; yan\; tou\; zhilao\; zui\; de \]
therefore recently also very goose head bird_name mouth DE2

\[ bu-da\; wang-xiang \]
NEG-very prosperous-appearance
‘As a result, recently she is rather (unhealthily) bony and emaciated, not very healthy-looking.’

(Xing Shi Yin Yuan 4, 17th c.)

DE2-marked equative and similative clauses, previously only sporadically attested as a similative modifier and in similative predication of a type (see §4.4.2.1-2), also start to function as secondary predicates. Equatives and similatives are distinguished based on the semantics of the primary event. An equative in this pattern has an entity as the standard, and a scalar property as the primary predicate, as shown in (5)-(6).

(5) 家中那金銀寶物，也就如蠅土一般的多了。（醒世姻緣第五回）

\[ jia\; zhong\; na\; jin\; yin\; baowu\; ye\; jiu \]
home in that gold silver treasure also then

\[ ru\; fen\; tu\; yi-ban\; de\; duo\; le \]
resemble dung dirt one-kind DE2 many PF
‘The gold, silver, valuables in his home are also as much as dung and dirt.’

(Xing Shi Yin Yuan 5, 17th c.)
A similitative in this pattern may have either an entity or an event as the standard, and the primary predicate is a non-scalar predicate, as illustrated by (7)-(8).

(7) 鞭子像雨點似的往下亂打。(醒世姻緣 48)
bianzi xiang yu dian si de wang xia luan da
whip resemble rain drop resemble DE2 toward down chaos hit
‘The whip beats down riotously like rain drops.’

(8) 素姐把自己漢子拷賊一般的毒打 (醒世姻緣 66)
sujie ba zizi hanzi kao zei yiban de du da
PN OBJ self man interrogate thief one.kind DE2 poison beat
‘Sujie beats her man severely like interrogating a thief.’

DE2-marked similatives in the middle of a serial chain, such as (9) below, also expresses an event simultaneous to the event encoded by the subsequent predicate. The DE2-marked similitative clause can be construed as belonging to the domain of reference, i.e. a postposed non-restrictive modifier; in addition, it can also function as a similitative manner or depictive clause. Note that the similitative may refer to a type (one like a white sheep) or a manner (just like a white sheep).

(9) 只見晃住的老婆赤著身，白羊一般的，腿縫裏夾著一塊布，睡得像死狗一般。（醒世姻緣 19）
zhì jian chaozhu de laopo chi zhe shen
just see PN DE2 wife naked CONT body
bai yang yi-ban de
white sheep one-kind DE2

tui feng li jie zhe yi kuai bu
leg gap in wedged CONT one CL cloth
‘There is Chaozhu’s wife naked, just like a white sheep (one like a white sheep), with a piece of cloth wedged between her legs…’

(Xing Shi Yin Yuan 19, 17th c.)
The DE2-marked simulative clause also develops into a construction for evidential modality, such as in (10). The DE2-marked clause, *qia si dafan le doufu de*, can only be construed as predicated of an event, not a participant. It may be construed as a simulative clause that likens the state of affairs to that of ‘tofu being spilled over’, but at the same time, it may be interpreted as the speaker’s epistemic stance.

(10) 看周諳時，恰似打翻了豆腐的，斑斑點點，約有三五十處（水滸傳第十三回）

`kan  zhoujin  shi  qia  si  da-fan  le  doufu  de`

`banban-diandian  yue  you  san  wu  shi  chu`

‘When looked closer, (it was) as if tofu had spilled over, spots here and there, in about thirty or fifty areas.’

(Shui Hu Zhuan 13, 16th c.)

A DE2-marked evidential clause as a post-nominal modifier or a secondary predicate is, on the one hand, a host-class expansion of DE2-marked nominal and event modifying constructions, and on the other hand, a syntactic expansion of DE2-marked evidential clauses.

Many of the new functions of DE2 also enter the domain of adverbial subordination and secondary predication. DE2-marked relative clauses in the [Modifier DE2 N] pattern, for example, have entered the domain of adverbial subordination (e.g. [Proposition DE2 shihou ‘time’] (的時候) as a construction for temporal and conditional clauses), and evidential modality (Proposition DE2 yangzi (的樣子) ’manner, appearance’ > evidential). A significant distinction to be made from the previous development, though, is that it is not so much that DE2 develops new functions of subordination, but the newly developed functions of these constructions increase the overall frequency of DE2 in these
domains. In addition, some subschemas have become contracted or obsolete in subsequent development (see §8.4.2.3.4).

Because of the nature of such changes, a complete inventory of the rich patterns that are attested with \textsc{de}2 after the Yuan Dynasty is beyond the scope of our current description. This section merely provides a brief illustration of some of the developments of \textsc{de}(2) after the Yuan Dynasty. The multiple functions of Mandarin \textsc{de} discussed in §1.7, and in various sections below (Mandarin property predication in §8.4.2.3, \textsc{[v de vp]} construction after the Yuan Dynasty in §8.7.2) also demonstrate some of the developments of the \textsc{de}(2)-marked networks of constructions.

In the rest of Chapter 8, we discuss the theoretical implications of the findings. Specifically, we will position Chinese strategies for secondary predication in a typological context, and explore the issues involved in classification. In addition, we will discuss the implications of our study for constructionalist approaches to language.

8.3 The morphosyntactic typology of secondary predication

One of the themes of this study is to contribute to the typology of secondary predication. To establish a correlation between the encoding of secondary predication and the morphosyntactic features of secondary predication in a language, one needs to categorize the constructions based on a set of crosslinguistically valid criteria and find the underlying semantic motivation for such morphosyntactic variation.

As discussed in Chapter 1, previous studies have revealed several possible semantic motivations that affect the morphosyntactic encoding of secondary predication (Shultze-Berndt and Himmelmann 2004, Himmelmann and Shultze-Berndt 2005, Loeb-Diehl 2005, Verkerk 2009). Among these, Loeb-Diehl’s (2005) survey of manner
encoding is probably the most comprehensive morphosyntactic typology in the domain of secondary predication to date. Loeb-Diehl identifies ten morphosyntactic strategies for manner predication. The strategies for manner predication are classified based on three morphosyntactic parameters: (i) whether the secondary predicate is marked as balanced (of the same rank as an independent predicate) or deranked, (ii) whether the encoding of predicative properties pairs with predicative actions (verby) or predicative objects (nouny), and (iii) whether the expression is morphologically marked as oriented towards a participant (indexing) or an event (non-indexing). The criteria are applied to eight out of the ten strategies, except for grammaticalized adverbial markers (the Adverbial strategy) and the Predicational strategy (see discussion in §8.3.1 below).

8.3.1 Attested morphosyntactic strategies for secondary predication

This section discusses the morphosyntactic strategies attested for secondary predication, most of which are from Loeb-Diehl’s typology, complemented by Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann (2004) and Verkerk (2009) on Depictive (indexing) strategies. Most of the strategies identified by Loeb-Diehl are also attested for depictive secondary predication. In addition, Croft (in preparation) observes a strategy (Adpositional Personal strategy) not attested in Loeb-Diehl’s sample, but described by Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann (2004) as a strategy for depictives. For each strategy, an English sentence is provided in the beginning as an illustration of the morphosyntactic encoding in a particular language, which, therefore, may not always be syntactically and semantically well-formed English sentences.

• The Coordinate Personal strategy: Verby, balanced, indexing

He cries (and he) despair.
In this strategy, the manner expression is a separate predication that is coordinated with the main predication with a balanced strategy. Both the manner expression and the main predication are inflected like regular main predicates. The manner expression receives subject indexation, and is therefore morphosyntactically participant-oriented. Furthermore, the property predication is encoded with the same strategy as action predication in a Coordinate Personal strategy. It is therefore a verby strategy.

The Coordinate Personal strategy includes serial verb constructions. The Muna example in (11) shows an indexing strategy, where both predicates are indexed for its subject.

   ne-rimba no-tende
   he-be_fast he-run
   ‘He runs fast.’ [lit. ‘He is fast (and) he runs’]

The Coordinate Personal strategy may also be illustrated by the serial verb constructions from Thai (a manner predication) and Lao (a depictive predication). There is no overt indexation, but the secondary predicate has the same subject as the primary predicate.

(12) Thai (Bisang 1995:147, from Loeb-Diehl 2005:23)
    khaw wiŋ rew
    he run be.quick
    ‘He runs quickly.’

(13) Lao (Enfield 2007:404, from Verkerk 2009:51)
    man2 maw2 maa2 huan
    3 drunk come house
    ‘He came home drunk.’

- The Coordinate Impersonal strategy: Verby, balanced, non-indexing

  He cries (and) it desairs.
In a Coordinate Impersonal strategy, the main predicate and the manner expression are in coordination, and both are inflected like regular action predications. The manner expression is morphosyntactically marked as oriented towards the event, e.g. the marking of different subjects for the two predicates in Ambrym.

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{om} & \text{geh} & \text{mə} & \text{faiah} \\
2\text{S.PRES} & \text{work} & 3\text{S.PRES} & \text{be_strong}
\end{array}
\]
‘You work strongly’ (lit. Your work, it (is) strong)

The Ainu ADV marker -no, Loeb-Diehl suggests, might be derived form the conjunction –no, and is therefore a possible extension from syndetic coordination.

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{pirka-no} & \text{nu} & \text{yan} \\
\text{be_good-ADV} & \text{listen.IMP} & \text{SENT.FIN}
\end{array}
\]
‘Please listen well.’

- **The Participial Strategy: Verby, deranked, indexing**

  *He cries, (who is) despairing.*

  In a Participial strategy, the main predicate and the manner expression are both encoded as action predications (the secondary predicate is therefore “verby”), but they are not of the same rank. The modifying clause is subordinated, being a participial or a relative clause, which is indexed for participant-orientation.

(16) Sanuma (Borgman 1990:34, from Loeb-Diehl 2005:26)
\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{opi-i} & \text{a} & \text{kali-palo-ma} \\
\text{be_slow-REL} & 3\text{SG} & \text{work_REPET_COMPLET}
\end{array}
\]
‘He worked slowly.’

- **The Converb Strategy: Verby, deranked, non-indexing**

  *He cries, which is (with/at/in) despairing.*

  In this strategy, the modifying clause is subordinated to the main clause as a (usually) non-finite adverbial verb form. There is no participant indexation on the
secondary predicate. The strategy is therefore morphosyntactically event-oriented, as the Turkana example in (17).

(17) Turkana (Dimmendaal 1983:379, from Loeb-Diehl 2005:27)
\[
\text{'They kicked him badly.'}
\]

Loeb-Diehl also classifies the \textit{de}-marked preverbal secondary predicates in Mandarin as a Participial-Strategy (see discussion in §8.5.1-3).

- **The Adjective Personal Strategy: Nouny, balanced, indexing**
  
  \textit{He cries (a) desperate (one).}
  
  In an Adjective Personal strategy, the manner expression consists of a non-verbal adjective (sometimes combined with a copula) in coordination with (or apposition to) the main predication. The adjective is indexed for participant-orientation. The Adjective Personal strategy is illustrated by the Latin and Hindi examples below.

(18) Latin (Loeb-Diehl 2005:30, from Vroom 1938:74)
\[
\text{mendicus a me tristis stipem petivit}
\]
\[\text{beggar.NOM.SG.MASC from me sad.NOM.SG.MASC gift.ACC ask.PERF.3SG}
\]
‘The beggar asked me sadly for a gift.’

\[
vah sîdhî cali, phir dâhine
\]
\[\text{she straight.FEM went, then to the right}
\]
‘She went straight ahead, then to the right.’

Loeb-Diehl comments that the Adjective Personal strategy is often a secondary strategy.

- **The Adjective Impersonal Strategy: Nouny, balanced, non-indexing**
  
  \textit{He cries (it is) desperate.}
  
  In an Adjective Impersonal strategy, the manner expression consists of an adjective (sometimes combined with a copula) in coordination with (or apposition to) the
main predication. The strategy is morphosyntactically event-oriented in that it lacks indexation.

(20) Manchu (from Loeb-Diehl 2005:31, originally from S. Georg, person comm.)

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{sargan} & \text{jui} & \text{hocikon} & \text{ucule-he} \\
\text{female} & \text{child} & \text{beautiful} & \text{sing-PST.VN} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘The girl sang beautifully.’

The manner expression in the Manchu example is morphologically event-oriented (non-indexing) in that it is in an uninflected form.

- **The Participial Copular strategy: Nouny, deranked, indexing**

  *He cries, being desperate.*

  In a Participial Copula strategy the manner expression is in an adjectival form (it is not inflected like regular action predication), combined with a copular verb in a subordinate form. The participial marking is carried by the copula. Loeb-Diehl comments that the strategy is rare. The copular participle form is often affixed to the manner predicate, and thus can be difficult to identify, as in (21).


\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{aval} & \text{bhamgiy-aayi} & \text{prasamgiccu} \\
\text{she} & \text{beauty-PCP.COP} & \text{speak.PAST} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘She spoke beautifully.’

- **The Adpositional Phrase strategy: Nouny, deranked, non-indexing**

  *He cries with/from/out of/in despair.*

  In an Adpositional strategy, the manner expression consists of a case-marked property/stative predicate in its lexical, non-derived form, as in (22) from Kanuri, or in a nominalized form, as in (23) from Modern Hebrew. The manner predicate is not encoded as an action predication, and is therefore classified as nouny (i.e. non-verby).
(22) Kanuri (Cyffer 1974:51, from Loeb-Diehl 2005:33)

\[
\text{for } doi-ro sag\text{-}shin \\
\text{horse quick-to/ALL walks.PRES.3SG}
\]

‘The horse goes quickly.’

(23) Modern Hebrew (Glinert 1989:227, from Loeb-Diehl 2005:34)

\[
\text{hu po’el be-} hofshiut \\
3S work LOC-freedom
\]

‘He acts freely.’

- **Adpositional Personal: Nouny, deranked, indexing**

  *He dies with (a) young (one).* (illustration mine, based on example (24) below.)

  This strategy is not identified by Loeb-Diehl for manner predication, but is described in Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann (2004) (from Croft in preparation). The depictive secondary predicate occurs in a fixed case marking, but indexes the number and gender of the relevant participant; the strategy is thus morphosyntactically participant-oriented. The Adpositional Personal-Strategy is illustrated by (24) from Russian.

(24) Russian (Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann 2004:87, from Nichols 1978:115)

\[
on umer molodym \\
he die.PST.M SG young.M.SG.INST
\]

‘He died young.’

Loeb-Diehl identifies two strategies that are not classified based on the three morphosyntactic criteria proposed: The grammaticalized Adverbial strategy and the Predicational Strategy.

- **The Adverbial strategy: Grammaticalized**

  *He cries desperate-ly.*

  The language employs a distinctive construction (e.g. an affix) for manner predication. The marker is grammaticalized, and is usually of obscure etymological source. The nouny vs. verby distinction is not applicable to the Adverbial strategy. A
common example is the English adverb suffix –ly (see also the discussion of the adverbial maker -mente/ment in the Romance languages in §1.2.1.)

• **The Predicational Strategy**

  *His crying is desperate.*

  In the Predicational strategy, the ‘manner expression’ is encoded as the main predicate, while the ‘primary event’ is expressed in the form of a verbal noun, which functions as the subject of the sentence. The Predicational strategy is illustrated by (25) from Mokilese:

  (25) Mokilese

  \[
  \text{ah kijou dahr} \quad \text{his run fast}
  \]

  ‘He runs fast’ (lit. ‘His running is fast’) (Harrison 1976:167, cited in Loeb-Diehl 2005:212)

  Croft (in preparation) comments that the Predicational strategy is perhaps the most event-oriented of all encodings. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Loeb-Diehl also classified the Chinese \[V \text{DE VP}\] predication construction as a Predicational strategy (see the discussion in §8.7 below). The development of \text{DE1}- and \text{DE2}-marked topic-comment strategy is thus pertinent to the Predicational strategy.

  The construction types discussed above can be classified summarized below in terms of the morphosyntactic parameters, in Table 8.1.
Table 8.1. Strategies for stative secondary predicate (including manner) constructions (from Croft in preparation, adapted and added to from Loeb-Diehl 2005:52, Table 2.12).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>“participant-oriented” (indexing) encoding</th>
<th>“event-oriented” (non-indexing) encoding</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Verby</td>
<td>Coordinate Personal</td>
<td>Coordinate Impersonal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Participle</td>
<td>Converb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nouny</td>
<td>Adjective Personal</td>
<td>Adjective Impersonal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Copular Participle; Adpositional Personal*</td>
<td>Adpositional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Predication</td>
<td></td>
<td>Predicational</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grammaticalized</td>
<td></td>
<td>Adverbial</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*not described by Loeb-Diehl, but described by Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann (2004)

8.3.2 Loeb-Diehl’s morphosyntactic typology: Further discussion

Loeb-Diehl’s (2005) classification is based on Stassen’s (1997) model, which introduces four possible encoding strategies languages may resort to for predication and identity statements. In Stassen’s (1997) theory, there are four general strategies for the encoding of predication across languages – verbal, locative, nominal, and zero strategy.

The verbal strategy is the same as the basic construction for predication of action, i.e. regular verbal inflections such as tense, aspect, modality and evidentiality, and polarity. Compare (26a-c) in Classical Nahuatl, which employs the verbal strategy for action, property, and nominal predications.

(26) Classical Nahuatl (Stassen 1997:45-46, cited in Croft in preparation)

(a) *ni-cho:ca*
   1s-cry
   ‘I am crying’

(b) *ni-cualli*
   1s-good
   ‘I am good.’

(c) *ni-ti:citl*
   1s-doctor
   ‘I am a doctor.’
The locative strategy originates from predication of locations. It typically involves a locative verb, such as ‘sit’, ‘stand’, ‘lie’, which can grammaticalize into a verbal copula. A comparison between (27a) and (27b) shows that Amele uses the locative strategy for both locative and property predication.

(27) *Amele* (Stassen 1997:149, cited in Croft in preparation)
(a) uqa ji na bil -i -a
   he house at sit 3S PRS
   ‘He is at home.’

(b) uqa me bil -i -a
   he good sit -3S PRS
   ‘He is good.’

The nominal and zero strategies, Stassen proposes, derive from identity statements. The nominal strategy uses a nonverbal copula (an uninflected form), most typically derived from a pronoun (demonstrative or personal) or a topic marker; it can also involve a highly grammaticalized form with unrecoverable origin. The nominal strategy, encoded by a non-verbal copula, is illustrated by (28)-(29) from Nakanai and Awtuw.

(28) Nakanai (Stassen 1997:82)
   eia la taua sesele
   3S DEM spirit truly
   ‘He is truly spirit.’

(29) Awtuw (Stassen 1997:88)
   wan po rumeyæn
   1S FOC human
   ‘I am a human being.’

The zero strategy uses simple juxtaposition without any extra encoding. Because the zero strategy is derived from identity statements like the nominal strategy, it can be classified as “nominal”. An illustration of the zero strategy for both nominal and property predications is provided in (30a-b).
(30) Tiwi (Australian; Stassen 1997:144)
   (a) purukupali mautina
       PN boss
       ‘Purukuparli is boss.’
   (b) ṭunjyaltirija pumpuka
       string.bark good
       ‘The stringy bark is good.’

Stassen proposes that languages can resort to any of the four strategies for any

Since the verbal and nominal strategies are the most predominant, languages are

As is the case with all linguistic classification, however, the reality is more

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complicated system than suggested in the four strategies outlined above. Splitting encoding is found in a number of languages (e.g. Stassen 1997, Loeb-Diehl 2005). They encode their property predication partly by a verbal strategy and partly by a non-verbal strategy. The split can be associated with the scale of time-stability (see Givón 1984) within the class of property items (see Dixon 1977, Stassen 1997) and discourse functions (see Thompson 1989 for an explanation for the encoding of adjectives based on discourse functions).

Loeb-Diehl (2005:76-118) observes a correlation between the encoding of predicate adjectives and that of secondary predication with regard to the nouny-verby distinction established by Stassen (1997). Loeb-Diehl proposes that the encoding of manner tends to share the encoding of predicate adjectives (in terms of verby, nouny, or mixed encoding). Verkerk (2009:122) also argues that the typological characteristics of the morphosyntactic constructions for predicative properties in a language affect the encoding of secondary predicates. For instance, there is a tendency for languages with nouny adjectives to employ splitting strategies for different types of secondary predication.

Unaware of the history of de constructions, both Loeb-Diehl and Verkerk’s studies incorporate Mandarin Chinese in their samples but fall short of accurately explaining Mandarin de-marked strategies for secondary predication. Loeb-Diehl also analyzes indexation as the overt encoding of participant-orientation, and the lack of indexation is assumed to be evidence of event-orientation given the default semantics of manner predication. After an account of the relevant constructions in Mandarin in §8.4
below, we will discuss the typological classifications of Mandarin de-marked secondary predicate constructions in §8.5, and the de-marked [V de VP] construction in §8.7.

8.4 Chinese de-marked constructions and the morphosyntactic typology of secondary predication

The morphosyntactic parameters in Loeb-Diehl and Stassen’s typologies, particularly the verby-nouny distinction, are correlated with two typological features of the language – whether the language employs obligatory affixal past vs. non-past distinction, and whether property predication in a language pairs with action predication in terms of its morphosyntactic encoding. This section discusses the typological features of Mandarin property predication, and how the de constructions feature in these strategies.

8.4.1 Mandarin property predication and the verby vs. nouny distinction

The Tensedness Parameter is proposed to predict whether a language has nouny or verby predicative properties. Stassen (1997) suggests that the encoding of property predication correlates with whether a language makes an obligatory affixal past/nonpast tense distinction for predicated actions (the Tensedness Parameter). If a predicated action is obligatory coded for past/nonpast tense distinction, then property predication is “nouny” (i.e. share morphosyntactic features with object predication); if not, the property predication is “verby” (i.e. share morphosyntactic features with action predication). Stassen points out that prototypical properties are inherent properties of the referent, hence temporal distinctions are not relevant to their predication. Therefore, if a language makes obligatory tense distinction in predication, then predicative properties will not be categorized in the same way as action predication; if it is not, it will be.
In Mandarin, the past/nonpast tense distinction is not obligatorily marked, and temporal reference is optional, often merely implied by contextual information, e.g. (31a-b). The Tensedness Parameter therefore predicts that Mandarin predicative properties will not be grammatically distinguished from action predication. This is partly supported by the fact that predicative properties can take the aspect (current relevance) marker *le* just like predicative actions, as in (31c-d).

(31) Action predication

我(昨天)只睡三小時。

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wǒ} &\quad (\text{zuòtiān}) &\quad \text{zǐ} &\quad \text{shùì} &\quad \text{sān} &\quad \text{xǐōUSHí} \\
1S &\quad \text{yesterday} &\quad \text{only} &\quad \text{sleep} &\quad \text{three} &\quad \text{hour} \\
\text{‘I only slept for three hours (yesterday).’}
\end{align*}
\]

(b) Property predication

我(那時候)好矮。

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wǒ} &\quad (\text{nà shíhou}) &\quad \text{hǎo} &\quad \text{ài} \\
1S &\quad \text{(that time)} &\quad \text{very} &\quad \text{short} \\
\text{‘I was so short (then).’}
\end{align*}
\]

(c) Action predication:

我吃了

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wǒ} &\quad \text{chī} &\quad \text{le} \\
1S &\quad \text{eat} &\quad \text{RCS} \\
\text{‘I ate/have eaten.’}
\end{align*}
\]

(d) Property predication:

你瘦了

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nǐ} &\quad \text{shòu} &\quad \text{le} \\
2S &\quad \text{thin} &\quad \text{RCS} \\
\text{‘You have become thin.’}
\end{align*}
\]

Mandarin is indeed frequently assumed to be a verby language. Li and Thompson (1981), for example, argue in favor of the merging of adjectives and verbs in Chinese, proposing that there should not be a distinct category “adjective” in Mandarin.

Stassen (1997:124,133) argues that Mandarin has a V-V-N-L pattern (Event-V, Property-V, Class-N, Location-L) in terms of the encoding for various types of predication. The reported pattern (Pattern 8, V-V-N-L, Stassen1997:124) is the most
prominent pattern, consisting of half of the languages in the sample. Examples (32a-d) are cited to support the classification of Mandarin.

(a) Action

他跑

\[ tā păo \]

‘He/She runs/ran/ will run.’ (Li and Thompson 1981:410)

(b) Property

他高

\[ tā găo \]

‘He/She is tall.’ (Comrie 1976:20)

(c) Class/Object

张三是一個護士

\[ zhângsăn shì yi -ge hùshì \]

‘Zhangsan is/was a nurse.’ (Li and Thompson 1981:148)

(d) Location

李四在海邊

\[ lîsī zài hâi-bîăn \]

‘Lisi is by the ocean.’ (Li and Thompson 1981:365)

Aside from the Tensedness Parameter, the conclusion can also be tested by a set of crosslinguistically applicable criteria developed by Wetzer (1996) and Stassen (1997) to decide whether predicative properties in a given language should be treated as nouny or as verby (cited in Loeb-Diehl:74), described in (33) below:

(33) Criteria of the nouny-verby distinction

(a) The agreement criterion

If a language has (Person/Number/Gender) agreement on predicative verbs, then predicative adjectives in that language will be treated as verbal if they show this agreement marking as well. If they do not, they will be treated as non-verbal.
(b) The copula criterion

If predicative adjectives are marked by the presence of a supportive item (a copula), then their encoding must be treated as non-verbal.

(c) The negation criterion

If, in a language, predicative verbs and adjectives have different negation forms, then the encoding of predicative adjectives must be treated as non-verbal.

Because Mandarin does not have agreement markers, the agreement criterion does not apply. The copula criterion is frequently cited to support the verby nature of Mandarin predicative properties. It has been argued that the property predication in (32b) aligns with the action predication in (32a) in that both predicate adjectives (properties) and verbs (actions) in Mandarin do not take the copula shì, which is the unmarked construction for predicative nouns (objects), shown in (32c).

Upon closer scrutiny, though, one finds it somewhat problematic to argue that Mandarin property predication is a verbal strategy based on the copula criterion. The oft-cited Mandarin predicative property construction, shown in (32b), is highly restricted in spoken discourse and is no longer the most natural strategy for regular property predication (see further discussion in §8.4.2 below).

In terms of negation, Mandarin regular property predication seems to align with action predication. Both properties and actions can be negated by the particles bù or méi(yǒu), e.g. (34a-c). The two types of negation markers convey aspectual differences – bù indicates that the proposition being negated is viewed as a whole (cf. a perfective), while méi(yǒu) negates a past event with present relevance, or a
present state resulting from a past situation (cf. a perfect). The interpretational differences are illustrated by the English translations.

(34) The negation criterion
(a) 妹妹不/沒有胖
    mèimèi  bú  pàng  /méi-(yǒu)  pàng
    younger.sister  NEG  fat  /NEG-(EXIST)  fat
    ‘Younger sister is not fat/(There is no such thing that) younger sister is fat/has gone fat.’

(b) 酒瓶不/沒有空
    jiǔ-píng  bú  /méi-(yǒu)  kōng
    wine-bottle  NEG  /NEG-(EXIST)  empty
    ‘The wine bottle is not /has not gone empty.’

(c) 他不/沒有來
    tā  bú  /méi-(yǒu)  lái
    3S  NEG  /NEG-(EXIST)  come
    ‘S/He does not (will not) come. S/He has not come.’

8.4.2 Mandarin strategies for property predication: Further investigation

Complication arises when one examines Mandarin strategies further. Despite being classified as a single-strategy language with verbal encoding for property predication (Stassen 1997), Mandarin in fact has several strategies for property predication with different semantic and pragmatic nuances. Though it may be controversial how each of the strategies (and the mixing of strategies) should be classified based on Stassen’s typology, a classification will be attempted in §8.4.2.1-3. It is important to note that each of these strategies are paired with different ranges of properties with various morphophonological patterns, which are connected in networks of family resemblance in terms of formal (and semantic) similarity.

In Mandarin, there are several possible strategies for property predication, each with different semantic nuances and is associated with a different range of pragmatic contexts.

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8.4.2.1 Unmarked: Verby

The first strategy involves the predication of a property without extra encoding, i.e. no supporting element. This is the strategy presented in (32b) above (repeated in (35) below), which is often cited in the literature to support the position that Mandarin property predication pairs with the encoding of action predication (i.e. it is encoded via a verby strategy).

(35) 他高
   tā  gāo
   3s  tall
   ‘He/She is tall.’ (Comrie 1976:20, cited in Stassen 1997:133)

Notably, this strategy of property predication has a restricted context of use, and is rare in spoken discourse. It is either literary, or appears in contexts where the property in the proposition is to be contrasted, modified, or compared with an element in a proposition in parallel, e.g. (36).

(36) 他高傲，但是宅心仁厚。他謙虛，但是受萬人敬仰。（食神）
   ta  gāoào  danshi  zhaixin   renhou
   3s  proud  but  heart       kind/generous

   ta qianxu  danshi  shou  wan  ren  jingyang
   3s  humble  but  pass  ten thousand  person respect
   ‘He is proud, but his heart is kind and generous. He is humble, but is respected by tens of thousands of people.’
   (Lines from the movie God of Cookery, Mandarin edition)

8.4.2.2 Degree modification

More commonly, a predicative property is marked by (various constructions) of degree modification. A simple predicative property (unmodified, non-reduplicated, no suffixation) usually needs to be accompanied by a degree marker in Mandarin discourse. The most frequently attested degree adverb in this strategy is probably hěn, an intensifier that is now becoming more and more semantically bleached and thus behaves like a
copula, as in (37). Some other degree modifiers that appears in this strategy are hǎo ‘very, great(ly)’, fēichàng ‘extremely, lit. not-ordinary’, yǒu-(yì)-xiē ‘a little, lit exist-some’ or yòu-(yì)-diǎn ‘a little, lit exist-a.bit’.

(37) Predicative property with degree modification
(a) 他很胖
   tā hěn páng
   3S very fat
   ‘S/he is (very) fat.’

(b) 天气很/有点冷
   tiānqì hěn / yōudiǎn lěng
   weather very / a.little cold
   ‘The weather is (very)/ a bit cold.’

The almost obligatory degree modifier may be analyzed as a supporting element, though it is still in the process of grammaticalizing. All of these can have a non-bleached degree modifier interpretation, although some items, such as hěn or hǎo, tend to be more semantically bleached and do not exactly mean ‘extremely’ or ‘very’ in many situations except when pronounced with stress.

Though it may be of dispute whether the almost obligatory degree modification should be treated as a supporting element (a copula), it is fair to conclude that Mandarin property predication is often treated differently from regular action predication in that degree modification is usually required. One may even argue that Mandarin is grammaticalizing a different copula for predicate properties. This contravenes Stassen’s claim that property predication doesn’t have its “own” strategy”.

8.4.2.3 Property predication with DE

Mandarin property predications marked by the particle DE are often overlooked as a proper strategy for property predication because they are specialized for a set of pragmatic contexts. In a sense, they are more restricted in usage than predicative
properties introduced by degree markers (but see discussion below). De-marked property predications in Mandarin are associated with different schemas depending on the morphophonological template of the property, much like what was attested for De2-marked attributive and De3-marked predicative constructions discussed in Chapter 4.

8.4.2.3.1 Descriptive property + De

The following Mandarin example illustrates a descriptive [ABB-de] expression in predication. Note that it is not marked by a supporting element. Property predication encoded by Descriptive-de is associated with a more transient interpretation.

(38) 小狗吃太多，肚子圆滚滚的。

\[
\text{xiao gou chi tai duo duzi yuan-gungun de}
\]

small dog eat too much belly round-roll.

‘The doggie ate too much; (its) belly is bulging (=full and round).’

In addition, Descriptive-de predication often serves as a grounding element, or is hard to distinguish from a secondary predicate, as in (39). This is in line with the historical phenomenon that De3-marked descriptive elements have a higher probability to be ambiguous between a predicative and a secondary predicate construal (see §4.3.4).

(39) 海水凉凉的好舒服。

\[
\text{hai-shui liangliang de hao shu fu}
\]

sea-water cool.

‘The sea water is cool, (and it is) very comfortable.’

‘The sea water, being cool, is very comfortable.’

Each pattern in the ‘descriptives’ network has a semantics of its own (note that descriptives are also constantly developing constructions), and a complete discussion is beyond the scope of the dissertation. Nonetheless, a property encoded by a descriptive template is generally understood as being ‘quantified’ or ‘qualified’ by their morphological pattern, though usually to an inexact extent and is subject to the hearer’s construal. The [Descriptive-de] patterns are therefore arguably analyzable as
constructions linked to the degree modification schema, although they carry other
semantic and pragmatic functions. If one accepts the proposal that degree modification is
a strategy unique to property predication (as opposed to action predication), degree
modification expressed by the [V DE Pred] construction, illustrated by (40), may also
arguably be subsumed into one of the strategies for property predication.

- **Intensification/degree**

(40) 他胖的/得不得了

\[ tā pāng \text{ de } bù-dé-liǎo \]

3S fat DE NEG-DE-end

‘S/he is extremely fat.’

8.4.2.3.2 Simple property + DE in predication: A nominal strategy

DE-marked simple property predications typically differ from DE-marked
descriptives in that they are interpreted as definitive, classificational, or characterizational
(cf. D. Zhu 2001[1956]). In this type of encoding, the property is typically accompanied
by \( shi \), the copula for nominal predication.

The \( shi\ldots DE \) construction is generally excluded from the discussion of Mandarin
property predication, given that placing regular property concepts in this pattern may
result in an identificational or stance interpretation, rather than a regular predicative
interpretation. The use of the \( [shi\ldots Property \ DE] \) pattern, however, also have
classificational or characterizational interpretations which are more natural for assigning
to the participant a feature viewed as a definitive, regular, or permanent characteristic, as
what one would expect from a nouny strategy. This strategy is historically associated
with the \( shi\ldots DE2 \) equational strategy with a \( DE2 \)-marked predicative nominal (see
§4.2.4.1)
In its predicational use, the *shi*...*DE* construction assigns class membership to a participant, the class being defined or characterized by the property. This may be determined by the semantic nature of a property. At least some property concepts are more naturally encoded via the nominal strategy, i.e. (*shi*)...*DE*/(*shi*)...(*DE*). Not surprisingly, this is the case for properties that always rank highest in time-stability and are thus most likely to receive nominal encoding crosslinguistically, i.e. *material* and *gender* (see Wetzer 1996). In Chinese, these are in fact classificational statements.

(41) 我是女的/女孩

*wǒ shì nǚ-de / nǚ-hái*

1S COP female-DE girl-child

‘I am female/a girl.’

(42) 這件襯衫是純棉的

*zhè jiàn chènshān shì chúnmián de*

this CL shirt COP pure-cotton DE

‘This shirt is (made of) pure cotton.’

For some complementaries such as *true* or *false* (see Cruse 1986, Croft and Cruse 2004), it seems that the *shi*...*DE* nominal encoding is more natural than the degree-marked property predication. It is not surprising because these values are more naturally conceptualized as categorical.

(43) 這件事是真的/假的

*zhè jiàn shìqíng shì zhēn de/ jiǎ de*

this CL thing COP real DE false DE

‘This matter is true/false.’

8.4.2.3.3 A comparison between the descriptive and non-descriptive property predication associated with *DE*

The *shi*...*Property SIMPLE* *DE* construction is compatible with at least some color, form, dimension, and physical properties. When available, the choice between different strategies for property predication conveys different semantic and pragmatic nuances. In
general, the *shi...de* nominal strategy is always associated with a more permanent or definitive interpretation, i.e. the property encoded by this strategy (simple, non-modified, non-reduplicated) is usually conceptualized as a defining characteristic or a relatively permanent property. The non-nominal strategy with the descriptive pattern, on the other hand, is generally associated with more transient or contingent construal.

Compare (44a) and (45a), which are encoded by a nouny strategy with a copula and a DE2-marked nominal form in predication, with the list of expressions in (44b) and (45b), which appear in some kind of descriptive reduplicated forms.

(44) Color:
(a) Nominal encoding (classificational)

天空是蓝的。
*tiankong  shi  lan  de*  
sky  COP  blue  DE2
‘The sky is blue.’ (The color of the sky is blue.)

(b) Descriptive+DE

海水蓝湛湛的，一眼望不到边
*hai-shui  lan-zhanzhan  de*  |yi  yan  wang-bu-dao  bian
sea-water  blue-deep_clear.REDU  DE  one  eye  look-NEG-arrive  edge
‘The sea water is deep, clear and blue; (one) cannot see its edge.’

(45) [Characteristic – Color]
(a) 這支筆是红色的。
*zhe  zhi  bi  shi  hong-se  de*  
this  CL  PEN  COP  red-color  DE
‘This pen is red.’ (The color of the pen is red.)

(b) 這支筆紅紅的/紅豔豔的/红吱吱的。
*zhe  zhi  bi  ?honghong-de  /?hong-yanyan-de  /?hong-zizi-de*
this  CL  pen  red.REDU -DE  red-flamboyant.REDU-DE  red-IDEO-DE
‘?This pen is reddish/?brilliantly red/?brazenly red.’

The construction in (44a) and (45a) indicates a definitive, characteristic or permanent property of the sky and the pen. Aside from encoding more descriptive information (deep and clear), (44b) is presented as a mere description of the sea water perceived by the speaker at a particular moment, the implication being that the state is subject to change as
time progresses. (45a) is a natural strategy to characterize the permanent quality of the pen, while the latter statements in (45b) sound rather forced when predicated of the color of a pen.

Also worth mentioning is that aside from perpectivization of time-stability, the choice between a simple vs. a descriptive element is also partly conditioned by the pragmatic context. With the \((shi)\) Property\(_{\text{simple}}\) DE2 pattern, the speaker is asserting that the property is a defining characteristic that is significant in that context – the fact that the participant possesses the property is relevant to the context. The \((shi)\)...DE2 strategy for property predication seems to occur more frequently in explanatory contexts where it is essential which class (defined by the property) the participant belongs to. Usually, it is relevant that the participant has/does not have a certain property, but it is not as significant to what extent the participant has the property, nor is extra vividness or detailed quantification necessary. A set of examples illustrating this contrast can be observed in the description of dimensions, e.g. (46a)-(46b).

(46) Dimension
(a) Nominal: Characteristic

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nu-haizi} & \quad \text{tou-fa} & \quad \text{tongchang} & \quad \text{shi} & \quad \text{chang} & \quad \text{DE} \\
\text{female-child} & \quad \text{head-hair} & \quad \text{usually} & \quad \text{COP} & \quad \text{long} & \quad \text{DE2}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Here girls usually have long hair.’

(b) Descriptive \(+\) DE

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{you-shi} & \quad \text{bian} & \quad \text{zhe} & \quad \text{san} & \quad \text{si} & \quad \text{gen} & \quad \text{bianze} & \quad \text{changchang} & \quad \text{DE} \\
\text{exist-time} & \quad \text{plait} & \quad \text{DUR} & \quad \text{three} & \quad \text{four} & \quad \text{CL} & \quad \text{braid} & \quad \text{long,REDU} & \quad \text{DE}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{zai} & \quad \text{nao-hou} & \quad \text{shuai} & \quad \text{lai} & \quad \text{huang} & \quad \text{qu} \\
\text{at} & \quad \text{head-back} & \quad \text{shake} & \quad \text{come} & \quad \text{sway} & \quad \text{go}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Sometimes she braids three or four braids, long, swaying back and forth at the back of her head.’
Example (47) is a customer’s complaint about the food of a Barbeque restaurant (punctuation original).

(47) 一盤子端上来，凉的，花样少的，丸子臭的，冒菜冬瓜，酸的。

yi panzi duan shang lai, liang de.
one plate serve up come cold DE2

huayang shao de, wanzi chou de,
pattern few DE2 ball.of.food stinky DE2

maocai donggua, suan de.
PN white.gourd sour DE2
‘The whole plate (of food), when served, was cold, the variety lacking, the meat balls stinky, the white gourd in spicy soup, sour.’

(Passage from an online Bulletin Board http://www.xabbs.com/xinwen/qq1389391/)

In this context, it is unacceptable for the customer that a “hot dish” is served cold, but it is not as relevant to describe how cold the dish is. The same applies to the variety of choices, the freshness of the meat balls, and the white gourd, which are, to the speaker, not served in an acceptable condition. All of these DE(2)-marked expressions are monosyllabic, simple properties.

8.4.2.3.4 Historical links to DE2- and DE3-constructions

The distinction in construal between a DE-marked simple and descriptive property is reminiscent of the general distinction between the DE2 and DE3 constructions, and their respective pragmatic contexts. Historically, DE2-marked nominals in shi…DE2 predications are associated with identificational contexts. DE3-marked predicatives are typically descriptive, and thus prone to take descriptive-like templates. In the course of its development, the shi…DE2 nominal predication has been extended to express properties in classificational and characterizational statements. DE-marked simple and descriptive property predication therefore represent represent two subschemas for predication.
• Classificational/characterizational: \( shi \) Property\(_{\text{simple}} \) DE(2)

• Descriptive: Property\(_{\text{descriptive}} \) DE(3)

The two general predicative schemas are preserved in Mandarin, with DE2 and DE3 becoming phonetically identical. To determine which subschema of property predication an instance is linked to, language users rely on other linguistic cues, such as the copula \( shi \) and/or the morphophonological pattern of the property.

Patterns that do not fit well into either of the schemas, then, have become peripheral in Mandarin. A DE-marked non-descriptive property, when not accompanied by a supporting element (e.g. \( shi \)), is restricted in its distribution and use. A DE-marked simple (non-descriptive) element in Mandarin is mostly restricted to a monosyllabic property encoding the material, and the physical property of an object (S. Lü 1995: 161). This corresponds to the type of predication involving a DE-marked simple (especially monosyllabic) property (also see (47) above), more examples in \$1.5.3.2\):

\begin{align*}
& (48) \quad \text{這蘋果酸的} \\
& \text{zhi pingguo suan de} \\
& \text{‘This apple is sour.’}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
& (49) \quad \text{水缸滿的} \\
& \text{shui gang man de} \\
& \text{‘This water vat is full.’}
\end{align*}

These are also semantically similar to the \( shi \)…DE predication of simple property in that the property is construed as definitive and characteristic.

A DE-marked simple property in predication without a supporting element is otherwise not an acceptable strategy in Mandarin, unless interpreted as an identificational or stance construction (also see further illustration and discussion of deranking in
§8.5.2.2 below). The following example with a property predication then, is not acceptable.

(50) *他孤單的
    *ta gudan de
    3S lonely DE
    ‘Intended: He is lonely (no contrast involved).’

Instead, the property has to be encoded one of the degree modification constructions.

(51) 他孤單單的。
    ta gugudandan de
    3S longly.DEU DE
    ‘He is lonely’

(52) 他/很/有些孤單。
    ta hen/youxie gudan
    3S very/a little longly
    ‘He is (very/a bit) lonely.’

In §4.3.2.1, we have proposed that non-descriptive, simple properties are peripheral subschemas for DE3-predication, and are close to complete obsolescence for DE-marked property predication in contemporary Mandarin. Because they were already peripheral patterns for DE3-predicatives, when the phonetic distinction between DE2 and DE3 is lost, the schema becomes marginalized, and then obsolete, because there are no longer enough linguistic cues to associate it with DE-marked descriptives, or to differentiate it from DE-marked classificationals. This subschema has therefore been replaced by other strategies for property predication.

8.5 Typological classification of Chinese DE-marked secondary predication constructions

Before proceeding to our discussion of DE-marked constructions from a typological perspective, I will briefly recount the limitations of previous studies. Loeb-Diehl’s (2005) typology focuses on the specific formal characteristics lexical items
acquire when they are being used in the encoding of manner predication (Loeb-Diehl 2005:6-7). The model therefore excludes lexical items and expressions specialized for manner predication, such as ideophones (which according to Loeb-Diehl, are non-derived expressions used specifically for manner encoding) and sole-manner expressions, such as suppletion (English well, French bien). Comparative constructions as manner expressions are likewise excluded from the survey.

The status of elements that co-occur with Chinese DE as modifying predicates is peculiar – they form a network of family resemblance and fall on a continuum of structural markedness. As discussed in Chapter 2, descriptive templates perform functions that overlap with ideophones crosslinguistically, but not all expressions encoded in descriptive templates are strictly ‘ideophonic’, as descriptives may also be derived by reduplication of regular property expressions. Though expressions encoded in descriptive templates may be prototypical manner expressions, many are also ambiguous between participant- and manner-oriented interpretations, or unambiguously participant-oriented expressions. Loeb-Diehl notes that Mandarin manner expressions are often reduplicated, but has not excluded reduplicated manner expressions from her typology.

Although comparative and equative constructions are excluded from Loeb-Diehl’s typology of manner predication, Chinese simulative and equative secondary predicates as shown in (5)-(9) in §8.2 above, will also be taken into account. These likely emerged as DE2-marked nominalization constructions (which refer to a category), not DE3-associated simulative predication (see §4.4.2 for a discussion about DE2-and DE3-marked simulatives and equatives).
Now that the above caveats have been stated, we will proceed to discuss Chinese 
DE-marked constructions from a typological perspective. Loeb-Diehl classifies Mandarin 
DE-marked secondary predication (developed from DE3/DE2) as a Participial strategy, i.e. 
a verby, deranked, participant-oriented strategy. DE-marked primary predication 
(developed from DE1/DE2) is analyzed as a Predicational strategy, which could not be 
classified as being verby vs. nouny and balanced vs. deranked. §8.5.1-3 discusses 
DE2/DE3-marked secondary predicates. The DE1/DE2-marked Predicational strategy will 
be discussed later in §8.4.2.

8.5.1 The nouny vs. verby distinction

The verby vs. nouny distinction is regarded as an important parameter 
conditioning the encoding of secondary predication, since languages often adopt existing 
strategies of property predication for secondary predication. According to Loeb-Diehl, if 
the secondary predicate is encoded as a verb (predicative action), the strategy is verby; if 
the secondary predicate receives nominal encoding or is adjectival (encoded as a non-
derived, root-adjective), the strategy is classified as nouny. Non-verbal, root adjectives 
are expected to be nouny (i.e. pair with predicative nominals in their encoding), which is 
typically zero-marked or is accompanied by a nonverbal copula.

Loeb-Diehl only discusses how predicative properties are classified as either 
verby or nouny, but has not shown how the procedures would apply to the encoding of 
secondary predication. Presumably, it is achieved by comparing the encoding of 
secondary predicates with predicative properties. Now we will proceed to determine 
whether DE-marked secondary predicates should be classified as verby or nouny
(assuming for now that these are the only two choices), based on the criteria (agreement, copula, negation) introduced in §8.4.1.

In the Tang and Song Dynasties Period, DE2 and DE3 have distinctive primary functions, i.e. attributive modification and (secondary) predication, respectively. Despite their distinctive collocational preferences in their prototypical functions, the collocates of DE2 and DE3 overlap significantly in predicative-related functions (§4.3.5, §5.7). Regular property expressions (non-descriptive properties) are uncommon as DE-marked secondary predicates, and even rarer as primary predicates in the sample. DE2/DE3-marked modifying predicates are typically encoded in some form of descriptive morphology, which involves reduplication or lexical repetition.

8.5.1.1 Negation and the descriptive templates

Also notable is that in Mandarin, negation is highly marked and generally rare for descriptive predication, though if negation is intended, descriptive paradigms can pair with predicative actions (more acceptable if negated by méiyǒu) or predicative objects (búshì) in terms of negation, with different semantic nuances. This is illustrated by (53)-(56) (examples mine). The reason that negation is highly marked for descriptive templates is likely that it is redundant to provide detailed qualitative information and then negate it.

(53) 他胖胖的
    ta  pangpang  de
   3S  fat.REDU  DE

   ‘He is (kind of) chubby.’

(54) (a) *他不胖胖的
    *ta  bu  pangpang  de
   3S  NEG  fat.REDU  de
(b) 他不胖
\[
\text{ta bu pang}
\]
3s NEG fat
‘He is not fat.’ [negation of categorical assertion]

(55) 他不是胖胖的，是非常胖
\[
\text{ta bushi pangpang de shi feichang pang}
\]
3s neg fat.redu DE be very fat
‘He is not KIND OF chubby; he is VERY FAT.’ [negation of degree]

(56) 他没有胖胖的
\[
\text{ta meiyou pangpang de}
\]
3s NEG.exist fat.REDU DE
‘There is no such a thing that he is kind of chubby.’ [peripheral: negation of whole descriptive proposition]

Just like in Mandarin, there are no agreement markers in Middle and Early Modern Chinese. In addition, property predication is generally not accompanied by a supporting morpheme, thus the copula criterion is also irrelevant. The verby vs. noney distinction can only be made via the negation criterion.

The only two instances of DE3-marked reduplicated template in negation observed till the Song Dynasty involve the same combination, tietie-di with the verbal negator bu, which in a later citation (18th century) appears with a copula/focus marker shi, generally paired with nominal predication and identity statements.

(57) 堯夫豪傑之士，根本不帖地。（程氏遺書）
\[
yaofu haojie zhi shi shi genben bu tietie di
\]
PN hero MOD man(HON) simply NEG smooth.REDU DE3
‘Yaofu is a heroic man, (he is) simply not meek at all.’
(Cheng Shi Yi Shu, 11th c.)

(58) 向見其雜文一篇，皆不帖地。 (朱子)
\[
jie bu tietie di
\]
all not smooth.REDU DE3
‘(The essay) is not at all meek.’
(Zhu Zi Yu Lei, 13th c.)

(59) 昔程子論鄭子曰：堯夫祇是不帖地。 （昭昧詹言續錄。方東樹）
\[
yaofu zhi shi bu tietie di
\]
PN simply COP NEG smooth.REDU DE3
‘Yaofu is simply not meek at all.’
(Zhao Mei Zhan Yan Xu Lu, 19th c.)
Based on the negation criterion, one may concede that DE3-marked secondary predicates are verby, with the caveat that negation is highly marked for descriptives. This analysis has not taken into account the status of DE3 in this construction. There is no relevant data to suggest how a DE2-marked descriptive predicative property would be negated in my sample, which is conceivably extremely rare. Given that DE2- and DE3-marked secondary predicates are prototypically descriptive elements, I will treat DE2-marked descriptives as verby for now.

8.5.2 Balanced and deranked strategies

Loeb-Diehl’s model also requires a distinction between a balanced and a deranked secondary predicate. The model is based on Stassen (1985), which argues that crosslinguistically, languages may express events occurring in a consecutive order as having the same rank, or mark a predicate as lower in rank. In a balanced strategy, the predicate form has the same marking as a main predicate of a simple (i.e. not coordinated) independent declarative utterance. With a deranked strategy, the predicate form does not have the same marking as one that occurs in a simple (i.e. not coordinated) independent declarative utterance.

Languages commonly resort to the following strategies (or a combination of the strategies) for predicate deranking (Stassen 1985:83):

(60) Common strategies of deranking:

(a) The deranked predicate receives reduced (or lacks) verbal morphology which is normally required on predicates (e.g. loss of personal indexation, restricted or loss of tense, aspect, and mood markings)
(b) The deranked predicate receives marking that indicates a change of category status, e.g. nominal (infinitive or actional nominal), adverbial form (gerund), or an adjectival form (participle).

(c) The deranked predicate is marked by an addition of a specific marker, or application of a special subordinate conjugational form (‘dependent mood’).

Stassen (1985) points out that it can be difficult to determine whether a case of a non-coordinated chaining construction is a case of real predicate deranking (or rather a case of clause-embedding), since not all of the criteria listed above will apply. The difficulty also pertains to DE2/DE3-marked secondary predication.

8.5.2.1 DE2/DE3-marked secondary predicate: Balanced or deranked?

Now we will apply these criteria to determine whether a DE-marked secondary predicate (or a predicate in a serial chain) is a deranked or balanced form. Because Chinese has no personal indexation and obligatory tense marking, these are irrelevant to the discussion. A few questions remain:

• Is the marker DE attached to the predicate or the entire clause?

• Is a DE-marked expression a form of deranking?

  a. Is ‘DE’ itself a marker of deranking?

  b. Does the element collocating with DE receive limited or no aspectual/modality marking? Does the element collocating with DE appear in some type of deranking morphology? (Are descriptive templates a form of deranking?)

Stassen (1985) distinguishes predicate-deranking from clause-embedding. First, we need to determine whether DE2 or DE3 is attached to the predicate or the entire clause containing the event. When the modifying predicate is a lexical adverb or a descriptive
element, the marker DE2/DE3 is generally interpreted as having scope over the modifying predicate only, i.e. the modifying element is closely associated with the ‘predicate’, but not the entire clause.

DE2 as a nominalizer, however, may also have scope over an entire clause. A DE2-marked clause in apposition may function as a postposed non-restrictive modifier to provide subsidiary or explanatory information. Based on my sample, these are uncommon till the end of Late Medieval Chinese (see §5.2.1 for statistics from the Song-Jin Dynasties period). DE2-marked post-nominal non-restrictive modifiers appear to be versatile and common in Modern Chinese, as shown in (61b) (compare the DE-marked descriptive predicate in (61a)) and the DE-marked relative clause in (61c).

(61) 衛門窄膚的，屁股也掉不轉的，溺尿屙屎的去處也沒有。（醒世姻緣第六回）

(a) yamen de
office_of_local_official narrow-crowded.IDEO DE2

[ABB descriptive ]

(b) pibu ye diao-bu-zhuan de
hip also turn_around-NEG-turn DE2

[affirmative stance ]

(c) ni-niao e-shi de qu-chu ye mei-you
urinate-urine defecate-feces DE2 place also NEG-exist

‘Yamen (office of local official) is suffocatingly narrow, one cannot even turn one’s hips around, there is even not a place to urinate and defecate.’ (Xing Shi Yin Yuan, circ. 17th Century)

DE2-marked secondary predicates developed from DE2-marked similatives and equative clauses, mentioned in (9) in section §8.2, are perhaps also not deranked predicates for the same reasons.

A DE-marked modifying predicate is less compatible with additional aspectual marking. Diachronic data shows that DE-marked secondary predicates have a low
compatibility with aspectual and modality marking. The only case where a DE-marked secondary predicate is marked for aspect is attested in *Wu Deng*¹, which does not involve a property but a stative posture predicate.

(62) 長連床上排行著地銷將去（五燈）

*chang-lian-chuang shang pai-hang zhe di xiao jiang-qu*

long-connect-bed on arrange-line DUR DE3 erode take-go_FUT

‘(The monks) erode away in a row on the connecting beds.’ *(Wu Deng, AD 1252)*

In Mandarin, a DE-marked modifying predicate is generally not compatible with an aspectual or modality marker, especially the perfective aspect. The durative aspect marker may be peripherally acceptable, but is still extremely rare. This may partly be due to the prototypical function of DE-marked secondary predicates to express “simultaneous” events. A DE-marked secondary predicate in the pre-verbal position typically encodes a temporally simultaneous relation.

(63) ??吃了飯的回家

*chī le fān ??de huì-jǐā*

eat PF rice DE return-home

‘??Intended: Return home (after) having eaten.’

(64) ??喝醉了的上班

*hē-zuì le ??de shàngbān*

drink-be.drunk PF DE work

‘??Intended: Work (while/after) getting drunk.’

(65) ??疲倦了的上課

*lǎoshī pǐjuàn le ??de shàngkè*

teacher tired PF DE attend_class

‘??Intended: The teacher attends class (having gotten) tired.’

---

¹ Another one in *Xi Xiang Ji* is attested in the imperative sense - which is another type of construction that overlaps in function with the aspectual marker *zhe* (著).

(1) 踏實了地

*ta shí le di*

step firm PF DE3

‘Step firmly!’ *(Xi Xiang Ji, 12th-13th c.)*
An aspectual/modality marker, if present, is more appropriately attached after a DE-marked predicate (this not possible for DE-marked secondary predication), suggesting that DE is more closely associated with the predicate than the aspectual marker.

8.5.2.2 Are DE2/DE3 markers of deranking?

An encoding of deranking, by definition, is affixed to the predicate. Note that DE as a marking of secondary and descriptive predication, though often called a particle, is phonetically attached to the predicate like a suffix. Based on the above discussion, one may be tempted to argue that DE(3/2)-marked secondary predicates are deranked. A challenge to this analysis, however, is that a DE-marked expression may also function as the primary or single predicate, despite typically functioning as a secondary predicate.

Note that the acceptability of a DE-marked expression as the primary or single predicate is determined by its morphophonological encoding. In Mandarin, a DE-marked primary or single predicate construal is only acceptable when the collocating expression is encoded by descriptive morphology (see (38)-(39), (51) above). There is thus inconclusive evidence to show that DE2/DE3-marked descriptive expressions, which can also function as primary predicates, are deranked forms.

As discussed in §8.4.2.3.4, DE-marked regular (not encoded in descriptive form) properties are generally not acceptable as primary predicates (unless a stance
interpretation is intended, but even these are only peripherally acceptable). This is
illustrated again by the Mandarin examples in (68)-(69):

(68) 他孤單的
*ta gudan de
3SG alone DE
‘Intended: He is/was alone.’

(69) 媽媽匆忙的
*māmā cōngmáng de
mother hasty de
‘Intended: Mother is/was hasty.’

In fact, a regular property seems to prefer DE when functioning as a secondary
predicate, and rejects a regular predicative reading when marked by DE in predication.

(70) 他孤單的回家了
*ta gudan de hui jia le
3SG alone DE return home PF
‘He returned home alone.’

(71) 媽媽匆忙的收了幾件衣服
*māmā cōngmáng de shōu le jī jiànl yīfù
mother hasty DE collect PF several CL clothes
‘Mother collected a few clothes hastily.’

Because disyllabic simple properties are not deranked forms themselves, and DE-
marked simple properties are not acceptable as main predicates, we can conclude that in
such cases, DE is a marker of deranking, and clearly marks the property as a secondary
predicate.

There is more solid evidence to argue that DE2/DE3-marked regular properties and
complex expressions have developed into deranked forms as these expressions become
more and more peripheral in primary predication. The probabilities differ significantly for
descriptive and non-descriptive properties to appear as DE-marked predicatives in Late
Medieval Chinese (see §4.3.2 for DE3, and §5.2 for DE2). DE2/DE3-marked non-
descriptive properties, though rare, are still acceptable as primary predicates in the Song-Jin Period (11th-13th c. from my sample), shown in (72)-(75):

(72) 若道不見。爭奈竹林鬱若。山水院舍人眾。現在擾然地。（五燈）
    xianzai    cong-ran    di
    now     many_in_disorder_RAN     DE3
    ‘Now (they) are many, in disorder.’

    (Wu Deng, AD 1252)

(73) 立挣了渾身森地。（西廊）
    li      zheng    le    hun-shen    sen    di
    immediate_daze PF all_over-body fearful DE3
    ‘(He is) immediately dazed; his all body is fearful/stunned.’

    (Xi Xiang Ji, 12th-13th c.)

(74) 隱宗沉吟底
    guizong    chenyin    di
    PN    contemplative DE2
    ‘Guizong is contemplative/contemplating.’

    (Zu Tang Ji, AD 952)

(75) 協獨自底 （張張狀元）
    xie    duzi    di
    PN    alone    DE2
    ‘Xie is single.’

    (Zhang Xie, 12th -13th c.)

How then can we explain the DE-marked descriptive primary predicates? The explanation lies in the history of these markers. I propose that the discourse function of a DE2/DE(3)-marked modifying predicate is initially assigned by the element it is associated with – the established prototypical function of DE is a pragmatic strengthening of the functions these elements typically perform.

As descriptive templates gradually become central schemas of DE-collocates, DE also becomes established as a marker of descriptive elements. In addition, because descriptive elements typically appear as secondary predicates, DE becomes established as a marker of secondary predication. A non-descriptive property is less compatible or unacceptable with DE in predication, and needs to be marked by DE when it appears as a secondary predicate.
DE2/DE3-marked primary predications may be viewed as extensions from their original functions of “grounding” and “e-site elaboration”. That is why these are semantically more likely to serve as a grounding element (even when interpretable as a predicative property), and they are often followed by a relatively “factual” proposition, e.g. (76) (also see §4.3.4). The tendency remains true in Mandarin.

(76) 如今看著盡黑漫漫地，墨汁相似（五燈）
rujin kan zhe jin hei-manman di muozi xiang-si
‘Now (I) look (around), it is completely black, just like ink.’
‘Now (I) look (around), it is as completely black as ink.’ [→ inferred]
(Wu Deng, AD 1252)

I will therefore concede that DE2/DE3-marked secondary predicates may now be analyzed as deranked, but its function is fluid and based on the element it collocates with. For descriptive templates, one may alternatively interpret these as primary events, depending on the relationship it has to the subsequent predicate (see §4.3.4). The establishment of DE-marked secondary predicates as deranked is partly due to the gradual loss of [Regular+DE] as subschema of property predication.

8.5.3 Further discussion: Historical DE2 and DE3-marked modifying predicates

Historically, DE3 enters the domain of secondary predication based on metonymic and metaphorical extension (‘in an X location/condition’) from the lexical ‘ground’ meaning (§3.5). DE2, on the other hand, enters the domain of secondary predication as a headless modification construction (or headless relative clause) in apposition (either participant or event-oriented). In the beginning, the English equivalents of DE2 and DE3 secondary predicates would be the following, except with “verby” properties. (The DE-marked expression is underlined, and the item representing DE boldfaced).

DE3:  _He steps on a broken rope (in a) dark place._
He frowns his eyebrows \textit{(in a) sad condition}.

DE2: \textit{They leave silent ones.} (= They leave silent(ly).) \\
(One) leaves \textit{(a) sudden one}. (= One leaves suddenly).

\textbf{8.5.3.1 DE3 and the locative strategy}

Loeb-Diehl’s typology is based on Stassen’s (1997) model, which actually introduces three possible basic encoding strategies (nominal, locative, verbal) for all types of predication. Loeb-Diehl’s typology includes the two most common strategies, but not the locative strategy.

Stassen identifies two types of supporting items associated with the two non-verbal strategies, i.e. the nominal and locative strategies, which often involve a supporting item (a copula). (The zero strategy, like the nominal strategy, is derived from identity statements, and can thus be classified as “nominal”.) The nominal strategy often pairs with a nonverbal copula, which commonly developed from pronouns. The locative strategy typically pairs with a verbal copula, which commonly develops from a locative verb, e.g. \textit{stand, lie, be at}. There is no discussion of cases of locative strategies without copulas, or with non-verbal copulas. It may be the case the nonverbal origins of locative copulas were rare and therefore not attested in Stassen’s sample, or that their origins have become obscure and cannot be identified due to lack of diachronic data.

It is thus not clear whether other constructions indicating locative relations, such as case marking or adpositions, may be analyzed as a locative strategy in Stassen’s typology. Since the possibility of having locative encoding is not considered in Loeb-Diehl’s model, the appearance of case markings or adpositions (which originally often indicate locative relations) does not register as a parameter in Loeb-Diehl’s classification. A language that encodes manner with an adpositional phrase or case marking will be
classified as verby if the manner expression receives verbal encoding (Converb strategy), and as nouny if manner is encoded as an abstract noun or non-derived (root) adjective (Adpositional strategy).

Although non-verbal locative constructions are not typical of locative strategies in Stassen’s sample, we may want to consider such a possibility. Given that DE3 originally means “ground” and that the secondary-predicate function originates from metonymic or metaphorical extensions from the ground meaning, it seems reasonable to analyze the DE3 constructions as a locative strategy for marking (secondary) predication. The DE3-marked strategy, derived from its lexical meaning ‘ground’, however, does not function as an adposition or a case marking. Instead, it originally appears as the head of a nominal in the modifier-head pattern, which then functions as a manner or depictive secondary predicate (§3.5.3.1). The DE3 construction may thus be analyzed as a locative strategy with a distinctive source from those derived from adpositions or case-markers. DE(3) may be analyzed as a supporting item (a copula) of the locative strategy in the process of grammaticalization, given that it is not an obligatory marking in all contexts.

8.5.3.2 DE2 and participant- and event-noun in apposition

In Loeb-Diehl’s model, participant-nominalization constructions in apposition may be associated with two strategies: the Participial Strategy (verbal), and the Adjective Personal Strategy (nouny), both same-subject (participant-oriented) strategies.

In the nouny Adjective Personal strategy, the secondary predicate is a non-verbal, adjectival item in apposition to the subject (see examples from Lation and Hindi in (18)-(19) above). The adjectival item may be a participant noun (agent noun in Loeb-Diehl). Loeb-Diehl remarks that this strategy is found in a few languages as a secondary strategy.
In the Participial strategy, the main predicate and the manner expression are both expressed by verbs, but the modifying predicate is marked as deranked, being a participial or relative clause which shares its subject with the main clause.

It appears that only deranked relative clauses are attested in Loeb-Diehl’s sample, because a non-deranked relative clause in apposition is not discussed as an option (if it existed, it would probably be analyzed as a Coordinated.Personal strategy). The English equivalent of a non-deranked relative clause in apposition will be He cries, one who despairs, as opposed to a deranked He cries, a despairing one, which Loeb-Diehl classifies as a Participial strategy.

If the source of a DE2-marked secondary predicate is taken to be a participant- or event-nominalization (see §5.5.2-3), and given that the elements collocating with DE2 as secondary predicates are not clearly deranked forms, we can analyze the origin of DE2-marked secondary predicates as a Coordinated strategy.

8.5.4 Semantic orientation

Semantic orientation, i.e. whether an event is ascribed to a participant or an event, is proposed to be an essential parameter conditioning the encoding of secondary predication crosslinguistically (Loeb-Diehl 2005, Schultze-Berdnt and Himmelmann 2004, Himmelmann and Schultze-Berdnt 2005, Verkerk 2009). Before examining the role of semantic orientation in the development of the DE-constructions and discussing its implications for the typology of secondary predication, we will re-visit the issues of semantic orientation that have been raised in Chapter 1.
8.5.4.1 “Semantic orientation” as relative concept

Though not accentuated in the previous chapters, we have encountered time and again difficulty in determining the semantic orientation of a secondary predicate. The observation that there is a grey area between participant- and event-orientation has been brought forth repeatedly in the literature (§1.2.1) and is reflected in the semantic map of depictive secondary predicates (i.e. participant-oriented encoding) proposed by (Himmelmann and Schultze-Berndt 2004, see also Himmelmann and Schultze-Berndt 2005). The following observations support the proposal that orientation is a relative instead of absolute concept.

First, while orientation is essentially a semantic phenomenon, the distinction between event- and participant-orientation is, to some extent, still subject to conceptualization. Even in a language with dedicated constructions for event- or participant-oriented adjuncts, the distinction can be formally ‘blurred’ or ‘neutralized’ in some contexts (Loeb-Diehl 2005:56). English, for example, preserves a relatively clear distinction of semantic orientation with the application of the adverbializer -ly, but the adverbs marked by -ly are partially participant-oriented in some contexts, e.g. the ‘agentive’ and ‘transparent manner’ adverbs discussed in Chapter 1. Even for pure manner adverbs, where Himmelmann and Schultze-Berndt (2005) argue the distinction between semantic orientation is clearly preserved, a participant-oriented interpretation, i.e. that the participant is acting in an X manner while also feeling X, is never explicitly denied. The semantic contrast is not easily discerned even for a native speaker. The result vs. manner ambiguity is also exhibited in spurious resultatives (Washio 1997), which we have now come across repeatedly in the dissertation.
8.5.4.2 Orientation is relative to collocating event

Second, although orientation is partly constrained by the nature of the subevent, it is also dependent on the nature of the relationships between the two events. Physical configuration and posture predicates, for instance, while undoubtedly semantically assigned to a participant, also receive an event-oriented interpretation when combined with events that would be significantly affected by these physical gestures. To what extent an activity can be affected by another subevent, and therefore for the latter to be interpreted as event-oriented, is again subject to speaker and hearer construal.

In Chinese, the interpretation of a preverbal DE-marked event as a secondary or a primary event is semantic. When followed by an event in an experiential frame that can be naturally evoked by the descriptive element, it is more prone to be interpreted as a secondary manner expression elaborating on an “e-site” of that event. The following DE-marked expressions discussed in the previous chapters are repeated here to illustrate the ambiguity in delimiting the orientation in these contexts. In (77), the subevent of having one’s eyes looking eagerly is experientially so tightly associated with the event of ‘looking forward to something’ that it undoubtedly elaborates on the manner of the event as well.

(77) 我眼巴巴的盼今宵，（董西厢）

\begin{verbatim}
 wo  yanbaba  de  pan  jin-xiao
 ls  eye-eager.IDEO  DE2  look_forward  tonight
\end{verbatim}

‘I am looking forward to tonight eagerly.’

(_Xi Xiang Ji_, 12th-13th c.)

The same can be said about the property of a perceptual stimulus when combined with an event of perception or metaphorically to cognition. The physical property of being ‘illustrious’ or ‘difficult to discern’ assigns a feature to the participant functioning
as the stimulus and at the same time expounds on aspects of the revealing or perceiving event.

(78) 坦赫地顯露。如今便參取。（五燈會元）

\[ \text{dahe di xianlu} \]
illustrious reveal

‘(The truth) reveals (itself) illustriously.’

\(\text{(Wu Deng, AD 1252)}\)

(79) 又透得一切法空。隱隱地似有箇物相似。亦是光不透脱。（五燈會元）

\[ \text{yinyin di si you ge wu xiang-si} \]
vague. resemble exist thing resemble

‘Vaguely there seems to be something (there).’

\(\text{(ibid.)}\)

Even dynamic manner expressions, such as the \text{daodaodada di} in (80), can be either participant- or event-oriented. The participant-oriented interpretation would ascribe \text{daodaodada} to the contextually recoverable subject, the monks. Because of its intermediate position in a serial chain, \text{daodaodada di} is also capable of being construed as an e-site elaboration of either the drumming and the debating actions, or interchange of questions and answers metaphorically compared to spinning wheels and lightning.

(80) 如今每日鳴鼓陛塲。切切怛怛地。問者口似紡車。答者舌如霹靂。（五燈會元 16 福州雪峰思慧妙湛禪師）

\[ \text{rujin mei ri ming gu sheng-tang daodaodada di} \]
now every day sound drum rise-hall chatter.

\[ \text{wen zhe ko si fangche} \]
ask mouth resemble spinning.wheel

\[ \text{da zhe she ru pili} \]
answer tongue resemble lightning

‘Now (the monks) beat the drum and launch a debate everyday,

[1] chattering (going “daodaodada”), [depective/manner adverb]

[2] (they) chatter (go “daodaodada”) [predicative]

those who ask with/have mouths like spinning wheels, those who answer with/have tongues like lightning.’

\(\text{(Wu Deng 16, AD 1252)}\)
8.5.4.3 Semantic orientation constrained by available constructions in language

Another issue raised by Loeb-Diehl (2005) is the possibility that the construal of semantic orientation is to some extent constrained by the constructions available in a language. That is, the distinction between participant- and event-orientation, although semantic in nature, may not be drawn in exactly the same way in every language (Loeb-Diehl 2005:57). The English manner adverbs in (81a-b) might be analyzed as representing cases of “subject-orientation” because English allows both events and participants to be characterized as ‘loud’ (a loud explosion vs. a loud person) or ‘quick’ (a quick start vs. a quick fox).

(81)  
   a. Bill spoke loudly.  
   b. Bill returned quickly.

Loeb Diehl suggests that while in English a participant-oriented interpretation for such items are allowed, and thus the propositions ‘Bill was loud’ and ‘Bill was quick’ hold true, there might be languages where these properties can only be predicated of events. In terms of Chinese, the formal (and to some extent, semantic) indistinction of expressions in terms of participant- and event- orientation is facilitated by the constructions that encode secondary predication.

The semantic orientation of Chinese secondary predicates is often obscured due to the nature of descriptive expressions. Descriptive templates can encode both participant- and event-oriented expressions, with no apparent structural distinction between the two. Moreover, many descriptive expressions cannot be classified definitely into one semantic category. The difficulty in classification has been discussed in Chapter 2, where we argue that descriptive elements are conventionalized patterns prototypically used to express dynamic perspectivization of perceptually accessible states of affairs. Descriptives often
provide rich imagery of a holistic experience, including both the physical appearance of a participant, and the manner in which an event is conducted.

In addition, semantic extension or shift in construal between event- and participant-orientation is relatively unrestricted in Chinese, and can often be achieved without overt formal encoding. A common process, for example, is the semantic extension from manner of motion to other conceptual domains, e.g. magnitude (of action), size (the vastness of space), and/or the massiveness in quantity. The expression *haohao* (浩浩 ‘mighty_torrential(water).REDU’), originally descriptive of torrential, running water, is extended to describe expansive space, vast quantity, and great magnitude of activity, e.g. (82)-(83).

(82) 或聚徒三百五百。浩浩地祇以飯食豐濶，寮舍穏便為旺化。（五燈）

\[\text{huo tu ju san bai wu bai}\]

or crowd gather three hundred five hundred

\[\text{haohao di zhi yi fan-shi feng-nong} \]

vast.REDU DE3 only with rice-food abundant-rich

\[\text{liaoshe wen-bian wei wanghua}\]

house reliable-convenient be prosperity

‘Sometimes (the monks) gather in groups of three, five hundred, vast and expansive, (they) simply take lavish meals and reliable housing to be prosperity [in life].’

\(\text{(Wu Deng, AD 1252)}\)

(83) 商量浩浩地

\[\text{shangliang haohao di}\]

discuss vast.REDU DE3

‘(They are) discussing in groups, continuously and avidly.’

\(\text{(Wu Deng, AD 1252)}\)

Instances of descriptive templates may also combine event- and participant-oriented concepts. The expression *man-songsong* ‘slow-loose.REDU’ in (84) is composed of *song* ‘slow’, a prototypical manner expression, and a reduplication of the physical...
property *song* ‘loose’. The expression is ultimately interpreted as a description of a participant in this context.

(84) 慢鬆地合歡髻小。 （董西廬）

\[\text{man-song} \quad \text{di} \quad \text{hehuan-ji} \quad \text{xiao}\]
slow-loose.DE3 PN-chignon small

‘Loose, (her) Hehuan chignon is small.’ (i)

‘(Her) loose Hehuan chignon is small.’ (ii)

\[(Xi \ Xiang \ Ji, \ 12^{th}-13^{th} \ c.)\]

Besides easy semantic extension and flexibility in construal, equally important is the relatively unrestricted use of a generally event-oriented concept (e.g. phonomimes or degree modification) in primary predication and attribution. (85) illustrates the predication of degree modification *luelue* and just like the physical property *xinxin* in the same context, with no structural distinction.

(85) 輕風略柳欣欣，晴色空濛遠似塵。（微微。 唐 元稹 《送友封》詩）

\[\text{qing} \quad \text{feng} \quad \text{luelue} \quad \text{liu} \quad \text{xinxin}\]
light wind slight.REDU willow prosperous.REDU

‘The breeze (light wind) is slight, the willow is prosperous.’

\[(Poem \ of \ Yuan \ Zhen, \ in \ Quan \ Tang \ Shi, \ 8^{th} \ c.)\]

Even the adverb of speed *hu* ‘sudden(ly)’, which has been entrenched to the pre-verbal event-oriented function before Middle Chinese, had an alternative participant-oriented interpretation in Old Chinese.

(86) 其亡也忽焉。（《左傳·莊公十一年》）

\[\text{qi} \quad \text{wang} \quad \text{ye} \quad \text{hu} \quad \text{yan}\]
die/death TOP sudden PRT

‘Its demise is sudden/swift.’

\[(Zuo \ Zhuan, \ 5^{th}-6^{th} \ c. \ BC)\]

Note how *hu* is predicated of a topicalized event in (86), which further obscures its semantic orientation. Indeed, the participant-orientated sense shown in (87), a state of mental abstraction that results in total unawareness of the earthly surroundings, is likely to be what the ‘speed’ meaning is originally extended from.
The flexibility of elements (of either orientation) to function as a modifier is illustrated by (88)-(89), which shows that both a phonomime and a participant-oriented property may appear in the pre-nominal position without any structural distinction. The ambiguity between non-restrictive modification and (secondary) predication in this context has been discussed in Chapter 6 (see also §8.5.4.6 below).

(87) 宋忠、賈誼忽而自失（史記）

songzhong  jiayi  hu  er  zi  shi
PN  PN  unaware  and  self  lose
‘Songzhong and Jiayi are abstracted (and) lost themselves.’

(Shi Ji, 1st c. BC)

(88) 交交黃鳥，止於棘。（詩．秦風．黃鳥）

jiaojiao  huang  niao  zhi  yu  ji
sound.IDEO  yellow  bird  stop  at  thorn
‘Going jiaojiao, the yellow birds rest on the thorn.’
‘The yellow birds, which go jiaojiao, rest on the thorn.’

(Shi Jing, 8th-10th c. B.C.)

(89) 皎皎白駒，在彼空谷。（詩·小雅·白駒）

jiaojiao  bai  ju  zai  bi  kong  gu
bright_white.REDU  white  horse  at  that  empty  valley
‘Brightly white, there is a white horse, at that empty valley.’
‘(There is) a brightly white horse at that empty valley.’

(Shi Jing, 8th-10th c. B.C.)

8.5.4.4 Semantic orientation and the de constructions

Loeb-Diehl’s model classifies the morphological encoding of a secondary predicate as either indexing (the grammatical encoding of participant-orientation) or non-indexing (no grammatical encoding of participant-orientation, thus assumed to be event-oriented in terms of coding). A secondary predicate may be identified as participant-oriented by agreeing with its controller (the participant it is predicated of) (see §1.2.1). When there is no positive indication of participant-oriented morphology, a manner
predication is classified by Loeb-Diehl as an event-oriented strategy based on the assumption that the default encoding of manner is event-oriented.

Mandarin DE-marked secondary predication is classified as a participant-oriented strategy because Loeb-Diehl only identifies its link to DE(2)-marked participant-nominalization in apposition. The analysis needs to be re-examined based on the historical development of both DE2 and DE3 constructions.

8.5.4.5 DE2/DE3-marked secondary predicates: Formal indistinction of event- and participant-orientation

The diachronic development of the DE2/DE3-constructions indicates that semantic orientation does play a role in the development of DE-constructions, but the appearance of the marker DE2/DE3 does not envisage a distinction between event vs. participant orientation in the same way the English –ly does.

In terms of Chinese DE2/DE3-marked secondary predicates, there is no formal distinction in the formation of participant- vs. event-oriented expressions, both in the formation of the element themselves, and the appearance of a secondary predicate marker DE3/DE2. That is, the Chinese DE-constructions are all-purpose strategies for expressing both event- and participant-oriented modifying relations.

• DE2

Though DE2 is not highly productive as a marker of predicatives or secondary predicates in the early stages, there is no apparent restriction imposed on the semantic-orientation of the expression attested with DE2.

When traced to the initial stage, the nominalization function of DE2 is an extension from its early function as a light noun, which develops from its lexical sense
‘bottom’. DE2 as a light noun is attached to another nominal to refer to a general location associated with the nominal (see §3.4.1.1). In (90) and (91), hou-di ‘lit. behind-DE2’ simply means hou ‘behind’, and tou-bian-di ‘lit. head-side-DE2’ means tou-bian ‘head-side, next to one’s head’. These DE2-marked locative nouns, only attested in the early stage of DE2’s development, are neutral between a participant- or an event-oriented interpretation.

(90) 大將軍後底火來 (變文)

    da jiangjun hou di huo lai

    great general behind DE2 fire come

    ‘The great general, fire comes (from) behind (you).’

    (Bian Wen, 7th-9th c.)

(91) 不拋相公，頭邊底坐看相公。 (祖堂集)

    bu pao xianggong

    NEG throw.away male.HON

    tou bian di zuo kan xianggong

    head side DE2 sit look male.HON

    ‘(He) did not throw Mr. (Pei’s body) away, but sat by his head looking at him.’

    (Zu Tang Ji, AD 952)

The majority of DE2-marked secondary predicates start out as nominalization of either a participant or an event in apposition, and these may be either participant- or event-oriented as well. Chenyin di in (92), for example, may originally be a participant nominalization in apposition to Guizong, or an event-nominalization referring to his being pensive.

(92) 歸宗沉吟底。僧便問…(祖堂集)

    guizong chenyin di seng bian wen…

    PN contemplate DE2 monk then ask

    ‘Guizong is pensive. The monk then asks…’

    ‘Guizong being pensive, the monk then asks…’

    ‘Lit. Guizong, (a) pensive (one).’ or ‘(the fact of) Guozong being pensive.’

    (Zu Tang Ji, AD 952)
The DE2-marked expression *muo di* in (93) and *san fen zhi you yi fen di* in (94) are more obvious event-nominalizations (i.e. referring to an event), which refer to the event of “suddenness” and the existence of “only one thirds” of the length.

(93) 薬底去。（祖堂集）

*muo  di  qu*
sudden DE2 go

‘Go sudden(ly). Lit. Leave, a sudden (one).’ (Zu Tang Ji, AD 952)

(94) 直到手指三分只有一分底。（祖堂集）

*zhi  dao  shou zhi  san fen zhi you yi fen di*
straight arrive hand finger three unit only exist one unit DE2

‘Until his fingers are worn to one thirds (of their original lengths).’ (Zu Tang Ji, AD 952)

In (95), *jucuo* may be interpreted as either a predicate (‘act’) or a subject argument (‘action’). *Suosuo di* and *tiantian di* may be analyzed as instantiations of either the event-nominalization or participant-nominalization functions of DE2. In addition, they may be analyzed as being in apposition to *jucuo* as a nominal (‘action’), or the real human subject (not overtly coded in the discourse). In the first case, it is semantically event-oriented because it is predicated of the event concept ‘action’, while the event is conceptualized as a participant. In the second case, they are primary predications that are participant-oriented.

(95) 舉措悉皆索索底，時長恬恬底。（祖堂集）

*jucuo  xijie suosuo  di*
action/act all careful_fearful.IDEO DE2

*shi-chang  tiantian  di*
time-often quiet_composed.IDEO DE2

‘His actions are all careful and fearful, oftentimes quiet and composed.’

‘He acts carefully and fearfully, oftentimes quiet and composed.’ (Zu Tang Ji, AD 952)

In any case, DE2-marked (secondary) predicates are semantically and structurally neutral to participant- and event- orientation. This observation is supported by our survey
of DE2-marked predicative-related expressions attested in *Bian Wen* (the only one is example (90) above) and *Zu Tang Ji*, presented in Table 8.2 (see Chapter 3 and Chapter 5 for more discussion of individual examples in *Zu Tang Ji*). The orientation of a DE2-marked expression is dependent both on its semantic nature and its relations to the accompanying event. When appearing in primary predication, or as an independent/stand-alone proposition, the semantic orientation of a DE2-marked expression is further obscured.

**Table 8.2 DE2-marked predicative-related functions in *Bian Wen* (*) and *Zu Tang Ji***

(ATT = attributive; CMP = predicative complement; IND = stand-alone proposition; PRED = predicative; SP = secondary predicate; lexicalized usage shaded)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantics</th>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Glossing</th>
<th>Semantic Orientation</th>
<th>Syntactic Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Participant</td>
<td>Event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speed</td>
<td>muo-di</td>
<td>sudden-DE2</td>
<td>suddenly</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>SP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speed</td>
<td>hu-di</td>
<td>sudden-DE2</td>
<td>suddenly</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>SP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location (of participant or event)</td>
<td>hou-di*</td>
<td>back-DE2</td>
<td>in the back</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degree</td>
<td>weiwei-di</td>
<td>slight.REDU-DE2</td>
<td>slightly</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>SP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonomime</td>
<td>hehe-di</td>
<td>IDEO(laugh)-DE2</td>
<td>laugh, going hehe</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>SP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ninirere-di</td>
<td>IDEO(chatter)-DE2</td>
<td>chatter, going ninirere</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>PRED/SP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Body part + phonomime (=manner)</td>
<td>kou-mimi</td>
<td>mouth-IDEO(thick.dense)-DE2</td>
<td>mumble, talk nonsense</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>CMP-manipulative/imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atmosphere</td>
<td>tangtang-di</td>
<td>upfront, unblocked, open-DE2</td>
<td>upfront and unblocked</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>SP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Posture/configuration</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other manner?</td>
<td>qiao-di</td>
<td>silent-DE2</td>
<td>silent</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>SP or PRED</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speed</td>
<td>jiji</td>
<td>hast(y).REDU-DE2</td>
<td>hasty</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>SP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speed+ manner</td>
<td>suosuodi</td>
<td>IDEO_fast, fearfuL-DE2</td>
<td>fast</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>PRED (subject is event noun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human Propensity/ Mental</td>
<td>tian-tian-di</td>
<td>peaceful,poised_REDU-DE2</td>
<td>peaceful</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>PRED</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jingjing-di</td>
<td>IDEO_fearful,careful-DE2</td>
<td>fearful and careful</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>CMP-modal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>chenyindi</td>
<td>contemplative, hesitant-DE2</td>
<td>contemplative, hesitant</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>CMP-perception, PRED</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As shown in Table 8.2, $DE_2$ is attested with both participant- and event-oriented predicates when it first develops predicative-related functions in the Tang and the Five Dynasties. The later-developing association between $DE_2$ and simulative/equative constructions, not surprisingly, can also be either participant- or event-oriented.

- **$DE_3$**

$DE_3$ is the dominant strategy for secondary predication. $DE_3$-marked secondary predicates also have both participant- and event-oriented functions since its early stages. Given that the lexical meaning ‘ground, location’ is metonymically tied to the atmospheric sense, and that the locative metaphor can naturally be extended to include ‘manner’ or ‘atmosphere’, it is not surprising that since the early stage of its
development, a \textit{DE3}-marked secondary predicate can be either event- or participant-oriented. The semantic orientation is determined by the element associated with \textit{DE3}, and except for certain lexicalized units, remains unchanged by the attachment of \textit{DE3} to the expression.

\textbf{Table 8.3 Semantic orientation of [X-DE3] expressions attested as preverbal secondary predicates in the Tang Dynasty} (based on Table 3.8, semantic orientation added: \textit{E} = event-oriented; \textit{P} = participant-oriented; \textit{P} = backgrounded, alternative interpretation)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>\textbf{DE3-collocates}</th>
<th>\textbf{translation}</th>
<th>\textbf{Atmospheric condition}</th>
<th>\textbf{Atmospheric condition + manner (likely in the same context)}</th>
<th>\textbf{manner/depictive/result}</th>
<th>\textbf{Established metaphorical sense}</th>
<th>\textbf{Orientation}</th>
<th>\textbf{Metonymic}</th>
<th>\textbf{Orientation}</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 黑地</td>
<td>\textit{hei} ‘black’</td>
<td>(in) a dark location &gt; in the dark</td>
<td>\textit{E} \textit{P}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 暗地</td>
<td>\textit{an} ‘dark’</td>
<td>in a dark location &gt; in the dark &gt; privately, secretly</td>
<td>\textit{E} \textit{P} \textit{E}</td>
<td>\textit{E}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>私地</td>
<td>\textit{si} ‘private’</td>
<td>in a private location &gt; in private, privately</td>
<td>\textit{E} \textit{P} \textit{E} \textit{(P)}</td>
<td>\textit{E}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>隐地</td>
<td>\textit{wei} ‘corner&gt;concealed’</td>
<td>in the corner &gt; privately</td>
<td>\textit{E} \textit{P} \textit{E} \textit{(P)}</td>
<td>\textit{E}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 白地</td>
<td>\textit{bai} ‘white, empty’</td>
<td>in vain, to no avail</td>
<td>\textit{E}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>空地</td>
<td>\textit{kong} ‘empty’</td>
<td>alone, in vain</td>
<td>\textit{E}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 惆弛</td>
<td>\textit{te} ‘special’</td>
<td>(e)special(ly), going out of one’s way</td>
<td></td>
<td>\textit{E} \textit{(P)}</td>
<td>\textit{E} \textit{(P)}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>修饰</td>
<td>\textit{can} ‘sad’</td>
<td>sad(ly), dejected</td>
<td></td>
<td>\textit{E}</td>
<td>\textit{P}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>修行</td>
<td>\textit{bu} ‘sudden’</td>
<td>suddenly</td>
<td></td>
<td>\textit{E}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>驭弛</td>
<td>\textit{muo} ‘rapid, sudden’</td>
<td>suddenly, rapidly</td>
<td></td>
<td>\textit{E}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>簈弛</td>
<td>\textit{hao} ‘IDE3, fast’</td>
<td>suddenly, rapidly</td>
<td></td>
<td>\textit{E}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>叩跖</td>
<td>\textit{yuanxian} ‘still lofty, REDU?’</td>
<td>idle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</table>

Because there is no positive evidence that \textit{DE2} or \textit{DE3} are markers of participant orientation, the strategies will be classified as event-oriented if one follows Loeb-Diehl’s assumption. It is not clear, however, whether such an assumption holds for the present study. One might, for the purpose of classification, treat Chinese \textit{DE2} and \textit{DE3} as participant-oriented strategies because their appearance does not clearly indicate a change of subject. In any case, I propose that in the case of Chinese \textit{DE2}/\textit{DE3}-marked secondary predicates, the morphological classification of orientation is a trivial one, and does not
play a significant part in the development of and interaction between DE2 and DE3 constructions.

8.5.4.6 Prototypical attribution vs. prototypical (secondary) predication

If the encoding of a (secondary) predicate, both in terms of its morphophonological pattern and the appearance of the marker DE, does not mirror a distinction in the value of semantic orientation, what parameter is reflected in the differentiation (and overlap) of the different strategies observed, particularly DE2 vs. DE3? The key parameter, as is probably clear by now, is the distinction between prototypical attribution and prototypical predication.

The results reveal a split of collocational patterns between DE2-marked attributives, which originally rarely collocate with reduplicated forms, and DE3-marked predicatives, which are often associated with reduplicated expressions. When applied to gradable properties, reduplicated forms convey a (usually) higher, but indeterminate extent on a scale, and when applied to events and actions, they encourage construal of an unbounded and ongoing process. Properties such as color, shape, form, and dimension, when reduplicated, are construed as contingent and transitory.

The distinction in collocational preference in terms of morphophonological patterns between DE2 and DE3 is contingent on the semantic nuances expressed via these morphological constructions. These in turn determine their compatibility and likelihood of performing the prototypical discourse functions associated with DE2 and DE3, namely refer, categorize and identify vs. describe and predicate (enrichment of an established profile).
The structural distinction between a DE2 and a DE3 marked expression, though semantically-motivated, does not feature a dichotomy between participant- vs. event-orientation. Instead, it features a distinction between attribution and predication, with the distinction increasingly blurred in functional/structural grey areas in between. Overlaps of DE2 and DE3 occur in intermediate categories between attribution and predication, particularly non-restrictive modification via descriptive expressions, which are, pragmatically speaking, close to a secondary predication. The paths of expansion of DE2 and DE3 from their original functions to other conceptual domains (based on Figure 5.1 and discussion in Chapter 6) is listed as follows:

**Figure 8.2 The semantic map of secondary predication (based on the history of DE2 and DE3)**

We have also demonstrated that attributive modification and secondary predication can both be achieved by simple juxtaposition without additional linguistic encoding (see, for example, (88)-(89) above). In Late Archaic Chinese, a pre-nominal element encoded in the descriptive paradigm is ambiguous between a non-restrictive modifier and a secondary predicate interpretation, a minute semantic and discourse distinction that is made even less significant in a presentational context, where both the participant and the event are presented as new.

These create further semantic ambiguity and flexible interpretations between an
attributive and a predicative meaning, especially when the expression appears adjacent to a nominal. Specifically, participant-oriented secondary predicates, especially depictive ones, are closest to non-restrictive modification. In the later developmental stage of DE2/DE3, the lack of distinction is furthered by the common extension of descriptive expressions into the domain of attribution, not only via juxtaposition, but with a particle for attributive modification, due to contextual expansion of the [Mod DE2 Head] attributive construction.

As a result of the constructionalization and contextual expansion of DE2-attribution and DE3-(secondary) predication, the overt marking of a particle emerges as a preferred strategy between the modifying element and the modified. The speaker is then urged to choose one of the two constructions in such contexts. As is expected, both strategies are attested for both interpretations.

The findings based on the Chinese data are not entirely surprising. Previous studies have established that secondary predication falls on a continuum of participant-vs. event-orientation (Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann 2005), but is also intermediate between attribution and predication (cf. van der Auwera and Malchukov 2005, Verkerk 2009). While much focus has been previously placed on how semantic orientation is reflected in the linguistic encoding of secondary predication, the role of information-packaging functions has certainly been suggested, if not emphasized, in the semantic maps proposed by Verkerk and van der Auwera and Malchukov, since secondary predication is placed between attribution and predication, with depictive secondary predicates linked to non-restrictive modification on the one end, and predicatives on the other. A similar phenomenon is observed for Old Czech participial adjectives, which
exhibit fluid categoricality and functional shifts between nominal modification and secondary predication functions (Fried 2008).

8.6 Secondary predication and the conceptualization of time

Besides the three morphosyntactic parameters discussed, the encoding of secondary predication is also proposed to be an extension of the strategies employed for temporal sequencing. The findings of the study have the following implications to the typology of secondary predication and complex sentences in general.

Loeb-Diehl (2005:152) proposes that one can often find parallelism between the encoding of manner predication and temporal sequencing in a language because the former is often a semantic extension from the latter. Without knowledge of the historical development of DE-constructions in Chinese, Loeb-Diehl (2005:152) cites the following examples to support this argument, one of relativization (developed from participant nominalization, considered as an extension of temporal sequencing relations) and one of manner predication:

(96) Mandarin

a. jǐntiān yīng de rén yǔnqì hǎo
today win NOML person luck good

b. tā kuàikuài-de zǒu
3S quick.REDUPL-REL/ADV walk

The diachronic development of the constructions, as discussed in Chapters 3-7, shows that Mandarin DE-constructions in (97a-b) developed from distinct sources, with the constructions gradually having overlapping functions. The nominalization-related function of DE (from DE2) is attested as a strategy for secondary predication, but is
usually a ‘secondary’ strategy compared to the DE3-marked secondary predicate constructions. On a more general scale, though, the element of time does feature in the development of DE-constructions, in line with Loeb-Diehl’s proposal.

The developmental paths of both the DE1-marked [V DE1 VP] construction, and the DE2-/DE3-marked secondary predicate constructions, reflect the iconic principle of sequencing, i.e. the ordering of the predicates initially conforms with the actual temporal sequencing of the events. The event that is encoded first in a sequence of two or more events tends to be anterior to or simultaneous with the event denoted by the subsequent predicate. On the contrary, the predicate that appears subsequently in a string is more likely to encode an event that is subsequent or simultaneous to the event denoted by the previous predicate.

8.6.1 DE1: subsequent > simultaneous

The development of DE1-constructions begins from subsequent temporal relations to simultaneous relations. In §3.2 we argued that the [V DE1 V(P)] pattern developed out of the preverbal [DE1 VP] and the postverbal [V DE1…] patterns. Both of these initially express (extensions) of temporal relations, as illustrated below:

[DE1 VP]: Eventuality [cause or change]

[V DE1…]: Realization/Perfectivity, Potential

In addition, the entrenchment of the [V DE1 V(P)] pattern, developed out of the juxtaposition of [DE1 VP] and [V DE1…] with another predicate, shown below. These are both originally serial verb constructions, a classic strategy for temporal sequencing:
The later-developing evaluation, manner, depictive, extent, and degree functions represent simultaneous events. It is clear that DE1-constructions developed out of a strategy for temporal sequence, which starts from introducing a temporally subsequent event to one that is simultaneous.

**8.6.2 DE2- and DE3-marked and secondary predicates: simultaneous > subsequent**

Contrary to the development of DE1-marked secondary predicates (where the primary event appears before the secondary event), both DE3 and DE2-marked secondary predication start from simultaneous relations, predominantly in the preverbal position.

DE2-marked (secondary) predicates emerge as participant or event nominalizations in apposition or juxtaposition, both extensions of simultaneous temporal sequencing. DE3-marked (secondary) predicates emerge from the following paths, all of which encode simultaneous events, shown in Figure 8.3 (see §3.5, note that the durative/progressive schema is mostly restricted to posture predicates and eventually becomes obsolete, and thus has not been the focus of investigation in Chapters 4-6).
8.6.3 Iconicity and the position of the secondary predicate

The linguistic encoding of events is constrained by the principle of diagrammatic iconicity (see Chapter 2), which stipulates that the ordering of the linguistic units generally reflects the temporal sequence of the reported events. For both DE-marked schemas, the linguistic encoding of the events tends to mirror the sequential order of the occurrence of events in time. A DE(1)-marked primary event, which comes before its elaborative ‘secondary’ event, starts as an anterior event and then develops simultaneous construals.

The preverbal position is preferred for expressions denoting (anterior or) simultaneous events, and the rule also holds for DE2/DE3 marked secondary predicates. A DE-marked modifying event in the preposed position can sometimes be interpreted as a resultative, but in such contexts it is commonly also compatible with a simultaneous
interpretation. A few attested de-marked preposed secondary predicates are discussed in
below, which illustrate the de-marked expressions that may have a ‘result’ reading.

Example (97) illustrates an interesting case, where the result of being ‘awake’
encoded by xingxing di (惺惺地) is also encoded by xing (醒), the second element of a
resultative compound construction.

(97) 何处調琴，惺惺地把醉魂呼醒？(西響記)
xingxing di ba zui hun hu xing
awake.REDU DE3 OBJ drunk spirit call awake
‘(The tunes) wake up the drunken spirit awake (or: pleasant to the ears).’
(Xi Xiang Ji, 12th-13th c.)

In a way, xingxing may be more appropriately analyzed as a descriptive element
providing vivid imagery to the state of xing ‘awake’, thus a simultaneous event. Instead
of an experiencer-oriented expression, some argue that xingxing here is more
appropriately interpreted as stimulus-oriented, which describes ‘pleasant sounds’ (see, for
example, Dictionary of Chinese by the Ministry of Education). The latter interpretation is
apparently metonymically related to its experiencer-oriented sense, a common semantic
extension in Chinese that often requires no extra linguistic encoding.

In (98), the eyes being round or widely open may be conceptualized as a result of
the process of opening one’s eyes, but it is equally likely that the hearer will
conceptualize it as a simultaneous state while the eyes stay open.

(98) 刷圈圈的睜察殺人眼，噴忿忿地斜橫着打將鞭，咁叮地拈折點鋼箭。(西響記)
ti-tuan-luan de zheng zha sha ren yan
?-round-round DE2 open_eye DUR kill person eye
‘Round (=widely open), he opens his killer eyes.’
(Xi Xiang Ji, 12th-13th c.)

In other cases, preposed de2-marked secondary resultatives are generally
restricted to what Washio (1997) calls spurious resultatives, which he proposes are cases
in which it makes little difference whether interpreted as a manner or a result (see
discussion in Chapters 3 and 7). The ambiguity between temporal simultaneity and subsequence is motivated by the natural inference that the manner in which an action is performed likely has an effect on the result of that action. Spurious resultatives attested in the sample are illustrated by (99)-(100). How fine the hay is cut in (99), and how tight the garments are fastened to the person in (100), are conceivably related to, and dependent on the way the agent performs the cutting and tying actions, thus the ambiguity between manner and result readings.

(99) 這件當，你過的草忒髒，頭口每怎生吃的？好生細細的過者。（原本老乞大）

\textit{haosheng xixi-de guo zhe}

well thin.REDU-DE2 pass IMP

‘Nicely cut (lit. pass (through hay grinder) the hay fine(ly).’

\textit{(Lao Qi Da, 14\textsuperscript{th} c.)}

(100)我緊緊的著身系。（雉劇）

\textit{wo jinjin de zhuo shen xi}

1S tight.REDU DE2 attach_to body fasten

‘I fasten them tight(ly) to my body.’

\textit{(Za Ju, 14\textsuperscript{th} c.)}

The development of Chinese DE-marked constructions for secondary predication supports the proposal that the encoding of secondary predication is an extension of temporal sequencing, in line with the crosslinguistic tendency proposed in Loeb-Diehl (2005).

Because the order of linguistic expressions tend to reflect their temporal sequence, a resultative relation, where the secondary event is temporally subsequent by definition, is more properly encoded by the DE-marked topic-comment schema, not the preverbal DE-marked secondary predicate (modifier-head) schema. When the primary and secondary events are temporally simultaneous, the choice between the two DE-marked schemas is dependent on how the speaker intends to package the information. An event encoded as a DE-marked topic packages the primary event as presupposed and the secondary event is construed as an assertion about a general property of the event. A DE-
marked preverbal secondary predicate, on the other hand, is reported and asserted along with the primary event (see discussion in 8.7-8.8 below).

**8.7 DE1 vs. DE2 and the Predicational strategy**

As suggested in §8.3.1 above, Loeb-Diehl (2005) classifies the Mandarin DE construction shown in (101) as a Predicational strategy, in which a ‘manner-indicating’ property item is the main predicate of the sentence. The subject of the sentence indicates the event, which is encoded either as a nominalized clause or a noun phrase.

(101) Mandarin

$nî$ pão de hên kuài

2S run NMZ very quick

‘You run/ran very quickly.’ (lit. ‘Your running is very quick’) (Li & Thompson 1981:625, cited in Loeb-Diehl 2005:213)

Having been classified as a Predicational strategy in Loeb-Diehl (2005), the DE-construction (where the ‘secondary predicate’ is encoded as the primary predication) has not been analyzed based on the three morphosyntactic criteria. Loeb-Diehl comments that the Predicational strategy is rarely used as a primary encoding strategy for manner. Loeb-Diehl (2005:213) points out that most of the languages with a Predicational strategy have certain characteristics that might contribute to their ‘predilection’ for this strategy:

- First, these languages are verby and balancing; quite commonly, they have a serialized Coordinate Personal strategy as an alternative option in their manner encoding;
- Second, they typically have very poor verbal morphology: in particular, there is hardly any derivational morphology, so that the difference between a ‘finite’ verb form and a verbal noun is minimal.
Finally, there is typically little nominal morphology; most importantly, there is often no or just minimal distinction between personal and possessive nouns.

She comes to the speculation that the Predicational strategy in some of these languages might be a result of a process of reanalysis, which started from an asyndetic Coordinate.Personal-construction and was facilitated by the lack of verbal and nominal morphology.

In the case of Chinese, the DE-marked Predicational strategy developed historically from a merger of DE1 and DE2 constructions, originally independent schemas. An account of the functional changes of the DE1 and DE2 constructions (including its later merger with DE2) into a strategy for ‘secondary predication’ (in the semantic sense) provides insights to the typology of secondary predication.

8.7.1 DE1, DE2, and the establishment of the [V DE VP] Predicational strategy

The [V DE1 VP] patterns emerges as a balanced, serial verb strategy, either from its aspeсtual or causal functions developed from its lexical meaning ‘get, obtain’ (§3.2). The early resultative [V DE1 VP] construction is therefore a Coordinate Personal (+Causative) strategy (see §3.2.1.2.4 for the causative/resultative [DE1 VP]).

- Result > manner and depictive

The [V DE1 VP] construction begins with participant-oriented resultative relations, where VP stands for the resulting event of an anterior event (V). A typical DE1-marked resultative predication introduces a predicative event as a consequence of the completion of an anterior event (see (93) in §3.3.3.1.4, repeated in (102) below).

(102) .Gradient (喊）得山崩石裂（裂），東西亂走，南北奔衝，●（齊）入寺中。

han  de  shan  beng  shi  lie
shout  DE1  mountain  collapse  rock  crack
'(They) shouted (and as a result) mountains collapsed and rocks cracked, moving about chaotically east and west, rushing south and north.' (Bian Wen, 7-9 c.)

The [V DE1 VP] developed from temporally anterior to simultaneous relations based on two contextual inferences – (i) the alternative construal of the conceivable temporal overlap between an event and its resulting action or state of affairs; (ii) the result of an action is correlated with how an action is carried out (see §3.3.3.1). Example (103), a resultative, may be alternatively construed and a manner/depictive based on the conceivable temporal overlap between wailing and being tearful.

(103) 父娘啼得淚汪汪。 (變文)
  fu niang ti de lei-wangwang
  father mother wail DE1.get tear-profuse.REDU
  ‘(Their) fathers and mothers wail (and as a result) are tearful.’ (Bian Wen, 7th-9th c.)

Verkerk (2009) arranges the three categories in a triangular shape, with each category connected to one another (see Figure 1.7). The conceptual space suggests possible paths of grammaticalization where the encoding strategy of one category can be extended to another. The triangular semantic map proposed by Verkerk (2009) is presented again below:

**Figure 8.4 Verkerk’s (2009) triangular semantic map for resultative, depictive, and manner**

Broadly speaking, the history of Chinese DE1-constructions supports the conceptual contiguity of resultative, depictive, and manner expressions proposed by
Verkerk. From a participant-oriented, subsequent ‘resultative’ construction, the DE1-construction has been extended to express simultaneous, event-oriented (manner) and participant-oriented (depictive) relations.

Aside from the triangular semantic map, the development of DE1-resultatives to various other relations allows us to provide a finer semantic distinction of the conceptual categories in between. The resultative construction extends to express various semantic relations including several types of event- (and participant-) oriented predications. The functional expansion is accompanied and reinforced by host-class expansion, structural reanalysis, and alignment with the DE2-marked topic-comment construction.

Diachronic data suggests that the resultative construction is extended to other conceptual categories primarily via two alternative perspectivizations of the resultative event: measurement (quantification) and evaluation (qualification). Underlying both construals is the inference that the result of an event is associated with the way in which an action is carried out.

The “secondary predicate” gradually becomes a predicative comment about an “e-site” of the primary event, which may be a measurement of extent or degree, a qualification of the way in which the event is conducted (manner), a description of a participant (depictive), or an evaluation of any of the above. The construction also has a factual function, in which VP is an evaluative comment about the fact that the event has been carried out. The primary event may even become semantically trivial, and simply functions as a supporting element of property predication, and thus resembles a copula.

The paths of semantic extension are summarized and illustrated below.
• **Measurement: From resultative extent to (excessive) extent**

The extension from the resultative to the (excessive) extent function is based on the construal of the resulting event as a measurement of the magnitude of the action. The implication is that the resulting event is made possible when a certain measurable dimension (e.g. the magnitude, force, repetition, or duration) of the anterior event has reached a point on a scale. The resulting event is then re-interpreted as an indication of the extent of such a dimension.

Not only is the resulting event taken as a measurement of extent, there is an additional implication of it being higher than normal. The function is interpreted as an “excessive” extent. This is because a higher than normal extent is more likely to trigger the construal as a ‘measurement’. In (104), the ‘result’ contains two clauses, both consisting of a negative potential expression, a descriptive and a subject-predicate structure with a body part as the subject.

(104) 賈奕誠得魂飛天外,魂散九霄,俯伏在地 (宣和遺事)

`jiayi xia de hun fei tian wai`

`pn scare DE1 spirit fly heaven out`

`po san jiu xian fufu zai di`

`soul scatter nine sky prostrate at ground`

‘Jiayi is so scared that his spirit flies outside of heaven, that his soul is scattered into the ninth layers of the sky, that he prostrates on the ground.’ (Xuan He Yi Shi, 13th c.)

Elaborate descriptions of “result” consisting of multiple clauses (and therefore events), especially hyperbole and expressions of negative potential implicate a transition of the semantics of construction from ‘result’ to ‘excessive extent’.

Aside from its dynamic interpretation, a cause-of-emotion predicate such as *xia* ‘scare’ may be alternatively construed as a scalar property ‘be scared’. With dynamic predicates, the ‘resulting event’ as a measurement of extent is applicable to one of the
scalar dimensions of the event. A clear indication that the (excessive) extent
interpretation has become entrenched is when a stative, scalar property (without an
underlying transition stage in its aspectual contour) becomes the primary predicate.

(105) 肌肤消瘦，瘦得渾似削，百般医疗终可。（西廂記）
    jifu   xiao-shou  shou  de  hun  si     xiao
    skin   wane-thin thin DE1 all resemble pare
    ‘Her skin is/becomes thin; so thin that it appears (to have been) pared.’
    (Xi Xiang Ji, 12th -13th c.)

(106) 嬌得不肯離懷（雜劇）
    jiao     de     bu-ken li    huai
    delicate DE1 NEG-willing leave bosom
    ‘The child is so delicate that she is unwilling to leave the (caretaker’s) chest.’
    (Za Ju, 13th -14th c.)

• Extent > Degree

A further development of the extent function, where a degree modifier appears as
in predication, illustrates the entrenchment of the degree function. The degree function is
attested with a genuine property qiong ‘poor’ combined with a degree marker, indicating
a true establishment of the degree function.

(107) 健花娘子。病得利害。服藥一似水潑石中。（張協状元）
    shenghua  niangzi  bing     de  lihai
    PN   miss be.sick DE1 extreme
    ‘Ms. Shenghua is extremely sick.’
    (Zhang Xie, 12th -13th c.)

(108) 誰似俺公婆每窮得煞 （元刊雜劇三十種）
    she  si  an  gongpo-men  qiong de  sha
    who like 1s parent.in.law-PL poor DE1 extreme
    ‘Who are so very poor like my parents in law?!’
    (Za Ju, 13th -14th c.)

The developmental path is schematized as follows:

• Measurement of magnitude or force based on result > measurement of scalar property
  based on result > Measurement of scalar property with degree modifier
From evaluation of result/product to evaluation of other e-sites

The evaluation function emerges from the construal of an evaluation of the result or product of creation as the evaluation of an aspect of the event (e.g. manner). The semantic extension is based on the inference that the resulting event qualifies an aspect of the anterior event.

(109) 作得如許不仁。 (變文)

\[ zuo \ de \ ru \ xu \ bu-ren \]
\[ do \ DE1 \ like \ such \ NEG-good \]

‘You did such evil.’  
(Bian Wen, 7th-9th c.)

The dynamic process that leads to a result is not profiled in the evaluation interpretation; rather, it becomes a topic to be commented on. The evaluative comment is therefore an important intermediate category that aligns \[ V \ DE1 \ VP \] semantically and structurally with the \[ DE2 \]-marked topic-comment structure.

With the loss of ‘eventuality’ as its core semantic value, \[ V \ DE1 \] in the evaluative interpretation serves to ‘refer’ to an aspect of the event, much like a \[ DE2 \]-marked nominal, which can refer to a participant or an event. The evaluation may be applied to the product, or the manner in which it is made. The ambiguity is illustrated in (111)-(112):

(110) 夫人你看一堂神道塑得精神。 (張協狀元)

\[ yi \ tang \ shen \ dao \ su \ de \ jingshen \]
\[ one \ hall \ deity \ spirit \ mold \ DE1 \ spirited \]

‘(There is) a hall of (statues of) deities (which are) molded vigorous/vivid.’  
(Zhang Xie, 12th-13th c.)

(111) 扮得著貼。 (西廂)

\[ ban \ de \ weitie \]
\[ dress \ up \ DE1 \ proper \]

‘She has dressed/dresses up properly./Her attires are proper.’  
(Xi Xiang Ji, 12th-13th c.)

The evaluative comment may therefore also be further extended to express evaluation of manner, or typical ‘manner’ predications.
Evaluation, extent, and degree

The two perspectivizations of an event, ‘qualification’ and ‘quantification’, are again linked by ‘evaluative comment’. As discussed above, because evaluation can be applied to an event or a participant, a predicative “value” is also semantically linked to manner, a depictive. A measurement of extent and degree may be expressed as a comparison to the norm, which is close to an evaluative. Degree and extent predications are thus also associated with evaluative comments. This is partly because evaluation is itself usually scalar.

Evaluation of manner/participant > Factive

Instead of referring to an e-site of an event, the evaluative comment may be so extended as to refer to the event itself (i.e. a factive reading).

Notice that (115) exhibits multiple semantic ambiguities. Po ‘break, broken’ may profile a dynamic event leading to the door’s current state ‘broken’, simply the current state ‘broken’ itself. The comment ‘odd, peculiar’ may be applied to the way in which the
door is broken, but it may be predicated of the fact that the door is broken, i.e. the speaker finds it peculiar that the door is in such a condition. Example (115) illustrates the ambiguity between ‘evaluation of manner’ and ‘factive’ interpretations.

(115) 外面門兒破得蹊跷。（張協狀元）

*wai-mian men-er po de qiaoqi*

outside door-DIM broken DE1 odd, peculiar

‘The door outside is oddly broken.’ → manner/result/factive

‘Oddly, the door outside is broken.’ → factive

*(Zhang Xie, 12th-13th c.)*

The factive interpretation has been associated with a DE2-marked topic since the 10th century. As the [V DE1 VP] construction develops, it later becomes an established function of [V DE1]. Significantly, there is a perfect structural and semantic match between the DE1 and DE2-evaluatives of the “factive” function, which is perhaps structurally the most ‘event-orientated’ among all the strategies. (116)-(117) illustrate factive interpretations.

(116) 當此之時，茍有大力量，咄嘆間真能轉移天下之事，來得也不枉（朱子）

*lai de ye bu wang*

come DE1 also NEG wrong,in_vain

‘It has not come in vain. (=It's coming is not in vain).’

*(Zhu Zi, AD 1270)*

(117) 原來是敬亭，來的好也（桃花扇）

*lai de hao ye*

come DE2 good PRT

‘It is good that you come. (=Your coming is good).’

*(Tao Hua Shan, 17th c.)*

• **Manner/evaluation to a stative event**

The evaluative function has also been expanded to include a stative property as the topic, which provides an evaluative comment that modifies the property like a manner expression. The function is attested in the 17th century, as in (118). Observe that the sentence also has an alternative factive construal.
(118) 香的有趣（桃园扇）

\[\text{xiang de you-qu}\]
fragrant DE exist-fun
‘(The fan) is fragrant (in an interesting way).’
‘(The fan) is interestingly fragrant.’

*(Tao Hua Shan, 17th c.)*

The construction is also common in Mandarin, as in (119)-(120) (examples mine).

(119) 丑的/得很怪

\[\text{chou de hen guai}\]
ugly DE very strange
‘Ugly in a strange way.’

(120) 她虽然美，可是美的没个性

\[\text{ta suiran mei keshi mei de mei gexing}\]
3S although beautiful but beautiful DE lack character
‘Although she is beautiful, she is beautiful (in such a way that) lacks character.’
‘Or: Her beauty (is such that it) lacks character.’

Note that this type of evaluation may or may not indicate an excessive degree. These examples are also compatible with a manner construal, given that the predicative comment is an elaboration of the nature of the property encoded by \([V_{\text{PROPERTY DE}}]\).

• **Topic-comment and copula**

The structural alignment of \([V \text{ DE1 VP}]\) with the topic-comment pattern promotes the interpretation of \([V \text{ DE1}]\) as a topic, and the following VP as a comment. The event encoded by \([V \text{ DE1}]\) may be downgraded, and contributes minimally to the semantics of the whole proposition.

A canonical case where \(V \text{ DE1}\) resembles a supporting element (a copula) is the expression \(\text{sheng-de ‘lit. be.born-DE1’}\), shown in (121). The predicate \(\text{sheng ‘be born’}\), when it is marked by DE and introduces the appearance of a person, is often semantically bleached and no longer associated with the process of ‘birth’ or ‘growth’. It is simply a construction for property predication.
(121) 生得肌膚似凝酥。

\[\text{sheng} \quad \text{de} \quad \text{jifu} \quad \text{si} \quad \text{ning} \quad \text{su}\]

be.born/live \ DE1 skin like congealed butter

‘She has skin like congealed butter.’

(Za Ju, 13th-14th c.)

In Mandarin, \textit{zhang-de} ‘lit. grow-DE’ is used in the same way as \textit{sheng de} in (121). The copular use of \textit{zhang-de} illustrates the development of a copular use of \textit{[V DE]} from a resultative relation.

The following is a semantic map of secondary predication based on the development of \textit{DE1} discussed in Chapters 3 and 7:

**Figure 8.5 Semantic map of secondary predication based on the development of \textit{DE1}**

In terms of semantic orientation, the semantic extensions from resultative to extent and degree, and from resultative to manner and evaluation (including factive) functions all indicate a shift from participant-orientation towards event-orientation. The shift in semantic orientation goes hand in hand with the reanalysis of \textit{[V DE1]} from a primary event to a topic, and the Pred following \textit{[V DE1]} from a semantically secondary event to the primary predication. The predicative (copular) function of \textit{[V DE1 Pred]} represents the extreme of primary-secondary predicate reversal, where the semantics of
the sentence is almost entirely contributed by the predicative comment, not by \([V \text{ de} 1]\). This leaves the depictives, which are participant-oriented by nature (see §8.7.2.2 below, however, for a discussion of the semantic constraints of \([V \text{ de} \text{ VP}] \text{ “depictives”}\)).

At this point, it is necessary to provide further clarification about the notion of the topic-comment structure. The topic-comment structure in Chinese and many other Asian languages may be defined in general terms as a loosely conjoined structure composed of an NP and a proposition, where the NP does not need to be subcategorized by the main predicate of the proposition (cf. Chao 1968, Li and Thompson 1976, 1981, Chappell 1996). The function of topic is generally proposed to be one or more of the following:

• *Aboutness* and *discourse relevance*: a topic is what the discourse is about; it is what the speaker intends to increase the addressee’s relevant knowledge of (Gundel 1985, Lambrecht 1994:127).

• *Frame-setting*: the topic ‘sets a spatial, temporal, or individual framework within which the main predication holds’ (Chafe 1976:50-51).

• *Presupposed information*: a topic is what the speaker assumes to be given or known information (Chafe 1984).

The concept of *topic* is best understood relative to that of *comment* – if a topic is what the discourse is about, the comment is what is said about the topic; if the topic sets the frame for the main predication, the comment is the main predication; if a topic is given or known information, the comment provides new information about the topic (Chafe 1984, Lambrecht 1994, cf. Aptekman 2009).

The *aboutness* definition of topic, or that which relevant information is added to, always applies to the \([V \text{ de} \text{ VP}]\) construction in question, because VP, as an elaboration
of an e-site of the event denoted by [V DE], always says something about the event. In addition, [V DE] sets the frame for VP in that the proposition VP is always interpreted relative to the [V DE] event.

The notion of a topic-comment structure is intended here as a functional and pragmatic one, so as to include not only a nominal, but also a proposition as the topic. This will allow us to discuss the characteristics of [V DE] in the [V DE VP] construction that fit the functional definition of a topic, although [V DE1] starts out as a predicate that stands for a proposition. The criterion that most closely pertains to our analysis of [V DE VP] is that the topic tends to be associated with given or known information, and the comment introduces new information relative to the topic. The proposed analysis is that the [V DE VP] pattern has developed into a construction where [V DE] refers to an event that is presupposed, and is commented on by the new information introduced by the proposition that follows.

Based on this definition, the event denoted by [V DE] is packaged as presupposed, and the proposition introduced by [VP] is asserted. Pragmatic presupposition and pragmatic assertion are defined based on Lambrecht (1994):

- Pragmatic presupposition: The set of propositions lexicogrammatically evoked in a sentence which the speaker assumes the hearer already knows or is ready to take for granted at the time the sentence is uttered.

- Pragmatic assertion: The proposition expressed by a sentence which the hearer is expected to know or take for granted as a result of hearing the sentence uttered.

(Lambrecht 1994:52-53)
In addition to the notion of pragmatic presupposition, Prince’s (1978) distinction between presupposed ‘given’ and ‘known’ information is also pertinent to our analysis. Prince (1978:903) proposes that given information is that which ‘the cooperative speaker may assume is appropriately in the hearer’s consciousness’, while known information is what the speaker chooses to represent as being factual for rhetorical purposes, based on the “validity-level that s/he wishes to ascribe to the utterance”.

Givenness may be established via explicit and implicit information in the previous linguistic context or non-linguistic surroundings, or inferred based on metalinguistic antecedents, as illustrated by the following examples from Prince (1978):

(122) Given information:
   (a) ‘…in Haviland and Clark (in press) they say that…Certainly what they are talking about is…’ (Chafe 1976:42, cited in Prince 1978:889)
   (b) A: Hello, operator. I’m trying to dial BU7-1151. Could you please check it for me?
      B: [checks] **What happened** is that the whole exchange got overloaded. Wait a few hours and try again. (Prince 1978:893)

(123) Known information
   ‘…So I learned to sew books. They’re really good books. It’s just the covers **that are rotten.**’ (Bookbinder in Terkel, 409, Prince 1978:896)

The given vs. known distinction is sensentive to the range of pragmatic contexts appropriate for *wh*-cleft and *it*-clefts. The *wh*-clause in the English *wh*-cleft construction, Prince proposes, requires given information; while the *that*-clause in the English *it*-cleft construction only assumes that the information is known to the hearer.

English *it*-clefts may also present information that is new to the hearer, but is packaged in such a way as to suggest that it is to be taken for granted. This is the case of the informative-presupposition *it*-cleft from a newspaper filler shown in (124).
New information presented as known (factual)

It was just about 50 years ago that Henry Ford gave us the weekend. (OB, 1.3.76, p.3L, from Prince 1978:898)

Prince suggests that the that-clause in (124) marks the information as a known fact, though unknown to the reader. Packaging new information as known may have the effect of downgrading the personal responsibility of the speaker for the validity of the information (cf. the pragmatic effect of packaging new information as a presupposed DE-marked topic, see (135) in §8.7.2.2 below).

- **DE2**

The [VP1 DE2 VP2] pattern begins as a genuine topic-comment construction, with [VP1 DE2] as the topic, and VP2 as a comment (see §7.3). VP1 can be simple or complex. [VP1 DE2] may refer to either a participant (which refers to the result or manner of a creation) or an event, and there is a strong preference for VP2 to be a value expression.

(125) 阿姨知道底是那。（變文）

*a*hyi  *dao*  *de*  *shi*  *na*

nun  say  DE2  proper  PRT

‘What the nun says is right.’

(Bian Wen, 7th-9th c.)

(126) 師曰：「說時即從汝聽，不說時聽什摩？」對曰：「不可無這個人也。」

師曰：「默底是？說底是？」對曰：「默底是。（祖堂集）

*shi*  *yue*  *shuo*  *shi*  *ji*  *cong*  *ru*  *ting*

monk  say  speak  time  then  from  2s  hear

*bu*  *shuo*  *shi*  *ting*  *sheme*

NEG  say  time  hear  what

[...]

*shi*  *yue*  *muo*  *de*  *shi*  *shuo*  *de*  *shi*

monk  say  be.silent  DE2  proper  speak  DE2  proper

*dui*  *yue*  *muo*  *de*  *shi*

respond  say  be.silent  DE2  proper

‘The monk said: When you speak, I hear from you; when you do not speak, what do I hear?’

[...]
‘The monk said: To be silent is proper? To speak is proper?’
‘(The other monk responded): Being silent is (the more) proper.’
(Zu Tang Ji, 10th c.)

In both (125) and (126), the identity of DE2-marked expressions are accessible to the hearer – [ayi dao di\textsubscript{DE2}] ‘what the nun said’ refers to the nun’s suggestion in the previous discourse; the event [muo di\textsubscript{DE2}] ‘to be silent’ is established both in the previous discourse and placed in contrast. That the nun has said something and the choice to be silent need to be taken for granted for the evaluative comment to make sense means that these are presupposed information. Only the evaluation shi ‘right, proper’ is asserted, and stipulated to be “assessed relative to the topic” by the hearer (Gundel et al. 1997). Also notice that the DE2-marked topics in (126) appear in contrastive context.

Though [VP-DE2 VP] is a genuine topic-comment structure that developed independently from [V DE1 VP], the former appeared only in a narrow range of pragmatic contexts, and was rather selective about what could function as its comment. The DE2-marked Predicational strategy did start out as a secondary strategy.

The typological features of Chinese support Loeb-Diehl’s observation of languages with a Predicational strategy for secondary predication. The V DE1 construction did develop into a topic-comment structure via a reanalysis of its inner constituent structure. The scarcity of verbal inflections also contributed to the convergence of DE1- and DE2- marked events as topics. Notably, however, the typological feature of topic-prominence and the topic-comment schema also provided an analogical pressure.

DE1 and DE2 constructions begin with slightly different semantics, pragmatic contexts, and collocational preferences. The DE1-developed topic-comment structure is a
result of gradual semantic change, structural analysis, and loss of functional territory (e.g. the aspectual function of DE1) - the event serving as the topic, following the collocational preference of the [V DE1 VP] construction, is predominantly monosyllabic. The DE2-marked element functioning as the topic can be simple or complex, and the comment is usually restricted to an expression of evaluation, e.g. shi ‘proper’, hao ‘good’ (see §7.3.1).

However, contextual expansion and phonetic resemblance resulted in the creation of a more general construction with sub-constructions. Through contextual expansion (host-class, semantic, functional), phonetic reduction, and reanalysis, the DE1 construction becomes semantically and structurally mapped to a topic-comment structure, where [V DE] serves as the topic, and the predicative expression as the comment of the [V DE] event. DE2 also loses its pragmatic preference over a contrastive topic in the factive reading. The development of DE1 constructions from a Coordinate Personal (+Cause) to a Predicational strategy is illustrated by the development from diagrams (i)-(ii) to diagram (iii).

**Figure 8.6 The development of [V DE1 VP] into a Predicational strategy**

(i) Coordinate.Personal

```
V  DE1
  |   |
  |   Event1 completion
```

(ii) Coordinate.Personal+Cause

```
V  DE1  VP
  |   |   |
  |   |   Event1 cause change Event2
```

(iii) Predicational

```
V  DE1
  |   |
  |   Topic
```

```
VP
  |   |
  |   Comment
```

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The DE2-marked construction has expanded its range of collocational patterns and pragmatic constraints, and has therefore become a more general schema. It however remains a Predicational strategy:

**Figure 8.7 DE2 and the Predicational strategy**

(i) Predicational (restricted contexts)

(ii) Predicational

8.7.2 The [V DE VP] Predicational strategy after the Yuan Dynasty

To conclude the discussion of the [V DE VP] construction, I will provide further evidence that [V DE VP] has been established as a Predicational strategy. The materials come from two Modern Chinese texts (Xun Shi Ping Hua in the 15th century, Hong Lou Meng in the 18th century), Mandarin translations of English passages, and remarks about the usage of the [V DE VP] construction in Mandarin.

8.7.2.1 Early Modern Chinese [V DE VP] vs. Old Chinese strategies

The following passages are from Xun Shi Ping Hua (訓世評話 edited by Li Bian (李邊), AD 1397-1473), a textbook for Korean learners of Chinese in the early Ming Dynasty (AD 1368-1644). The book includes selected passages from Classical Chinese texts, and a translation and interpretation of the Classical Chinese texts into the contemporary Chinese of the 15th century.

Example (127) shows a contrast in the encodings of reference to an event in Classical Chinese and Modern Chinese.
(127) Classical Chinese:

汝笑何意也？（训世译话 [19]）

\[ ru \ xiao \ he \ yi \ ye \]

2s laugh what meaning PRT

‘Why did you laugh?’

‘Lit. You(r) laugh, what (was its) meaning?’

Modern Chinese:

你笑的何故？（训世译话[19]）

\[ ni \ xiao \ de \ he \ gu \]

2s laugh DE2 what reason

‘Why did you laugh?’

‘Lit. Your laughing, what (was its) reason?’

（Xun Shi Ping Hua 31, 15th c.）

In the Classical Chinese sentence, the string \( ru \ xiao \) is flexible between a nominal ‘your laugh’ or a propositional ‘you laugh’ interpretation, but is not otherwise marked for its topichood. In Modern Chinese, the string \( ru \ xiao \) is marked by \( DE2 \), which clearly encodes it as an event topic. Notice that the sentences in (127) are responses to the laughing action in the previous discourse, which represents given information.

Example (128) shows another type of contrast between Classical and Modern Chinese strategies for predication. The event of being sick is encoded as a single predicate in Classical Chinese.

(128) Classical Chinese

夏侯訥，母疾（訓世訥話[8]）

\[ mu \ ji \]

mother be.sick

‘(His) mother got sick.’

Modern Chinese

母親得病，好幾年害的重了。（訓世訥話[8]）

\[ muqin \ de \ bing \ hao \ ji \ nian \ hai \ de \ zhong \ le \]

mother get.DE1 sickness good several year be.sick DE2 heavy PF

‘His mother got sick. After several years, it got serious.’

（Xun Shi Ping Hua [8], 15th c.）

In the Modern Chinese interpretation, the event is first presented with a complex predicate involving \( DE1 \) ‘get’ and \( bing \) ‘sick(ness)’. The degree of sickness is then
elaborated by a [V de2 Pred] structure, where [V de2] serves as the topic, and the degree is encoded as the predication.

Another set of examples involve a demonstrative zhi ‘it’ in Classical Chinese as an indicator that the predicate following it is a comment on the previous event. In other words, the predicative comment to the event V is represented by another clause with zhi as its subject. In the Modern Chinese translation, the structure [V, zhi Predicate], a coordinated strategy, is replaced by the [V de2 Predicate] Predicational strategy.

Example (129) illustrates two strategies for manner predication.

(129) Manner predication: ‘Thus I am crying sadly.’
(a) Classical Chinese: Coordinated strategy

so-yi ku zhi ai ye
because.of cry it sad PRT
‘lit. …thus I cry, it is sad.’

(b) Modern Chinese: de2-marked topic-comment strategy

yin ci ti-ku de aitong
because.of this cry de2 sad
‘Because of this, my crying is sad.’

(Xun Shi Ping Hua [22], 15th c.)

Example (130) compares two propositions of evaluation of time in Classical Chinese and early Modern Chinese. Like in (129), a coordinated strategy is used in Classical Chinese, and a de2-marked topic-comment structure in Modern Chinese.

(130) Evaluation of time: You come late.
(a) Classical Chinese: Coordinated strategy

langjun he yi lai zhi chi ye
mister what INT come MOD/it late PRT
‘Mister, why do you come so late?’
‘Lit. Why (you) come, it is late?’
Modern Chinese: DE2-marked Predicational strategy

Mister, how/why come DE2 late
‘Mister, why is your coming late?’

(Xun Shi Ping Hua [47], 15th c.)

The event topics marked by DE2 shown in (127)-(130) above have all been explicitly established in the previous linguistic or immediate physical context. An event that has not been overtly discussed may be inferred to have taken place based on contextual inference. This is often the case when a current state is construed as the result of a process. Consider the passages presented in (131)-(132) below. The first set of examples involves a regular nominal as topic in Classical Chinese, which is replaced by [V DE2] in the beginning of the Modern Chinese period. V in [V DE2] encodes an event that is factually related to the nominal.

The sentences in (131) illustrate evaluative comments on the design of a gate in Classical and Modern Chinese.

(131) Evaluation of result or evaluation of manner
(a) Old Chinese: Nominal topic + comment

There is a great gate; (its) design is grand and beautiful.
‘There is a great gate, whose construction is very good.’

(Xun Shi Ping Hua [31], 15th c.)

In (131), the proposition that ‘the design is grand and beautiful’ is expressed via an [NP + Pred] topic-comment structure in Classical Chinese, with the NP zhidi ‘design-construction’ as its topic. The proposition then serves as a predication to the NP da men
‘gate’, which has just been introduced into the discourse by a presentational marked by the perception verb jian ‘see’. The Classical Chinese topic zhidu, the design (of the architecture of the gate), is replaced by [gai DE2] ‘build DE2’ in Modern Chinese, which refers either to the event (or the product or manner) of the process of building. Though the event of building has not been explicitly mentioned, it is more than reasonable to presume that the current design of the gate is the product of a building process. The [V DE2] pattern, therefore, is functionally equivalent to the NP being commented on in its Classical Chinese counterpart.

Example (132) presents a pair of passages with a similar contrast to those in (131). The propositions in (132), with an NP in Classical Chinese, and a [V DE2] structure as topic, respectively, are predicated of the new participant introduced by an existential marked by you ‘exist’.

(132) Predication of property
(a) Classical Chinese: Nominal Topic + Property
州有一妓，容色可愛。（訓世類話[35]）
zhou you yi ji rong-se ke-ai
state exist one prostitute face-color lovely
‘There was a prostitute, (whose) appearance was lovely.’
(Or: There was a prostitute with a lovely appearance).

(b) Modern Chinese: [V DE2] + Property
有一箇箇生，生的十分可喜。
you yi ge hangnage sheng de shifen ke-xi
exist one CL courtesan be.born DE2 very lovely
‘There was a courtesan (who was) very lovely.’
(Xun Shi Ping Hua[35], 15th c.)

In (132), the Classical Chinese topic rong-se ‘appearance’ is replaced by [sheng DE2] in Modern Chinese, which topicalizes the event of being born, an event that may reasonably be presupposed for a human being. The passages in (131)-(132) therefore present evidence that structural and semantic reanalysis that motivates the alignment
between [V DE VP] and topic-comment structure has taken place by the 15th century, where the [V DE(2) Pred] construction is obviously used as a regular strategy to express/interpret the topic-comment structure (with a nominal topic) in Classical Chinese.

8.7.2.2 The [V DE VP] construction in *Hong Lou Meng* (18th c.)

The following examples from the 18th century text *Hong Lou Meng* (*Dream of the Red Chamber*, also called *The Story of the Stone*, written by Cao Xueqin, 18th c.) provide further illustration of the discourse contexts where the [V DE VP] topic-comment construction is used. The passage in (133) is a discussion about paintings, a topic that has been established among the interlocutors. Notice that the example shows two sets of [V DE + VP] sentences, the first with an evaluative predication, and the second a degree predication.

(133) 你提畫兒，我纔想起來了。昨兒我看人家一本春宮兒，畫的很好[…]真的了不得！」(紅樓夢 26)

```
ni ti huar wo cai xiang qilai le
2s bring_up painting 1s just think INCEP RCS
```

```
zuor wo kan renjia yi ben chungongr
yesterday 1s see other one CL erotic_painting
```

```
hua de hen hao … zhen hao de liao-bude
paint DE2 very good really good DE2 extremely
```

‘Now that you brought up paintings, it just occurred to me – I saw a book of erotic paintings from somebody – (it was) (very) well painted…really extremely well!’

(*Dream of Red Chamber*, 18th c. my translation)

In first sentence, the evaluation, *hen hao* ‘very good’, is predicated of *hua DE paint DE* ‘paint DE’, the [V DE] string that refers to the result/manner of the drawing event, which is clearly presupposed. The assertion in the first [V DE] sentence, that (*the paintings*) *are good*, is then taken to be the premise of the second sentence, which packages *hao* ‘good’ as a DE-marked topic, with the predicate *liao-bude* ‘extremely’ making an emphatic
assertion about the excessive degree of excellence. The two sentences demonstrate that [V DE] is used to package given information.

The above discussion shows how the event encoded by [V DE] is established as presupposed based on linguistic, situational, and metalinguistic precedence. Example (134) provides an instance where the antecedent of [V DE] is linked to the preceding linguistic context by way of contrast.

(134) 當下暴雨囉了土煙，忙施禮，侶笑道：「老先生倚門佇望，敢街市上有甚新聞哉？」土煙笑道：「非也，適因小女啼哭，引他出來作耍，正是無聊的很。賀兄來得正好，請入小齋，彼此俱可消此永晝。」(紅樓夢 1)

dangxia yucun jian le shiyin mang shi-li pei-xiao
then PN see PF PN busy make-courtesy put_on_a_smile

dao lao xiansheng yi men zhu wang
say old mister lean door stand_still watch

gan jieshi shang you sheme xinwen muo
INTERR street on exist what news INTERR.PRT

shiyin xiao dao fei ye ...zheng shi wuliao de hen
PN laugh say not PRT exactly be bored DE2 very

jia xiong lai de zheng hao
PN M.HON come DE2 just good

‘Yucun, upon seeing Shiyin, hurries to make a courtesy and puts on a smile, saying:’ ‘Mister stands leaning on the door and watching – is there any news on the streets?’ ‘Shiyin says laughing: No (indeed)[…] (I am in fact) very bored. It’s good that you’ve (=Mr. Jia) come.’

(Dream of Red Chamber 1, 18th c. my translation)

The information encoded by [V DE2], that the speaker is “bored”, contrasts the presupposition that ‘there is something new/interesting’ in the previous discourse, which the speaker has explicitly negated.

In addition, the speaker may also use [V DE] to encode information that is new to the hearer on the discourse level, if he or she wishes to assign validity to the information
for rhetorical purposes. The passage in (135) is a man’s response to the doctor after reading the doctor’s prescription for his wife.

(135) 賈蓉看了一遍藥方：高明的很。還要請教先生：這病與性命終久有妨無妨？（紅樓夢 十）

\[
\text{jiarong \ kan \ le \ shou \ gaoming \ de \ hen}
\]

PN look PF say brilliant DE2 very

‘Jiarong, after looking (at the prescription), says: “Extremely brilliant (indeed)!”’

(Dream of Red Chamber 10, 18th c., my translation)

In this context, it has not been established in the previous discourse that the doctor’s prescription is brilliant. By placing gaoming ‘brilliant’ as a DE-marked event topic, the speaker presents it as factual and known to people, and therefore shows more courtesy and respect to the doctor’s expertise than simply packaging the information in the modifier-head (degree + property) order. The speaker’s choice, though seemingly deviant from the original function of a DE-marked topic, is motivated by pragmatic principles, and expresses a stronger stance towards the proposition that the doctor is brilliant.

8.8 The modifier-modified and predicative (topic-comment) schema

In terms of Chinese secondary predication, or the modification of an event by another event, there are two general principles governing the order of the two events. The patterns consist of the general tendencies governing the preferred linear order of the modifying and primary event, and the morphophonological patterns that encode the events. These schematic patterns, like other linguistic constructions, are prototype categories.

\[\text{\textsuperscript{2}}\text{Prince (1978:900) proposes that the English informative-presupposition it-cLEFTs, which present information that is new to the hearer as a known fact, may achieve a similar effect to hedges in that it reduces the speaker’s responsibility for “the truth or originality of the statement being made”. Though seemingly functioning to strengthen the statement, the encoding of new information as presupposed via the it-cLEFT construction actually serves to show deference and politeness by downplaying the part of the speaker.}\]
First, a modifying event can appear unmarked, or overtly marked by a particle (as per our discussion of DE). In terms of morphophonological patterns, a modifying event may appear in the form of a regular predicate, or it may be attested in descriptive morphological templates. The distinction between a regular and a descriptive element is based on its similarity to the prototypical members of the descriptive network.

Second, when two predicates appear in a modifying relation, the predicates, based on their semantics and morphophonological templates, can be arranged from a hierarchy of their likelihood to be interpreted as a primary vs. secondary event. A dynamic event encoded as a non-descriptive predicate is therefore more likely to be interpreted as the primary event compared to a regular property, for instance. The hierarchy is represented by (136):

(136) [Primary event] [Secondary event]  
Dynamic > Stative > Property > Property > Descriptive expression  
[Non-descriptive] [dynamic or stative]

Third, the linear order of the predicates fall into the two general schemas – the preposed modifying event schema, and the postposed predicative (topic-comment) schema. A modifying event occurs before the primary event in the preposed modifying event schema, and after the primary event in the predicative schema, as illustrated in (137):

(137) Linear order of modifying/secondary events  
[PRED1]MOD [PRED2]PRIMARY  
[PRED1]PRIMARY/TOPIC [PRED2]MOD/PREDICATE

A modifying event is more likely to appear before the event it modifies than after it. When a modifying event (either a descriptive element or a regular predicate) appears after a predicate, it is more likely to be interpreted as the primary predication, which specifies a property of the predicate serving as the topic. A manner (or depictive)
secondary predicate appearing after the primary event resembles the topic-comment construction, with the primary event being the topic and the manner/depictive predicate resembling a (primary) predication. The manner/depictive expression can then function as the modifying element for the following predicate.

These general principles have existed since Archaic Chinese, as in (138).

(138) 其往送也，望望然，汲汲然，如有追而弗及也。（禮記。問喪）

qi wang song ye wangwang ran jiji ran
3S go.toward bid.farewell PRT look.REDU RAN avid.REDU RAN

ru you zhuī er fu ji ye
be.like EXIST chase and NEG reach PRT

‘When they go to bid farewell (= their going to bid farewell), looking constantly/(they look constantly), anxious, as if there is something they chase but cannot reach.’

(Li Ji, circ. 5th c. BC)

In the Archaic Chinese passage (138), the initial event, qi wang song, is marked by the topic-marking particle ye (note that the second ye in the example marks an assertion). The initial event thus clearly aligns with a topic, and what follows serves as the predicative comment about the topic. The two RAN-marked descriptive expressions appear before a similative construction, and may therefore be interpreted as secondary predicates or grounding elements to the similative clause. Instead, one may also interpret the descriptives and the similative construction as being in a coordinated relation, and all are primary predications to the topic qi wang song ‘their going to bid farewell’. Such an ambiguity in interpretation remains true in DE-marked modifying events appearing in the middle of a serial chain.

The same distinction is true of the Mandarin examples (139)-(140) below, where the position of the descriptive element conveys pragmatic nuances (examples mine):
The sentence encoded by the Predicational strategy is likely interpreted as a general characteristic of the subject’s manner of walking, while the latter is a description of the manner of a particular walking event. The relative position of the descriptive element is routinized in Mandarin and encourages different construals of the relationship between the descriptive and the primary event. The development of DE-marked topic-comment constructions for expressing secondary predicate relations is in line with the general tendency for the preposed primary event to be interpreted as a topic.

The distinctive discourse functions of a DE-marked pre-verbal secondary predicate (the modifier-head schema) and a DE-marked topic-comment construction are manifested again by the following passage from *Hong Lou Meng* (18th c.). Two DE2-marked preverbal secondary predicates are shown in (141-2) and (141-4), and one DE2-marked topic is shown in (141-5).

(141) 金釗兒坐在旁邊搥腿，也乜斜著眼亂飄。寶玉輕輕的走到跟前，把他耳朵上的墜子一摘，金釗兒瞪眼，見是寶玉。寶玉便悄悄的笑道：「就因的這麼？」(紅樓夢 30)

[1]  jinchuanr  zuo  zai  pang-bian  chui  tui  
PN sit  at  beside  pound  leg

ye  miexie  zhe  yan  luang-huang
also  squint  DUR  eye  nod_off

[2]  bayou  qingqing  de  zou  dao  genqian  
PN  light.REDU  DE2  walk  arrive  front
The ongoing events in (141-1) are descriptive of the maid, Jinchuanr. With the descriptive background established, sentences (141-2)-(141-4) introduce a series of events that advance the progression of the narrative, including Baoyu’s actions towards Jinchua, her reaction, and Baoyu’s response afterwards. In (141-2) and (141-4), the narrator tells the reader the actions of Baoyu, that he walked up to Jinchua and said something to her. The manners in which these actions are conducted, encoded by two DE2-marked secondary predicates, qingqing ‘light.REDU’, and qiaoqiao ‘silent.REDU’, are packaged as modifiers of the activities, not comments about them. In this context, packaging the two sentences with a DE-marked topic-comment structure would have been inappropriate and would have disrupted the flow of the discourse, since there is no precedent for the reader to expect comments about the activities of ‘walking’ or ‘speaking’. In Baoyu’s words to Jinchua in (141-5), however, Jinchua’s ‘being sleepy’ is explicitly established in (141-1), and is thus given information to the interlocutors in

(Hong Lou Meng, 18th c., modified translation by David Hawkes, Dream of Red Chamber, vol. 2, 1977)
the novel (from the physical context) and to the reader (from previous discourse). *Kun* ‘sleepy’ in (141-5), therefore, is properly packaged as a \textit{de}-marked topic, with a degree simulative \textit{zheme} ‘such, so’ as its comment.

In sum, the modifier-head and topic-comment schemas package the primary and secondary events with different information statuses, and are not pragmatically interchangeable. The former is better suited for reporting the secondary event along with a primary event, while the latter is used for contexts where the speaker wishes to make a comment about an event. The \textit{de}-marked event topic is presupposed but not asserted with the predicate following it. The choice between the modifier-head and topic-comment schemas is dependent on which information-packaging function is best suited for the flow of a given discourse.

\textbf{8.9 The secondary vs. primary event and subordination vs. coordination continuum}

The principles discussed above reflect general tendencies. Whether a predicate is unmarked or overtly coded in a certain form of subordination, its relationship to the other conjoined predicate is subject to interpretation, and may express both subordination (figure-ground) and coordination (complex-figure) relations (Croft 2001).

Our discussion of \textit{de3}- (and \textit{de2})-predicative and secondary predicate constructions reveals an indeterminate status in terms of primary vs. secondary predication and subordination vs. coordination. Despite the tendency of a preverbal \textit{de3}/\textit{de2}-marked to be interpreted as a secondary predicate (and the higher probability of a clause containing \textit{de3}/\textit{de2}-marked predicate to be read as a grounding element) when semantically applicable, \textit{de3}/\textit{de2} in general is not restricted to subordinated relations (based on pragmatic criteria).
Construal of the relations between a DE-marked predicate and the collocating predicate(s) (as well as the relations between the clause containing a DE-marked predicate and the collocating clause), though partly constrained by linguistic knowledge (see the principles above), is dependent on world knowledge. The same is true of Chinese serial verb constructions.

It is not surprising that there is not a one-to-one mapping between linguistic constructions and the semantic functions they encode. A semantic function can be encoded via various strategies, and a linguistic construction can perform multiple functions. Crosslinguistically, subordinated relations can be manifested by coordinated constructions, and vice versa. In English, conditional relations may be expressed by a coordinated construction or an adverbial (subordinated) construction (Croft 2001:339):

(142) a. He does that and I’ll fire him. [coordinated]
b. If he does that, I’ll fire him. [adverbial subordination]

Coordinated relations may also be marked by deranked structures. Croft (2001:322) discusses the phenomenon of cosubordination (Foley and Van Valin 1984), where one of the clauses is deranked while the other remains balanced. (143)-(144) from Tamil and Burushaski illustrate that cosubordination constructions appear to have the syntactic structure of adverbial subordination in European languages, but are translated with coordinate structures:

[avaru  kavide  etudiittu] [naaval  motipeyartaaru]
he.NOM poetry.ACC write.PRF.GER novel.ACC translate.PST.IND.3SG
‘He wrote poetry and then translated a novel.’

Note that the Tamil example can only be encoded as deranked, but the events are semantically coordinate (complex figure). The Burushaski example is deranked and may be translated (construed) either as a complex-figure or a figure-ground relation.
\[
\begin{align*}
&má-a & gútaš-o & dú-ce-n & já-a & diš-ulo \\
you & -ERG & corpse & -PL & - 3HPL.OBJ & bring & -CP & 1 & -GEN & place & -INESS
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
bése & yaar-e & ó-č & -á & -an \\
why & down & -LOC & 3HPL.OBJ- & do(DUR) & -AUX & -HPL.SBJ
\end{align*}
\]
a. ‘Why do you bring your corpses and bury them on my land?’
b. ‘Why do your bury your corpses on my land, after bringing them?’

The characteristics of Chinese de-constructions, as we have demonstrated, support this tendency. Historically, there is also a many-to-many mapping between coordinate and subordinate relationships and the morphosyntactic constructions that encode these relations. The coordinating conjunction er, for instance, is used for both coordinated and subordinated relations, as is manifested by a comparison between (145) and (146) (also see the discussion of Verb Coordinate Construction in the beginning of §3.2.1).

(145) 昇空而去。（變文）
\[
\begin{align*}
&sheng & kong & er & qu \\
rise & sky & and & go
\end{align*}
\]
‘He rises to the sky and goes.’
‘He goes after rising to the sky.’

(Bian Wen, 7th-9th c.)

(146) 他有何罪愆，忽而斬之？（變文）
\[
\begin{align*}
ta & you & he & zui & qian & hu & er & zhan & zhi \\
3S & exist & what & guilt & fault & sudden & and & behead & 3
\end{align*}
\]
‘What fault does he have, (you) suddenly behead him?’

(ibid.)

The coordinating conjunction er is also used to conjoin a modifying predicate with another predicate in (147). Since the ran-marked predicate an-ran ‘dark’ and the following predicate hei ‘black’ conjoined by er are descriptive of the same event, whether the ran-marked element in (147) is serving as a secondary predicate is more uncertain than (145)-(146) above.
(147) 丘得其為人，黯然而黑， 黴然而長， 眼如望羊（史記）

an  \-ran  er  hei  ji  \-ran  er  chang  
black \-RAN  and  black  long \-RAN  and  long

‘Dark, he is black (in complexion); long, he is long (in shape)…’

(Shi Ji, 1st c. BC)

Example (148) illustrates a juxtaposition of a ran-marked element and a synonymous predicate without a conjunction.

(148) 正以微弱，竊銜逃債，赧然懼愧，故號曰「赧」耳。（史記）

nan  \-ran  can  kui  
blush.embarrassed \-RAN  be.ashamed  be.ashamed

‘(The king) appears embarrassed, ashamed.’

(ibid.)

Finally, though not a prototypical pattern, a DE-marked descriptive element may appear as a primary predicate, and take post-verbal asumptual markers, as in (149)-(150).

(149) 一個在對面床上， 一個在窗下炕上， 哼哼唧唧的不住。（醒世姻緣第三回）

henghengjiji  de  bu-zhi  
groan.IDEO  DE2  NEG-stop
‘(They) groan (= go henghengjiji) without stop/incessantly.’

(Xing Shi Yin Yuan, 17th c.)

(150) 那貓迷著了眼， 呼盧呼盧的起來。（醒世姻緣第六回）

na  mao  mi  zhe  le  yan  huluhulu  de  qi-lai  
that  cat  squint  DUR  PF  eye  purr.IDEO  DE2  rise-come
‘The cat squints its eyes, starting to purr (going huluhulu).’

(ibid.)

The results therefore suggest that a coordinated strategy may be extended to mark subordination, and vice versa.

8.10 Summary and conclusion

To recapitulate, Mandarin has two major DE-marked strategies for secondary predication, (i) a DE-marked primary event topic elaborated by a predicate following it (the so-called dōngcí bǔyǔ ‘verb complement’ in Chinese linguistics), and (ii) a DE-marked secondary predicate preposed to the primary predicate (the so-called zhuàngyǔ
‘adverbial’ in Chinese linguistics). The two constructions are instantiations of the topic-comment and the modifier-head schemas, respectively, both of which are linked to DE-marked nominal modification constructions, a more general schema subsuming the two DE constructions.

The current status of Mandarin DE is the product of collocational, semantic, pragmatic, and structural changes involving three DE constructional networks in Late Middle Chinese - namely, DE1-marked [V DE1 VP] resultatives, DE3-marked secondary predicates, and their interactions with DE2-marked nominal modification constructions. Increasing phonetic similarity since the end of the Middle Chinese period caused the constructions to finally become connected schemas in a network.

DE1 constructions start as a coordinated strategy with two causally/sequentially connected events, and eventually develop into a Predicational strategy (Loeb-Diehl 2005) where DE marks an event topic to be elaborated by a predicative comment. The network expands from expressing resultative relations to extent/degree, value, manner, and depictive relations, along with the structural reanalysis of [V DE1] as the topic, and its alignment with the DE2-marked topic-comment construction.

DE2-marked nominal constructions begin in restrictive modification, which helps the hearer identify a participant, while DE3 is predominantly attested in secondary predication (modification of an e-site of an event), which often serves to provide descriptive and vivid imagery associated with an event or its participant. The distinctive information-packaging functions are consistently mapped to different perspectivizations of time-stability, i.e. whether the modifying property is construed as definitive, relatively permanent, and characteristic on the one hand, as opposed to being descriptive, transient,
and contingent on the other. The latter function, typical of secondary predication, is
closely associated with descriptive templates, a network of conventionalized
morphophonological templates that center around reduplication (and later structural
repetition). The semantic and pragmatic prototypes are manifested by the preferred
collocational patterns of DE\(^2\) and DE\(^3\) constructions.

In general, the development of DE constructions supports the result-depictive-
manner triangle proposed by Verkerk (2009), which mirrors semantic shifts between
temporally anterior vs. simultaneous relations and event- vs. participant-orientated
concepts. Contiguity between participant- and event-orientation is evidenced both by the
often flexible manner vs. depictive construals for DE\(^3\)/DE\(^2\)-marked secondary predicates,
and by the semantic expansion of DE\(^1\) constructions from expressing anterior, participant-
oriented resultative relations to various simultaneous and event-oriented relations. In
particular, the expansion of DE\(^1\)-marked resultatives into extent/degree, value, manner,
and depictive relations provides a more detailed semantic map than previously proposed
by Verkerk (2009) and van der Auwera and Malchukov (2005), and the inferences
motivating the semantic changes.

The findings also call for a reevaluation of the semantic and morphosyntactic
typology of secondary predication (Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann 2004,
Himmelmann and Schultze-Berndt 2005, Loeb-Diehl 2005, van der Auwera and
Malchukov 2005, Verkerk 2009). The parameter of semantic orientation does not play a
major role in determining the morphosyntactic marking of secondary predication in
Chinese both in terms of whether a event is encoded by a DE construction, and in terms of
which DE construction is selected for a particular semantic relation. Instead, it is
information packaging functions, construals of time-stability, and iconic principles that play a dominant role.

Chinese employs routinized word orders for secondary vs. primary events, which fall under the topic-comment and modifier-head schemas, the choice of which is dependent on the iconic order of event sequencing, and the information-packaging function best suited for the flow of a given discourse. A DE-marked preposed secondary predicate, often construed as subsidiary, additional information, is reported and asserted along with the primary event, while a predication about the DE-marked topic is construed as an assertion about an e-site of the event. Different classes of morphophonological templates, i.e. the descriptive vs. non-descriptive distinction, are systematically mapped to variation in time-stability (transient/contingent vs. permanent/definitive construal), and distinctive information-packaging functions, i.e. restrictive modification vs. (secondary) predication, and secondary event vs. primary event.

The study of the history of the three DE constructions also has implications for Construction Grammar, and constructionist approaches to grammaticalization in general. Grammatical categories or constructions are fluid concepts, and constructions are prototype categories. Constructions are defined by a cluster of parameters, including semantic, pragmatic, morphosyntactic and collocational. Speakers understand a construction as a holistic category, but at the same time, have knowledge of construction-internal, specific local patterns. These parameters may individually or collectively participate in constructionalization (Fried 2008:47).

Innovation, or change, occurs with individual instantiations in actual usage events. A specific instance in context presents the language user with interpretational
ambiguity, which is rooted in various degrees of mismatches between a DE-construction’s morphosemantic structure and the syntactic and semantic requirements of a particular modification or predicative structure.

Change needs to be considered from both the local and the schematic (general) perspective. The context of change includes constructional internal parameters, such as specific structural and semantic requirements for the collocates. Construction-external parameters, including relationships with existing constructions and characteristics of the language overall, are equally important in order to get a complete picture of change.

Analogy to existing items, and alignment to other sets of constructions are essential mechanisms of change. Analogy plays an essential part in the emergence, establishment, expansion, and merger of DE1, DE2, and DE3 constructions. The preferred linear orders of elements in Chinese, for example, serve as an analogical force for the DE-constructions. DE1 appears in the post-verbal position in the \([V \ DE1 \ Pred]\) construction, like aspectual markers generally do in Chinese. The emergence of DE2 as a marker of nominalization and an attributive modifier in the \([\text{Modifier} \ DE2 \ NP]\) pattern also conforms to the dominant Modifier-Head order in Chinese. The same may be said with DE3, which appears after a modifying predicate, like other particles for modifying events generally do. Immediate adjacency to nominals, particularly in the prenominal position, facilitates the construal of a DE3-marked secondary predicate as a modifier because of its alignment with the Modifier-Head pattern. The development of DE-marked topic constructions, on the other hand, is likely associated with the typological feature of topic-prominence of Chinese (Li and Thompson 1976, 1981), and the tendency for Chinese speakers to first present the thing they want to talk about, and then organize the discourse

Instead of considering only (the trajectory of) change within individual items, the more important aspect is to investigate the ways in which grammaticalizing items may become aligned within a category or construction. Alignment with existing sets and links to existing categories (or networks) play an essential role in the development of DE-constructions. Alignment, or links between constructions in a network are created based on similarity. Partial alignment is possible. The early development and contextual expansion of DE2 follows the trajectory of established networks of modifiers and nominalizers (§3.4.3-4). The conventionalization of the predicative functions of DE3 is affected by its incorporation into the network of particles marking primary and modifying predication (§3.5). The later-developing attributive functions of DE3, for instance, are made possible by a partial alignment with a modifier in modifier-head construction. The creation of a general [V DE1]_topic [Pred]_comment schema is partly motivated by its similarity to the topic-comment structure marked by DE2 (§7.2.6, §7.3).

Finally, constructionalization is essentially the gradual creation of a new form-meaning pairing. Form and meaning are thus equally important in the study of change. This is especially significant in the histories of the DE-constructions, and the creation of DE as a general schema with various sub-constructions. Though the individual DE-constructions developed varying degrees of semantic, functional, and structural overlaps, the constructions may have followed different paths had it not been for the increasing phonetic similarity of the three markers that pulled the three DE constructions together and created a general schema. Formal similarity—not only structural, but also actual
phonetic similarity—is often overlooked as a motivating factor in constructional change.

The establishment of DE-constructions as a general schema is gradual. Originally separate constructions develop varying degrees of semantic and structural overlaps, and via the gradual process of sound change, may compete as (increasingly) homophonic constructions with similar structures and functions, and at the final stage, become connected sub-constructions in a network.
APPENDIX

Electronic Corpus for Contemporary Chinese:

- 中央研究院平衡語料庫 Zhōngyāng Yánjiùyuàn Pinghéng Yǔlìuòkù [Academia Sinica Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Chinese, Taiwan]
  http://app.sinica.edu.tw/kiwi/mkiwi/

Electronic Corpora for Historical Chinese Texts:

- CBETA
  中華電子佛典協會
  Zhōnghuá Diànzǐ Fuó Diān Xiéhuì [Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association]
  http://www.cbeta.org/

- CTEXT
  中國哲學電子書計畫
  Zhōngguó Zhéxué Diànzǐshū Jìhuà [Chinese Text Project]
  http://ctext.org/zh

- HANCHI
  中央研究院漢籍電子文獻
  Zhōngyāng Yánjiùyuàn Hánjí Diànzǐ Wénxiàn [Electronic Corpora of Historical Chinese Texts, Academia Sinica, Taiwan]
  (http://hanji.sinica.edu.tw/)  (http://hanchi.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/ihp/hanji.htm)

Printed, Annotated and Edited Texts:

  (Written by Lanling Xiaoxiao Sheng, circ. 17th c.) Beijing: Rénmín Wénxué Chūbānshè.
  《金瓶梅詞話》。（明）蘭陵笑笑生著，戴鴻森校點。北京：人民文學出版社，1985。

  《昭味詹言續錄》。(清) 方東樹著，收錄於《儀衛軒全集》第 25 冊。（光緒十七年重刊本），1889。

  Beijing: Shāngwǔ Yǐnshūguǎn.


Cuo Li Shen (Huan Men Zi Di Cuo Li Shen) 《宦門子弟錯立身》(14th c.) – in Yong Le Da Dian Xi Wen, from HANCHI
Hong Lou Meng 《紅樓夢》(18th c.) - CTEXT http://ctext.org/hongloumeng/zh
Jing De Chuan Deng Lu《景德傳燈錄》(1004) - CBETA http://www.cbeta.org/result/T51/T51n2076.htm
Lao Qi Da (original version) (13th-14th c.) 《原本老乞大》– Chung (ed.) (2002).
Li Ji , Annotation by Zheng Xuan (2nd c.) – 《禮記》-HANCHI
Lun Yu (《論語》) (5th c. B.C.) - HANCHI
Quan Tang Shi 《全唐詩》(7th -9th c.) - CTEXT http://ctext.org/quantangshi/zh
Quan Yuan Qu 《全元曲》(13th-14th c.) - CTEXT http://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=311428
Ru Tang Qiu Fa Xun Li Xing Ji 《入唐求法巡禮行記》(9th c.) -HANCHI
San Chao Bei Meng Hui Bian 《三朝北盟會編》(1194) – CTEXT

Shi Ji 《史記》(100 BC) - HANCHI

Shi Jing 《詩經》(8th -10th c. BC) - HANCHI


Sun Zi 《孫子兵法》 (6th c. B.C.) – CTEXT: http://ctext.org/art-of-war/zh

Tao Hua Shan 《桃花扇》(17th c.) –HANCHI

Wu Dai Shi Ping Hua 《五代史平話》(13th c.) – HANCHI

Wu Deng Hui Yuan《五燈會元》(1252) - CBETA

Xing Shi Yin Yuan 《醒世姻緣》(17th c.) – HANCHI

Xun Shi Ping Hua 《訓世評話》(15th c.) – HANCHI

Xuan He Yi Shi 《宣和遺事》(13th c.) – HANCHI

Yang Shi Nu Sha Gou Quan Fu (13th -14th c.) 楊氏女殺狗勸夫 - in Quan Yuan Qu

Zhao Mei Zhan Yan Xu Lu 《昭味詹言續錄》(方東樹) (1889) by Fang Dongshu

Zhu Zi Yu Lei 《朱子語類》(1270) - HANCHI

Zhuang Zi 《莊子》(300 BC) - HANCHI

Zu Tang Ji 《祖堂集》(952) - M. Zhang (ed.) (2009)

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Yap, Foong Ha, Pik-ling Choi and Kam-siu Cheung. 2010. Delexicalizing draulic: How a Chinese noun has evolved into an attitudinal nominalizer. Formal Evidence in


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