A Reference Grammar of Chinese

A Reference Grammar of Chinese is a comprehensive and up-to-date guide to the linguistic structure of Chinese, covering all of the important linguistic features of the language and incorporating insights gained from research in Chinese linguistics over the past thirty years. With contributions from twenty-two leading Chinese linguists, this authoritative guide uses large-scale corpora to provide authentic examples based on actual language use. The accompanying online example databases ensure that a wide range of exemplars are readily available and also allows for new usages to be updated. This design offers a new paradigm for a reference grammar where generalizations can be cross-checked with additional examples, and also provides resources for both linguistic studies and language learning. Featuring bilingual term lists, this reference grammar helps readers to access relevant literature in both English and Chinese and is an invaluable reference for learners, teachers, and researchers in Chinese linguistics and language processing.

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A Reference Grammar of Chinese
中文参考语法
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Dedicated to 献给

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Giants Whose Shoulders We Stand On

高山仰止 景行行止
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A reference grammar is a snapshot of language in action as well as a comprehensive description of how language is used. In addition, a reference grammar attempts to describe the range of possibilities of how words and other larger linguistic units may be put together in the language, and how they can present different meanings in different contexts. Moreover, a reference grammar aids linguists in constructing theories for one language in particular, and all languages in general. A reference grammar also provides roadmaps for both language learners and teachers to navigate the complexity of learning or teaching a new language. Lastly, a reference grammar shares with all language lovers the beauty of language as a knowledge system, including the cultural heritage of the language.

A Reference Grammar of Chinese is designed with all of the above functions in mind. We are keenly aware of the challenge and constraints of containing a grammar within the confines of the book format. Hence, we worked out a solution by constructing an example corpus in parallel while drafting our grammar. This example corpus constitutes a distinguishing feature of this book. On the one hand, all the generalizations reported in this grammar are based on expert linguists’ observations of a large set of corpus data. On the other hand, when reading this reference book, a reader can refer to the example corpus (at the website http://crg.cbs.polyu.edu.hk) using chapter, section, and example numbers, so that the reader can form his/her own generalizations and/or tease out more details that could not be included in the grammar due to space considerations. Thus, the example databases allow A Reference Grammar of Chinese to be not only an evidence-based grammar, but also a grammar not constrained by the limitations of the pages of the book.

We are also fully aware of the fact that a reference grammar must refer to a familiar framework of grammar. As English is the academic metalanguage used for this book, and English grammar is the most familiar language grammar due to its largest number of second language learners, we choose to adopt and follow the framework of English descriptive grammar. In particular, we follow the structure and drafting guidelines of The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language (CGEL) as closely as possible. In this connection, we would like to express our gratitude
to the two authors of *CGEL*, Professors Rodney Huddleston and Geoffrey Pullum. Professor Pullum flew to Hong Kong to meet both chief editors as well as many chapter authors and to provide us with advice and encouragement as we embarked on our long and arduous journey.

Similar to the *CGEL*, *A Reference Grammar of Chinese (ARGC)* has chief editors who have done research on various aspects of Chinese grammar in their respective academic careers. However, even though the ARGC chief editors were heavily involved in drafting and revising, they are not listed as co-authors of the chapters except for the chapters in which they had a direct hand in the original drafts. It is perhaps not difficult to see that in a grammar covering such a wide range of topics, inconsistencies in descriptions among the submitted early drafts would arise and the editors would eventually need to be responsible for the final revisions to ensure a consistent voice and perspective. In such a context, the chapters were meticulously modified by varying degrees. Therefore, please bear this in mind while reading and attribute the contributions to both the chapter authors and the editors. Any remaining errors, however, are the responsibilities of the editors.

The completion of this reference grammar was the result of a long journey that we took with many friends. In addition to thanking Geoffrey Pullum for sharing his wisdom and encouragement, we would like to thank Helen Barton of Cambridge University Press for her unfailing support to guide us through this journey and for helping us with various unexpected difficulties. We would also like to thank the enthusiasm, professionalism, and linguistic acumen of all the editorial team members, including the associate editors Prof. Kathleen Ahrens, Dr. Jing Jin, Dr. Sophia Y. M. Lee, and Dr. Jingxia Lin, and assistant editors Dr. Helen Kai-yun Chen, Dr. Jiajuan Xiong, and Dr. Hongzhi Xu. Many colleagues in our research group helped at various stage of preparation, especially with extraction of examples from corpora, and among the people whom we cannot list exhaustively here, we would like to thank in particular Dr. Shuang Hong, Dr. Jia-fei Hong, and Ivy Wing Shan Chan. In addition, we would like to thank Professor Qin Lu for the construction of the working database and interface for extracting and storing example sentences from corpora. Last, but not least, we would like to thank the Department of Chinese and Bilingual Studies of the Hong Kong Polytechnic University, as well as the PolyU-Peking U Research Centre on Chinese Linguistics for providing support for research that was crucial to the completion of this grammar.
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## English–Chinese term list

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bounded, case, CL, cleft, closed class, code, common noun, complement, complex sentence, concessive, conditional, consonant, coordinator, copula, corpus, correlative, DE, declarative (sentence), definiteness, deictic, demonstrative, denotation, deontic, dependency relation, derivation, determiner, deverbal, direct object, ditransitive, entailment, existential (sentence), experiencer, gap, GEI, generic, goal, gradability, grammatical function, GUAN
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<td>着</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZHE_NE</td>
<td>着呢</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>啊 a4</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>唉 ai0</td>
<td>AI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>吧 ba0</td>
<td>BA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>把 ba3</td>
<td>BA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>罢了 ba4lia03</td>
<td>BALE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>被被动 bei4dong4</td>
<td>passive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>被被动 bei4</td>
<td>BEI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>变数 bian4shu3</td>
<td>variable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>变体的 bian4ti3de0</td>
<td>variable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>宾语 bin1yu3</td>
<td>object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>并列连词 bing4lie4lian2ci2</td>
<td>coordinator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>补(足)语 bu3(zu2)yu3</td>
<td>complement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>不必 bu2bi4</td>
<td>NEG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>不是 bu2shi4</td>
<td>NEG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>不及物的 bu4ji2wu4de0</td>
<td>intransitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>不可数名词 bu4ke3shu3ming2ci2</td>
<td>mass noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>不 bu4</td>
<td>NEG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>陈述(句) chen2shu4(ju4)</td>
<td>declarative (sentence)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>程度状语 cheng2du4zhuang4yu3</td>
<td>intensifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>重叠 chong2die2</td>
<td>reduplication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>抽象名词 chou1xiang4ming2ci2</td>
<td>abstract noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>词法 ci2fa3</td>
<td>morphology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>词类 ci2lei4</td>
<td>part of speech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>词位 ci2wei4</td>
<td>lexeme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>从属(成分) cong2shu3(cheng2fen4)</td>
<td>subordinate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>存在句 cun2zai4jiu4</td>
<td>existential (sentence)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>达成(动词) da2cheng2(dong4ci2)</td>
<td>achievement (verb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>倒置 dao4zhi4</td>
<td>inversion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>的 de0</td>
<td>DE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>得 de0</td>
<td>DE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>地 de0</td>
<td>DE</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
第 di4
定语(的) ding4yu3(de0)
定指 ding4zhi3
动转(的) dong4zhu03(de0)
反身代词 fan3shen1dai4ci2
反问 fan3wen4
非现实 fei1xian4shi2
非 fei1
分类词 fen1lei4ci2
分裂句 fen1lie3ju4
封闭类 feng1bi4lei4
辅音 fu3yin1
副词短语 fu4ci2duan3yu3
前辅语 fu4ci2
附接语 fu4jie1yu3
复(杂)句 fu4(za2)ju4
复指代词 fu4zhi3dai4ci2
感受者 gan3shou4zhe3
格 ge2
给 get3
工具格 gong1ju4ge2
关联(词) guan1lian2ci2
管 guan3
冠词 guan4ci2
光秆名词短语 guang1gan3ming2ci2duan3yu3
光秆名词 guang1gan3ming2ci2
轨迹 gui3ji4
过 guo4
后缀 hou4zhu0i4
呼格 hu1ge2
话题 hua4ti2
回指链 hui2zhi3lian4
回指语 hui2zhi3yu3
活动(动词) huo2dong4(dong4ci2)
级差性 ji2cha1xing4
极性 ji2xing4
间接宾语 jian4jie1bin1yu3
间接受词 jian4jie1shou4ci2
将 jiang1
ORDINAL, ordinal marker
attributive
definiteness
deverbal
reflexive pronoun
rhetorical question
irrealis
NEG
CL, classifier
cleft
closed class
consonant
adverbial
adverb
adjunct
correlative
article
bare NP
bare NP
trajectory
GUO
suffix
vocative
topic
anaphoric chain
anaphor
activity (verb)
gradability
polarity
indirect object
indirect object
BA
接受者 **jie1shou4zhe3**
结果补语 **jie2guo3bu3yu3**
介词 **jie4ci2**
借词 **jie4ci2**
进行体 **jin4xing2ti3**
静态 **jing4tai4**
句法 **ju4fa3**
肯定式 **ken3ding4shi4**
啦 **la1**
来着 **lai2zhe0**
类 **lei4**
哩 **li0**
量词 **liang4ci2**
量化成分 **liang4hua4cheng2fen4**
了 **liao3**
论元 **lun4yuan2**
论旨角色 **lun4zhi3jue2se4**
吗 **ma0**
嘛 **ma0**
没有 **mei2you3**
没 **mei2**
们 **men0**
名词性成分 **ming2ci2xing4cheng2fen4**
命题 **ming4ti2**
目标 **mu4biao1**
拿 **na2**
哪 **na3**
呢 **ne0**
喔 **o0**
派生 **pai4sheng1**
旁格 **pang2ge2**
普通名词 **pu3tong1ming2ci2**
祈使 **qi2shi3**
起来 **qi3lai2**
起 **qi3**
前置 **qian2zhi4**
情态 **qing2taizi4**
屈折 **qu1zhe2**
缺位 **que1wei4**

**recipient**
**resultative**
**PREP, preposition**
**borrowing**
**progressive aspect**
**stative**
**syntax**
**affirmative**
**LA**
**LAIZHE**
**type**
**LI**
**CL, classifier; quantifier**
**quantifier**
**LE**
**argument**
**thematic role**
**MA**
**MA**
**NEG**
**NEG**
**PL, plural marker**
**nominal**
**proposition**
**goal**
**NA**
**NA**
**NE**
**O**
**derivation**
**oblique**
**common noun**
**imperative**
**QILAI**
**QI**
**preposing**
**modality**
**inflection**
**gap**
让步语 rang4bu4yu3
施事 shi1shi4
示意语力 shi4yi4yu3li4
是 shi4
受词 shou4ci2
受事 shou4shi4
受益者 shou4yi4zhe3
双及物 shuang1ji2wu4
缩合 suo1he2
缩减小句 suo1jian3xia3ju4
缩略词 suo1lie4ci42
缩写 suo1xie3
所指 suo3zhi3
所 suo3
体貌 ti3mao4
体 ti3
条件句 tiao2jian4ju4
通指 tong1zhi3
同位语 tong2wei4yu3
哇 wa1
外延 wai4yan2
完成体 wan2cheng2ti3
完结(动词) wan2jie2 (dong4ci2)
未完成体 wei4wan2cheng2ti3
未 wei4
无核关系句 wu2he2guan1xi4ju4
无终句 wu2zhong1jie2
系词 xi4ci2
辖域 xia2yu4
下去 xia4qu4
先行语 xian1xing2yu3
限定词 xian4ding4ci2
小词 xiao3ci2
斜格 xie2ge2
形容词 xing2rong2ci2
形态学 xing2tai4xue2
构词 gou4ci2
选择限制 xuan3ze2xian4zhi4
呀 ya0
concessive
agent
illocutionary force
SHI
object
patient
beneficiary
ditransitive
blending
reduced clause
acronym
SUOXIE
referent
SUO
aspect
conditional
generic
appositive
WA
denotation
perfective
accomplishment (verb)
imperfective
NEG
headless relative clause
atelic
copula
scope
XIAQU
antecedent
determiner
particle
oblique
adjective
morphology
morphology
selectional restriction
YA
言外力量 yan2wai4li4liang4
衍推 yan3tui1
依存关系 y1cun2guan1xi4
依赖关系 y1lai4guan1xi4
疑问代词 y1wen4dai4ci2
义务(情态) y4wu4(qing2tai4)
意愿 y4yuan4
音位 yin1wei4
隐喻 yin3yu4
哟 yo1
有定 you3ding4
有界 you3jie4
有 you3
语调 yu3diao4
语法功能 yu3fa3gong1neng2
语料库 yu3liao4ku4
语码 yu3ma3
语态 yu3tai4
语缀 yu3zhu4
预设 yu4she4
元音 yuan2yin1
元语言否定 yuan2yu3yan2fou3ding4
韵律 yun4li4
在 zai4
照应链 zhao4ying4lian4
照应语 zhao4ying4yu3
着呢 zhe0ne0
真值条件 zhen1zhi2tiao2jian4
真值 zhen1zhi2
正在 zheng4zai4
之 zhi1
直接宾语 zhi2jie1bin1yu3
直接受词 zhi2jie1shou4ci2
直示 zhi2shi4
指称 zhi3cheng1
指代形式 zhi3da4xing2shi4
指示代词 zhi3shi4da4ci2
终结 zhong1jie2
主位 zhu3wei4
illocutionary force
entailment
dependency relation
dependency relation
interrogative pronoun
deontic
volition
phoneme
metaphor
YO
definiteness
bounded
YOU
intonation
grammatical function
corpus
code
mood; voice
affix
presupposition
vowel
metalinguistic negation
prosody
ZAI
anaphoric chain
anaphor
ZHE_NE
truth conditions
truth value
ZAI
DE
direct object
direct object
deictic
reference
pro form
demonstrative
telic
theme
助词 zhu4ci2  particle
助动词 zhu4dong4ci2  auxiliary (verb)
专有名词 zhu1you3ming2ci2  proper noun
转喻 zhuan3yu4  metonymy
状态(动词) zhuang4tai4(dong4ci2)  state (verb)
状语 zhuang4yu3  adverbial
着 zhe0  ZHE
A grammar is the system of knowledge of the relation between what people do and what people know when they use a particular language. Since what people know in the context of their language use is often implicit, linguistic theories are proposed as a foundational hypothesis to enable the explicit explanation of a grammar of any particular language. This presents an underlying dilemma in the writing of any grammar. On the one hand, descriptive work is the foundation of any scientific study and is crucial to the language sciences. Modern linguistics emerged as a result of a conscientious effort to move from prescriptive to descriptive studies of language. On the other hand, once any theoretical framework or account is adopted, a grammar becomes prescriptive in the sense that it imposes a set of conceptual primitives and structure of rules prescribed by a sub-set of linguists. How to capture the system of implicit knowledge without prescribing an a priori theoretical framework remains the biggest challenge to any descriptive grammar.

A Reference Grammar of Chinese meets this challenge with an empirical approach focused on describing what people do when they use Mandarin Chinese, while allowing generalizations to emerge from our descriptions as well as from the readers’ observation of the data. We believe that a keenly observed description of the generalizations and tendencies based on the observation of the extensive data of language use will lead to capturing the implicit knowledge people share without prescribing an explicit rule. To achieve this goal, corpora and Web-extracted examples are used extensively, with an occasional supplementation of made-up sentences. These data have been carefully examined by our authors for their distributional patterns and tendencies. None of the examples cited in this grammar are single instances of language use; rather, they were chosen as an illustrative representation based on a set of similar examples selected by the authors. In other words, this reference grammar is intended to be read like a guide to the Chinese language, mediated by an extensive set of extracted examples for each grammatical point we make. Readers can consult the example database when they read the grammar to strengthen both their understanding of the generalizations and the complexity of language in use.
This grammar assumes a minimal set of theoretical concepts, which include grammatical categories, basic grammatical functions, and some intuitive semantic concepts, such as the thematic roles of agent, theme, goal, etc. A more detailed discussion of the grammatical categories is presented in Chapter 2.

1.1. The Chinese language

Chinese, or Mandarin Chinese, has the most native speakers in the world as well as one of the longest cultural heritages. Mandarin Chinese also has become one of the most learned foreign languages in the world. The 2005 version of *The Language Situation in China* claimed that more than 30 million people in the world were learning Chinese as a foreign language. The need for a linguistically felicitous and accessible reference grammar of the Chinese language is clear and urgent. Authored by leading Chinese linguists in each topic area, this volume serves as a comprehensive and accessible reference grammar of Chinese in that it aims to cover all the important linguistic facts of the language; moreover, these facts are presented in a way that does not presuppose knowledge of a particular linguistic theory or grammar of Chinese.

This grammar provides a synchronic, descriptive grammar of present-day Standard Mandarin Chinese. It shares some of the major design philosophy with that of *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language* (Huddleston and Pullum 2002).

1.1.1. Standard Mandarin Chinese

Standard Mandarin Chinese has the phonological system of the Beijing variant of Northern Mandarin as its norm of pronunciation. Historically, Mandarin (官话 guan1hua4) has been the common language adopted by officials, yet it developed into different variants among the areas where it was primarily spoken, such as Northern Mandarin, Southern Mandarin, and Sichuan Mandarin. In common English usage today, however, Mandarin and Chinese are used interchangeably and loosely to refer to Standard Chinese. The Chinese described in this reference grammar refers to the Standard Mandarin Chinese that is generally accepted in a wide range of public discourse, such as government, education, broadcasting, and publishing. This standard language is referred to as Putonghua (普通话 pu3tong1hua4 ‘common language’) in Mainland China, Singapore, and Macau, and as GuoYu (国语 guo2yu3 ‘national language’) in Taiwan, while both terms are used in Hong Kong. Broadly speaking, Putonghua follows Mainland China conventions and GuoYu follows Taiwan conventions, and they do differ from each other occasionally, not unlike the contrast between UK and US English. While focusing on the widely accepted usages as reflected in standard written and spoken Chinese, and on the common usages shared by Putonghua and GuoYu, we will point out significant distinctions when necessary.
1.1.2. Synchronic description of present-day Chinese

The earliest record of a well-developed system of Chinese writing dates back to more than three thousand years ago. Although linguists do not agree on all the details, the history of the Chinese language can be divided into four stages: 

- **Old Chinese** (Shang Dynasty to Han Dynasty, sixteenth century BCE–220 CE),
- **Middle Chinese** (Southern and Northern Dynasties to Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms, CE 220–960),
- **Early Modern Chinese** (Song Dynasty to May Fourth Movement, 960–1919), and
- **Modern Chinese** (1919–present).

Throughout these periods, substantial changes took place in all linguistic aspects of Chinese. In terms of grammar, Old Chinese can be identified by the lack of more complex constructions, which developed later. Middle Chinese is the period when many new constructions and forms emerged, including the 把/将 constructions, the 被 passive, and a pronoun system that is very similar to that of present-day Chinese. During this period, Chinese prepositional phrases also moved from the predominantly post-verbal position to the pre-verbal position. In Early Modern Chinese, aspectual markers such as 了 le0 and 着 zhe0 and phrasal suffixes such as 的 de0 and 地 de0 were widely used. Writing based on vernacular Chinese (白话文 bai2hua4wen2) emerged in the Tang Dynasty, but Classical Chinese (文言文 wen2yan2wen2) was still used in formal writing until Modern Chinese, particularly after the May Fourth Movement in 1919, when most publications in China started to use the vernacular language.

The historical change of Chinese is of great linguistic importance and interest, but as a synchronic grammar, this volume limits the description to present-day Modern Chinese, especially the language since 1991, because all the generalizations of this grammar are based on corpora with natural Chinese data collected from that time. It is important to bear in mind, however, that conventionalized historical forms are still used in Modern Mandarin Chinese, especially in formal registers. As such, they are part of present-day Chinese and will be covered in this grammar.

1.1.3. Varieties of Chinese

The term World Chineses (全球华语 quan2qiu2hua4yu3), though not as common as World Englishes, is becoming more and more widely used with the increasing popularity of Chinese as a second language and with the Chinese diaspora spreading and growing. Despite the same linguistic heritage, Mandarin Chinese in different regions has evolved in different ways as a result of the political, economic, cultural, and social development of each region. Variations can be found in pronunciation, lexicon, and syntax. While it is important to investigate these
differences, this reference grammar aims to present the shared core of grammar. In the rare cases where the variations render the description of a shared core difficult or if the variations present a special challenge to learners and speakers, observations and descriptions will be provided.

The varieties of Chinese also differ orthographically in adopting traditional characters (Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macau) or simplified characters (Mainland and Singapore). Orthography projects language identity through the formation of a community of practice and may introduce language variations, although strictly speaking it is not part of the grammar. In this grammar, we adopted simplified characters as the most commonly learned system. It is, however, important to note that although a meaning-preserving mapping from traditional characters to simplified characters can be performed without ambiguity, the same cannot be said for mapping simplified characters to traditional characters.

1.1.4. Chinese dialects vs. Sinitic languages
“Chinese” as the language spoken by ethnic Han people is traditionally divided into seven major groups: Mandarin (or Northern Chinese), Wu, Xiang, Gan, Kejia (Hakka), Yue (Cantonese), and Min. Speakers of different groups are mutually unintelligible in terms of speaking, although they share the same written language and the grammar of written Chinese for each group does not differ substantially from that of Standard Chinese. Such facts bring about the question of whether they should be referred to as dialects or as languages (i.e. Sinitic languages), a linguistic issue with strong cultural, political, and societal implications. Since this grammar concentrates on present-day Standard Chinese, when references to other varieties is necessary, only the language/dialect name will be used, without explicit reference to its language/dialect status.

1.1.5. Descriptive account
The descriptive account of this grammar is succinct and theory-neutral, based on corpus observation and reflecting how the language is actually used. For non-standard or ungrammatical usages, the grammar reports that the usages are rarely or not found in the corpora, rather than providing created examples in contrast to the standard and grammatical examples.

1.1.6. Grammar
We agree with Pullum and Huddleston (2002: 4) that a grammar is divisible into syntax and morphology; the former is concerned with the way words combine to form phrases, clauses, and sentences, while the latter is concerned with the formation of words. Because a word plays a prominent role as a basic unit at
different levels, this grammar pays attention to the definition and identification of words, in addition to other important linguistic facts of the language.

This grammar includes a chapter on classifiers (Chapter 7), a grammatical category less familiar in grammars of English and other Western languages. Classifiers are essential components of noun phrases in Chinese and they represent important selectional and semantic information. In addition, following the conventions established in Chao (1968), this grammar assigns the semantic correspondents of adjectives in English and many other languages, such as ‘small’ (小 xiao3) and ‘quite’ (安静 an1jing4), as well as the category of (state) verbs, and reserves the category of adjectives for the non-predicative types, such as 超级 chao1ji2 ‘super’ (see Chapter 10).

1.2. A data-driven and corpus-based reference grammar

While more and more linguistic research and reference grammars have adopted corpus-based empirical approaches, this grammar takes a further step by being both data-driven and corpus-based. The developments in the past thirty years have made it possible for people to access and extract generalizations from corpora. The large-scale corpora accessible for this grammar include the POS-tagged Chinese Gigaword Corpus (1,400 million characters from Mainland China, Taiwan, and Singapore; data collected during 1991 to 2004, Huang 2009) and the manually tagged Sinica Corpus (10 million words collected primarily since 1996, Chen et al. 1996). The availability of large-scale corpora also enables the use of computational tools, such as Word Sketch Engine, to extract grammatical information directly from the corpora. For this grammar, the authors’ expertise and judgments have been greatly enhanced by their access to both the Sinica Corpus and the 2nd edition of the Chinese Gigaword Corpus, through the corpus interface of Chinese Word Sketch (Huang et al. 2005). Most of the examples in this grammar, with very few exceptions, have been carefully selected from the corpora with minimal modification. In this sense, this grammar is the first Chinese grammar written based on corpus data. It is also among the first such reference grammars in the world.

As a reference grammar, our emphasis is to get the facts and generalizations right, especially those facts or generalizations missed or mischaracterized by previous grammars. This goal was achieved through a two-pronged empirical approach. First, the authors had access to the largest available Chinese corpora as well as the most powerful corpus interface. In addition, they were encouraged to consult the Web through Google when in doubt. This ensured that the widest range of language data was accessed. Second, each chapter was drafted by a designated author(s) who has done extensive work on the topic area. After the initial draft, the chapter was presented and discussed at authors’ workshops, and each chapter
also underwent extensive comments and review by at least two other experts. Lastly, each chapter was reviewed and revised by the two chief editors. In sum, each and every chapter reflects the collective research knowledge of four or more leading Chinese linguists in the field, each contributing to the consistency and comprehensive coverage of the facts.

This reference grammar is anchored by illustrative example sentences. All of these corpus-extracted realistic examples are presented in the standard four-line format: the first line consists of the text in Chinese characters; the second line consists of a word-for-word Pinyin transcription; the third line is aligned with the second line to provide a gloss; and the last line provides faithful free translation. The example [1] is the sentence [2b] from Chapter 4.

[1] 有空的时候, 到公园里去走一走, 呼吸呼吸新鲜空气。
  you3kong4 de0 shi2hou0 dao4 gong1yuan2 li3 qu4
  have_time DE when go_to park in go
  zou3yi1zou3 hu1xi1hu1xi1 xin1xian1 kong1qi4
  walk_a_walk breathe_breathe fresh air
  ‘When you have some time, have a walk in the park and breathe some fresh air.’

Following linguistic conventions, the example sentences are discussed and grammatical information is explicated in the text immediately before or after the example given. The above example shows that we have ordered the examples in each chapter according to their order of appearance, and use a, b, c, etc. to differentiate a group of similar sentences given under the same example number.

This grammar will be accompanied by a periodically updated online example database in order to supplement the examples of the grammar and to add value to the restriction of the finite number of printed pages. The original database was constructed together with the grammar, when at least twenty example sentences were selected for each linguistic topic described in the grammar. Each sentence is not only annotated with the topic for which the sentence is selected, but also annotated and indexed with all other relevant linguistic topics covered in the grammar.

This reference grammar aims to make the underlying set of linguistic facts from which we built our generalizations sharable with others who may construct a parallel reference grammar with different design criteria. Therefore, in addition to the example database, a citation database was constructed based on the topics of the grammar. The periodically updated database consists of all the bibliography used for this grammar and all the articles from the major journals of Chinese linguistics, including 中国语文 zhong1guo2yu3wen2 ‘Chinese Language and Writing’
1.3. Chinese writing system

The Chinese writing system is the longest continuously used system in the world. The system is composed of characters (汉字 han4zi4, kanji in Japanese as well as in common English translation), which are logographic symbols encoding both phonetic and semantic information. Unlike phonological writing systems, each Chinese character is grounded with some conceptual knowledge information that was conventionalized at the time the character was created. Furthermore, the writing system is considered a cultural symbol that unifies the Chinese people speaking mutually unintelligible varieties of Chinese. By this design, the Chinese writing system is not as arbitrary as phonological writing systems, which are common among other languages in the world. This non-arbitrariness, in turn, has allowed the Chinese writing system to reflect more about the grammar of Chinese; hence, some discussion of the writing system in this reference grammar is required.

It is important to debunk the myth that the Chinese writing system consists of Chinese characters only. This may have been the case as recently as fifty years ago; however, most contemporary Chinese dictionaries nowadays include a few hundred so-called alphabetic words (字母词 zi4mu3ci2). These alphabetic words are bona fide entries in the lexicons of modern Mandarin Chinese, with full grammatical functions in the category to which they belong, as discussed in Chapter 3. These words can be composed of all alphabets (Q kyu ‘to have sustainable good texture when chewed on’; HSK eich-es-kei Hanyu Shuiping Kaoshi/‘Mandarin Standard Test’; IBM ai-bi-emu ‘International Business Machine’), or start with one or more alphabets but end with a character (AA 制 ei-ei-zhi4 ‘to go Dutch’; K 书 kei-shu1 ‘to hit the books hard’), or start with a character but end with an alphabet (阿 Q a1-kyu ‘a fatalist, a fictional protagonist in Lu Xun’s novel’; 卡拉 OK ka3la1-ou-kei ‘karaoke’). Unlike Japanese katakana, these alphabetic words are not restricted to loanwords, although many have loanword origins (especially those referring to new technology or brand names). However, the blended translation alternative remains a desirable alternative, so many loanwords are actually represented by Chinese characters (such as 可乐 ke3le4 ‘able-enjoy cola’; 爱疯 ai4feng1 ‘love-crazy iPhone’). It is worth noting that many alphabetic words originate from either Pinyin-based abbreviations or vivid imitations of/associations with the sounds/shapes of the alphabets. Alphabetic words also have a unique linguistic feature in that they do not conform to the phonological integrity of Chinese. The alphabetic parts of the alphabetic words are typically pronounced without an assigned tone, and many
of them represent syllables which are not part of the Chinese phonological repertoire, such as emu (from IBM), kei (from K 书), and kyu (from Q, 阿 Q). They simply represent a conventionalized way to pronounce these alphabets. These alphabetic words can be a noun, a verb, or an adjective, and the alphabet-plus-character template seems to be the most productive pattern of neologism.

1.3.1. A brief history of Chinese script

The Chinese character script has been continuously used for more than 3,000 years. The oracle bone script (甲骨文 jia3gu3wen2) of the Shang Dynasty (1600–1046 BCE) is the earliest surviving evidence of a well-developed writing system of Chinese and is directly related to the subsequent Chinese scripts. Oracle bone inscriptions are found mainly on turtle shells (甲 jia3) or ox and other large animal bones (骨 gu3), hence 甲骨文 (jia3gu3wen2 ‘shell-bone-writing’). These inscriptions are the records of the answers from the divinatory practice of the royal family communicating with their ancestral spirits. Evolving from the oracle bone script, bronze inscription script (金文 jin1wen2) is found on ritual bronze vessels of the late Shang Dynasty to Zhou Dynasty (1100–403 BCE). After the Zhou Dynasty, the writing systems of different parts of China diverged until the Qin Dynasty (221–207 BCE) unified China and set the Qin variant of seal script (篆书 zhuan4shu1) as the national standard script. For easier and faster writing in government bureaucracy, clerical script (隶书 li4shu1) was adopted and it gradually replaced seal script in the Han Dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE). Clerical script is structurally and rectilinearly very similar to the modern Chinese scripts and is thus considered the ancestor of modern scripts. Clerical script then evolved into standard script (楷书 kai3shu1) and was replaced by standard script during the Southern and Northern Song Dynasties (420–589 CE). Since then, standard script has been used as the standard form of orthography in China.

Two crucial observations can be made based on the four example characters shown in Table 1.1 below. First, many characters are decomposed into components (such as 明 ming2, which consists of the two components 日 ri4 ‘sun’ and 月 yue4 ‘moon’), and these components may or may not be characters themselves. This point will be addressed in more detail in the next section. Second, all of the different historical scripts are variants, and the internal structure of each character is largely preserved between script changes. For example, 明 ming2 ‘bright’ is composed of the two components 日 ri4 ‘sun’ to the left and 月 yue4 ‘moon’ to the right. Regardless of how much the graph representing the character changes, both the composition and the left–right structure of these two components remain the same. The consistency of this component composition relation can also be observed to have occurred over time for 渔 yu2 ‘to fish,’ as in Table 1.1. Furthermore, even for non-decomposable characters, such as 水 shui3 ‘water’ and
Table 1.1 Evolution of Chinese scripts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Script</th>
<th>'water'</th>
<th>'to fish'</th>
<th>'up'</th>
<th>'bright'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oracle-bone script</td>
<td>🗯️</td>
<td>🗯️</td>
<td>🗯️</td>
<td>🗯️</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bronze script</td>
<td>🗯️</td>
<td>🗯️</td>
<td>🗯️</td>
<td>🗯️</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small seal script</td>
<td>🗯️</td>
<td>🗯️</td>
<td>🗯️</td>
<td>🗯️</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical script</td>
<td>水渔上明</td>
<td>水渔上明</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard script</td>
<td>水渔上明</td>
<td>水渔上明</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 The Chinese scripts were extracted from Academia Sinica’s Database of Chinese Characters Composition (漢字構形資料庫) at http://cdp.sinica.edu.tw/cdphanzi

上 shang4 ‘up,’ it is possible to see that the internal structure of the critical components of the graph stays the same. It is with this consistency of the internal component composition relation that we can show that the Chinese writing system is a single, continuously used system. Any historical text, regardless of the style of script it is in, can be directly mapped to any other script to be read.

1.3.2. Structure of Chinese characters

A character is the smallest meaningful unit of the writing system in Chinese, compared with a morpheme, which is the smallest meaningful unit, and a word, which is the smallest unit with independent syntactic functions. In contrast to phonographic languages, such as English, that are mainly composed of symbols that encode phonetic values only, the character-based writing system of Chinese is featured as logographic in that it is mainly composed of logographic symbols that encode both phonetic and semantic values. Phonetically, each Chinese character represents a syllable, compared to English where a letter or a group of letters represents a phoneme. Semantically, a Chinese character usually encodes a lexical concept, which allows it to stand for the same (or similar) meaning regardless of language changes and variations.

The misconception that Chinese characters cannot be learned without rote memory covering the stroke-by-stroke order of all the strokes of a character has both added to the notoriety of Chinese (and to the myth of the complexity of Japanese, since it uses kanji as one of its complex writing systems) and lent
support to the proposal to convert Chinese to an alphabetic writing system. However, studies have shown that Chinese characters are composed of components (部件 bu4jian4). Each component can in turn be composed of smaller components or, eventually, a fixed number and order of strokes. What this means is that recognizing and writing a character only requires knowledge of the components of a character as well as how these components are put together once the basic components are known. There is also a general rule of the order of the composition of left-first, before top-first, and outside-in when other rules do not apply. For instance, the character 明 ming2 ‘bright’ is formed by the composition of 日 (on the left) first, and 月 second. The character 盟 meng2 ‘alliance’ starts with the same 日 + 月 sequence, with the third component 门 min3 ‘basin’ last and at the bottom. The character 萌 meng2 ‘to sprout’ is formed with the grass radical 艹 cao3 on top, followed by the same 日 + 月 sequence. These component sequences are largely preserved through the evolution of different scripts (including most cases of simplified characters) and even apply to some regional glyph variants. For instance, 峰 and 峯 feng1 ‘peak’ are variants of the same character and they can be described by the same component composition rule of 山 + 峰 shan1 + feng1, except that one variant follows the left–right order while the other follows the top-down order.

A Chinese character is not only formally composed of components, but its formal composition also follows rules of internal composition. 说文解字 (shuo1wen2jie3zi4, 121 BCE, literally, Explanations of simple graphs and analyses of composite graphs) compiled by the Eastern Han scholar Xu Shen was the first comprehensive dictionary to analyze the structure of Chinese characters. Xu Shen proposed six principles of Chinese character composition, of which four are firmly established in modern philology: pictographic (象形 xiang4xing2), ideographic (指事 zhi3shi4), semantic–semantic composition (会意 hui4yi4), and semantic–phonetic composition (形声 xing2sheng1). Pictographic characters such as 日 ri4 ‘sun’ and 月 yue4 ‘moon’ resemble the objects in the physical world. Ideographic characters such as 上 shang4 ‘up’ and 下 xia4 ‘down’ represent abstract ideas. A semantic–semantic compound is typically composed of two or three pictographic or ideographic characters and encodes a combination of the meanings of the characters. For example, 明 ming2 ‘bright’ is a combination of the pictographic 日 ri4 ‘sun’ and 月 yue4 ‘moon,’ while 森 sen1 ‘forest’ is composed of three 木 mu4 ‘tree,’ which by itself is a pictographic character. Semantic–phonetic compounds typically consist of a phonetic unit and a semantic unit. For instance, 妈 ma1 ‘mother’ is composed of the radical 女 nü3 ‘woman’ and the phonetic 马 ma3 ‘horse,’ representing the phonetic part, suggesting the sound of 妈 when the character was created. The semantic–phonetic composition is considered to be the most frequently used principle, estimated to represent more than 90 percent of the characters; moreover, the radial–phonetic
composition is sometimes taught as the general principle underlying Chinese character formation.

The 540 radicals (部首 bu4shou3 ‘class-head’) proposed by Xu Shen, as well as some later modified variations, have become the canonical way to classify characters adopted by traditional Chinese dictionaries. However, whether a group of characters sharing the same radical necessarily has the same basic semantic concept or not has been hotly debated. This hypothesis seems intuitive and works reasonably well with radicals such as 言 yan2 ‘word,’ which heads a group of characters, including 语 yu3 ‘language,’ 论 lun4 ‘argue,’ 讲 jiang3 ‘talk,’ and 请 qing3 ‘invite,’ which are all types of speech acts. However, this generalization is not as obvious for radicals such as 茎 cao3, instantiated as cao3 on top of a character. This radical is supposed to encode the concept ‘(leafy or grass-like) plant,’ such as 兰 lan2 ‘orchid,’ 葱 cong1 ‘green onion,’ or 芥 jie4 ‘mustard green.’ However, among the most frequently used characters with the radical 茎, there are also characters such as 花 hua1 ‘flower,’ 芳 fang1 ‘fragrance, fragrant,’ 落 luo4 ‘fallen, to fall,’ 菜 cai4 ‘vegetable,’ and 药 yao4 ‘medicine’ which do not represent any kind of plant. Nevertheless, these characters are semantically dependent on the meaning of the radicals in different ways: 花 hua1 ‘flower’ and 萌 meng2 ‘sprout, to sprout’ are parts of a plant; 菜 cai4 ‘vegetable’ and 药 yao4 ‘medicine’ are what plants are used for; and 芳 fang1 ‘fragrance, fragrant’ and 落 luo4 ‘fallen, to fall’ are salient states crucial for describing plants. Taking this telic (i.e. function and purpose-driven) view, it can be shown that all the characters in a radical group, at least in their original meaning, are semantically dependent on the basic meaning of the radical.

Another generalization underlining the semantic relevance of the Chinese character writing system is the fact that all disyllabic morphemes are written with two characters with identical radicals. There are more than sixty of these disyllabic morphemes, which are traditionally called 联绵词 lian2mian2ci2 ‘interlinked words.’ Unlike more prevalent patterns of disyllabic words composed of two morphemes, these morphemes contain two non-morpheme syllables which cannot be used alone because they do not have any independent meaning of grammatical function. 蝴蝶 hu2die2 ‘butterfly’ and 葡萄 pu2tao2 ‘grape’ are two of the most common examples of a single syllable not being able to occur independently except when it serves as an abbreviation of the disyllabic morpheme. Such disyllabic morphemes can also be found in the verbal category, such as 勉励 song3yong3 ‘to egg on,’ or in the adjectival category, such as 狡猾 jiao3hua2 ‘cunning.’ Maintaining the semantic dependency between a morpheme and its written form, the Chinese writing system assigns the two component syllables of a disyllabic morpheme the same radicals without exception, as exemplified by all four examples above. An interesting pair of disyllabic morphemes serves to underline the importance of
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semantic dependency in the Chinese character system. It is known that 琵琶 pi2pa2 ‘Pipa, a Chinese stringed lute’ is etymologically related to 桃杷 pi2pa2 ‘loquat,’ not unlike the recent borrowing of the fruit blackberry by the device BlackBerry. Even though these two morphemes remain homophones, they are conventionalized to be represented by different written forms, the instrument with the 琴 qin2 ‘string instrument’ radical (i.e. the top part of both 琵 and 弦) and the fruit with the 木 mu4 ‘wood’ radical (i.e. the left part of both 桃 and 杵). Furthermore, the homophonic syllables are not substitutable, as in using one for the other (e.g. 桃 with 琵 for pi2 or 弦 with 弦 for pa2). The component composition nature of characters as graphs and the semantic primitives as the motivation for the grouping of characters by radicals are the two most foundational facts for the linguistic description of the Chinese writing system.

1.3.3. Simplification of Chinese characters
As mentioned above, the seeming complexity of the Chinese character writing system has prompted attempts during the first half of the twentieth century to replace Chinese characters with different alphabetic systems. These efforts of alphabetizing Chinese did not succeed. A more moderate change of adopting a simplified script in 1965 to promote literacy was more successful. In total, 2,235 characters are simplified, and different strategies have been adopted for simplification. For example, 穀 gu3 ‘grain’ is simplified to 谷 gu3, which is an existing character with the same pronunciation; 書 shu1 ‘book’ is simplified to 书 shu1, a simpler form based on cursive and informal handwriting; 廠 chang3 ‘factory’ became 廠 chang3 after the half-enclosed component 廠 chang3 as well as the dot stroke on top were omitted; and 衛 wei4 ‘guard’ has been replaced by the newly created form 卫. Of the simplified characters, more than 1,700 are derived from the simplification of the radicals these characters share. For example, 言 yan2 ‘word’ as a radical is simplified to 言, so characters such as 語 yu3 ‘language,’ 話 hua4 ‘words,’ and 說 shuo1 ‘speak’ are changed to 语, 话, and 说, respectively.

Currently, places using simplified characters include Mainland China and Singapore, whereas traditional characters are still used in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macau. In countries where Chinese is learned as a foreign language, textbooks with simplified Chinese are increasingly popular, partially because of China’s rise as an economic power. The ongoing debates on the merits of the traditional or simplified character systems not only discuss the linguistic benefits and drawbacks of learning and using simplified characters, but also involve the practical, aesthetic, cultural, and political effects of the two concurrent systems. Nonetheless, it is foreseeable that the two systems will coexist for a long time.
1.3.4. Direction of text and use of punctuation

Traditional Chinese text lines run top down, and the vertical text columns are ordered from right to left. Hence, a page starts from the top-right corner and ends at the bottom-left corner. In addition, punctuation was not used in old Chinese writing and printing; thus, 点书 dian3shu1 (literally, ‘to punctuate a book’) was deemed to be one of the required basic skills in Chinese scholarship. After the vernacular Chinese movement, however, a modified punctuation system combining the 点书 dian3shu1 annotation tradition and Western punctuation was introduced and conventionalized and is commonly used (see Appendix I). However, the full stop (i.e. the Chinese period ‘。’) is used parsimoniously and often does not occur until the end of a topic group or a paragraph, with commas used more freely even at the end of a sentence. This is probably due to the influence of the 点书 dian3shu1 tradition, where full stops mark the natural end when reading a text.

Horizontal texts are widely used now with the influence of Western texts and books. The left-to-right text orientation has become the standard for horizontal text, especially for scientific, translation, or new media texts. However, the vertical text is still commonly used for classical texts. Regions using traditional characters tend to use more vertical texts, while regions adopting simplified characters use predominantly horizontal texts. It should be noted that right-to-left horizontal texts can still be found, especially in traditional signs or banners.
Syntactic overview
Dingxu Shi and Chu-Ren Huang

The description of Chinese grammar in this book is based on the following principles: sentences are composed of parts, which may themselves have parts; sentence parts belong to a limited range of types; and different parts of a sentence have specific roles or functions within the larger parts to which they belong. This description is divided into two major components: morphology and syntax. The former deals with how words are put together, while the latter deals with how words are combined to make phrases, clauses, and then sentences.

2.1. Morphemes, words, and word classes
A morpheme is the smallest unit with meaning. A word is the smallest unit that has independent functions in syntax, while a sentence is the largest syntactic unit. The main constituent of a sentence is a clause, or several coordinated clauses, which represents a proposition and usually appears in the form of a subject–predicate construction. The other constituents in a sentence are final particles, which are attached to the end of the main clause to form a sentence while providing additional and necessary information. A clause can function as part of another clause, namely, as a subordinate clause. The clause that is not contained in any other clause is the main clause. The subject, predicate, and their modifiers are phrases, while the object inside the predicate is also a phrase. A phrase has one or more words as its immediate parts and one of the parts is its head, which determines its syntactic status. For example, a verb phrase has a verb as its head and an adjective phrase has an adjective as its head.

2.1.1. Morphemes
Most native Chinese morphemes are monosyllabic, like those in [1a]. Native disyllabic morphemes, such as those in [1b], are few in number and a large portion of them have either a consonant alliteration, such as 蜘蛛 zhīzhū ‘spider,’ or a vowel rhyme, such as 迷离 mǐlǐ ‘bewildered.’ Some disyllabic morphemes are borrowed from other languages, such as those in [1c]. Multisyllabic morphemes are predominantly loan items, such as those in [1d].
2.1.1. Inflectional morphemes
Inflection does not play a major role in Chinese syntax. The few inflectional morphemes which do play a role include the plural marker -们 men0 that is a suffix to personal pronouns and certain human nouns, aspectual markers -着 zhe0, -了 le0, and -过 guo4 that are suffixes to verbs, and, to a certain extent, infixes like -得 de0 ‘-able’ or its negative form 不 bu4 ‘NEG’ that appear inside a V(erb)-R(esultative) complex word.

2.1.1.2. Derivational morphemes and word formation
Most Chinese morphemes, no matter whether free or bound, or whether content or functional, are active in word formation. The derivation of Chinese words in terms of the status of their component morphemes is discussed in Chapter 3.

2.1.2. Words
A few thousand Chinese lexical items are simple words containing a single morpheme, although many of them are not frequently used any more. Many more Chinese words are compounds consisting of two or more morphemes. One common way to form a compound is by simply juxtaposing the morphemes in a predetermined order, like similar processes in many languages, as discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

Another way is reduplication, a productive lexical process in Chinese that duplicates the entire word or part of it. Reduplication does not typically change the inherent meaning of the root. It mostly targets monosyllabic or disyllabic roots and the output is characteristically in the form of Aa, AaBb, ABab, or AaB, where A represents the first syllable, B the second syllable, and a or b the duplicated syllable.

Monosyllabic roots that undergo reduplication can be verbs, as in [2a], or adjectives, as in [2b]. If a verb represents an action lasting for some time, its reduplicated
form typically stands for a shortened duration that bears some casual or tentative flavor. The 听听 tīng1tīng0 in [2a] is thus more casual than the root 听 tīng1 ‘listen.’ If a verb represents an action that ends instantly, its reduplicated form typically means repeating the action, and it bears some casual flavor as well. The 跳跳 tiao4tiao0 in [2a] thus means to repeat the action of 跳 tiao4 ‘jump’ in a light-hearted way. If a gradable adjective undergoes reduplication, the process will alter the gradation of its meaning and the effect of the change will depend on the new form’s syntactic function. The reduplicated version of 大 da4 ‘big’ means less big but quite cute when it modifies a noun or functions as a predicate, as in 大大的眼睛 da4da4 de0 yan3jing1 ‘lovely biggish eyes’ and 眼睛大大的 yan3jing1 da4da4 de0 ‘eyes are lovely big,’ but it means bigger than normal when it modifies a verb, as in 大大地喝了一口 da4da4 de0he1 le0 yi1 kou3 ‘take a very big sip.’

[2]  a. 听听 tīng1tīng0 ‘listen casually,’ 跳跳 tiao4tiao0 ‘jump repeatedly’
   b. 大大 da4da4 ‘rather big,’ 红红 hong2hong2 ‘reddish’

Not many nouns can undergo reduplication, and many duplicated forms have become fixed expressions with derived meanings. The expression 山山水水 shan1shan1shui3shui3 ‘mountains and rivers’ is predominantly used in its derived meaning of ‘scenery,’ even though it is indeed the duplicated version of 山水 shan1shui3 ‘mountain and river.’

When a disyllabic adjective undergoes reduplication, it usually takes the AaBb or ABab form, while it occasionally takes the AaB form. An adjective consisting of two coordinated morphemes predominately takes the AaBb form in reduplication, as in [3a]. If the first morpheme is the modifier of the second one, then reduplication predominantly takes the ABab form, as in [3b], and sometimes takes the AaB form, as in [3c].

[3]  a. 漂漂亮亮 piao4piao4liang1liang1 ‘beautiful,’ 整整齐齐 zheng3zheng3qi2qi2 ‘orderly’
   b. 雪白雪白 xue3bai2xue3bai2 ‘snow white,’ 滚烫滚烫 gun3tang4gun3tang4 ‘boiling hot’
   c. 通通红 tong1tong1hong2 ‘fire red,’ 冰冰冷凉 bing1bing1liang2 ‘icy cold’

When it undergoes reduplication, a disyllabic verb generally takes the ABab form, as in [4a]. Like its Aa counterpart derived from a monosyllabic root, an ABab verb typically represents a shortened duration of action or a repeated instant action, and thus bears some casual or tentative flavor. Unlike its root or its Aa counterpart, an ABab verb generally takes a definite object; thus, the verbs in [5a] and [5b] cannot change places. Some V–O sequences are built with one or two
bound morphemes and thus behave like ordinary verbs but not verb phrases. Such a verb typically takes the AaB form in reduplication, as in [4b]. There are a small number of AaBb compound verbs, which form a closed class. A few of them have corresponding AB compounds as origin, as in [4c], but many of them seem to be formed through conjunction of reduplicated monosyllabic verbs Aa and Bb, as in [4d].

[4]  
a. 休息休息 xiu1xi0xiu1xi0 ‘rest for a while,’ 讨论讨论 tao3lun4tao3lun4 ‘discuss informally,’ 照顾照顾 zhao4gu0zhao4gu0 ‘give some special treatment, favor’
b. 打打拳 da3da3quan2 ‘play boxing casually,’ 养养神 yang3yang3shen2 ‘cultivate spirit, rest,’ 游游泳 you2you2yong3 ‘swim casually’
c. 蹦蹦跳跳 beng4beng4tiao4tiao4 ‘jump repeatedly,’ 摇摇摆摆 yang3yang3shen2 ‘cultivate spirit, rest,’ 游游泳 you2you2yong3 ‘swim casually’
d. 跌跌撞撞 die1die1huang4huang4 ‘stumble,’ 走走停停 zou3zou3ting2ting2 ‘walk and stop’

[5]  
a. 咱们先讨论一个问题。 zan2men0 xian1 tao3lun4 yi1 ge4 wen4ti2 ‘Let’s discuss the problem first.’
b. 咱们先讨论讨论这个问题。 zan2men0 xian1 tao3lun4tiao3lun4 zhe4 ge4 wen4ti2 ‘Let’s discuss this problem first.’

A third way of constructing a compound is to arrange morphemes according to syntactic relations. All the structural relations found in clauses are also found inside compounds and the overall meaning of such a compound is derived on the basis of that relation. The verbal morpheme in [6a] takes the nominal morpheme as the object and such a V–O compound predominantly has the reading of an intransitive verb. Some V–O compounds such as 读书 du2shu1 ‘attend school’ have obtained a metaphoric interpretation while some others such as 怀疑 huai2yi2 ‘suspect’ have become transitive. The two morphemes in the compounds of [6b] also have a verb–object relationship and could produce a verb reading, but they also have a derived meaning of the person who does the action. The two morphemes in [6c] have a subject–predicate relationship. Most of these compounds represent events or natural phenomena, either as a noun or as a verb, but some
of them have undergone changes to represent something else, such as pampering represented by 心疼 xin1teng2.

[6]  
  a. 怀疑 huai2yi2 ‘hold-doubt, suspect,’ 用功 yong4gong1  
      ‘use-effort, work hard,’ 读书 du2shu1 ‘read-book, attend school’
  b. 司机 si1ji1 ‘control-machine, driver,’ 司令 si1ling4  
      ‘control-order, commander,’ 掌住 zhang3shao2 ‘hold-spoon, chef’
  c. 海啸 hai3xiao4 ‘sea-shout, tsunami,’ 眼红 yan3hong2 ‘eye-red,  
      jealous,’ 心疼 xin1teng2 ‘heart-ache, feel-sorry-for, pamper’

The two morphemes in [7] are in a conjunctive pattern: two nominal morphemes conjoined to form a nominal compound like 人民 ren2min2 ‘people,’ two verbal morphemes conjoined to form a verb like 算计 suan4ji0 ‘to plot against,’ and two adjectival morphemes conjoined to form an adjective like 漂亮 piao4liang0 ‘beautiful.’ The meaning of the compound can be a simple sum of its morpheme components, like that of 攻击 gong1ji1 ‘attack,’ but it can also be metaphorically derived, like that of 江山 jiang1shan1 ‘territory, realm.’

[7]  
  人民 ren2min2 ‘person-person, people,’ 江山 jiang1shan1 ‘river-mountain, territory, realm,’ 攻击 gong1ji1 ‘attack-hit, attack,’  
  漂亮 piao4liang0 ‘beautiful-bright, beautiful,’ 辛苦 xin1ku3  
      ‘spicy-bitter, hard’

The first verb morpheme in [8] represents an action and the second one represents the resulting status brought about by the action, just like in resultative constructions. Such a compound characteristically has the meaning and function of a verb.

[8]  
  推翻 tui1fan1 ‘push-overturn, overthrow,’ 冻僵 dong4jiang1  
      ‘freeze-stiff, frozen stiff,’ 改良 gai3liang2 ‘change-good, improve,’ 说明 shuo1ming2 ‘speak-clear, explain’

The second nominal morpheme in [9] is modified by the first morpheme, as a nominal like 钢梁 gang1liang2 ‘steel-beam,’ an adjectival like 红旗 hong2qi2  
‘red-flag,’ or a verbal like 行人 xing2ren2 ‘pedestrian.’ Such a compound is predominantly a noun. The second verbal morpheme in [10] is modified by the first one, as a verbal like 回顾 hui2gu4 ‘back-look, reflect’ or as a nominal like 席卷 xi2juan3 ‘mat-roll, conquer totally.’ Such compounds are predominantly verbs. The meaning of such compounds can be a sum of its components, like that of 刀劈 dao1pi1 ‘cut with a knife,’ but it can also be derived metaphorically, like that of 席卷 xi2juan3, which means to take control over a large area as if rolling the whole place up like a mat.
Syntactic overview

2.1.3. Word classes

The role of a word is determined by its meaning and the syntactic properties derived from its meaning. Words are therefore categorized according to their meaning: verbs, nouns, numerals, classifiers, adjectives, adverbs, prepositions, coordinators, interjections, sentence-final particles, and onomatopoeia.

2.1.3.1. Verbs

Prototypic verbs represent actions. A verb will appear in its root form or bear an aspect marker if it is the head of a predicate. The root form is the only choice if the verb directly modifies a noun, a verb, or an adjective.
Verbs can be classified according to the number of arguments they take or the situation type they describe. Certain words are classified as verbs even though they do not actually represent actions. One type is copulas such as 是 shi4 ‘be’ and linking verbs such as 属于 shu3yu2 ‘belong to.’ Another type is modal auxiliaries, which can be classified into epistemic modals such as 会 hui4 ‘will’ and 可能 ke3neng2 ‘can’; deontic modals such as 必 bi4 ‘must’ and 可以 ke3yi3 ‘may’; and dynamic modals such as 肯 ken3 ‘be willing’ and 愿意 yuan4yi4 ‘be willing.’

2.1.3.2. Nouns
Nouns represent entities that can be concrete, abstract, or imaginary. Pronouns represent entities indirectly and are treated as a subcategory of nouns.

A noun can function as the head, the complement, or the modifier in a compound. It can also function as the ultimate head of a nominal phrase. The prototypical function of a nominal phrase is to be an argument in a clause. The ultimate head of a nominal phrase can sometimes be a deverbal element like the 检修 jian3xiu1 ‘maintaining’ in [11], which represents an action but has the syntactic properties of a noun. Although 检修 usually takes an argument with a patient role, the patient phrase cannot appear after 检修 as an object in [11] but instead has to appear before it as a modifier.

    gong1cheng2 chu4 mei2you3 jin4xing2 engineering department NEG perform
    she4bei4 de0 jian3xiu1 equipment DE maintaining
    ‘The Engineering Department did not carry out the equipment maintenance.’

Another function of deverbal nouns is to modify nouns in compounds. Arguments of such a deverbal word can no longer function as the subject or the object. Instead, they become the modified like the 工人 gong1ren2 ‘worker’ in [12] or the modifier like the 汽车 qi4che1 ‘car’ in [12].

[12] 汽车修理工人
    qi4che1 xiu1li3 gong1ren2 car repairing worker
    car-repairing worker

2.1.3.3. Numerals and classifiers
Numerals represent the result of counting, while classifiers are the measurement units or the natural division units with which the counting is done.
Numerals and classifiers predominantly appear as components of a nominal phrase with the order of determinative–numeral–classifier–noun, like the one in [13a]. A numeral–classifier sequence occasionally functions as a predicate like the 三十八个 san1shi2ba1 ge4 ‘thirty-eight pieces’ in [13b].

[13]  

a. 我要那两张桌子。
    wo3 yao4 na4 liang3 zhang1 zhuo1zi0
    ‘I want those two CL desk
    ‘I want those two tables.’

b. 三筐南瓜一共三十八个。
    san1 kuang1 nan2gua1 yi1gong4 san1shi2ba1 ge4
    three CL pumpkin altogether thirty_eight CL
    ‘There are altogether thirty-eight pumpkins in these three baskets.’

2.1.3.4. Adjectives

Adjectives predominantly represent properties of entities, including size, shape, color, age, state, hardness, heaviness, dimension, speed, kindness, cruelty, simplicity, complication, and so on.

A major function of most adjectives is to be the head of a predicative phrase, which characteristically consists of an adjective and a degree adverbial, like the 聪明 cong1ming0 ‘smart’ and 很 hen3 ‘very’ in [14a]. An adjective phrase can also be a postverbal descriptive expression, as in [14b].

[14]  

a. 这小女孩很聪明。
    zhe4 xiao3 nü3hai2 hen3 cong1ming0
    this little girl very smart
    ‘This girl was very smart.’

b. 那位老师讲得非常清楚。
    na4 wei4 lao3shi1 jiang3 de0 fei1chang2
    that CL teacher explain DE very
    qing1chu3
    clear
    ‘The teacher provided an explanation that made it very clear.’

Most adjective phrases can function as subjects or objects, as in [15a] and [15b]. Certain adjective phrases can function as adverbials, as in [15c].

[15]  

a. 过分小心就不值得了。
    guo4fen4 xiao3xin1 jiu4 bu4 zhi2de2 le0
    over cautious thus NEG worth LE
    ‘It is not worth it to be overcautious.’
b. 他一直在追求完美。
\[\text{ta1 yi1zhi2 zai4 zhui1qiu2 wan2mei3}\]
'He has been striving for perfection all the time.'

c. 火车慢慢停了下来。
\[\text{huo3che1 man4man4 ting2 le0 xia4lai2}\]
'The train slowly came to a halt.'

An adjective can directly modify a noun as in 小河 xiao3he2 'small river, stream.'
An adjective phrase cannot modify a nominal phrase directly but can do so as part of a relative clause.

### 2.1.3.5. Adverbs

Adverbs describe particular aspects of an action or a state, depicting the degree, scope, frequency, and contextual relations of a predicate or indicating the speaker's stance about a proposition.

An adverb can modify a verb or an adjective in a compound, as in 常备 chang2bei4 'constantly prepare' and 绝妙 jue2miao4 'absolutely wonderful.' An adverb phrase can modify a predicate, as in [16a], or modify a clause, as in [16b]. Although the 居然 ju1ran2 'unbelievably' in [16c] modifies the predicate, it actually represents the speaker's stance on the issue.

[16] a. 我们从来没有深入交谈过。
\[\text{wo3men0 cong2lai2 mei2you3 shen1ru4 jiao1tan2}\]
'we ever NEG deeply communicate GUO'

b. 总之这件事已经结束了。
\[\text{zong3zhi1 zhe4 jian4 shi4 yi3jing1 jie2shu4 le0}\]
'In a nutshell this CL issue already finish LE'

b. 这么一大笔钱居然就不见了。
\[\text{zhe4me0 yi1 da4 bi3 qian2 ju1ran2 jiu4}\]
'so one big CL money unexpectedly thus'

b. 这么一大笔钱居然就不见了。
\[\text{bu4jian4 le0}\]
'disappear LE'

'Unbelievably, such a large sum of money vanished.'
2.1.3.6. Prepositions
A preposition establishes the relationship between its object and the action represented by a verb phrase. The object of a preposition is typically a nominal phrase, as in [17a], but it can also be an adjective phrase or a verb phrase, as shown in [17b]. Some prepositions can take a clause as a complement, and the 跟 gen1 ‘with’ in 跟…没有关系 gen1… mei2you3 guan1xi0 ‘have no relation with’ in [17c] is a typical case.

[17]

a. 他又朝杯子里倒了一些红酒, 灌了下去。
   ta1 you4 chao2 bei1zi0 li3 dao4 le0 yi1xie1
   he again PREP cup inside pour LE some
   hong2jiu3, guan4 le0 xia4qu4.
   red_wine gulp PERF down
   ‘He added some wine to the cup, and gugged it down.’

b. 我们只好从进攻转人防守。
   wo3men0 zhi3hao3 cong2 jin4gong1 zhuan3ru4
   we can_only PREP offense switch_to
   fang2shou3
defense
   ‘We had no choice but to turn from offense to defense.’

c. 我跟公司亏损没有任何关系。
   wo3 gen1 gong1si1 kui1sun3 mei2you3 ren4he2
   I PREP company loss NEG_YOU any
   guan1xi0
   relation
   ‘I had nothing to do with the company’s losing money.’

2.1.3.7. Coordinators and connective adjuncts
Coordinators mark the conjunction of two or more elements but contribute little to the overall meaning of the coordination. Connective adjuncts are mostly adverbs and adjectives that signify the logical relation between clauses, while maintaining certain modifying or predicative functions.

Coordinators that signify conjunctive relations include 和 he2 ‘and,’ 跟 gen1 ‘and,’ 同 tong2 ‘and,’ 与 yu3 ‘and,’ 及 ji2 ‘and,’ 以及 yi3ji2 ‘and’ that conjoin nominal elements. 和 he2 ‘and’ is used in most contexts, 跟 gen1 ‘and’ and 同 tong2 ‘and’ are mainly used in colloquial speech, and 与 yu3 ‘and’ typically appears in formal writing. When two nominal elements are conjoined by 及 ji2 ‘and’ or 以及 yi3ji2 ‘and,’ the one appearing before the coordinator is typically given more
importance than the one after it, as in the case of [18b]. 并 bing4 ‘and,’ 并且 bing4qie3 ‘and,’ and 而且 er2qie3 ‘and’ predominantly mark the conjunction of verbal, adjectival, or clausal elements, as in [19].

[18] a. 老师和学生 lao3shi1he2xue2sheng1 ‘teachers and students,’ 生姜 sheng1jiang1 ‘ginger,’ and 大蒜 sheng1jiang1 ‘garlic,’ 司机和乘客 sit1ji1tong2cheng2ke4 ‘driver and passengers,’ 名词与动词 ming2ci2yu3dong4ci2 ‘nouns and verbs’

b. 美国总统奥巴马及随行记者 mei3guo2 zong3tong3 ao4ba1ma3 ji2 sui2xing2 ‘American president Obama and accompanying reporters’

[19] a. 会议讨论并通过了2010财政预算。 hui4yi1 tao3lun4 bing4 tong1guo4 le0 2010 meeting discuss and pass LE 2010 cai2zheng4 yu4suan4 finance budget ‘The meeting discussed and passed the budget for the 2010 fiscal year.’

b. 消防车早已进入火场, 而且突击队已经找到了火源。 xiao1fang2che1 zao3 yi3 ji4zhe3 tu1ji1dui4 yi3jing1 ‘fire engines have entered the scene of the fire and the commandos have found the source of the fire.’

但 dan4 ‘but’ and 但是 dan4shi4 ‘but’ predominantly conjoin two verbal, adjectival, or clausal elements and indicate an adversative relation, as in [20a]. Although 可 ke3 ‘but’ can be a modal and 可是 ‘but’ can be an adverb, they can also be used as a coordinator to indicate an adversative relation, as in [20b]. 而 er2 ‘and’ is mainly used in formal written genres to represent a distinctive or adversative relation, as in [21].
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[20] a. 我的工作不错，但工资低了一点。

wo3de0 gong1zu04 bu4cuo4 dan4 gong1zi1 di1
my job NEG_bad but salary low
le0 yi1dian3
LE a_bit

‘My job is not too bad, but the pay is a little low.’

b. 这套三居室的房子不大，可是却非常实用。

zhe4 tao4 san1ju1shi4 de0 fang2zi0 bu4 da4
this CL three_bedroom DE apartment NEG big
ke3shi4 que4 fei1chang2 shi2yong4
but yet very practical

‘This three-bedroom apartment is not big, but it's very practical.’

[21] 这种杂交西瓜大而不甜。

zhe4 zhong3 za2jia01 xi1gua1 da4 er2 bu4
tian2 sweet
tian2

‘The hybrid water melon is big but not sweet.’

Coordinators that indicate disjunctive relations include or huo4 ‘or’ and或者 huo4zhe3 ‘or.’ They mark the disjunction of two nominal elements, as in [22a], or two verbal or clausal elements, as in [22b].

[22] a. 这款新车可以用汽油或天然气推动。

zhe4 kuan3 xin1 che1 ke3yi3 yong4 qi4you2 huo4
tian1ran2qi4 tui1dong4
tian2

‘The new car is powered by gasoline or natural gas.’

b. 医药费由保险公司先行支付，或者由肇事者垫付。

yi1yao4fei4 you2 bao3xian3 gong1si1 xian1xing2
medical_bill PREP insurance company in_advance
zhi1fu4 huo4zhe3 you2 zhao4shi4zhe3 dian4fu4
pay or PREP perpetrator pay_in_advance

‘The medical bill should be settled by the insurance company first or be settled by the person who caused the accident.’
Although it is common to use coordinators in conjunctions, it is also quite normal not to use any marker in conjunctive constructions. The three nominal phrases 红烧肉 hong2shao1rou4 'red cooked pork,' 炒鸡蛋 chao3ji1dan3 'scrambled eggs,' and 家酿米酒 jia1niang4mi3jiu3 'home-made rice liquor' in [23] are conjoined together without any markers, as are the two clauses in this compound sentence.

[23] 桌上摆着红烧肉、炒鸡蛋、家酿米酒，散发着诱人的香味。  
zhuo1shang4 bai3 zhe0 hong2shao1rou4  
table_on place ZHE red_cooked_pork  
chao3ji1dan4 jia1niang4mi3jiu3 san4fa1 zhe0  
scrambled_eggs home_made_rice_liquor emit ZHE  
you4ren2 de0 xiang1wei4  
tempting DE smell  
‘On the table lay red cooked pork, scrambled eggs, and home-made rice liquor, and they smelled wonderful.

Connective adjuncts mainly signify the logical relation between clauses in compound sentences and certain types of complex sentences, while they also function as adverbials, modals, or predicates. They typically work in pairs but sometimes half of a pair can represent the same logical relation. There are also some connective adjuncts that usually work alone.

Connective adjuncts are categorized according to the logical relationship they represent. The relationship between two clauses in a compound sentence can be an equal one represented by 既…又…ji4…you4… ‘while…while…,’ as in [24a], a temporal sequence represented by 一…就…y1…jiu4… ‘as soon as…then…,’ a progressive sequence signified by 不仅…而且…bu4jin3…er2qie… ‘not only…but also…,’ or an adversative one indicated by 不仅不…反而…bu4jinbu4…fan3er2… ‘not only not…but on the contrary…,’ as in [24b].

[24] a. 处理事故时，你们既要有原则性，又要有灵活性。  
chu3li3 shi4gu4 shi2 ni3men0 ji4 yao4 you3  
handle accident when you also need have  
yuan2ze2xing4 you4 yao4 you3  
quality_of_sticking_to_principles but_also need have  
ling2huo2xing4  
flexibility  
‘When handling the accident, you should uphold the principles while exercising enough flexibility.’
b. 小偷不仅没有逃走，反而将失主打伤。

{xiao3tou1 bu4jin3 mei2you3 tao2zou3 fan3er2
thief not_only NEG run_away instead
jiang1 shi1zhu3 da3shang1
BA loss_owner beat_hurt

'The thief did not run away but instead beat the victim.'

Other connective adjunct pairs of equal status include 边...边...bian1...bian1...一...一...yi1mian4...yi1mian4...and 一方面...一方面...yi1fang1mian4...yi1fang1mian4...all of which are based on the space metaphor 'on the one side...on the other side,' 起先...后来...qi3xian1...hou4lai4...‘at the beginning,’ 首先...然后...shou3xian1...ran2hou4...‘at first...then...’，接着...然后...jie1zhe...ran2hou4...‘right after...then...’， and 然后...终于...ran2hou4...zhong1yu2...‘then...at last...’， which indicate a temporal sequence; 但不 bu4dan4/不单 bu4dan1/不独 bu4du2/不光 bu4guang1/不只 bu4zhi3...甚至...shen4zhi1/并且...bing4qie3...‘not only...but also...’， which represents a progressive sequence; and 不但...反而...bu2dan4...fan3er2...‘not only...on the contrary...’ and 不但不...反而...bu2dan4bu4...fan3er2...‘not only not...on the contrary...’， which represent an adversative relation.

Connective adjuncts that typically appear alone include 同时 tong2shi2 ‘at the same time,’ 此外 ci3wai4 ‘in addition,’ and 另外 ling4wai4 ‘in addition’ for equal status; 接着 jie2zhe ‘following that,’ 甚至...shen4zhi1/并且...bing4qie1 ‘even,’ and 然后...ran2hou4 ‘afterwards’ for a progressive sequence; and 反之...fan3zhi1 ‘on the contrary,’ 反之...ran2er2 ‘however,’ 然则...ran2ze2 ‘however,’ and 则...ze2 ‘on the other hand’ for adversity.

In disjunctive compound sentences, the logical relation between the clauses can be a pure choice that is marked by pairs like the 是...还是...shi4...hai2shi4 ‘either...or...’ in [25a] or 要么...要么...yao4me0...yao4me0...‘either... or...’ Sometimes the choice is a random one, such as 也许...也罢...ye3hao3...ye3hao3 ‘as well...as well' occurring after the compared items. The choice can also be a preference introduced by pairs, such as 宁愿...也不...ning4yuan4...ye3bu4...‘would rather...but not...’ or pairs like the 与其...还不如...yu3qi2...hai2bu4ru2...‘rather than...would be better...’ in [25b].

[25] a. 咱们是从东京走还是从首尔走?

{zan3men shi4 cong2 dong1jing1 zou3 hai2shi4 cong2
we be via Tokyo go or via
shou3er3 zou3
Seoul go

'Should we go via Tokyo or via Seoul?'
b. 与其在街上闲逛，还不如去打篮球。

yu3qi2 zai4 jie1shang4 xian2guang4 hai2bu4ru2
rather_than be_at street_on wander rather
qu4 da3 lan2qiu2
go play basketball

'It is better to play basketball than to wander aimlessly on the street.'

Other disjunctive marker pairs for choice include the copular 不是…就是…‘either…or…’, or the predicative 也 罢…也罢…ye3ba4…ye3ba4 ‘…as well…as well’ following the choice items. Additional disjunctive modal pairs for preference include 宁肯…也要…ning4ken3…ye3yao4 ‘would rather… but would…’, 宁可…也不…ning4ke3…ye3bu4 ‘would rather… but would not…’ 与其…倒不如…yu3qi2…dao4bu4ru2 ‘rather than… but would be better…’, and 与其…宁可…yu3qi2…ning4ke3 ‘rather than… but would be better…’

The disjunctive relation between clauses can be represented by a single marker as well. In addition to half-pair markers like 还是 hai2shi4 ‘or be,’ 还不如 hai2bu4ru2 ‘or would be better,’ 宁肯 ning4ken3 ‘would rather,’ and 宁可 ning4ke3 ‘would rather,’ disjunctive markers like 抑 yi4 ‘or,’ 抑或 yi4huo4 ‘or,’ and 再不 zai4bu4 ‘otherwise’ can also work alone.

Certain complex sentences are marked with the conjunctive adjunct to indicate the logical relation between the main clause and the subordinate clause. The relation can be that of cause and effect signified by pairs like 因为…所以…yin1wei2…suo2yi3 ‘because…therefore…’ in [26a] or 由于…于是… you2yu2…yu2shi4 ‘for the reason that… as a consequence…’ It can also be that of an induction marked by 既然…也就…ji4ran2…ye3jiu4 ‘given that… therefore…’ in [26b].

[26]  a. 因为旅客人数众多，所以铁路局加开了两趟列车。

yin1wei4 lü3ke4 ren2shu4 zhong4duo1
because passenger number_of_people many
suo3yi3 tie3lu4ju2 jia1kai1 le0 liang3 tang4
so Railroad_bureau add LE two CL
lie4che1
train

'Because there were too many passengers, the Railroad Bureau added two trains.'

b. 既然嘉宾们都来了，宴会也就提前开始。

ji4ran2 jia1bin1men0 dou1 lai2 le0 yan4hui4
since honored_guests all come LE banquet
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ye3jiu4 ti2qian2 kai1shi3
therefore in_advance start
‘Since all the guests had come, the banquet started earlier.’

Other connective adjunct pairs marking a cause–effect relation are more formal in style and include 所以...在于...suo2yi3...zai4yu2...‘(the reason) why...is caused by...’ and 之所以...是因为...zh1isuo2yi3...shi4yu1wei4...‘(the reason) why...it is because...’. Other adjunct pairs marking an induction include 既然...于是/则/那就...ji4ran2...yu2shi4/ze2/na4jiu4/na4me...‘given that...therefore...’. The cause–effect relation can be marked by half of a pair, either the half indicating the cause, such as 由于 you2yu2 ‘because’ and 因为 yin1wei4 ‘because,’ or the half marking the effect, such as 于是 yu2shi4 ‘therefore,’ 那么 na4me0 ‘therefore,’ and 那就 na4jiu4 ‘therefore.’ There are also some cause–effect adjuncts that work alone, such as 以致 yi3zhi4 ‘leading to,’ 以至于 yi3zhi4yu2 ‘leading to,’ and 从而 cong2er2 ‘therefore.’

Connective adjuncts are also used in conditional sentences. Such a sentence could include a simple consequence marked by 如果...就...ru2guo3...jiu4...‘if...then...’ or 要不是...那么...yao4bu4shi4...na4me0...‘if not...then (not)...’, such as those in [27a] and [27b]. The condition set out in the subordinate clause can also be a counterfactual one, as in the case of [27c].

[27] a. 如果发生八级以上地震, 大桥就会倒塌。
ru2guo3 fa1sheng1 ba1ji2 yi3shang4
if happen eight_magnitude above
di4zhen4 da4qiao1 jiu4hui4 dao3ta1
earthquake big_bridge then collapse
‘If there is an earthquake measured at magnitude 8 or above, the bridge will collapse.’

b. 要不是急着用钱, 那么谁也不会现在卖。
yao4bu4shi4 ji2 zhe0 yong4qian2 na4me0 shui2
if_not urgent ZHE use_money then who
ye3bu4hui4 xian4zai4 mai4
would_not now sell
‘If not in urgent need of cash, no one would sell (it) now.’

c. 要是我早点知道真相, 就不会把钱投进去了。
yao4shi4 wo3 zao3dian3 zhi1da04 zhen1xiang4 jiu4
if I earlier know truth then
bu4 hui4 ba3 qian2 tou2 jin4qu4 le0
NEG will BA money invest into LE

’Had I learned the truth earlier, I would not have invested any money in it.’

Other connective adjunct pairs indicating a condition and its consequence include 假 如假 使/假 若/如/若/倘若/若那/么/就/则/便/也/jia3ru2/jia2shi3/jia3ruo4/ru2/ruo4/tang3ruo4/na4me/jiu4/ye3/’if/then...’ 要 不 是/就/也/yao4bu2shi4/jiu4/ye3/’if not/then...’ 和 若 不 是/那...ruo4bu4shi4...na4...’if not/then...’ Some adjuncts indicating the condition can work alone, such as 假 如/假 使/假 若/如/若/倘若 jia3ru2/jia2shi3/jia3ruo4/ru2/ruo4/tang3ruo4 ’if’ and 要 不 是/yao4bu2shi4/ruo4bu2shi4 ’if not.’

If a conditional sentence is marked with the pair 只 有...才...zhi2you3...cai2...’only if...then...’ as in [28a], the subordinate clause will represent a necessary condition. If the conditional sentence is marked with the pair 只...就...zhi3yao4...jiu4...’as long as...then...’ as in [28b], the subordinate clause will represent a sufficient condition. The subordinate clause can also represent an exhaustive condition, and a common marker pair for such a sentence is 无...都...wu2lun4...dou1...’no matter...all...’ as in [28c].

[28] a. 只有赶快跳车，她才不会被烧死。
   zhi3you3 gan3kua1 tiao4che1 ta1 cai2
   only_if hastily jump_from_the_car she then
   bu4 hui4 bei4 shao1si3
   NEG will BEI burn_to_death
   ’She will not be burned to death unless she jumps out of the car.’

b. 只要有姓名地址，我们就可以找到她的电话号码。
   zhi3yao4 you3 xing4ming2 di4zhi3 wo3men0 jiu4
   as_long_as have name address we then
   ke3yi3 zha03dao4 ta3 de0 dian4hua4 hao4ma3
   can find she DE telephone number
   ’As long as her address and name are known, we will be able to find her phone number.’

c. 无论是否下雨，你们都必须准时到达集合地点。
   wu2lun4 shi4fou3 xia4yu3 ni3men0 dou1
   no_matter whether_or_not rain you all
   bi4xu1 zhun3shi2 dao4da2 ji2he2 dian4dian3
   must on_time arrive gather place
   ’You should arrive at the gathering point on time no matter whether it rains or not.’
Other connective adjunct pairs that mark a necessary conditional sentence include `才...才...` `if only...then...`, `除非...才...` `unless...then...`, `除非...否则...` `unless...would not...`. Those marking a sufficient conditional sentence include `只要...就...` `as long as...all/then...`, `一旦/一经...就/便...` `once...then...`, and `一旦/一经...就/便...` `as long as...all...`.

The subordinate clause can state the purpose of the action stated in the main clause. Such a complex sentence is commonly marked with `为了...就...` `in order to...then...`, as in [29a]. In some cases, only the purpose clause is marked with an adjunct, such as `为了...就...` `in order to...then...`, `为了...就...` `in order to...then...`, and the以便 `yi3bian4` `in order to` in [29b]. The marker 还 `yi3mian3` `in order to avoid` in [29c] marks a purpose clause describing a situation to be avoided. Markers with a similar function include `免得` `mian3de0` `in order to avoid` and 省得 `sheng3de0` `saving the trouble of`.

[29] a. 为了省钱, 小两口就决定自己安装橱柜。

```
wei4le0 sheng3qian2 xiao3liang3kou3 jiu4
in_order_to save_money the_young_couple
jue2ding4 zi4ji3 an1zhuang1 chu2gui4
decide self install cupboard
'The young couple decided to install the cupboard themselves in order in order to save money.'
```

b. 她在墙上贴满了英语单词, 以便随时复习。

```
ta1 zai4 qiang2shang4 tie1man3 le0 ying1yu3
she at wall_on cover_with LE English
dan1ci2 yibian4 sui2shi2 fu4xi2
word in_order_to at_any_time review
'She covered the wall with English words, in order to review them at any time.'
```

c. 请勿大声交谈, 以免妨碍其他读者。

```
qing3 wu4 da4sheng1 jiao1tan2 yi3mian3 fang2ai4
please do_not loud speak lest disturb
```

qi2ta1 du2zhe3
other reader

‘Please don’t speak loudly, in order to avoid disturbing other readers.’

The subordinate clause in a complex sentence can express a concession, as in the case of [30]. The connective adjunct pairs used in concession sentences include 即使...也...‘even if...would still...’，尽管...也...‘even though...would still...’, and 即 / 即令 / 即或 /即使 / 纵 / 纵然...也 / 仍然...‘even if...still...’. which appear mainly in written genres, as well as 只要 / 哪怕...也...‘even if...still...’, which typically appears in spoken genres.

[30] 即使公司去年亏损了, 上市计划也仍然不变。
     ji2shi3 gong1si1 qu4nian2 kui1sun3 le0
even_though company last_year in_deficit LE
     shang4shi4 ji4hua4 ye2 reng2ran2 bu2bian4
be_on_the_market plan still still unchanged
     ‘Even if the company was in the red last year, the plan to go public remains unchanged.’

Several compound and complex sentences may sometimes be combined to form a complicated logical relation, and connective adjuncts are essential in these cases. In the complicated long sentence in [31], clause [a] represents a concession and the others form the main clause. Within the main clause, [b] states a sufficient condition, while [c] and [d] form the main clause. In this smaller main clause, [c] is a concession clause and [d] is the main clause.

[31] (a) 尽管他现在无法拿到营业执照,
     jin4guan3 ta1 xian4zai4 wu2fa3 na2dao4
even_though he now cannot obtain
     ying2ye4 zhi2zhao4
business license
(b) 但只要允许他开业,
     dan4 zhi3ya4 yun3xu3 ta1 kai1ye4
but as_long_as allow he start_the_business
(c) 即使一开始赚不到钱,
     ji2shi3 yi1kai1shi3 zhuan4bu4dao4 qian2
even_though at_the_beginning earn_not money
2.1.3.8. Interjections

Interjections predominantly occur alone and do not combine with other words to form syntactic constructions. They have expressive rather than propositional meanings in that they are used as exclamations or as supplements to express certain emotions but they do not convey concrete ideas.

The actual form and use of interjections is usually affected by the speaker’s dialect background and the number of interjections varies from speaker to speaker. The interjections commonly used by most people and those often appearing in literature works include 哈哈haha, 嘿嘿heihet, and 呵呵hehe, which are onomatopoeia derived from laughter resulting from happiness or excitement; 唉ai, 咳hai, and 嘿hai, which imitate sounds of sighing and represent sadness or regret; 哎yi, 哎呀aiya, 哎哟aiyo, 呀ya, and 呀a, which are common sounds for surprise; 呵heng, which is a nasal sound indicating an unsatisfactory or unhappy sentiment; 唧pei, which is a spitting sound to show disdain; 哦e, 嗯en, and 唔wu, which are sounds for consent; 敖ei, which is the sound of a reply; and 喂wei, which is commonly used for getting other people’s attention.

2.1.3.9. Sentence-final particles

Sentence-final particles predominantly appear at the end of a main clause, although a few of them can appear at the end of certain subordinate clauses. Particles of the latter type typically have rather vague meanings but very clear propositional functions. If such a particle is attached to a clause, either main or subordinate, the proposition of the clause will be combined with the particle to create a new proposition. When a particle 了le0 ‘LE,’ which is commonly known as 了2, is added to [32a] to create [32b], the original proposition is preserved but the combination represents a different one. [32a] is a simple statement that Anson Chan is not the Chief Secretary and the proposition is true if she does not hold that position. [32b] states that the fact becomes reality at the time of reference and the proposition is true if Anson Chan had been the Chief Secretary at a certain point before the time of reference but lost her job after that. Similarly, [33] is true if the speaker used to be poor but received some money before the time of reference 现在 xian4zai4 ‘now.’
a. 陈方安生不是政务司司长。
chen2fang1an1sheng1 bu4 shi4 zheng4wu4si1
Anson_Chan NEG be Administration
si1zhang3
Chief_Secretary
‘Anson Chan is not the Chief Secretary for Administration.’

b. 陈方安生不是政务司司长了。
chen2fang1an1sheng1 bu4 shi4 zheng4wu4si1
Anson_Chan NEG be Administration
si1zhang3 le0
Chief_Secretary LE
‘Anson Chan is no longer the Chief Secretary for Administration.’

[33] 我现在有钱了。
wo3 xian4zai4 you3 qian2 le0
‘I am now in the status of being rich.’

The syntactic function of 兰2 resembles that of 兰1, since the latter is attached to a verb to indicate the completion of an action at the time of reference, while the former is attached to a clause to indicate the realization of the state of a proposition. Another particle with similar functions is 来着 laizhe, which is found in some northern dialects. When 来着 laizhe is attached to a clause, as in [34], it indicates that the event described in the clause is in a continuous state at some time right before the time of speech.

[34] 我们在操场打篮球来着。
wo3men0 zai4 cao1chang3 da3 lan2qiu2 laizhe
‘We were playing basketball at the court just now.’

Most particles belong to the other type, which attaches to the main clause only and represents the speaker’s attitude or his intentions to express some non-propositional meaning. The clause in [35a] can stand alone as a sentence to represent a simple statement, but it becomes a question when the sentence-final particle 吧 ba is attached to it. The most likely interpretation of question [35b] is a biased yes–no question in that the speaker is seeking verification for his guess that the man in question is the new president. Such a reading comes from both the proposition of the clause and the meaning of 吧 ba, which represents the speaker’s hesitation or uncertainty about the fact and his intention to get confirmation of
his conjecture. The tentative nature of \textit{ba} also enables it to alter the interpretation of an imperative. The directive in [36a] is a strong command, but the one in [36b] is a soft request or even a plea. The change in meaning is brought about by the particle \textit{ba}, which is sometimes written as \textit{ba} in non-interrogative usage.

[35] a. 他是我们的新校长。
\texttt{ta1 shi4 wo3men0 de0 xin1 xiao4zhang3}
\texttt{he be we DE new president}
‘He is our new President.’

b. 他是我们的新校长吧？
\texttt{ta1 shi4 wo3men0 de0 xin1 xiao4zhang3 ba0}
\texttt{he be we DE new president BA}
‘Is he our new President?’

[36] a. 回来！
\texttt{hui2lai2}
\texttt{come\_back}
Come back!

b. 回来吧！
\texttt{hui2lai2 ba0}
\texttt{come\_back BA}
Come back, please!

\textit{ma} is another particle that is attached to a main clause to create a yes–no question. Sentences [37a] and [37b] have the same propositional content but differ in their illocutionary force, namely, they convey the speaker’s different attitudes and they impact the world in different ways. The proposition is asserted in [37a] but it is questioned in [37b].

[37] a. 他已经考上了清华大学。
\texttt{ta1 yi3jing1 kao3shang4 le0 qing1hua2da4xue2}
\texttt{he already be\_admitted LE Tsinghua\_University}
‘He has been admitted by Tsinghua University.’

b. 他已经考上了清华大学吗？
\texttt{ta1 yi3jing1 kao3shang4 le0 qing1hua2da4xue2}
\texttt{he already be\_admitted LE Tsinghua\_University}
\texttt{ma0}
\texttt{MA}
‘Has he been admitted by Tsinghua University?’
The particle 喂 ne adds a different kind of illocutionary force to a main clause. Both [38a] and [38b] are variable questions about what tea the listener would like to drink. The main difference between the two is that [38a] is a straightforward question asking for an answer and [38b] is a polite query. The particle 喂 represents the speaker’s curiosity about the fact and his gentle request for an explanation. Such a gentle nature enables 喂 to soften the tone of alternative questions as well. [38c] is a request for a direct answer, while [38d], with a 喂 at the end, is either a sheepish appeal for information or an expository question that directs the listeners to the answer the speaker is going to provide.

[38] a. 您老要喝点什么茶?
    nin2 lao3 yao4 he1 dian3 shen2 me0 cha 2
    'What tea do you want your honor?'

b. 您老要喝点什么茶呢?
    nin2 lao3 yao4 he1 dian3 shen2 me0 cha 2 ne0
    'What tea do you want your honor?'

c. 咱们明天去不去长城?
    zan2 men0 ming2 tian1 qu4 bu4 qu4 chang2 cheng2
    'Are we going to the Great Wall tomorrow?'

d. 咱们明天去不去长城呢?
    zan2 men0 ming2 tian1 qu4 bu4 qu4 chang2 cheng2
    ne0
    'Are we going to the Great Wall tomorrow?'

The gentle request for an explanation enables 喂 to play another role. When a 喂 is attached to a single nominal phrase like the 你爸爸 ni3 ba4 ba0 'your father' in [39a], the combination will become a question, either a variable one or an alternative one. Depending on the context, [39a] can be interpreted as an inquiry about any variable, such as where, how, when, or why, as long as it is related to the father. The combination can also be interpreted as an alternative question, asking whether 你爸爸 ni3 ba4 ba0 'your father' will do certain things mentioned in the discourse. Similarly, a combination like [39b] asks whether people will do
the same thing in the afternoon and so on, or what people will do in the afternoon and so on, depending on the context.

[39]  
a. 你爸爸呢?  
ni3 ba4 ba0 ne0  
you father NE  
‘Where is your father? / How about . . . / What happened to . . . ’

b. 下午呢?  
xia4 wu3 ne0  
afternoon NE  
‘How about this afternoon? / What will happen . . . ’

The gentle request for an explanation gives 呢 an extended role. The two sentences in [40] have the same propositional content but different illocutionary force, since [40b] has a 呢 attached. [40a] is a statement about the fact, while [40b] is a gentle plea or protest, with which the speaker is asking for an explanation for being required to do something without having dinner first.

[40]  
a. 我还没吃饭。  
wo3 hai2 mei2 chi1 wan3 fan4  
I still NEG eat dinner  
‘I have not had dinner.’

b. 我还没吃饭呢!  
wo3 hai2 mei2 chi1 wan3 fan4 ne0  
I still NEG eat dinner NE  
‘I have not had my dinner yet!’

Another particle in this group is 啊 a, or its variations 呀 ya and 哇 wa. 啊 a alters the illocutionary force of sentences in a subtle way by representing the speaker's surprise or astonishment. [41a] and [41b] have the same propositional content but the former is a simple statement, while the latter expresses the speaker’s surprise. [41b] is uttered when the speaker does not recognize a person at first and then realizes the person is an old friend, or when the speaker has tried hard to figure out who the culprit is and finally realizes that it is the listener. Similarly, [41d] has the same propositional content as [41c] does, but the final particle 啊 has a different illocutionary force. One of the possible scenarios in [41d] is that the listener wants to throw away some old jewelry without knowing the real value and the speaker is shocked by such ignorance. [41d] is a mild reprimand in this case.
a. 是你。
   shi4  ni3
   be  you
   'It is you.'

b. 是你啊!
   shi4  ni3  a0
   be  you  A
   'It turns out to be you!'

c. 这是我们的传家宝。
   zhe4  shi4  wo3men0  de0  chuan2jia1bao3
   this  be  we  DE  family_heirloom
   'This is our family heirloom.'

d. 这是咱们的传家宝啊!
   zhe4  shi4  zan2men0  de0  chuan2jia1bao3  a0
   this  be  we  DE  family_heirloom  A
   '(How come you don’t know) this is our family heirloom!'

啊 could also be added to an interrogative sentence. [42a] is an echo question uttered when the speaker is not sure whether he heard something right and [42b] is asking about the same thing. However, with 啊 at the end, [42b] actually functions as a soft protest against the listener, because he did not keep his word or did not live up to certain expectations. 啊 plays a similar role in turning a straightforward variable question in [42c] into a soft request for information in [42d]. One of the possible scenarios for uttering [42d] is that someone had been talking about all the details of a march but had ignored the most important issue of the leader of the march, and the speaker found it surprisingly strange and tried to get an answer.

a. 你明天不去?
   ni3  ming2tian1  bu4  qu4
   you tomorrow  NEG  go
   'Won’t you go tomorrow?'

b. 你明天不去啊?
   ni3  ming2tian1  bu4  qu4  a0
   you tomorrow  NEG  go  A
   'Is it true that you won’t go tomorrow?'
c. 谁领头？
   shui2 ling3tou2
   ‘Who will lead the march?’

d. 谁领头啊?
   shui2 ling3tou2 a0
   ‘Come on, who will lead the march?’

Particles 吧 ba, 呢 ma, 呢 ne, and 啊 a are found at the end of various questions, even though only 呢 ma actually carries interrogative force, while 吧 ba partially carries that force. Particles 呢 bei, 呢 yo and 呢 ma on the other hand, are not found at the end of interrogative sentences. 呢 typically appears at the end of a main clause in a conditional sentence, to represent the speaker’s not-a-big-deal attitude toward the consequence indicated by the main clause. The most likely scenario for [43a] is that the listener is worried about the consequence of 他 ta1 ‘he’ going to some place and the speaker uses 呢 bei to indicate that it is not a big deal. Similarly, the speaker in [43b] uses 呢 bei to suggest that even running out of money is not the end of the world and that begging is an acceptable solution.

[43] a. 他要去就去呗!
   ta1 yao4 qu4 jiu4 qu4 bei0
   ‘Let him go if he wants to go!’

b. 没钱了, 咱们就要饭呗。
   mei2 qian2 le0 zan2men0 jiu4 yao4fan4 bei0
   ‘Let’s go begging if we run out of money.’

喲 yo is sometimes written as 唉. When a speaker uses 喲 at the end of a sentence, he is calling the listener’s attention to the proposition conveyed by the main clause. What is being implied by 喲 is that if the listener does not pay enough attention to the issue in question, he will regret it afterward. The implied meaning of [44a] is that the listener should not think lightly about such a big sum of money and [44b] implies that this is an opportunity not to be missed.

[44] a. 这可是一百万喲!
   zhe4 ke3 shi4 yi1bai3wan4 yo0
   ‘This is one million dollars!’
b. 多好的机会哟!

duo1 hao4 de0 ji1hui4 yo0
so good DE opportunity YO
‘What a golden opportunity!’

嘛 ma is another particle without propositional meaning and it has a variation of me which is sometimes written as 么 or 嘛. 嘛 represents the speaker’s gentle protest against the listener’s ignorance, because it is so obvious that the listener should have known it. [45a] is a mild imperative in which the speaker uses an obvious logic, which the speaker thinks the listener should have known, to encourage the listener. [45b] is a mild reprimand in which the speaker tells the listener that she should have listened to his advice that there was not enough time.

[45] a. 不会不要紧, 边干边学嘛。
bu4 hui4 bu4 yao4jin3 bian1gan4bian1xue2 ma0
NEG know NEG matter learn_by_doing MA
‘It doesn’t matter if you don’t know how to do it. Don’t you know the motto learning by doing?’

b. 我说来不及嘛。
wo3 shuo1 lai2bu4ji2 ma0
I say not_in_time MA
‘I have said there is not enough time.’

It is common for a particle with propositional content to co-occur with one without propositional content, with the former coming before the latter. The basic proposition of sentence [46] is that all the students have come back. The particle 了 le indicates that the proposition has become true before the time of reference, while the other particle 嘛 ma renders the sentence a yes–no question.

[46] 同学们都回到学校了吗?
tong2xue2men0 dou1 hui2dao4 xue2xiao4 le0 ma0
classmates all return_to school LE MA
‘Is it true that all the classmates have come back to school?’

When two sentence-final particles appear next to each other, they can retain their identity but they can also be merged phonologically to form a single particle. The sentence-final particle 哪 na in [47] is a contracted form of 呢 ne and 啊 a, which retains the functions of both particles. 哪 therefore indicates the speaker’s gentle request for an explanation and shows his astonishment. A likely scenario for asking this question is that a son has disobeyed his father so many times that the desperate old man is showing his frustration.
Sentence-final particles are used mainly in spoken genres and are seldom found in serious written genres such as government documents, laws, or diplomatic correspondences. The sentence-final particles discussed here are common in most dialects and are found in Putonghua. Most dialects have their own unique particles that are usually not shared by other dialects, such as 唠sa in the Xiang dialect and 嘎bo in Cantonese.

2.1.3.10. Onomatopoeia

An onomatopoeia is a morpheme that represents sound. Such a morpheme can stand alone as a word. It can also form a compound by reduplication or in combination with other morphemes. Words formed with onomatopoeia typically function as members of a clause and sometimes stand alone as a sentence. The written form of an onomatopoeia typically consists of characters chosen for their pronunciation but not for their meaning.

The 哚嚓kacha in [48a] is an independent clause, presenting a proposition that some cracking noise came out of nowhere and the following clause spells out the reason for the noise. The 扑哧puchi in [48b] is the sound of laughter and is an appositive of the nominal phrase 一声yi1sheng1 ‘(one) noise.’ The 嘀嘀咕咕didigugu in [48c] is an AaBb duplicated form of 嘀咕digu and functions as the main verb.

[47] 你还认不认我这个爹哪?
ni3 hai2 ren4 bu4 ren4 wo3 zhe4 ge4 die1
you yet admit NEG admit I this CL father
na0
NA
‘Do you still consider me your father or not?’

[48] a. 哼嚓, 屋梁经受不住积雪的重量断裂了。
ka1cha1 wu1liang2 jing1shou4bu4zhu4 ji1xue3 de0
KACHA beam cannot_stand snow DE
zhong4liang4 duan4lie4 le0
weight snap LE
‘Kacha, the beam snapped under the weight of the snow.’

b. 他女朋友扑哧一声笑了。
ta1 nü3peng2you3 pu1chi1 yi1 sheng1 xiao4 le0
he girlfriend PUCHI one sound laugh LE
‘His girlfriend burst into laughter with a puchi sound.’
2.2. Phrases, clauses, and sentences

2.2.1. Phrases

Phrases are constructed according to syntactic principles, namely, words inside a phrase are arranged according to a set of rules governing their combination. Phrases are commonly classified according to their head.

A verb phrase is headed by a verb, which may stand alone without any other dependent element, as in [49a], or take a nominal phrase as the object, as in [49b]. Some verbs can take a direct object and an indirect object at the same time, as in [49c], and the indirect object can appear in a preposition phrase after the direct object, as in [49d]. More details on verbs and verb phrases are discussed in Chapter 4.

[49]  a. 走!
zou3
go
‘Go!’

b. 吃药。
chi1 yao4
eat medication
‘Take (my/your/his . . . ) medication.’

c. 送你一支玫瑰花。
song4 ni3 yi1 zhi1 mei2gui1hua1
give you one CL rose
‘Give you a rose.’

d. 送一束玫瑰花给我女朋友。
song4 yi1 shu4 mei2gui1hua1 gei3 wo3
give one CL rose PREP I
nü3peng2you3
girlfriend
‘Give a rose to my girlfriend.’
An adjective phrase is headed by an adjective, which can appear in bare form without any dependent elements. The bare form can be a simple adjective like the 聪明 cong1ming0 'smart' in [50a], a coordinated one like the 活泼可爱 huo2po1ke3ai4 'lively and lovely' in [50b], a reduplicated one like the 漂漂亮亮 piao4-piao4liang1liang1 'beautiful' in [50c], and a suffixed one like the 酸溜溜 suan1liu1liu1 'sour, sarcastic' in [50d]. It can also be an A-A compound where the second adjective represents the extent of the first one, like the 烫极 tang4 ji2 ‘hot in the extreme’ in [50e]. Adjectives with duplicated suffixes and reduplicated adjectives can function as predicates only when they take the phrasal suffix -的 de, as in [50c] and [50d]. More details on adjectives and adjective phrases are discussed in Chapter 10.

[50] a. 聪明!
cong1ming0
smart
'(He is) smart!'

b. 活泼可爱!
huo2po1 ke3ai4
lively lovely
'(She is) lively and lovely!'

c. (小女孩打扮得)漂漂亮亮的。
xiao3 nü3hai2 da3ban4 de0 piao4-piao4liang1liang1
little girl dressed DE beautiful
de0
DE
(The little girl dressed in such a way that she looked) beautiful.

d. (你这话怎么)酸溜溜的?
ni3 zhe4 hua4 zen3me0 suan1liu1liu1 de0
you this words how sarcastic DE
'(How come you sound) sarcastic?'

e. 烫极了。
tang4 ji2 le0
hot extreme LE
'(It is) hot in the extreme.'

A nominal phrase has a noun as the head. In actual use, a nominal phrase can appear in the shape of a bare noun phrase, as in [51a], a numeral–classifier phrase, as in [51b], or a determiner phrase, as in [51c]. These phrases can be modified by a
phrase marked with 的 de, as in [52a], [52b], and [52c]. Details on nouns and noun phrases are provided in Chapter 8.

[51] a. (我买)报纸杂志。
   wo3 mai3 bao4zhi3 za2zhi4
   I buy newspaper magazine
   ‘(I buy) newspaper(s) and magazines.’

   b. (我买)一份报纸。
      wo3 mai3 yi1 fen4 bao4zhi3
      I buy one CL newspaper
      ‘(I buy) a newspaper.’

   c. (我买)那一份报纸。
      wo3 mai3 na4 yi1 fen4 bao4zhi3
      I buy that one CL newspaper
      ‘(I buy) that newspaper.’

[52] a. (我买)刚来的报纸。
   wo3 mai3 gang1 lai2 de0 bao4zhi3
   I buy just come DE newspaper
   ‘(I buy) newspaper(s) that has just arrived.’

   b. (我买)那刚来的一份报纸。
      wo3 mai3 gang1 lai2 de0 yi1 fen4 bao4zhi3
      I buy just come DE one CL newspaper
      ‘(I buy) the newspaper that has just arrived.’

   c. (我买)刚来的那一份报纸。
      wo3 mai3 gang1 lai2 de0 na4 yi1 fen4 bao4zhi3
      I buy just come DE that one CL newspaper
      ‘(I buy) the newspaper that has just arrived.’

A preposition phrase is headed by a preposition, which takes a nominal phrase as its object. The predominant function of a preposition phrase is to be an adverbial modifying a verb phrase, as in [53a] or an adjective phrase, as in [53b]. Preposition phrases can be stacked to modify the same verb phrase, as in [53c]. Chapter 13 discusses prepositions and preposition phrases in detail.
An adverb phrase predominantly consists of just an adverb like the 刚 gang1 ‘a short while ago’ in [54a]. Adverb phrases can be stacked to modify the same verb phrase like the 的确 di2que4 ‘indeed,’ 曾经 ceng2jing1 ‘once,’ and 非常 fei1chang2 ‘very much’ in [54b]. See Chapter 12 for more details on adverb phrases.

2.2.2. Clauses and sentences
The main components of a clause are a subject and a predicate. Although the subject is typically a nominal phrase, as in [55a], it can at times be a verb phrase or an adjective phrase, as in [55b] and [55c]. When there is a clear context to recover its identity, the subject can be left empty, as in the second clause of [55a]. Although
the predicate is typically a verb phrase, it can be an adjective phrase as well, as in [55c].

[55]  a. 長做了次別出心裁的演講, 引來了媒體的關注。
   xiao4zhang3 zuo4 le0 ci4 bie2chu1xin1cai2 de0
   president make LE CL extraordinary DE
   yan3jiang3 yin3 lai2 le0 mei2ti3 de0 guan1zhu4
   speech attract come LE media DE attention
   'The president delivered an unusual speech. It attracted the attention
   of the media.'

b. 貪污受賄又不是死罪。
   tan1wu1shou4hui4 you4 bu4 shi4 si3zui4
   embezzle_take_bribery again NEG be capital_offense
   'It is not a capital offense to offer or to take bribes.'

c. 簡單朴素好。
   jian3dan1 pu3su4 hao3
   simple plain good
   'It is better to be simple and plain.'

There can be peripheral components in a clause, such as the clausal adverbial
這些天 zhe4xie1tian1 ‘these days’ in [56a] and the connective adjunctive adverbials
幸亏 xing4kui1 ‘fortunately' and 不然 bu4ran2 ‘otherwise’ in [56b].

[56]  a. 這些天給你添了许多麻煩, 謝謝啦。
   zhe4xie1 tian1 gei3 ni3 tian1 le0 xu3duo1 ma2fan0
   these day give you add LE many trouble
   xie4xie4 la0
   thank LA
   'These days (we) troubled you a lot. Thank you very much.'

b. 幸亏提前做了準備, 不然真的就會一敗塗地了。
   xing4kui1 ti2qian2 zuo4 le0 zhun3bei4 bu4ran2
   fortunately in_advance make LE preparation otherwise
   zhen1de0 jiu4 hui4 yi1bai4tu2di4 le0
   really thus will lose_totally LE
   'Fortunately you made the arrangement ahead of time.
   Otherwise you would have had a total loss.'

The predominant constituent order in a clause is for the predicate to follow the
subject, while the default linear order for the object is to appear after the verb, in
the sense that there are fewer constraints for it to occur in that position. There are, however, a number of ways for these constituents to have a different order. The 银行卡 yin2hang2 ka3 ‘ATM card’ in [57a] represents the patient affected by the action 丢 diu1 ‘losing’ and its default position is after the verb. It is now in a preverbal position marked by 把 ba, which signifies the relation between the verb and the nominal phrase. The nominal phrase 这事 zhe4shi4 ‘this issue’ in [57b] represents the entity being 计议 ji4yi4 ‘discussed,’ and it is in the topic position while the object position is left empty.

[57]  

a. 福林又把银行卡丢了, 烦不烦啊?
   fu2lin2   you4   ba3   yin2hang2   ka3   diu1   le0   fan2
   Fulin again BA bank card lose LE trouble
   bu4   fan2   a0
   NEG trouble A
   ‘Fulin lost the ATM card again. Isn’t it troublesome?’

b. 这事咱们还得从长计议。
   zhe4   shi4   zan2men0   hai2   dei3
   this thing we yet need
   cong2chang2ji4yi4
   make_a_long_term_plan
   ‘About this issue, we have to consider a long-term plan.’

Other elements in a clause may occasionally appear in some atypical positions, especially in casual speech. The 您 nin2 ‘you’ in [58a] is the agent of the action 吃 chi1 ‘eat’ and typically occupies the subject position. In this common greeting cliché, it occurs after the predicate in the form of an afterthought. The 昨天 zuo2tian1 ‘yesterday’ in [58b] represents the time of 惹你生气 re3 ni3 sheng1qi4 ‘annoying you,’ but it occurs after the predicate as a supplemental afterthought.

[58]  

a. 吃了没? 您呐?
   chi1   le0   mei2   nin2   na0
   eat LE NEG you NA
   ‘Have you eaten (breakfast/lunch/dinner)?’

b. 爸, 我惹你生气了?昨天?
   ba4   wo3   re3   ni3   sheng1qi4   le0   zuo2tian1
   dad I annoy you angry LE yesterday
   ‘Daddy, did I annoy you yesterday?’
A clause represents a proposition and it can contain another proposition, like the object clause in [59a] and the subject clause in [59b]. A clause that is part of another one is a subordinate clause, while a clause that is not contained in any other clause is the main clause. In addition to a subject and an object, a clause can function as the modifier of a nominal phrase, as in [59c], act as a modifier of a predicate, as in [59d], or can be conjoined with another clause, as in [59e].

[59]  a. 谁说我考砸了?
   shui2 shuo1 wo3 kao3 za2 le0
   who say I examine smash LE
   'Who said I failed the test?'

  b. 他考不上很正常。
   ta1 kao3 bu4 shang4 hen3 zheng4 chang2
   he examine NEG up very normal
   'It is expected that he was not admitted.'

  c. 昨天找过你的那个学生又来了。
   zuo2tian1 zhao3 guo4 ni3 de0 na4 ge4
   yesterday look_for GUO you DE that CL
   xue2sheng1 you4 lai2 le0
   student again come LE
   'The student who looked for you yesterday is here again.'

  d. 要不是病了, 我才不会缺席呢。
   yao4bu4shi4 bing4 le0 wo3 cai2 bu4 hui4 que1xi2
   but_for sick LE I just not will absent
   ne0
   NE
   'I would not have been absent if I were not sick.'

  e. 天黑了, 停下来吧。
   tian1 hei1 le0 ting2xia4lai2 ba0
   sky dark LE stop_down BA
   'It is dark now. Let's stop.'

Although a clause represents a proposition and a piece of discourse is a collection of related propositions, a main clause depicting an action or event may not have independent status in the discourse in many cases. The largest syntactic unit with independent functions in the discourse is a sentence, which consists of a main clause and some peripheral elements, mainly sentence-final particles. The
clause in [60] describes a completed event and it represents a coherent proposition. However, native speakers in many cases would wait for more information and would consider it incomplete or unacceptable if the clause appeared alone.

[60] 我已经吃了药。
wo3 yi3jing1 chi1 le0 yao4
I already eat LE medication
'I have taken the medication.'

One way to supply the needed information is to add a conjoined clause, as in the case of [61a], which is an acceptable sentence. However, this technique does not always work. The two coordinated clauses in [61b] still sound incomplete and the main factor is the lack of the sentence-final particle 了 in the second clause. Such a sentence-final particle could also make [60] an acceptable sentence, as shown in [61c].

[61] a. 我已经吃了药, 现在好多了。
wo3 yi3jing1 chi1 le0 yao4 xian4zai4 hao3
duo1 le0
more LE
'I have taken the medication, (and as a consequence) I am feeling better now.'

b. 我已经吃了药, 睡了一觉。
wo3 yi3jing1 chi1 le0 yao4 shui4 le0 yi1
jiao4
sleep
'I have taken the medication, and I have slept a while.'

c. 我已经吃了药了。
wo3 yi3jing1 chi1 le0 yao4 le0
'I have fulfilled the requirement of taking medication.'

The sentence-final particle 了 not only makes [60] an acceptable sentence in [61c] but also brings about a different proposition. The proposition of [61c] is not about the action but is about the status of affairs at the time of reference. It states that the speaker’s taking the medication has become a reality and no more action is needed; that is, there has been a change of state.
The 了 in [62] plays the same role. The single clause in [62a] represents a coherent proposition and is an acceptable sentence in some specific contexts (see [63]). However, it would be considered incomplete if it described a specific action, such as he smoked (yesterday). If a sentence-final particle 了 is attached to it, the result is an acceptable sentence, as in [62b], which means 他 ta1 ‘he’ had not been a smoker but was in the state of being a smoker at the time of reference. The difference in meaning between [62a] and [62b] is due to the presence of 了.

[62]  

a. 他抽烟。
    ta1 chou1yan1
    he  smoke
    'He smokes cigarettes.'

b. 他抽烟了。
    ta1 chou1yan1 le0
    he  smoke  LE
    'He starts smoking.'

A main clause can assume the state of a sentence in many ways. One way is to function as a question. [63a] and [63b] are yes–no questions formed by adding a sentence-final particle to [62a], and different particles indicate different interrogative intentions. In [63a], the speaker is interested in whether 他 ta1 ‘he’ smokes and would be happy with either a “yes” answer or a “no” answer. In [63b], the speaker has a suspicion that 他 ta1 ‘he’ smokes and seeks confirmation from the listener. A “yes” answer would make the speaker happy. Both [63c] and [63d] are alternative questions which in essence ask the listener to pick one of two choices about 他 ta1 ‘he’: smoking or not smoking. Although [63e] does not carry any sentence-final particle, it can function as a question if the final word bears a rising intonation, which will make [63e] an echo question signifying the speaker’s doubt about the statement that 他 ta1 ‘he’ smokes.

[63]  

a. 他抽烟吗?
    ta1 chou1yan1 ma0
    he  smoke  MA
    'Does he smoke?'

b. 他抽烟吧?
    ta1 chou1yan1 ba0
    he  smoke  BA
    'He smokes, right?'
c. 他抽不抽烟?
   ta1 chou1 bu4 chou1yan1
   he smoke NEG smoke
   ‘Does he smoke?’

d. 他抽烟不?
   ta1 chou1yan1 bu4
   he smoke NEG
   ‘He smokes, doesn’t he?’

e. 他抽烟?
   ta1 chou1yan1
   he smoke
   ‘He smokes?’

To any one of the questions in [63], [62a] is an appropriate answer and, as such, is an acceptable sentence. In essence, a main clause will have the status of a sentence without the help of final particles if it is being used as the answer to a question. Another way for a clause to acquire such a status is for it to function as an imperative, as in [64a] and [64b].

[64]  a. 你们先别进来。
   ni3men0 xian1 bie2 jin4lai2
   you first do_not come_in
   '(You) don’t come in yet.'

  b. 咱们走!
   zan2men0 zou3
   we go
   ‘Let’s go!’

For clauses that describe a state or a property that is true throughout the existence of an individual or individuals, it is common for them to assume the status of a sentence in their own right. [65a] portrays a child’s intelligence, which remains true throughout his life, while [65b] describes the pandas’ appearance, which is true all the time. Both clauses are sentences and are acceptable as such. For the same reason, [62a] is an acceptable sentence if it is interpreted as 他 ta1 ‘he’ has the habit of smoking.

[65]  a. 这孩子很聪明。
   zhe4 hai2zi0 hen3 cong1ming0
   this child very smart
   ‘The kid is very smart.’
Clauses that describe events or action taking place regularly have similar properties. The action of 抽烟袋 chou1 yan1dai4 'smoke the pipe' in [66] is a regular activity and the clause can be considered true for 爷爷 ye2ye0 'grandpa' all the time. [66] is thus an acceptable sentence on its own.

[66] 爷爷经常一个人坐在堂屋里抽烟袋。
   ye2ye0 jing1chang2 yi1 ge4 ren2 zuo4 Grandfather often one CL person sit
   zai4 tang2wu1 li3 chou1 yan1dai4 PREP main_hall inside smoke pipe
   ‘Grandfather often sits alone in the lobby smoking the pipe.’

2.3. Negation

Negation, as will be discussed in Chapter 6, is a linguistic expression that changes the polarity of a statement to indicate a contrary meaning or a negative attitude. The predominant way to negate a proposition is to insert a negative morpheme into the clause bearing the proposition. The most commonly used negative morphemes are 不 bu4 ‘not,’ which negates predicates with an imperfect aspect, as in [67a], and 没有 mei2you3 ‘not’ or its shortened form 没 mei2 ‘not,’ which negates predicates with a perfect aspect, as in [67b].

[67] a. 校园安全不属于本公司的职责范围。
   xiao4yuan2 an1quan2 bu4 shu3yu2 ben3 gong1si1 campus safety NEG belong_to this company
deo zhi2ze2 fan4wei2 DE duty scope
   ‘Campus security is not our company’s job.’

b. 这种事故他们以前没有处理过。
   zhe4 zhong3 shi4gu4 ta1men0 yi3qian2 mei2you3 this CL accident they before NEG
   chu3li3 guo4 handle GUO
   ‘They have not handled this type of accident before.’
There are also several negative morphemes with limited distribution. Some of them are inherited from Classic Chinese and are mainly used in formal written genres, such as 未 wei4 ‘not (yet)’ in [68a], 无 wu2 ‘not (have, exist)’ in [68b], and 勿 wu4 ‘(should) not’ in [68c]. Some other morphemes are found in imperatives only, such as 别 bie2 ‘(should) not’ in [69a] and 甭 beng2 ‘(should) not’ in [69b], which is from the northern dialect near Beijing.

[68]  a. 该员工未经批准, 擅离职守。
gai1 yuan2gong1 wei4jing1 pi1zhun3
the employee without permission
shan4li2zhi2shou3
leave_position_without_permission
‘The said employee left his post without prior permission.’
b. 争取做到无污渍, 无异味。
zheng1qu3 zuo4dao4 wu2 wu1zi4 wu2 yi4wei4
try achieve no stain no odor
‘(We) will try our best to have no stain and no odor.’
c. 请勿吸烟!
qing3 wu4 xi1yan1
please do_not smoke
No smoking, please!

[69]  a. 别把钱包丢了。
bie2 ba3 qian2bao1 diu1 le0
do_not BA wallet lose LE
‘Don’t lose your wallet.’
b. 甭客气，想吃什么自己拿。
beng2 ke4qi4 xiang3 chi1 shen2me0 zi4ji3 na2
do_not mannerly want eat what self take
‘Don’t behave like a guest. Just take whatever you like to eat.’

A negative morpheme negates things on its right but not things on its left. The two sentences in [70] thus have different meanings, determined by the position of 不 bu4 ‘not’.

[70]  a. 我不可能去你家。
wo3 bu4ke3neng2 qu4 ni3 jia1
I impossible go you home
‘It is impossible for me to go to your place.’
b. 我可能不去你家。
   wo3 ke3neng2 bu4 qu4 ni3 jia1
   'It is possible that I will not go to your place.'

2.4. Aspectual system

There is no visible inflectional marking on the main verb to indicate the relation between the time of action and the time of speech, although there may be adverbials to indicate the temporal status of the action. This means that there is no visible morphological marking to indicate tense in the usual sense. On the other hand, there is marking on the predicate, usually on its head, to indicate the status of the event or action, as well as the relation between the time of action and the time of reference, namely, to indicate aspect in the usual sense.

A commonly used aspect marker is 了 le, which indicates that, when evaluated in its totality, the action or event represented by the predicate has been completed before the time of reference and the result remains unchanged at the stage after the time of reference. In [71a] the 了 le attached to the verb 去 qu4 'go' means that the action of going to Hong Kong has been completed and the result of the action still holds after the time of reference, which means the Director is still in Hong Kong. The 了 le in [71b] also indicates the completion of an action, namely, completing walking and becoming tired, as well as the continuance of the result, namely, being tired after the time of reference.

[71]  a. 局长去了香港, 不在这儿。
   ju2zhang3 qu4 le0 xiang1gang3 bu4 zai4 zhe4er0
director go LE Hong_Kong NEG be_at here
   'The Director has gone to Hong Kong and is not here.'

   b. 行人走累了, 可以在这儿歇一会儿。
   xing2ren2 zou3 lei4 le0 ke3yi3 zai4 zhe4er0 xie1
   pedestrian walk tired LE can PREP here rest
   yi1hui4er0 a_while
   'Pedestrians can rest here if they are tired from walking.'

Another commonly used aspect marker is 过 guo, which is attached to the head of a predicate to indicate the completion of an action or the ending of a state before the time of reference. When a speaker uses 过 guo, he is making it clear that the final stage of the situation no longer exists and this implies some prior experience. The differences between 了 le and 过 guo are responsible for
the contrast between [71a] and [72a]. The proposition of both sentences is about someone’s trip to another city, but [71a] states that the Director is still in Hong Kong, while [72a] implies that Uncle is no longer in Paris. Similarly, [71b] states that the pedestrians are tired after the time of reference, while [72b] states that the town in question is neither glorious nor depressed at the stage after the time of reference.

[72] a. 舅舅去过巴黎, 他可能知道。
   jiu4jiu4 qu4 guo4 ba1li2 ta1 ke3neng2 zhi1dao4 uncle go GUO Paris he may know
   ‘Uncle was in Paris once, and he might know it.’

b. 小镇有过辉煌, 也经历过衰败。
   xiao3zhen4 you3 guo4 hui1huang2 ye3 jing1li4 small_town have GUO glory also undergo
guo4 shuai1bai4 GUO decay
   ‘The small town has had good times but also bad times.’

Both 了 le and 过 guo indicate the speaker’s evaluation of the situation as a whole and are therefore commonly categorized as markers for perfective aspects. The marker 着 zhe, on the other hand, indicates the speaker’s evaluation of a sub-interval of time within a situation and is categorized as a marker for an imperfective aspect. The verb 架 jia4 ‘set up’ in [73a] can either mean the action of setting up a structure or the resultant state of such an action. The 着 zhe in [73a] thus either tells us that the action of erecting the towers is ongoing at the time of reference or indicates that the state of the towers remains the same at the time of reference, as shown by [i] and [ii] respectively. The 着 zhe in [73b] indicates that the action of wearing a particular hat was in a continuous state at the time of reference. The state represented by the verbs lasts for some time but the marker 着 zhe depicts that it is for just a very short period, namely, the moment known as the time of reference.

[73] a. 对面山上架着发射塔。
   dui4mian4 shan1shang4 jia4 zhe0 opposite_side mountain_top install ZHE
   fa1she4ta3 transmission_tower
   i. ‘(People) are setting up transmission towers on top of the mountains.’
   ii. ‘There are transmission towers on top of the mountains.’
b. 他还是戴着那顶旧帽子。
    ta1 hai2shi4 dai4 zhe0 na4 ding3 jiu4 mao4zi0
    'He was still wearing the worn hat.'

Another marker with similar properties is 在 zai, which appears before the verb to show that the action represented by the predicate was in progress at the time of reference. The 在 zai before 下 xia4 ‘fall’ in [74a] tells us that the rain is falling at the moment someone is trying to leave, while the 在 zai in [74b] indicates that driving is in progress at the time of reference, which happens to be the time of speech in this sentence.

[74]  a. 外面在下大雨, 走不成了。
    wai4mian4 zai4 xia4 da4 yu3 zou3 bu4 cheng2
    outside ZAI fall big rain go NEG succeed
    le0
    LE
    'It is raining heavily, and we will not be able to leave.'

b. 他在专心开车呢，别打岔。
    ta1 zai4 zhuan1xin1 kai1che1 ne0 bie2 da3cha 4
    he ZAI attentively drive NE do_not interrupt
    'He is driving attentively. Don’t distract him.'

Note that the 在 in [74b] appears before the manner adverbial 专心 zhuan1xin1 ‘concentrated, attentively’ and is not prefixed to the verb 开车 kai1che1 ‘drive car.’ 在 thus has a morphosyntactic status different from that of 着 zhe, which is a suffix. Another difference between the two markers is the situation each of them represents. The two sentences in [75] are almost identical except for the aspect marker they carry, and that leads to the different interpretations. [75a] represents a state in which the person was wearing a leather coat, while [75b] represents an event in which the person was putting the coat on.

[75]  a. 出门的时候, 他穿着皮大衣。
    chu1men2 de0 shi2hou0 ta1 chuan1 zhe0 pi2
go_out DE when he wear ZHE leather
da4yi1
    coat
    'He was wearing a leather coat when he went out.'
b. 出门的时候, 他在穿皮大衣。
chu1men2 de0 shi2hou0 ta1 zai4 chuan1 pi2
go_out DE when he ZAI put_on leather
da4yi1
ccoat
‘He was putting on a leather coat when he went out.’

2.5. Comparisons and comparative constructions
Comparisons of various types are expressed by several constructions. For su-
periority comparative constructions that are concerned with relative positions
on some scale, a commonly used form is a construction marked with the com-
parative marker 比 bi3 ‘than.’ In such constructions, the comparison is between
the term being compared and the standard of comparison marked by 比 bi3 ‘than’
in terms of the differential measurement phrase, such as the number of seats
in [76a]. Another superiority comparative construction is marked with 过 guo4
‘over,’ as in [76b]. Such a construction can have the comparison term compared
with itself, as in [76b], but it can also have the term compared with a standard of
comparison, as in [76c].

[76] a. 空客 380 的载客量比波音 747~400 多了近 400 人。
kong4ke4 380 de0 zai3ke4liang4 bi3 bo1yin1
Airbus 380 DE load than Boeing
747~400 duo1 le0 jin4 400 ren2
747~400 more LE near 400 people
‘The seating capacity of Airbus 380 is 400 more than that of Boeing 747-400.’

b. 高跟鞋高过 7 厘米就成了“刑具”。
gao1gen1xie2 gao1 guo4 7 li2mi3 jiu4 cheng2
high-heel high over 7 centimeter thus become
le0 xing2ju4
LE torture_device
‘A high heel with heel higher than seven centimeters is practically a
torture device.’

c. 医生的健康状况甚至差过病人。
yi1sheng1 de0 jian4kang1 zhuang4kuang4 shen4zhi4
doctor DE health condition even
cha 4 guo4 bing4ren2
bad over patient
‘The health of the doctor is even worse than that of the patient.’
Equality comparisons, which are concerned with identity or likeness, are typically marked with 像…一样 xiàng…yìliàng ‘the same as.’ In sentences like [77a], the speaker states that the term being compared is equal to the standard of comparison in a certain aspect, “talking” in this case. A similar construction is marked with the comparison marker 如 ru ‘like’ and it typically appears in a negative form, as in [77b].

[77]  

a. 你说话怎么像我妈一样？
ni3 shuō1 huá4 zen3 méi0 xiàng4 wǒ3 ma1
you talk how like I mother
yi1yàng4
same
‘How come you sound the same like my mom?’

b. 有些女孩儿觉得干得好不如嫁得好。
you3 xié1 nǚ3 hai2 er0 jüé2 de0 gàn4 de0 hao3
some girl feel do DE good
bù4 ru2 jia4 de0 hao3
not_as_good_as marry DE good
‘Some girls believe that doing a good job is not as good as marrying a good man.’

A correlative comparative marked with 越…越…yuē4…yuē4… ‘the more… the more…’ indicates a proportional or parallel decrease or increase along the two scales expressed by the two comparative terms. Sentence [78] states that the term being compared is not equal to the standard of comparison yet, but it is almost equal.

[78]  

小女儿越长越像她了。
xiao3 nǚ3 er2 yuē4 zhāng3 yuē4 xiàng4 ta1
youngest daughter more grow more like she
le0
LE
‘Her youngest daughter became more and more like a copy of her.’

2.6. Information-packaging constructions

The canonical constituent order of a clause is subject–predicate, while the least-constrained order within the predicative verb phrase is verb–object. There are, however, quite a number of information-packaging constructions in which the constituents appear in a different linear order to serve certain syntactic, semantic, or pragmatic purposes.
The construction marked with 被 bei in [79] is the equivalent of a passive construction in other languages. The phrase for the patient of the action occurs in the subject position, while the agent phrase does not appear. The example was taken from a news report about a homicide of which the culprit is unknown. The 被 bei construction provides the needed packaging means.

[79] 晚上10点，一名19岁男子在闹市被刺身亡。
zuo2wan3 10 dian3 yi1 ming2 19 sui4 nan2zi3
last_night 10 o’clock one CL 19 year man
zai4 nao4shi4 bei4 ci4 shen1wang2
PREP down_town BEI stab die
‘A 19-year-old man was stabbed to death in downtown at 10 o’clock.’

The construction marked by the universal coverage adverb 都 dou ‘all’ in [80a] serves a different pragmatic purpose. The function of 都 dou ‘all’ is to assign a totality reading to the phrase on its left so that the predicate applies to all members of the set represented by the phrase. The pronoun 谁 shui2 ‘who’ under the scope of 都 dou ‘all’ obtains the interpretation of a universal quantifier, similar to 任何人 ren4he2ren2 ‘anybody,’ and the sentence shows the speaker’s pride and arrogance that her team is not afraid of anyone. The 连…都lian2…dou1 ‘including all… even’ construction in [80b] not only relies on 都 dou ‘all’ to bring 小学生 xiao3 xue2sheng1 ‘elementary school pupil’ to the preverbal position but also depends on 连 lian2 ‘even’ to make it standard, which is the lowest possible case here. [80b] thus means that the problem is so easy that even the least capable person can solve it.

[80] a. 我们恒大谁都不怕！
wo3men0 heng2da4 shui2 dou1 bu4 pa4
we Evergrande who all NEG fear
‘We Team Evergrande are not afraid of anybody.’

b. 这种题连小学生都会做。
zhe4 zhong3 ti2 lian2 xiao3xue2sheng1 dou1
this CL problem even pupil all
hui4 zuo4
can do
‘Even an elementary school pupil knows how to solve this problem.’

Topic–comment constructions like [81a] are commonly used to package the flow of information. When it is first introduced into the discourse, 李家 li3jia1 ‘the Li Family’ is a piece of new information and appears in its default postverbal position; but when it appears as the topic in the following sentence, it represents
the issue the speaker wants to discuss again as a piece of old information and the link to the previous discourse. The information-packaging construction in [81b] is similar to that in [81a] in that the patient phrase 这件这件事 ‘this issue’ appears in a preverbal position to represent a piece of old information. The two constructions differ in the function of the preposed nominal phrase. 件事这件事 ‘this issue’ is the focus of discussion in [81b] and its relation to the previous discourse is not the main reason for it to be preposed.

[81]  

a. 山谷里住着李家、王家、赵家, 李家人最多。  
   shang1gu3 li3 zhu4 zhe0 li3 jia1 wang2  
   valley inside live ZHE LI family WANG  
   jia1 zha04 jia1 li3 jia1 ren2 zui4duo1  
   family ZHAO family LI family people most  
   ‘There are the Lis, the Wangs, and the Zhaos in the valley. The Li family is the largest.’

b. 你们几个这件事就不要管了。  
   ni3men0 ji3 ge4 zhe4 jian4 shi4 jiu4 bu4yao4  
   you several CL this CL thing thus do_not  
   guan3 le0  
   meddle LE  
   ‘As for this issue, it is better for you guys not to touch it.’

The marker pair 是…的…de0…‘(it) is…that…’ is commonly used to emphasize the constituent between 是 and 的. What falls between these two markers in [82a] is the predicate and the emphasis can be on the verb, the object, or, most likely, on the action of buying insurance. The marker 的 de usually occurs at the end of a clause, as in [82a], but it can sometimes be attached to the verb, as in [82b]. The emphasis in this case is on 晚上 wan3shang4 ‘evening,’ namely, part of the temporal adverbial.

[82]  

a. 乘客确实是买了保险的。  
   cheng2ke4 que4shi2 shi4 mai3 le0 bao3xian3 de0  
   passenger indeed be buy LE insurance DE  
   ‘The passengers really did buy the insurance.’

b. 我是晚上看的《茶馆》。  
   wo3 shi4 wan3shang4 kan4 de0 cha 2guan3  
   I be evening watch DE tea_house  
   ‘It was in the evening that I watched The Tea House.’
2.7. Illocutionary force and sentence types

Sentences can be classified according to the way a speaker is using a sentence in a particular context for a particular purpose. This specific aspect of pragmatic meaning is called illocutionary force. When a sentence carries the appropriate illocutionary force, it can perform the illocutionary act of a statement, a question, an exclamatory statement, or a directive.

A statement can have a sentence-final particle, as in [83a], but it can also have no sentence-final particle, as in [83b]. When a statement appears independent of relevant context, it typically has an overt subject, as in [83a] and [83b].

[83] a. 我早就想明白是怎么回事了。
   wo3 zao3 jiu4 xiang3 ming2bai2 shi4 zen3me0
   I early thus think understand be how
   hui2 shi4 le0
   CL thing LE
   'I figured it out a long time ago.'

b. 新型手机明日开始出售。
   xin1xing1 shou3ji1 ming2ri4 kai1shi3 chu1shou4
   new_style cell_phone tomorrow start sale
   'The new mobile phone will be released tomorrow.'

Some questions present a closed set of answers and the listeners are requested to choose one from the set. Such a closed question can be a yes–no question like the one in [84a], an alternative question, as in [84b], or a V-not-V alternative question, as in [84c]. A yes–no question predominantly carries a sentence-final particle, such as the ma in [84a]; an alternative question usually has no final particle, as in [84b]; and a V-not-V alternative question typically carries no final particle, but a ne is sometimes used, as in [84c].

[84] a. 明天还会下雨吗?
   ming2tian1 hai2 hui4 xia4yu3 ma0
   tomorrow yet will rain MA
   'Will it rain again tomorrow?'

b. 咱们上午走还是下午走?
   zan2men0 shang4wu3 zou3 hai2shi4 xia4wu3 zou3
   we morning go or afternoon go
   'Are we leaving in the morning or in the afternoon?'
c. 你喝不喝咖啡呢？
   ni3  he1  bu4  he1  ka1fei1  ne0
   you  drink  NEG  drink  coffee  NE
   'Do you drink coffee?'

Some questions can have any number of answers and are commonly known as open questions. Variable questions are typically open questions and they usually carry no sentence-final particle. However, a particle 呢 ne might be used at times to soften the tone, as in [85], which was extracted from a novel in which a wife always asks her husband what they should eat before she prepares the food.

[85]  晚饭吃什么呢？
   wan3fan4  chi1  shen2me0  ne0
da dinner  eat  what  NE
   'What should we have for dinner?'

Exclamatory statements are characteristically marked with a special degree adverb, such as the 好 hao3 'very much' in [86a]; a sentence-final particle, such as the 啊 a in [86b]; or both, such as the 真 zhen1 'really' and 哪 na in [86c].

[86]  a.  好漂亮的裙子!
   hao3  piao4liang0  de0  qun2zi0
   so  beautiful  DE  skirt
   'How beautiful the skirt is!'

   b.  这个小调皮啊!
   zhe4  ge4  xiao3tiao2pi2  a0
   this  CL  little_naughty  A
   'What a naughty kid!'

   c.  真惨哪!
   zhen1  can3  na0
   really  miserable  NA
   'How miserable it is!'

The fundamental illocutionary act performed by directives is getting compliance from listeners, with varying degrees of strength. A command or an order like that in [87a] is the strongest directive to which compliance is required. A request or plea like that in [87b] is softer in that the speaker is not invoking the authority to require compliance. Advice or a recommendation like that in [87c] is even softer in that it is presented for the benefit of the listener and it is up to the listener to comply or not.
An instruction is presented as necessary for achieving the goal of using some appliance or cooking some dish, as in [88a]. An invitation like that in [88b] is intended to be for the listener’s best benefit and it is the speaker’s sincere hope that the listener will comply.

Permission like that in [89a] is about an action the listener wants to do and the speaker has the authority to permit or prohibit it. Giving permission promotes compliance in a rather weak sense. Acceptance is the weakest form of a directive in that compliance is not something the speaker wants but is something he has no power to prevent. The speaker thus expresses acceptance, perhaps with indifference, as indicated by the sentence-final particle 吧 ba in [89b].
2.8. Deixis and anaphora

When they appear as part of certain utterances, some phrases will get their reference from the time, the place, and the participants of the utterance. This is known as deixis and the expressions are deictic. In sentence [90a], the reference of the locative phrase 这里 zhe4li3 ‘here’ is identified with the place of the utterance, the reference of the temporal phrase 昨天 zuo2tian1 ‘yesterday’ is determined in relation to the time of the utterance, and the phrase 我 wo3 ‘I’ is identified with the speaker of the utterance. These phrases are thus deictic. Sentence [90b] is taken from a narration by an eyewitness who described the size of a hole through which a thief escaped. The phrase 这么 zhe4me0 ‘this much’ is accompanied by an indexing act, namely, the speaker’s gesture, which provides the intended referent for the phrase.

[90] a. 对不起, 我爸爸昨天就离开这里了。

dui4bu4qi3 wo3 ba4ba0 zuo2tian1 jiu4 li2kai1
sorry I father yesterday thus leave
zhe4li3 le0
here LE
‘I am sorry. My father left here yesterday.’

b. 那个洞才这么大。

na4 ge4 dong4 cai2 zhe4me0 da4
that CL hole just so big
‘That hole is just this big.’

Some other phrases get their reference anaphorically, namely, via the relation between the phrase and an antecedent. The pronoun 他们 ta1men0 ‘they’ in [91a] is an anaphor that gets its reference from its antecedent 被困旅客 bei4 kun4 lü3ke4 ‘trapped passengers,’ while the 这事 zhe4 shi4 ‘this matter’ in [91b] takes the previous clause 他们在非洲的工程受阻 ta1men0 zai4 fei1zhou1 de0 gong1cheng2 shou4zu3 ‘Their African Project is in trouble’ as its antecedent.

[91] a. 被困旅客终于获救, 由救护车将他们送往医院。

bei4 kun4 lü3ke4 zhong1yu2 huo4jiu4 you2
BEI trap passenger eventually get_rescue PREP
The trapped passengers were finally rescued, and they were taken to the hospital by ambulances.

Their African Project is in trouble and the news is spreading fast.

'The one who) took over is the eldest grandson of the family. (He) got (his) MBA five years ago. (He) just returned to the country last year.'
‘Zhang Yang could only comfort himself: spend money to ward off disasters.’

b. 我只负责自己的学生。

‘I am only responsible for my own students.’
3

Lexical word formation
Jerome Packard

3.1. Introduction
Lexical word formation is the formation of words using rules of morphology rather than other types of linguistic rules such as rules of syntax. Following this definition, lexical word formation does not apply to words formed by inflectional affixation, i.e., words containing grammatical suffixes such as -te0 了, -guo4 过, -zhe0 着, and 得/不 de0/bu4. The reason inflectional affixation is not considered a lexical word formation process is that a new lexeme is not created by the addition of these affixes. Lexical word formation either causes a new lexeme to be created (see further discussion in section 3.3.1.) or derives a word using derivational affixation, with the derived word often having a different part of speech (e.g., the verb gong1ye4hua4 工业化 work-profession-AFF ‘industrialize’ is derived from the noun gong1ye4 工业 work-profession ‘industry’ by affixation of the derivational suffix 化-hua4 ‘-ize/-ify’).

3.2. Defining “word” in Chinese
In order to discuss lexical word formation, we must first define what a word is in Chinese.

“Word” in the Chinese language can be defined using the construct minimal free form – the smallest linguistic entity that can independently occupy a part-of-speech slot. Take, for example, the morpheme/character 椅 yi3 ‘chair.’ 椅 yi3 is a bound morpheme as it cannot be used alone as a word. 椅 yi3 either must be affixed with the nominal suffix -子 zi0 to derive the free noun 椅子 yi3zi0 ‘chair,’ or it must be used in combination with another morpheme, such as 轮 lun2 ‘wheel,’ to yield the two-morpheme word 轮椅 lun2yi3 ‘wheelchair.’ To take another example, the morpheme 机 ji1 ‘machine’ cannot be used as a word by itself, but must occur with another morpheme (e.g., 机器 ji1qi4 machine-utensil ‘machine’) to stand alone as a word.

It is important to note that the crucial property of a free form is its ability to stand alone in some context. A free form’s ability to stand alone does not preclude its ability to combine with other elements to form a new word. Hence, words can combine, via composition and compounding (see discussion in sections 3.4.1.
and 3.4.2 respectively), to form longer words. In addition, though there is no theoretical upper limit on the length of a word, in practical terms words do have a de facto length limit. Other than proper names in professional domains, Chinese words do not typically exceed four syllables in length.

There does remain, however, a common belief that either words do not exist in Chinese, or that the construct 字 zi4 ‘character’ is the more appropriate language-specific concept equivalent to “word” in Chinese. The reasons behind these beliefs are largely orthography-driven. First, because Chinese does not conventionally delineate words in texts by use of spacing or other conventions (as in English and most other Western languages), there is no equivalent direct and explicit evidence of speakers’ use of the construct “word.” Second, the unbroken three-thousand-year-old convention of using 字 zi4 ‘character’ as the basic unit in writing and teaching has been conventionalized and reinforce the shared belief that the character is the most appropriate construct for the representation of spoken Chinese. Since a character virtually always represents a morpheme and very often also represents a monosyllabic word, 字 zi4 remains the popular non-technical translation of ‘word.’

We adopt the linguistic definition of “word” rather than the traditional definition because this shared definition at the basic unit level is crucial in a reference grammar, which must provide a standard for comparison with other languages. In addition, studies have shown that native Chinese speakers do share implicit knowledge of the concept “word” as a minimal free form and show a consistently high level of agreement in identifying such a unit. For example, in any typical “one-word” situation of language use, such as answering a question or doing a keyword search, native speakers will use a word, such as 椅子 yi3zi0, rather than a non-word character/morpheme, such as 椅 yi3.

3.3. Description of word components
The lexical word formation process critically relies on the nature of the components that are used to form words. Chinese word components may be defined by their bound/free and contentful/functional status, and may be further defined by their part-of-speech identity.

3.3.1. A typology of word components
Words are formed in Chinese by combining three types of word component morphemes. The three types are free morphemes, bound contentful morphemes (bound roots), and derivational affixes. Free morphemes are the morphemes identified by their ability to stand alone as words, while we refer to bound contentful morphemes as bound roots to avoid potential confusion with other bound morphemes. These three morpheme types constitute a subset of the four types of morpheme identified by their free/bound and contentful/functional status, namely: if a
morpheme is free and contentful (vs. functional), it is a free morpheme; if it is free and functional, it is a functional morpheme; if it is bound and contentful, it is a bound root; and if it is bound and functional, it is an affix. Chinese thus has four types of morphemes: free morphemes, bound roots, functional morphemes, and affixes. Of these four types, only free morphemes, bound roots, and affixes participate in word formation processes. The category of affix is further subdivided into derivational affixes and inflectional affixes, and of these two, only derivational affixes participate in lexical word formation.

3.3.1. Free morphemes
Word components that are free morphemes in Chinese are contentful morphemes which can stand alone as words. Some examples of single-syllable nominal free morphemes, verbal free morphemes, and adjectival free morphemes are given in [1a]–[1c] respectively below.

[1] a. 冰 bing1 ‘ice,’ 水 shui3 ‘water,’ 车 che1 ‘car’
   b. 走 zou3 ‘to walk,’ 打 da3 ‘to hit,’ 吃 chi1 ‘to eat’
   c. 红 hong2 ‘red,’ 冷 liang2 ‘cold,’ 累 lei4 ‘tired’

3.3.1.2. Bound roots
Word components that are bound and contentful in Chinese are bound roots: they are contentful morphemes that cannot stand alone as nouns, verbs, or adjectives, but rather must co-occur with another morpheme before they can be used as a noun, verb or adjective part of speech. Some examples of bound roots in Chinese are given below.

   椅 yi3 ‘chair’ (cf. 椅子 yi3zi0 ‘chair’), 石 shi2 ‘stone’ (cf. 石头 shi2tou0 ‘stone’), 裤 ku4 ‘pants’ (cf. 裤子 ku4zi0 ‘pants’), 眼 yan3 ‘eye’ (cf. 眼睛 yan3jing1 ‘eye’), 驼 tuo2 ‘camel’ (cf. 骆驼 luo4tuo2 ‘camel’)
   b. Verbal bound roots
   观 guan1 ‘to observe’ (cf. 观摩 guan1mo2 ‘to observe’), 决 jue2 ‘to decide’ (cf. 决定 jue2ding4 ‘to decide’), 习 xi2 ‘to study’ (cf. 学习 xue2xi2 ‘to study’)
   c. Adjectival bound roots
   贫 pin2 ‘poor’ (cf. 贫穷 pin2qiong2 ‘poor’), 谦 qian1 ‘modest’ (cf. 谦虚 qian1ü1 ‘modest’), 简 jian3 ‘simple’ (cf. 简单 jian3dan1 ‘simple’)

As seen in the examples, these bound roots cannot be used as free words in Chinese – they must be augmented with an additional morphemic component
before they can be used as nouns, verbs, or adjectives. Bound roots are by far the most common type of morpheme in Chinese.

3.3.1.3. Derivational affixes

Derivational affixes in Chinese are morphemes that are bound and functional, that is, they are grammatical functors that contain functional rather than contentful information, and they cannot independently occupy a syntactic slot as free words. Examples of derivational affixes in Chinese include suffixes like - 子 zi0 (e.g. 椅子 yi3zi0 'chair,' 帽子 mao4zi0 'hat'), - 化 hua4 (e.g. 机械化 ji1xie4hua4 'to mechanize,' 自动化 zi4dong4hua4 'to automatize'), and - 头 tou (e.g. 木头 mu4tou0 'wood,' 齿头 zhi3tou0 'toe'), and prefixes like 阿 - a1 (e.g. 阿姨 a1yi2 'aunt,' 阿公 a1gong1 'grandpa') and 老 - lao3 (e.g. 老虎 lao3hu3 'tiger,' 老鹰 lao3ying1 'eagle').

The term ‘functional’ (grammatical) morphemes refer to morphemes that tend to mediate the relationship of surrounding morphemes rather than adding their own specific content to the relationship. Functional morphemes are best understood in contrast with contentful morphemes, which add substantial nominal, verbal or adjectival content to the words in which they appear. The difference between “content” and “function” represents a continuum rather than a discrete distinction. The content/function distinction has a well-documented tradition in Chinese linguistics, as morphemes in Chinese are traditionally divided into contentful (实 shi2 ‘real’) and functional (虚 xu1 ‘empty’) forms.

3.3.2. Word component part of speech

In addition to classifying Chinese word component morphemes into three types according to their bound/free and contentful/functional status, they can be further described by their grammatical part of speech. When we use part of speech to describe Chinese word components, it provides information about how words and their components are actually understood and used.

The assignment of part-of-speech category to morphemes in Chinese is often not obvious due to the polysemous nature of character forms and the predominance of zero-derivation in Chinese. Take, for example, the morpheme 安 an1 which is commonly recognized as a nominal unit meaning ‘peace, safe,’ as in the word 平安 ping2an1 ‘peace.’ But 安 an1 also has a verb identity, i.e., meaning ‘to install,’ as in the phrase 安电灯 an1 dian4deng1 ‘to install an electric light.’ Since 安 an1 can be either a nominal or a verbal morpheme, it cannot be given a unique part of speech.

This is no different from the situation in most of the world’s languages. For example, the English morpheme bank is not treated as having an indeterminate part of speech, even though it has at least two part-of-speech identities including more than three senses: ‘edge of a river’ or ‘place where money is deposited’ as a noun, and ‘to tilt an airplane’ as a verb. The word bank is listed in the mental
lexicon of English as an entry with multiple meanings and multiple part-of-speech identities, and the native speaker is free to choose any of those meanings and identities in the construction of words and sentences.

The same applies to many Chinese morphemic forms, such as 安 an1. When we use part-of-speech class identity as a means of describing Chinese word components, it reveals how words and their components are understood and used and helps to differentiate morphemes sharing the same form.

3.3.2.1. Nominal word components
The following word components are listed in the mental lexicon with an underlying nominal identity. Some are free and some are bound, but all have nominal meaning and usage.


3.3.2.2. Verbal word components
The following word components are listed in the mental lexicon with an underlying verbal identity. Some are free and some are bound, but all have verbal meaning and usage.

[4] 盗 dao4 ‘to steal,’ 知 zhi1 ‘to know,’ 阅 yue4 ‘to read,’ 讨 tao3 ‘to discuss,’ 灌 guan4 ‘to irrigate,’ 夺 duo2 ‘to deprive,’ 丢 diu1 ‘to lose,’ 交 jiao1 ‘to transfer,’ 读 duo2 ‘to read,’ 论 lun4 ‘to discuss,’ 跑 pao3 ‘to run,’ 到 dao4 ‘to arrive,’ 打 da3 ‘to hit,’ 堵 du3 ‘to plug,’ 防 fang2 ‘to prevent,’ 安 an1 ‘to install,’ 习 kan4 ‘to see,’ 买 mai3 ‘to buy,’ 求 qiu2 ‘to seek,’ 劝 quan4 ‘to convince,’ 给 gei3 ‘to give,’ 坐 zuo4 ‘to sit,’ 洗 xi3 ‘to wash’

3.3.2.3. Adjectival word components
The following word components are listed in the mental lexicon with an underlying adjectival identity. Some are free and some are bound, but all have adjectival meaning and usage.

3.4. Lexical word formation processes
This section describes the three lexical word formation processes in Mandarin – composition, compounding, and derivation – including examples of each.

3.4.1. Composition – words with a bound root
*Composition* is the formation of words by combining a bound root with a free word or by combining two bound roots. Words formed in this way are termed *bound root words*. Most words in Chinese are bound root words, that is, words containing a bound root. Below are examples of words formed via composition, as in [6]–[8].

[6] Words that are [bound-free]:
评测 *ping2ce4* evaluate measure ‘evaluate,’ 描写 *miao2xie3* depict write ‘describe,’ 购买 *gou4mai3* buy buy ‘buy,’ 享受 *xiang3shou4* enjoy receive ‘enjoy,’ 演讲 *yan3jiang3* perform talk ‘to lecture,’ 维修 *wei2xiu1* maintain fix ‘maintain,’ 横扫 *heng2sao3* sideways sweep ‘sweep,’ 合作 *he2zuo4* together do ‘cooperate,’ 呼叫 *hu1jiao4* exhale call ‘to call,’ 呼吸 *hu1xi1* exhale inhale ‘to breathe,’ 获得 *huo4de2* obtain get ‘obtain,’ 绞辫 *jiao3bian4* cunning argue ‘to quibble,’ 虹吸 *hong2xi1* rainbow suck ‘to siphon,’ 侧躺 *ce4tang3* side lay ‘lay on one’s side,’ 酬谢 *chou2xie4* reward thank ‘thank with a reward,’ 处理 *chu3li3* handle order ‘take care of,’ 触电 *chu4dian4* touch electric ‘get an electric shock,’ 道谢 *dao4xie4* say thank ‘thank,’ 顶替 *ding3ti4* top replace ‘replace,’ 反对 *fan3dui4* against face ‘oppose,’ 否认 *fou3ren4* not admit ‘deny,’ 抚养 *fu3yang3* help raise ‘adopt,’ 规劝 *gui1qu4n4* advise persuade ‘advise.’

[7] Words that are [free-bound]:
新闻 *xin1wen2* new-hear ‘news,’ 提供 *ti2gong4* lift-supply ‘supply,’ 保养 *bao3yang3* preserve-prevent ‘maintain,’ 报价 *bao4jia4* announce-price ‘quote (price),’ 城市 *cheng2shi4* city-city ‘city,’ 糖果 *tang2guo3* sugar-fruit ‘candy,’ 消除 *xiao1chu2* eliminate-remove ‘get rid of,’ 开始 *kai1shi3* open-start ‘begin,’ 飞机 *fei1ji1* fly-machine ‘airplane,’ 查询 *cha2xun2* investigate-inquire ‘inquiry,’ 飞行 *fei1xing2* fly-travel ‘fly,’ 推荐 *tui1jian4* push-recommend ‘recommend,’ 电影 *dian4ying3* electric-shadow ‘movie,’ 灭亡 *mie4wang2* destroy-perish ‘extinguish,’ 花瓶 *hua1ping2* flower-bottle ‘vase,’ 爱好 *ai4hao4* love-fond ‘avocation,’ 讲解 *jiang3jie3* speak-loosen ‘explain,’ 拆卸 *chai1xie4* open-unload ‘disassemble,’ 抄写 *chao1shen1* copy-body ‘frisk,’ 吵架 *chao3xie4* argue-framework ‘argue,’ 抄袭 *chao1xi2* copy-raid ‘plagiarize,’ 惊奇 *chi1jing1* eat-surprise ‘surprised.’
3.4.2. Compounding – words made from words

Compounding is the formation of words by combining two free words. Words formed in this way we call compounds. Words formed via compounding do not differ substantially in their usage from words formed by composition, as in [9].

Words that are [bound-bound):

3.4.3. Derivation – words containing a derivational affix

The two types of affix in Chinese – inflectional and derivational – both represent function rather than content morphemes. Derivational affixes, however, are involved in lexical word formation while inflectional affixes are not. Inflectional affixes are discussed in the chapter on Verbs (Chapter Four).

Derivation is the formation of a word by the affixation of a derivational affix to a bound root or free word. Below are some examples of derivational affixes followed by examples of words formed by addition of derivational affixes.

Some examples of derivational affixes are given in [10].

Words that are [free free):
光线 guang1xian4 light line ‘ray of light,’ 马熊 ma3xiong2 horse bear ‘brown bear,’ 冰山 bing1shan1 ice mountain ‘iceberg,’ 火山 huo3shan1 fire mountain ‘volcano,’ 熊猫 xiong2mao1 bear cat ‘panda,’ 水土 shui3tu3 water earth ‘climate,’ 粉笔 fen3bi3 powder pen ‘chalk.’
Some examples of the derivational process are in [11].

[11] 扣 kou4 ‘to button’ → 扣子 kou4zi0 ‘(a) button,’ 笑 xiao4 ‘to laugh’ → 可笑 ke3xiao4 ‘funny, laughable,’ 开 kai1 ‘to open’ → 重开 chong2kai1 ‘to reopen,’ 电 diAN4 ‘electric, electricity’ → 电化 diAN4hua4 ‘electrify’

More examples of words formed by derivational affixation are in [12].

[12] 鼻子 bi2zi0 ‘nose,’ 调子 diao4zi0 ‘tune,’ 非法 fei1fa3 ‘illegal,’ 复查 fu4cha2 ‘reinvestigate,’ 复出 fu4chu1 ‘reappear,’ 复发 fu4fa1 ‘to relapse,’ 复活 fu4hUO2 ‘to come back to life,’ 复审 fu4shen3 ‘reinvestigate,’ 复习 fu4xi2 ‘review,’ 复现 fu4xian4 ‘to reappear,’ 复醒 fu4xing3 ‘revive,’ 惯性 guan4xing4 ‘inertia,’ 红化 hong2hua4 ‘to redden,’ 可怜 ke3lian2 ‘pitiful,’ 可体 ke3ti3 ‘fit,’ 木然 mu4ran2 ‘woodenly,’ 骗子 piaN4zi0 ‘swindler,’ 皮子 pi2zi0 ‘skin,’ 人性 ren2xing4 ‘humanity,’ 探子 tan4zi0 ‘a probe,’ 天然 tian1ran2 ‘natural,’ 挑子 tiao1zi0 ‘load,’ 无规 wu2gui1 ‘without rule,’ 无轨 wu2gui3 ‘trackless,’ 无机 wu2ji1 ‘inorganic,’ 无名 wu2ming2 ‘nameless,’ 无人 wu2ren2 ‘unmanned,’ 无声 wu2sheng1 ‘noiseless,’ 无视 wu2shi4 ‘disregard,’ 无数 wu2shu4 ‘countless,’ 无性 wu2xing4 ‘asexual,’ 未发 wei4fa1 ‘unissued,’ 未婚 wei4hun1 ‘unmarried,’ 未决 wei4jue2 ‘undecided,’ 想头 xiang3tou0 ‘idea,’ 由然 you2ran2 ‘spontaneously,’ 再教育 zai4jiao4yu4 ‘reeducate,’ 皂化 zao4hua4 ‘saponify,’ 指头 zhi3tou0 ‘finger,’ 重写 chong2xie3 ‘to rewrite,’ 多工化 duo1gong1hua4 ‘to multiplex,’ 格式化 ge2shi4hua4 ‘to format.’

It should be noted that complex words are also formed in Chinese by adding an inflectional affix (e.g., -le0, -guo4, -zhe0, -de0/-bu0, -men0) to a word that already exists. Words formed this way are not considered lexically formed words, because inflection minimally affects the form of the word, and in particular words formed in this way do not result in the creation of new lexemes.

3.5. Issues in Chinese word formation

There are several challenging but tractable problems involving the notion word in Chinese. First, there is the problem of clearly defining “free” vs. “bound.” Next is the case of 离合词 li2he2ci2 “separable words” – i.e., the indeterminacy between word and phrase, and the phenomenon of ‘ionization.’ There is also the issue of the relative productivity of bound roots, and the question of distinguishing bound roots from derivational affixes. Finally we have the creation of words through abbreviation and phonetic borrowing. Each of these is addressed directly below.
3.5.1. The “free” vs. “bound” status of Chinese morphemes
While morphemes are described here as either free or bound, it must be acknowledged that the terms “free” and “bound” are not absolute, and that there are morphemes in Chinese that seem to be both free and bound depending on the register or style of language that is being employed. The application of the free–bound dichotomy to Chinese is also challenged by the existence of 离合词 li2he2ci2 or “separable words” – words whose component morphemes seem bound, but also behave in certain respects like free words in syntax.

3.5.1.1. Style and register
The application of the free–bound dichotomy to Chinese may seem problematic because some morphemes appear to be free in some constructions or styles but not in others. Forced use of bound roots as words usually requires either a specific and highly conventionalized context, or use of a more formal style.

For example, the morpheme -guo2 国 ‘country’ is normally considered to be bound – one can say shi4jie4shang4 zui4 xiao3 de0 guo2jia1, 世界上最小的国家 world on most small DE country ‘smallest country in the world,’ in which -guo2 cannot be substituted for guo2jia1. On the other hand, -guo2 appears to be free in an example such as ying1 fa3 deng3 guo2 英法等国 England France etc. country ‘countries like England and France.’ In the latter example, -guo2 may seem free, but it is actually best understood as a case of conventionalized contextual ellipsis.

To give another example, the verbal morpheme dao4- 道 meaning ‘say’ (among the many meanings represented by this character) is normally a bound morpheme, useable as a verb only within a word such as dao4qian4 道歉 say-deficient ‘apologize.’ But dao4- can appear to be a free verb in a more formal, conventionalized usage such as in [13].

    ta1 dui4 lao3 li3 dao4 suan4le0 ba0 wo3men0
    he to old Li say figure BA we
    hai2shi4 zhe4yang4 ban4
    still this_way do

‘He said to Mr. Li: ok, let’s just do it this way.’

Once again, this type of usage only occurs in a more formal, written style, and usually does not occur in spoken language. This sort of bound–free variation in the use of morphemes is related to how language changes over the passage of time. Individual or stylistic variation in the use of morphemes as free or bound are simply examples of how users construe the lexical identities of morphemes, and provides us with living examples of how language changes over time.
3.5.1.2. Distinguishing words and phrases – ‘ionization’ and 离合词 li2he2ci2

Y.R. Chao’s concept of “ionization” refers to the ability of a morpheme that is normally considered bound to occur freely in a syntactic slot when another “licensing” morpheme occurs in the nearby context. The term “ionized” is used to describe the relationship between the two separated morphemes, on analogy with the two ions of a singular chemical element that are separated but remain in close proximity within the same chemical solution (i.e., within the same ‘context’).

The example given by Chao is the noun morpheme 市 shi4 ‘city, market’ that is normally bound, but appears to occur as a free noun in a verb–object (V–O) construction 上市 shang4shi4 ascend-city ‘come to market.’ The morpheme shi4 市 looks like a free noun in this context because it may be separated from its ‘licensing’ verb shang4 when that verb is inflected with a suffix – such as the aspect suffix le0 了, as in 上市 shang4 le0 shi4 ‘came to market.’ Another example of ionization is the verb dan1xin1 担心 carry-heart ‘to worry.’ In this example, the verb 担 dan1 ‘carry’ is normally bound but is licensed to occur as an inflected free verb (e.g., 担了三年的心 dan1 le0 san1nian2 de0 xin1 carry-ASP three-year DE heart ‘worried for three years’) by the presence of xin1 心 ‘heart’ in the nearby context.

THE DUAL STATUS OF 离合词 LI2HE2CI2 ‘IONIZED FORMS’ AS WORDS AND PHRASES The words that Chao considered “ionized” are called li2he2ci2 离合词 in contemporary Chinese linguistics – a term meaning “separable words.” These li2he2ci2 represent a textbook case of apparent indeterminacy between morphology and syntax: they are considered to be words because their constituents are normally bound and they have an idiomatic (lexicalized) meaning, and yet they behave like syntactic, phrasal entities in certain contexts.

Li2he2ci2 are best viewed as a kind of word (词 ci2 – i.e., a morphologically complex verb) with one or two bound constituents, but a word whose constituents are subject to syntactic reanalysis as free elements in certain limited contexts. Thus, the default identity of li2he2ci2 is as words, but they are capable of having dual identities both as words and phrases, and whether a li2he2ci2 is used with a word or a phrase identity in any given context depends upon how it is construed by the speaker.

We treat li2he2ci2 as words first and foremost because one of the constituent members is bound, and is not available to the grammar as a free word except in this very limited, reanalyzed syntactic context. A verb–object li2he2ci2 becomes an actual bona fide syntactic V–O phrase when both its constituents are useable as truly free words.

When a V–O li2he2ci2 is used as a word, it is considered a lexical item listed in the lexicon. It acquires its identity as a phrase in syntax if the verb and object
remain free morphemes. This is true, for example, in the case of a `li2he2ci2` such as `kan4shu1` ‘read books’ → ‘to study’ that is composed of syntactically free elements.

3.5.2. Productivity of bound roots
The use of bound roots to form words – which here is termed *composition* – is a common and highly productive process in Mandarin. Bound roots are less common and less productive in English, in which their appearance is by and large limited to Greek and Latin formatives such as `pseudo`, `circum`, `bio`, `-logy`, `-itis`, `-ese`, `-log` and `therm`. Unlike bound roots in English and the Romance languages, Mandarin bound roots generally are less positionally restricted, i.e., they may in general occur as either the first or second constituent of a word. For example, the Mandarin bound root `guo2` ‘country’ can appear as either the left-hand (`guo2jia1` country-home ‘country’) or right-hand (`mei3guo2` beautiful-country ‘the USA’) member of a word. In English and the Romance languages on the other hand, a bound root is usually restricted to appearing as either the left- or right-hand word constituent, but in general may not be both.

In Mandarin, it is clear that some bound roots are more productive than others. Certain bound roots, such as the `yi3` of `ma3yi3` ant-ant ‘ant,’ are quite productive. Even though `yi3` is bound, it is often used to represent the meaning ‘ant’ in the formation of new words, while `ma3` is rarely if ever used in that way. Y.R. Chao called those bound roots that may occur in a large number of words “versatile,” and used the term “restricted” to refer to less productive bound roots. This versatile–restricted dichotomy does not refer to whether a morpheme is free or bound per se, but rather refers to its productivity – i.e., whether it can be used to form many different words.

3.5.3. Bound roots vs. derivational affixes
The dividing line between bound roots (bound and content) and derivational affixes (bound and function) is something of a gray area, because it depends on the continuous (versus dichotomous) nature of the relationship that exists between content and function forms. That is to say, the content/function property exists in the form of a *cline* – a scale of continuous gradation – with “functional” characterizing forms at one end of the cline and ‘contentful’ characterizing forms at the other end. Since both bound roots and derivational affixes are categorized as “bound,” the distinction between them in essence boils down to whether a morpheme is positioned closer to the “content” or the “function” (i.e., grammatical) portion of the cline.

To aid in distinguishing the property’s “content” and “function,” it is helpful to consider the criteria that are used to distinguish function forms from content
forms. The first criterion is the generality and abstractness of the morphemes involved, with function forms tending to be more general and abstract than content forms. Second, function forms are generally more productive than content forms. Third, function forms involve meaning that is simple, generally involving bivalent properties such as negation, alternation or iteration. Fourth, function forms are more semantically “bleached” than content forms, which permit their use as grammatical morphemes. Finally, function forms usually have a more stable, predictable semantic content than do content forms.

3.5.4. Bound root words vs. words formed by abbreviation
Words in Chinese are commonly formed by abbreviation (缩写 suo3xie3). In Chinese suo3xie3 ‘abbreviation,’ a word is formed by taking some of the morphemes of a longer word or phrase. In addition, abbreviations are different from words formed through combination or compounding, because in the latter two the individual morphemes tend to retain their base meanings, while in abbreviations the morphemes derive their meaning from the original, unabbreviated forms.

For example, in the case of 北大 bei3da4 north-big ‘Peking University’ (short for Beijing Daxue 北京大学), 北大 bei3da4 is an abbreviation rather than a bound root word, because although the morpheme 大 da4 occurs in many abbreviations with the meaning of ‘University,’ it does not productively participate in any other ‘non-abbreviation’ word formation processes with the ‘University’ meaning. Contrast this with the morpheme 面 mian4 in the word 面包车 mian4bao1che1 dough-package-car ‘van’ and the derived 面的 mian4di1 ‘van taxi’ (derived from 面包车的士 mian4bao1che1-di1shi4 van-taxi – mian4bao1che1 = van; di1shi4 = taxi). The mian4di1 is a word formed by composition and not abbreviation because the morpheme 面 mian4 is used productively with the meaning of ‘van’ or ‘taxi’ in words such as 微面 wei1mian4 little-van ‘minivan.’ The 大 da4 of 北大 bei3da4, on the other hand, is not used to create any (non-abbreviated) complex words that have the meaning of ‘University.’

3.5.5. Loanwords
Many multisyllabic words in Chinese are loans that have entered the language over the past several decades. These words are usually either phonetic loans or semantic loans, or words composed using a combination of phonetic and semantic elements. An interesting point to note about phonetic loans is that since they are imported based on their sound alone, their components often have opaque internal structure and semantics. So for example the Chinese word for the English word sofa/couch is the phonetic loan 沙发 sha1fa1 sand-emit, but since the word 沙发 sha1fa1 has nothing to do with ‘sand’ or ‘emitting,’ the individual components make no semantic or structural contribution to the complete word.
There appears to be a systematic exception to this generalization, which is that two-syllable verbs borrowed into Chinese as phonetic loans are often treated as having the internal properties of complex verbs. That is, they often allow the inflection of the first syllable with inflectional aspect suffixes such as -le0 or -guo4, even though the first syllable cannot semantically be considered to have a verb identity. This is seen in examples such as 拷贝 kao3lei4 ‘copy’ → 拷了贝 kao3 lei0 bei4 ‘copied’ → 拷过贝 kao3 guo4 bei4 ‘to have copied’; 克隆 ke4long2 ‘clone’ → 克了隆 ke4 le0 long2 ‘cloned’ → 克过隆 ke4 guo4 long2 ‘have cloned’; and 博客 bo2ke4 ‘blog’ → 博了客 bo2 le0 ke4 ‘blogged’ → 博过客 bo2 guo4 ke4 ‘to have blogged’.

The following are examples of phonetic loanwords, semantic loanwords (calques) and combination phonetic–semantic loanwords. [14]–[16] are examples of phonetic loanwords:

[14] One-syllable phonetic loanwords
打 da3 ‘dozen,’ 酷 ku4 ‘cool,’ 卡 ka3 ‘card,’ 闭 pai4 ‘pie.’

坦克 tan3ke4 ‘tank,’ 吉他 ji2ta1 ‘guitar,’ 克隆 ke4long2 ‘clone,’ 博客 bo2ke4 ‘blog,’ 拷贝 kao3bei4 ‘copy,’ 沙发 sha1fa1 ‘sofa,’ 的士 di3shi4 ‘taxi,’ 雪茄 xue3jia1 ‘cigar,’ 朋克 peng2ke4 ‘punk,’ 爵士 jue2shi4 ‘jazz,’ 幽默 you1mo4 ‘humor, make fun of,’ 逻辑 luo2ji2 ‘logic,’ 浪漫 lang4man4 ‘romantic,’ 尼龙 ni2long2 ‘nylon,’ 汉堡 han4bao3 ‘hamburger,’ 土司 tu3si1 ‘toast,’ 咖啡 ka1fei1 ‘coffee,’ 基因 ji1yin1 ‘gene,’ 雷达 lei2da2 ‘radar,’ 休克 xi1ke4 ‘shock,’ 引擎 yin3qing2 ‘engine,’ 布丁 bu4ding1 ‘pudding,’ 卡通 ka3ton1 ‘cartoon,’ 马达 ma3da2 ‘motor,’ 柠檬 ning2meng2 ‘lemon,’ 苏打 su1da3 ‘soda,’ 保龄 bao3ling2 ‘bowling’

[16] Three-syllable phonetic loanwords
巧克力 qiao3ke4li4 ‘chocolate,’ 高尔夫 gao1er3fu1 ‘golf,’ 麦克风 mai4ke4feng1 ‘microphone,’ 维他命 wei2ta1ming4 ‘vitamin,’ 白兰地 bai2lan2di4 ‘brandy,’ 荷尔蒙 he2er3meng2 ‘hormone,’ 三明治 san1ming2zhi4 ‘sandwich.’

[17]–[18] are examples of semantic loanwords (calques):

热狗 re4gou3 hot-dog ‘hotdog,’ 软体 ruan3ti3 soft-body ‘software,’ 硬体 ying4ti3 hard-body ‘(computer) hardware,’ 蜜月 mi4yue4 honey-moon ‘honeymoon.’

Three-syllable semantic loanwords (calques):
摩天楼 mo2tian1lou2 brush-sky-building ‘skyscraper,’ 牛仔裤 niu2zai3ku4 cow-boy-pants ‘jeans.’

Examples of combination phonetic–semantic loanwords are given in [19]:

黑客 hei1ke4 black-guest ‘hacker,’ 啤酒 pi2jiu3 beer-liquor ‘beer,’ 酒吧 jiu3ba1 liquor-bar ‘bar,’ 绑带 beng1dai4 bind-strip ‘bandage,’ 芭蕾舞 ba1lei3wu3 ballet-dance ‘ballet,’ 摩托车 mo2tuo1che1 rub-pull-car ‘motorcycle,’ 拖拉机 tuo1la1ji1 tow-pull-machine ‘tractor,’ 脱口秀 tuo1kou3xiu4 escape-mouth-display ‘talk show,’ 冰淇淋 bing1qi2lin2 ice cream ‘ice cream,’ 俱乐部 ju4le4bu4 utensil-happy-place ‘club,’ 信用卡 xin4yong4ka3 trust-use-card ‘credit card.’

3.5.6. Alphabetic words
Chinese is increasingly using English letters as words or components in the formation of words. Here are two examples of letters used as ‘alphabetic verbs’ in Chinese: 从他那 A 了一包糖 cong2 ta1 na4 A-le0 yi1bao1 tang2 from him there A-asp one-pack candy ‘cheated him out of a bag of candy,’ or K 书 K shu1 K book ‘study hard.’

Additional examples of letters used as word components in Chinese are given in [20]:

Verbs and verb phrases
Y.-H. Audrey Li

4.1. Introduction
Clauses consist of subjects and predicates. Common instances of predicates are verb phrases, which are headed by verbs. Chinese verbs do not inflect for tense, person, gender, or number, but they can be immediately followed by aspect markers. The general lack of morphological clues has obscured the boundaries between verbs and other related lexical categories, such as adjectives, prepositions, and modal auxiliaries, in Chinese.

A verb phrase may be a simple structure with just a head verb or a complicated structure with the head verb and various dependent elements, such as arguments and modifiers. There are constraints on the number of elements appearing in the post-verbal position. Such constraints can be met by putting relevant elements into some other positions via topicalization, passivization, and verb reduplication, as well as by using the ba construction. In contrast, constraints on the types of elements that may appear in the post-verbal object position are less restrictive. Instrumental, temporal, and locative phrases, which typically appear as part of adverbial preposition phrases, may appear in the post-verbal object position under certain circumstances.

4.1.1. Summary of defining properties of verbs
1 Verbs can be suffixed with aspect markers — the perfective aspect marker 了 le0, the imperfective progressive/durative marker 着 zhe0, and the experiential marker 过 guo4 (see Chapter 5).
2 Some monosyllabic verbs can be reduplicated. The reduplicated forms can be Aa, A-yi-a with infix yi1 ‘one’ — or A-le-a.
3 A disyllabic verb AB can also be reduplicated. The reduplicated form is ABab.
4 Verbs can appear in the form of V-not-V to form alternative questions.
5 Verbs can serve as simple answers to both yes–no questions and some variable questions.
6 Verbs can be followed by objects.
7 Verbs can combine with other words to form compounds according to various types of morphological and syntactic principles.
8 Verbs can be classified into different subtypes according to the number and type of arguments they have.
9 Some emotion verbs and epistemic verbs are gradable in that they have relative degrees. They can enter comparison and can be modified by degree adverbials.

4.1.2. Summary of the properties of verb phrases
1 The canonical position of objects is immediately after the verb. Other complements such as duration or frequency phrases, resultative, directional, or descriptive complements, and purposive phrases can also occur post-verbally.
2 Some verbs can combine with their objects to form a new complex verb and thus take additional arguments.
3 Verb phrases are mainly used as the predicate of clauses. They also appear to be used as the subject or object of a clause or modifier.

The copula 是 shì4 ‘be’ and modal auxiliaries are included in the category of verb phrases. The copula 是 shì4 ‘be’ is treated as a subcategory of verbs in the sense that it has properties similar to certain verbs. Modal auxiliaries are also considered a subcategory of verbs, even though they characteristically take a verb phrase as a complement and do not take aspect markers.

4.2. Properties of verbs
There are no uniform morphological clues to determine whether a lexical item is a verb or not. However, there is a number of morphological and syntactic features that are characteristically associated with verbs or certain subtypes of verbs.

4.2.1. Morphological marking on verbs
The main function of a verb is to head a verb phrase, referred to as a predicate, and the aspect of the predicate is typically indicated by a marker attached to the verb. The possibility of taking an aspect marker is thus an important defining property of Chinese verbs.

There is a close correlation between the predicate type and aspect. Copular verbs like 是 shì4 ‘be’ and stative verbs such as 像 xiàng4 ‘resemble’ and 姓 xìng4 ‘have the last name of’ typically head a predicate depicting a stable long-lasting state and do not take the perfective aspect, which prototypically goes with a predicate depicting an activity, achievement, or accomplishment. However, in rare cases where a state has a starting point and a sentence describes the stable state after that point, it is acceptable for the head of the predicate to take a perfective aspect marker, like the 了 le attached to the stative verb 姓 xìng4 ‘have the last name of’ in [1a] and the 过 guò suffixed to the copular 是 shì4 ‘be’ in [1b].
Verbs and verb phrases

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a. 父把我过继给姑姑，我就姓了姑父的姓。

father BA I adopt (continue family line) to
gu1gu1 wo3 jiu4 xing4 le0 gu1fu4
aunt I then surname LE uncle-in-law

xing4 surname

'Father gave me to his sister for adoption, and I took her husband’s last name.'

b. 他是过美国人又怎么样?

he be GUO American again how

'Does it really matter if he used to be an American citizen?'

The head of a predicate can appear in a reduplicated form to denote an activity lasting for a short while or an action being repeated. Copular verbs and stative verbs do not typically appear in reduplicated forms.

Monosyllabic verbs A are reduplicated as Aa, like the 听听 ting1ting1 ‘listen to’ and 喝喝 he1he1 ‘drink’ in [2a]. Sometimes 一 yi1 ‘one’ or 了 le0 can occur between the reduplicated Aa to create an A-yi-a form or A-le-A form. The former is generally interpreted as ‘doing the activity a little bit,’ while the latter is interpreted as ‘having done the activity a little bit.’ The 走一走 zou3yi1zou3 ‘walk-a-walk’ in [2b] means to walk casually for a short period, while the 摇了摇 yao2le0yao2 ‘shook and shook’ in [2c] means having done the shaking more than once in a casual way. Sometimes the two infixes can appear together to produce a form like the 看一看 kan4le0yi1kan4 ‘have had a look’ in [2c]. Disyllabic verbs AB are reduplicated as ABAB, like the 呼吸呼吸 hu1xi1hu1xi1 ‘breathe’ in [2b].

[2] a. 他整天听听戏，喝喝茶，不务正业。

he whole_day listen_to opera drink tea

'He spent the whole day listening to opera, enjoying tea, and doing no serious business.'

b. 到公园去走一走，呼吸呼吸新鲜空气。

go_to park go walk_a_walk breathe
Y.-H. Audrey Li

xinxian kongqi
fresh air

‘Have a walk in the park and breathe some fresh air.’

c. 老头拿起佛像看了一看，摇了摇头说，“假的”。

lao3tou2 na2qi3 fo2xiang4 kan4 le0 yi1
old_man pick_up Buddha_statue look LE one

kan4 yao2 le0 yao2 tou2 shuo1 jia3de0
look shake LE shake head say fake

‘Picking up the Buddha statue, the old man had a look, shook his head, and said, “It’s a fake.”’

Some apparent examples of verbs reduplicated as AaBb are a concatenation of two simple reduplications. Reduplicated verbs such as 寻寻觅觅 xun2xun2mi4mi4 ‘search and search,’ 拉拉扯扯 la1la1che3che3 ‘pull and pull,’ and 蹦蹦跳跳 beng4beng4tiao4tiao4 ‘bounce and jump’ are actually the coordination of two reduplicated verbs, verb A reduplicated as Aa + verb B reduplicated as Bb. They behave just like 走走停停 zou3zou3ting2ting2 ‘walk and stop’ and 出出进进 chu1chu1jin4jin4 ‘go out and come in,’ which do not have the corresponding AB.

4.2.2. Syntactic behavior of verbs
As a lexical category, the most prominent property of verbs is the ability to take objects. The 吃 chi1 ‘eat’ in [3a] is a two-argument verb that takes a subject (the one that eats) and an object (the thing(s) to be eaten). In [3b], 吃 chi1 ‘eat’ has a derived meaning of ‘relying on somebody for a living’ and takes 父母 fu4mu3 ‘parents’ as the object. Non-canonical collocations like that in [3b] are available only to a limited number of verb types and nominal phrase types.

[3] a. 我这几个月天天吃素。

wo3 zhe4 ji3 ge4 yue4 tian1tian1 chi1
I this several CL month everyday eat

su4
vegetarian_food

‘I eat vegetarian food every day for a few months.’

b. 你都二十好几的人了，怎么还在吃父母?

ni3 dou1 er4shi2 hao3ji3 de0 ren2 le0 zen3me0
you all twenty several DE person LE how

hai2 zai4 chi1 fu4mu3
still ZAI eat parents

‘You are over twenty now. How can you still live off your parents?’
When a verb functions as the head of a main predicate, it can appear in a V-not-V form to produce an A-not-A alternative question (see Chapter 14, section 4.1). The “not” part of V-not-V is 不 bu4 ‘not’ if the predicate is in the imperfective aspect; and as in [4a] it is 没 mei2 ‘not’ if the predicate is in the perfective aspect, as in [4b]. When the verb has two or more syllables, the process of V-not-V formation can involve the whole verb as in [5a] or simply the first syllable of the verb, as in [5b], even if the first syllable is a bound morpheme.

[4]   a.  小学生还写不写毛笔字?
       xiao3xue2sheng1 hai2 xie3 bu4 xie3 mao2bi3zi4
       pupil yet write NEG write calligraphy
       ‘Do primary school pupils practice calligraphy or not?’

       b.  你去没去过颐和园?
       ni3 qu4 mei2 qu4 guo4 yi2he2yuan2
       you go not go GUO Summer_Palace
       ‘Have you been to the Summer Palace or not?’

[5]   a.  你知道不知道谁来了?
       ni3 zhi1dao4 bu4 zhi1dao4 shui2 lai2 le0
       you know NEG know who come LE
       ‘Do you know who came?’

       b.  你们需不需要大功率的水泵?
       ni3men0 xu1 bu4 xu1yao4 da4 gong1li4 de0
       you need NEG need big capacity DE
       shui3beng4
       pump
       ‘Do you need large capacity pumps or not?’

There are some variations in the A-not-A alternative question formation. In casual speech, it is possible to take a preposition or adverb as the main component of a predicate and make it an A-not-A form, such as those in [6a] and [6b].

[6]   a.  郑渝高铁到底从不从襄樊走?
       zheng4 yu2 gao1tie3 dao4di3
       Zhengzhou Chongqing high_speed_railway on_earth
       cong2 bu4 cong2 xiang1fan2 zou3
       PERF NEG PREP Xiangfan go_through
       ‘Does Zheng-Yu high-speed rail go via Xiangfan after all?’
b.温州经不经常下雨?
wen1zhou1 jing1 bu4 jing1chang2 xia4yu3
Wenzhou often NEG often rain
‘Does it rain in Wenzhou frequently?’

The head of a verbal predicate can serve as the simple answer to a yes–no question, as can be seen in the relation between [7a] and [7b], as well as between [8a] and [8b]. The head of an adjectival predicate often occurs with a degree adverbial like the bleached intensifier 很 hen3 ‘very’ as in [8] (see Chapter 10).

[7] a. 你吃过很多苦吗?
ni3 chi1 guo4 hen3duo1 ku3 ma0
you eat GUO many hardship MA
‘Have you gone through a lot of hardship?’

b. 吃过。
chi1 guo4
eat GUO
‘(I have) gone through (a lot).’

[8] a. 他的女婿很帅吧?
ta1 de0 nu3xu4 hen3 shuai4 ba0
he DE son_in_law very handsome BA
‘Is his son-in-law handsome?’

b. 很帅。
hen3 shuai4
very handsome
‘(Yes, he is) very handsome.’

Many epistemic and emotional verbs have relative degrees and can be modified by 很 or other degree adverbials. However, these verbs can head a predicate without the intensifier 很. For example, [9a] and [9b] are both acceptable (see Chapter 10).

[9] a. 你本来很讨厌这部电影。
ni3 ben3lai2 hen3 tao3yan4 zhe4 bu4 dian4ying3
you originally very hate this CL movie
‘You hated the movie very much at first.’

b. 我讨厌这部电影。
wo3 tao3yan4 zhe4 bu4 dian4ying3
I hate this CL movie
‘I hate this movie.’
Verb phrases also appear in the subject, object, and modifier position. The verb phrase *春节放鞭炮 chun1jie2 fang4 bian1pao4 ‘lighting firecrackers during the Chinese New Year’ in [10a] is in the subject position. The verb phrase *兴建一座五星级酒店 xing1jian4 yi1 zuo4 wu3xing1ji2 jiu3dian4 ‘building a five-star hotel’ in [10b] is in the object position of 考虑 kao3li4 ‘consider.’ The verb phrase *刚出炉 gang1 chu1lu2 ‘just come out of the oven’ is part of a 的 de phrase, which is the modifier of the nominal phrase 烧饼 shao1bing3 ‘sesame cake.’

[10]  a. 春节放鞭炮已经是几千年的习俗了。
    chun1jie2 fang4 bian1pao4 yi3jing1 shi4 ji3
    Spring_Festival set_off firecrackers already be several
    qian1 nian2 de0 xi2su2 le0
    thousand year DE tradition LE
    'Lighting firecrackers during the Chinese New Year has been a tradition for thousands of years.'

b. 我们公司考虑兴建一座五星级酒店。
    wo3men2 gong1si1 kao3li4 xing1jian4 yi1 zuo4
    we company consider build one CL
    wu3xing1ji2 jiu3dian4.
    five-star hotel
    'Our company is considering building a five-star hotel.'

c. 刚出炉的烧饼香极了。
    gang1 chu1lu2 de0 shao1bing3 xiang1
    just come_out_of_oven DE baked_cake fragrant
    ji2 le0
    extreme LE
    'Baked cakes hot and fresh from the oven smell wonderful.'

Verbs can also be part of compound or complex verbs (see Chapter 3). Within the compound verbs in [11], the two verbs in [11a] are conjoined together, and the noun and verb in [11b] are in a subject–predicate relation. The first element in the complex words in [11c] is a verb and the second one is its object, even though the object can be a verb itself, like the 贿 hui4 ‘bribe’ in 行贿 xing2hui4 ‘conduct-bribe.’ The first element in the compounds in [11d] is an adverbial modifying the verb after it, even though the 哭 ku1 ‘cry’ in 哭诉 ku1su4 ‘complain while crying’ is also a verb. The first verb in the complex words in [11d–e] represents an action and the second verb stands for the result.
4.2.3. Properties of non-verbal predicates

Some predicates have a non-verbal head, such as an adjective or a preposition. A typical adjectival predicate describes a state that remains stable for a long time and is not compatible with the perfective aspect. However, some adjectival predicates can describe states that have starting points or ending points and take the perfective aspect. The 红 hong2 ‘red’ in the first clause of [12a] describes a state that ends before the reference. The aspect 过 guo attached to 红 hong2 ‘red’ reflects such a situation. The 热 re4 ‘hot’ in [12b] represents a state that started before the time of reference and continued after that time, and 了 le is attached to 热 to mark such a situation.

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[12] a. 樱桃刚刚红过了, 石榴又登上了舞台。
   ying1tao2  gang1gang1  hong2  guo4  le0  shi2liu0
   cherry  just  red  GUO LE  pomegranate
   you4 deng1shang4  le0  wu3tai2.
   again be_on LE stage
   ‘Cherries have just finished their show of redness, and pomegranates are now at that stage.’

   b. 今年已经热了两个多月了。
   jin1nian2  yi3jing1  re4  le0  liang3  ge4  duo1  yue4
   this_year already  hot  LE  two  CL  more  month
   le0
   LE
   ‘It has already been hot for more than two months this year.’

The head of adjectival predicates can appear in reduplicated forms, such as the ABab 快乐快乐 kuai4le4 kuai4le4 ‘happy’ and 高兴高兴 gao1xing4 gao1xing4 ‘joyful’ in [13a], and the AaBb 清清白白 qing1qing1bai2bai2 ‘clean’ in [13b]. Unlike non-reduplicated adjectives, reduplicated ones do not have comparative meanings and can head a predicate without a modifier. These forms cannot be directly
negated, nor can they have V-not-V forms (see Chapter 10). AaBb adjectives can also function as part of an adverbial phrase, as in [13c]. But ABab forms typically do not have this function.

   
   ni3 jiu4 kuaile4 le4 kuaile4 le4 ba0 gao1xing4 gao1xing4
   you thus happy happy BA happy happy
   ba0
   BA
   'Be happy! Cheer up!'

b. 她的身世清清白白，你们还要查什么?
   
   ta1 de0 shen1shi4 qing1qing1 bai2 bai2 ni3men0 hai2 yao4
   she DE life clean you still
   cha2 shen2 me0
   look into what
   'Her family has a clean record. What else are you looking for?'

c. 孩子高高兴兴地跑了出去。
   
   hai2zi3 gao1 gao1xing4 xing4 de0 pao3 le0 chu1 qu4
   child happily run LE out
   'The child ran out happily.'

[14] 前面那天桥白不白?
   
   qian2mian4 na4 tian1 qiao2 bai2 bu4 bai2
   front that overpass white not white
   'Is the overpass in the front white or not?'

Adjectival predicates usually describe states, but occasionally they can present events or activities and have objects. The predicate in [15a] describes a woman crying and the reading that “tears blurred her eyes” is made possible by the causative use of an adjective. 模糊 mo2hu0 ‘blurry’ actually functions as a two-argument verb, taking a causer subject and an affected object, as well as the perfective marker 了 le0. [15b] is about how a place was brightened by a red light. The adjective 亮 liang4 ‘bright’ is used as a one-argument existential verb, taking 一片红光 yi1 pian4 hong2 guang1 ‘a red light’ as its object.

[15] a. 泪水再次模糊了她的眼睛。
   
   lei4 shui3 zai4 ci4 mo2 hu0 le0 ta1 de0 yan3 jing1
   tear again blur LE she DE eye
   'Tears blurred her eyes again.'
b. 村头上亮着一片红光。
   cun1tou2 shang4 liang4 zhe0 yi1 pian4 hong2
   village on bright ZHE one CL red
   guang1
   light
   ‘There shone a red light at the entrance of the village.’

In some cases, a predicate may look like it is being headed by a noun, such as 美国人 mei3guo2ren2 ‘American person, American’ in [16a], or by an A adjective derived from a noun like the 中国 zhong1guo2 ‘Chinese’ in [16b]. The phrase headed by a real noun cannot be negated directly so a verb is needed for this, such as the copula 是 shi4 ‘be’ in [17a]. A phrase that is headed by a derived adjective can be modified by degree adverbials, as in [16b], or can be negated directly, as in [17b].

[16]  a. 他姐夫美国人。
   ta1 jie3fu1 mei3guo2ren2
   he brother-in-law American
   ‘His brother-in-law is an American.’

b. 桥头市场非常国际, 但又十分中国。
   qiao2tou2 shi4chang3 fei1chang2 guo2ji4 dan4
   Qiaotou market very international but
   you4 shi2fen1 zhong1guo2
   also very China
   ‘The Qiaotou Market is very international but is also very Chinese.’

[17]  a. 他姐夫不是美国人。
   ta1 jie3fu1 bu2 shi4 mei3guo2ren2
   he brother-in-law NEG be American
   ‘His brother-in-law is not an American.’

b. 桥头市场一点都不国际, 也非常不中国。
   qiao2tou2 shi4chang3 yi1dian3 dou1 bu4 guo2ji4
   Qiaotou market a_bit all NEG international
   ye3 fei1chang2 bu4 zhong1guo2
   also very NEG China
   ‘The Qiaotou Market is not international nor is it Chinese at all.’

Predicates are sometimes headed by 在 zai4 ‘at/in/on,’ which is often used as a preposition. 在 is the only preposition-like word that can head a predicate. As the
head of a predicate, 在 can take an object, as in [18a], or have the V-not-V form in a yes–no question, as in [18b].

[18] a. 林校长在八楼。
   lin2 xiao4zhang3 zai4 ba1 lou2
   Lin president be_at eight floor
   ‘President Lin is on the eighth floor.’

b. 县长在不在家?
   xian4zhang3 zai4 bu4 zai4 jia1
   mayor be_at NEG be_at home
   ‘Is the Mayor at home or not?’

4.3. Verb types
One way to classify verbs is to consider the events or situations described by various types of verbs. Four event types are generally distinguished: stative, activity, accomplishment, and achievement (see Chapter 5).

[19] a. stative verbs: 有 you3 ‘have,’ 姓 xing4 ‘have the surname of,’ 像 xiang4 ‘resemble,’ 喜欢 xi3huan1 ‘like’

b. activity verbs: 做 zuo4 ‘make,’ 劝 quan4 ‘(try to) persuade/advise,’
   吃 chi1 ‘eat,’ 打 da3 ‘beat,’ 念 nian4 ‘read,’ 看 kan4 ‘look, read’

c. achievement verbs: 到 dao4 ‘arrive,’ 忘 wang4 ‘forget,’ 丢 diu1 ‘lose,’
   死 si3 ‘die’

d. accomplishment verbs: 毙 bi4 ‘shoot and kill,’ 灭 mie4 ‘extinguish,’
   娶 qu3 ‘marry (a woman),’ 绝杀 jue2sha1 ‘absolutely kill,’ 劝服 quan4fu2
   ‘persuade,’ 杀死 sha1si3 ‘kill,’ 打破 da3po4 ‘break,’ 压倒 ya1dao3 ‘crash’

In their typical use, stative verbs like those in [19a] describe events that do not involve change. Activity verbs like those in [19b] represent dynamic events that continue for a period of time without a clear endpoint. Both types of verbs represent situations with no built-in inherent temporal endpoint.

Achievement verbs like 丢 diu1 ‘lose’ and 死 si3 ‘die’ in [19c] depict events of change that are completed instantly. Accomplishment verbs like those in [19d] represent events with an inherent endpoint at which the result state is realized. Many of the simple accomplishment verbs owe their existence to Classical Chinese or dialects. 毙 bi4 ‘killed’ comes from Classical Chinese but has obtained a new meaning of ‘killing with a gun’ in Northern Dialect. When someone brags 我毙了三个 wo3 bi4 le0 san1 ge4 ‘I shot and killed three,’ he makes it clear that three men were dead because of his shooting. Simple accomplishment verbs, however, are rare in Chinese. Typical accomplishment verbs are in the form of verb–resultative
(V–R) compounds like 跑丢 pao3diu1 ‘run and got lost (typically for children and pets),’ 杀死 sha1si3 ‘kill (attack-dead),’ 打破 da3po4 ‘break (hit-break),’ and 压倒 ya1dao3 ‘crash.’ The V part of the compound is typically an activity verb, while the R part is typically a stative verb or an adjective indicating the result state, and less frequently an achievement verb. Achievement verbs and accomplishment verbs both have a built-in (temporal) endpoint.

The temporal endpoint of achievement and accomplishment verbs can be explicitly marked either by a nominal phrase referring to a point in time or duration, indicating that the event or activity is completed at a particular point in time or within a certain amount of time, as illustrated in [20a] and [20b]. A simple duration phrase, however, can also occur with stative or activity verbs to imply a temporal endpoint. Note that in such cases, the endpoint can be at the beginning [20c] or at the end [20d] of the event, or both.

[20] a. 列车将于两点半抵达上海。
lie4che1 zai4 liang3 ge4 xiao3shi2 nei4 di3da2 train PREP two CL hour within arrive
shang4hai3 Shanghai
‘The train will arrive at Shanghai at two thirty.’

b. 防疫人员八小时内扑杀了所有的活禽。
fang2yi4 ren2yuan2 ba1 xiao3shi2 nei4 disease_control people eight hour within
bu3sha1 le0 suo3you3 de0 huo2qin2 catch_and_kill LE all DE live_bird
‘The disease control people killed all live birds in eight hours.’

c. 他喜欢你很久了。
ta1 xi3huan1 ni3 hen2jiu3 le0 he like you a_long_time LE
‘He has been admiring (liking) you for a long time.’

d. 国宴吃了三个小时。
guo2yan4 chi1 le0 san1 ge4 xiao3shi2. state_banquet eat LE three CL hour
‘The state banquet lasted for three hours.’

When an activity verb takes a quantity phrase as an object, the predicate may be “measured out” and have an endpoint. 看 kan4 ‘look, read’ itself does not indicate any end point of the activity, as in [21a], but when it takes 三本书 san1 ben3 shu1 ‘three books’ as the object in [21b], the activity will end when the third book has been read. The predicate, namely the verb phrase, in [21b] thus has a temporal
endpoint and describes an accomplishment event, even though the verb is an activity verb.

[21] a. 你去看书。
ni3 qu4 kan4 shu1
you go read book
'You go ahead and read book.'

b. 你去看三本书。
i3 qu4 kan4 san1 ben3 shu1
you go look three CL book
'You go ahead and read three books.'

Certain temporal expressions can appear after the verb in the form of a frequency phrase, as in [22a], or a duration phrase, as in [22b]. When the predicate is headed by an atelic verb, a frequency or duration phrase typically delimits a timeframe within which the action or event takes place and thus gives the event an endpoint. The duration or frequency phrase is the object of the verb and, when there is another object, the two usually form one nominal phrase, as in [22c].

[22] a. 他跟着一个师父学几次, 学会了。
ta1 gen1 zhe0 yi1 ge4 shi1fu4 xue2 ji3ci4
he follow ZHE one CL master learn several _times
xue2hui4 le0
acquire LE
'He practiced several times with a master and has learned it.'

b. 他在上海住了十几年, 还不会说上海话。
ta1 zai4 shang4hai3 zhu4 le0 shi2 ji3 nian2
he PREP Shanghai live LE ten some year
hai3 bu2 hui4 shang4hai3hua4.
till NEG can ShanghaiDialect
'He has lived in Shanghai for more than a decade, but has not yet learned Shanghai Dialect.'

c. 他跟着一个师父学了几次刀法, 可以动手做了。
ta1 gen1 zhe0 yi1 ge4 shi1fu4 xue2 le0
he follow ZHE one CL master learn LE
ji3ci4 dao1fa3 ke3yi3 dong4shou3 zuo4 le0
several_times knife_skill can start_work do LE
'He practiced the carving method several times with a master, and should be able to do it.'
When the object is definite, the duration or frequency phrase could also occur after the object, as in [23a]. Other options are available, such as for the direct object to appear elsewhere via topicalization, passivization, the use of the ba construction, and verb reduplication constructions, as in [23b]. When the head of a predicate is telic, the duration or frequency phrase after the verb usually indicates the timeframe in which the resultant state lasts. The 七、八年 qi1 ba1 nian2 'seven or eight years' in [23c] represents the period between the death of the grandfather and the time of reference. Such a phrase can also function as a predicate, as in [23d], where it takes a clause as the subject and is modified by the adverbial 已经 yi3jing1 ‘already.’

[23]  a. 妈妈打了孩子一巴掌。
ma1ma0 da3 le0 hai2zi0 yi1 ba1zhang3
mother slap LE child one palm
‘The mother slapped the child once.’

b. 孩子玩电子游戏玩了一整天。
hai2zi0 wan2 dian4zi3you2xi4 wan2 le0 yi1
child play video_game play LE one
zheng3tian1
whole_day
‘The child played video games for the whole day.’

c. 泽涛的爷爷已经死了七、八年了。
ze2tao1 de0 ye2ye0 yi3jing1 si3 le0 qi1
Zetao DE grandfather already die LE seven
ba1 nian2 le0
eight year LE
‘Zetao’s grandfather has been dead for seven or eight years.’

d. 泽涛的爷爷死了已经七、八年了。
ze2tao1 de0 ye2ye0 si3 le0 yi3jing1 qi1
Zetao DE grandfather die LE already seven
ba1 nian2 le0
eight year LE
‘It has been seven or eight years since Zetao’s grandfather died.’

4.4. Arguments
Verbs may also differ from each other in the number and type of arguments they can take. An argument is a linguistically represented participant of an event, which is typically expressed by a noun phrase. In a drinking event like that in [24],
two participants are generally involved: the drinker and the drink. The former is usually said to have the thematic role of agent while the latter the role of theme. These two participants are expressed by two arguments, the agent as the subject and the theme in an object position.

Verbs can be classified according to the number and type of arguments they take:

- **Single-argument verbs**, either unaccusative ones whose single argument can occur in either the object position or the subject position, such as 开 \(kai1\) ‘open’ and 沉 \(chen2\) ‘sink,’ or unergative ones whose single argument typically occurs in the subject position, such as 哭 \(ku1\) ‘cry’ and 笑 \(xiao4\) ‘laugh.’
- **Double-argument verbs**, which have a subject and an object, such as 打 \(da3\) ‘hit’ and 吃 \(chi1\) ‘eat.’
- **Triple-argument verbs**, which have a subject and two objects, such as 送 \(song4\) ‘give’ and 借 \(jie4\) ‘borrow, lend.’
- **Quadruple-argument verbs**, which have a subject and three objects, such as 换 \(huan4\) ‘trade’ and 赌 \(du3\) ‘bet.’

Since verbs have at least one argument, the subject, they can also be categorized according to the number of non-subject arguments they can take: none, one, two, or three. Those without an object are traditionally called intransitive verbs; those with an object are transitive verbs; those taking two objects are ditransitive verbs; and those that have three additional arguments are tritransitive verbs.

### 4.4.1. Single-argument verbs

Single-argument verbs are often categorized into two types: unergative and unaccusative. Unergative verbs have an argument that characteristically bears the thematic role of agent and occupies the subject position, as in [25]. Unaccusative verbs have an argument that can occupy either the object or the subject position, as in [26] and [27].

[25] a. 卖酒的人笑了，刘家的人也笑了。
    mai4 jiu3 de0 ren2 xiao4 le0 liu jia1 de0
    sell wine DE person smile LE Liu family DE
The position of the argument in an unaccusative verb depends on the information structure of the sentence and the definiteness of the argument. As the translation suggests, when new information is introduced, such as in [26b] and [26c], or when the referent (the friend) is not definite, as in [26a], the argument occurs in the post-verbal position. In contrast, the argument occurs in the pre-verbal subject position when the reference of the argument is known and definite, as in [27].
When the argument of an unaccusative verb occupies the post-verbal object position, the subject position can be left open, as in [26], or it can be filled, as in [28]. The extra element can be an experiencer/benefactor, as in [28a], a temporal phrase, as in [28b], or a locative phrase, as in [28c].

[28]  a. 航运公司连续沉了三条船。
    hang2yun4 gong1si1 lian2xu4 chen2 le0 san1
    shipping company consecutively sink LE three
    tiao2 chuan2
    CL ship
    '(What happened to the Shipping Corporation was that) three of their boats sank consecutively.'

    b. 去年走了八位学生。
    qu4nian2 zou3 le0 ba1 wei4 xue2sheng1
    last_year leave LE eight CL student
    '(What happened to the school was that) eight students quit last year.'

    c. 床上躺着一个满脸皱纹的老人。
    chang2shang4 tang3 zhe0 yi1 ge4 man3 lian3
    on_the_bed lie ZHE one CL full face
    zhou4wen2 de0 lao3ren2
    wrinkle DE old_man
    'Lying on the bed was an old man with a face full of wrinkles.'

Another difference between unergative and unaccusative verbs is that agent-oriented adverbials can co-occur only with unergative verbs, as in [29], since the argument of an unergative verb is typically agent-like.

[29]  a. 月霞姨认真地笑了笑。
    yue4xia2 yi2 ren4zhen1 de0 xiao4 le0 xiao4
    YUEXIA aunt seriously DE smile LE smile
    'Auntie Yuexia laughed seriously.'

    b. 陈平故意大叫了起来。
    chen2ping2 gu4yi4 da4jiao4 le0 qi3lai2
    CHEN_PING intentionally yell LE QILAI
    'Ping CHEN yelled intentionally.'

4.4.2. Double-argument verbs
Double-argument verbs involve two participants in the events or situations, typically taking the subject and object positions.
Although the sentences in [30] and [28] all have a subject and an object, they have different properties. In [30a] and [30b], both arguments are required participants, whereas in sentences involving unaccusatives like in [28], only the object is the required argument of the verb.

It is common in Chinese for an argument of a verb to be left unexpressed and to be interpreted as if it is filled with an element that is interpreted according to the context.

In the second clause of [31a], the object is to be understood as we 'our performance', although it is actually unexpressed. In contrast, the second clause in [31b] can only yield the interpretation that also died, even though the second clause has a structure parallel to that of the first one. 'die' is an unaccusative verb that requires only one argument. The second participant in such a clause is not an argument and cannot be interpreted unless it is explicitly expressed. The second clause with only one filled argument
simply cannot have the reading of 'experiencing/suffering the death of the disciples.'

It is important to note that not all two-argument verbs involve a subject and an object. Many of them involve arguments in non-canonical positions and this issue will be discussed in section 4.5.

4.4.3. Triple-argument verbs
Verbs involving an argument that changes its state (including positions) are typically expressed by verbs with three arguments. In other words, the event represented by such verbs mostly concerns the transfer of objects, actual or virtual, from one person to another, and generally involves three participants: an agent who initiates the transfer, a theme that is transferred, and a beneficiary or maleficiary who receives or loses the theme. These ditransitive verbs thus have one subject and two objects, as shown in [32].

[32]  a. 我已经给了每个孩子一个大红包了。
    wo3 yi3jing1 gei3 le0 mei3 ge4 hai2zi0 yi1 ge4
    I already give LE every CL child one CL
da4 hong2bao1 le0
    big red envelope LE
    'I have already given each child a fat red envelope.'

b. 他寄给我几十张照片。
    ta1 ji4 gei3 wo3 ji3 shi2 zhang1 zhao4pian4
    he mail give I some ten CL picture
    'He sent me scores of pictures.'

c. 他教小学生国文。
    ta1 jiao1 xiao3xue2sheng1 guo2wen2
    he teach pupil Chinese
    'He teaches elementary school pupils Chinese.'

d. 他就去公主的房间, 问她这个问题。
    ta1 jiu4 qu4 gong1zhu3 de0 fang2jian1 wen4 ta1
    he thus go_to princess DE room ask she
    zhe4 ge4 wen4ti2
    this CL question
    'He then went to the Princess's room and asked her this question.'

e. 我们欠他八百万元。
    wo3men0 qian4 ta1 ba1bai3wan4 yuan2
    we owe he eight_million yuan
    'We owe him eight million dollars.'
In these sentences, the goal or source of the transfer occurs directly after the verb and is followed by the argument that changes the state of being transferred. When giving events are involved, the verbs are often compounds with 㖼给‘give’ as the second root, such as 㖼寄给‘mail-give’ in [32b].

Some transitive verbs typically taking one object may allow an additional nominal phrase in the post-verbal position to create a double-object construction. 吃吃‘eat’ atypically takes two objects in [33], 父母父母‘parents’ and 十年粮十年粮‘ten years’ worth of food.’ The sentence has an extended meaning of eating: the boy lived off his parents for ten more years.

[33] 他又吃了父母十年粮。
他 again eat LE parents ten year food
‘He lived off his parents for ten more years.’

Similar to the difference between one- and two-argument verbs, the difference between three-argument verbs and two-argument verbs with additional arguments lies in whether the third argument can be understood without being expressed. In ditransitive sentences like those in [34], one of the two objects can usually be left unexpressed when there is a clear context to indicate what the missing object is. Both sentences in [34] thus have a two-object reading, even though only one of them is overtly expressed.

[34] a. 他要带回家送给妻子。
他 again want take back home give_to wife
‘He wanted to bring [it] home to give [it] to his wife.’

b. 朱熹的学生曾问他。
ZHU_XI DE student once ask he
‘Xi ZHU’s students once asked him [a question].’

4.4.4. Quadruple-argument verbs

Only a handful of verbs can take four arguments, including three objects. These objects typically are marked with different prepositions or occur in different positions. The four arguments in [35] are “I,” “one dollar in my hand,” “you,” and “one dollar,” with the last three being different objects. Like other types of verbs, any of the four arguments can be unrealized but will always be understood.
Verbs and verb phrases

4.4.5. Verbs with “bleached” objects

There is another type of double-object sentence characteristically with a numeral phrase with a third-person singular pronoun ta, which is orthographically represented as either non-human 它 ta1 ‘it’ or neutral human 他 ta1 ‘he,’ as shown in [37] below. The pronoun occurs right after the verb and before the object to indicate the speaker's tentative or casual attitude. This particular third-person pronoun has been bleached of its meaning and reference. No other pronoun can serve this function.

[35]  
[a. 我把手中的一块钱和你换一块钱。]
wo3 ba3 shou3zhong4 de0 yi1 kuai4 qian2 he2
I BA in_hand DE one yuan money PREP

ni3 huan4 yi1 kuai4 qian2
you trade one yuan money
'I trade one dollar in my hand with you for one dollar.'

[b. 一块钱,(和你)换一块钱。]
yi1 kuai4 qian2 he2 ni3 huan4 yi1 kuai4 qian2
one yuan money PREP you trade one yuan money

qian2 money
'(I) will trade one dollar (with you) for one dollar.'

[c. 我和你换一块钱/我换你一块钱。]
wo3 he2 ni3 huan4 yi1 kuai4 qian2 wo3
I PREP you trade one yuan money I

huan4 ni3 yi1 kuai4 qian2
trade you one yuan money
'I will trade (something) with you for one dollar.'

Another quadruple argument verb is 赌 "du3 ‘bet’ as exemplified in [36].

[36]  
一顿饭和你赌巴西不会夺冠。
yi1 dun4 fan4 he2 ni3 du3 ba1xi1 bu4hui4
one CL meal PREP you bet Brazil NEG_will
duo2guan4 win_championship
'(I) bet one meal with you that Brazil will not win the championship.'
A similar “bleached” element expressing tentativeness or casualness is the generic classifier 个 ge4 ‘CL’ between a verb and its post-verbal constituent, which can be a nominal object as in [38a], an adjunct phrase, as the extent element in [38b], or a verb phrase, as the resultative in [38c]. The classifier 个 ge4 ‘CL’ in these cases is depleted of much of its semantic content.

These two “bleached” elements sometimes occur together and the object in this case can be any type of phrase possible after either of the bleached 它 ta1 ‘it’ or 个 ge4 ‘CL,’ with the order of 它 ta1 ‘ta’ preceding 个 ge4 ‘CL’ strongly preferred.
4.4.6. Verbal argument verbs

Some verbs can take verb phrases as arguments. The subject and object of [40a] are both verbal phrases, and so is the subject of [40b].

[40] a. 醉酒驾驶等于用车杀人。
   zui4jiu3 jia4shi3 deng3yu2 yong4 che1 sha1 ren2
drunk drive amount_to use car kill people
   ‘To drive when drunk is the same as to use a car to kill people.’

b. 笑能让人长寿。
   xiao4 neng2 rang4 ren2 chang2shou4.
laugh can make people live_a_long_life
   ‘To laugh can make people live a long life.’

A few verbs can take a verb phrase as a complement to produce an interpretation similar to the verbal complement itself. The 调查 diao4cha 2 ‘investigate’ in [41a] is a double-argument verb that takes a theme argument as its object. The same
idea is expressed in [41b] by a “complex predicate,” in which 调查 is the head of the object phrase and the semantic theme of 调查 is the object in the preposition phrase, while the main verb is a semantically bleached 做 zuo4 ‘do.’ Although 做 is commonly used as a double-argument verb, it is considered a “generic” or “light” verb in cases like [41b] in the sense that it does not contribute much to the overall meaning of the predicate but makes the verbal complement a legitimate part of the predicate. The overall meaning of the complex predicate mainly comes from the verbal complement as well as the theme phrase in the adverbial preposition phrase.

[41]  
a. 警察彻底调查了这起事故。
   jing3cha 2 che4di3 diao4cha 2 le0 zhe4 qi3 shi4gu4 
policeman thoroughly investigate LE this CL accident
   ‘The police thoroughly investigated the accident.’

b. 警察对这起事故做了彻底调查。
   jing3cha 2 dui4 zhe4 qi3 shi4gu4 zuo4 le0 
policeman PREP this CL accident conduct LE
   che4di3 diao4cha 2 
   thoroughly investigate
   ‘The police carried out a thorough investigation of the accident.’

c. 法院应对证人予以保护。
   fa3yuan4 ying1 dui4 zheng4ren2 yu2yi3 bao3hu4 
court should PREP witness provide protection
   ‘The court should protect the witness.’

Other verbs in this category include 进行 jin4xing2 ‘do,’ 有 you3 ‘have,’ 加以 jia1yi3 ‘make,’ 给以 gei3yi3 ‘give,’ and so on, which are typically double-argument verbs. Such complicated predicates are commonly found in formal written genres.

4.5. Other post-verbal constituents
In addition to various types of arguments, duration, frequency phrases, and bleached elements that occur in the post-verbal position, some other elements are found post-verbally, such as descriptive expressions and expressions denoting the result or extent of an activity. In many cases, 得 de0 ‘DE,’ which has a de-stressed neutral tone and is phonologically attached to the verb, often appears between the verb and the descriptive or resultative expressions.

The expressions after 得 de0 ‘DE’ in [42] describe the manner, extent, or result of the activities. 快 kuai4 ‘fast’ in [42a] describes the manner or extent of the activity of 游 you2 ‘swim,’ 仔细 zi3xi4 ‘careful’ in [42b] expresses the manner of 看 kan4
‘look,’ and 最快 zui4 kuai4 ‘the fastest’ and 最重 zui4 zhong4 ‘the heaviest’ in [42c] indicate the manner or extent of 跌 die1 ‘fall.’

[42] a. 看谁游得快。
kan4 shui2 you2 de0 kuai4
‘Let’s see who swims faster.’

b. 大家都看得很仔细。
da4jia1 dou1 kan4 de0 hen3 zhi3xi4
everyone all look DE very carefully
‘Everyone looked at it carefully.’

c. 股市下挫时，劣质股跌得最快最重。
gu3shi4 xia4cuo4 shi2 lie4zhi4 gu3 die1
stock_market downturn when low_quality stock fall
de0 zui4 kuai4 zui4 zhong4
DE most fast most heavy
‘When the stock market goes down, low-quality stocks fall the fastest and lose the most value.’

In [43], 很厉害 hen3 li4hai4 ‘very bad’ describes the extent to which the rumor has been 传播 chuan2bo1 ‘spread,’ and the 很严重 hen3 yan2zhong4 ‘very bad’ in [43b] depicts how severely the child has become 病 bing4 ‘ill.’

[43] a. 谣言传播得很厉害。
yao2yan2 chuan2bo1 de0 hen3 li4hai0
rumors spread DE very severe
‘The rumor is recklessly spreading.’

b. 孩子病得很严重。
hai2zi0 bing4 de0 hen3 yan2zhong4
child ill DE very serious
‘The child is gravely ill.’

The expressions after 得 de0 ‘DE’ in [44] are predicates that describe the resultant state of a nominal phrase in the sentences, either the subject or the object. 很高 hen3 gao1 ‘very tall’ in [44a] depicts the status of the subject 他 ta1 ‘he’; the 大 da4 ‘big’ in [44b] is about the condition of the object 肚子 du4zi0 ‘belly’; and the 非常完善 fei1chang2 wan2shan4 ‘very comprehensive’ in [44c] is an evaluation of 公路地图 gong1lu4 di4tu2 ‘highway map,’ which is the object of a 把 ba3 ‘ba’ construction.
[44]  a. 他已经长得很匀了。
    ta1 yi3jing1 zhang3 de0 hen3 gao1 le0
    'He has already grown very tall.'

b. 你老喝啤酒，喝得肚子都大了。
    ni3 lao3 he1 pi2jiu3 he1 de0 du4zi0 dou1
daa4 le0
    big LE
    'You keep drinking beer and increasing the size of your belly.'

c. 美国人把公路地图绘制得非常完善。
    mei3guo2ren2 ba3 gong1lu4 di4tu2 hui4zhi4 de0
    American BA highway map draw DE
    fei1chang2 wan2shan4
    very perfect
    'Americans have their highway maps made to perfection.'

The descriptive, resultative, or extent expressions following 得 de0 ‘DE’ are all predicates with relevant properties, and can be modified by an adverb like 很 hen3 ‘very’ and 非常 fei1chang2 ‘extraordinarily.’ They can also combine with the verb without 得 de0 ‘DE’ to form a single unit, which behaves very much like a compound or complex word. Being part of a compound or complex word, a descriptive, resultative, or extent expression generally cannot be further modified or conjoined by conjunction words like 又 you4 ‘as well.’

[45]  a. 他已经长高了。
    ta1 yi3jing1 zhang3 gao1 le0
    'He has already grown tall.'

b. 这家伙真的是坏透了。
    zhe4 jia1huo0 zhen1de0 shi4 huai4 tou4 le0
    this guy really be bad completely LE
    'This guy is really bad to the core.'

c. 失去控制的货车撞倒了好几个途人。
    shi1qu4 kong4zhi4 de0 huo4che1 zhuang4daol de0
    lose control DE truck knock_down LE
    hao3 ji3 ge4 tu2ren2
    quite several CL pedestrian
    'The runaway truck knocked down several pedestrians.'
As part of a compound or complex word, the verb can no longer bear the aspect marker directly and the marker 了 le0 ‘le’ in [45c] has to occur outside the complex word. Another related property is that the object of the verb has to be put outside the compound or complex word, just like the 好几个途人 hao3 ji3 ge4 ‘several pedestrians’ in [45c]. Because the object is not adjacent to the verb and the resultative expression can be predicative of either the subject or the object, sentences like [46] become potentially ambiguous. 累 lei4 ‘tired’ in [46] demonstrates the physical condition of an animate entity and, given the content of the sentence, it can be predicative of either 老猎人 lao3 lie4ren2 ‘old hunter’ or 那只狡猾的狐狸 na4 zhi1 jiao3hua2 de0 hu2li0 ‘that cunning fox.’

[46] 老猎人追了那只狡猾的狐狸。
lao3 lie4ren2 zhu1 lei4 le0 na4 zhi3 jiao3hua2
deo hu2li2
DE fox
i. ‘The old hunter chased the cunning fox and he got tired.’
ii. ‘The old hunter chased the cunning fox and it got tired.’

Such a compound or complex word sometimes allows certain word-level elements to operate inside. The verb 搬 ban1 ‘move’ in [47a] takes two verbs 出 chu1 ‘exit’ and 来 lai2 ‘come’ to indicate the result of the moving, but it may take just one verb to create 搬出 ban1chu1 ‘move-exit (move out)’ or 搬来 ban1lai2 ‘move-come (move in)’ to indicate a slightly different result. Another element that can occur between the verb (V) and the result (R) is the potential infix 得 de0 ‘-able’ or its negative form 不 bu4 ‘-not.’ When the infix 得 appears inside a V–R complex word, it indicates that the situation represented by the R is achievable. The speaker of [47b] questions the listener’s eating ability. Considering the amount of apples, the speaker asks whether the result of finishing all the apples is achievable. Sentence [47c] is a statement that indicates that the struggle of the 蜻蜓 qing1ting2 ‘dragonfly’ is not able to achieve the result of breaking the spider web.

[47] a. 老板娘又从客厅搬出了四把椅子。
lao3ban3niang2 you4 cong2 ke4ting1 ban1 chu1lai2
matron again PREP living_room move out
le0 si4 ba3 yi3zi0
LE four CL chair
‘The female shop-owner moved out four more chairs from the living room.’
b. So many apples, are you able to eat all of them?

```
zhe4me0 duo1 ping2guo3 ni3 chi1 de0 wan2
so many apple you eat DE complete
ma0
MA
'So many apples, are you able to eat all of them?'
```

c. The trapped dragonfly still was not able to break away from the spider web.

```
bei4 kun4 de0 qing1ting2 hai2shi4 chong1 bu4
BEI trap DE dragonfly still rush NEG
po4 zhi1zhu1wang3
break spider_web
'The trapped dragonfly still was not able to break away from the spider web.'
```

If the expression after 得 `DE` is descriptive or related to extent, no object can appear after 得 `DE.' When it is necessary to have an object to depict a situation clearly, verb copying constructions like those in [48] are a common choice. The 吃得多 `eat too much' in [48a] is a general statement. When the verb is copied and an object is added, 吃肉 `eat meat' provides specific information on what is eaten. The 吹过头 `chui1guo4tou2 'blow too much' in [48b] does not make much sense without a clear context, but when verb copying 吹牛 `chui1niu2 'brag' brings the idiomatic meaning in, the sentence is clearer in meaning.

[48]  

a. You have been eating too much meat recently.

```
ni3 jin4lai2 chi1 rou4 chi1 de0 tai4 duo1
you recently eat meat eat DE too much
'You have been eating too much meat recently.'
```

b. He bragged too much this time.

```
ta1 zhe4 ci4 chui1niu2 chui1 guo4tou2 le0
he this CL brag brag over LE
'He bragged too much this time.'
```

The verb copying strategy may be used in other cases. The 踢断了腿 `ti1 duan4 le0 tui3 'kick-break leg' in [49a] makes perfect sense when the verb copying phrase 踢个球 `ti1 ge4 qiu2 'kick (play) ball' ("casually," as indicated by the presence of 个 `CL') provides the background information. Similarly, the verb 打 `da3 'hit' in 打上瘾 `da3 shang4yin3 'play to become addicted' is likely to have the common interpretation of 'hitting' if the verb copying phrase 打游戏 `da3 you2xi4 'play video game' is not used to indicate a 'playing' reading. The main predicate
Verbs and verb phrases

4.6. Other types of objects

Verbs generally have their typical arguments in the subject and object positions. However, as mentioned in section 4.3, it is possible to have additional arguments, such as unaccusative verbs with their typical theme argument in the object position and an additional argument in the subject position. In addition, unergative verbs, which typically have an agent argument in the subject position, may take an additional argument in the object position. For instance, typical unergative verbs like 哭 ku1 ‘cry’ or 伤心 shang1xin1 ‘sad’ generally just take an agent subject. However, they can have an additional argument in the object position, as demonstrated in [50].

[50] a. 我在这里哭什么? 我伤心什么?
   wo3 zai4 zhe4li3 ku1 shen2me0 wo3
   I PREP here cry what I
   shang1xin1 shen2me0
   sad what
   ‘What am I crying for here? I am sad about what?’

[49] a. 他踢个球都踢断了腿。
   ta1 ti1 ge4 qiu2 dou1 ti1 duan4 le0 tui3
   he kick CL ball all kick break LE leg
   ‘He even broke his leg when playing football.’

b. 小女儿打游戏打上瘾了。
   xiao3 nü3er2 da3 you2xi4 da3 shang4yin3
   youngest daughter play game play be_addicted
   le0 LE
   ‘The youngest daughter was addicted to playing video games.’

c. 政府喊「三通」喊了这么多年。
   zheng4fu3 han3 san1tong1 han3 le0
   government announce three-links announce LE
   zhe4me0 duo1 nian2
   so many year
   ‘The government talked about the three-links (between the Mainland and Taiwan) for so many years.’
In addition to the resultative V–R compounds, the so-called V–O (verb–object) compound is a very productive pattern in Chinese. V–O compounds present a range of interesting possibilities for object positions. The V–O compound 注资 zhu4zi1 ‘inject-capital’ in [51a] behaves just like any transitive verb that takes an object. Some other V–O compounds, like 开刀 kait1dao1 ‘open-knife, operate,’ also take objects like transitive verbs but require their object to occur before the verb in a prepositional phrase, as in [51b]. Another type of object-taking V–O, such as 作主 zuo4zhu3 ‘make-master, be in charge,’ requires the object to be preposed, as in [51c]. Note that in both [51b] and [51c], speakers would not put the object in the post-verbal position.

[51]  a. 我方决定注资三亿美元。
    wo3fang1 jue2ding4 zhu4zi1 san1 yi4
    our_side decide inject_money three hundred_million
    mei3yuan2 US_dollar
    ‘Our side has decided to inject three hundred million dollars.’

b. 医生为病人开刀时，为什么都要戴口罩?
    yi1sheng1 wei4 bing4ren2 kai1dao1 shi2
    doctor for patient operate when
    wei4shen2me0 dou1 yao4 dai4 kou3zhao4
    why all will wear mask
    ‘Why do doctors wear masks when they operate on patients?’

c. 婚姻的事，我自己作主。
    hun1yin1 de0 shi4 wo3 zi4ji3 zuo4zhu3
    marriage DE thing I self decide
    ‘I make my own decision on my marriage.’

It is possible for some V–O compounds to be separated between the V part and the O part in some contexts. Such compounds are often called 离合词 li2he2ci2 ‘separable compounds’ and they usually vary in terms of how far the V and the
O can be separated. Internal modification is possible for most separable V–O compounds. [52a] and [52b] show with 开刀 kai1dao1 ‘open-knife, to operate’ that manner modification can typically occur before the O as an adjective. [52c] shows that the theme phrase of the V–O compound 捧场 peng3chang3 ‘hold-stage, to support’ occurs at the possessor position of the separated O. The same can be said about the idiom 找麻烦 zhao3ma2fan0 ‘find fault’ in [52d]. Other such V–O idioms include 吃醋 chi1cu4 ‘be jealous of,’ 开玩笑 kai1wan2xiao4 ‘make fun of,’ and 敲竹杠 qiao1 zhu2gang4 ‘beat-bamboo-pole, to extort.’ Some other V–O compounds like 怀疑 huai2yi2 ‘hold-suspicion, doubt,’ 出席 chu1xi2 ‘enter-mat, attend,’ and 关心 guan1xin1 ‘concern-heart, care’ are established, commonly used, and have become regular transitive verbs in the sense that the V and the O are no longer separable, and any aspect marker has to appear after the O, as in [52e].

[52]  a. 病人最怕开错刀。
   bing4ren2 zu14 pa4 kai1 cuo4 dao1
   patient most fear open wrong knife
   ‘What patients fear most is the doctor [might] operate on the wrong part.’

   b. 最近开了个小刀。
   zu14jin4 kai1 le0 ge4 xiao3 dao1
   recently open LE CL small knife
   ‘(I) had a minor operation recently.’

   c. 我很希望捧阿妹的场。
   wo3 hen3 xi1wang4 peng3 a1mei4 de0 chang3
   I very hope support A-Mei DE event
   ‘I wish I could be there to support A-Mei’s concert.’

   d. 别找自己的麻烦。
   bie2 zhao3 zi4ji3 de0 ma2fan0
   do_not seek self DE trouble
   ‘Don’t make trouble for yourself; don’t create your own problems.’

   e. 警察怀疑过他儿子。
   jing3cha 2 huai2yi2 guo4 ta1 er2zi0
   policeman suspect GUO he son
   ‘The police used to suspect his son.’

Verbal quantifiers of the form [number + verbal classifier] appear to be an additional object to the verb, just like frequency phrases described earlier at the beginning of section 4.2. For instance, 踹 chuai4 ‘kick’ and 抽 chou1 ‘slap’ can be quantified by the number of times kicking with a foot and slapping with
a hand occur, such as the 踹一脚 *chuai4 yi1 jiao3* ‘kick-a-foot, kick a kick’ and
抽俩耳光 *chou1 liang3 er3guang1* ‘slap two slaps’ in [53a]. Just like in the cases
of frequency phrases and duration phrases, a definite direct object of the verb
can occur between the verb and such expressions, or the direct object can occur
elsewhere via topicalization, passivization, verb reduplication, etc. The same can
be said about the 眯一眼 *deng4 yi1 yan3* ‘stare-one-eye, stare once’ in [53b].

[53] a. 老头踹了那男人一脚, 还抽了他俩耳光。
   lao3tou2 chuai4 le0 na4 nan2ren2 yi1 jiao3 hai2
   old_man kick LE that man one foot then
   chou1 le0 ta1 liang3 er3guang1
do LE he two slap_on_the_face
   ‘The old man kicked that man once and slapped him twice.’

b. 妈妈瞪了我一眼。
   ma1ma0 deng4 le0 wo3 yi1 yan3
   mother stare LE I one eye
   ‘My mother stared at me once.’

A somewhat related phenomenon is the so-called “retained object” or “inner
object.” Consider the action of peeling garlic presented in [54a]. The direct object
of the verb 剥 *bo1* ‘peel’ is 皮 *pi2* ‘skin,’ but the garlic is affected by the peeling since
the 皮 *pi2* ‘skin’ belongs to 大蒜 *da4suan4* ‘garlic.’ Such an action can be expressed
by 剥大蒜皮 *bo1 da4suan4 pi2* ‘peel garlic-skin,’ but it can also be expressed as a verb
taking two objects, as in [54a], the whole entity 大蒜 *da4suan4* ‘garlic’ and part of it
皮 *pi2* ‘skin.’ The latter is the direct object or inner object of the verb. Together, the
verb and the inner object 剥皮 *bo1pi2* ‘peel skin’ affect the outer object. Literally, it
means that what is done to the garlic is peeling (its) skin. The concept of a retained
object is derived from the belief that the object is actually 大蒜皮 *da4suan4 pi2* and
大蒜 *da4suan4* is somehow taken out of the object position, leaving 皮 *pi2* stranded.
Similarly, the topic 这几封信 *zhe4 ji3 feng1 xin4* ‘the several letters’ in [54b] can be
considered the affected outer object of the action represented by the verb 贴 *tie1*
‘stick’ and the retained object 邮票 *you2piao4* ‘stamp.’

[54] a. 将大蒜剥皮, 用刀拍碎, 入油锅炒香。
   jiang1 da4suan4 bo1pi2 yong4 dao1 pai1sui4
   BA garlic peel use knife smash
   ru4 you2guo1 chao3 xiang1
   put_into oil_pot fry fragrant
   ‘Peel the garlic, smash it with a knife, and put it into heated oil to
   stir-fry until its fragrance is released.’
b. 这几封信我都贴了邮票，你去寄了吧。
   this several CL letter I all paste LE
   you2piao4 ni3 qu4ji4 le0 ba0
   stamp you go mail LE BA

   ‘I have put stamps on these letters. Please mail them.’

Another type of object is considered non-canonical for collocation reasons. The verb 喝 he1 ‘drink’ prototypically takes an object standing for liquid, which is considered the canonical object. In [55a], the canonical object 香槟 xiang1bin1 ‘champagne’ appears after a copying verb, and the main verb takes 高脚杯 gao1jiao3bei1 ‘tall-stem glass’ as its object, which is non-canonical because it stands for the instrument of drinking and typically appears in a prepositional phrase, as in [55b].

[55] a. 他说喝香槟要喝高脚杯。
   ta1 shuo1 he1 xiang1bin1 yao4 he1
   he say drink champagne should drink
   gao1jiao3bei1
tall-stem_glass

   ‘He said tall-stem glasses are needed for drinking champagne.’

b. 他说要用高脚杯喝香槟。
   ta1 shuo1 yao4 yong4 gao1jiao3bei1 he1
   he say should use tall-stem_glass drink
   xiang1bin1
champagne

   ‘He said one should drink champagne in tall-stem glasses.’

Verbs commonly found with this type of non-canonical object include activity verbs such as 吃 chi1 ‘eat’ in [56], 跑 pao3 ‘run’ in [57], and 写 xie3 ‘write’ in [58], as well as 睡 shui4 ‘sleep,’ 做 zuo4 ‘do,’ and so on. The collocation of such verbs and their objects characteristically produces a special reading. The expressions in [56] mean ‘to eat with a special instrument,’ as in [56a], ‘to eat at a specific location,’ as in [56b], and ‘to eat with a particular purpose,’ as in [56c], and those in [56d] and [56e] mean ‘to rely on something to make a living.’ This diversity also applies to the collocations in [57] and [58].

[56] a. 吃筷子 {大碗, 刀叉}
   chi1 kuai4zi0 da4wan3 dao1cha1
eat chopstick big-bowl knife_fork
‘eat with chopsticks {big bowl, cutlery}’
b. 吃{小摊子, 小馆, 餐厅, 食堂}
chi1 xiao3tan1zi0 xiao3guan3 can1ting1 shi2tang2
eat small_stall small.restaurant restaurant canteen
‘eat (at) {a small stall, small restaurant, restaurant, canteen}’

c. 吃气氛
chi1 qi4fen4
eat atmosphere
‘eat to enjoy the atmosphere’

d. 吃健保
chi1 jian4bao3
eat health_insurance
‘take advantage of health insurance’

e. 吃老本
chi1 lao2ben3
eat old_capital
‘live off one’s past gains’

[57] a. 跑了好多村庄
pao3 le0 hao3duo1 cun1zhuang1
run LE many village
‘went to many villages (to collect data or do other work)’

b. 常跑台北
chang2 pao3 tai2bei3
often run Taipei
‘often go to Taipei (such as for business)’

c. 跑印刷厂
pao3 yin4shua1chang3
run printing_factory
‘go to the printer’s (for business)’

d. 跑记者会
pao3 ji4zhe3hui4
run press_conference
‘attend the press conference (as a journalist or a spokesperson)’

e. 跑客户
pao3 ke4hu4
run client
‘visit clients’
f. 跑运输
   pao3 yun4shu1
   run transport
   ‘operate a transport business’

[58] a. 写毛笔
   xie3 mao2bi3
   write brush_pen
   ‘write with a brush pen’

b. 写楷书
   xie3 kai3shu1
   write kai_style
   ‘write in the kai style’

c. 写黑板
   xie3 hei1ban3
   write blackboard
   ‘write on the blackboard’
Chinese has an aspectual system signaled by the presence of aspect markers, contrasting perfective and imperfective aspects. This chapter gives an overview of aspect markers in Chinese.

5.1. Definition of aspect
Aspect is a syntactic system where some intrinsic parts of clause meanings are associated with the internal temporal constituency of a situation. The aspect of a predicate refers to how the situation denoted by the predicate is being viewed, such as whether all or part of the situation is viewed. The term “situation” (also known as “Aktionsart” in the literature) refers to states and events (such as activities, accomplishments, and achievements) expressed by predicates according to their temporal properties (see Chapter 4). When we speak of a situation, we usually view it as a process consisting of a series of stages and phases, including the beginning, the continuation, and the completion. Each of these stages is an aspect that can be viewed.

Aspect is traditionally classified as either “perfective” or “imperfective.” When the perfective aspect is used, a situation is viewed in its entirety without explicit reference to any internal individual stages that make up the situation, namely, a complete situation with a beginning, middle, and end all included. Note that the notion of “completion” does not necessarily imply that the situation is “completed.” The perfective aspect focuses on all stages of the situation as a single whole, not just the end of the situation. Highlighting the end of a situation is just one of the possible meanings of the perfective aspect.

When the imperfective aspect is used, part of a situation is viewed with explicit reference to the internal temporal constituency of the situation. The situation described in a clause is not presented in its totality but instead is viewed from within, with a focus on the internal temporal structure or on some subinterval of time within the situation. Hence, the imperfective aspect is incompatible with situations that lack internal temporal structure.

Aspect can be represented by aspect markers. Two main kinds of aspect markers are distinguished to express perfectivity and imperfectivity, respectively, namely,
the perfective markers 了 le0 and 过 guo4 on the one hand, and the progressive marker 在 zai4 and the continuous marker 着 zhe0 on the other hand.

5.2. The perfective aspects

5.2.1. Perfective 了 le0

The perfective aspect can be indicated by the perfective marker 了 le0 ‘LE,’ a suffix that is attached to the head of verbal or adjectival predicates. 了 le0 ‘LE’ can be attached to monosyllabic verbs, such as 做 zuo4 ‘do’ in [1a], and disyllabic verbs, such as verb–verb compounds like 扮演 ban4yan3 ‘play’ in [1b], verb–adjective compounds like 提高 ti2gao1 ‘raise’ in [1c], and verb–noun compounds like 关心 guan1xin1 ‘care’ in [1d].

[1] a. 我们做了以下的安排:
   wo3men0 zuo4 le0 yi3xia4 de0 an1pai2
   we make LE below DE arrangement
   ‘We did the following arrangements.’

b. 他扮演了最重要的角色。
   ta1 ban4yan3 le0 zui4 zhong4yao4 de0 jue2se4
   he play LE most important DE role
   ‘He played the most important role.’

c. 提高了农村生活水平。
   ti2gao1 le0 nong2cun1 sheng1huo2 shui3zhun3
   raise LE rural living standard
   ‘(The industry) raised the living standard in rural areas.’

d. 您在高雄那么多年, 关心了许多题材。
   nin2 zai4 gao1xiong2 na4me0 duo1nian2
   you PREP Kaohsiung so many years
   guan1xin1 le0 xu3duo1 ti2cai2
   be_concerned_about LE many topic
   ‘You were in Kaohsiung so many years and paid attention to so many topics.’

了 le0 ‘LE’ can even be attached to trisyllabic verbs like the verb–adjective compound 刮干净 gua1 gan1jing4 ‘shave-clean’ in [2a] and quadrisyllabic verbs like the verb–adjective compound 吸引干净 xi1yin3 gan1jing4 ‘attract-clean’ in [2b]. The length of verbs does not affect the occurrence of 了 le.
[2]  
a. 刮干净了胡子。
   ghua1 gan1jing4 le0 hu2zi0
   shave clean LE beard
   ‘(He) has shaved himself clean.’
b. 基本吸引干净了区域内的尘埃。
   ji1ben3 xi1yin3 gan1jing4 le0 qu1yu4 nei4 de0
   basically attract clean LE area inside DE
   chen2ai1
   dust
   ‘(It) has basically attracted all the dust in the area.’

了 le0 ‘LE’ can also be attached to monosyllabic predicative adjectives, such as
the 红 hong2 ‘red’ in [3a], and disyllabic predicative adjectives, such as the 高兴
gao1xing4 ‘happy’ in [3b].

[3]  
a. 让我当场就红了眼眶。
   rang4 wo3 dang1chang3 jiu4 hong2 le0 yan3kuang4
   make I on_the_spot then red LE orbit
   ‘(The story) made my eyes red immediately.’
b. 当主人买到我时, 高兴了好几天。
   dang1 zhu3ren2 mai3 dao4 wo3 shi2 gao1xing4
   when host buy PREP I when happy
   le0 hao3ji3tian1
   LE quite_a_few_days
   ‘When the owner bought me, he was happy for quite a few days.’

The perfective marker 了 le0 ‘LE’ can be attached to all action verbs, namely, the
head of verbal predicates that denote activities, accomplishments, and achieve-
ments. With 了 le0 ‘LE,’ the situation described in a clause is being viewed in its
entirety or as a whole. For example, 哭 ku1 ‘cry’ in [4a] denotes activities and 看
这篇报导 kan4 zhe4 pian1 bao4dao3 ‘read this news report’ in [4b] denotes accom-
plishments. 了 le0 ‘LE’ in [4a] focuses on all stages of the situation of crying and all
stages of reading the news report in [4b] as a single whole. The verbal predicate 吃
饱 chi1bao3 ‘full’ in [4c] is a verb–adjective compound, literally meaning ‘eat-full,’
and 了 le0 ‘LE’ views all stages of the situation as a whole, including the action of
eating and the result of being full.

[4]  
a. 不知哭了多久。
   bu4 zhi1 ku1 le0 duo1jiu3
   NEG know cry LE how_long
   ‘(We) do not know how long (she) cried.’
b. 读者看了这篇报导。
   du2zhe3 kan4 le0 zhe4 pian1 bao4dao3
   reader read LE this CL report
   ‘The readers read this news report.’

c. 我吃饱了。
   wo3 chi1bao3 le0
   I eat_one’s_full LE
   ‘I am full.’

Achievements are single-stage events. With an achievement predicate, 了 le0 ‘LE’ views the single-stage event as a whole, as in [5a] and [5b] below.

[5]  a. 他已死了。
   ta1 yi3 si3 le0
   he already die LE
   ‘He already died.’

b. 圣诞树就爆炸了。
   sheng4dan4shu4 jiu4 bao4zha4 le0
   Christmas_tree then explode LE
   ‘The Christmas tree then exploded.’

Stative verbal predicates and adjectival predicates denote states. When the head of such predicates are suffixed with 了 le0 ‘LE,’ they are interpreted as inchoative, presenting the coming about of a state. The stative verbal predicate 知道了 zhi1dao4 le0 ‘have known’ in [6a] no longer denotes the state denoted by 知道 zhi1dao4 ‘know’ but is the change of state with an internal temporal structure, changing from not knowing the matter to having known it. The adjectival predicate 胖了 pang4 le0 ‘fat’ in [6b] also denotes a change of state, from not being fat to having gained weight.

[6]  a. 他的朋友知道了这件事。
   ta1 de0 peng2you3 zhi1dao4 le0 zhe4 jian4 shi4
   he DE friend know LE this CL thing
   ‘His friends have learned this matter.’

b. 虽然胖了点, 但依稀还是当年的杰利。
   sui1ran2 pang4 le0 dian3 dan4 yi1xi1
   although fat LE a_little but can_be_told_out
   hai2shi4 dang1nian2 de0 jie2li4
   still that_year DE Jerry
   ‘Although (he) has gained weight a little bit, it seems to me he is still the same Jerry.’
Predicates with a perfective marker 了 le0 ‘LE’ attached to their head do not necessarily denote a completed situation. For example, in the first clause of [7] the action of looking for the King was not completed until they found the King later on, which is expressed in the last clause. The 了 le0 ‘LE’ in 找了好几天 zhao3 le0 hao3ji3tian1 ‘having looked for several days’ focuses on all stages of the situation of looking for the King as a single whole. The precise endpoint of the action is determined by the context in [7] and is not signaled by the occurrence of 了 le0 ‘LE.’

[7] 找了好几天, 都没有找到, 后来他们找到一座山上, 发现国王已经饿死在那了。
zhao3 le0 hao3ji3tian1 dou1 mei2you3 zhao3dao4 seek LE quite_a_few_days still NEG find
hou4lai2 ta1men0 zhao3 dao4 yi1 zuo4 shan1 later they seek PREP one CL mountain
shang4 fa1xian4 guo2wang2 yi3jing1 e4si3 on find king already starve_to_death
zai4 na4 le0 PREP there LE
‘They were looking for the King for quite a few days but didn’t find him. Later on, they went to a hill and found that the King had already starved to death.’

Although the perfective marker 了 le0 ‘LE’ may be used in sentences describing a situation of the past, as in [8a], it is not a past tense marker, which typically indicates that the time of action is before the time of speech. [8b] shows that 了 le0 ‘LE’ can be used in a sentence that describes a future event, as indicated by the temporal adverbial 明天 ming2tian1 ‘tomorrow’ (see Chapter 12).

[8] a. 昨天晚上下了一场雨。
zuotian1 wan3shang4 xia4 le0 yi1 chang3 yu3 yesterday night fall LE one CL rain
‘It rained last night.’

b. 今天, 你还好端端的站在这儿, 或许明天就已离开了世间。
jintian1 ni3 hai2 hao3duan1duan1 de0 zhan4 zai4 today you still good DE stand PREP
 Aspectual system

zhe4er0 huo4xu3 ming2tian1 jiu4 yi3 li2kai1 le0 here maybe tomorrow then already leave LE
shi4jian1 world
'You are standing here with everything alright today, and perhaps would have left the world tomorrow.'

The appearance of 了 le0 'LE' is not directly related to the time of the event, and it can appear in sentences that do not have a clear indication of the action time or event time, such as imperatives like [9a] and conditional sentences like [9b]. 了 le0 'LE' is therefore not a tense marker, which indicates the relation between the time of action and the time of speech.

[9] a. 回国别忘了我这个老朋友呀!
   hui2 guo2 bie2 wang4 le0 wo3 zhe4 ge4 return country do_not forget LE I this CL
   lao3peng2you3 ya0 old_friend YA
   'Don’t forget me, your old friend, after returning home!'  

b. 如果真当了外交部长, 那也是人民给的。
   ru2guo3 zhen1 dang1 le0 wai4jiao1bu4zhang3 if really become LE minister_of_foreign_affairs
   na4 ye3 shi4 ren2min2 gei3 de0 that also be people give DE
   'If she does become Minister of Foreign Affairs, the achievement (would not be hers) but a gift from the people.'

了 le0 'LE' is sometimes used in the first clause of a subtype of complex sentences, in which the first clause denotes a situation bounded by the subsequent event denoted by the second clause. In [10a] the predicate 看 kan4 ‘read’ marked with 了 le0 'LE' denotes a perfective reading, in the sense that right after the situation of reading has taken place, the situation of knowing happens. The adverb 就 jiu4 ‘then’ is used here to indicate the immediate temporal relationship between two situations, implying that the second situation follows from the first one (see Chapter 12). The same explanation applies to [10b] as well, in which the situation of leaving happens once the first situation of taking has been done. [10c] shows that a connective adjunct like 以后 yi3hou4 ‘thereafter’ can appear in the first clause to mark the temporal relationship between the two clauses.
[10]  a. 你看了就知道。
    ni3 kan4 le0 jiu4 zhi1dao4
    you see LE then know
    ‘After you have read (it), then you know.’

b. 拿了就走。
   na2 le0 jiu4 zou3
   hold LE then go
   ‘After taking it, then someone left.’

c. 你看了以后, 就能对这次展览有更认的认识。
   ni3 kan4 le0 yi3hou4 jiu4 neng2 dui4 zhe4
   you see LE after then can PREP this
   ci4 shang1zhan3 you3 geng4duo1 de0
   CL commodity_exhibition have more DE
   ren4shi2
   knowledge
   ‘After you have read (it), then you know more about this exposition.’

Notice that there is a homophonous 了 le0 ‘LE’ that occurs in the sentence-final position, as in [11a] and [11b] below, and follows the object if there is one. This 了 le0 ‘LE’ is a “sentence-final particle.”

   dan4shi4 nin2 zha03dao4 da2an4 le0 ma0
   but you find answer LE MA
   ‘However, have you found the answer?’

b. 我们总算对行为艺术有点了解了。
   wo3men0 zong3suan4 dui4 xing2wei2yi4shu4 you3
   we at_last PREP performance_art have
   dian3 liao3jie3 le0
   some understanding LE
   ‘Finally we have some understanding of performance art.’

The perfective marker 了 le0 ‘LE’ and the sentence-final particle 了 le0 ‘LE’ can co-occur. In [12a] the 了 le0 ‘LE’ attached to the compound verb 买好 mai3hao3 ‘have bought,’ literally meaning ‘buy-finish,’ is the perfective marker, while the one following the object 明天晚上的飞机票 ming2tian1 wan3shang4 de0 fei1ji1piao4 ‘the ticket for the flight tomorrow night’ is the sentence-final particle. The 见面 xian4mian4 ‘meet’ in [12b] is a verb–noun compound, which literally means ‘see faces.’ When both the perfective marker 了 le0 ‘LE’ and the sentence-final particle
了 le0 ‘LE’ are used, the former is attached to the verb 见 jian4 ‘see’ while the latter follows the bare noun 面 mian4 ‘face.’

[12] a. 我已经买好了明天晚上的飞机票了。
我 already buy complete LE 明天 tomorrow
wan3shang4 DE 航空飞机票 LE
‘I have already bought the ticket for the flight tomorrow night.’

b. 两个好朋友就见了面了。
两 CL 好朋友 two CL 好 friend then see LE 面 face
le0 LE
‘Then the two good friends met.’

The sentence-final particle 了 le0 ‘LE’ has no direct relation with the head of the predicate, nor does it denote perfective meaning. The 了 le0 ‘LE’ in [13a] is not used to view the situation of taking the flight in its entirety, but instead is used to indicate the fact that the situation of boarding the plane soon has become a reality, signaling a change of situation and its relevance to the situation at the time of reference. The sentence-final particle 了 le0 ‘LE’ in [13b] is used to present new information to the addressee, namely, that in the situation at the time of reference the speaker says that paying a little money would suffice.

[13] a. 他快要上飞机了。
他 is going to board 航空飞机 LE
‘He is going to board the flight soon.’

b. 付一点钱就可以了。
pay a_bit money then OK LE
‘It will do to pay a little money.’

5.2.2. Perfective 过 guo4
The suffix 过 guo4 is another marker used to indicate the perfective aspect, which is attached to the head of verbal predicates. The following examples show that 过 guo4 can be attached to monosyllabic verbs, as in [14a], and disyllabic verbs, such as the verb–verb compound in [14b], the verb–adjective compound in [14c], and the verb–noun compound in [14d].
The perfective marker 过 guo4 indicates the completion of an event or the end of a state. The final stage of the situation is no longer obtained and this implies some experience before the time of reference, namely, the situation has been experienced at least once. With the 过 guo4 perfective, the situation of crying in [15a] and the situation of reading novels in [15b] have been experienced at least once.

[15]  a. 哭过千百遍。  
ku1 guo4 qian1 bai3 bian4  
cry GUO thousand hundred CL  
'(I) have cried so many times.'

b. 他在小学期间，已经读过不少小说。  
ta1 zai4 xiao3xue2 qi1jian1 yi3jing1 du2  
he PREP elementary_school period already read  
guo4 bu4shao3 xiao3shuo1  
GUO many novel  
'He had read many novels when he was in primary school.'
The situation conveyed by the sentence with 过 guo4 is repeatable in the sense that the situation in principle could happen more than once. 千百遍 qian1 bai3 bian4 ‘many times’ in [15a] indicates that the situation of crying could happen more than once. When 过 guo4 is attached to a predicate that denotes a non-repeatable situation, the unnaturalness can be canceled out by pragmatic factors in the discourse. For example, death is normally not repeatable and the situation of dying is not expected to be compatible with the 过 guo4 perfective. The sentence with 过 guo4 in [16a] becomes acceptable because it actually describes a near-death experience, which is qualified by the possibility of describing that experience and the negative polarity of 不多见 bu4 duo1 jian4 ‘not very common’ in the second clause. In [16b], the situation of dying is defined more narrowly and unconventionally, as in stopped breathing for an extensive period of time, so that we can see examples of the co-occurrence of 死 si3 and 过 guo4.

[16] a. 真正死过一次，而且还能藉由图像表达经验的人或许就不多见了。
   zhen1zheng4 si3 guo4 yi1 ci4 er2qie3 hai2
   truely die GUO one CL and still
   neng2 jie4you2 tu2xiang4 biao3da2 jing1yan4 de0
can via picture express experience DE
   ren2 huo4xu3 jiu4 bu4 duo1 jian4 le0
   people maybe then NEG often see LE
   ‘It would be rare for someone to be able to claim that s/he did die once and give a visual description of his/her experience.’

b. 形容自己曾死过两次, 一次停止呼吸三十分钟一次四十分钟。
   xing2rong2 zui4ji3 ceng2 si3 guo4 liang3 ci4 yi1
   describe self ever die GUO two CL one
   ci4 ting2zhi3 hu1xi1 san1shi2 fen1zhong1 y1 ci4
   CL stop breathe thirty minute one CL
   si4shi2 fen1zhong1
   forty minute
   ‘(She) describes that she died twice: each time without breathing for thirty minutes and the second time for forty minutes.’

Sentences with the perfective marker 过 guo4 can imply past experience, if the time of reference is also the time of speech. For this reason, 过 guo4 sometimes co-occurs with temporal adverbs referring to the past, such as 昨天 zuo2tian1 ‘yesterday’ in [17a], 以前 yi3qian2 ‘in the past’ in [17b], and 刚 gang1 ‘just’ in [17c].
The perfective 过 guo4 can also be used in conditional sentences, such as in [18]:

[18] 如果你谈过恋爱，会知道我在说什么。
ru2guo3 ni3 tan2 guo4 lian4ai4 hui4 zhi1dao4
if you talk GUO love will know
wo3 zai4 shuo1 shen2me0
I ZAI talk what
'If you have experienced being in love, you will understand what I am saying.'

过 guo4 indicates that the final stage of the situation is no longer obtained, namely, the situation has come to an end and the outcome of that situation does not hold true at the time of reference. The 过 guo4 perfective thus requires a “discontinuity” between the final stage of the situation and the state of affairs after the time of reference.

Discontinuity is the main property that distinguishes the 过 guo4 perfective and the 了 le0 perfective. The situation denoted by the sentence with 了 le0 is viewed as a whole, implying it has occurred before the time of reference, and the final stage is still obtained or the outcome of that situation holds true after the time of reference. Sentence [19a] with 过 guo4 implies that the action of visiting America is over and he is no longer there at the time of reference, which coincides with the time of speech, namely, the final stage of the situation of visiting America is no longer obtained. The 了 le0 in [19b] focuses on the fact that the situation of going to the East Coast has happened and they are no longer there. This sentence is true regardless of whether they are still in the East Coast or not. In the sentence with 过 guo4 in [19c] the situation of dating each other has been experienced and is now over, conveying a discontinuity with regard to the time of reference, which is the time of speech or the present in this case. The 过 guo4 in [19d] makes it clear that
when viewed as a whole, the previous visit to Kaohsiung is over and the last stage of the visit does not hold true. However, the experience gained from that visit is relevant to the current visit. For this reason, the perfective 过 guo4 is sometimes termed “experiential aspect.”

[19] a. 他是中国人, 去过美国。
   ta1 shi4 zhong1guo2ren2 qu4 guo4 mei3guo2
   he be Chinese go GUO the_United_States
   ‘He is Chinese, who had been to America.’

b. 他们开了那辆车, 去了东部。
   ta1men0 kai1 le0 na4 liang4 che1 qu4 le0
dong1bu4
ta1 shi4 zhong1guo2ren2 qu4 guo4 mei3guo2
   they drive LE that CL car go LE
   ‘They drove that car and went to the East Coast.’

c. 曾经好过的两个人, 还有可能和好吗?
   ceng2jing1 hao3 guo4 de0 liang3 ge4 ren2 hai2
   once good GUO DE two CL people still
   you3 ke3neng2 he2hao3 ma0
   have possibility reunite MA
   ‘Two persons who used to date each other, could they be with each other again?’

d. 我以前来过高雄, 可以做你们的导游。
   wo3 yi3qian2 lai2 guo4 gao1xiong2 ke3yi3 zuo
   I before come GUO Kaohsiung can be
   ni3men0 de0 dao3you2
   you DE tourist_guide
   ‘I was in Kaohsiung before and I could be your tour guide.’

 过 guo4 can also co-occur with the sentence-final particle 了 le0. The main part of [20a], 厂长看过这张表 chang3zhang3 kan4 guo4 zhe4 zhang1 biao3 ‘the Director read the form,’ describes a situation and the sentence-final particle 了 le0 denotes that the situation has become a reality at the time of reference. A likely scenario for this sentence is that someone is concerned with whether the Director has read the form and another person tells him that the Director is reading the form, so this scenario has become a reality. Similarly, a likely situation for using [20b] is a wife worrying about her child’s medication and her husband assuring her that it has become a reality because the child took the medication.
[20]  a. 厂长看过这张表了。
    chang3zhang3 kan4 guo4 zhe4 zhang1 biao3 le0
    factory_director see GUO this CL form LE
    'The Director has read the form.'

    b. 孩子吃过药了。
    hai2zi0 chi1 guo4 yao4 le0
    child eat GUO medication LE
    'The child took her medication.'

5.2.3. Perfective aspects and negation

Sentences with a perfective 过 guo4 can appear in a negative form (see Chapter 6). The negators most often used are 没有 mei2you3 or its variation 没 mei2, as in [21a] and [21b]. The negator 没有 mei2you3 is a sentential scope negator indicating that the action or event represented by the predicate has not taken place and therefore does not exist at the time of reference. Since the predicate is marked with the perfective 过 guo4, the combination means that the subject never had the experience before; hence, the situation described is a first-ever experience.

[21]  a. 她活到五十多岁没出过国, 心情真的很兴奋。
    ta1 huo2 dao4 wu3shi2 duo1 sui4 mei2 chu1
    she live PREP fifty more year NEG leave
    guo4 guo2 xin1qing2 zhen1 de0 hen3 xing1fen4
    GUO country mood really DE very excited
    'She has never been abroad in her life of fifty years or so and is really excited.'

    b. 人行这么多年, 她还从来没有像今天这样红过。
    ru4 hang2 zhe4me0 duo1 nian2 ta1 hai2
    enter career so many year she still
    cong2lai2 mei2you3 xiang4 jin1tian1 zhe4yang4
ever NEG seem today like_this
    hong2 guo4
    red GUO
    'She has been in the performance business for so long and has never been so popular.'

[22]  a. 他不可能看过这份文件。
    ta1 bu4ke3neng2 kan4 guo4 zhe4 fen4 wen2jian4
    he impossible see GUO this CL file
    'It is not possible that he saw this document before.'
b. 我又不是结过几次婚，怎么会知道？

wo3 you4 bu4shi4 jie2 guo4 ji3 ci4 hun1
I again NEG get GUO several CL marriage
zen3me0 hui4 zhi1dao4
why can know
’It is not the case that I had several previous marriages. How could I know?’

The conditional clause in [23a] seems to be an exception. However, since the 不 bu4 in this case carries the illocutionary force of volition, it has a status similar to a combination of a negative morpheme and a modal. [23a] thus has an interpretation about willingness, in contrast with [23b], which is about a fact.

[23] a. 不试过几次，就不会有感觉。

bu4 shi4 guo4 ji3 ci4 jiu4 bu4hui4 you3
NEG try GUO several CL then NEG_will have
gan3jue2
’If you were not willing to have tried it several times, you would not get the feeling.’

b. 没有试过几次，就不会有感觉。

mei2you3 shi4 guo4 ji3 ci4 jiu4 bu4hui4
NEG try GUO several CL then NEG_will
you3 gan3jue2
have feeling
’Had you not tried it several times, you would not have that feeling.’

Sentences with the 了 le0 perfective can also appear in the negative form. Such a sentence typically has a negative and a modal combination, as in [24a] and [24b]. It is also possible for 了 le0 to appear in a conditional clause negated by the morpheme 不 bu4, as in [25], but the 不 bu4 should also be interpreted as a combination of negation and a modal of willingness.

[24] a. 你又不是吃了火药，干什么火气那么大？

ni3 you4 bu4shi4 chi1 le0 huo3yao4
you again NEG eat LE gunpowder
gan4shi2me0 huo3qi4 na4me0 da4
why anger so big
’It is not the case that you have swallowed some gunpowder, and why are you so angry?’
b. 他们还住在老地方，不可能买了房子。

- ta1men0 hai2 zhu4 zai4 lao3 di4fang0 bu4ke3neng2
  - they still live PREP old place impossible

- mai3 le0 fang2zi0
  - buy LE house

‘They are still living in the usual place, and it is not possible for them to have purchased a new house.’

[25] 你不喝了这杯酒就不能走。

- ni3 bu4 he1 le0 zhe4 bei1 jiu3 jiu4
  - you NEG drink LE this CL wine then

- bu4neng2 zou3
  - cannot go

‘You cannot leave if you are not willing to finish this cup of wine.’

An important property of the 了 le0 perfective is that it does not appear with the negative modal combination 没有 mei2you3 or its variation 没 mei2. When the need arises to indicate that some event has not taken place, sentences like [26a] and [26b] below will be used.

[26]  a. 太阳还没有出来呢，着什么急啊?

- tai4yang2 hai2 mei2you3 chu1lai2 ne0 zhao2
  - sun still NEG come_out NE hurry

- shen2me0 ji2 a1
  - what hurry A

‘The sun has not come out yet. Why are you so anxious?’

b. 没买票不能进去。

- mei2 mai3 piao4 bu4neng2 jin4qu4
  - NEG buy ticket cannot enter

‘You cannot enter if you have not bought a ticket.’

5.3. The imperfective aspects

5.3.1. Progressive 在 zai4

The imperfective aspect is used to view part of a situation with explicit reference to an internal temporal constituency of the situation. A special case of the imperfective aspect is the progressive aspect, which focuses on the internal stages of non-stative events presented as ongoing or in progress. 在 zai4 is the progressive marker in Chinese.
Unlike the perfective markers 了 le0 and 过 guo4, the progressive marker 在 zai4 is not a suffix. It is placed before the verbal predicate, like the monosyllabic verb 干 gan4 ‘do’ in [27a] and the disyllabic verb 动摇 dong4yao2 ‘shake’ in [27b].

[27]  
a. 你在干什么？  
    ni3 zai4 gan4 shen2me0  
    you ZAI do what  
    ‘What are you doing?’

b. 现在这信念动摇了。  
    xian4zai4 zhe4 xin4nian4 zai4 dong4yao2 le0  
    now this faith ZAI waver LE  
    ‘This belief is now shaken.’

When the verbal predicate is modified by adverb adverbials, they typically precede 在 zai4, such as the temporal adverb 常常 chang2chang2 ‘always’ in [28a], the scope adverb 都 dou1 ‘all’ in [28b], and the attitude adverb 一定 yi1ding4 ‘definitely’ in [28c].

[28]  
a. 我常常在问自己。  
    wo3 chang2chang2 zai4 wen4 zi4ji3  
    I often ZAI ask self  
    ‘I am always asking myself.’

b. 我们每天都在制造垃圾。  
    wo3men0 mei3tian1 dou1 zai4 zhi4zao4 la1ji1  
    we everyday all ZAI make garbage  
    ‘We are producing garbage every day.’

c. 妈妈一定在骗我。  
    ma1ma0 yi1ding4 zai4 pian4 wo3  
    mother must ZAI lie I  
    ‘My mother is definitely cheating me.’

Sentences in [29a] and [29b], however, show that manner adverbials, such as 逐渐 zhu2jian4 ‘gradually,’ may be either on the left or on the right of 在 zai4.

[29]  
a. 气氛才逐渐在转变。  
    qi4fen1 cai2 zhu2jian4 zai4 zhu2jian4 zhai43bian4  
    ambience just gradually ZAI change  
    ‘The atmosphere is changing gradually.’
b. 环保观念已经在逐渐转变。
   huan2bao3  guan1nian4  yi3jing1  zai4
   environmental_protection  concept  already  ZAI
   zhu2jian4  zhuan3bian4
gradually  change
'The concept of environmental protection is already changing gradually.'

If the adverbials are preposition phrases, such as 替我 ti4 wo3 ‘for me’ in [30a],
为市场经济 wei4 shi4chang3jing1ji4 ‘for the market economy’ in [30b], 对我 dui4wo3
‘to me’ in [30c], 跟你 gen1ni3 ‘with you’ in [30d], 朝这个方向 zhao1 zhe4 ge4
fang1xiang4 ‘toward this direction’ in [30e], and 向外 xiang4wai4 ‘to the outside
world’ in [30f], they predominantly follow 在 zai4.

[30]  a. 看到老师、校长、同学都在替我加油。
   kan4dao4  lao3shi1  xiao4zhang3  tong2xue2  dou1  zai4
   see  teacher  president  classmate  all  ZAI
   ti4 wo3  jia1you2
   PREP  I  add_oil
'(I) see that the teachers, the principal, and the students are all
encouraging me.'

b. 其实全世界都在为市场经济伤脑筋。
   qi2shi2  quan2shi4jie4  dou1  zai4  wei4
   in_fact  all_the_world  all  ZAI  PREP
   shi4chang3jing1ji4  shang1nao3jin1
   market_economy  vexing
'In fact the market economy is exercising the mind of everyone.'

c. 一阵阵西风仿佛在对我说...
   yi1  zhen4  zhen4  xi1feng1  fang3fu2  zai4
   one  CL  CL  westerly_wind  seemly  ZAI
   dui4 wo3  shuo1
   PREP  I  talk
'Winds blowing from the west are seemingly telling me…'

d. 今天孩子在跟你讲话。
   jin1tian1  hai2zi0  zai4  gen1  ni3  jiang3hua4
   today  child  ZAI  PREP  you  talk
'The children are talking to you today.'
The modern global market is also moving toward this direction.

We have been looking toward the outside world since we were born.

The temporal adverb 正 zheng4 ‘just, right’ can be used with 在 zai4 to make the sentence slightly more emphatic. The use of 正 zheng4 ‘just, right’ before 在 zai4 in [31a] and [31b] makes the sentences more vivid in their narrative effect.

[31] a. 我正在做功课。
wo3 zheng4zai4 zuo4 gong1ke4
'I am just doing homework.'

b. 我正在建造一座大教堂。
wo3 zheng4zai4 jian4zao4 yi1 zuo4 da4 jiao4tang2
'I am just building a big church.'

在 zai4 or 正在 zheng4zai4 may be used in sentences referring to the present, as in [32a] and [32b] below, in which 在 zai4 or 正在 zheng4zai4 co-occurs with the temporal adverb 现在 xian4zai4 ‘now.’

[32] a. 你现在在念什么？
ni3 xian4zai4 zai4 nian4 shen2me0
you now ZAI read what
'What are you studying?'

b. 我家长现在正在看电视。
wo3 jia1zhang3 xian4zai4 zheng4zai4 kan4 dian4shi4
I parent now ZAI watch TV
'My parents are watching TV right now.'
adverbial 那个时候 na4 ge4 shi2hou0 ‘that time’ in [33a] and 那天 na4tian1 ‘that day’ in [33b]. Clearly, neither 在 zai4 nor 正 zheng4 is a marker of tense, which is directly related to the relation between the time of action and the time of speech.

[33]  a. 那个时候弟弟还在念幼稚园呢。
    na4 ge4 shi2hou0 di4di0 hai2 zai4 nian4
    that CL time younger_brother still ZAI read

    you4zhi4yuan2 ne0
    kindergarten   NE

    'My younger brother was studying in kindergarten at that time.'

    b. 那天, 刚退伍的我正在台北找工作。
    na4 tian1 gang1 tui4wu3 de0 wo3
    that day just be_demobilized DE I

    zheng4zai4 tai2bei3 zhao3 gong1zu04
    ZAI Taipei look_for job

    'On that day, I was looking for a job in Taipei after being discharged from the army.'

The progressive aspect focuses on one of the internal stages of non-stative events. The progressive marker 在 zai4 can co-occur with verbal predicates that express activities, as in [34a], and accomplishments, as in [34b]. It cannot, however, co-occur with predicates that express achievements, such as 死 si3 ‘die’ and 爆炸 bao4zha4 ‘explode,’ as these events have no internal temporal stage; nor can it co-occur with stative predicates, such as 知道 zhi1dao4 ‘know’ and 胖 pang4 ‘fat,’ as they do not have internal stages either.

[34]  a. 妈妈一直在哭。
    ma1ma0 yi1zhi2 zai4 ku1
    mother all_the_time ZAI cry

    'My mother is crying all the time.'

    b. 我前一阵子在看一本那个日本的小说。
    wo3 qian2 yi1zhen4zi0 zai4 kan4 yi1 ben3 na4
    I before a_while ZAI see one CL that

    ge4 ri4ben3 de0 xiao3shuo1
    CL Japan DE novel

    'I was reading a Japanese novel some time ago.'
Some predicates, such as 敲 qiao1 ‘knock’ and 咳嗽 ke2sou40 ‘cough,’ typically denote single-stage, punctual events that occur very quickly, similar to achievements. They are, however, repeatable with no result or outcome, unlike achievements. Such single-stage events are also known as “semelfactives.” When semelfactive predicates are marked with 在 zai4, the situations are presented in repetitive sequences, also known as “iterative multiplicity.” For example, the predicate 敲门 qiao1men2 ‘knock at the door’ in [35a] denotes a multiple-event reading involving a sequence of knocks, as signaled by the frequency phrases 一次 yi1 ci4, 又一次 you4 yi1 ci4 ‘again and again’ and 五六次 wu3 liu4 ci4 ‘five to six times.’ It turns out that there is some internal temporal structure or subinterval of time within the repetitive semelfactive event that is compatible with the progressive aspect. The effect of the progressive aspect is to change a single-stage event into a multiple-stage one. The case is similar in [35b], in which 咳嗽 ke2sou4 ‘cough’ is interpreted as a multiple-stage event, not a single-stage one.

[35]  a. 有人在敲门, 敲了一次, 又一次, 大概是五六次吧。
    you3ren2 zai4 qiao1men2 qiao1 le0 yi1 ci4
    someone ZAI knock_on_a_door knock LE one CL
    you4 yi1 ci4 da4gai4 shi4 wu3 liu4 ci4 ba0
    again one CL around be five six CL BA
    ‘Somebody was knocking at the door and kept knocking again and again, perhaps five to six times.’

   b. 那个人在咳嗽。
    na4 ge4 ren2 zai4 ke2sou4
    that CL people ZAI cough
    ‘That person is coughing.’

5.3.2. Continuous 着 zhe0
Another imperfect aspect is signaled by 着 zhe0 (written as 著 zhe0, especially in traditional character). 着 zhe0 presents a continuous and stable situation without regard to the final endpoint of the situation, which is known as the “continuous aspect,” “durative aspect,” and “stative imperfect aspect” in the literature.

着 zhe0 is a suffix attached to the head of verbal predicates. The head can be monosyllabic, such as 看 kan4 ‘look’ in [36a], or disyllabic, such as 等待 deng3dai4 ‘wait’ in [36b].

[36]  a. 她无言地看着我。
    ta1 wu2yan2 de0 kan4 zhe0 wo3
    she speechless DE look ZHE I
    ‘She was looking at me silently.’
b. 我等待着爱情的胜利。
wo3 deng3dai4 zhe0 ai4qing2 de0 sheng4li4
I wait ZHE love DE victory
'I am waiting for the victory of love.'

When it is attached to the head of predicates that denote positions or postures, 着 zhe0 focuses on stativeness of position and posture, presenting the internal stages of situations in a static manner, as [37a], [37b], and [37c] illustrate:

[37] a. 他只是安静地坐着。
ta1 zhi3shi4 an1jing4 de0 zuo4 zhe0
he just quiet DE sit ZHE
‘He was just sitting quietly.’
b. 店内小朋友一个个手上拿着一本书。
dian4 nei4 xiao3peng2you3 yi1 ge4 ge4 shou3
store inside children one CL hand
shang4 na2 zhe0 yi1 ben3 shu1
on hold ZHE one CL book
‘Each of the children in the bookstore was holding a book in his hand.’
c. 他也是跪着。
ta1 ye3 shi4 gui4 zhe0
he also be kneel ZHE
‘He was kneeling too.’

着 zhe0 may also focus on statives resulting from an action. The states of the national flags being hung in [38a], two big characters being written in [38b], and the door being open in [38c] are all resultative. Although the verbs 挂 gua4 ‘hang,’ 写 xie3 ‘write,’ and 开 kai1 ‘open’ are action verbs, they do not convey an action in progress in these sentences. Instead, they convey a state that results from an action (i.e., being hung, being written, and being open) and 着 zhe0 in these sentences focuses on a stative stage after the action has been accomplished by someone prior to the moment of observation.

[38] a. 处处挂着国旗。
chu4chu4 gua4 zhe0 guo2qi2
everywhere hang ZHE national_flag
‘The national flags are hanging everywhere.’
b. 桶上写着两个大字。
tong3 shang4 xie3 zhe0 liang3 ge4 da4zi4
tub on write ZHE two CL big_character
‘Two big characters are written on the bucket.’
A limited number of adjectival predicates may have their head suffixed by \textit{zhe0}, such as 红 \textit{hong2} ‘red’ in [39a] and 空 \textit{kong1} ‘empty’ in [39b]. The situations in these sentences are all statives resulting from some action.

\textbf{[39]} a. \textit{她红着眼。}
\begin{verbatim}
ta1 hong2 zhe0 yan3jing1
she red ZHE eye
\end{verbatim}
‘Her eyes are red.’

b. \textit{原来的房子不少空着。}
\begin{verbatim}
yuan2lai2 de0 fang2zi0 bu4shao3 kong1 zhe0
before DE house many empty ZHE
\end{verbatim}
‘Many old houses are empty.’

\textit{zhe0} often co-occurs with the sentence-final particle 呢 \textit{ne0} to indicate a continuous situation with some gentle protest or request for an explanation, as in [40a] and [40b]. The gentle request for an explanation can sometimes be extended to mean a soft reprimand, as in [40c] and [40d], in that the speaker is complaining about the obvious ignorance on the part of the listener.

\textbf{[40]} a. \textit{村里人都等着呢!}
\begin{verbatim}
cun1 li3 ren2 dou1 deng3 zhe0 ne0
village inside people all wait ZHE NE
\end{verbatim}
‘The people in the village are all waiting!’

b. \textit{墙上贴着呢, 你不会看吗?}
\begin{verbatim}
qiang2 shang4 tie1 zhe0 ne0 ni3 bu4hui4 kan4
wall on glue ZHE NE you NEG_can see
\end{verbatim}
‘(The notice) is posted on the wall. Can’t you read it?’

c. \textit{国庆日还早着呢!}
\begin{verbatim}
guo2qing4ri4 hai2 zao3 zhe0 ne0
national_day still early ZHE NE
\end{verbatim}
‘The National Day is still too far away!’
d. 情势复杂着呢。
    qing2shi4 fu4za2 zhe0 ne0
    situation complex ZHE NE
    ‘The situation is so complicated.’

Similar expressions without 呢 ne0 can be found, as in [41a], [41b], and [41c] below. The major difference between these two sets of examples is the availability of some additional illocutionary force associated with 呢 ne0, which conveys a gentle request for an explanation or a soft reprimand.

[41] a. …无数问题都等着他。
    wu2shu4 wen4ti2 dou1 deng3 zhe0 ta1
    many problem all wait ZHE he
    ‘Many questions are waiting for him.’

b. 全世界看着你。
    quan2shi4jie4 kan4 zhe0 ni3
    all_the_world see ZHE you
    ‘The world is watching you.’

c. 屋外贴着红红的春联。
    wu1 wai4 tie1 zhe0 hong2hong2 de0
    house outside glue ZHE red DE
    chun1lian2
    New_year_scrolls
    ‘Red couplets for the Chinese New Year are being posted outside the house.’

Similar to the progressive marker 在 zai4, the continuous marker 着 zhe0 can be used in sentences referring to the present or the past, carrying no indication of tense. [42a] shows that 着 zhe0 can be used in a sentence that refers to the present. The clauses in [42b] show that 着 zhe0 can co-occur with the temporal adverbs 昨天 zuo2tian1 ‘yesterday’ and 今天 jin1tian1 ‘today’.

[42] a. 她现在孤独地过着贫苦的日子。
    ta1 xian4zai4 gu1du2 de0 guo4 zhe0 pin2ku3
    she now lonely DE live ZHE poverty-stricken
de0 ri4zi0
    DE day
    ‘She is now living a poor, lonely life.’

b. 礼拜天下着雨, 昨天也下着雨, 今天仍旧下着雨。
    li3bai4tian1 xia4 zhe0 yu3 zuo2tian1 ye3 xia4 zhe0
    Sunday fall ZHE rain yesterday also fall ZHE
Although the progressive marker 在 zai4 and the continuous marker 着 zhe0 are both imperfective markers, they are used in different contexts. [43a] describes what a boy was doing, whereas [43b] describes the appearance of a woman. The verb 穿 chuan1 ‘to wear’ in [43a] denotes an ongoing activity meaning ‘putting on’ and 在 zai4 views the internal stages of the situation of putting on new pants. The verb 穿 chuan1 in [43b], however, denotes a state resulting from the action of putting on a pair of loose linen pants and means ‘wearing.’ 着 zhe0 is used to focus on the result.

[43]  a. 一名九岁的小男生在穿新裤子时...
    yi1 ming2 jiu3 sui4 de0 xiao3 nan2sheng1 zai4
    one CL nine year DE small boy ZAI
    chuan1 xin1 ku4zi0 shi2
    wear new pants time
    ‘When a nine-year-old boy was putting on his new pants…’

b. 她穿着一件宽松的亚麻布衬裤。
    ta1 chuan1 zhe0 yi1 jian4 kuan1song1
    she wear ZHE one CL loose_and_comfortable
    de0 ya4ma2bu4 chen4ku4
    DE linen_cloth (under)pants
    ‘She was wearing a pair of loose linen pants.’

The same can be said about the contrast between [44a] and [44b]. When the verb 放 fang4 ‘put’ takes the progressive marker 在 zai4 in [44a], it is interpreted as an action verb meaning ‘to put into,’ with the internal stages of the ongoing action being viewed. When it takes a continuous marker 着 zhe0, as in [44b], the same verb is used to name a state resulting from the action of putting.

[44]  a. 起火前事主在往锅里放油。
    qi3huo3 qian2 shi4zhu3 zai4 wang3 guo1 li3
    fire before victim ZAI PREP pan inside
    fang4 you2
    put oil
    ‘The person was putting oil into the pot before the fire started.’
b. 停在饭店外的一辆汽车行李箱内放着一枚大炸弹。
停 stop 饭店饭店外外一一辆汽车汽车行李箱箱内内放放着着一枚一枚大炸弹炸弹。

A big bomb was lying in the trunk of a car that was outside the hotel.

着 zhe0 is sometimes used in the first predicate of a complex sentence to provide a background for the second one. The situation denoted by the first predicate with 着 zhe0 should have some internal stages extending over a certain period of time. For example, the first predicate 站 zhan4 ‘stand’ marked with 着 zhe0 in [45a] describes the posture of two people while they were having a 说话 shuo1hua4 ‘talk.’ Similarly, the situation of crying in [45b] is presented as ongoing background to the situation of looking for the teacher.

[45] a. 阳台上两个人站着说话。
阳台 yang2tai2 上 shang4 有 you3 两个人 ren2 站 zhan4 着 zhe0 说话 shuo1hua4。
‘Two people were talking while standing on the balcony.’

b. 学生哭着去找老师。
学生 xue2sheng1 哭 ku1 着 zhe0 去 qu4 寻找寻找老师 teacher。
‘The crying students looked for their teacher.’

The background predicate marked with 着 zhe0 may contain a transitive verb and its object, such as the 听 ting1 ‘listen to’ and 张学友的「真爱」 zhang1xue2you3 de0 zhen1ai4 ‘Jackie Cheung’s True Love’ in [46a], where the situation of listening to Jackie Cheung’s True Love provides a background for the situation of falling asleep. Although the situation denoted by the verb 敲 qiao1 ‘tap, knock’ in [46b] is a single-stage event, it is repeatable and, when marked with 着 zhe0, can be reinterpreted as an ongoing situation with internal stages, somewhat similar to activities. Hence, the first predicate 敲着盆子 qiao1 zhe0 pen2zi0 ‘tapping the bowl’ in [46b] is an accompaniment to the situation of singing.
a. 每天要听着张学友的｢真爱｣入眠的忠义。
   mei3tian1 yao4 ting1 zhe0 zhang1xue2you3 de0
everyday need listen ZHE Zhang_Xueyou DE
zhen1ai4 ru4mian2 de0 zhong1yi4
true_love fall_asleep DE ZHONGYI
’Zhongyi falls asleep listening to Jackie Cheung’s True Love every day.’

b. 敲着盆子唱歌。
   qiao1 zhe0 pen2zi0 chang4 ge1
knock ZHE pot sing song
’(He) sang while tapping the bowl.’

5.3.3. Imperfective and negation
Sentences with progressive 在 zai4 typically do not appear in negative form. In
the rare cases in which negation is called for, the predominant form is for the
negative morpheme 不 bu4 to combine with a modal, such as the 是 shi4 ‘be’ in
[47a], and the 可能 ke3neng2 ‘can’ in [47b].

[47] a. 你又不是在上课, 怎么就不接电话?
   ni3 you4 bu4shi4 zai4 shang4ke4 zen3me0 jiu4
you also NEG ZAI have_class why then
bu4 jie1dian4hua4
NEG answer_phone
’It is not the case that you are having classes. Why didn’t you answer
the phone call?’

b. 大年三十的, 她不可能在上班。
   da4nian2san1shi2 de0 ta1 bu4ke3neng2 zai4 shang4ban1
New_Year’s_Eve DE she impossible ZAI be_on_duty
’It is New Year’s Eve, and it cannot be the case that she is working.’

Sentences with continuous 着 zhe0 typically do not appear in negative form
either. When such a rare case does happen, the negative morpheme 不 bu4 characteristically combines with a modal, such as the 应该 ying1gai1 ‘should’ in [48]
below:

[48] 这种天气不应该都穿着短裤吧?
   zhe4zhong3 tian1qi4 bu4 ying1gai1 dou1 chuan1
such weather NEG should all wear
zhe0 duan3ku4 ba0
ZHE shorts BA
’Shouldn’t it be the case that everyone is wearing shorts?’
In some very limited contexts, such as the question and answer pairs in [49], the combination 没有 mei2you3 or its variation 没 mei2 can be used to indicate that the event or action represented by the imperfective predicate has not happened.

[49]  
a. Teacher: 你又在玩游戏了吧？
   ni3 you4 zai4 wan2 you2xi4 le0 ba0
   you again ZAI play game LE BA
   ‘Are you playing video games again?’

   Student: 我没在玩游戏。
   wo3 mei2 zai4 wan2 you2xi4
   I NEG ZAI play game
   ‘I was not playing video games.’

b. Mother: 你怎么又躺着了？
   ni3 zen3me0 you4 tang3 zhe0 le0
   you why again lay ZHE LE
   ‘Why are you lying down again?’

   Son: 我没躺着。
   wo3 mei2 tang3 zhe0
   I NEG lay ZHE
   ‘I have not been lying down.’
Negation

Haihua Pan, Po Lun Peppina Lee, and Chu-Ren Huang

Negation in Chinese involves a negator which changes the polarity of a sentence or other linguistic unit it modifies. This chapter describes the use of negators in Chinese. A negator in Chinese is a word or root which expresses negative meaning. Common negative forms in Chinese include 不 ‘not,’ 没 (有) ‘not (have),’ and 别 ‘don’t.’ We will discuss different types of negation according to the positions of the negators and the scope of negation. We will also discuss the interaction between the negators and aspects and predicates, as well as how focus affects the interpretation of negative sentences. Lastly, we will discuss negation involving questions, metalinguistic negation, and negative polarity items.

6.1. Scope of negation

6.1.1. The concept of scope

The scope of negation is the part of the meaning whose polarity is changed. The semantic scope of negation in Chinese is very often, though not always, parallel to its syntactic structure.

[1] a. 张震岳依旧怡然自得, 完全不受流言影响。
   zhăng1 zhen⁴ yue⁴ yi¹ jiu⁴ yi² ran² zì⁴ de²
   ZHANG_ZHENYUE still happy_and_pleased
   wan² quan² bu⁴ shou⁴ liu² yan² ying³ xiang³
   completely NEG SHOU rumor affect
   ‘Zhengyue Zhang remains delightful, and is not affected by the rumors at all.’

b. 张震岳依旧怡然自得, 不完全受流言影响。
   zhăng1 zhen⁴ yue⁴ yi¹ jiu⁴ yi² ran² zì⁴ de² bu⁴
   ZHANG_ZHENYUE still happy_and_pleased NEG
   wan² quan² shou⁴ liu² yan² ying³ xiang³
   completely suffer rumor be_affected
   ‘Zhengyue Zhang remains delightful, and is not totally affected by the rumors.’
6.1.2. Clausal negation and constituent negation

The scope of negation can be either the whole clause/sentence or restricted to a local constituent. Negation constructions are often classified according to their scope difference.

6.1.2.1. Clausal negation

Negation which changes the polarity of the whole sentence or clause is called clausal negation. Negators in such negation are called clausal negators.

6.1.2.2. Constituent negation

Negation which changes the polarity of local constituents is called constituent negation. Negators in such negation are called constituent negators.

6.1.2.3. Syntactic scope

Scope refers to the part of the sentence over which the negation is applied. There are two types of scope: clausal and constituent.

Clausal scope refers to the entire sentence, while constituent scope restricts the negation to a specific part of the sentence.

Negation can be classified according to its scope.

(a) Clausal negation

Negation which changes the polarity of the whole sentence or clause is called clausal negation. Negators in such negation are called clausal negators.

(b) Constituent negation

Negation which changes the polarity of local constituents is called constituent negation. Negators in such negation are called constituent negators.

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Negation which changes the polarity of local constituents is called constituent negation. Negators in such negation are called constituent negators.

Negation can be classified according to its scope.
[3a] and [3b] are two statements that are contradictory to each other. They cannot both be true, but they also cannot both be false. The effect of clausal negation is to create a statement that is logically contradictory to the original one; hence, if either statement is true, then the other one must be false, and vice versa.

6.1.2.2. Constituent negation

Constituent negation operates on part of a sentence/clause only. It may also be referred to as subclausal negation. The scope of negation can be a verb phrase (VP), an adjective phrase (AdjP), an adverb phrase (AdvP), a noun phrase (NP), or a prepositional phrase (PP). Subclausal negation is also known as “internal negation” or “narrow negation.”

As a negator 不 'no' in [4] negates the verb 信任 xin4ren4 'trust,' which describes the state that both sides of the strait are in (i.e., not trusting each other). The negation scopes of 不 'no' and 没有 mei2you3 'not (have)' will be discussed further in the next section.

6.2. The positions and scopes of negators

6.2.1. 不 bu4

6.2.1.1. The position of 不 bu4

As an adverb, 不 bu4 'no' precedes either an adverb phrase or an adjective phrase. When 不 bu4 'no' is added to a verb which denotes an action, it usually results in a volitional negation, equivalent in meaning to 不愿意 bu4yvan4yi4 'not willing to,' 不肯 bu4ken3 'not willing to,' and 不想 bu4xiang3 'not want to.'

As China and Taiwan, the two sides of the strait, were in a state of “high degree of distrust,” resuming negotiations would be difficult.'

As a negator 不 bu4 'no' in [4] negates the verb 信任 xin4ren4 'trust,' which describes the state that both sides of the strait are in (i.e., not trusting each other). The negation scopes of 不 bu4 'no' and 没有 mei2you3 'not (have)' will be discussed further in the next section.
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you3guan1 tai2wan1 wei1xie2 mei3guo2 an1quan2
cornern Taiwan menace America safety
de0 wen4ti2
DE issue
'The United States Attorney General would not comment on the issue
of whether Taiwan is threatening the national security of the United
States.'

In [5], 不 bu4 ‘no’ is a volitional negation indicating that the Attorney General
refused to comment. In this context, a simple denial of the fact (i.e., ‘did not
comment’) is expressed by the negator 没有 mei2you3 ‘no.’ 不 bu4 ‘no’ can also
occur in a constituent negation.

[6] 我不翻译, 他们怎么懂?
wo3 bu4 fan1yi4 ta1men0 zen3me0 dong3
I NEG translate they how understand
‘If I had not done the translation, how would they understand (what
people are saying)’

When 不 bu4 ‘no’ combines with an auxiliary, it negates the modality expressed
by the auxiliary.

[7] 情感选择回归到个人身上, 不应由国家以法律来规范人民。
qing2gan3 xuan3ze2 hui2gui1 dao4 ge4ren2
time choice go_back PREP individual
shen1shang4 bu4 ying1 you2 guo2jia1 yi3 fa3lü4
body_on NEG should PREP country PREP law
lai2 gui1fan4 ren2min2
come rule people
‘Emotional commitments are personal (and) should not be imposed by the
country through the implementation of laws.’

When 不 bu4 ‘no’ is added to an adjective phrase or a predicate that denotes a
property or a quality, it negates the property or quality in question.

[8] 环境不佳的现实情境内, 不太适合进行促销活动。
huan2jing4 bu4 jia1 de0 xian4shi2 qing2jing4
environment NEG fine DE reality situation
In consideration of the adverse economic situation, it is not that appropriate to perform any promotional activities (at this moment).

In [8], the negator 不 bu4 occurs before a preverbial adjunct and its scope is over that adjunct. Hence, it is a comment on the appropriateness of the activity, without indicating whether the activity has actually taken place or not.

6.2.1.2. The scope of 不 bu4

The semantic difference in scope is marked syntactically by a difference in linear order, especially relative to other scope-taking elements like adverbs, quantifiers, and modals. Typically, the relative scope of adverbs and 不 bu4 matches their relative linear order. When an adverb follows 不 bu4, it is within the scope of 不 bu4 and is negated by 不 bu4, as in [9].

[9] a. 他不好好的吃饭。
   ta1 bu4 hao3hao de0 chi1fan4
   he no properly DE eat
   ‘He does not eat properly.’

b. 它不完全是书信体。
   ta1 bu4 wan2quan2 shi4 shu1xin4ti3
   it NEG completely be epistolary_style
   ‘This is not completely written in the style of a correspondence letter.’

不 bu4 precedes the adverbs 好好 hao3hao ‘properly’ in [9a] and 完全 wan2quan2 ‘totally’ in [9b] and negates the two adverbs by taking a wider scope over them. In contrast, when an adverb precedes 不 bu4, it is external to the scope of 不 bu4 and is not part of the negation.

[10] a. (他)一直不讲话, 在那边画圈。
   ta1 yi1zhi2 bu4 jiang3hua4 zai4 na4bian1
   he all_the_time NEG speak PREP there
   hua4quan1
draw_circle
   ‘He remained speechless, and kept drawing circles over there.’
The adverbs 一直 yi1zhi2 'always' in [10a] and 完全 wan2qu2n2 'totally' in [10b] precede 不 bu4, hence, they are not negated by 不 bu4 but instead modify the full negative verb phrase. Likewise, in [11], the adverb 一定 yi1ding4 'definitely' is external to the scope of 不 bu4 and asserts the certainty of "not going." Similarly, the relative scope of duration and the frequency adverb and the negator 不 match their relative linear order.

In [12], the temporal frequency adverb modifies the negative VP. However, when a temporal frequency adverb follows 不 bu4 'no,' it is negated by 不 bu4 'no' together with the predicate.

The same linear order effect can be found with quantifiers such as 所有 suo3you3 'all,' 全部 quan2bu4 'all,' 很多 hen3duo1 'many,' and 一些 yi1xie2 'some.'
b. 我不同意很多他的观点。[negator has scope over quantifier]

wo3 bu4 tong2yi4 hen3duo1 ta1 de0 guan1dian3
'I do not agree with many of his points.'

Although the fact that the scope of negation matches the relative linear order seems trivial, it is important to note that not all languages work this way. It is well known that in English, for instance, a negator and a quantifier can have a scope relation that is contrary to their linear order, such as in “All that glitters is not gold.” In this English example, the negator “not” negates the whole sentence “All that glitters is gold,” although it occurs after both the universal quantifier and the verb. Similarly, the relative scope of the modals and 不 bu4 matches their relative linear order.

[15] 他可能不来见你了。[bu’s main verb negation]

ta1 ke3neng2 bu4 lai2 jian4 ni3 le0
‘He probably will not come to see you.’

[16] 公司的大陆包机, 民航局不愿(意)预测。[bu’s auxiliary negation]
gong1si1 de0 da4lu4 bao1ji1
company DE mainland chartered_airplane

min2hang2ju2 bu4 yuan4yi4 yu4ce4
the_civil_aviation_bureau NEG be_willing_to predict
‘Regarding mainland air charters by companies, the Civic Aviation Administration is not willing to make any predictions.’

[17] 新西兰不应(该)有牦牛出现。[bu’s auxiliary negation]
xin1xi1lan2 bu4 ying1gai1 you3 mao2niu2
New_Zealand NEG should have yak
chu1xian4
appear
‘There should not be any yaks in New Zealand.’

The modals 愿意 yuan4yi4 ‘is willing to’ in [16] and 应 (该) ying1 (gai1) ‘should’ in [17] follow 不 bu4 and can be negated by it, as they are within its scope. [18] involves more than one negator.
政府既定政策, 政府绝对不会不推动。

For established government policies, it is certain that it would not be possible for the government not to implement them.

The modal 绝对 jue2dui4 ‘for sure’ precedes the first negator 不 bu4, while another modal 会 hui4 ‘will’ follows it. It is 会 hui4 ‘will,’ instead of 绝对 jue2dui4’ that falls under the scope of the first negator and thus undergoes negation. The second negator 不 bu4 in [18] negates the verb phrase 推动 tui1dong4 ‘promote,’ which follows it and is within the scope of the negative modal.

6.2.2. 没 (有) mei2 (you3)
The prevalence and complexity of the use of the negator 没 (有) mei2 (you3) ‘not (have)’ can be attributed to its categorical ambiguity between a verb and an adverb, as well as to the free alternations of its two forms 没有 mei2you3 ‘not have’ and 没 mei2 ‘not (have)’ in most contexts. It can be either a verb that takes a nominal object or an adverb that modifies a verb. When it combines with nominals, 没有 mei2you3 can be treated as the main verb 有 you3 ‘have’ being negated by 没 mei2 ‘not.’ However, since these instances of 没有 mei2you3 ‘not have’ can be replaced by 没 mei2 ‘not,’ it is more intuitive to simply treat both forms as free variants of the categorically ambiguous 没 (有) mei2 (you3). When it collocates with a predicate, the same variations occur and both function as an adverbal negator, which exercises negation upon the predicate. It is important to note that in all the examples in this book, unless otherwise specified, 没 (有) mei2 (you3) can be freely substituted with 没 mei2, and vice versa.

As for religion, it has no national boundaries.

As for religion, it is for sure country.

As for religion, it has no national boundaries.

As for religion, it is for sure country.

As for religion, it has no national boundaries.

As for religion, it is for sure country.

As for religion, it has no national boundaries.

As for religion, it is for sure country.
During practicing Zen-meditation, (s/he) had the experience of not eating anything and not sleeping for a whole day, just thinking.

[19] exemplifies 没 (有) mei2 (you3) as a verb taking a nominal object, while [20] is an example of it as an adverb modifying a predicate.

6.2.2.1. Negation types of 没 (有) mei2 (you3)
没 (有) mei2 (you3) ‘not (have)’ can negate either a verbal predicate or an adjectival one. When it negates a verbal predicate, it expresses the meaning that the event denoted did not happen or has not yet been completed, depending on the event types of the predicate.

[21] a. 他人警 23 年，没发生一起违法违纪的事。
   ta1 ru4 jing3 23 nian2 mei2 fa1sheng1 yi1 qi3
   he join police 23 year NEG happen one CL
   wei2fa3 wei2ji4 de0 shi4
   violate_law violate_discipline DE thing
   ‘He joined the police force 23 years ago, and has never committed any misconduct or illegal act.’

b. 祖辈传下的手艺不但没丢，反而乎寻常地热了。
   zu3bei4 chuan2 xia4 de0 shou3yi4 bu4dan4
   ancestors pass_on down DE handicraft not_only
   mei2 diu1 fan3er2 yi4hu1xun2chang2 de0 re4 le0
   NEG lose instead unexpectedly DE popular LE
   ‘The handicraft inherited from the ancestors not only was not lost, it has become unexpectedly popular.’

[22] a. …登到现在都还没有结婚。
   deng1 dao4 xian4zai4 dou1 hai2 mei2you3 jie2hun1
   register PERP now all still NEG marry
   ‘(The announcement) was made (but) . . . till now they have not yet got married.’
b. 会议还没有开完，我还没有听完其他代表团的演讲。
    hui4yi4 hai2 mei2 you3 kai1 wan2 wo3 hai2
    meeting still NEG have proceed finish I still
    mei2 you3 ting1 wan2 qi2ta1 dai4biao3tuan2 de0
    NEG have listen finish other delegation DE
    yan3jiang3
    speech
    'The meeting is not yet over, and I have not listened to the speech of
    other delegations yet.'

 [21a] denies any occurrence of law-breaking acts, and [21b] denies the disapp-
pearance of the handicraft inherited from the ancestors. On the other hand, [22a]
expresses that the event "getting married" has not yet been realized, and [22b]
expresses that the meeting is not yet over. When conveying the meaning of 'not
yet,' 没有 mei2you3 'not have' is typically preceded by the adverb 还 hai2 'yet.' This
phenomenon will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 12.

When 没 (有) mei2 (you3) 'not (have)' negates an adjectival predicate, it means
that the state denoted by the adjectival predicate does not exist or the intended
change of state has not been achieved at the time of reference.

[23]
    真正适合大陆居民购置的住宅没热起来，内地广大有潜力的地区
    zhen1zheng4 shi4he2 da4lu4 ju1min2 gou4zhi4 de0
truely fit mainland resident purchase DE
    zhu4zhai2 mei2 re4 qi3lai2 nei4di4 guang3da4
    houses NEG popular QILAI mainland vast
    you3 qian2li4 de0 di4qu1 ye3 mei2 re4
    have potentiality DE area also NEG popular
    qi3lai2 QILAI
    '(The market for) houses which are tailor-made for purchase by mainland
residents did not heat up, neither did (the market in) the broad regions
with potential in Mainland China.'

[24]  a. 心情兴奋得连觉都没睡好。
    xin1qing2 xing1fen4 de2 lian2 jiao4 dou1 mei2
    mood excited DE even sleep even NEG
    shui4 hao3
    sleep well
    '(S/he) was so excited that s/he did not sleep well.'
b. 也许是我们自己没讲清楚。

'It may be the case that we did not say it clearly.'

[23] expresses the meaning that the state of the market heating up has not been obtained yet. Similarly, it can also negate the state denoted by the descriptive complement, as in the 好 hao3 'well' in 睡好 shui4hao3 'sleep well' in [24a], and the postverbal adverb, as in the 清楚 qing1chu3 'clearly' in 说清楚 jiang3qing1chu3 'say clearly' in [24b]. In contrast, the negator 不 bu4 used in the same context will deny the occurrence of the activity in the manner denoted by the modifier. For instance, 不睡好 bu2shui4hao3 'not sleep well' denies the intention or manner of sleeping well, while 不讲清楚 bu4jiang3qing1chu3 'not speak in a clear manner' means that the speaker spoke in a way that the content was not clearly presented. In both cases, the scope of negation is not on the activity denoted by the verb, but, rather on the state referred to by the adjective/adverb in question.

When 没 (有) mei2 (you3) 'not (have)' modifies an adjectival predicate containing the degree adverb 这么/那么 zhe4me0/na4me0 'this/that,' it denies the fact that a certain degree of the property has been reached.

[25] a. 但应用时的对应分歧, 实际上并没有那么严重。

'But the corresponding ambiguity in use is actually not that serious.'

b. 进入海南的时间较晚, 运气没那么好。

'(They) entered Hainan quite late, (and) their luck was not that good.'

Similar to other modified adjectival constructions, 没 (有) mei2 (you3) 'not (have)' negates the meaning of the degree adverb, but not the existence of the state denoted by the adjective.

6.2.2.2. Negation of predicate by 没有 mei2you3

When 没 (有) mei2 (you3) 'not (have)' negates a predicate, 没 mei2 'not' and 没有 mei2you3 'not have' are free variants. 没 (有) mei2 (you3) 'not (have)' denies either the
completion or the occurrence of an event or an action in question. However, this does not mean that 没 (有) mei2 (you3) ‘not (have)’ can only deny an event which occurred in the past. In fact, it can also be used to deny the occurrence of an event in the future, as shown by the sentence in [26].

[26] 明年这个时候你应该还没有毕业。

ming2nian2 zhe4ge4 shi2hou0 ni3 ying1gai1 hai2
next_year this time you should still
mei2you3 bi4ye4
NEG graduate

‘You should not have graduated yet by this time next year.’

In fact, 没 (有) mei2 (you3) ‘not (have)’ functions like the negation form of the perfective 有 discussed in Chapter 5, and it takes a clause as its complement. 没 mei2 ‘not’ is closely related to the perfective marker 了 le0, which would be realized as 有 you3 ‘have’ when it occurs with 没 mei3 ‘not.’ 有 you3 ‘have’ asserts the existence of an event or a state. By directly negating 有 you3 ‘have,’ 没 mei2 ‘not’ in [27b] either denies the occurrence of an action or negates the existence of the situation (state or event), while [27d] denies the completion of an event.

[27] a. 他去了日本。 [affirmative]

   ta1 qu4 le0 ri4ben3
   he go LE Japan

   ‘He went to Japan.’

b. 他没(有)去日本。 [denial of the occurrence of an event]

   ta1 mei2you3 qu4 ri4ben3
   he NEG go Japan

   ‘He did not go to Japan.’

c. 他没有生病。 [denial of the existence of a state]

   ta1 mei2you3 sheng1bing4
   he NEG fall_ill

   ‘He wasn’t ill.’

d. 他没有写完作业。 [denial of the completion of an event]

   ta1 mei2you3 xie3wan2 zuo4ye4
   he NEG write_finish homework

   ‘He did not finish writing his homework.’

While [27a] affirms the occurrence of the event, [27b] denies its occurrence. 没 (有) mei2 (you3) ‘not (have)’ can thus be considered as the negative counterpart
of the perfective marker 了 le0, hence, the marker of the non-existence or non-realization of an event. 了 le0 and 有 you3 ‘have’ should be taken as allomorphs of the same perfective morpheme. Therefore, we cannot simply consider 没 (有) mei2 (you3) ‘not (have)’ as a past tense negative particle. On the other hand, [27c] gives an example of 没 mei2 ‘not’ denying the existence of a state, and [27d] is an example of 没 mei3 ‘not’ denying the completion of an event.

Moreover, 没有 mei2you3 ‘not have’ can also appear at the sentence-final position to form a tag question. What is being asked then is whether a certain action has been performed or not.

[28] 你吃药没有?
ni3 chi1 yao4 mei2you3
you eat medication NEG
‘Did you take any medication?’

Similarly, the negator 不 bu4 can also occur in the sentence-final position to form a tag question as in [29]. While 没 (有) mei2 (you3) is widely used in Chinese tag questions [28], the use of 不 bu4 in tag questions is more restricted to northern dialects.

[29] 你吃水果不?
ni3 chi1 shui3guo3 bu4
you eat fruit NEG
‘Do you (want to) eat fruit?’

When 没 mei2 interacts with other scope-taking elements, the scope relation generally matches their linear order, as exemplified by the following sentences [30]–[32] in terms of scope between the negator and the underlined element.

[30] (他)并幽自己一默, 遺憾自己没能好好学中文。
    ta1 bing4 you1 zi4ji3 yi1 mo4 yi2han4
    he and make(fun_of) oneself one humor regret
    zi4ji3 mei2 neng2 hao3hao3 xue2 zhong1wen2
    oneself NEG can conscientiously learn Chinese
    ‘(S)he also made fun of herself/himself, expressing regret in light of the fact that s/he did not study Chinese well.’

[31] a. 近将七、八年没在台湾开唱, 如今被「送做堆」开演唱会, 两人
    jiang1jin4 qi1 ba1 nian2 mei2 zai4 tai2wan1
    nearly seven eight year NEG PREP Taiwan
    乐观其成。
    gong1lian1 qi1cheng2
    optimistically accept

[32] b. 他 155
    ta1
    he
kai1chang4  ru2jin1  bei4  song4zu04dui1  kai1
sing  now  BEI  bundled_together  hold

yan3chang4hui4  liang3  ren2
concert  two  people
le4guan1qi2cheng2
optimistic_about_one's_success
'The two did not hold any concerts in Taiwan for nearly 7 to 8 years.
And now being “bundled together” to hold one, the two are more than
happy to see to its success.'

b.  他在家里没读书。
ta1  zai4  jia1li3  mei2  du2  shu1
he  be_at  home  NEG  read  book
‘S/he did not study while s/he was at home.’

[32]  a.  召开第一次公听会时, 建设局没邀集所有里民。
zhao1kai1  di1yi1ci4  gong1ting1hui4  shi2
convene  the_first_time  public_hearing  when
jian4she4ju2  mei2  yao1ji2  suo3you3  construction_bureau  NEG  invite  all
li3  min2
a_unit_of_neighborhood  citizen
‘When calling for the first public hearing, the Construction Bureau
did not invite all citizens in the borough.’

b.  但双方依然在作拉锯式的往返, 并没很多精彩的场面出现。
dan4  shuang1fang1  yi1ran2  zai4  zuo4
but  both_sides  still  be_at  do
la1ju4shi4  de0  wang3fan3  bing4  mei2
in_a_see-saw_form  DE  back_and_forth  and  NEG
hen3duo1  jing1cai3de0  chang3mian4  chu1xian4
many  exciting  scene  appear
‘But both sides are still engaged in a back-and-forth see-saw, and did
not create many exciting scenes.’

c.  由于大都没办规划报建和用地等手续, 逃避各项税收...
you2yu2  da4dou1  mei2  ban4  bao4jian4
because  mainly_all  NEG  attend_to  report_construction
he2 yong4di4 deng3 shou3xu4 tao2bi4 ge4xiang4
and use_land etc. formalities avoid all_items
shui4shou1
tax
'Since in most cases they did not go through the procedures of
applying for land planning, building, and used approval to avoid
paying various tax and levy…'

6.2.3. Variations between 不 bu4 and 没 (有) mei2 (you3)

6.2.3.1. Negation and predicates
Although 不 bu4 ‘no’ and 没 (有) mei2 (you3) ‘not (have)’ can both negate state and activity predicates, their meanings are different. 不 bu4 ‘no,’ as a simple negator, denies the occurrence of an event (including state and activity), while 没 (有) mei2 (you3) ‘not (have)’ typically takes a scope over the event, which allows it to interact with various eventive attributes, including frequency, manner, and aspect, of an event that is currently taking place.

However, the occurrence of 没 (有) mei2 (you3) ‘not (have)’ with stative predicates is more restricted. For instance, it cannot occur with predicates denoting homogeneous states (i.e., states which can be divided into smaller states while remaining the same state), such as 诚实 cheng2shi2 ‘honest,’ or non-volitional cognitive predicates, such as 像 xiang4 ‘resemble,’ 知道 zhi1dao4 ‘know,’ and 是 shi4 ‘be.’ The underlying reason may be that, unlike 不 bu4 ‘no,’ 没 (有) mei2 (you3) ‘not (have)’ is reserved for non-volitional negation. The strong association of 不 bu4 ‘no’ with volition can be supported by the fact that 不 bu4 ‘no’ for Chinese speaking children is certainly one of the most frequently used in the 2- to 3-year-old stage to assert the child’s will. It is important to note that, in some cases, a homogeneous state can be coerced, such as the examples below involving the state of 饿 e4 ‘being hungry’ in [33] and [34].

[33] a. (你)没有老, 只是成熟了。
   ni3 mei2you3 lao3 zhi3shi4 cheng2shou2 le0
   you NEG only mature LE
   '(You) did not age, just became more mature.'

b. 他不饿。
   ta1 bu4 e4
   he NEG be_hungry
   'He is not hungry.'
c. 他还没饿。
   ta1 hai2 mei2 e4
   he yet NEG be_hungry
   'He is not hungry yet.'

[34] a. 他不诚实。
   ta1 bu4 cheng2shi2
   he NEG be_honest
   'He is not honest.'

b. 他不像他爸爸。
   ta1 bu2 xiang4 ta1 ba4ba0
   he NEG like he father
   'He does not like his father.'

c. 他不知道问题出在哪里。
   ta1 bu4 zhi1dao4 wen4ti2 chu1 zai4 na3li3
   he NEG know problem lie_in PREP where
   'He does not know where the problem lies.'

d. 他不是小明的老师。
   ta1 bu2 shi4 xiao3ming2 de0 lao3shi1
   he NEG be XIAOMING DE teacher
   'He is not Xiao Ming’s teacher.'

[33a] gives the typical example of 没 (有) mei2 (you3) 'not (have)' negating a change-of-state predicate (老 lao3 'to age, to grow old'). However, even though 饿 e4 ‘being hungry’ cannot typically be negated by 没 (有) mei2 (you3) ‘not (have)’ but can be negated by 不 bu4 ‘no’ (as in [33b]), it is negated by 没 (有) mei2 (you3) ‘not (have)’ in [33c]. This is because the introduction of the adverb 还 hai2 ‘yet’ coerced and changed the meaning of 饿 e4 ‘being hungry’ from ‘being hungry’ to ‘become hungry,’ a change of state that is now being denied at the current time. A more detailed discussion of the interaction between negation and aspects is given in Chapter 5.

6.2.4. Negation and imperatives
When an imperative sentence appears in a negative form to express persuasion or prohibition, 不要 bu2yao4 ‘should not’ is the first choice in formal written genres. In informal spoken discourse, 不要 bu2yao4 ‘should not’ is also used at times but it is often contracted to a monosyllabic word in various dialects, such as 别 bie2 ‘should not’ in the Beijing dialect and in the Northeast, 包 bao1 ‘should not’ in the
Shanxi dialect, and 莫 mo4 ‘should not’ in the Hunan and Hubei dialects. Some of these contracted forms have found their way into Standard Mandarin and written genres, such as 别 bie2 ‘should not’ and, to a much more limited extent, 莫 mo4 ‘should not,’ which happens to be homophonous with the negative morpheme 莫 mo4 ‘should not’ inherited from Classic Chinese.

别 bie2 ‘should not,’ as an auxiliary verb, appears between the subject and the verb. The subject of negative imperative sentences with 别 bie2 ‘should not’ is typically the second-person plural pronoun 你们 ni3men0 ‘you’ or 大家 da4jia1 ‘you all,’ as in [35a] and [35b], or the second-person singular pronoun 你 ni3 ‘you,’ as in [35c]. In rare cases, the subject could be the first-person plural pronoun 我们 wo3men0 ‘we’ or 咱们 zan2men0 ‘we,’ as in [35d].

[35]  a. 他呼吁民众: 如果没有必要的话, 千万别上山。
   ta1 hu1yu4 min2zhong4 ru2guo3 mei2you3 bie4yao4  
   DE  appeal public if not_have necessary
   de0 hua4 qian1wan4 bie2 shang4shan1
   DE words be_sure_to should_not go_to_mountain
   ‘He appealed to the public that if it is not necessary, do not go up the mountain.’

   b. (你们/大家)停下来! 停下来! 别再跳下去了!
   ni3men2 da4jia1 ting2 xia4lai4 ting2
   you all stop imperative stop
   xia4lai2 bie2 tiao4 xia4qu4 le0
   imperative should_not jump imperative LE
   ‘Stop! Stop! Stop jumping!’

   c. 你别乱说话了。
   ni3 bie2 luan4 shuo1 hua4 le0
   you should_not wrong talk words LE
   ‘You (all) stop saying what isn’t true.’

   d. 我们/咱们别说话了。
   wo3men0 zan2men0 bie2 shuo1 hua4 le0
   we we should_not talk words LE
   ‘Let’s stop talking.’

When there is a need to express a polite persuasion, the polite marker 请 qing3 ‘please’ could be used to tone down the imperative force of 别 bie2 ‘should not.’
Negative imperatives can also be expressed with combinations of negative morphemes and other auxiliary verbs, such as 不必 'not necessary,' 不准 'not allowed,' and 不用 'not needed,' in addition to 不要 'should not.' Note that 别 'should not' is only used in imperatives, while 不要 'should not' 不 'not needed,' 不准 'not allowed,' and 不必 'not necessary' represent a normal [不 'no' + modal auxiliary] form and thus may quite freely occur in various sentence types, such as declarative and interrogative sentences.

[36] a. 你不必再来上课了!
    ni3 bu4bi4 lai2 shang4ke4 le0
    'You do not have to come to class again!'

    b. 他不必太操心了。
    ta1 bu4bi4 tai4 cao1xin1
    'He does not have to worry too much.'

[37] a. 你不用再说了!
    ni3 bu4yong4 zai4 shuo1 le0
    'Say no more!'

    b. 他不用再担心他女儿了。
    ta1 bu4yong4 zai4 dan1xin1 ta1 nu3er2 le0
    'He does not have to worry about his daughter anymore.'

[38] a. 他不用来考试吗? [question]
    ta1 bu4yong4 lai2 kao3shi4 ma1
    'Doesn’t he have to take the examination?'
不用\textit{bu2yong4} ‘need not’ can be contracted into \textit{beng2} ‘need not’ in the Beijing dialect and other nearby places, and is used in spoken form only.

[39] a. 这是小事, \textit{bu2yong4}请示了。
\begin{verbatim}
  zhe4 shi4 xiao3shi4 beng2 qing3shi4
\end{verbatim}
le0
LE
'This is a trivial issue. No need to ask for permission.'

b. 好好听着就行了, \textit{beng2}说话!
\begin{verbatim}
  hao3hao3 ting1 zhe0 jiu4 xing2 le0 beng2
\end{verbatim}
well listen_to ZHE then ok LE need_not
shuo1 hua4
word
'Just listen carefully. No need to say a word!'

Although both \textit{bie2} ‘should not’ and \textit{beng2} ‘need not’ are used to express prohibition or persuasion, they differ in subjectivity. \textit{bie2} ‘should not’ expresses subjectivity and indicates that the speaker does not want the hearer to perform an action, while \textit{beng2} ‘need not’ does not express subjectivity explicitly but suggests that there is no reason or need for the hearer to act. Given the contrast, when the speaker does not want something to happen, he will use \textit{bie2} ‘should not’ instead of \textit{beng2} ‘need not’.

[40] 你别摔着了!
\begin{verbatim}
  ni3 bie2 shuai1 zhe0 le0
\end{verbatim}
you do_not fall_down suffer LE
'(Watch out!) Don’t fall!'

[41] 别把钱弄丢了!!
\begin{verbatim}
  bie2 ba3 qian2 nong4diu1 le0
\end{verbatim}
do_not BA money make_lose LE
'Don’t lose the money!'

6.2.5. Multiple negation
When there is more than one negator in the sentence, the interpretation of the negative sentence is determined by the relative scope of the co-occurring negators. In Chinese, the relative scope of the negators matches their relative linear order in the sentence.
6.3. Sublexical negation

Negation can also be expressed without a lexical negator in a negative construction, but with a negative morpheme in the word formation process. The morphemes commonly used are 无 wu2 ‘not,’ 非 fei1 ‘not,’ and 反 fan3 ‘against,’ in addition to the negators 不 bu4 ‘no’ and 没 mei2 ‘not.’

It is important to note that in sub-lexical negation, the negative morpheme is always the first morpheme of the word. The most versatile of the sub-lexical negative morphemes is probably 非 fei1 ‘not,’ as it is frequently used as a negator when appearing at the beginning of a relative clause headed by 者 zhe3 ‘(of) the person.’
Negation

The negation of relative clauses, such as those in [44], are commonly used in legal and formal documents but can also be used in spoken language in the right context. 非 fei 'not' as a negator changes the referents to a complementary set of individuals to those who were defined by the relative clause. For instance, in [44a], the original relative clause refers to those who were born in a particular place under discussion, but the negated relative clause refers to all others (i.e., those who were not born in that place.) Similarly, [44b] refers to the complementary set of those who hold Taiwan passports, and [44c] refers to the complementary set of those elderly applicants who are applying alone.

6.4. Negative answers to questions

“Yes” and “no” serve as markers of positive and negative polarity in answers to yes–no questions. In English, the choice between “yes” and “no” depends simply on the logical polarity of the answer. In Chinese, however, the choice of positive or negative answers depends on whether the speaker agrees with the expressed presupposition of the question or not. In other words, a negative answer represents an objection to the stated presupposition, and it may or may not be associated with a negative statement.

[45] Question: Are/Aren’t you going to the party?
Answer:
  a. Yes, I am.
  b. No, I am not.

In English, regardless of whether the question is asked in an affirmative or negative way, it would not affect the choice of polarity of the answer.
[46] a. 你参加那个宴会吗?
   ni3 can1jia1 na4 ge4 yan4hui4 ma0
you attend that CL banquet MA
‘Will you go to the banquet?’
b. 是(的)对, 我参加。
   shi4de0 dui4 wo3 can1jia1
   yes right I attend
   ‘Yes, I will.’
c. 不, 我不参加。
   bu4 wo3 bu4 can1jia1
   NEG I NEG attend
   ‘No, I won’t.’

[47] a. 你不参加那个宴会吗?
   ni3 bu4 can1jia1 na4 ge4 yan4hui4 ma0
   you NEG attend that CL banquet MA
   ‘Won’t you go to the banquet?’
b. 不, 我会参加。
   bu4 wo3 hui4 can1jia1
   NEG I will attend
   ‘Yes, I will.’
c. 是(的)对, 我不会去参加。
   shi4de0 dui4 wo3 bu4 hui4 qu4 can1jia1
   yes right I NEG will go attend
   ‘No, I won’t.’

[46] and [47] show that the use of a positive answer in Chinese is to show agreement with the presupposition, regardless of whether it is expressed in a positive or a negative sentence. Accordingly, a negative answer is used to show an objection to the presupposition.

6.5. Negative polarity items and negation
Negation can also be expressed by Negative Polarity Items (NPIs), such as 任何 ren4he2 ‘any’ and 什么 shen2me0 ‘what(ever),’ which are polarity-sensitive and their occurrence requires negative polarity contexts.

[48] a. 小张没去过任何地方。
   xiao3zhang1 mei2 qu4 guo4 ren4he2 di4fang1
   XIAOZHANDG NEG go GUO any place
   ‘Xiaozhang did not go to any places.’
b. 在逻辑及道义上，都没有什么道理。

zai4 luo2ji4 ji2 dao4yi4 shang4 dou1 mei2you3
PREP logic and moral on all NEG

shen2me0 dao4li3
what sense

‘Either logically or morally, it does not make any sense.’

c. 这些年来，尽管我国女排仍旧没有在任何的国际赛上交出杰出的成绩单，但是…。

zhe4xie1 nian2 lai2 jin4guan3 wo3 guo2
these year come although I country

n¨u3pai2 reng3jiu4 mei2you3 zai4 ren4he2
women_volleyball still not have PREP any
de0 guo2ji4sai4 shang4 jiao1chu1 jie2chu1
DE international_competition on present excellent

de0 cheng2ji1dan1
DE report

‘For these years, although our women’s volleyball team did not perform very well in any international competition…’

The occurrence of 任何地方 ren4he2 di4fang1 ‘any places’ in [48a] and 什么道理 shen2me0 dao4li3 ‘any sense’ in [48b] requires a context of negation, and in this case is provided by the negator 没 mei2 ‘not.’ In addition to these NPIs, there are some others, including 从来 cong2lai2 ‘from the start; ever’ and 好险 hao3xian3 ‘narrow squeak; almost,’ which strongly prefer to co-occur with a negator.

However, there are also Chinese NPIs which not only commonly occur in a negation context but also basically function as a negator, such as 几乎 ji1hu1 ‘almost,’ 差点 cha 4dian3 ‘nearly,’ and 好险 xian3xie1 ‘nearly.’

[49]  a. 晶体极少或几乎不存在。

jing1ti3 ji2 xiao3 huo4 ji1hu1 bu4 cun2zai4
crystal extremely small or almost NEG exist

‘The crystal is extremely small or barely exists.’

b. 农民差点血本无归。

nong2min2 cha 4dian3 xue2ben3wu2gui1
Farmer nearly down_the_drain

‘The farmers barely got back what they had invested.’
c. 记者险些惹上杀身之祸。
   ji4zhe3 xian3xie1 re3shang1 sha1shen1zhi1huo4
   reporter nearly incur_on fatal_disaster
   'The reporter barely avoided getting killed.'

   Just like negators, the NPIs 几乎 jiihu1 ‘almost,’ 差点 cha 1dian3 ‘nearly,’ and 危险 xian3xie1 ‘nearly’ used in [49] above deny the actual occurrence of the stated events. However, unlike regular negators, these NPIs further imply that these events could and almost did happen.

6.6. Metalinguistic negation

Metalinguistic negation involves an objection to a previous utterance based on reasons other than the truthfulness of the linguistic meaning of that utterance. Metalinguistic negation in Chinese is commonly marked with the negators 不 or 不. In addition, the negative polarity tag 才怪 cai2guai4 ‘this would indeed be weird’ and a few other expressions are used in the same way as the English metalinguistic negation tag NOT.

[50] 他不是胖, 是肥。
   ta1 bu2 shi4 pang4 shi4 fei2
   he NEG be fat be obese
   ‘S/he is not fat, s/he is obese.

[51] 他不是向前看, 是向「钱」看。
   ta1 bu2 shi4 xiang4 qian2 kan4 shi4 xiang4
   he NEG be PREP forward look be PREP
   qian2 kan4 money look
   ‘S/he is not forward-looking; (s/he) is money-ward-looking.’

[52] 小时候胖不是胖。
   xiao3 shi2hou0 pang4 bu2 shi4 pang4
   small time fat NEG be fat
   ‘[Lit.] Being plump as a child is not being plump.’
   ‘Don't judge success by performance in an early stage.’

In [50], since it is true that an obese person is fat, the negation cannot be on the truthfulness of the statement, and hence it is not a linguistic negation. The metalinguistic negation expresses an objection to that inadequate statement and underlines the statement that s/he is obese and beyond the usual standard of being merely fat. In [51], the metalinguistic negation is built upon the homophone
pair of 前 qian2 ‘forward’ and 钱 qian2 ‘money’ (both pronounced as qian2), again, to underscore the greedy money-driven nature of the subject. [52] shows that metalinguistic negation can even be used in conventional idioms. The idiom is a legacy inherited from times when Chinese people were mostly poor and being plump indicated a person’s wealth and success. Again, this cannot be a linguistic negation, since being plump at any age can be truly stated as being plump. However, the use of being well fed as an indication of being successful is of course only valid in one’s adult life.

[53] a. 变速箱寿命不短才怪。
   bian4 su4 xiang1 shou4ming4 bu4 duan3 change velocity box life NEG short
cai2guai4
   indeed_be_weird
   ‘It would be usual if the gearbox did not last long.’

b. 像你这样叫做有格调? 才怪。
   xiang4 ni3 zhe4yang4_jiao4zuo4 you3 ge2diao4 like you this_way be_called have style
cai2guai4
   indeed_be_weird
   ‘And to call people like you as having class? Definitely not.’

c. 我又中了大乐透(才怪)。
   wo3 you4 zhong4 le0 da4 le4tou4 cai2guan4 I again win LE big lottery indeed_be_weird
   ‘I won the grand lotto again. (NOT.)’

[53a] shows that 才怪 cai2guai4 ‘indeed be weird’ can be used as a predicate for metalinguistic negation. It denotes the speaker’s objection to the proposition stated in the clausal subject. The proposition encoded in the clause is typically in the form of a negation or a question. This usage can be expanded to the use of 才怪 cai2guai4 ‘indeed be weird’ as either a tag, as in [53b], or as a comment, as in [53c]; both function like the emergent use of the English metalinguistic negation tag NOT.

Lastly, this discussion of metalinguistic negation in Chinese cannot be complete without mentioning one of the most (mis)quoted statements in Chinese philosophy by GongsunLongzi: 公孙龙子 gong1sun1long2zi3 ‘Kung-sun Lung Tzu; a piece of historical literature,’ where the negator 非 fei1 ‘not’ is used for metalinguistic negation, e.g. [54].
白马非马。

bai2 ma3 fei1 ma3

white horse NEG horse

‘White horses are not horses.’

‘[Lit.] A white horse is not a horse.’

‘The concept of white-horseness is not the same as the concept of horseness.’
This chapter describes classifiers, which consist of sortal classifiers and measure words and are found in noun phrases in Chinese. The three semantic classes of sortal classifiers are individual classifiers, event classifiers, and kind classifiers; and the three semantic classes of measure words are container measure words, approximation measure words, and standard measure words. The classifier system is an important characteristic of Chinese. In this chapter, we will give examples of the most commonly used classifiers and discuss how sortal classifiers may coerce different interpretations from nouns.

7.1. Definition of classifiers

Classifiers [CL] in this chapter refer to the morphosyntactic category serving the semantic function of marking noun classes. Chinese has a particularly rich nominal classifier system that requires classifiers to occur in a noun phrase using the following construction:

\[ \text{Determiner (Det)/Number (Num)/Quantifier (Q)} \rightarrow \text{Classifier (CL)} \rightarrow \text{Noun (N)} \]

A noun may select only one classifier (either a sortal classifier or a measure word) in any given context. Thus, sortal classifiers and measure words occur in complementary distribution and cannot co-occur. In what follows, we will first introduce a set of criteria to establish and differentiate the different types of classifiers based on their semantic functions and syntactic distribution.

Note that “classifier,” as well as its corresponding Chinese term 量词 liang4ci2 (literally, measure + word), is often used to refer to both the broader grammatical category given above and its narrower subcategory with the specific semantic function of identifying a class. We will maintain the convention of using “classifier” (or 量词 liang4ci2) exclusively to refer to the grammatical category and will use the unambiguous terms of “sortal classifier” and “measure word” to refer to its subcategories.
7.2. Semantic properties of classifiers

7.2.1. Taxonomy of classifiers according to their semantic functions

Sortal classifiers (often referred to as 分类词 fen1lei4ci2 ‘classifier’ in Chinese literature) are usually considered the prototypical type of classifier, as they linguistically mark conventionalized conceptual noun classes. Sortal classifier selection may be motivated by the inherent properties of the noun, which are often conceptually salient and intuitive, as 只 zhi1 selects animals, whereas 张 zhang1 selects thin, broad objects. Measure words, on the other hand, are not typical classifiers, as they do not directly refer to noun classes. Instead, they provide a measuring unit, which may or may not directly depend on the inherent properties of the noun. The selection of nouns for measure words depends on world knowledge and experience. The taxonomy of classifiers is shown above in Figure 7.1, with some typical examples given for each type. These classifiers will be explained further in this chapter.

Sortal classifiers and measure words appearing with only a number or a determiner preceding them can refer to a noun phrase associated with that certain quality or feature, as in 这本 zhe4 ben3 ‘this book.’ For example, the classifier 本 ben3 refers to a book or a book-like object, as only books or book-like objects can co-occur with it. Another example is 两条 liang3 tiao2, which could refer to 两条鱼 liang3 tiao2 yu2 ‘two fish’ or 两条绳 liang3 tiao2 sheng2 ‘two strings of rope,’ among other possibilities in context. Moreover, in most genres of contemporary Chinese, nouns cannot be enumerated without co-occurring classifiers, as in 一本书 yi1 shu1 ‘one book.’ Lastly, sortal classifiers can often be used with a referential demonstrative without a numeral (always meaning ‘one’), as in 那辆车 na4 liang4 qi4che1 ‘that car,’ but standard measure words cannot.

The primary semantic function of classifiers, including both sortal classifiers and measure words, is to individuate; that is, to identify the units for enumeration or reference. The classifying function of selecting different noun classes is
dependent on this primary function of individuation through the different units chosen to enumerate or refer to the nouns. Classes are formed by the enumerating/referring unit with which they can co-occur. This primary function leads to three types of the most frequent usages of classifiers in Chinese NPs: enumerating, ordering, and referring. In the enumerating usage, a classifier precedes the noun and is preceded by numerals, for example, 三只老虎 san1 zhi1 lao3hu3 ‘three tigers.’ In the ordering usage, a classifier precedes the noun and is preceded by ordinal numbers, as in 第三只老虎 di4san1 zhi1 lao3hu3 ‘the third tiger.’ In the referring usage, a classifier precedes the noun and is preceded by demonstratives followed by an optional numeral, as in 那两只老虎 na4 liang3 zhi1 lao3hu3 ‘those two tigers’ and 那只老虎 na4 zhi1 lao3hu3 ‘that tiger.’

It is important to note that when individuating, a classifier can select either a natural unit, as in 三只老虎 san1 zhi1 lao3hu3 ‘three tigers,’ or a conventionalized unit by choosing a particularly relevant set of collections. Although both chopsticks and candy can be individuated with a natural unit (chopstick with 支 zhi1, as in 一支筷子 yi1 zhi1 kuai4zi0 ‘a chopstick,’ and candy with 颗 ke1, as in 一颗糖果 yi1 ke1 tang2guo3 ‘one piece of candy’), these nouns can also collocate with other classifiers to refer to other conceptually salient collections, as in 一包筷子 yi1bao1 kuai4zi0 ‘a package of chopsticks’ and 一包糖果 yi1 bao1 tang2guo3 ‘a package of candies.’

In addition, a classifier functions to individuate and to provide enumerating units for the generic conceptual type referred to by the bare noun. As discussed in Chapter 8, bare nouns in Chinese refer to kinds, not individuals. For instance, 狗比猫大 gou3 bi3 mao1 da4 ‘dogs are bigger than cats’ refers to the generalization that dogs as a kind are bigger than cats as a kind. This generalization is not contradicted by a specific statement, such as 这只猫比你家那只狗大 zhe4 zhi1 mao1 bi3 ni3 jia1 na4 zhi1 gou3 da4 ‘this cat is bigger than that dog of yours.’ The classifier 只 zhi1 in the second sentence serves two important functions, both to individuate the referent and to establish that this specific individual is an animal.

7.2.2. The semantic functions of classifier reduplication

Both the classifier and the numeral-classifier compound can be reduplicated for different semantic functions. The function of reduplicating classifiers is not unlike the vivid reduplication of adjectives. In examples like 屋子里到处都是一块块的金子 wu1zi0 li3 dao4chu4 dou1 shi4 yi1 kuai44 kuai4 (de0) jin1zi0 ‘there are nuggets and nuggets of gold everywhere in the house,’ the emphasis is on both the individuated nature of the object and the implication that there are many of them. The numeral one is the only numeral allowed in the context, since the implication is that the actual number is too big to be counted/specified. This reduplication applies in general to sortal classifiers and container measure words. On the other hand, when a numeral–classifier compound is reduplicated, it is most commonly used
as an adverb to focus on the repeatable and quantifiable stages of a measured-out event in terms of the incremental amount of the participant role involved. For instance, 你 then see that (you) are losing weight one kilogram by one kilogram' and 雁子排成人字, 三只三只飞 yan4zi0 pai2 cheng2 ren2zi4, san1 zhi1 san1 zhi1 fei1 ‘geese fly in formation, three by three.’ Note that in this type of reduplication, the numeral carries crucial information and cannot be omitted or replaced. This type of reduplication applies to all classifiers’ subclasses, except for approximation measure words.

7.3. Syntactic properties of classifiers

Three linguistic tests may be employed to establish two subcategories of classifiers. First, it has been observed that not all classifiers allow the [Num+CL+NP][Num+CL+DE+NP] alternation. Sortal classifiers, the most prototypical nominal classifier, do not tend to occur in this alternating construction; for example, 三只老虎 san1 zhi1 lao3hu3 ‘three tigers' and 那只狗 na4 zhi1 gou3 ‘that dog' are felicitous, but 三只的老虎 san1 zhi1 de0 lao3hu3 ‘three tigers' and 那只的狗 na4 zhi1 de0 gou3 ‘that dog' are not. However, 的 de0 can occur following standard measure words and approximation measure words. For instance, for the standard measure word 秒 miao3 it is possible to say either 三十秒广播广告 san1shi2 miao3 guang3bo1 guang3gao4 or 三十秒的广播广告 san1shi2 miao3 de0 guang3bo1 guang3gao4 ‘a 30-second radio advertisement.' In addition, for the approximation measure word 线 xian4 it is possible to say either 一线希望 yi1xian4xi1wang4 or 一线的希望 yi1xian4 de0 xi1wang4 ‘some hope.’ Note that sortal classifiers select a set of natural and inherent characteristics of the noun, while standard and approximation measure words refer to a set of conventionalized features which are independent of the head noun. This seems to be the main motivation for the difference in the distribution of 的 de0. It is interesting to note that the use of container measure words has a mixed nature: there is no selectional restriction between the container measure word and the noun as long as there is feasible real-world context, yet each container measure word also carries a set of natural and inherent characteristics itself. Hence, it is not surprising that container measure words allow 的 de0 -insertion in some, but not all, contexts. For instance, 的 de0 is commonly found to occur after container measure words in measured-out constructions, such as 每天最好能吃四到六碗的饭 mei3tian1 zui4hao3 neng2 chi1 si4 dao4 liu4 wan3 de0 fan4 ‘it is best to eat four to six bowls of rice each day.’

Second, sortal classifiers and container measure words allow limited modification by adjectives. The small set of adjectives allowed is highly dependent on the classifier, with the most common adjectives being the size adjectives 大 da4 ‘big,’ as shown in [1a], and 小 xiao3 'small,' as shown in [1b]:
Classifiers

Yet to the extent that direct modification is allowed, the interpretations differ according to different subtypes of classifiers. In [1a], the direct modification of a sortal classifier is semantically equivalent to the direct modification of the head noun, as in 两大块饼干 liang3 da4 kuai4 bing3gan1 ‘two big pieces of cookies.’ It is important to note that such direct modification of a sortal classifier is restricted to the salient property of the noun class selected by that particular classifier. Hence, it is possible to say 一大块 yi1 da4 kuai4 ‘a big piece,’ 一长条 yi1 chang2 tiao2 ‘a long strip,’ and 一薄片 yi1 bao2 pian4 ‘a thin slice’ because these classifiers select the properties of a sizable chunk, a long thin strip, and a thin two-dimensional object, respectively.

Conceptually, however, the size/dimensional properties belong to the object referred to by the noun, not to the noun class. Similarly, container measure words, as in [1b], are bona fide nouns whose properties can be modified. In this case, direct modification refers to the container, not to the contained. Hence, the meaning of [1b], with direct modification of the container measure word, has a different meaning from 一包小糖果 yi1 bao1 xiao3 tang2guo3 ‘a bag of small candies’ with direct modification of the noun. The reasons why event classifiers, kind classifiers, and standard measure words cannot be directly modified can be explained semantically. Standard measure words represent a fixed measurement, while kind classifiers and event classifiers refer to abstract properties.

Third, approximation measure words are restricted in the selection of numerals, allowing only the numeral 一 yi1 ‘one,’ as shown in [2], while other subclasses of classifiers do not have such restrictions.

[1]  a. 两大块饼干
   liang3 da4 kuai4 bing3gan1
two big CL cookie
   ‘two big pieces of cookies’

   b. 两小包糖果
   liang3 xiao3 bao1 tang2guo3
two small CL candy
   ‘two small bags of candies’

[2]  晴天一身汗, 雨天一身水
   qing2tian1 yi1 shen1 han4 yu3tian1 yi1 shen1
   fine_day one CL sweat rainy_day one CL
   shui3
   water
   ‘sweated all over under the sun, got splattered all over in the rain’
Approximation measure words borrow a concrete locus in order to establish approximately the measure and/or extent of a mass noun or an abstract noun. As such, it does not provide a constant unit for enumeration and, hence, cannot co-occur with any numerals other than one. The linguistic tests of all classifier subcategories are given in Table 7.1.

### 7.4. Overview of classifier types

Sortal classifiers can be classified into three types based on their classificatory functions: individual classifiers, event classifiers, and kind classifiers. Similarly, measure words can be divided into three types based on their measuring functions: container measure words, approximation measure words, and standard measure words.

When the numeral one occurs before a sortal classifier or a measure word, it can refer to the quantity of one, or it could be an indeterminate reference. Similar to the ambiguity shown by bare nominals in Chinese (see discussion in Chapter 8, on nouns), the interpretation of “one-CL” is context dependent. The ambiguity may or may not be resolved by contextual information, as the concept of indeterminacy is not grammaticalized. All true classifiers and measure words can occur with a numeral other than one. The only exception is approximation measure words (which are also called pseudo-classifiers or temporary classifiers). As mentioned in section 7.3, this category of measure words typically co-occurs with the numeral one but not with other numerals or determiners.

An additional type of classifier often mentioned in the literature is 动量词 dong4liang4ci2 ‘activity classifier,’ and its typical structure is [V–Num–CL]. A typical
example is 下 xia4, as in 打一下 da3 yi1 xia4 'hit one time.' Although they are known as activity classifiers, they are not bona fide classifiers, as they cannot be used to enumerate entities. Activity classifiers are discussed further in Chapter 4 on verbs.

7.4.1. Types of sortal classifiers

Individual classifiers, also known as general classifiers, classify both concrete objects, such as, 这棵树 zhe4 ke1 shu4 'this tree,' and abstract objects, such as 一个想法 yi1 fa4 xiang3 fa3 'one thought.' They can also be used with grouped objects, such as 两双筷子 liang3 shuang1 kuai3 zi0 'two pairs of chopsticks.' They usually precede the noun but may follow the noun, as in predicate use in 奇异果 qi2 yi4 guo3 liang3 ge4 'two kiwifruit' (e.g., in a listing context, such as ordering or inventory) or in Classic Chinese.

Event classifiers enumerate the occurrences of an event, such as 会议 hui4 yi4 'meeting.' They can be used with nouns denoting events, as in 十场 bi3 sai4 'ten competitions,' or with count nouns specific to the events coerced to refer to the event, as in 一班车 yi1 ban1 che1 'a scheduled run of public transportation.'

Kind classifiers enumerate types of objects, such as 十二种动物 shi2 er4 zhong3 dong4 wu4 'twelve kinds of animals,' but not individual objects.

7.4.2. Types of measure words

As mentioned in section 7.2, there are three types of measure words: container measure words, approximation measure words, and standard measure words. Container measure words are derived from a subset of container nouns. They specify quantity in terms of the number of containers that hold the objects, as in 一碗饭 yi1 wan3 fan4 'a bowl of rice.' It is important to note that container measure words co-occur with both COUNT and MASS nouns (e.g., 一碗花生 yi1 wan3 hua1 sheng1 'a bowl of peanuts,' where 花生 hua1 sheng1 typically selects the individual classifier 颗 ke1, which classifies small round objects).

Approximation measure words refer to an approximate quantity and typically are preceded by the number one, as in 一身汗 yi1 shen1 han4 'body full of sweat' or 一份心意 yi1 fen4 xin1 yi4 'a sign of appreciation.'

Standard measure words measure concrete objects in terms of a specific standard measurement for length, area, weight, volume, and time, as in 八百公尺 bai1 bai3 gong1 chi3 'eight hundred meters,' 半公斤脂肪 ban4 gong1 jin1 zhi1 fang2 'half a kilogram of fat,' 400 公升汽油 400 gong1 sheng1 jiu2 you2 '400 liters of petrol,' and 三年 san1 nian2 'three years.'

In what follows, we will further demonstrate with examples the function and usage of each classifier type based on the frequency of their co-occurrence
with particular nouns in the corpus. In section 7.7, we will discuss polysemous classifiers that have different classifier senses. Lastly, in section 7.8, we will discuss how sortal classifiers can coerce different meanings from nouns.

### 7.5. Sortal classifiers

#### 7.5.1. Individual classifiers

Individual classifiers are prototypically viewed as categorizing a semantically salient perceptual property of a noun that refers to something that can be individuated. The functions and usages of individual classifiers in this section are exemplified by our discussion of the corpus’s most frequently used individual classifiers.

个 ge4 is the most frequently used individual classifier. It is often referred to as the generic classifier or the default classifier, as it individuates without specifying the shared semantic properties of the class of individuals it classifies. 个 ge4 is frequently used with human nouns, such as 两个小孩 liang3 ge4 xiao3hai2 ‘two children’ and 三个朋友 san1 ge4 peng2you3 ‘three friends.’ In addition, it can be used with a wide range of concrete count nouns, such as 三四十月 san1 si4 ge4 yue4 ‘three or four months,’ 整个国家 zheng3 ge4 guo2jia1 ‘the whole country,’ 一个房子 yi1 ge4 fang2zhi0 ‘a house,’ and 两个苹果 liang3 ge4 ping2you3 ‘two apples,’ and abstract count nouns, such as 一个想法 yi1 ge4 xiang3fa3 ‘a thought,’ 两个现象 liang3 ge4 xian4xiang4 ‘two phenomena,’ 五个层面 wu3 ge4 ceng2mian4 ‘five levels,’ and 这个系统 zhe4 ge4 xi4tong3 ‘this system.’ Oftentimes, these nouns also have other more specific classifiers they may occur with, as in 两颗苹果 liang3 ke1 ping2guo3 ‘two apples.’ Various sociolinguistic factors will influence the speaker’s choice between the generic and the specific classifier.

There are, however, restrictions on the use of 个 ge4. For example, 个 ge4 does not co-occur with mass nouns, such as 水 shui3 ‘water’ and 土 tu3 ‘soil.’ It also does not co-occur with count nouns that have strong semantic links with specific classifiers, such as 线 xian4 ‘thread,’ 纸 zhi3 ‘paper,’ and 书 shu1 ‘books.’ 个 ge4 also has non-classifier uses in idiomatic expressions, as in 起个大早 qi3 ge4 da4 zao3 ‘got up early’ and 笑个不停 xiao4 ge4 bu4ting2 ‘laugh without stopping.’ Some apparent counter examples of 个 ge4 co-occur with mass nouns, such as 喝个水 he1 ge4 shui3 ‘(please allow me to) drink a bit of water,’ involving an aspectual sense and not a classifying one.

The most frequent individual classifiers, other than the generic classifier 个 ge4, are two classifiers individuating human beings: 位 wei4 and 名 ming2. 位 wei4 is the second most frequently used individual classifier, classifying people when they are referred to with the associated meaning of their roles or occupations, as in 同学/学生 tong2xue2/xue2sheng1 ‘students,’ 老师 lao3shi1 ‘teachers,’ and 朋友
restricting individuals, as in 位/在/于/di4/zi4 ‘friends.’ It is also used when addressing a group of people, as in 各位/各位/n8/ze4 ‘ladies’ and 各位先生/先生 ge4wei4/xian1sheng1 ‘gentlemen,’ when being polite, as when a restaurant host asks, 几位/ji3wei4? ‘How many (in your party)?,’ and when introducing one person to another, as in 我们介绍介绍。这位是约旦来的萨先生。 we3 gei3 ni3men0 jie4shao4 jie4shao4. zhe4 we4 shi4 cong2 yue1dan4 lai2 de0 sa4 xian1sheng1.’ ‘Let me introduce you. This is Mr. Sa from Jordan.’

位/在/于/di4/zi4 is often used when referring to people who are well respected in a particular sociolinguistic group, as in 各位教授 ba1 we4 jiao4shou4 ‘eight professors’ and 一位官员 yi1 we4 guan1lyyan2 ‘an official.’ However, when the roles or occupations have a negative connotation, they collocate only with 名/为/之/于 ming2, 不/为/于/we4, which limits the usage of 位/在/于/di4/zi4.

名/为/之/于 ming2 is another frequently used individual classifier individuating people. It classifies people when they are referred to by their social role or occupation. However, unlike 位/we4, it is not associated with the value of the job or occupation. Instead, it is used more generically, as in —名男子 yi1 ming2 nan2zi3 ‘a man’ and —该名女子 gai1 ming2 n8/zi3 ‘that woman.’ When compared with the usage of 位/we4 above, 名/为/之/于 ming2 is also preferred when referring to people who are less respected in a particular sociolinguistic group, for example, 歹徒 dai3tu2 ‘criminals’ and 罪犯 zui4fan4 ‘criminals.’ In addition, 名/为/之/于 ming2 is used most frequently when ranking individuals, as in 第一名 di4yi1ming2 ‘first place’ and 第二名 di4er4ming2 ‘second place,’ although it functions as a nominal and not a classifier in this usage.

A second group of frequently used classifiers classifies objects according to their shape, as in 条/根/片/颗/粒 tiao2, gen1, pian4, ke2/li4, and 滴 di1. 条/根/片/颗/粒 tiao2 is the most frequently used individual classifier classifying the shape of an object. 条/根/片/颗/粒 tiao2 categorizes a variety of nouns that may be seen as embodying, to a greater or lesser degree, the prototypical attributes of long, thin, cylindrical, and flexible. 条/根/片/颗/粒 tiao2 classifies concrete nouns, such as 这条路/道路 zhe4 tiao2 lu4/dao4/lu4 ‘this road,’ 一条腿 yi1 tiao2 tu13 ‘a leg,’ 两条船 liang3 tiao2 chuan2 ‘two boats,’ 一条裙子 yi1 tiao2 qun2zi0 ‘a skirt,’ 一条浴巾 yi1 tiao2 yu4jin1 ‘a bath towel,’ and 整条项链 zheng3 tiao2 xiang4lian4 ‘the whole necklace,’ as well as abstract nouns that may be seen as metaphorical extensions of the above-mentioned concrete attributes, such as 第十条规定 di4shi2 tiao2 gui1ding4 ‘Article X,’ 三十六条文 san1shi2liu4 tiao2 tiao2wen2 ‘thirty-six clauses,’ 该条规则 gai1 tiao2 gui1ze2 ‘that rule,’ 十五条人命/命 shi5wu3 tiao2 ren2ming4/ming4 ‘fifteen lives,’ 整条生产线 zheng3 tiao2 sheng1chan3xian4 ‘the whole production line,’ and 这条新闻 zhe4 tiao2 xin1wen2 ‘this news.’

When quantifying a section of (legal) writing in an official document, 条/根/片/颗/粒 tiao2 is at the highest level (i.e., a number) compared with 项/面/线 xiang4 and 款/线 kuan3, as in 关税法第二十条第一项第六款 guan1shui4fa3 di4er4shi2 tiao2 di4yi1 xiang4 di4liu4 kuan3 ‘Custom Law Number 20 Section 1 Sub-section 6.’ In addition, animals such as 鱼/鱼 yu2 ‘fish,’ 鱼/鱼 yu2 ‘goldfish,’ 狗/gou3 ‘dogs,’ 猪/猪 zhu1 ‘pigs,’ 龙/龙 long2 ‘dragons,’ 蛇/蛇 she4 ‘snakes.’
she2 ‘snakes,’ and 毛虫 mao2chong2 ‘caterpillars’ co-occur with 条 tiao2. For clothing, tops and jackets are usually classified by 件 jian4, whereas pants and skirts are classified by 条 tiao2. In reference to the individual classifier 只 zhi1 discussed later in this section, 条 tiao2 can also classify boats.

The usages of 根 gen1 and 条 tiao2 are similar and, thus, are often interchangeable; for instance, 两根弦 liang3 gen1 xian2 can be written as 两条弦 liang3 tiao2 xian2 without any semantic difference. Both 根 gen1 and 条 tiao2 can be used to individuate objects with the prototypical attributes of long, thin, and cylindrical. In addition to these three attributes, 根 gen1 has the attribute of being rigid, while 条 tiao2 has the attribute of being flexible, so those objects with the attribute of winding flexibility usually prefer/ select 条 tiao2 instead of 根 gen1; thus, 一条马路 yi1 tiao2 ma3liu4 ‘a road’ is the correct usage, not 一根马路 yi1 gen1 ma3liu4.

Another distinction between 根 gen1 and 条 tiao2 is the abstractness of the nouns. Concrete nouns, such as 钢管 gang1guan3 ‘steel tube,’ tend to collocate with 根 gen1, while abstract nouns, such as 线索 xian4suo3 ‘clue’ and 人命 ren2ming4 ‘life,’ tend to collocate with 条 tiao2. It is important to note that the very compact semantic content of a classifier means that it is possible for different salient semantic characteristics to play the role of different selectional preference of nouns. For instance, although the rigid versus flexible characteristic does not favor either tiao2 or gen1 for nouns such as 头发 tou2fa4 ‘hair’ and 秧苗 yang1miao2 ‘young rice plant,’ the fact that they are both rooted objects sets up the selectional preference of 根 gen1 versus 条 tiao2, as 根 gen1 also refers to roots.

张 zhang1 is most frequently used to classify objects that are typically flat, two-dimensional, and horizontal, such as 一张专辑/唱片 yi1 zhang1 zhuo1ji2 ‘an album,’ 一张照片/相片 yi1 zhang1 zha3o4pian4/xiang1pian4 ‘a photo,’ 几张牌 ji3 zhang1 pai2 ‘a few cards,’ 三十张纸 san1sh2i2 zhang1 zhi3 ‘thirty pieces of paper,’ 四张画 si4 zhang1 hua4 ‘four paintings,’ 四十八张支票 si4shi2ba1 zhang1 zhi1piao4 ‘forty-eight checks,’ 两张表 liang3 zhang1 biao3 ‘two forms,’ 一张地图 yi1 zhang1 di4tu2 ‘a map,’ 一张五百元礼券 yi1 zhang1 wu3bai3yuan2 li3quan4 ‘a 500-dollar coupon,’ and 一张收据 yi1 zhang1 shou1ju4 ‘a receipt.’ It also classifies furniture that has a flat, rectangular, and two-dimensional main functional part, such as 一张双人床 yi1 zhang1 shuang1ren2chuang2 ‘a double bed,’ 几张桌子 ji3 hang1 zhuo1zi0 ‘a few tables,’ 这张椅子 zhe4 zhang1 yi3zi0 ‘this chair,’ 一张方形的书桌 yi1 zhang1
"ground," 'garden.' In addition, 张 zhāng1 classifies the face of a person, as well as facial expressions by extension, as in 香脸 zhāng1 chēng1fān3 nuòqi4 de0 lián3 ‘the whole face,’ 那张充满怒气的脸 na4 zhāng1 chōng1tān3 nuòqi4 de0 lián3 ‘that face full of anger,’ 一张自信的笑脸 yi1 zhāng1 zì1xīn4yín4 de0 xiào4lián3 ‘a confident, smiling face,’ and 一张臭脸 yi1 zhāng1 chóu1lián3 ‘an unhappy face.’ Lastly, it classifies nouns that can be opened wide, as in 那张嘴 na4 zhāng1 zuǐ3 ‘that mouth’ and 这张鱼网 zhe4 zhāng1 yú2wǎng3 ‘this fishing net.’ These examples also underline the fact that classifiers represent a lexicalized convention, so gaps are to be expected. That is, the lexical convention predicts that all nouns which are selected by 张 zhāng1 will have at least one of the above characteristics, but it does not predict that all nouns that have the above characteristics will be selected by 张 zhāng1.

片 pian4 is used to classify objects that have the attributes of being flat and thin, such as 一片玻璃 yi1 pian4 bō1lì2 ‘a glass,’ 几片树叶 jǐ pian1 shù4yè4 ‘a few leaves,’ 一片云 yi1 pian4 yún2 ‘a cloud,’ 一片茶叶 yi1 pian4 chá2 yè4 ‘a tea leaf,’ and 数十片光碟 shù4shí2 pian1 guāng1dié2 ‘dozens of discs.’ In addition, 片 pian4 functions as an approximation measure word. See section 7.6.2 for a discussion on this point.

块 kuài1 classifies concrete nouns that are typically a solid block shape or in piece form, such as 一块大石头 yī kuài4 dà4 shù1tóu0 ‘a big rock,’ 一块空地 yī kuài4 kōng4dì4 ‘a piece of open ground,’ 那块璞玉 na4 kuài4 pú4yù4 ‘that piece of jade,’ 这块布 zhe4 kuài4 bù4 ‘this piece of cloth,’ 这块(肥)肉 zhe4 kuài4 (féi2) ròu4 ‘this piece of (fat) meat,’ and 十块金子 shí2 kuài4 jīn1zǐ0 ‘ten pieces of gold.’ In terms of frequency, 块 kuài1 is most often used as a classifier in modern colloquial Mandarin to refer to monetary units, as in 一万多块钱 yī wàn4 duō1 kuài4 qián2 ‘more than ten thousand dollars.’ It is crucial to differentiate the use of a classifier for monetary units and nouns for actual monetary units. 块 kuài1 can be used as a unit for enumerating any monetary system, such as 一百块(美金/人民币/泰铢) yī bǎn1 kuài1{méi1jīn1/rén1mín2bì2/tài4bù1} ‘one hundred US dollars/renminbi/Thai baht,’ although different nouns must be used to refer to the actual monetary units, as in 一百美元(人民币/泰铢) yī bǎn1 méi1yuán2{rén1mín2bì2/tài4bù1} ‘one hundred US dollars/renminbi/Thai baht.’ The origin of this monetary usage is probably from classifying silver dollars. 块 kuài1 also classifies land, as in 空地 kōng4dì4 ‘open ground,’ 净土 jìng4tǔ3 ‘paradise,’ 荒地 huāng1dì4 ‘wasteland,’ and 阔地 kuò1dì4 ‘garden.’

Both 片 pian4 and 块 kuài1 serve a similar function, which is to classify concrete nouns in typical piece form, so 这块肉 zhe4 kuài1 ròu4 ‘this piece of meat’ and 那块乳酪 na4 kuài1 rǔ1là04 ‘that piece of cheese’ can be written as 这片肉 zhe4 pian1 ròu4 and 那片乳酪 na4 pian1 rǔ1là04, respectively. However, the use of 片 pian4 and 块 kuài1 brings about slight differences in meaning. For example, 这块乳酪 zhe4 kuài1 rǔ1là04 ‘this piece of cheese’ emphasizes a more
three-dimensional-like state, while 那片乳酪 na4 pian1 ru3iao4 ‘this piece of cheese’ implies that the piece is thin. In some cases, both 块 kua4 and 片 pian4 can be used interchangeably without changing the semantic meaning, as in the case of 一块吐司 yi1 kua44 tu3si1 and 一片吐司 yi1 pian4 tu3si1 ‘a piece of toast.’

颗/粒 ke1/li4 typically classifies small round objects and those that are nearly round. Thus, 弹珠 dan4zhu1 ‘marbles,’ 钻石 zuan4shi2 ‘diamonds,’ 糖 tang2 ‘candies,’ 子弹 zi3dan4 ‘bullets,’ and 星星 xing1xing1 ‘stars’ tend to collocate with 颗 ke1. 颗/粒 ke1/li4 also classifies star-/planet-like objects, such as 星球 xing1qiu2 ‘planets’ and 人造卫星 ren2zao4 wei4xing1 ‘satellites.’ A minor difference between 颗 ke1 and 粒 li4 arises from the size of the round object. For example, 粒 li4 is limited only to small or tiny round objects, whereas with relatively large round objects, 颗 ke1 is used instead, as in 一颗炮弹 yi1 ke1 pao4dan4 ‘a cannonball,’ not *一颗炮弹 yi1 li4 pao4dan4. It also classifies the heart as an organ, as in 一颗心 yi1 ke1 xin1 ‘a heart,’ as well as its metaphorical extensions, such as 赤子之心 chi4zi2/zi1 xin1 ‘a pure heart of a newborn baby’ and 善良的心 shan4liang2 de xin1 ‘a kind heart.’

滴 di1 classifies a drop of liquid, such as 一滴水 yi1 di1 shui3 ‘a drop of water,’ 一滴一滴的水珠 yi1 di1 yi1 di1 de0 shui3zhu1 ‘drops of water,’ 几滴眼泪 ji3 di1 yan3lei4 ‘a few tear drops,’ and 一滴血 yi1 di1 xue4 ‘a drop of blood.’ 滴 di1 and 点 dian3 can be used to measure the volume of liquid and, thus, sometimes they are interchangeable without a change in semantic meaning, as in 一滴雨水 yi1 di1 yi1 yan3shui3 and 一点雨水 yi1 dian3 yi1 yan3shui3 ‘a drop of rain.’ However, the nouns that 点 dian3 classifies are not limited only to liquid. 点 dian3 can also classify round objects in other forms as long as they are perceived as the form of a speck, such as 一点火星 yi1 dian3 huo3xing1 ‘a spark’ and 一点银星 yi1 dian3 yin2xing1 ‘a silver star.’ Dripping liquid seldom collocates with 点 dian3; instead, it tends to collocate with 滴 di1. 滴 di1 and 点 dian3 can be used together to form an idiomatic phrase, as in 点点滴滴 dian3dian3di1di1, meaning the accumulation of small and tiny things together, or 一点一滴 yi1dian3yi1di1, meaning modifying the action to be completed slowly, bit by bit.

The third group of classifiers classifies different animal categories, such as 只 zhi1, 头 tou2, 条 tiao2, 尾 wei3, 和 匹 pi3. 只 zhi1 is the most frequently used individual classifier for animals, such as 一只猫 yi1 zhi1 mao1 ‘a cat,’ 那只鸟 na4 zhi1 niao3 ‘that bird,’ 两只老虎 liang3 zhi1 lao3hu3 ‘two tigers,’ 五千多只流浪狗 wu3 qian1 du0 zhi1 liu2lang4gou3 ‘more than five thousand stray dogs,’ and 这只猪 zhe4 zhi1 zhu1 ‘this pig.’ In addition to animals, 只 zhi1 classifies pairs of the visible body parts of animals or humans, such as 这只右手 zhe4 zhi1 you4shou3 ‘this right hand,’ 两只脚 liang3 zhi1 jiao3 ‘two legs,’ and 一只眼睛 yi1 zhi1 yan3jing1 ‘an eye,’ as well as objects that usually appear in pairs, such as 一双鞋/鞋子 yi1 zhi1 xie2/xie2zi0 ‘a shoe’ and 一双袜/袜子 yi1 zhi1 wa4/wa4zi0 ‘a sock.’ It can also be used to classify containers or utensils, as in 一只手表 yi1 zhi1 shou3biao3 ‘a watch,’ 一杯茶 yi1 zhi1 cha1 'a cup of tea,' and 一支笔 yi1 zhi1 bǐ ‘a pen.’
used to classify a unit of power, such as a recent phenomenon. In addition to individuating certain animals, from the usage of classifying horses. classifying animals is thus very limited. 'snakes,' and she2

"fish," and

utensils.

form which can be used in place of word, such as can classify fish in both spoken and written language. classifies big animals with four legs, for example, 木船 mu4chuan2 'wooden boat' and 帆船 fan1chuan2 'sailing boat,' tend to collocate with the classifiers 木 and 条, while ships bigger in size and scale, such as 缁 私船 ji1si1ting3 'coastguard cutter' and 兵舰 bing1jian4 'warship,' tend to collocate with 艘 1.

Other classifiers for animals include 头 tou2, 条 tiao2, 尾 wei3, and 匹 pi3. 头 tou2 classifies big animals with four legs, for example, 一头大象 yi1 tou2 da4xiang4 'an elephant,' 34头的小老虎 34 tou2 de0 xiao3 lao3hu3 'thirty-four little tigers,' 五头狮子 wu3 tou2 shi1zi0 'five lions,' and 一头怪兽 yi1 tou2 guai4shou4 'a monster.' 头 tou2 usually classifies animals that are bigger in size; thus, expressions such as *一头猫 yi1 tou2 mao1 'a cat' and *一头老鼠 yi1 tou2 lao3shu3 'a mouse' do not occur in the corpus.

As mentioned earlier in this section, 条 tiao2 classifies animals such as 鱼 yu2 'fish,' 金鱼 jin1yu2 'goldfish,' 狗 gou3 'dogs,' 猪 zhu1 'pigs,' 龙 long2 'dragons,' 蛇 she2 'snakes,' and 毛虫 mao2chong2 'caterpillars.'

尾 wei3 classifies fish and shrimp, for example 四尾金鱼 si4 wei3 jin1yu2 'four goldfishes' and 几尾小虾 ji3 wei3 xiao3 xia1 'a few shrimps.' Both 条 tiao2 and 尾 wei3 can be used to classify fish, as in 一尾鱼 yi1 wei3 yu2 and 一条鱼 yi1 tiao2 yu2 'a fish.' However, the use of 尾 wei3 is restricted to written text only, while 条 tiao2 can classify fish in both spoken and written language.

匹 pi3 classifies only animals such as 马 ma3 'horses,' 骆驼 luo4tua2 'camels,' 狼 lang2 'wolves,' and other similar types of animals. The usage of 匹 pi3 for classifying animals is thus very limited. 匹 pi3 used to classify 狼 lang2 'wolves' is a recent phenomenon. In addition to individuating certain animals, 匹 pi3 is also used to classify a unit of power, such as 马力 ma3li4 'horsepower,' as it is derived from the usage of classifying horses. 匹 pi3 also functions as a standard measure word, such as 一匹布 yi1 pi3 bu7 'a bolt of cloth.' See section 7.6.3 for a discussion on standard measure words.

The remaining list of individual classifiers highlights other commonly used individual classifiers.
把 ba3 has three individual classifier usages. First, it classifies a thing with a handle or things that can be held in the hand, in particular, musical instruments and tools. For example, 剪刀 jian3dao1 ‘scissors,’ 剑 jian4 ‘swords,’ 手枪 shou3qiang1 ‘guns,’ 雨伞 yu3san3 ‘umbrellas,’ 小提琴 xiao3ti2qin2 ‘violins,’ 笛子 di2zi0 ‘flutes,’ and 椅子 yi3zi0 ‘chairs’ are classified by 把 ba3. Second, it classifies fire, such as 三把野火 san1 ba3 ye3huo3 ‘three camp/wild fires.’ Third, it classifies an abstract meaning of fire, as in 一把怒火 yi1 ba3 nu4huo3 ‘a rage’; however, only 一把 yi1 ba3 is allowed to collocate with this abstract meaning of fire. In addition, 把 ba3 classifies objects that can be grasped by the hand as a container measure word, for example, 大把钞票 da4 ba3 chao1piao4 ‘many bank notes,’ 一把青菜 yi1 ba3 qing1cai4 ‘a bundle of vegetables,’ and 一把泥土 yi1 ba3 ni2tu3 ‘a handful of mud.’ 把 ba3 can also be used as an approximation measure word and as a container measure word. See section 7.6 for an additional discussion on this topic.

The individual classifiers 张 zhang1 and 把 ba3 refer to the functional part of any artifact. It is also crucial to understand that they refer to the functional part of a word. Hence, 一张椅子 yi1 zhang1 yi3zi0 ‘one chair’ refers to the functional flat part for sitting, while 一把刀 yi1 ba3 dao1 ‘one knife’ refers to the handle that is essential to the control of functionality of that artifact.

项 xiang4 categorizes abstract entities or events that can be divided into parts or sections, such as 这项计划 zhe4 xiang4 ji4hua4 ‘this project,’ 各项议题 ge4xiang4 yi4ti2 ‘each topic,’ 这项措施 zhe4 xiang4 cuo4shi1 ‘this measure,’ 多项活动 duo1 xiang4 huo2dong4 ‘a number of activities,’ 这项比赛 zhe4 xiang4 bi3sai4 ‘this competition,’ and 该项调查 gai1 xiang4 diao4cha2 ‘that investigation.’ 项 xiang4 is also used to refer to a section of (legal) writing in an official document, as in 第一条第二项规定 di4yi1 tiao2 di4er4 xiang4 gui1ding4 ‘Number 1 Section 2 rule.’ 项 xiang4 is at the middle level (i.e., a number) concerning a section of legal writing compared with 条 tiao2 and 款 kuan3, which are two other individual classifiers that also refer to sections of legal writing, as in 关税法第二十条第一项第六款 guan1shui4fa3 di4er4shi2 tiao2 di4yi1 xiang4 di4liu4 kuan3 ‘Customs Law Number 20 Section 1 Subsection 6.’

本 ben3 classifies books or other bound volumes, such as 书 shu1 ‘books,’ 小说 xiao3shuo1 ‘novels,’ 诗集 shi1ji2 ‘(collection of) poems,’ 著作 zhu4zu04 ‘writings,’ 杂志 za2zhi4 ‘magazines,’ 小册子 xiao3ce4zi0 ‘booklets,’ 辞典 ci2dian3 ‘dictionaries,’ 散文集 san3wen2ji2 ‘collections of prose,’ 笔记 bi3ji4 ‘notebooks,’ 护照 hu4zhao4 ‘passports,’ 手册 shou3ce4 ‘handbooks,’ 经典 sheng4jing1 ‘Bible,’ 漫画 man4hua4 ‘comics,’ and 教科书 jiao4ke1shu41 ‘textbooks.’ 本 ben3, 册 ce4, 部 bu4, and 套 tao4 can all be used to classify books. 本 ben3 is the most common and most popular classifier for books and bound volumes, such as 一本笔记 yi1 ben3 bi3ji4 ‘a notebook.’ The usage of 册 ce4 is both more literal and more classical. Nowadays, 册 ce4 is used to indicate a particular book among an entire series, for example,
部 bu4 classifies either a book or a series of books. Lastly, 套 tao4 classifies a set of objects, including sets of books, as in 一套八本书 yi1 tao4 bu41 ben3 shu1 ‘a set of eight books.’ 本 ben3 and 册 ce4 classify books only, while 部 bu4 and 套 tao4 classify other nouns as well. It should be noted that the same classifiers are used regardless of whether the noun refers to the physical object/bound volume or its informational content.

部 bu4 has four major usages. First, 部 bu4 classifies motor vehicles, such as 70 多部新车(子) 70 du01 bu4 xin1 che1 (zi0) ‘around 70 new cars,’ 五百部计程车 wu3bai3 bu4 jingcheng2 che1 ‘five hundred taxis,’ 十余部汽车 shi2yu2 bu4 qi4 che1 ‘more than ten cars.’ 五部机车 wu3 bu4 ji1 che1 ‘five motorbikes,’ 两部轿车 liang3 bu4 jiao4 che1 ‘two sedans,’ 四部法拉利 si4 bu4 fa3la1 li4 ‘four Ferraris,’ and 十部休旅车 shi2 bu4 xiu1 liu3 che2 ‘ten sport utility vehicles.’ 部 bu4, 台 tai2, and 帆 liang4 can be used to classify cars, with 船 liang4 being used most frequently for this purpose. 部 bu4 is used for bigger motor vehicles, whereas 台 tai2 is used for smaller motor vehicles, such as 脚踏车 jiao3 ta4 che1 ‘bikes,’ 推车 tui1 che1 ‘wagons,’ and 轮椅 lun2 yi3 ‘wheelchairs.’

Second, 部 bu4 classifies machines and other more complicated artifacts with many functioning components, such as 四部机器 si4 bu4 ji1 qi4 ‘four machines,’ 一部电脑 yi1 bu4 dian4 nao3 ‘a computer,’ 一部传真 yi1 bu4 chu42zhen1 ‘a fax machine,’ 一部电视 yi1 bu4 dian4 shi4 ‘a TV,’ 一部时间机器 yi1 bu4 shi2 jian1 ji1 qi4 ‘a time machine,’ and 一部录音机 yi1 bu4 lu4 ying3 ji1 ‘a video recorder.’ Both 部 bu4 and 台 tai2 can be used to classify machines without a significant difference in meaning.

Third, 部 bu4 classifies books, as in 一部最伟大的书 yi1 bu4 zui4 da4 de0 shu1 ‘the greatest book,’ 一部预言书 zhe4 bu4 yu4 yan2 shu1 ‘this prophecy,’ and 两部小说集 liang3 bu4 xiao3 shuo1 ji1 ji2 ‘two novel collections.’ When 部 bu4 is used to classify books, it can refer to a single book or to a set of books; the difference is determined only by context. 部 bu4 also classifies a series of classic books that contains many volumes, as in 十部小说 shi2 bu4 xiao3 shuo1 ‘ten novels,’ 整部十三经 zheng3 bu4 shi2 san1 jing1 ‘the whole set of Thirteen Classics,’ 一部旧式史书 yi1 bu4 jiu4 shi4 shi2 shu1 ‘a history book (printed or bound) in an old style,’ and 一部茶经 yi1 bu4 cha 2 jing1 ‘a book for tea.’

Fourth, 部 bu4 classifies movies. For example, 电影/戏/影片 dian4 ying3 / xi4 ying3 pian4 ‘films,’ 纪录片 ji4 lu4 pian1 ‘documentaries,’ 日剧 ri4 ju4 ‘Japanese TV dramas,’ 剧情片 ju4 qing2 pian1 ‘feature films,’ and 短片 duan3 pian1 ‘short films’ can all co-occur with 部 bu4.

家 jia1 classifies a family based on its original meaning, as in 一家 jia1 ren2 ‘a family’ and 三家美国人 san1 jia1 mei3 guo2 ren2 ‘three American families.’ By extension, it can classify the houses families live in, such as 一家民宅 yi1 jia1 min2 zhai2 ‘a residence.’ In addition, it is frequently used with nouns referring to
institutions, such as 一家诊所 yi1 jia1 zhen3 suo3 ‘a clinic.’ It should be noted that
家 jia1 and 户 hu4 can be used interchangeably when referring to the home of a
family.

When 家 jia1 is used to refer to institutions, it often co-occurs with organiza-
tions and companies, such as 两家公司 liang3 jia1 gong1 si1 ‘two companies,’ 二
十四家企业 er1shi2si4 jia1 qi3 ye4 ‘twenty-four enterprises,’ 几家美国银行 ji3 jia1
mei3 gui2 er2 yin2 hang2 ‘a few American banks,’ 这家酒店 zhe4 jia1 pi2 jiu3 wu1 ‘this
beer house,’ and 100 家最佳航空公司 100 jia1 zu4 jia4 jia1 hang2 kong1 gong1 si1 ‘the 100
best airline companies.’ It should be noted that both 家 jia1 and 间 jian1 can be
used interchangeably, in most cases, when referring to organizations or com-
panies. For example, 一家餐厅 yi1 jia1 can1 ting1 ‘a restaurant’ can also be written as
一间餐厅 yi1 jian1 can1 ting1. 间 jian1 is preferred, however, when referring to the
physical building an organization occupies.

座 zuo4 quantifies buildings, such as 六十四座小小的城堡 liu4 si1 shi2 si4 zuo4
xiao3 xiao3 de0 cheng2 bao3 ‘sixty-four small castles,’ 一座现代化的建筑物 yi1
zuo4 xian4 dai4 hai4 su4 de0 jian1 hai4 hu4 wu4 ‘a modernized building,’ 三千两座庙(宇)
san1 qian1 li1 nian3 bai3 zuo4 miao4 (yu3) ‘3200 temples,’ 三座金字塔 san1 zuo4 jin1 ci1
tai4 san ‘three pyramids,’ 多座新教堂 duo1 zuo4 xin1 jia1 ‘a few new chapels,’ and
这座世界级的博物馆 zhe4 zuo4 shi3 jie4 si4 mao4 ‘this world-class museum.’
座 zuo4, 栋 dong4, 幢 chuang4, and 间 jian1 are all used to classify buildings, as in
一栋别墅 yi1 dong4 bie2 shu4 ‘a villa,’ 一栋房子 yi1 zhuang4 fang2 zi1 ‘a building,’ and
三间卧房 san1 jian1 wo4 fang2 ‘three bedrooms.’ However, they refer to different
kinds of buildings. 座 zuo4, 栋 dong4, and 幢 zhuang4 classify entire buildings or
some bigger buildings, while 间 jian1 typically co-occurs with smaller buildings or
rooms inside the buildings.

In addition to buildings, zuo4 classifies other constructions, such as 这座桥/桥
梁/大桥 zhe4 zuo4 qiao2/ qiao2 li1 nian3/da4 qiao2 ‘this bridge.’ 座 zuo4 can also classify
installed artifacts, such as 雕像 diao1 xiang4 ‘statues,’ 铜像 tong2 xiang4 ‘bronze
statues,’ and 城市 cheng2 shi4 ‘city.’ Moreover, 座 zuo4 classifies landforms with
great mass, for example, 一座山/山头 yi1 zuo4 shan1/ shan1 tou2 ‘a mountain’ and
一座岛/岛屿 yi1 zuo4 dao3/ dao3 yu3 ‘an island.’

点 dian3 classifies nouns that have the attribute of being viewed as a tiny drop or
a spot, as in 几点 黑斑 ji3 dian3 hei1 ban1 ‘a few black dots,’ 长空万点星 chang2 kong1
wan4 dian3 xing1 ‘tens of thousands of stars in a clear sky,’ and 一点火花 yi1 dian3
huo4 guang1 ‘a little spark.’ 点 dian3 is also used to classify a variety of abstract nouns
with the attributes of being listed out. Nouns such as 意见 yi4 jian4 ‘opinions,’
原则 yuan2 ze2 ‘principles,’ 要求 yao1 qi2 ‘requests,’ 理由 li3 you2 ‘reasons,’ and
结论 jie2 lun4 ‘conclusions’ all have the attribute of something that can be listed
out; thus, they can collocate with the classifier 点 dian3. 点 dian3 is also frequently
used as an approximation measure word, as discussed in section 7.6.2. (See also
the discussion on 滴 di1 in the earlier part of this section.)
句 ju4 is mostly used to classify sentences, such as 这句话 zhe4 ju4 hua4 ‘this sentence,’ 那句话名 na4 ju4 ming2yan2 ‘that famous remark,’ 几句诗 ji3 ju4 shi1 ‘a few lines of a poem,’ 几句台词 ji3ju4 tai2ci2 ‘a few lines in a play,’ 一句漂亮的口号 yi1 ju4 piao4liang4 de0 kou3hao4 ‘a beautiful slogan,’ 一句英文 yi1 ju4 ying1wen2 ‘an English sentence,’ 一句玩笑话 yi1 ju4 wan2xia4hua4 ‘a joke,’ 一句脏话 yi1 ju4 zang1hua4 ‘a dirty word,’ 一句深刻的俚语 yi1 ju4 shen1ke4 de0 li3yu3 ‘a profound slang,’ and 几句咒语 ji3 ju4 zhoun4yu3 ‘a few magical spells.’

段 duan4 classifies distance, as in 一段距离 yi1 duan4 ju4li2 ‘a distance’ and 两段路 liang3 duan4 lu4 ‘two sections of road /journey.’ It also classifies speech and words, such as 一段对话 yi1 duan4 chu4du4hua4 ‘a conversation’ and 一段章节 yi1 duan4 zhang1jie2 ‘a section.’ In addition, 段 duan4 can also be used as an approximation measure word. See section 7.6.2 for further discussion on this topic.

The last group of frequent classifiers, 套 tao4, 分 fen1, and 件 jian4, deals with the parts of a whole that can be individuated. 套 tao4 usually classifies a pack/set of artifacts and implies that the nouns refer to an artifact with conventionalized and enumerable parts, such as 整套书 zheng3 tao4 shu1 ‘a whole set of books,’ 五十套电脑 wu3shi2 tao4 dian4nao3 ‘fifty sets of computers,’ 这套仪器 zhe4 tao4 yi1qi4 ‘this set of apparatus,’ 那套教材 na4 tao4 jiao4cai2 ‘that set of teaching materials,’ 两套餐具 liang3 tao4 can1ju4 ‘two sets of cutlery,’ 这套录音带 zhe4 tao4 lu4yin1da1yi4 ‘this set of audiotapes,’ and 一套恭王府紫檀木家具 yi1 tao4 gong1wang2fu3 zi3tan2mu4 jia1ju4 ‘a set of Padauk furniture from Prince Gong Mansion.’ 套 tao4 also classifies a whole set of clothes that has a top half and a bottom half that is worn together, such as 球衣 qiu2yi1 ‘soccer uniforms,’ 衣服 yi1fu2 ‘clothes,’ 西装 xi1zhuang1 ‘suits,’ and 礼服 li3fu2 ‘tuxedos.’

套 tao4 also classifies procedures or combinations of methods or events, as in 一套系统/制度 yi1 tao4 xi14tong3/zhi4du4 ‘a system,’ 这套理论 zhe4 tao4 li3lun4 ‘this theory,’ 那套方法 na4 tao4 fang1fa3 ‘that way,’ 一套公式 yi1 tao4 gong1shi4 ‘a formula,’ 这套管理模式 zhe4 tao4 guan3shi3 mo2shi4 ‘this management mode,’ 一套完整的大学评鉴机制 yi1 tao4 wan2zheng3 de0da4xue2 ping2jian4 ji3zhi4 ‘a complete mechanism to evaluate the university,’ 一套功夫 yi1 tao4 gong1fu0 ‘a system of martial arts,’ and 一套都市计划 yi1 tao4 du4shi4 ji3hua4 ‘an urban plan.’

套 tao4 and 组 zu3 similarly classify entities that can be combined together. 套 tao4 refers to the combination of non-living things in one set, such as 衣服 yi1fu2 ‘clothes’ and 书 shu1 ‘books,’ while 组 zu3 typically refers to humans forming a team, as in 一组人/人员 yi1 zu3 ren2ma3/ren2yuan2 ‘a group of people’ and 一组同学 yi1 zu3 tong2xue2 ‘a group of students.’ 组 zu3, however, can also classify a set of non-human entities when each member has a different function, such as 一组数字 yi1 zu3 shu4zi4 ‘a set of numbers’ and 一组螺丝 yi1 zu3 suo3si1 ‘a set of screws.’

分 fen1 classifies a part of the whole entity, for example, 十分把握 ten2 fen1 ba3wo4 ‘full confidence,’ 一分的天才 yi1 fen1 de0 tian1cai2 ‘ten percent talent,’ and 三分熟 san1 fen4 shu2 ‘rare (as in meat).’ Originally, 一分 yi1 fen1 stood for
one-tenth of the whole, but this numeric value often cannot be interpreted literally in its classifier use. Moreover, idioms containing 分 fen1 can be conventionalized, and these conventional expressions collocate with fixed numerals and cannot be changed; for instance, 人木三分 ru4 mu4 san1 fen1 ‘penetrating.’ It is impossible to substitute 三分 san1 fen4 with 四分 si4 fen1, 二分 er4 fen4, and so on. 三分 san1 fen4 can also be collocated with emotional verbs, as in 畏惧 分 wei4ju4 san1 fen4 ‘certain degree of fear.’ See section 7.7 for an additional discussion on 分 fen1.

件 jian4 is used extensively as an individual classifier to classify clothes, in particular tops and jackets, such as 毛衣 mao2yi1 ‘sweaters,’ 大衣 da4yi1 ‘coats,’ 外套 wai4tao4 ‘jackets,’ 衬衫 chen4shan1 ‘shirts,’ 背心 bei4xin1 ‘vests,’ 皮衣 pi2yi1 ‘furs,’ 泳衣 yong3yi1 ‘swimming suits,’ and 球衣 qiu2yi1 ‘jerseys.’ Moreover, 件 jian4 is used to count utensils/instruments/tools, such as 数件作品 shu4 jian4 zuo4pin3 ‘a few pieces,’ 一件艺术品 yi1 jian4 yi4shu4pin3 ‘a work of art,’ 百余件玉器 bai3 yi2 jian4 yi4qi4 ‘more than a hundred pieces of jade,’ 这件物品 zhe4 jian4 wu3pin3 ‘this piece,’ 一件雕塑品 yi1 jian4 diao1su4pin3 ‘a sculpture,’ and 五十余件乐器 wu3shi2 yi2 jian4 yi4qi4 ‘more than fifty musical instruments.’ When 件 jian4 is used to classify utensils/instruments/tools, it refers to a broad category, not to a specific category. Thus, 件 jian4 co-occurs with 乐器 yue4qi4 ‘musical instruments’ and 作品 zuo4pin3 ‘pieces’ instead of 笛子 di2zi0 ‘flute’ or 画 hua4 ‘painting.’

7.5.2. Event classifiers

Event classifiers individuate events and, as a type of sortal classifier, categorize events according to their salient eventive properties. They can classify event nouns, such as 本次比赛 ben3 ci4 bi3sai4 ‘this competition,’ 该件火车对撞意外 gai1 jian4 huo3che1 dui4zhuang4yi4wai4 ‘that train crash accident,’ and 两场演讲 liang3 chang3 yan3jiang3 ‘two talks.’ They can also coerce event readings from concrete count nouns specific to a particular event and classify that event, such as in 好多通电话 hao3duo1 tong1 dia4tonghua4 ‘many telephone calls,’ 这班列车 zhe4 ban1 lie4che1 ‘this scheduled train,’ and 一餐/顿晚餐 yi1 can1/dun4 wan3can1 ‘a dinner.’ Event classifiers can individuate event instances (i.e., tokens), event types, or event stages.

Event classifiers which individuate event instances provide units for enumerating incidents of the same event types. They include 次 ci4, 场 chang3, 通 tong1, 回 hui2, 和 餐 dun4. A special subtype of event instance classifiers is that which individuates scheduled events, such as 期 q1, and 班 ban1. This subset of scheduled event classifiers has the unique property of being able to enumerate unrealized events, such as 三班没开出的火车 san1 ban1 mei2 kai1chu1 de0 huo3che1 ‘three scheduled trains which failed to depart’ and 两期没缴的房贷 liang3 qi1 mei2 jiao3 de0 fang2dai4 ‘two unpaid mortgage installments.’

次 ci4 is the most frequent and most typical event instance classifier. It counts the occurrences of an action and can thus be used as an activity classifier (see
meals, for example. For event classifier usage,  

For event classifier usage, 次 ci4 is used to classify events, such as 本次院士会议 ben3 ci4 yuan4shi4 hui4yi4 'this academician meeting,' 此次活动 ci3 ci4 huo2dong4 'this activity,' 次次空难事件 zhe4 ci4 kong1nan4 shi4jian4 'this air crash,' 次次地震 zhe4 ci4 di4zhen4 'this earthquake,' 次次干净的比赛 yi1 ci4 gan1jing4 de0 bi3sa4 'a competition without corruption,' and 无数次考试 wu2shu4 ci4 kao3shi4 'innumerable examinations.' 次 ci4 can also be used to enumerate events expressed by deverbal nouns (i.e., nouns derived from verbs), as in 比赛 bi3sa4 'competitions,' 考试 kao3shi4 'examinations,' 演出 yan3chu1 'performances,' 调查 diao4cha2 'investigations,' and 展览 zhan3lan3 'exhibitions.' 次 ci4 cannot directly classify monosyllabic event nouns, such as 事件 shi4 'event.' However, it can be used when such nouns occur as a separate part of a Verb–Object, such as 开了二次会 kai1 le er4 ci4 hui4 'held two meetings.' It can be argued that this is a structural variation of the activity classifier use of 开会二次 kai1 hui4 er4 ci4 'held two meetings,' as mentioned in section 7.4. These types of nouns can only collocate with 件 jian4, 棵 zhuang1, or 回 hui2, as in 一件/株/回事 yi1jian4/zhuang1/hui2shi4 'one event,' for an event.

场 chang3 is another event instance classifier. 场 chang3 counts performance or competition events, as in 十场比赛 shi2 chang3 bi3sa4 'ten competitions,' 二十多场的文学演讲 er4shi2 duo1 chang3 de0 wen2xue2yan3 'more than twenty literature talks,' 六十六场演出 liu4shi2liu4 chang3 yan3chu1 'sixty-six performances,' 这场音乐会 zhe4 chang3 yin1yue4hui4 'this concert,' and 两场球赛 liang3 chang3 qiu2sa4 'two ball games.' 场 chang3 also classifies hazardous events, including natural disasters and man-made accidents, as in 一场大雨 yi1 chang3 da4yu2 'a rainstorm,' 这场战争 zhe4 chang3 zhan4zheng1 'this war,' 一场极其恐怖的灾难 yi1 chang3 jiqi2 kong3bu4 de0 zai1nan4 'an extremely terrifying disaster,' 那场车祸 na4 chang3 che1hui4 'that car accident,' 那场可能发生的金融风暴 na4 chang3 ke3neng2 fai1sheng1 de0 jin1rong2feng1bao4 'that potential financial tsunami,' and 一场浩劫 yi1 chang3 hao4jie2 'a disaster.' 场 chang3 can also be used as an activity classifier measuring actions. It emphasizes the complete cycle of an event, as in 一场噩梦 yi1 chang3 e4men4 'a nightmare' and 一场骗局 yi1 chang3 pia4ju2 'a fraud,' and is very often used with nominal relational predicates, such as 朋友一场 peng2you3 yi1 chang3 'friend' (see discussion in Chapter 4, on verbs).

通 tong1 and 顿 dun4 are highly specified event instance classifiers. 通 tong1 individuates phone calls, as in 两通电话 liang3 tong1 dian4hua4 'two phone calls,' 多通电话 duo1 tong1 dian4hua4 'many calls,' and 多通电话 shi2 duo1 tong1 dian4hua4 'more than ten threatening phone calls.' 顿 dun4 individuates meals, for example 一顿饭 yi1 dun4 fan4 'a meal,' 吃了一顿中国菜 chi1 le0 yi1 dun4 zhong1guo2 ca1 'have a Chinese-style meal,' and 一顿好吃的午餐 yi1 dun4 hao4chi1 de0 wu3can1 'have a delicious lunch.'

As mentioned, 届 jie4 and 期 qi1 are both scheduled event classifiers, while 班 ban1 is used specifically for scheduled transportation events. 届 jie4 refers to
events which occur at regular intervals, while 期 qi1 refers to events which occupy regular durations.

届 jie4 classifies events that are held on a regular basis, for example, competitions, meetings, and elections, as in 三届世界杯 san1 jie4 shi4 ji4 qi1 11th Asian Games, 本届比赛 ben3 jie4 bei4 ‘this year’s competition,’ 第六届世界游泳锦标赛 di4liu4 jie4 shi4 ji4 qi1 6th FINA World Swimming Championships,’ 第 73 届奥斯卡 de4liu4 jie4 oscar ‘the next presidential election,’ 第五届立法院 di4wu3 jie4 li4 fa3 yuan4 ‘5th Legislative Yuan (of the Republic of China),’ and 本届议会 ben3 jie4 yi1 hui4 ‘this parliament.’

届 jie4 also classifies titles and posts determined by regularly held events, such as 三届世界杯冠军 san1 jie4 shi4 ji4 qi1 11th Asian Games, and 第六届学生会会长 di4liu4 jie4 xue2 sheng1 hui4 zu4 ‘the President of the Student Union.’ Both 届 jie4 and 任 ren4 can refer to the title and post of events. 任 ren4, however, is restricted to a title/duty with fixed terms.

期 qi1 classifies events that involve stages of completion. Construction projects and plans typically collocate with 期 qi1, as in 第一、二期建设工程 di4 yi1, er4 qi1 jian4she4 gong1 cheng2 ‘the first and second phases of the construction project,’ 第二期五年计划 di4 er4 qi1 wu3 nian2 jia4 ‘the second 5-year plan,’ 第三期扩建计划 di4 san1 qi1 kuo4 ji4 li4 fa3 ‘the third extension plan,’ and 一期废水处理工程 yi1 qi1 fei4 shui3 chu4 li3 gong1 cheng2 ‘a construction project for sewage/wastewater treatment.’ 期 qi1 also classifies the issue number of magazines/publications/lottery when used as an individual classifier.

Event type classifiers, such as 件 jian4, 桩 zhuang1, and 起 qi3, put events of the same type together to enumerate them. The events enumerated are of the same type but are not repetitions of the same event. It is important to note that the choice of event type or token classifiers is often dependent on the speaker’s perspective. 三起车祸 san1 qi3 che1 huo4 ‘three traffic accidents’ refers to three independent events, while the use of the event token classifier 三次车祸 san1 ci4 che1 huo4 ‘three traffic accidents’ implies that the three occurrences are related, such as by the same car/driver or at the same intersection.

件 jian4 classifies less specialized nouns, such as 一件事 yi1 jian4 shi4 ‘an event,’ 一件大事 yi1 jian4 da4shi4 ‘a big issue,’ 一件好事 yi1 jian4 hao3 ‘a good thing,’ 两件案子 liang3 jian4 an4zi0 ‘two cases,’ 每件申请案 mei3 jian4 shen1 qing3 an4 ‘each application,’ 十百多个个案 bai1 dou1 jian4 ge4 an4 ‘more than eight hundred cases,’ 这件谋杀 zhe4 jian4 mou2 sha1 ‘this murder,’ 多件绑架案 dou1 jian4 bang3 piao4 an4 ‘many kidnappings,’ and 十多件病例 shi2 dou1 jian4 bing4 li4 ‘more than ten cases of this sickness.’
Classifiers

件 jian4, 柱 zhuang1, and 起 qi3 can all be used to classify monosyllabic event nouns, with 件 jian4 being the most common classifier. 起 qi3 usually classifies crimes and accidents, such as 起自杀案 liang3 qi3 zi4sha1 an4 ‘two suicide cases.’ For other usages measuring events, 件 jian3 and 柱 zhuang1 can be used interchangeably, such as 一件/柱喜事 yi1 jian4/zhuang1 xi3shi4 ‘a joyous occasion.’

Lastly, event stage classifiers individuate the natural segments or stages within an event. They include 步 bu4, 段 duan4, and 期 qi1. 步 bu4 individuates by stages of a process, while 段 duan4 typically individuates by duration. 期 qi1, as discussed above, is polysemous between the scheduled incident reading and a durational segment reading.

段 duan4, in addition to its individual classifier usage, is also frequently used as an event classifier to classify a period of time, as in 这段时间 zhe4 duan4 shi2jian1 ‘this period of time,’ 一段缓冲时间 yi1 duan4 huan3chong1shi2jian1 ‘a buffer time,’ 这段期间 zhe4 duan4 qi1jian1 ‘this period,’ 此段过渡时期 ci3 duan4 guo4du4shi2qi1 ‘this transition period,’ 那段快乐的日子 na4 duan4 kuai4le4 de0 ri4zi0 ‘that happy time,’ 一段繁华岁月 yi1 duan4 kuai4le4 de0 ri4zi0 ‘a prosperous time,’ 一段漫长的历史 yi1 duan4 xiang1dang1man4chang2 de0 li4shi3 ‘a very long history,’ and 这段美好的时光 zhe4 duan4 mei3hao3 de0 shi2guang1 ‘a wonderful time.’ 段 duan4 also classifies a complete episode of an event, as in 两段爱情 liang3 duan4 ai4qing2 ‘two love relationships,’ 一段重要的过程 yi1 duan4 zhong4yao4 de0 mei3duan4 ‘a very important process,’ 每段感情 mei3 duan4 gan3qing2 ‘each relationship,’ and 这段婚外情 zhe4 duan4 hun1wai4qing2 ‘this extramarital affair.’ 步 bu4 refers to the steps in an event, as in 下一步工作 xia4 yi1 bu4 gong1zuo4 ‘the next step’ and 采取第一步行动 cai3qu3 di4yi1 bu4 xing2dong4 ‘take the first step of action.’ 步 bu4 is used together with ordinal numbers and demonstratives, but not with cardinal numbers. Based on the nature of the type of event it classifies, a part of a procedure can be identified only sequentially; that is, even if the same activity is repeated, it will be repeated in sequential steps, not by the same step repeating itself.

7.5.3. Kind classifiers

More than a dozen kind classifiers are used to enumerate kinds of objects. Kind classifiers are the least restrictive in selecting their collocating nouns. They classify types of objects rather than the objects themselves, unlike individual classifiers. For example, 三种蝴蝶 san1 zhong3 hu2die2 ‘three types of butterflies’ differs from 三只蝴蝶 san1 zhi1 hu2die2 ‘three butterflies’ in that the former points out that there are three types of butterflies but does not specify how many butterflies there are of these three types, whereas the latter emphasizes the existence of three individual butterflies, regardless of their types.
Kind zhong3 is the most frequent kind classifier. It does not pose any restriction on the noun it selects. Concrete nouns, such as 人 ren2 ‘human beings,’ 动物 dong4wu4 ‘animals,’ 药物 yao4/yao4wu4 ‘medicine,’ 工具 gong1ju4 ‘tools,’ and 植物 zhi2wu4 ‘plants,’ and abstract nouns, such as 情况/情形 qing2kuang4/qing2xing2 ‘situations,’ 方式/方法 fang1shi4/fang1fa3 ‘ways,’ 程度 cheng2du4 ‘degrees,’ and 说法 shuo1fa3 ‘the ways of speaking,’ can all collocate with zhong3. It has been observed that kind zhong3 tends to co-occur with abstract nouns more often than with concrete nouns. When kind zhong3 is used with abstract nouns, it functions similarly to the individual classifier 个 ge4 without any significant difference in meaning; thus, 一种情况 yi1 zhong3 qing2kuang4 and 一个情况 yi1 ge4 qing2kuang4 ‘a situation’ can often be used interchangeably. This is because the abstract concept of individuality often involves categorizing the nouns into general types. Hence, for these nouns, individual classifiers overlap their functions with general classifiers.

类 lei4 ranks as the second most frequent kind classifier in the corpus. Similar to kind zhong3, 类 lei4 implies a sorting process, with similar objects being sorted together, as in 同类的问题 tong2lei4 de0 wen4ti2 ‘the same type of question,’ 各类案件 ge4 lei4 an4jian4 ‘different types of cases,’ 这一类病人 zhe4 yi1 lei4 bing4ren2 ‘this type of patient,’ 各类亲子教育的书籍 ge4 lei4 qin1jiao4yu4 de0 shu1ji2 ‘all types of parenting books,’ and 这类电影的题材新颖 zhe4 lei4 dian4ying3 de0 ti2cai2 xin1ying3 ‘this kind of movie has a novel theme and content.’ 类 lei4 and kind zhong3 serve a similar function, which is to quantify the types of objects; thus, they can be used interchangeably without changing the semantic meaning, as in 这类案件 zhe4 lei4 an4jian4 and 这种案件 zhe4zhong3an4jian4 ‘this type of case.’

样 yang4 is rated the third most frequent kind classifier in the corpus. As a kind classifier, 样 yang4 classifies the implied similarity in appearance or function of objects, as in 四样菜 si4 yang4cai4 ‘four dishes,’ 两样心情 liang3 yang4 xin1qing2 ‘two moods,’ 各样商品 mei3 yang4 shang1pin3 ‘each commodity,’ 各样的角色 ge4 yang4 de0 jue2se4 ‘all kinds of characters,’ 两样乐器 liang3 yang4 yue4qi4 ‘two types of musical instruments,’ and 不但养着样样人, 竟还养着样样花 bu4dan4 yang4 zhe0 bai3 yang4 ren2, jing4hai2 yang3 zhe0 bai3 yang4 hua1 ‘not only different types of people are raised, different types of flowers are planted.’

号 hao4 is the fourth most frequent kind classifier and it classifies categories of human beings, as in 这号人物 zhe4 hao4 ren2wu4 ‘this character,’ which refers to an unspecified characteristic that puts this person in a different category. 号 hao4 can also be the number assigned to a noun for sorting purposes, as in 118号公路 118 hao4 gong1lu4 ‘Highway No. 118,’ 第一号录音 di4yi1 hao4 zou4ming2qu3 ‘Sonata No. 1,’ 第二号法案 di4er1 hao4 fa3an4 ‘Bill No. 218,’ 第四号台风, di4si1 hao4 tai2feng1 ‘Typhoon No. 4,’ and 十一号太空船 shi2yi1 hao4 tai4kong1chuan2 ‘Spaceship No.11.’ This noun usage in a numbering system serves as a unique identifier but it is not a type of kind classifier.
款 kuan3 is the fifth most frequent kind classifier in the corpus. As a kind classifier, 款 kuan3 is used to classify categories of manufactured products. Clothes, cars, and electronic products can all be classified by 款 kuan3, as in 这款游戏 zhe4 kuan3 you2xi4 ‘this game,’ 这款产品 zhe4 kuan3 chan3pin3 ‘this product,’ 这款机 种 zhe4 kuan3 ji1zhong3 ‘this airplane model,’ 四十一款车款 si4shi2yi1 kuan3 che1 kuan3 ‘41 styles of cars,’ 这款童装 zhe4 kuan3 tong2zhuang1 ‘this children’s outfit,’ 这款手机 zhe4 kuan3 shou3ji1 ‘this mobile phone,’ and 这款小型休旅车 yi1 kuan3 xiao3xing2 xiu1l¨u3che1 ‘a small sport utility vehicle.’

式 shi4 is the sixth most frequent kind classifier in the corpus. 式 shi4 classifies the type of style or pattern of an abstract or concrete object. Concrete nouns, such as 家具 jia1ju4 ‘furniture,’ 建筑物 jian4zhu4wu4 ‘architecture,’ 赠品 zeng4pin3 ‘gifts,’ 画具 hua4ju4 ‘drawing utensils,’ and 游乐场 you2le4chang3 ‘playground,’ and abstract nouns, such as 口味 kou3wei4 ‘flavor,’ 弹药 dan4yao4 ‘ammunition,’ and 美食佳肴 mei3shi2jia1yao2 ‘delicacies,’ all co-occur with 式 shi4. For the left-hand collocation, 式 shi4 collocates only with 各 ge4 ‘every.’ It cannot co-occur with different numerals or demonstratives, such as 这 zhe4 ‘this’ and 那 na4 ‘that.’

The remaining eight kind classifiers are 派 pai4, 码 ma3, 档 dang4, 色 se4, 般 ban1, 等 deng3, 档子 dang4 zi0, and 码子 ma3 zi0.

7.6. Measure words

7.6.1. Container measure words
Container measure words are derived from container nouns. They do not specify the quantity of objects directly; instead, they do so indirectly in terms of the container that contains the object, as in 一篮水果 yi1lan2 shui3guo3 ‘a basket of fruit,’ 一盒蛋糕 yi1 he2 dan4yao4 ‘a box of cake,’ and 四百多箱旧玩具 si4bai3 duo1 xiang1 jiu4 wan2ju4 ‘more than four hundred boxes of old toys.’ There are many container nouns but not all of them can serve as container measure words. More than thirty container measure words are attested in the Sinica Corpus and the top ten container measure words are listed in Table 7.2.

7.6.2. Approximation measure words
Approximation measure words refer to an approximate quantity, for example 有些问题 you3xi1 wen4ti2 ‘some questions,’ 一点颜色 yi1 dian3 yan2se4 ‘certain/some color,’ and 一线希望 yi1 xian4 xi1wang4 ‘some hope.’ A characteristic of approximation measure words is that they cannot be preceded by numerals other than 一 yi1 ‘one.’ 这 这 (一) zhi4 (yi1) ‘this,’ and 那 那 (一) na4 (yi1) ‘that.’ Therefore, uses such as 两问题 liang3 xie1 wen4ti2 ‘two questions,’ 三点颜色 san1 dian3 yan2se4 ‘three colors,’ and 五五希望 wu3 xian4 xi1wang4 ‘five hopes’ are not found in the corpus.
Table 7.2 List of top ten container measure words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure Word</th>
<th>English Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>口</td>
<td>Kou3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>杯</td>
<td>Bei1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>瓶</td>
<td>Ping2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>碗</td>
<td>Wan3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>包</td>
<td>Bao1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>盘</td>
<td>Pan2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>箱</td>
<td>Xiang1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>盆</td>
<td>Pen2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>罐</td>
<td>Guan4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>桶</td>
<td>Tong3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since the “approximate quantity” is determined by the lexical meaning of the measure word, the quantity that approximation measure words convey varies. For example, 串 chuan4 indicates ‘a sequence of,’ as in 一大串问题 yi1 da4 chuan4 wen4ti2 ‘a long string of questions,’ 股 gu3 indicates ‘a surge,’ as in 一股欲望 yi1 gu3 yu4wang4 ‘a surge of desire,’ 堆 dui1 indicates ‘a bunch,’ as in 一堆想法 yi1 dui1 xiang3fa3 ‘a bunch of ideas,’ and 头 tou2 indicates ‘a head,’ as in 一头白发 yi1 tou2 bat2fa4 ‘a head of white hair.’

Not all approximation measure words express a large quantity. For instance, 丝 si1 and 缕 lü3, meaning ‘a thread,’ as in 一丝笑意 yi1 si1 xiao4yi4 ‘a thread of a smile’ and 一缕轻烟 yi1 lü3 qing1yan1 ‘a thread of smoke,’ together with 抹 mo3, which refers to “a slight touch,” as in 一抹幽香 yi1 mo3 you1xiang1 ‘a touch of faint fragrance,’ all express a scant quantity. Furthermore, the quantity expressed by some approximation measure words is metaphorical, as in 一手好字 yi1 shou3 hao4 zi4 ‘good writing skills,’ 一幅宁静悠远的村景 yi1 fu2 ning2jing4 you1yuan3 de0 cun1 jing3 ‘a fantastic scene of the quiet village,’ and 一派学者风范 yi1 pai4 xue2zhe3 feng1fan4 ‘scholar-like behaviors.’ Common approximation measure words found in the Sinica Corpus are identified in Table 7.3.

In addition to the above, the classifier 片 pian4 is also capable of approximation measure word usage. When 片 pian4 is used to describe the continuum of a landform, such as 这片土地 zhe4pian4tu4di4 ‘this land,’ 一片茂盛的树林 yi1 pian4 mao4sheng4 de0 shu4lin2 ‘a luxuriant forest,’ 一片儿时生长的大地 yi1 pian4 er2shi2 sheng1zhang3 de0 da4di4 ‘a land that I grew up in from my childhood,’ 这片汪洋 zhe4 pian4 wang1yang2 ‘this large ocean,’ 那片荒野 na4 pian4 huang1ye3 ‘the wilds,’ 一片沙漠 yi1 pian4 sha1mo4 ‘a desert,’ 一片绿洲 yi1 pian4 lü4zhou1 ‘an oasis,’ and 一片甘蔗园 yi1 pian4 gan1zhe4 yuan2 ‘a sugar cane field,’ it is being used as an approximation measure word to measure conceptual meaning.
Table 7.3 List of top ten approximation measure words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>股</th>
<th>Gu3</th>
<th>Water stream-like</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>幅</td>
<td>Fu2</td>
<td>Picture-like</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>点</td>
<td>Dian3</td>
<td>Spot/bit-like</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>堆</td>
<td>Dui1</td>
<td>Pile-like</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>丝</td>
<td>Si1</td>
<td>Thread-like</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>些</td>
<td>Xie1</td>
<td>Some</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>派</td>
<td>Pai4</td>
<td>An air of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>线</td>
<td>Xian4</td>
<td>String-like</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>串</td>
<td>Chuan4</td>
<td>String</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>抹</td>
<td>Mo3</td>
<td>Covered by a wipe of the hand</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As in the principle of approximation measure words stated above, 片 pian4 can be preceded only by 一 yi1 'one,' 这(zhe) yi1 'this,' and 那(那) na4 (yi1) 'that.' Therefore, uses such as *两片沙漠 liang3 pian4 sha1 mo4 'two deserts' and *数片茂盛的树林 shu4 pian4 mao4 sheng4 de0 shu4 lin2 'many luxuriant forests' are not found in the corpus. In a few exceptional cases, 片 pian4 can be preceded by numerals other than 一 yi1 'one,' 这(zhe) yi1 'this,' and 那(那) na4 (yi1) 'that' to highlight the fact that the landform can be counted piece by piece, as in 三片沙滩 san1 pian4 sha1 tan1 'three sandy beaches.' 片 pian4 is also used to describe light or color that is evenly distributed, such as 一片黑暗/漆黑 yi1 pian4 he1 lan4/chi2 he1 'the darkness,' 一片阳光 yi1 pian4 yang2 guang1 'a ray of sunlight,' 一片阴影 yi1 pian4 yin1 ying3 'a shadow,' 一片绿色 yi1 pian4 lu4 se4 'a field of green,' and 一片黄色 yi1 pian4 huan4 se4 'a field of yellow.' It is also used to measure the scenery, for example, 一片荒芜 yi1 pian4 huang1 wu2 'a scene of desolation,' 一片好风光 yi1 pian4 hao4 feng1 guang1 'a good scenery,' 一片浓郁的田园风光 yi1 pian4 nong2 yu4 de0 tian1 yuan2 feng1 guang1 'a rich scenery of farmlands,' and 一片混乱 yi1 pian4 hun4 lu4 'a scene of chaos.'

片 pian4 categorizes the atmosphere in a particular environment, such as 一片死寂 yi1 pian4 si3 ji4 'total silence,' 一片祥和 yi1 pian4 xiang2 he2 'a harmonious atmosphere,' 一片宁静 yi1 pian4 ning2 jing4 'total quietness,' 一片温馨 yi1 pian4 wen1 xin1 'a warm atmosphere,' and 一片欢乐 yi1 pian4 huan4 le4 'a joyful and happy moment.' Both 片 pian4 and 团 tuan2 can be used to describe the atmosphere, as in 一片欢乐 yi1 pian4 huan4 le4 and 一团欢乐 yi1 tuan2 huan4 le4 'a joyful and happy moment.' 片 pian4 and 团 tuan2 can also function as activity classifiers to further illustrate the scenery created by the verbs, which is discussed further in Chapter 4, on verbs.

片 pian4 classifies the kind and gentle feelings for people or appreciation of these feelings. Feelings such as 爱心 ai4 xin1 'caring,' 痴心 chi1 xin1 'infatuation,' and 好...
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The last approximation measure word usage for 片 pian4 is to describe a sound in great quantity. Sounds such as 喝采之聲 he1cai3 zhi1 sheng1 ‘cheering sound,’ 笑声 xiao4sheng1 ‘laughter,’ 欢呼声 huan1hu1sheng1 ‘(sound of) acclamation,’ and 反对之聲 fan3dui4 zhi1 sheng1 ‘(sound of) objection’ all collocate with 一片 yi1 pian4. In contrast, the most common classifier for sound is 声 sheng1, which measures only the individuated sounds, as in 笑声一声一声 xiao4sheng1 yi1 sheng1 yi1 sheng1 ‘the laughter comes one after another’ and 几声清脆的鸟鸣声 ji3 sheng1 qing1cui4 de0 niao3ming2 sheng1 ‘a few clear and crisp chirps,’ whereas 片 pian4 is used to describe a large amount of sound that is given off at the same time. Therefore, different numerals can co-occur with 声 sheng1, while only the number 一 yi1 ‘one’ can co-occur with 片 pian4.

In addition to 片 pian4, 点 dian3 is also used as an approximation measure word for those objects that are small in quantity or in scale by further extending the individual classifier usage of classifying nouns that are viewed as a tiny drop, as in 这点钱 zhe4 dian3 qian2 ‘this small amount of money,’ 半点差错 ban4 dian3 cha 1cuo4 ‘a minor mistake,’ 一点牛奶 yi1 dian3 niu2nai3 ‘some milk,’ and 这点伤 zhe4 dian3 shang1 ‘this tiny injury’ (as discussed in section 7.5.1). The suffix -儿 er0 can be added to 点 dian3 to highlight the small quantity, but this tends to co-occur with measure nouns such as beer, as in 喝点儿酒 he1 dian3er0 jiu3 ‘drink some beer,’ and money, as in 花点儿钱 hua1 dian3er0 qian2 ‘spend a little money,’ with the exception of people, as in 一点(儿)人 yi1 dian3(er0) ren2 ‘a few people.’

7.6.3. Standard measure words

Similar to container measure words, standard measure words do not measure the quantity of objects directly. Rather, they measure the objects in terms of a specific standard measurement unit. For example, 五块黄金 wu3 kuai4 huang2jin1 ‘five pieces of gold’ and 五两黄金 wu3 liang3 huang2jin1 ‘250 grams of gold’ are different. 块 kuai4 is used as an individual classifier indicating five pieces of gold, while 两 liang3 is used as a standard measure word indicating the weight of gold. One hundred and ten standard measure words are attested in the Sinica Corpus. It is important to note that the list of standard measure words is dependent on a standardized measurement system, not on linguistic conditions.
The ten most frequent standard measure words in the Sinica Corpus are listed in Table 7.4.

### Table 7.4 List of top ten standard measure words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>年</td>
<td>Nian2</td>
<td>Year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>天</td>
<td>Tian1</td>
<td>Day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>元</td>
<td>Yuan2</td>
<td>Dollar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>岁</td>
<td>Sui4</td>
<td>Age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>分</td>
<td>Fen1</td>
<td>Minute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>度</td>
<td>Du4</td>
<td>Degree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>日</td>
<td>Ri4</td>
<td>Day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>时</td>
<td>Cun4</td>
<td>Inch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>公尺</td>
<td>Gong1 chi3</td>
<td>Meter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>公里</td>
<td>Gong1 li3</td>
<td>Kilometer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 7.7. Polysemous classifiers

Classifiers may be polysemous and can have multiple classifier senses. Below are some examples of classifiers with the greatest number of senses.

支 zhi1 has the greatest number of senses. In total, 支 zhi1 has eleven senses, of which nine are used as individual classifiers and two are used as standard measure words. As an individual classifier, 支 zhi1 classifies human organizations, as in 职棒队 zhi2bang4dui4 ‘a baseball team’ and 巡逻队 xun2luo2dui4 ‘a patrol team.’ This is the most typical usage of 支 zhi1. Second, 支 zhi1 classifies songs and dances, as in 一支歌 yi1 zhi1 ge1 ‘a song,’ 这支迷人的舞 zhe4 zhi1 mi2ren2 de0 wu3 ‘a charming dance,’ and 一支美妙的舞曲 yi1 zhi1 mei3miao4 de0 wu3qu3 ‘a wonderful dance tune.’ Third, 支 zhi1 can classify different family lineages, for example, 一支旁系 yi1 zhi1 pang2xi4 ‘a collateral line.’ Fourth, 支 zhi1 classifies objects having the typical attributes of long, thin, and cylindrical. 支 zhi1 thus collocates with 蜡烛 la4zhu2 ‘candles,’ 香烟 xiang1yan1 ‘cigarettes,’ 风笛 yin2chaidi2 ‘silver hairpins,’ 笛子 di2zi0 ‘flutes,’ 射击针筒 zhu4she4zhen1tong3 ‘syringes,’ and 电击棒 dian4ji1bang4 ‘stun guns.’ Fifth, 支 zhi1 classifies video products, as in 录影带无数 lu4ying3da4 shu4 qian1 zhi1 ‘a few thousand video tapes,’ 五百部港片录影带或影碟 wu3bai3 zhi1 gang3 pian4lu4ying3da4 huo4 ying3die2 ‘500 Hong Kong movie videos or discs of Hong Kong movies,’ and 这支广告影片 zhe4 zhi1 guang3gao4 ying3pian4 ‘this advertisement.’ Sixth, 支 zhi1 numerates the connection capacity of telephone lines, but not the telephone itself, for example, 两支热线 liang3 zhi1 zhu2xian4xian4 dian4hua4 ‘two hotlines.’ When classifying the telephone itself, 部 bu4, 具 zhu4, and 台 tai2 may all be used to refer to the telephone machinery. Seventh, 支 zhi1 classifies how many times the batter hit the baseball, as in 一支两
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Lastly, ZdZ6747/ZdZ8771/ZdZ6070 ‘forty points’ and si4shi2 fen1 de0 ji1fen1 ‘the degree of brightness of lamps and the thinness of cotton yarn, for example, sixty支光灯泡 liu4shi2 zhi1 guang1 deng1pao4 ‘the brightness of the light bulb is equivalent to 60 candles’ and 四十五支纯毛纱布 si4shi2wu3 zhi1 hun2miao2 sha1bu4 ‘45 thread-count (wool) cloth.’

fen1 contains the second highest number of senses. In total, there are eight senses for fen1, in which there are seven standard measure word senses and one sortal classifier sense. First, fen1 is a unit that measures time. It is the short form of 分钟 fen1zhong1 ‘minutes.’ 二小时卅分 er4 xiao3shi2 sa4 fen1 ‘two hours and thirty minutes’ and 十个五十分 xia4wu3 fen1 ‘fifty-five minutes after five o’clock in the afternoon’ are examples of this. Second, fen1 measures dollars, as in 一分钱 yi1 fen1 qian2 ‘one cent/very little money’ and 一分文 yi1 fen1 yi1 wen2 ‘each and every penny.’ Third, fen1 quantifies the degree of longitude and latitude, such as 东经一百一十九度四十八分 dong1jing1 yi1bai3yi1shi2jia3 fen1 ‘119° East’ and 北纬廿六度三十七分 bei3wei3 si4shi2wu3 fen1 ‘26°37’ North.’ Fourth, fen1 measures weight such as 五两六分 wu3 liang3 fen1 ‘5 liang3 and 6 fen1’ (where 两 liang3 is a standard Chinese weight unit lower than 斤 jin1 ‘catty’ and fen1 is the weight unit lower than 两 liang3). Fifth, fen1 quantifies area (as a Taiwanese area measure, one 分 fen1 is one-tenth of a 坪 jia3), as in 四甲三分 si4 jia3 san1 fen1 ‘four jia3 and three fen1 of land,’ 四分田 si4 fen1 tian2 ‘four fen1 of a paddy field,’ and 二分地 er4 fen1di4 ‘two fen1 of land.’ Sixth, fen1 measures marks or points, as in 四十分的积分 si4shi2 fen1 de0 ji1fen1 ‘forty points’ and 输赢就在几分之间 shu1ying2 ji1 fen1 zhi1jia3 fen1 ‘the boundary between winning and losing will be drawn within a few points.’ Lastly, fen1 is the unit of interest rates, as in 一分四厘 yi1 fen1 si4 li2 ‘1.4% interest rate.’

ba3 has seven classifier senses. Of them, three are individual classifiers, three are approximation measure words, and one is a container measure word. For a discussion concerning individual classifier usage, please refer to section 7.3.1. For approximation measure word usage, ba3 measures three different things. First, ba3 measures a drop of liquid, as in 一把眼泪 yi1 ba3 yan3lei4 ‘tear,’ 一把鼻涕 yi1 ba3 bi2ti4 ‘snot,’ and 一把冷汗 yi1 ba3 leng3han4 ‘sweat.’ In this sense, ba3 tends to co-occur only with 一 yi1 ‘one.’ Second, ba3 quantifies age, in particular, describing those who are elderly, for example, 年纪一把 nian2ji4 yi1 da4 ba3 and 一把年纪 yi1 ba3 nian2ji4 ‘old.’ Third, ba3 is used in fixed phrases, for example, 洗把脸 xi3 ba3 lian3 ‘wash one’s face’ and 加把劲儿 jia1 ba3 jin4ren0 ‘to make an extra
effort.’ Lastly, 把 ba3 is also regarded as an activity classifier, which is discussed further in Chapter 4, on verbs.

### 7.8. Sortal classifier coercion of noun senses

Different sortal classifiers can bring out different meanings in a noun, for example, the use of 部 bu4 and 本 ben3. 本 ben3 refers to individual books, as in 两本笔记 liang3 ben3 bi3ji4 ‘two notebooks,’ 两本诗集 liang3 ben3 shi1ji2 ‘two collections of poems,’ and 五本小说 wu3 ben3 xiao3shuo1 ‘five novels,’ while 部 bu4 refers to individual books and to the content of individual books, as in 第一部小说 第一部小说 第一部小说 di4yi1 bu4 xiao3shuo1 ‘the first novel of Zi you nu xing’ and 中国最早 其实 Zuo yi1 xiao3shuo1 ‘the first collection of poems in China – Shi jing.’ Thus, 本 ben3 can occur with notebooks, poems, and novels, while 部 bu4 co-occurs only with books. Furthermore, when 部 bu4 is used, the content of the books referred to is different, which is not necessarily the case with 本 ben3 (i.e., 十四本武侠小说 shi4ben3 bu4 wu3xia2xiao3shuo1 ‘fourteen different swordsman novels’ and 十四本武侠小说 shi4ben3 wu3xia2xiao3shuo1 ‘fourteen swordsman novels (without specifying whether they are the same book or not)).

Semantic type-shifting can also occur when what is being referred to is the same object. For example, 具 ju4 refers to telephones, as in 两具电话 liang3ju4 dian4hua4 ‘two telephones’ (i.e., the object sitting on the desk), while 线 xian4 refers to telephone lines or telephone numbers, as in 两线电话 liang3 xian4 dian4hua4 ‘two lines of a telephone.’ Both 具 ju4 and 线 xian4 are individual classifiers. However, 具 ju4 selects machinery, while 线 xian4 selects a line-like object, including the more abstract meaning of lines of communication.

Another example of semantic type-shifting with the same object can be seen with 花 hua1 ‘flower.’ The individual classifier 菱 duo3 refers to the bud of a plant or flower, as in 一朵花 yi1 duo3 hua1 ‘a flower,’ while the individual classifier 株 zhu1 refers to the plant itself, as in 一株花 yi1 zhu1 hua1 ‘a flower.’ This same shifting in instantiated meaning is applicable to all nouns that end in the morpheme 花 hua1 ‘flowers,’ such as 兰花 lan2hua1 ‘orchids,’ 樱花 ying1hua1 ‘cherry blossoms,’ and 荷花 he2hua1 ‘lotuses.’

The semantic coercion of nominal meaning is the result of matching possible meaning represented by the noun and the classifier. Neither the classifier alone nor the noun alone can decide the coerced meaning. In other words, the head noun must have a possible interpretation to allow coercion to happen, as illustrated by the examples discussed in this section.

Thus, sortal classifiers can coerce nouns to have a particular individual reading depending on the information entailed in the classifier itself. In fact, this semantic
type-shifting is not limited to the individual reading of nouns. Classifiers can also type-shift nouns from an individual reading to an event reading. For example, 电话 dian4hua4 ‘telephones’ can refer to the telephone itself and the event of a phone call. When using the kind classifier 一具电话 yi1 ju4 dian4hua4 ‘a telephone,’ this specifies a particular style or design of the telephone. When using the event classifier 一通电话 yi1 tong1 dian4hua4, this refers to the event of a telephone call. Similarly, 火车 huo3che1 ‘train’ can co-occur with the individual classifier 列 lie4, as in 一列货运火车 yi1 lie4 huo4yun4huo3che1 ‘a train for freight,’ or with a kind classifier, as in 这种豪华蒸汽火车 zhe4 zhong4 hao2hua2 zheng1qi4 huo3che1 ‘this kind of luxurious steam train,’ or with an event classifier, as in 一班火车 yi1 ban1 huo3che1 ‘a scheduled train.’ Thus, the noun can be part of an individuated reading, or a kind reading, or an event reading, depending on the classifier with which it occurs.
This chapter is concerned with the structure of nominal phrases and the syntax of the lexical categories that function primarily within that structure: determinatives, numerals, classifiers, and nouns.

8.1. Distinctive properties of nouns and nominal phrases

The category of nouns consists of lexical items that characteristically represent entities, real or imagined, in the concrete or virtual world. The predominant function of nouns is to be the ultimate head of nominal phrases.

8.1.1. Summary of defining properties of nominal phrases

1 Nominal phrases are prototypically capable of functioning as an argument in clause structures, namely, as the subject or the object.

2 A full-fledged nominal phrase characteristically appears in the order of DET(erator)-NUM(ber)-CL(assifier)-N(oun), as in 那三条鱼 na4 san1 tiao2 yu2 ‘those three fish.’ Although the sequential order of DET–NUM–CL–N cannot be altered, nominal phrases with one or more positions not filled with any lexical item are common.

8.1.2. Summary of defining properties of nouns

1 Functions: In addition to being the ultimate head of nominal phrases, nouns sometimes function as dependents of other elements, such as the modifier of another noun, as in 火车站 huo3che1zhan4 ‘train station’ and 家具商店 jia1ju4 shang1dian4 ‘furniture store’; the modifier of a verb, as in 枪杀 qiang1sha1 ‘gun-kill, to kill with a gun’ and 油炸 you2zha2 ‘oil-fry, to deep fry’; and the object in a compound verb, such as 怀疑 huai2yi2 ‘hold-suspicion, to doubt’ and 投资 tou2zi1 ‘put-in money, to invest.’

2 Inflection: There is no overt inflectional marking on nouns for gender, case, or agreement, but pronouns can take the suffix –们 men0 ‘PL’ to indicate plurality, as can human nouns sometimes. Other than the suffix –们 for pronouns and human nouns, plurality is represented by relevant numerals and classifiers in a nominal phrase.
3 Structural position: The noun always occupies the final position of a nominal phrase. The modifier always precedes the modified.

8.1.3. Pronouns
Pronouns are treated as a subcategory of nouns, in the sense that they have functions similar to nouns, although they typically stand alone in nominal phrases.

8.1.4. Other functions of nominal phrases
In addition to the function of argument in clauses, nominal phrases can function as the object in preposition phrases, while temporal and/or locative nominal phrases can function as adverbials.

8.2. Overview of noun classes and nominal phrases

8.2.1. Noun classes
Nouns can be classified according to their syntactic behavior, as common nouns like 树 shu4 ‘tree’ in [1], proper nouns like 中国 zhong1guo2 ‘China’ and 海地 hai3di4 ‘Haiti’ in [2], and pronouns like 她 ta1 ‘she’ in [3], although there is no orthographic indication to differentiate proper and common nouns. Proper nouns and pronouns behave similarly in clause structures since they can function independently as definite nominal phrases.

[1] 那几棵树都结果了。
na4 ji3 ke1 shu4 dou1 jie2guo3 le0
‘Those trees have borne fruits.’

[2] 中国将向海地派驻维和警察。
zhong1guo2 jiang1 xiang4 hai3di4 pai4zhu4
China will PREP Haiti dispatch
wei2he2 jing3cha2 peacekeeping policeman
‘China will send a peacekeeping police force to Haiti.’

[3] 她明天回来。
ta1 ming2tian1 hui2lai2
‘She will be back tomorrow.’

8.2.2. Basic structure of nominal phrases
The most important part of a nominal phrase is the head position, which is always final and is filled with a simple noun or a compound noun. The other important
positions in a nominal phrase are the Determiner (DET), which is filled by a
determinative, the Number (NUM), which is filled by a numeral or a quantifier,
and the Classifier (CL), which is filled by a classifier.

Various combinations are possible, and the examples in [4] below show the
common ones:

   zhe4 san1 tou2 niu2
   this three CL cow
   'these three cows'

b. 那张桌子 [DET-CL-N]
   na4 zhang1 zhuo1zi0
   that CL table
   'that table'

c. 那地方 [DET-N]
   na4 di4fang0
   that place
   'that place'

d. 两只麻雀 [NUM–CL-N]
   liang3 zhi1 ma2que4
   two CL sparrow
   'two sparrows'

e. 新车子 [N]
   xin1 che1zi0
   new car
   'new car(s)'

f. 那几件 [DET-NUM–CL]
   na4 ji3 jian4
   that several CL
   'those several pieces'

g. 这块 [DET-CL]
   zhe4 kuai4
   this CL
   'this piece'

h. 这 [DET]
   zhe4
   this
   'this'
The modifier of a nominal element can be either a word or a phrase marked with the de ‘DE.’ Three layers of the nominal phrase, beginning with DET, NUM, and N respectively, can be modified by a phrase with the marker de ‘DE,’ as in [5a], [5b], and [5c], respectively.

[5]  a. 你刚买的那几条小狗
   ni3 gang1 mai3 de0 na4 ji3 tiao2 xiao3 gou3
   you just buy DE that several CL small dog
   ‘these three puppies you just bought’

   b. 树上的两只喜鹊
   shu4 shang4 de0 liang3 zhi1 xi3que4
tree on DE two CL magpie
   ‘(these) two magpies that are on the tree’

   c. 这些今年录取的新生
   zhe4xie1 jin1nian2 lu4qu3 de0 xin1sheng1
   these this_year admit DE entrant
   ‘these new students who were admitted this year’

No case has been found in which a layer beginning with CL is modified by a phrase marked with the de ‘DE.’ When modification by such a phrase is called for, the NUM position is always filled with an actual numeral or quantifier, and the modifier always occurs before NUM, as shown in [6a] and [6b].

[6]  a. 找个学生
   zhao3 ge4 xue2sheng1
   seek CL student
   ‘look for a student’

   b. i. *找个刚报到的个学生
   zhao3 gang1 bao4dao4 de0 ge4 xue2sheng1
   seek just register DE CL student
ii. 找个刚报到的一个学生
   zhao3 gang1 bao4dao4 de0 yi1 ge4 xue2sheng1
   seek just register DE one CL student
   ‘look for a student who just registered’

The word filling certain positions of a nominal phrase can be modified by another word and the two words form a single unit that functions as one word. The classifier in CL can be modified by a word, regardless of the shape of the nominal phrase, as in [7a] and [7b]. A few cases have been found where the numeral in NUM
is modified by a word, as in [7c]. No case has been found in the corpus where a determinative in DET is modified by a word.

[7]  a. 一长条绳子
yi1 chang2 tiao2 sheng2zi0
one long CL rope
’a long rope’
b. 这一个箱玩具
zhe4 yi1 zheng3 xiang1 wan2ju4
this one whole CL toy
‘this whole box of toys’
c. 这里要便宜近一千块钱呢。
zhe4li3 yao4 pian2yi4 jin4 yi1qian1 kuai4
here will cheap near one_thousand CL
qian2 ne0
money NE
‘It is cheaper here by close to a thousand dollars.’

The noun in N can also be modified by a word, as in [8a] and [8b], and the compound word can be further modified by other words, as in [8c] and [8d].

[8]  a. 那两只黑乌鸦
na4 liang3 zhi1 hei1 wu1ya1
that two CL black crow
‘the two black crows’
b. 五栋刚盖好的高房子
wu3 dong4 gang1 gai4 hao3 de0 gao1
five CL just build complete DE tall
fang2zi0
house
‘five high-rise buildings newly completed’
c. 这瓶冰冻德国啤酒
zhe4 ping2 bing1dong4 de2guo2 pi2jiu3
this CL freeze Germany beer
‘the bottle of chilled German beer’
d. 一点本地新鲜有机蔬菜
yi1dian3 ben3di4 xin1xian1 you3ji1 shu1cai4
a_bit local fresh organic vegetable
‘some local fresh organic vegetables’
A nominal phrase modified by a 的 de0 ‘DE’ phrase and a word modified by another word differ in several aspects. A major one is that the latter characteristically has a fixed and sometimes derived meaning. 黄的鱼 huang2 de0 yu2 means ‘a fish that is yellow,’ while 黄鱼 huang2yu2 means ‘a species of sea fish (yellow croaker),’ even though it could also mean a fish with yellow color. Similarly, 白的菜 bai2 de0 cai4 ‘white vegetable’ denotes any type of vegetable of which the color is white, while 白菜 bai2cai4 means ‘a particular species of vegetable,’ namely, ‘cabbage.’

Another major difference between the two is the structural requirement between the modifier and the modified. When an element in N, CL, or NUM is modified by a word, the two have to stay next to each other; otherwise, the modification relation cannot be established. The word 小 xiao3 ‘small’ in [9a] only modifies the noun in N, while that in [9b] only modifies the classifier in CL. The 近 jin4 ‘near’ in [9c] does not modify anything other than the numeral in NUM.

[9] a. 那一百包小饼干
na4 yi1bai3 bao1 xiao3 bing3gan1
that one_hundred CL small cookie
‘those one hundred packs of small biscuits’

b. 那一百包饼干
na4 yi1bai3 xiao3 bao1 bing3gan1
that one_hundred small CL cookie
‘those one hundred small packs of biscuits’

c. 那近一百包饼干
na4 jin4 yi1bai3 bao1 bing3gan1
that near one_hundred CL cookie
‘those slightly fewer than one hundred packs of biscuits’

A 的 de0 ‘DE’ phrase has scope over everything on its right within the nominal phrase. The phrasal modifier 雪白的 xue3bai2 de0 ‘which is snow white’ in [10a] modifies 床单 chuang2dan1 ‘sheet,’ which is adjacent to it, but the same phrase in [10b] and [10c] also modifies 床单 chuang2dan1 ‘sheet,’ even though the two are separated. The 的 de0 ‘DE’ phrase in these two cases can only modify 床单 chuang2dan1 ‘sheet’ because 雪白的 xue3bai2 de0 ‘which is snow white’ is semantically not compatible with the other elements in the nominal phrase. The 大的 da4 de0 ‘which is large’ in [10d], on the other hand, can be interpreted as modifying either 苹果 ping2guo3 ‘apple’ or 堆 dui1 ‘pile,’ which produces ambiguity because it is compatible with both.
To sum up, of all the major positions in a nominal phrase, N, CL, and, to a limited extent, NUM can be filled with elements that are modified by a word. The sequence beginning with DET, NUM, and N can be modified by a phrase marked with 的 ‘DE.’ From a grammatical point of view, a word modifies a word while a phrase modifies a phrase. This entails that a nominal phrase consists of three layers, a DETP with DET as the head, a NUM–CLP with NUM–CL as the head, and an NP with N as the head. Each phrase can be modified by a 的 de0 phrase, while the head word of each phrase can be modified by a word. Each member in the NUM–CL compound can be modified by a word, as is the compound as a whole. DET cannot be modified by a word for semantic reasons.

8.2.3. Elements excluded from the nominal phrase category
Argument positions are sometimes filled by a clause, a verb phrase, or an adjective phrase, as in [12], [13], and [14], respectively. They bear some resemblance to nominal phrases but are excluded from the nominal phrase category, since they have other properties that nominal phrases do not share.
[12] a. 列车发生故障有点出乎意料。

    lie4che1 fa1sheng1 gu4zhang4 you3dian3
    train happen breakdown some
    chu1hu1yi4liao4 unexpected

    ‘It is a little surprising that the train broke down.’

b. 美国媒体不关心谁会胜出。

    mei3guo2 mei2ti3 bu4 guan1xin1
    the_United_States media NEG be_concerned_about
    shui2 hui4 sheng4chu1 who will win

    ‘The American media did not care who would win.’

[13] a. 用清水冲洗伤口可以减轻痛苦。

    yong4 qing1shui3 chong1xi3 shang1kou3 ke3yi3
    PREP clear_water wash wound may
    jian3qing1 tong4chu3 ease pain

    ‘To wash the wound with clean water could ease the pain.’

b. 地方政府反对修筑拦水坝。

    di4fang1 zheng4fu3 fan3dui4 xiu1zhu4 lan2shui3ba4
    local government oppose build dam

    ‘The local government opposed constructing the dam.’

[14] a. 高高兴兴才符合要求。

    gao1gao1xing4xing4 cai2 fu2he2 yao1qiu2
    happy just conform_to requirement

    ‘To be happy is a must in order to meet the requirement.’

b. 老板喜欢干净。

    lao3ban3 xi3huan1 gan1jing4
    boss like clean

    ‘The boss likes cleanliness.’

8.3. The function of DET

DetP is the outmost layer of a nominal phrase and its head position DET is occupied by a determinative, which establishes the relationship between the nominal phrase and the discourse or the immediate environment; namely, it determines the definite or indefinite status of the nominal phrase.
Four types of elements can appear in the DET position: basic determinatives, universal quantifier determinatives, existential quantifier determinatives, and interrogative determinatives.

8.3.1. Basic determinatives

8.3.1.1. Demonstratives

The most common basic determinatives are proximal demonstrative 这 zhe4 ‘this’ and distal demonstrative 那 na4 ‘that,’ as shown in [15]. By using a demonstrative, the speaker assumes that the listener is able to identify the set of entities being represented by the nominal phrase. Demonstratives thus give a definite reading to nominal phrases. They also bring spatial deixis to the nominal phrase in that 这 zhe4 ‘this’ indicates the relative closeness between the set being discussed and the speaker, while 那 na4 ‘that’ indicates the relatively large distance between the two.

[15] a. 这几件陶器是最近出土的 [proximal]
   zhe4 ji3 jian4 tao2qi4 shi4 zui4jin4
   this several CL pottery be recently
   chu1tu3 de0
   excavate DE
   ‘These porcelain vessels were unearthed recently.’

b. 市议会正在审议那个提案 [distal]
   shi4yi4hui4 zheng4zai4 shen3yi4
   city_council ZAI examine_and_discuss
   na4 ge4 ti2an4
   that CL motion
   ‘The City Council is debating that legislation.’

Several Classical Chinese demonstratives are still used occasionally, especially in formal written genres. They include proximal 此 ci3 ‘this,’ distal 彼 bi3 ‘that,’ deictic proximal 本 ben3 ‘the’ (which refers to the speaker or an entity closely related to the speaker in the discourse), and pure definite 该 gai1 ‘the’ (which refers to an entity already mentioned in the discourse), examples of which are illustrated in [16] below. These demonstratives have partially retained their Classical Chinese properties and prototypically appear with no lexical element in NUM or no lexical element in both NUM and CL.
8.3.1.2. Indefinite determinatives

There are no indefinite determinatives in contemporary Chinese. In the rare cases where such a word is needed, the Classical Chinese 某 (a) certain’ is used, as in [17]. A nominal phrase with 某 in DET is the predominant choice when the speaker does not want to identify the set of entities being discussed; in other words, an indefinite nominal phrase represents a set that cannot be identified.

[17] a. 某(一位)老师有不同意见。
   mou3 yi1 wei4 lao3shi1 you3 bu4tong2 yi4jian4
certain one CL teacher have different opinion
   ‘A certain teacher has a different opinion.’

b. 某些人总是妒忌别人的成功。
mou3xie1 ren2 zong3shi4 du4ji4 bie2ren2 de0
some people always jealous others DE
   success
   ‘Certain people are always jealous of others’ success.’
8.3.1.3. Alternative-additive determinatives

Alternative-additive determinatives are usually chosen in cases where the speaker has already talked about some entity or entities and continues to introduce some other ones. For example, (an)other or (an)other is used largely to introduce an additional set of entities similar to the set under discussion, as in (18). When a set of entities has been identified and a subset has been discussed, a nominal phrase with the other or the rest in DET can be used to introduce the other subset, as in (18b) and (18c). The nominal phrase marked with the other cannot stand for a singleton set.

(18) a. 另一张桌子上坐着几个女工。 [additive]
   ling4 yi1 zhang1 zhuo1zi0 shang4 zuo4 zhe0
   another one CL table on sit ZHE
   ji3 ge4 nü3gong1
   several CL woman_worker
   ‘Sitting at another table were some female workers.’

b. 小提琴独奏很好, 其他三个节目也不错。 [alternative]
   xiao3ti2qin2 du2zou4 hen3 hao3 qi2ta1 san1 ge4
   violin solo very good other three CL
   jie2mu4 ye3 bu4 cuo4
   show also NEG bad
   ‘The violin solo is great and the other three performances are also good.’

c. 我只认识汪经理, 其余几位陌生得很。 [exclusive-alternative]
   wo3 zhi3 ren4shi2 wang1 jing1li3 qi2yu2 ji3
   I only know WANG manager the_rest several
   wei4 mo4sheng1 de0 hen3
   CL strange DE very
   ‘(Of all the people involved) I only know Manager Wang and the rest are strangers to me.’

8.3.2. Universal quantifier determinatives

Several universal quantifiers can function as determinatives. When the distributive universal quantifier 每 mei3 ‘every’ occupies DET, the nominal phrase represents each and every subset of a set that has been mentioned in the discourse or is identifiable in the environment. Sentence (19) thus means that each and every student, likely those under the speaker’s supervision, should be prepared.
Every student must be well prepared.

The "every, each" in [20a] means that the request of signing up goes to individual parents on the spot, namely, a set identifiable in the environment. The emphasis of [20a] is on the distribution of the request to individual subsets and exceptions are allowed. If ‘every’ replaced 典 in [20a], the request would apply to each and every subset without exception. Another difference between the two is that 是 compatible with any numeral in NUM so that phrases like 每三辆卡车 每三辆卡车 ‘every three trucks’ and 每十只羊 每十只羊 ‘every ten sheep’ are possible. 典, on the other hand, is only compatible with the numeral – ‘one,’ which actually does not appear overtly, and the size of each set is represented by the classifier. The nominal phrase in [20a] represents singleton subsets because of ‘respectful individual’ and the one in [20b] represents subsets with at least two members because of 组 ‘group’.

8.3.3. Existential quantifier determinatives

When the existential quantifier 任何 ‘any’ appears in DET, the nominal phrase either represents a free choice or yields the reading of a negatively oriented polarity-sensitive item in a non-affirmative context.

A free choice 任何 ‘any’ indicates that an arbitrary subset can be selected from a known set and the predicate applies to that subset. The NUM position of such a phrase is typically filled with ‘one,’ as in [21a], but it could be filled with any numeral, such as in [21b]. Sometimes both NUM and CL are left open.
without any lexical element, as in [21c], and the most natural interpretation for such a nominal phrase is that its NUM position is filled with — *yi1* ‘one,’ while the CL is position filled with a classifier compatible with the element in N. This means that the subset represented by 任何人 *ren4he2 ren2* ‘any person’ may vary in size, depending on the covert classifier. A non-affirmative 任何 *ren4he2* ‘any’ characteristically appears in the scope of negation, as in [21d], which means the prohibition against leaving should apply to any chosen subset of the students taking the exam.

[21]  
a. 付款后顾客可以拿走任何一筐鱼。  
*fu4kuan3 hou4 gu4ke4 ke3yi3 na2zou3*  
*pay_a_sum_of_money after customer may take_away*  
*ren4he2 yi1 kuang1 yu2*  
*any one CL fish*  
‘The customer can take away any basket of fish after he has paid the money.’

b. 世界上任何两个人之间, 最多只隔着六个人。  
*shi4jie4 shang4 ren4he2 liang3 ge4 ren2 zhi1jian1*  
*world on any two CL people between*  
zui4duo1 zhi3 ge2 zhe0 liu4 ge4 ren2  
at_most only separate ZHE six CL people  
‘Between any two persons in the world, there are at most six other persons.’

c. 任何人都有权力表达自己的意见。  
*ren4he2 ren2 dou1 you3 quan2li4 biao3da2 zi4ji3*  
*any people all YOU right express self*  
de0 yi4jian4  
DE opinion  
‘Anybody would have the right to present his opinion.’

d. 考试期间不准任何学生离开。  
*kao3shi4 qi1jian1 bu4zhun3 ren4he2 xue2sheng1*  
test period forbid any student  
li2kai1  
leave  
‘Do not let any student leave during the exam period.’

8.3.4. Interrogative determinatives  
When its DET position is filled with the interrogative determinative 哪 *na3* ‘which,’ the nominal phrase represents a subset to be identified from a known set.
哪 can appear in the sequence DET–NUM–CL–N, such as 哪两个学生 na3 liang3 ge4 xue2sheng1 ‘which two students.’ It can also appear in the sequence of DET-CL-N, such as 哪位老师 na3 wei4 lao3shi1 ‘which teacher.’ 哪 occasionally appears in the sequence DET-N, with the noun in N denoting a calendar unit or a location, as in 哪天 na3 tian1 ‘which day,’ 哪月 na3 yue4 ‘which month,’ 哪年 na3 nian2 ‘which year,’ 哪儿 na3ri3 ‘which place,’ and 哪站 na3 zhan4 ‘which station.’

A nominal phrase with a 哪 in DET potentially has two distinctive readings. One is that of an existential quantifier similar to a phrase with 任何 ren4he2 ‘any’ in DET, which could be a free choice, available when the phrase appears in a yes–no question or falls under the scope of the inclusive adverb 都 dou1 ‘all,’ as in [22a] and [22b], or a negatively oriented polarity-sensitive one, available when the phrase appears in a non-affirmative context, as in [22c]. The other reading is that of an interrogative phrase. In sentences like [22d], the speaker has in mind a set of books and uses 哪儿本书 na3 ji3 ben3 shu1 ‘which books’ to ask for the identity of a subset.

[22]  a. 您要见哪位老师吗?
   nin2 yao4 jian4 na3 wei4 lao3shi1 ma0
   ‘Do you want to see any teacher?’

 b. 她哪种裙子都敢穿。
   ta1 na3 zhong3 qun2zi0 dou1 gan3 chuan1
   ‘She dares to wear any kind of skirt.’

 c. 不管你去哪里，都不能忘了我。
   bu4guan3 ni3 qu4 na3li3 dou1 bu4neng2 wang4
   ‘No matter where you go, don’t forget me.’

 d. 你借了哪儿本书?
   ni3 jie4 le0 na3 ji3 ben3 shu1
   ‘Which books did you borrow?’

8.4. The function of NUM–CL
The middle layer of a nominal phrase is NUM–CLP. The head position of NUM–CL is filled with a numeral–classifier compound. The element in NUM is a numeral
or a quantifier, while that in CL is a classifier, and the two words form a single unit with the latter as the head.

8.4.1. Elements in the NUM position
The NUM position is the locus for numbers. Except for pronouns and some nouns representing human beings, the element in N of most nominal phrases does not have an inflectional marking for numbers and the relevant information is mainly provided by the numeral in NUM.

8.4.1.1. Cardinal numerals
The NUM position is prototypically filled with a cardinal numeral. Cardinal numerals are built with the basic digits — yi1 ‘one,’ 二 er4 ‘two,’ 三 san1 ‘three,’ 四 si4 ‘four,’ 五 wu3 ‘five,’ 六 liu4 ‘six,’ 七 qi1 ‘seven,’ 八 ba1 ‘eight,’ and 九 jiu3 ‘nine’; counting units 十 shi2 ‘ten,’ 百 bai3 ‘hundred,’ 千 qian1 ‘thousand,’ 万 wan4 ‘ten thousand,’ and 亿 yi4 ‘hundred million’; and the place holder 零 ling2 ‘zero.’

The numeral expressing a number below 10 is simply a basic digit. A numeral expressing a number between 10 and 9,999 is a sequence of counting units 千 qian1 ‘thousand,’ 百 bai3 ‘hundred,’ and 十 shi2 ‘ten,’ each preceded by a basic digit as the multiplier, and then a basic digit. The value of such a number is the sum of the basic digit and the product of each multiplier and its counting unit. If the multiplier for 十 shi2 ‘ten’ is — yi1 ‘one,’ it is prototypically omitted when the number is smaller than 20 and is often omitted when the number is larger than 100. If the multiplier of a counting unit is zero, a 零 ling2 ‘zero’ is inserted to hold the place. Only one 零 ling2 ‘zero’ is needed when two or more neighboring counting units have a zero multiplier, and no 零 ling2 ‘zero’ is needed if the basic digital and its neighboring counting units are all zero, as in [23e].

[23] a. (一) 十八
   yi1  shi2  ba1
   one  ten  eight
   ‘eighteen’

b. 四百五十六
   si4  bai3  wu3  shi2  liu4
   four hundred  five  ten  six
   ‘four hundred and fifty-six’

c. 三千六百九十九
   san1  qian1  liu4  bai3  jiu3  shi2  jiu3
   three thousand  six  hundred  nine  ten  nine
   ‘three thousand six hundred and ninety-nine’
The sequence expressing a number smaller than 10,000 is the base for larger numbers. A numeral expressing a number between 10,000 and 99,999,999 consists of two sequences: a base sequence and another one that is the product of a base sequence and the counting unit 万 wan4 ‘ten thousand.’ The value of the numeral is the sum of the two sequences, as in [24a] and [24b]. A numeral expressing 100,000,000 or above consists of three sequences: a base sequence, a second sequence with 万 wan4 ‘ten thousand’ as the counting unit, and a third one with 亿 yi4 ‘hundred million’ as the counting unit. The value of the number is the sum of the three sequences, as in [24c].

[24]  a.  三万五千零八
san1 wan4 wu3 qian1 ling2 ba1
three ten_thousand five thousand zero eight
‘thirty-five thousand and eight’

b.  三千六百五十二万七千九百(一)十一
san1 qian1 liu4 bai3 wu3shi2er4 wan4
three thousand six hundred fifty-two ten_thousand
qi1 qian1 jiu3 bai3 yi1 shi2yi1
seven thousand nine hundred one eleven
‘thirty-six million five hundred and twenty-seven thousand nine hundred and eleven’

c.  三十三亿九千六百八十五万四千八百八十八
san1shi2san1 yi4 jiu3 qian1 liu4
thirty-three hundred_million nine thousand six
bai3 ba1shi2wu3 wan4 si4 qian1
hundred eighty-five ten_thousand four thousand
ba1 bai3 ba1shi2ba1
eight hundred eighty-eight
‘three billion three hundred and ninety-six million eight hundred and fifty-four thousand eight hundred and eighty-eight’
A nominal phrase with a cardinal numeral in NUM represents an exact number of entities with the classifier in CL as the measurement unit, as in [25].

[25]  
   a. 那三瓶啤酒  
       na4 san1 ping2 pi2jiu3  
       that three CL beer  
       'those three bottles of beer'  
   b. 六千五百七十九块砖头  
       liu4qian1 wu3bai3 qi1shi2jiu3 kuai4  
       six_thousand five_hundred seventy-nine CL  
       zhuan1tou0  
       brick  
       '6,579 bricks'

8.4.1.2. Approximate numbers

The NUM position is at times filled with the combination of a cardinal numeral and a hedge word to indicate an approximate number. The hedge word can replace the end portion of a sequence of digits, as in [26]. It can also modify a numeral to produce an approximate compound. Some such hedge words can only modify a numeral with just one counting unit, as in [27a], [27b], and [27c], while some other hedge words can modify any numeral as long as it has a zero as the basic digit, as in [27d] and [27e].

[26]  
   a. 那二十多杯茶  
       na4 er4shi2 duo1 bei1 cha 2  
       that twenty more CL tea  
       'those over twenty (between 21 and 29) cups of tea'  
   b. 十来部电脑  
       shi2 lai2 bu4 dian4nai0  
       ten some CL computer  
       'over ten (between 11 and 19) computers'  
   c. 百把只鸡  
       bai3 ba3 zhi1 ji1  
       hundred some CL chicken  
       'about one hundred (usually between 90 and 110) chickens'

[27]  
   a. 那上千亩土地  
       na4 shang4 qian1 mu3 tu3di4  
       that up_to thousand acre land  
       'those close to one thousand (approximately between 900 and 999) acres of land'
b. 成千上万
chêng qiān shān wàn
thousands of CL bison
‘thousands of buffalo’

c. 近五亿元
jìn wǔ yì yuán
near five_hundred_million yuan
‘close to five hundred million (a little below 500 million) yuan’

d. 约三百五十名士兵
yuē sān bāi wǔ shí mìng shì bīng
about three_hundred fifty CL soldier
‘about three hundred and fifty soldiers’

e. 约九千多吨
yuē jiǔ qiān duō dùn
about nine_thousand many ton
‘about a little over nine thousand tons’

Another way to express an approximate number is to fill the NUM position with two consecutive basic digits, as in [28a] and [28b], or to use two consecutive basic digits as the multiplier for one counting unit, as in [29].

[28]  a. 七八张桌子
qī bā zhāng zhuōzǐ
seven_or_eight CL desk
‘a few (roughly seven or eight) tables’

b. 八九船沙子
bā jiǔ chuán shāzǐ
eight_or_nine CL sand
‘a few (roughly eight or nine) shiploads of sand’

[29]  这二三百个学生
zhè èr sān bǎi gè xuéshēng
this two_or_three_hundred CL student
‘these few hundred (roughly 200 to 300) students’

A third way to express an approximate number is to use the quantifier 数 shù ‘several’ or 几 ji ‘several’ as the multiplier of a counting unit, as in [30]. The quantifier 几 ji ‘several’ can also replace the rightmost digit of a sequence, as in [31].
Nouns and nominal phrases

8.4.1.3. Ordinal numerals

The NUM position is at times filled with an ordinal numeral, which is formed by adding the prefix 第 di4 ‘-th’ to a cardinal numeral. A nominal phrase with an ordinal number in NUM represents a chosen member in a known set of entities, which are ordered as a numerical sequence with the ordinal number indicating the chosen one's position. Given the meaning of such nominal phrases, it is expected that their DET position is predominantly not filled with any lexical item, as in [32a] and [32b], although an overt demonstrative is occasionally found there, as in [32c].

[32] a. 第一个学生
di4 yi1 ge4 xue2sheng1
ORDINAL one CL student
‘the first student’
8.4.1.4. Quantifiers

The NUM position is occasionally filled with a quantifier to indicate a vague or approximate number. It can be a paucal quantifier, as in [33], or a multal quantifier, as in [34]. [33c] is unique in that it is ambiguous between an accurate reading and a vague reading, since 两 liang3 ‘two’ is a cardinal numeral in most cases but sometimes has a quantifier reading for a vague small number.

[33] a. 那几条船
   na4 ji3 tiao2 chuan2
   that several CL ship
   ‘those few ships’

b. 数块大石头
   shu4 kuai4 da4 shi2tou0
   several CL big stone
   ‘several big stones’

c. 过两天我去看你。
   guo4 liang3 tian1 wo3 qu4 kan4 ni3
   GUO two day I go see you
   ‘I will visit you in two days/I will visit you in a few days.’

[34] a. 那无数个冤魂
   na4 wu2shu4 ge4 yuan1hun2
   that innumerable CL ghost_of_wrongly_accused
   ‘those ghosts of numerous victims’
8.4.1.5. Interrogative quantifiers
The NUM position is sometimes filled with the interrogative quantifier 各 ji3 ‘how many’ or 多少 duo1shao3 ‘how many.’ 他 predominantly represents a number smaller than ten. Although 多少 can represent any number, it is seldom used to represent a number smaller than ten. Such a phrase appears mainly in a variable question to represent a number to be determined, as in [35]. The same phrase will have the reading of an existential quantifier when it falls under the scope of negation or appears in a yes–no question, as in [36]. A nominal phrase with an interrogative quantifier in NUM predominantly has no lexical determinative in DET.

[35]  a. 他偷了几辆车呢?
    ta1 tou1 le0 ji3 liang4 che1 ne0
    he steal LE how_many CL car NE
    ‘How many cars did he steal?’

  b. 你还剩多少钱?
    ni3 hai2 sheng4 duo1shao3 qian2
    you yet remain how_many money
    ‘How much money is left with you?’

[36]  a. 我们没有喝多少酒。
    wo3men0 mei2you3 he1 duo1shao3 jiu3
    we NEG drink many wine
    ‘We did not drink too much.’

  b. 你想买几条鱼吗?
    ni3 xiang3 mai3 ji3 tiao2 yu2 ma0
    you think buy several CL fish MA
    ‘Do you want to buy some fish?’

8.4.1.6. Non-lexical numeral
The NUM position can at times be left open with no lexical numeral. Such a nominal phrase should be interpreted as the NUM position filled with the numeral — yi1 ‘one.’ 这本书 zhe4 ben3 shu1 thus has the same meaning as 这一本书 zhe4 yi1 ben3 shu1 ‘this copy of book’ does, while 那些花 na4 xi4xie1 hua1 has the same reading as 那一些花 na4 yi1xie1 hua1 ‘those flowers.’
8.4.2. Classifiers in the CL position

The CL position is filled with a classifier or a compound classifier. Under certain circumstances, CL can be left open with no lexical classifier. A detailed discussion of classifiers is provided in Chapter 7.

The classifier represents the unit with which the entities denoted by N are being counted. The unit may or may not coincide with the natural partition of the entities since it is the unit the speaker chooses for counting. If the unit signifies an individualized entity and the numeral in NUM is one, as in [37a], the nominal phrase will have a singular reading in the usual sense. If the unit signifies a collection of entities and the numeral in NUM is one, the nominal phrase will still be considered singular, but it actually represents a collection of entities, as in [37b].

[37]  

a. 请给我一本红楼梦。
    qing3 gei3 wo3 yi1 ben3 hong2lou2meng4
    please give I one CL Dream_of_the_Red_Chamber
    'Please give me a copy of Dream in the Red Chamber.'

b. 又买回来一堆没用的书。
    you4 mai3 hui2lai2 yi1 dui1 mei2yong4 de0 shu1
    again buy return one CL useless DE book
    '(You) bought a pile of useless books again!'

8.4.2.1. Compound classifiers

Classifiers may occasionally be modified by an adjective or a noun. Such a compound functions as a normal classifier in that it occupies the CL position as a unit for counting, but it also provides some additional information about certain aspects of the unit, as in [38].

[38]  

a. 小贩又切了一薄片火腿。
    xiao3 fan4 you4 qie1 le0 yi1 bao2 pian4
    small vendor again cut LE one thin CL
    huo3tui3
    ham
    'The vendor cut off another thin slice of ham.'

b. 那一大箱时装杂志都是她的。
    na4 yi1 da4 teng2 xiang1 shi2zhuang1 za2zhi4
    that one big cane CL fashion magazine
8.4.2.2. Duplicated classifiers

The CL position of a nominal phrase is at times occupied by a duplicated classifier, while the NUM position is filled with the numeral — yi1 ‘one,’ lexically or non-lexically. When a speaker chooses such a nominal phrase, he is typically considering all members of a known set one by one. The speaker of sentence [39a] is saying that 挺立在天地之间 ting3li4 zai4 tian1di4 zhi1jian1 ‘stand straight between the sky and the earth’ is true to each of the mountains he sees, while the speaker in [39b] is saying that if you look at the tables one by one, each of them is occupied without exception.

[39]  a. 那一座座山峰挺立在天地之间。

na4 yi1 zuo4 zuo4 shan1feng1 ting3li4 zai4
that one CL CL mountain stand_upright PREP
tian1di4 zhi1jian1
sky_and_earth between
‘Those peaks stand between the sky and the earth.’

b. 张张桌子都有人。

zhang 1 zhang1 zhuo1zi0 dou1 you3 ren2
CL desk all YOU people
‘All the tables are occupied.’

8.4.2.3. Non-lexical classifiers

The CL position is at times left open without a lexical classifier, commonly appearing without a lexical numeral but with a lexical determinative, as in 这人 zhe4 ren2 ‘this person’ and 那房子 na4 fang2zi0 ‘that house.’ A nominal phrase with a non-lexical classifier but with a lexical numeral, which is predominantly yi1 ‘one,’ is rare and is usually found in semi-Classical expressions like that in [40a], in casual speech like that in [40b], or in paired expressions like that in [40c].

[40]  a. 一票难求。

yi1 piao4 nan2 qiu2
one ticket hard request
‘It is hard to get even one ticket.’
8.4.3. Bare NUM–CLP

The DET position in a nominal phrase is sometimes left open without any lexical determinative when the NUM–CL and N positions are filled with lexical elements to form a bare NUM–CLP.

The function of determinatives is to establish the definite or indefinite status of the nominal phrase, and such a function is still present even when the DET position is not filled with a lexical determinative. The only indefinite determinative (i.e., 某 mou3 'a certain') in contemporary Chinese comes from Classical Chinese and has very limited distribution. When the need arises for a nominal phrase to represent something new in the current discourse, such as in the existential sentences in [41a] and [41b], a bare NUM–CLP prototypically becomes the only choice. Such an NUM–CL phrase occasionally appears in the subject position marked with the semantically almost void existential verb 有 you3 'there be,' as in [41c], to indicate that it represents something new in the discourse.

[41]  a. 系里最近来了一位女老师。
    xi4 li3 zui4jin4 le0 yi1 wei4
    department inside recently come LE one CL
    nü3 lao3shi1
    female teacher
    'A female teacher joined our department recently.'

b. 桌子上摊着一些剪报。
    zhuo1zi0 shang4 tan1 zhe0 yi1xie1 jian3bao4
    desk on lay ZHE some clipping
    'On the table lay some newspaper clips.'

c. 有两家服装厂倒闭了。
    you3 liang3 jia1 fu2zhuang1 chang3 dao3bi4 le0
    YOU two CL clothing factory go_bankrupt LE
    'Two garment factories went under.'
When the DET position is without a lexical determinative, the NUM position is at times filled with a non-lexical numeral as well, especially in colloquial speech. The non-lexical numeral is always — yi1 ‘one.’

来杯冰啤酒。
lai2 be1 bing1 pi2jiu3
come CL ice beer
‘Give me a glass of chilled beer.’

When there is a clear context to indicate the definite status of a nominal phrase, a bare NUM–CLP can have a definite reading, namely, having a non-lexical demonstrative in DET. The 三束花 san1 shu4 hua1 ‘three bouquets of flowers’ phrase in [43] appears in the topic position to represent things that have been mentioned in the previous discourse, and the bare NUM–CLP is definite. Definite bare NUM–CLPs can be found in either the subject or the object positions, but indefinite NUM–CLPs are characteristically found in the object position of unaccusative verbs.

三束花我都要。
san1 shu4 hua1 wo3 dou1 yao4
three CL flower I all want
‘I want all these three bouquets of flowers.’

8.5. Nouns and the N position
NP is the inner layer in a nominal phrase and its head is the locus for the essential information of the whole phrase. The N position is predominantly filled with a simple noun or a compound noun but it can sometimes be left open without a lexical noun. The noun represents a type of entity, which is its denotation, while the nominal phrase prototypically represents an entity or a set of entities, which is called its referent, and the relationship between the nominal phrase and its referent is known as reference.

8.5.1. Simple nouns and compound nouns
A simple noun consists of a single morpheme. Simple nouns usually have just one syllable, such as 猫 mao1 ‘cat,’ 狗 gou3 ‘dog,’ 水 shui3 ‘water,’ 油 you2 ‘oil,’ and so on. They sometimes have two syllables, such as 蟋蟀 xi1shuai4 ‘cricket,’ 葫芦 hu2lu2 ‘gourd,’ 芙蓉 fu2rong2 ‘lotus,’ 琥珀 hu3po4 ‘amber,’ 鹈鹕 an1chun2 ‘quail,’ and so on. Simple nouns with three or more syllables do exist, but they are predominantly loanwords from other languages, such as 俱乐部 ju4le4bu4 ‘club’ and 可口可乐 ke3kou3ke3le4 ‘Coca-Cola’ from English.

A compound noun consists of two or more morphemes. The components of a compound noun can be free or bound morphemes. The relationship between
morphemes in most compound nouns can be described in terms of syntactic structure, regardless of whether the components are free or bound. One of the structural relations is coordination, in that the morphemes have equal status and make an equal contribution to the compound's meaning. The meaning of 朋友 朋peng2you3 ‘friend’ is directly derived from 朋 peng2 and 友 you3, both of which mean ‘friend,’ while that of 衣帽 yi1mao4 ‘apparel’ is derived as a simple sum of 衣 yi1 ‘clothes’ and 帽 mao4 ‘caps.’ The meaning of 骨肉 gu3rou4 ‘kindred’ is metaphorically derived from 骨 gu3 ‘bone’ and 肉 rou4 ‘flesh,’ while the meaning of 矛盾 mao2dun4 ‘contradiction’ is related to that of 矛 mao2 ‘spear’ and 盾 dun4 ‘shield’ via a fable in which spears and shields are the key elements in two contradictory statements.

The morphemes in a compound noun can have a modification relation as well, with a nominal morpheme as the head in the final position. The meaning of some such compounds is directly derivable from their components, as in the case of 午饭 wu3fan4 ‘lunch,’ which is directly related to 午 wu3 ‘noon’ and 饭 fan4 ‘meal.’ The meaning of other such compounds is indirectly related to their components, as in 大腕 da4wan4 ‘big shots,’ which literally means ‘big wrist’ but metaphorically stands for powerful persons.

Some compound nouns are derived from compound verbs or adjectives. 管家 guan3jia1 ‘steward’ literally means to 管 guan3 ‘manage’ 家 jia1 ‘home,’ but it is commonly used to mean the person who manages the home. 孤寡 gu1gua3 ‘orphans and widows’ is the conjunction of the two adjectives 孤 gu1 ‘orphaned’ and 寡 gua3 ‘widowed,’ but it is commonly used as a noun meaning orphans and widows, a social group that is most vulnerable.

A compound noun can conjoin with other nouns or be modified by other words to produce a larger compound, as in the case of 奶油巧克力生日蛋糕 nai3you2 qiao3ke4li4 sheng1ri4 dan4gao1 ‘butter chocolate birthday cake.’ Theoretically, a compound noun can be infinitely long, although practically, a noun will not be too long.

8.5.2. Elements in N

N is the ultimate head position of a nominal phrase and is prototypically filled with a noun, either a simple noun, as in [44a], or a compound noun, as in [44b]. On rare occasions a pronoun can appear in N with overt elements in DET, NUM, or CL. The 你 ni3 ‘you’ in [45a] represents a person to whom the speaker is talking while day-dreaming. The 他 ta1 ‘he’ in [45b] is neither deictic nor anaphoric. The listener always refers to her boyfriend as 他 ta1 ‘he’ without prior context and the speaker is making fun of her by using 他 ta1 ‘he’ in the same way. 他 ta1 ‘he’ in this case represents 你的男朋友 ni3 de0 nan2peng2you3 ‘your boyfriend’ and is not a pronoun per se.
Unlike pronouns, a noun in N characteristically carries no overt marker for number, but in rare cases a noun representing human beings can take the plural marker -们 men0 ‘PL’ to express the speaker’s sentiment, either fondness, as in [46a], or hatred, as in [46b].
8.5.3. Nominal phrases without a lexical noun

The N position of a nominal phrase is at times not filled with any lexical noun. Although such a phrase does not have a lexical head to provide denotation and consequently has no lexical base for establishing reference, it nonetheless represents an entity or a set of entities that has been mentioned in the discourse or is identifiable in the environment. The phrase thus behaves like a complex pronominal with a non-lexical pronoun as its head, which depends on an antecedent for reference similar to the English pronoun “one.”

The non-lexical pronoun after 这几块 zhe4 ji3 kuai4 ‘these few pieces’ in [47a] is most likely to take 砖头 zhuan1tou0 ‘brick’ in the previous clause as its antecedent. The non-lexical pronoun after 两只 liang3 zhi1 ‘two counts’ in [47b] is most likely to take 蜜蜂 mi4feng1 ‘bee’ in the context as its antecedent. Sometimes the antecedent of the non-lexical pronoun in N is far away in the discourse or has to be inferred from the environment. The non-lexical pronoun after 一 口 yi1 kou3 ‘one take’ in [47c] has no clear antecedent in the immediate discourse and its referent has to be inferred from the utterance itself, which is part of a confession by a cocaine addict. The non-lexical pronoun is most likely to refer to the theme of the narrative, namely, cocaine. Sentence [47d] is taken from a conversation in a store where a customer utters it while pointing at a coat. The non-lexical pronoun after 这一件 zhe4 yi1 jian4 ‘this piece’ is deictic and refers to the coat.

[47] a. 那三块砖头都碎了, 这几块也不能用了。
na4 san1 kuai4 zhu1an1tou0 dou1 sui4 le0
that three CL brick all smash LE
zhe4 ji3 kuai4 ye3 bu4neng2 yong4 le0
this several CL also cannot use LE
‘The three bricks are broken and those (ones) are useless.’

b. 飞来了一群蜜蜂, 有两只停在了白花上。
fei1 lai2 le0 yi1 qun2 mi4feng1 you3 liang3
fly come LE one CL bee YOU two
zhi1 ting2 zai4 le0 bai2 hua1 shang4
CL stop PREP LE white flower on
‘A swarm of bees flew in and two of them came down to the white flower.’

c. 我已经上瘾了, 没多久就想抽上一口。
wo3 yi3jing1 shang4yin3 le0 mei2 duo1j1u3 jiu4
I already be_addicted LE NEG long thus
A nominal phrase with a non-lexical pronoun in N can have NUM, CL, or both left open without any lexical element. The non-lexical pronoun after 这扇 zhe4 shan4 ‘this leaf’ in [48a] is most likely to take 门 men2 ‘door’ as the antecedent. The subject phrase in the second clause of [48b] has a demonstrative 那 na4 ‘that’ in DET, no lexical numeral in NUM, no lexical classifier in CL, and a non-lexical pronoun in N that takes 山水画 shan1shui3hua4 ‘painting of mountains and rivers’ as its antecedent.

8.5.4. Bare NP
The DET, NUM, and CL positions in a nominal phrase are sometimes all left open without any lexical element, while the N position is filled with a lexical noun. Such a bare NP can have either a definite or an indefinite reading. Which meaning is actually realized depends on the speaker’s intention and, consequently, the structural position the speaker assigns to the bare NP. The bare NP in [49a] is in the topic position of the sentence and is therefore definite, while the bare NP in [49b] appears in the post-verbal position of an existential sentence and is indefinite. A bare NP can represent either a single entity or a set of entities, depending on
the context. The 衣服 yi1fu2 ‘clothes’ in [49a] is plural since it falls under the scope of the collective adverb 都 dou1 ‘all,’ while the 客人 ke4ren2 ‘guest’ in [49b] can be singular or plural since there is no clear context.

[49]  a. 衣服我都拿来了, 你穿吧。
yi1fu2 wo3 dou1 na2lai2 le0 ni3 chuan1 ba0
clothes I all bring LE you wear BA
‘All the clothes are here. Put them on.’

b. 来客人了, 赶快去招呼。
lai2 ke4ren2 le0 gan3kuai4 qu4 zhao1hu1
come guest LE hastily go greet
‘Here comes a guest/guests. Hurry up and take care of him/them.’

8.6. Pronouns
Pronouns form a close class that is prototypically used anaphorically or deictically; in other words, they represent an entity or a set of entities that has been mentioned in the previous discourse or can be identified in the environment. A pronoun occupies the N position in a nominal phrase and such a phrase prototypically appears as a bare NP. Pronouns are usually classified as personal pronouns, reflexive pronouns, and interrogative pronouns.

8.6.1. Personal pronouns
Personal pronouns form the largest category of pronouns and can be subdivided into core and peripheral members.

8.6.1.1. Core members
Core personal pronouns are classified according to the deictic category of persons, in the sense that the first-person pronoun 我 wo3 ‘I’ refers to the speaker and the second-person pronoun 你 ni3 ‘you’ refers to the listener. The third-person pronoun can be deictic in that it represents some person(s) other than the speaker and the listener; it can also be anaphoric in that it refers to a nominal phrase mentioned in the discourse. Third-person pronouns are represented by three different orthographic forms – 他 ta1 ‘he,’ 她 ta1 ‘she,’ and 它 ta1 ‘it’ – but all three actually have the same pronunciation and should be considered one and the same morpheme. The different orthographic forms are inventions of the early twentieth century, together with two seldom used forms – 祂 ta1 ‘He’ for God and 牠 ta1 ‘it’ for animal. The same thing happened to the second-person pronoun, which has a rarely used female form 嫂 ni3 ‘you’ and a divinity form 爰 ni3 ‘thou’ (in Classical Chinese, this is actually an old form for a father who has passed away).
The second-person pronoun has a polite form 您 nin2 ‘you,’ with which a speaker addresses people who have higher social status or are deemed to be worthy of respect.

The plural form of all personal pronouns is constructed in the same way, by adding the plural suffix -们 men0 ‘PL’ to the personal pronouns to produce 我们 wo3men0 ‘we,’ 你们 ni3men0 ‘you,’ 他们 ta1men0 ‘they,’ 她们 ta1men0 ‘they (female),’ and 它们 ta1men0 ‘they (non-human).’ The second-person polite form 您 nin2 ‘thou’ does not have a morphologically marked plural counterpart. In cases where a polite form is needed for a second-person plural pronoun, a complex form like 您三位 nin2 san1 wei4 ‘your honorable three’ will be used.

The first-person plural pronoun 我们 has an inclusive counterpart 咱们 zan2men0 ‘we.’ The difference between the two lies in the fact that when a speaker uses 咱们, he includes the listener in his group or on his side, while the speaker does not make such a categorization if he chooses 我们. 咱们 is used characteristically in colloquial speech, especially in that by Northern people.

咱们 has a singular variation 咱 zan2 ‘I,’ which sometimes appears in casual speech but does not necessarily express a singular meaning. The 咱 in [50] can be interpreted either as ‘I’ or as ‘we,’ and such a 咱 carries some vulgar flavor.

[50] 登台表演? 哪有咱的份啊?
     deng1tai2     biao3yan3     na3     you3     zan2     de0
     get_on_stage     perform     which     YOU     I_or_we     DE
     fen4     a1
     share     A
     ‘To perform on the stage? Do I/we have such luck?’

An accepted way of showing one’s modesty is using 我们 in places where 我 is normally used, as in [51]. The opposite is also true under some other circumstances. In official written documents, the first-person singular 我 typically replaces the plural 我们 to create expressions like 我校 wo3 xiao4 ‘our school,’ 我厂 wo3 chang3 ‘our factory,’ and 我公司 wo3 gong1si1 ‘our company.’ Similarly, in official documents the second-person singular 你 sometimes replaces the plural 你们 to create expressions like 你单位 ni3 dan1wei4 ‘your unit’ and 你站 ni3 zhan4 ‘your station.’

[51] 今天我们讲第三课。
     jin1tian1     wo3men0     jiang3     di4san1     ke4
     today     we     teach     the_third     lesson
     ‘Today I will lecture on Lesson Three.’
Unlike other pronouns, the non-human third-person 它 ta1 ‘it’ characteristically does not appear in lexical form, but it must be lexical when it functions as the object of a preposition.

8.6.1.2. Peripheral members
Peripheral personal pronouns characteristically appear in a specific context and have limited distribution. The third-person 其 qi2 ‘he/she/it’ inherited from Classical Chinese is used largely in formal genres. It is predominantly anaphoric and is seldom used deictically. 其 represents the third-person of all numbers, persons, genders, and cases. When 其 represents the possessor of a nominal phrase, the marker 的 de0 ‘DE’ never appears. Expressions like 其财产 qi2 cai2chan3 ‘his/her properties’ and 其后果 qi2 hou4guo3 ‘its consequence’ are anaphoric in the sense that the 其 refers to a nominal phrase mentioned in the discourse. The same can be said about the 其 in fixed expressions like 其中 qi2zhong1 ‘among them,’ 其余 qi2yu2 ‘the rest of them,’ and 其间 qi2jian1 ‘(during) that time.’

Other peripheral personal pronouns include third-person unspecified 人家 ren2jia1 ‘other person(s),’ 别人 bie2ren2 ‘other person(s),’ and 旁人 pang2ren2 ‘other person(s),’ which represent either singular or plural pronouns, as well as plural 大家 da4jia1 ‘all persons’ and 大伙儿 da4huo3er0 ‘all persons.’ 人家, 别人, and 旁人 are both deictic and anaphoric. The difference lies in the fact that 人家 and 别人 are typically used in colloquial speech, while 旁人 is mostly used in writing. 人家 or 别人 is sometimes used by girls as a first-person singular pronoun to show their charming side or to seek attention.

大家 da4jia1 ‘all persons’ or 大伙儿 da4huo3er0 ‘all persons’ represents a group of people present in the environment or mentioned before in the discourse. 大家 and 大伙儿 typically refer to people other than the speaker and the listener. However, when the speaker wants to show his solidarity with the listener, especially in imperative sentences, he can use 大家 or 大伙儿 as an inclusive plural pronoun. The 大家 in [52] actually represents everybody on the spot, including the speaker, the listener, and all the other people.

[52] 大家一起唱。
   da4jia1 yi1qi3 chang4
everyone together sing
   ‘Let’s sing together.’

8.6.2. Reflexive pronouns
A reflexive pronoun predominantly depends on an antecedent nominal phrase for reference and the two prototypically appear in the same clause or sentence. There are two types of reflexive pronouns: the basic form 自己 zi4ji3 ‘self’ and the derived
form, such as 我自己 wo3 zi4ji3 ‘myself’ or 他们自己 ta1men0 zi4ji3 ‘themselves,’ which consists of a core pronoun and the basic reflexive pronoun.

The basic form 自己 zi4ji3 ‘self’ can have an antecedent of any person and number, as shown in [53]. Another characteristic of 自己 is that it can appear in the subject position, as in [53a], or in the object position, as in [53b]. It can also appear in other positions, such as inside a relative clause as in [51c]. 自己 can sometimes appear in a clause other than the one containing its antecedent, as in [53d] and [53e], and the dependency relation between the two is often referred to as long-distance anaphora.

[53]  a. 作者相信自己可以解释这一现象。
   zuo4zhe3 xiang1xin4 zi4ji3 ke3yi3 jie3shi4 zhe4
   author believe self may explain this
   yi xian4xiang4
   ‘The author believes that he can explain the phenomenon.’

   b. 你们要照顾好自己。
   ni3men0 yao4 zhao4gu4 hao4 zi4ji3
   you will care_for good self
   ‘You should take good care of yourselves.’

   c. 我把自己做的视频上传到新浪网。
   wo3 ba3 zi4ji3 zuo4 de0 shi4pin2 shang4chuan2
   I BA self make DE video upload
   dao4 xin1lang4 wang3
   PREP Sina net
   ‘I uploaded the video clip I made to Sina.com.’

   d. 乡民们以为神明会保佑自己，纷纷去上香。
   xiang1min2 men0 yi3wei2 shen2ming2 hui4 bao3you4
   villager PL think gods will bless
   zi4ji3 fen1fen1 qu4 shang4xiang1
   self one_after_another go offer_incense
   ‘The villagers thought the god would bless them and went to offer incense.’

   e. 老板交代秘书到自己家里去取钱。
   lao3ban3 jiao1dai4 mi4shu1 dao4 zi4ji3 jia1 li3
   boss tell secretary PREP self home in
   qu4 qu3 qian2
   go get money
   ‘The boss asked his secretary to go to his home to get some money.’
A derived reflexive pronoun predominantly appears in the same clause with its antecedent. It is typical for the derived reflexive pronoun and its antecedent to occupy the object and the subject positions, respectively, as in [54] below:

[54] a. 我要对老婆说：“我要改变我自己”。
   wo3 yao4 dui1 lao3po0 shuo1 wo3 yao4 gai3bian4
   I want PREP wife talk I want change
   wo3 zi4ji3
   I self
   ‘I will tell my wife: “I will change myself.”’

b. 她只不过是自私的, 她只爱她自己。
   ta1 zhi3bu4guo4 shi4 zi4si1 de0 ta1 zhi3 ai4
   she only be selfish DE she only love
   ta1 zi4ji3
   she self
   ‘She is just selfish. She only loves herself.’

A reflexive pronoun can sometimes be found in a non-argument position. The 自己 zi4ji3 ‘self’ in [55] does not form a derived reflexive pronoun with 他 ta1 ‘he’ but rather is in the adverbial position of the clause following 银行账号 yin2hang2 zhang4hao4 ‘bank account.’ This emphasizes that it is the subject 他 ta1 ‘he’ who is using the bank account for his own benefit.

[55] 老总拿我的身份证开银行账号他自己用, 怎么办?
   lao3zong3 na2 wo3 de0 shen1fen4zheng4 kai1
   manager hold I DE id_card open
   yin2hang2 zhang4hao4 ta1 zi4ji3 yong4 zen3me0
   bank account_number he self use how
   ban4
do
   ‘The boss took my ID to open a bank account for himself. What should I do?’

The basic reflexive 自己 zi4ji3 ‘self’ has two colloquial counterparts – 自个儿 zi4ger0 ‘self,’ which is characteristically used by northerners, and 自家 zi4jia1 ‘self,’ which is used by southerners.

8.6.3. Interrogative pronouns
An interrogative pronoun predominantly represents an entity or a set of entities to be identified, namely, for new information to be provided. Of these, 谁 shui2 ‘who’ represents human beings and 什么 shen2me0 ‘what’ represents non-human
entities. An interrogative pronoun can function as the modifier of certain nouns to form compounds like 谁家 who's home,' 什么地方 where,' 什么时候 when,' 什么原因 reason,' and 什么书 what book.' The interrogative morpheme 怎 how does not appear independently but can form compounds like 怎么 how,' 怎样 how,' and 怎么样 (in) what way, how.'

An interrogative pronoun or compound typically functions as the variable in a question in which the speaker wants to learn the identity of something. The who 谁 'who,' 什么 what,' and 什么地方 where' in [56a], [56b], and [56c], respectively, are all to be replaced in the answer by nominal phrases representing an appropriate entity or a set of entities.

[56]   a. 你在跟谁说话啊?
    ni3 zai4 gen1 shui2 shuo1hua4 a1
    you ZAI PREP who talk A
    ‘Who are you talking to?’

   b. 你说咱们吃什么呢?
    ni3 shuo1 zan2men0 chi1 shen2me0 ne0
    you talk we eat what NE
    ‘What do you say we should eat?’

   c. 什么地方出产的莲子最好吃?
    shen2me0 di4fang0 chu1chan3 de0 lian2zi3 zui4
    what place produce DE lotus_seeds most
    hao3chi1
delicious
    ‘Which place produces the best lotus seeds?’

Interrogative pronouns or compounds in variable questions behave like nominal phrases in that they stay in the position where nominal phrases are typically called for. The speaker of [56b] uses 什么 what' to inquire about the proper food and, in spite of its position inside an embedded clause, 什么 what' has scope over the entire sentence. The compound 什么地方 where' in [56c] also has scope over the whole sentence, in spite of its position inside a relative clause.

An interrogative pronoun or a compound sometimes functions as the adverbial in a sentence, such as the temporal adverbial 什么时候 when' in [57a] and the manner adverbial 怎样 how' in [57b].
In some rare cases, an interrogative pronoun does not stay in its usual position, such as the 什么 'what' in the topic position of [58a]. Although it requires an answer, [58a] is actually an echo question. When the speaker hears a topic-comment construction like [58b] and is not sure whether he has heard it right, he could utter [58a] to confirm the identity of the topic.

Interrogative pronouns or compounds can have a non-interrogative interpretation when they appear in certain environments. The 什么 'what' in [59a] appears in a yes–no question and should be interpreted as an existential quantifier. The 谁 'who' in [59b] falls under the scope of the inclusive adverb 都 'all' and should also be interpreted as an existential quantifier. The 什么 'what' in [59c] falls under the scope of the negative morpheme 没 'not' and has the interpretation of a negatively oriented polarity-sensitive item. 什么好看的衣服 什么 'what' in [59d] form a discontinuous unit with a fixed non-interrogative paired reading. The 什么 'what' in the adverbial clause should be interpreted as an existential quantifier, while the one in the main clause should be understood as a third-person pronoun referring back to the first 什么. The speaker uses 什么 'what' in [59e] not because he wants to know the identity of the book but because he has forgotten the name of the book. [59e] is not a variable question, nor does 什么 'what' need an answer.
8.6.4. Zero pronouns

A pronoun generally functions alone as a nominal phrase. It sometimes appears as a zero form, which is either anaphoric or deictic. The subject position of the embedded clause in [60a] is filled with a zero pronoun, which is most likely to refer to the matrix subject 老爸 lao3ba4 ‘Daddy.’ However, it would refer to the cleaning lady if [60a] was uttered as an answer to the question in [60b]. The zero pronouns in both cases are anaphoric. The zero pronoun in [60c], on the other hand, is deictic, and refers to something present in the environment.
8.6.5. Pronouns and possessive relation

Possessive pronouns are not an independent category, and possessive relation is predominantly represented by a construction consisting of a possessor phrase marked with the de0 ‘DE’ and a possessed phrase. The possessor phrase is either a pronoun, as in 我的家乡 wo3 de0 jia1xiang1 ‘my hometown,’ 咱们的老板 zan2men0 de0 lao3ban3 ‘our boss,’ 她的弟弟 ta1 de0 di4di0 ‘her younger brother,’ 人家的一块地 ren2jia1 de0 yi1 kuai4 di4 ‘somebody’s land,’ 自己的那家公司 zi4ji3 de0 na4 yi1 jia1 gong1si1 ‘one’s own company,’ and 谁的孩子 shui2 de0 hai2zi0 ‘whose child,’ or a nominal phrase, as in 爸爸的鞋 ba4ba0 de0 xie3 ‘father’s shoes,’ 楼上邻居的狗 lou2shang4 lin2ju1 de0 gou3 ‘upstairs neighbor’s dog,’ and 那幢房子的后墙 na4 zhuang4 fang2zi0 de0 hou4 qiang2 ‘that house’s rear wall.’

Since the possessor phrase has the same morphological configuration as a modifier phrase, a phrase like 他的书 ta1 de0 shu1 ‘his book, a book about him’ can represent not only a possessive relation but also a modification relation. This means that such a nominal phrase can have quite a number of readings. Some of the possible readings of 他的书 ta1 de0 shu1 ‘his book, a book about him’ are listed in [61], and the possessive reading is the most prominent one.

[61] a. 他拥有的书
    ta1  yong1you3  de0  shu1
    he own DE book
    ‘the books that he owns’

b. 他写的书
    ta1  xie3  de0  shu1
    he write DE book
    ‘the books he wrote’
c. 他装帧的书
ta1 zhuang1 zhen1 de0 shu1
he bind lay_out DE book
'the books he decorated'

d. 他背着的书
ta1 bei1 zhe0 de0 shu1
he carry ZHE DE book
'the books he is carrying'

e. 他卖的书
ta1 mai4 de0 shu1
he sell DE book
'the books he is selling'

f. 他负责编辑的书
ta1 fu4ze2 bian1ji2 de0 shu1
he be_in_charge edit DE book
'the books he edited'

When the possessed is represented by a nominal phrase with a demonstrative in DET, the marker 的 de0 ‘DE’ of the possessor phrase can sometimes be left out, as in [62].

[62]  a. 我家那房子的天然气初装费要 2800。
wo3 jia1 na4 fang2zi0 de0 tian1ran2qi4 chu1
I home that house DE natural_gas first
zhuang1 fei4 yao4 2800
install fee need 2800
'The natural gas installation fee for our house is 2,800 dollars.'

b. 我这表妹野着呢。
wo3 zhe4 biao3mei4 ye3 zhe0 ne0
I this younger_female_cousin wild ZHE NE
'This cousin of mine is really wild.'

When the possessed is a kinship term or represents inalienable possession such as body parts, the possessed phrase will be definite. The 的 de0 ‘DE’ in such a possessive phrase could also be left out, even though there is no lexical demonstrative in the DET position of the possessed phrase. The subject in [63a] and [63b] thus has the same structure as a possessive construction marked with the de0 ‘DE.’
8.7. Apposition
An appositive modifier is one which when substituted for the whole nominal phrase in a declarative sentence always yields a sentence that is an entailment of the original, as shown by 刘翔 ‘Liu Xiang’ in [64] below:

[64] a. 刘翔这位冠军来自上海。
liu2xiang2 zhe4 wei4 guan4jun1 lai2zi4
LIU_XIANG this CL champion come_from
shang4hai3
SHANGHAI
‘Liu Xiang the champion came from Shanghai.’

b. 刘翔来自上海。
liu2xiang2 lai2zi4 shang4hai3
LIU_XIANG come_from SHANGHAI
‘Liu Xiang came from Shanghai.’

8.7.1. Appositives
A prominent property of appositive nominal phrases is that the modifier and the modified can appear as the variable and value in a specifying copular sentence and the order can be reversed, as in [65b] and [65c].

[65] a. 刘翔这位冠军。
liu2xiang2 zhe4 wei4 guan4jun1
LIU_XIANG this CL champion
‘Liu Xiang the champion.’

b. 这位冠军是刘翔。
zhe4 wei4 guan4jun1 shi4 liu2xiang2
this CL champion be LIU_XIANG
‘The champion is Liu Xiang.’
c. 刘翔是这位冠军。
   liu2xiang2 shi4 zhe4 wei4 guan4jun1
   LIU_XIANG be this CL champion
   'Liu Xiang is the champion.'

Appositive modifiers are often proper names, but it is possible for a proper name to be the modified and a definite nominal phrase to be the modifier, as in [66].

[66] 结果只好买这个唯一的国货品牌李宁。
   jie2guo3 zhi3hao3 mai3 zhe4 wei2yi1 de0
   as_a_result have_to buy this only DE
   guo2huo4 pin3pai2 li3ning2
domestic_goods trademark LI_NING
   'By the end, I had to pick the only domestic brand LI Ning.'

The appositive modifier can be a pronoun as well, as in [67] below.

[67] a. 你怎么就看上了我这个穷小子?
   ni3 zen3me0 jiu4 kan4shang4 le0 wo3 zhe4 ge4
   you why thus favor LE I this CL
   qiong2 xiao3zi0
   poor boy
   'How come you fell in love with a poor chap like me?'

b. 他们那几个混混根本不值得一提。
   ta1men0 na4 ji3 ge4 hun4hun0 gen1ben3 bu4
   they that several CL punks at_all NEG
   zhi2de2 yi1 ti
   worth one mention
   'They, the punks, are not worth mentioning at all.'

8.7.2. Appositive versus non-appositive modifiers

The defining feature of an appositive modifier is that the modifier and modified stand for the same set of entities. This distinguishes it from other modifiers with similar linear order like that in [68a]. The proper noun 王总 wang2 zong3 ‘CEO Wang’ and the pronoun 他们 ta1men0 ‘they’ also form a modification relation, but 王总 wang2 zong3 ‘CEO Wang’ and 他们 ta1men0 ‘they’ refer to different people, even though the former is a subset of the latter. This phrase should be interpreted as ‘the guys with CEO Wang as the representative.’ The same can be said about the two elements in 李勇他们 li3yong3 ta1men0 ‘the people of whom Li Yong is the representative’ in [68b]. On the other hand, 李勇他们 li3yong3 ta1men0 ‘the people of whom Li Yong is the representative’ and 这几个废物 zhe4 ji3 ge4 fei4wu4 ‘these
good-for-nothing' refer to the same group of people, and they can function as the variable and value in a specifying copular sentence. Thus, these two form an appositive relation.

[68]  a. 王总他们在里面开会。
   Wang2zong3 ta1men0 zai4 li3mian4 kai1hui4
   CEO_WANG they PREP inside have_a_meeting
   ‘CEO WANG and his people are holding a meeting inside.’

   b. 李勇他们这几个废物！
      Li3yong3 ta1men0 zhe4 ji3 ge4 fei4wu4
      LI_YONG they this several CL good_for_nothing
      ‘They are a good-for-nothing bunch, Li Yong and his cohorts!’

8.7.3. Appositive versus complement modifiers
The appositive relation is unique in that the marker 的 de0 ‘DE’ never appears when an appositive phrase modifies a nominal phrase. Another uniqueness of an appositive modifier is that it can substitute the whole nominal phrase in a declarative sentence to yield a reading that is an entailment of the original. This distinguishes appositive modifiers from complement clauses marked with 的 de0 ‘DE’ like the one in [69a], because the latter does not necessarily yield the entailment. Although 那篇报导 na4 pian1 bao4dao3 ‘that news report’ is indeed 玉树发生 7.1 级地震 yu4shu4 fa1sheng1 7.1 ji2 di4zhen4 ‘a 7.1 earthquake occurred in Yushu,’ the latter cannot substitute the whole nominal phrase to yield an entailment. Thus, [69b] has a reading different from that of [69a].

[69]  a. 玉树发生 7.1 级地震的那篇报导来得很及时。
   yu4shu4 fa1sheng1 7.1 ji2 di4zhen4 de0 na4
   Yushu happen 7.1 level earthquake DE that
   pian1 bao4dao3 lai2 de2 hen3 ji2shi2
   CL news_report come DE very in_time
   ‘The news report that a 7.1 earthquake happened in Yushu came in time.’

   b. 玉树发生 7.1 级地震来得很及时。
      yu4shu4 fa1sheng1 7.1 ji2 di4zhen4 lai2 de2
      Yushu happen 7.1 level earthquake come DE
      hen3 ji2shi2
      very in_time
      ‘That a 7.1 earthquake happened in Yushu came in time.’
8.8. Referential and non-referential use of nominal phrases

8.8.1. Referentiality and denotation

Nouns and nominal phrases represent entities in the real world or some fictional world. Nominal phrases are mostly referential in the sense that, by using one in a given occasion, a speaker intends it to pick out an entity or a set of entities as its referent, which is independently distinguishable by properties other than those inherent in the meaning of the phrase itself. This means that the reference relation between a nominal phrase and its referent is typically context-dependent. The "this kind of mobile phone" in [70] represents inherently a set of entities of a particular type, and can be used on different occasions to refer to many distinct sets. In this particular sentence, it refers to the set that has been mentioned in the previous discourse or is present in the environment, and is therefore referential and definite.

[70] 这种手机最近不怎么好卖。
"this CL cell_phone recently NEG very good sell"
‘These cell phones do not sell well recently.’

Nouns are not themselves referential. Although "this kind of mobile phone" in [70] is referential, the "mobile phone" in its N position is not, since "mobile phone" only refers to a type of entity. The semantic relation between the type and the noun "mobile phone" is termed “denotation” and the type is also known as denotation.

8.8.2. Referential and non-referential nominal phrases

Nouns themselves have denotation but do not have reference. By contrast, nominal phrases, including bare NPs that look like nouns, are mostly referential but some of them are used non-referentially at times.

8.8.2.1. Co-referential pronouns as a test for referentiality

In straightforward cases like that in [71], the difference between referential and non-referential nominal phrases can be brought out by testing whether a co-referential personal pronoun can be added in a separate clause:
8.8.2.2. Nominal phrases that are inherently non-referential

Some nominal phrases are predominantly not independently distinguishable and are therefore non-referential. An interrogative phrase like the 什么地方  shen2me0  di4fang0 ‘where’ in [72a] is not referential since it cannot be identified with any entity or set of entities. A free choice existential quantifier can be non-referential under certain circumstances. The 任何生物  ren4he2  sheng1wu4 ‘any living thing’ in [72b] falls under this category. The most prominent reading of [72b] is that the predicate 都必须进行呼吸  dou1 bi4xu1 jin4xing2 hu1xi1 ‘all must breathe’ applies to any arbitrary subset of the types of entities denoted by 生物  sheng1wu4 ‘living thing.’ The nominal phrase 任何生物  ren4he2  sheng1wu4 ‘any living thing’ is not identifiable with any particular set of entities and is therefore non-referential.
8.8.2.3. Nominal phrases expressing pure quantity

A bare NUM–CLP can at times be found in sentences describing a pure quantitative relationship, in the sense that the speaker is using the denotation of the noun and the quantity represented by the numeral-classifier without picking out any set of entities as the referent of the phrase. Both 五斤面粉 wu3 jin1 mian4fen3 ‘five half-kilo of flour’ and 四十个馒头 si4shi2 ge4 man2tou0 ‘forty buns’ in [73a] are used here to describe the amount of flour needed for making a certain number of buns, but not to identify any particular flour or buns. The relationship between 一张床 yi1 zhang1 chuang2 ‘one bed’ and 三个人 san1 ge4 ren2 ‘three persons’ in [73b] is also that of pure quantity.

8.8.2.4. Nominal phrases related to activities

Bare NPs are occasionally found in verb phrases describing types of activities, such as the 读书 du2shu1 ‘read book’ in [74]. The bare NP 书 shu1 ‘book’ in this case does not represent any particular set of books, neither does it represent books as a type of entity. 书 shu1 ‘book’ is part of an activity verb phrase that means
‘going to school’ and cannot serve as the antecedent of any pronominal. Thus, it is non-referential.

[74] 我要读书。
    wo3 yao4 du2shu1
    I want read
    ‘I want to go to school.’

8.8.3. Definiteness and genericity
The reference of a nominal phrase is characteristically context-dependent. When the speaker expects the listener to be able to identify the referent of a nominal phrase, he will use a definite phrase, namely, one with a demonstrative in DET. When the speaker does not expect the speaker to be able to identify anything, he will use an indefinite nominal phrase, which predominantly has no lexical indefinite determinative in DET.

A nominal phrase will have a generic reading when it is in the scope of an expression denoting unlimited states, namely, a situation type that potentially holds for all times. A nominal phrase with a generic reading prototypically appears as a bare NP and it characteristically refers to a type of entity. The 宠物 chong3wu4 ‘pets’ in [75a] refers to pets as a type of animal and the neighbor’s love for them seems to hold for as long as she lives. The 蘑菇 mo2gu1 ‘mushrooms’ in [75b] refers to a type of living thing and the statement 是一种真菌 shi4 yi1 zhong3 zhen1jun1 ‘be a type of fungi’ holds for all time. These two bare NPs have a generic reading.

[75] a. 邻居喜欢养宠物。
    lin2ju1 xi3huan1 yang3 chong3wu4
    neighbor like raise pet
    ‘Our neighbor loves to keep pets.’

b. 蘑菇是一种真菌。
    mo2gu1 shi4 yi1 zhong3 zhen1jun1
    mushroom be one CL fungus
    ‘Mushrooms are a type of fungi.’

8.9. Proper names, proper nouns, and vocatives

8.9.1. Proper names and proper nouns
Proper names are expressions that have been conventionally adopted as the name of a particular entity or a set of entities, while proper nouns are those that are specialized in the function of heading proper names. Although proper names and proper nouns have distinctive properties, they are not represented with distinctive orthographic shapes.
The most common proper names are personal names like 李白 lìbái ‘LI Bai’ and 司马迁 sīmǎqiān ‘SIMA Qian,’ in which the first part is the family name while the second part is the given name. Other proper names include place names, such as 咸阳市 xiányángshì ‘City of Xianyang’ and 吉林省 jǐlínshěng ‘Jilin Province,’ and names for ethnic groups, such as 苗族 miao2zu2 ‘Miao, Mhong’ and 瑶族 yáo2zu2 ‘Yao.’

Proper names sometimes have a proper noun as the head, such as 小李 xiǎo lǐ ‘Little Li,’ 黑彝 hēi yí ‘Black Yi,’ and 北疆 běijīāng ‘Northern Xinjiang,’ while they at other times have a common noun as the head, such as 北京大学 běijīngdàxué ‘Peking University,’ 安徽中心 ānhuīzhōngxīn ‘Anhui Center,’ and 鲁迅文学奖 luòxún wénxué jiǎng ‘the LU Xun Literature Prize.’

8.9.2. Vocatives

Nominal phrases sometimes serve as terms of address, namely, as vocatives. Common vocatives include proper names, as in [76a], occupational terms, as in [76b], kinship terms, as in [76c], official titles, as in [76d], status terms, as in [76e], general terms, as in [76f], and derogative terms, as in [76g].

[76]  

a. 毛晓铭, 请你到后台来。
máoxiǎomíng qǐng nǐ dào huítái lai  
‘MAO Xiaoming, please come to the back stage.’

b. 大夫, 我能不能不打针?
dàfū wǒ néng bù néng bù dàzhēn  
‘Doctor, could I not have the shot?’

c. 舅妈, 给点水喝。
jiùmā gěi diǎn shuǐ hē  
‘Auntie, [please] give me some water to drink.’

d. 刘校长, 请进。
líu xiàoqūzhǎng qǐng jìn  
‘President LIU, please come in.’

e. 大人, 饶命。
dàrén ráomìng  
‘Your Highness, spare one’s life.’
8.10. Nominal phrases as propositions, predicates, or sentences
Declarative sentences are mainly used to assert propositions, which have truth values, but a phrase or a combination of phrases may also at times assert propositions.

8.10.1. Propositional nominal phrases
Phrases that can assert propositions independently include verb phrases, adjective phrases, and nominal phrases.

8.10.1.1. Proposition-asserting verb phrases
A verb phrase asserting a proposition typically represents an action that normally requires some participant(s) in addition to the verb. The 跑了 pao3 le0 ‘have run away’ in [77a] requires an agent that is typically animate. It can assert a proposition only when it appears in a discourse where some entity capable of running has been mentioned or is identifiable in the environment. If the entity has not run away, the proposition is false. The four verb phrases 毕业 bi4ye4 ‘graduate,’ 留校任教 liu2xiao4 ren4jiao4 ‘stay at the same school to teach,’ 结婚 jie2hun1 ‘get married,’ and 生孩子 sheng1 hai2zi0 ‘have kids’ in [77b] all require an agent in order to assert propositions and its identity has to be recoverable from the context.

[77]

a. 跑了。
   pao3 le0
   run LE
   ‘(It/he/she/they) has run away.’

b. 后来比较简单了。
   hou4lai2 jiu4 bi3jiao4 jian3dan1 le0 bi4ye4
   later thus relatively simple LE graduate
8.10.1.2. Proposition-asserting adjective phrases

An adjective phrase asserting a proposition typically describes the property of an entity or a set of entities. The exclamative sentence in [78a] consists of just 漂亮 piaoliang0 ‘beautiful’ but nevertheless asserts a complete proposition with a truth value. The proposition makes sense only when a set of entities with the property of 漂亮 piaoliang0 ‘beautiful’ is identifiable in the environment or in the relevant discourse. If the set does not have that property, the proposition is false. The 很硬 hen3 ying4 ‘very hard,’ 很凉 hen3 liang2 ‘very cold,’ and 很不舒服 hen3 bu4 shufu0 ‘very uncomfortable’ in [78b] all describe properties of an entity, most likely the 地板 di4ban3 ‘floor’ in the previous clause. Each property asserts a proposition that would be false if the 地板 di4ban3 ‘floor’ did not have that property.

[78] a. 漂亮!
piaoliang0
beautiful
Beautiful!

b. 她躺在地板上。很硬。很凉。很不舒服。
ta1 tang3 zai4 di4ban3 shang4 hen3 ying4 hen3 liang2 hen3 bu4 shufu0
she lie PREP floor on very hard very cold very NEG comfortable
‘She was lying on the floor. (It was) hard. (It was) cold. (It was) uncomfortable.’

8.10.1.3. Proposition-asserting nominal phrases

The most prominent feature of proposition-asserting nominal phrases is that they can assume different roles in the proposition. The exclamative sentence in [79a] represents the speaker’s admiration for a particular dog identifiable in the immediate environment, while 好聪明的小狗 hao3 conming2 de0 xiaogou3 ‘a smart little dog’ denotes a subset of dogs. The proposition of [79a] is true if the dog in question has the relevant properties and belongs to that subset. Sentence [79b] is part of a conversation in a business transaction. The proposition asserted by 三千块 san1qian1 kuai4 ‘three thousand (dollars)’ is true if the exact amount of money changes hands but is false if the amount is not correct or no transaction
takes place. [79c] is also an exclamative sentence and the proposition is true if there is a fire in the immediate environment. The two nominal phrases in [79d] appear at the beginning of a novel to assert two separate propositions, which are falsifiable depending on whether the story happens in a suffocating summer and whether there is a burning sun. The first six nominal phrases in [79e] form a list of things to be worried about in life. Each of them asserts a proposition that will become false if it is not a 烦恼 fan2nao3 ‘worry.’

[79] 
a. 好聪明的小狗!
    hao3 cong1ming0 de0 xiao3 gou3
    'What a smart puppy!'  
b. 三千块。
    san1qian1 kuai4
    'Three thousand dollars.'  
c. 火!起火了!
    huo3 qi3huo3 le0
    'Fire! There is a fire!'  
d. 炎夏, 如火的骄阳。
    yan2xia4 ru2 huo3 de0 jiao1yang2
    'Hot summer. The burning sun.'  
e. 工作、工资、房子、房价、孩子、学校、无穷无尽的烦恼。
    gong1zuo4 gong1zi1 fang2zi0 jiao1yang2 fang2jia4 hai2zi0
    job salary house housing_price child
    xue2xiao4 wu2qiong2wu2jin4 de0 fan2nao3
    school endless DE worry

Another way for a nominal phrase to assert a proposition is for it to appear as the simple answer to a variable question. Such a nominal phrase asserts a proposition that is the equivalent of a complete answer to the question, as in [80].

[80] 
a. A: 您找谁?
    nin2 zhao3 shui2
    thou seek who
    'Who are you looking for?'
8.10.2. Nominal predicates

Two nominal phrases occasionally work together to assert a proposition, usually playing the roles of subject and predicate. The way in which the proposition is asserted differs from case to case.

8.10.2.1. Nominal predicates with a conventionalized interpretation

Sentences with a nominal phrase as the predicate appear predominantly in informal speech or in genres that mimic casual speech. It is quite common for such a sentence to bear a reading that fits conventions in daily life. Sentence [81a] asserts a proposition that is true if the speaker’s sister-in-law is from Hunan. This is the most prominent relation between a person and a birthplace, which is the meaning of 湖南人 hu2nan2 ren2 ‘a person (born) in Hunan.’ Sentence [81b] asserts a proposition that will be true if Han Han is twenty-seven years old. This is the typical relation between a person and an age. Given the conventions of society, the most typical relation between 今天 jin1tian1 ‘today’ and 星期三 xing1qi2san1 ‘Wednesday’ in [81c] is that the two describe the same point of time, namely, the day when the sentence is uttered is a Wednesday.
The proposition asserted by [81a] is true if the speaker's sister-in-law is from Hunan. If a proposition with an opposite truth condition is to be asserted, a copular is shi4 ‘be’ is needed to support not bu4 ‘not,’ as in [82a]. Similarly, [82b] and [81b] have opposite truth conditions. [82c] and [81c] also have opposite truth conditions.

[82] a. 我嫂子不是湖南人。
wo3 sao3zi0 bu4 shi4 hu2nan2 ren2
I sister_in_law NEG be Hunan_province people
‘My sister-in-law is not from Hunan Province.’

b. 韩寒才二十七岁。
han2han2 bu4 shi4 cai2 er4shi2qi1 sui4
HAN_HAN NEG be just twenty-seven year
‘HAN Han is not just twenty-seven years old.’

c. 今天星期三。
jin1tian1 bu4 shi4 xing1qi1san1
today NEG be Wednesday
‘Today is not Wednesday.’

Sentence [83] also asserts a proposition based on conventions. The prototypical relation between a location and an entity is that of existence and [83] is true if the peanut shells are on the table. In order to assert a proposition with an opposite truth condition, an existential verb you3 ‘there be’ is needed to support not mei2 ‘not,’ as in sentence [84].
8.10.2.2. Nominal predicates with a context-dependent interpretation

A sentence with a nominal phrase as the predicate may occasionally have the potential of asserting a number of propositions and which one is actually asserted depends on the context. If the clause 你一条腿 ni3 yi1 tiao2 tui3 ‘you one leg’ in [85a] appears in isolation, the most likely proposition it asserts would be that the listener has just one leg. In the story from which [85a] is extracted, the hero got some extra pay and treated his buddies to some chicken. This clear context coerces the clause to assert a proposition that is true if some of his buddies ate a chicken leg, and forces 他一块胸脯 ta1 yi1 kuai4 xiong1pu2 ‘he one breast’ to assert a proposition that is true if some other buddies ate a piece of chicken breast. The clause 助理工程师二室一厅 zhu4li3 gong1cheng2shi1 er4 shi1 yi1 ting1 ‘assistant engineers two-bedroom’ in [85b] is coordinated with 工程师住三室一厅 gong1cheng2shi1 zhu4 san1 shi1 yi1 ting1 ‘engineers live in three-bedroom’ and it is natural for the two to assert parallel propositions. The two propositions are true if engineers live in three-bedroom apartments while assistant engineers live in two-bedroom apartments. The two clauses in [85c] could assert quite a number of propositions, but in the context of a meeting on literature research, it is most logical for them to assert propositions about topics. 们都莎士比亚 ni3men0 dou1 sha1shi4bi3ya4 ‘you all Shakespeare’ is true when all researchers other than the speaker are planning to study Shakespeare, while 我就乔叟 wo3 jiu4 qiao2sou3 ‘I then Chaucer’ is true when the speaker is planning to study Chaucer.

[85] a. 他买了四只鸡, 大伙儿你一条腿, 他一块胸脯, 真过瘾。
   ta1 mai3 le0 si4 zhi1 ji1   da4huo3er0   ni3
   he  buy   LE four   CL   chicken  everyone  you
yi1 tiao2 tui3 ta1 yi1 kuai4 xiong1pu2 zhen1
one CL leg he one CL chest really
guo4ying3
satisfy
‘He bought four (pieces of) chicken. Somebody ate a leg, and somebody
else ate a piece of breast. It was great.’

b. 住房分配上规定: 工程师住三室一厅, 助理工程师二室一厅。
zhu4fang2 fen1pei4 shang4 gui1ding4 gong1cheng2shi1
housing allot on stipulate engineer
zhu4 san1 shi4 yi1 ting1 zhu4li3
live three room one living_room assistant
gong1cheng2shi1 er4 shi4 yi1 ting1
engineer two room one living_room
‘In terms of housing arrangement, an engineer gets a three-bedroom
apartment and an assistant engineer gets a two-bedroom one.’

c. 你们都莎士比亚, 我就乔叟。
ni3men0 dou1 sha1shi4bi3ya4 wo3 jiu4 qiao2sou3
you all Shakespeare I thus Chaucer
‘You all want to study Shakespeare. I will therefore study Chaucer.’

8.10.2.3. Nominal predicates with shifted meaning
In some rare cases, a nominal phrase undergoes a semantic shift when it asserts
a proposition. Such a shift is predominantly a one-off effort to achieve a certain
rhetorical effect, but the shift may sometimes settle down to create a new word.
The绅士 shen1shi4 ‘gentleman’ in [86a] does not denote a type of male human
being but instead represents a type of action, namely, to act like gentlemen. The
new meaning of绅士 shen1shi4 ‘gentleman’ brings in some syntactic properties
that were not available before the shift in meaning, such as being modified by
the adverbial 就 jiu4 ‘then.’ The高山流水 gao1shan1liu2shui3 ‘high mountains
and running water’ in [86b] represent both real entities and a famous classic
music piece. In this context, they represent properties of the music produced by a
古筝 gu3zheng1 ‘guzheng,’ a string instrument. Because of the shift in meaning,
高山流水 gao1shan1liu2shui3 ‘high mountains and running water’ behave like
adjectives and are modified by a degree adverbial 非常 fei1chang2 ‘extremely.’
林黛玉 lin2dai4yu4 ‘LIN Daiyu’ in [86c] is a heroine in the classic novel红楼梦
hong2lou2meng4 ‘Dream of the Red Chamber’ and is well known for her delicate
feeling toward everything. In this particular sentence, 林黛玉 lin2dai4yu4 ‘LIN
Daiyu’ embodies the properties represented by this fictional character, namely,
very tender and often crying over fallen flowers. It is therefore modified by a degree adverbial 那么 na4me0 'so.'

[86]  a. 好, 我们就绅士一次, 帮帮小姐。
    hao4 wo3men0 jiu4 shen1shi4 yi1 ci4 bang1bang1
good we thus gentleman one CL aid
xiao3jie3
lady
'OK. Let’s act as gentlemen for once and help the lady.'

b. 我喜欢古筝, 非常古典, 非常高山流水。
    wo3 xi3huan1 gu3zheng1 fei1chang2 gu3dian3
I like guzheng very classical
fei1chang2 gao1shang1liu2shui3
very high_mountains_and_running_water
'I like guzheng. It sounds very classical and is very vivid.'

c. 花开花落都是天命, 现代社会不再那么林黛玉。
    hua1 kai1 hua1 luo4 dou1 shi4 tian1ming4
flower open flower fall all be fate
xian4dai4 she4hui4 bu2zai4 na4me0 lin2dai4yu4
modern society no_more that LIN_DAIYU
'It is fate that flowers blossom or shed. Modern society is no longer that fragile.'

The 阳光 yang2guang1 'sunshine' in [87] has been a typical noun up until the end of the twentieth century, representing a type of entity. It then appeared in a popular song to represent the typical properties of modern teenage boys and girls, such as being bright, cheerful, and energetic. The shift in meaning went further when the same word started to appear in formal genres to mean being transparent, clean, and open in politics and government operations. The ad hoc usage of 阳光 yang2guang1 'sunshine' has now settled down and 阳光 has become an adjective, while remaining a noun with a different meaning.

[87] 她是一个非常开朗非常阳光、很聪明很上进的女孩。
    ta1 shi4 yi1 ge4 fei1chang2 kai1lang3 fei1chang2
she be one CL very cheerful very
yang2guang1 hen3 cong1ming0 hen3 shang4jin4 de0
sunshine very smart very diligent DE
nü3hai2
girl
'She is an extremely cheerful, extremely bright, very smart, and very diligent girl.'
8.10.3. Combination of nominal phrases and sentence-final particles

A nominal phrase can at times be combined with a sentence-final particle to form a sentence. The particle not only gives a sentential status to the combination but also marks the sentence type, while the nominal phrase represents the core information of the sentence. In sentence [88a], 明天 ming2tian1 ‘tomorrow’ represents the new information added to the current discourse and the particle 呢 ne0 ‘NE’ indicates that this is a variable question or an A-not-A question. A possible scenario for using this question is that several friends were discussing activities for that day and one of them wanted to know the activities for the next day. Another possible scenario is that they went hiking that day and someone wanted to know whether they would do the same the next day. The former is a variable question while the latter is an A-not-A question. The same range of readings is available for [88b] and [88c], but [88c] can also be used to inquire about things in the immediate environment. A typical scenario is that a mother asked her son the whereabouts of her husband when she did not see him.

[88]  a. 明天呢?
   ming2tian1 ne0
tomorrow NE
   i. ‘What are we going to do tomorrow?’
   ii. ‘Will we do the same tomorrow?’

b. 你呢?
   ni3 ne0
   you NE
   ‘Where will you go?’
   ‘Will you do it?’

c. 你爸爸呢?
   ni3 ba4ba0 ne0
   you father NE
   ‘Where is your father?’

The question in [89] consists of 中文系 zhong1wen2xi4 ‘Department of Chinese,’ which represents information newly introduced to the discourse, and the particle 吗 ma0 ‘MA,’ which is associated with a yes–no question. The question has many possible readings. One of them is that the speaker is asking whether the Department of Chinese is the destination of a letter, in the context that several clerks are talking about outgoing mail. Such a question can be used to inquire about things in the immediate environment as well, such as a person at the door of an office asking about the identity of the department.
The nominal phrase 妈 ma1 ‘mother’ in [90] is referential, referring to the speaker’s mother, and the sentence-final particle 呀 ya1 ‘YA’ marks an exclamative sentence. The combination represents the speaker’s surprise, fear, or joy, very much like the English expression “Oh my God!”

One of the functions of sentence-final particles is to bear the special intonation pattern associated with a particular sentence type. The particle 妈 ma0 ‘MA’ in [89] bears a rising intonation in normal speech. If 妈 ma0 ‘MA’ is taken out of [89] and the rising intonation falls on the last syllable of the nominal phrase 中文系 zhong1wen2xi4 ‘Department of Chinese,’ the sentence will remain a yes–no question. The sentence-final particle 呀 ya0 ‘YA’ in [90] bears a falling intonation. If the particle is taken out, the syllable 妈 ma1 ‘mother’ can be prolonged to bear the falling intonation. However, a prolonged 妈 ma1 ‘mother’ with a falling intonation represents several interpretations, such as an exclamative for grumbling, charming, or arguing. Thus, the surprise reading actually becomes less prominent.
Relative constructions
Stephen Matthews and Virginia Yip

This chapter deals with the modification of nouns by relative clauses. A relative clause is a clause (containing minimally a verb) that specifies the reference of a noun phrase. The types of relative clauses discussed in this chapter are shown in Figure 9.1.

Relative clauses share the same position as other modifiers, as shown in Figure 9.2. The prenominal position leads to two characteristics of Chinese relative clauses, the first of which is the lack of relative pronouns (such as who, which, and that) or relative adverbs (such as when, where, why, and how). The syntactic and semantic functions of these pronouns are fulfilled by the head noun. Hence, instead of relative adverbs, we find general nouns denoting time, location, cause, manners, etc., frequently used as head nouns in a relative clause to indicate the relation between the relative clause and the head noun (e.g., 时候 shìhòu ‘time,’ 地方 dìfāng ‘place,’ 原因 yuányǐn ‘reason,’ and 样子 yàngzi ‘way’). The second characteristic of Chinese relative clauses is the relation between the relative clause and the head noun, which is restrictive. The restrictive relation between the relative clause and the head noun is typically based on the event described by the relative clause. When the head noun serves a grammatical function of the relative clause, the relative clause can be classified as a subject relative clause,

Relative clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>With grammatical relations</th>
<th>Without grammatical relations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>Object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indirect object/oblique</td>
<td>Possessive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 9.1 Classification of noun-modifying constructions

[[[ MODIFYING PHRASE ] 的 de ‘DE’ Noun]
Figure 9.2 Template for noun-modifying phrases
an object relative clause, etc. (see section 9.2.). If there is no explicit grammatical
function for the head noun, the head noun typically refers explicitly to its eventive
relation with the relative clause (see section 9.3.).

9.1. Basic properties of relative clauses
Modifiers in Chinese consistently precede the noun (see Chapter 8) and this gener-
alization also applies to relative clauses and other clauses that modify a noun. The
prenominal placement of the relative clause has a number of properties, based on
the fact that relative clauses are relatively long or are “heavy” constituents.

A summary of basic properties of relative clauses is as follows:

1. It is rare for more than one clause to modify a noun, especially in spoken
language.
2. Noun phrases modified by heavy relative clauses tend to be placed at the
beginning of the sentence through topicalization (see section 9.4.2.).
3. Relative clauses in spoken Chinese are essentially restrictive in function,
whereas those in European languages may be either restrictive or non-
restrictive.
4. A relative clause may consist of a phonetically null verb, whose overt recovery
is crucially determined by the event relation held between the modifying noun
and the modified noun, as exemplified in [1a]–[1e].

[1] a. (穿) 红衣服的女孩
   chuan1  hong2  yi1fu2  de0  nü3hai2
   wear    red  clothes  DE  girl
   ‘girls who wear a red coat’

   b. 木头(做) 的桌子
   mu4tou0  zuo4  de0  zhuo1zi0
   wood   make  DE  desk
   ‘tables made of wood’

   c. 剑桥出版社(出) 的书
   jian4qiao2  chu1ban3she4  chu1  de0  shu1
   Cambridge  publisher  publish  DE  book
   ‘books published by Cambridge University Press’

   d. 诚品(卖) 的书
   cheng2pin3  mai4  de0  shu1
   Eslite  sell  DE  book
   ‘books sold by Eslite Bookstore’
9.1.1. **DE** as a marker of modification

Relative clauses are part of a general pattern of noun modification where modifying phrases precede the noun and are linked to it by the particle \( \text{de0} \) ‘DE’ (see Chapter 8, section 8.2.2.). In example [2], the clause ‘used to live in Taipei’ modifies ‘Japanese people.’

\[2\] 以前住在台北的日本人

\[3\] 为什么男生都喜欢长头发的女孩？

\[4\] 守护甜心里面黄色头发很长的那个女孩是谁？

In the written language, the particle \( \text{zhi1} \) is used as a literary variant of \( \text{de0} \) ‘DE.’ In relative clauses, therefore, \( \text{zhi1} \) may appear in the same position as \( \text{de0} \) ‘DE,’ as shown in [5].
9.1.2. Word order variations in relative constructions

When a noun phrase includes a demonstrative and/or a numeral as well as a relative clause, alternative orderings are possible. In each case the classifier immediately follows the demonstrative/numeral as usual (see Chapter 7), giving two main alternative orders with different information structures but without meaning changes:

[i] [(Demonstrative) Number Classifier [RELATIVE CLAUSE] 的 de0 ‘DE’] [Noun]

[jia4gei3 ni3 de0 yi1bai3 ge4 li3you2
marry you DE one_hundred CL reason
‘a hundred reasons for marrying you’]

[ii] [(Demonstrative) Number Classifier [(RELATIVE CLAUSE) 的 de0 ‘DE’] Noun]

[yi1qian1 ge4 shang1xin1 de0 li3you2
one_thousand CL grief DE reason
‘A Thousand Reasons for Being Sad’ [title of a song]
9.1.3. Relative clauses as restrictive modifiers
In terms of semantics, relative clauses in Chinese are all restrictive. There are three cases. First, a relative clause can serve to restrict the reference of the head noun, as shown in [12].

[12] (成果)应归于曾栽培过他的老师。
result should attribute_to ever nurture GUO ta1 DE teacher
‘(The result) should be attributed to the teachers who have nurtured him.’

Here the relative clause 曾栽培过他 ceng2 zai1pei2 guo4 ta1 'have nurtured him' specifies that only those teachers who were involved in nurturing the scholar concerned deserve credit for the result.
Second, a relative clause can be used to restrict the situation type represented by the head noun in terms of time, location, cause, content of cognition, etc., as in [13]. A relative clause of this type typically entertains no grammatical relations with respect to the head noun (see section 9.3).

[13]  

a. 她写论文的日子  
\[\begin{array}{llll}
\text{ta1} & \text{xie3} & \text{lun4wen2} & \text{de0} \\
\text{she} & \text{write} & \text{thesis} & \text{DE} \\
\text{‘the days of her writing the thesis’}
\end{array}\]

b. 我家宝贝长高的原因  
\[\begin{array}{llllllllll}
\text{wo3} & \text{jia1} & \text{bao3bei4} & \text{zhang3gao1} & \text{de0} & \text{yuan2yin1} \\
\text{I} & \text{home} & \text{baby} & \text{grow_tall} & \text{DE} & \text{reason} \\
\text{‘the reason my baby has grown taller’}
\end{array}\]

c. 我唱歌的声音  
\[\begin{array}{lll}
\text{wo3} & \text{chang4ge1} & \text{de0} & \text{sheng1yin1} \\
\text{I} & \text{sing} & \text{DE} & \text{sound} \\
\text{‘the voice of my singing’}
\end{array}\]

Here the head nouns 日子 ri4zi0 ‘days,’ 原因 yuan2yin1 ‘cause,’ and 声音 sheng1yin1 ‘voice’ are restricted by the relative clauses 她写论文 ta1 xie3 lun4wen2 ‘she wrote the thesis,’ 我家宝贝 zhang3gao1 de0 ‘my baby has grown taller,’ and 我唱歌 wo3 chang4ge1 ‘I sing,’ respectively, with these clauses providing specifying information or indicating the topic of the day, cause, and voice concerned in context.

Third, a relative clause can serve to restrictively modify the head noun by means of specifying the situation type that is associated with the referent denoted by the head noun. This typically includes examples where the modifiee is a definite expression, a proper name, or a pronoun, as shown in [14a]–[14c], respectively.

[14]  

a. 戴眼镜的那个男生很高。  
\[\begin{array}{llllllllllll}
\text{dai4} & \text{yan3jing4} & \text{de0} & \text{na4} & \text{ge4} & \text{nan2sheng1} & \text{hen3} & \text{gao1} \\
\text{wear} & \text{glasses} & \text{DE} & \text{that} & \text{CL} & \text{boy} & \text{very} & \text{tall} \\
\text{‘That boy who wears glasses is very tall.’}
\end{array}\]

b. 跌倒的刘翔依然是中国的骄傲。  
\[\begin{array}{llllllllll}
\text{die1dao3} & \text{de0} & \text{liu2xiang2} & \text{yi1ran2} & \text{shi4} & \text{zhong1guo2} & \text{de0} & \text{DE} & \text{DE} & \text{DE} \\
\text{fall_down} & \text{DE} & \text{LIU_XIANG} & \text{still} & \text{be} & \text{China} & \text{DE} & \text{pride} \\
\text{‘The LIU Xiang that fell down is still the pride of China.’}
\end{array}\]
c. 未满十八岁的她看起来很羞涩。

wei4man3  shi2ba1  sui4  de0  ta1  kan4qi3lai2
have_not_yet_been  18  year  DE  she  look
hen3  xiu1se4
very  shy
‘She that is not yet 18 looks quite shy.’

Here the relative clauses perform two functions: to mark that the referent of the modifyee needs to be understood as being subcategorized, and to help identify the referent that is contextually concerned. To illustrate, [14a] is uttered most naturally in the context where the demonstrative does not suffice to pick out a unique referent, such as when there is more than one boy in the scene that might be referred to as 那个男生 na4  ge4  nan2sheng1 ‘that boy,’ while 戴眼镜 dai4  yan3jing4 ‘wears glasses’ can indicate which referent the speaker intends to refer to. 跌倒 die1dao3 ‘fell down’ in [14b] divides the referent of LIU Xiang in terms of the event that LIU Xiang participated in, along which line we may have the LIU Xiang who fell down in contrast with, for example, the LIU Xiang who won the medal. 未满 十八岁 wei4man3  shi2ba1  sui4 ‘is not yet 18’ in [14c] restricts 她 ta1 ‘she’ in terms of the particular life stage she is currently in, with 她 ta1 ‘she’ in different life stages being taken as different referents.

9.1.4. Headed and headless clauses

In the examples presented so far, the modified noun is the head of the noun phrase. The head noun can also be omitted, resulting in a “headless” relative clause. There are several circumstances in which a relative clause without a head noun is used:

1. When the reference of the missing noun is generic, as in “anyone who” or “anything that . . . ” exemplified by [15] and [16].

[15] 不会得奖的是谁?
bu4hui4  de2jiang3  de0  shi4  shui2
NEG_will  win_a_prize  DE  be  who
‘Who is it that will not win a prize?’

[16] 一个私家基金所能做到的, 国家当然也可以做到。
yi1  ge4  si1jia1  ji1jin1  suo3  neng2  zuo4dao4  de0
one  CL  private  fund  SUO  can  achieve  DE
guo2jia1  dang1ran2  ye3  ke3yi3  zuo4dao4
country  of_course  also  may  achieve
‘What a private fund or an individual can do, a country can naturally do too.’
In the subject position of emphatic constructions with the copula 是 shì ‘SHI,’ as shown in [17]–[19].

[17] 令人难以相信的是研究院内竟然处处脏乱不堪。
ling4 ren2 nan2yi3 xiang1xin4 de0 shì4
make people difficult believe DE be
yan2jiu1yu4nei4 jing4ran2 chu4chu4
research_center inside unexpectedly everywhere
zang1luan4 bu4kan1
dirty unbearably
‘What people find hard to believe is that inside the research center it is so dirty and untidy everywhere.’

[18] 也许他在拖地时，脑子里想的是尘螨与生态环境平衡的关系哩!
ye3xu3 ta1 zai4 tuo1di4 shì
maybe he PREP mop the floor when head
li3 xiang3 de0 shì4 chen2man2 yu3
inside think DE be dust mite and
sheng1tai4huan2jing4 ping2heng2 de0 guan1xi4 li0
ecology balance DE relationship LI
‘Perhaps when he is mopping the floor, what is in his mind is the relation between dust mites and ecological balance!’

[19] 陪伴高楼大厦的是交通的阻塞与环境的污染。
pei2ban4 gao1lou2da4sha4 de0 shì4
accompany high_buildings and large mansions DE be
jiao1tong1 de0 zu3se4 yu3 huan2jing4 de0 wu1ran3
traffic DE jam and environment DE pollution
‘What comes with skyscrapers are traffic jams and environmental pollution.’

Headless relative clauses also play a role in the 是 shì ‘SHI’... construction (see Chapter 17).

9.2. Grammatical relations in relative clauses

In a typical relative clause, the modified noun is understood as playing a particular grammatical role in the modifying clause. Based on the role of the modified noun, a number of subtypes of relative clause may be distinguished, such as subject relative clauses (see section 9.2.1.) and object relative clauses (see section 9.2.2.). In Chinese, as in other languages, subject and object relative clauses are much more frequent than other subtypes of relative clauses. In addition to the relative

...
clauses defined by grammatical relations between the noun and the modifying clause, other frequently used relative clauses rely on inherent eventive relation, such as time, location, and cause, with respect to the head noun (see section 9.3.).

The unusual combination of V–O order and prenominal relative clauses in Chinese (see section 9.1.) has implications for subject and object relative clauses. In particular, the word order in object relative clauses matches that of a main clause:

\[
\text{Main clause: } \begin{array}{c}
\text{NP} & \text{V} & \text{NP} \\
\text{(Subject)} & & \text{(Object)}
\end{array}
\]

Moreover, if we assume a gap within the relative clause (see section 9.2.1), the head noun is closer to the gap in the object relative clause than that in the subject relative clause:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Subject relative clause: } & \ [\emptyset \text{ V NP 的 de ‘DE’}] \ N \text{ (Subject)} \\
\text{Object relative clause: } & \ [\text{NP V } \emptyset \text{ 的 de ‘DE’}] \ N \text{ (Object)}
\end{align*}
\]

Since processing a relative clause involves linking the gap and the head noun that is understood as filling the gap, the shorter distance makes object relative clauses relatively easy to construct and interpret. These factors are thought to facilitate the construction and processing of relative clauses in Chinese. Whereas in English, subject relative clauses are simpler and more easily processed than object relative clauses, object relative clauses in Chinese are relatively easy to construct and to acquire.

9.2.1. Subject relative clauses

In a subject relative clause, the modified noun is understood as the subject of the modifying clause. The gap in the relative clause may be indicated by a zero (Ø), as in [20] and [21].

[20] Ø 已开始作业 的 新研究所
Ø yi3 kai1shi3 zuo4ye4 de0 xin1 yan2jiu1suo3
‘the new research center which has already started running’

[21] 阅读史料的时候发现了一些 Ø 使我大吃一惊的 事实。
yue4du2 shi3liao4 de0 shi2hou0 fa1xian4 le0
yi1xie1 Ø shi3 wo3 da4chi1yi1jing1 de0 shi4shi2
‘When reading through the historical text I discovered some facts that shocked me.’
In [20], 新研究所 xin1 yan2jiu1suo3 ‘the new research center’ is understood as the subject of the modifying clause 已开始作业 yi3 kai1shi3 zuo4ye4 ‘has started running.’ In [21], 事实 shi4shi2 ‘facts’ is understood as the subject of the predicate 使我大吃一惊 shi3 wo3 da4chi1yi1jing1 ‘made me shocked.’

9.2.2. Object relative clauses
In object relative clauses the modified noun is understood as the direct object of the modifying clause. This may be indicated by a zero in the object position of the modifying clause, as shown in [22].

[22] 路上行人闻到 Ø的味道 lu4 shang4 xing2ren2 wen2 dao4 Ø de0 wei4 dao4
‘the smells that people walking on the street smell’

Here the head noun 味道 wei4 dao4 ‘smells’ is understood as the object of the verb 闻到 wen2 dao4 ‘smell.’ Similarly, this can be seen in [23] and [24].

[23] 中研院和每一个学术机构都要认真寻找 Ø的策略 zhong1 yan2 yuan4 he2 mei3 yi1 ge4 xue2 shu4 ji1 gou4 dou1 yao4 ren2 zhen1 xun2 zhao3 Ø de0
‘a strategy which Academia Sinica and every academic institution needs to seriously pursue’

[24] 况且学术研究本身与它获得 Ø 的成果往往又是那么深奥难懂。 kuang4 qie3 xue2 shu4 yan2 jiu1 ben3 shen1 yu3 ta1 huo4 de2 Ø de0 cheng2 guo3 wang3 wang3 you4 shi4
‘Moreover, the academic institution itself and the results it obtains are always so complex and difficult to understand.’

The head noun can also serve as the direct object in a double-object construction such as the one with the verb 告诉 gao4 su4 ‘tell’ in [25].
The particle 所 suo3 ‘SUO’ appears most commonly in object relative clauses in formal registers. It immediately precedes the verb in the relative clause, as in [26].

[26] 有违一个[有文化的国度所应具有的]美学标准
you3wei2 yi1 ge4 you3 wen2hua4 de0 guo2du4
against one CL YOU culture DE state
suo3 ying1 ju4you3 de0 mei3xue2 biao1zhun3
SUO should have DE aesthetics standard
‘going against the aesthetic standards that a civilized nation should possess’

所 suo3 ‘SUO’ is associated with literary language and other formal registers. It matches the aesthetic content of its use, hence, the omission of 所 suo3 ‘SUO’ in object relative clauses will change the style but will not affect the meaning. 所 suo3 ‘SUO’ is commonly used in Bible translations, as illustrated in [27].

[27] 因为知道我所信的是谁, 也深信他能保全我所交付他的 (提摩太后书 1:12)。
yin1wei4 zhi1dao4 wo3 suo3 xin4 de0 shi4 shu2
because know I SUO believe DE SHI who
ye3 shen1xin4 ta1 neng2 bao3quan2 wo3 suo3
also firmly believe he can maintain I SUO
jiao1fu4 ta1 de0 ti2mo2tai4 hou4shu1 1:12
pay he DE Timothy second_book 1:12
‘For I know whom I have believed and I am convinced that he is able to guard what I have entrusted to him until that day.’ (2 Timothy 1:12)

所 suo3 ‘SUO’ also occurs in some set expressions, such as 所有的 suo3you3 de0 ‘all (that exist)’ and 我所说的 wo3 suo3 shuo1 de0 ‘what I am saying.’

9.2.3. Indirect object and oblique relatives
The head noun in the following relative clauses is understood as the indirect object of the modifying clause, as shown in [28] and [29].
Note the use of a “resumptive” pronoun; here the feminine form 她 ta1 ‘she’ refers forward to the head noun, as 客人 ke4ren2 ‘customer’ in [28] and as 女生 nü3sheng1 ‘woman’ in [29]. In these examples the pronoun is required to serve as the object of the preposition 给 gei3 ‘to.’ Similarly, comitative (“with”) and benefactive (“for”) relationships between the noun and the modifying clause can be expressed using a preposition and a resumptive pronoun to spell out the grammatical relation involved, as illustrated in [30] and [31].

Note that this option arises only where the head noun is animate, allowing the personal pronoun 他 ta1 ‘he’ or 她 ta1 ‘she’ to be used (see Chapter 8, section 8.6.1).

An exceptional type of oblique relative clause involves the phrase 用…来 yong4…lai2 ‘use…to,’ where the object of 用 yong4 ‘use’ can be made the head noun without the need for a resumptive pronoun, as shown in [32].
Here the head noun 电脑 dian4nao3 ‘computer’ is understood as the object of
用 …来 yong4…lai2 ‘use …to,’ as indicated by the symbol Ø.

9.2.4. Possessive relative clauses
Possessive relative clauses arise where the speaker wishes to use a relative clause
to modify a noun that has the role of possessor within that clause, as in “the boy
whose mother called.” The construction of such clauses depends on the grammati-
cal relation of the possessed noun phrase with respect to other elements within
the modifying clause. If the possessed NP is the subject of the clause, a gap is left
where the subject would be, as in [33].

[33] Ø 孩子得诗人奖的虎妈
 Ø hai2zi0 de2 shi1ren2 jiang3 de0 hu3 ma1
 Ø child get poet prize DE tiger mother
‘the tiger mother whose child got the poet’s award’

Here 虎妈 hu3 ma1 ‘the tiger mother’ is the possessor of 孩子 hai2zi0 ‘the child,’
which is in turn the subject of the clause 得奖 de2jiang3 ‘got the award.’ Similarly in
[34], the head noun 飞机 fei1ji1 ‘airplane’ is the possessor of 机身 ji1shen1 ‘fuselage.’

[34] 五年计划时是打算建造一部 Ø 机身重三十吨的大飞机。
wu3nian2 ji4hua4 shi2 shi4 da3su4n4 jian44zao4 yi1
5_year plan when SHI plan build one
 bu4 Ø ji1shen1 zhong4 san1shi2 dun1 de0 da4
CL Ø fuselage weigh 30 ton DE big
 fei1ji1
airplane
‘The 5-year plan envisages building a big airplane with a fuselage
weighing 30 tons.’

9.2.5. Embedded relative clauses
It is possible to form a relative clause with a complex clause with multiple embed-
ding, such as an object of the clausal object of the relative clause. In such cases,
whether a “resumptive” pronoun is required depends on the grammatical relation of the head noun in the embedded clause (see also section 9.2.3). In [35], the head noun 消防员 xiao1fang2yuan2 ‘fireman’ has the subject role in the embedded clausal object of the matrix verb of the relative clause 报导 bao4dao3 ‘to report’; hence, no resumptive pronoun is needed. In [36], the head noun 男人 nan2ren2 ‘man’ is understood as the possessor of the object of 在 zai4 ‘PREP’ within the relative clause; hence, a resumptive pronoun is needed.

[35] 你就是报纸报导 Ø 昨天在火场救了三个小孩的消防员。ni3 jiu4shi4 bao4zhi3 bao4dao3 Ø zuo2tian1 zai4
you exactly newspaper report Ø yesterday PREP
火场 chang3 jiu4 le0 san1 ge4 xiao3hai2 de0
fire_scene help LE three CL child DE
消防员 xiao1fang2yuan2
dire
‘You are the fireman who was reported by the newspaper to have saved three kids from the fire yesterday.’

[36] 老公是 . . . (你) 舍得在他身上花钱而居然不肉痛的男人。
lao3gong1 shi4 ni3 she3de2 zai4 ta1 shen1
husband be you be_willing_to PREP he body
身上 hua1qian2 er2 ju1ran2 bu4 rou4
on spend_money but unexpectedly NEG flesh
痛 de0 nan2ren2
pain DE man
‘A husband is . . . the man that you are willing to spend money on without finding it painful [literally, the man on whose body you are willing to spend money without finding it painful].’

9.3. Relative clauses without a grammatical relation
In the constructions described in section 9.2 the modified noun is understood as playing a particular grammatical function in the modifying clause; that is, the noun is understood as the subject, object, etc. of the relative clause. This is not always the case, however. Many Chinese relative clauses, similar to their counterparts in English but without the relative adverbs, lack such grammatical relation links. Instead, the noun is related to the relative clause by a relation in the event structure of the relative clause that is not grammaticalized but can be easily identified. For example, the clause may express the purpose to which the modifier noun is put, as in [37] and [38].
Stephen Matthews and Virginia Yip

[37] 我想买部打游戏的电脑。
    wo3 xiang3 mai3 bu4 da3 you2xi4 de0 dian4nao3
    ‘I want to buy a computer for playing games.’

[38] 了解中医整个理论的枢纽
    liao3jie3 zhong1yi1 zheng3ge4 li3lun4 de0
    understand Chinese_medicine whole theory DE
    shu1niu3
    ‘(It is) a key to understanding the entire theoretical system of Chinese
    medicine’

Here it is not 枢纽 shu1niu3 ‘the hub’ itself that understands the system of
Chinese medicine: the modifying clause is therefore not a subject relative clause. Instead, “the hub” is one within which the whole system of Chinese medicine
can be understood. The relationship between the clause and the head noun is not
unlike the relation between topic and comment (see Chapter 17). For example, the
head noun represents the general event type of a framework, while the relative
clause elaborates the actual framework, as shown in [39].

[39] 在总经费每年增长约百分之十的架构下
    zai4 zong3 jing1fei4 mei3 nian2 zeng1zhang3 yue1
    PREP total fund every year grow about
    bai3fen1shi1 de0 jia4gou4 xia4
    10% DE framework under
    ‘within the framework of total expenditure growing by about 10% each
    year’

Here the modifying clause “total expenditure growing by about 10% each year” is
a full clause in its own right, in which the head noun 架构 jia4gou4 ‘the framework’
does not play a grammatical role, nor is there any apparent gap in the modifying
clause. Relative clauses of this kind are often described as “gapless relative clauses”
and are treated as an extension of the prototypical relative clause with a gap, as
described in sections 9.2.1.–9.2.2. Note that the restrictive function is retained in
such cases: the clause still serves as a clue to identify the reference of the following
noun. [40] exemplifies this concept.

[40] 这也是芝加哥大学能成为世界名校的创校理念。
    zhe4 ye3 shi4 zhi1jia1ge1 da4xue2 neng2
    this also be Chicago university can
A variety of semantic relations may hold between the modifying clause and the head noun, as described in the following sections.

9.3.1. Relative clauses specifying time, location, and event type

The association between a noun and a relative clause may be one of time, location, or event type, all of which are often treated as inherent roles in any event. Hence, these relative clauses are very frequently used in Chinese, especially with the general nouns 'time' and 'place,' as in [41].

[41] 不然我们便会看到政治干扰学术的不幸场面。
bu4ran2 wo3men0 bian4 hui4 kan4dao4 zheng4zhi4 gan1rao3 xue2shu4 de0 bu4xing4 chang3mian4
otherwise we then will see politics intervene academic DE unfortunate scene
‘Otherwise, we will see an unfortunate scenario in which politics intervenes in academic affairs.’

Here the head noun '不幸场面' ‘unfortunate scenario’ is the setting in which the situation '政治干扰学术' zheng4zhi4 gan1rao3 xue2shu4 ‘politics intervenes in academic affairs’ arises. Similarly, in [42] through [44] the clause modifies the time expression '日子' ri4zi0 ‘days.’

[42] 怀念写信的日子。
huai2nian4 xie3xin4 de0 ri4zi0
think_of write_a_letter DE day
‘(I’m) missing the days of writing letters.’

[43] 在我就任院长后的头两个星期...
zai4 wo3 jiu4ren4 hou4 yuan4zhang3 hou4 de0
PREP I take_up_a_post dean after DE
tou2 liang3 ge4 xing1qi1
first two CL week
‘In the first two weeks after I took up the position of Dean . . .’
The relative clause may restrict the general event type represented by the head noun, similar to restricting the referents of a personal noun, as in [45] and [46].

[45] 你离开的事实
ni3 li2kai1 de0 shi4shi2
you leave DE fact
‘the fact that you are leaving’

[46] 周先生希望自己在植物相生相克作用的研究受到国际肯定…
zhou1 xian1sheng0 xin1wang44 zi4ji3 zai4 shi2wu4
Zhou Mr. hope self PREP plant
xiang1sheng1xiang1ke4 zuo4yong4 de0 yan2jiu1
mutual_promotion_and_restraint effect DE research
shou4dao4 guo2ji4 ken3ding4
receive international recognition
‘Mr. Zhou hopes his research on how plants constrain each other can gain global recognition . . . ’

Here the general event type specified by the head noun 研究 yan2jiu1 ‘research’ is further restricted by 在植物相生相克作用 zai4 zhi2wu4 xiang1sheng1xiang1ke4 zuo4yong4 ‘on how plants constrain each other,’ which spells out the topic of the research. Similarly, a clause may specify the general event types of a talk or a rumor, as in [47] and [48].

[47] 学习毛主席哲学著作的辅导报告
xue2xi2 mao2 zhu3xu3xi2 zhe2xue2 zhu4zu4de0
learn MAO chair philosophy writings DE
fu3dao3 bao4gao4
tutor report
‘a seminar lecture on studying Chairman Mao’s philosophical works’

[48] 要把他卖掉的谣言也正在散播。
ya4 ba3 tai1 mai4diao4 de0 yao2yan2 ye3
will BA he sell DE rumors also
9.3.2. Relative clauses specifying cause

The relationship between a relative clause and a noun may be one of the causes of the event described by the relative clause. Nouns commonly used in this way include 原因 yuan2yin1 ‘reason’ and 理由 li3you2 ‘reason,’ as shown in [49]–[52].

[49] 也许我家宝贝长高的原因是 …
ye3xu3 wo3 jia1 bao3bei4 zhang3gao1 de0 yuan2yin1 shi4 reason be
‘Maybe the reason (why) my baby has grown taller is …’

[50] 爱上加拿大大不列颠哥伦比亚的十个理由
ai4shang4 jia1na2da4 da4bu4lie4dian1 ge1lun2bi3ya4 fall_in_love_with Canada Great_Britain Colombia
de0 shi2 ge4 li3you2 DE ten CL reason
‘ten reasons for falling in love with Canada’s British Columbia’

[51] 形成黑斑的最大原因
xing2cheng2 hei1ban1 de0 zui4 da4 yuan2yin1 form dark_spot DE most big reason
‘the major reason for forming dark spots’

[52] 反倒是水质污染、垃圾公害等环境恶化才是水鸟消失的元凶。
fan3dao4 shi4 shui3zhi4 wu1ran3 la1ji1 on_the_contrary be water_quality pollution garbage
gong1hai4 deng3 huan2jing4 e4hua4 cai2 public_nuisance etc. environment deterioration just
shi4 shui3niao3 xiao1shi1 de0 yuan2xiong1 be aquatic_bird vanish DE chief_culprit
‘On the contrary, deterioration of the environment such as water pollution and rubbish is the prime culprit for the disappearance of waterbirds.’

9.3.3. Relative clauses specifying content of cognition

Another frequently used event-oriented relative clause explicates the content of cognition. For example, the cognition noun 声音 shenglyin1 ‘sound’ can be
preceded by a relative clause elaborating the nature of the sound, as in [53] and [54].

[53] 她听到了鸟儿扑翅的声音。
    ta1 ting1 dao4 le0 niao3 er0 pu1 chi4 de0
she hear LE bird flap wing DE
sheng1 yin1
sound
‘She heard the sound of a bird fluttering its wings.’

[54] 同一首曲子, 每个人唱出来的味道都不一样。
    tong2 yi1 shou3 qu3 zi0 mei4 ge2 ren2 chang4
same one CL song every CL person sing
chu1 lai2 de0 wei4 dao4 dou1 bu4 yi1 yang4
tout DE taste all NEG same
‘(Even) with the same song, the flavor of each person singing is different.’

9.4. Relative clauses and topicalization
Relative clauses interact with topicalization in a number of ways. Elements within a relative clause may be topicalized (see section 9.4.1.). In addition, noun phrases containing relative clauses are especially prone to topicalization (see section 9.4.2.).

9.4.1. Topicalization out of a relative clause
A constituent contained inside a relative clause may undergo topicalization (see Chapter 17). Thus, given a relative clause of the form in [55a], the object can be topicalized, as in [55b].

[55] a. 读这本书的人不多。
    du2 zhe4 ben3 shu1 de0 ren2 bu4 duo1
read this CL book DE people NEG many
‘Those who read this book are few.’

b. 这本书读的人不多。
    zhe4 ben3 shu1 du2 de0 ren2 bu4 duo1
this CL book read DE people NEG many
‘Those who read this book are few.’

9.4.2. Object noun phrases modified by relative clauses
An object preceded by a noun-modifying clause is a potentially “heavy” and clumsy constituent. When such an object follows the verb, the noun itself is separated
from the verb by the intervening relative clause. In [56], the object 钥匙 yao4shi0 'keys’ is separated from the verb by the noun-modifying clause 开实验室的 kai1 shi2yan4shi4 de0 ‘for opening the laboratory.’

[56] 你带来了 开实验室的钥匙 没有?
    ni3 dai4lai le0 kai1 shi2yan4shi4 de0 yao4shi0
    you bring LE open lab DE key
    mei2you3
    NEG
    ‘Have you brought the keys to open the laboratory?’

In practice, this configuration is often avoided by reformulating the sentence. One option is to apply topicalization, placing the object 开实验室的钥匙 kai1 shi2yan4shi4 de0 yao4shi0 ‘the keys to open the laboratory’ first and creating an OSV sentence, as in [57]:

[57] 开实验室的钥匙, 你带来了没有?
    kai1 shi2yan4shi4 de0 yao4shi0 ni3 dai4lai2 le0
    open lab DE key you bring LE
    mei2you3
    NEG
    ‘Have you brought the keys to open the laboratory?’

The weight of noun phrases, such as those modified by a relative clause, can therefore be one of the motivations for topicalization of the object of the sentence (see Chapter 17).
Adjectives and adjective phrases
Shi-Zhe Huang, Jing Jin, and Dingxu Shi

The category of adjectives consists of lexical items that characteristically represent properties of entities such as dimension, age, color, speed, etc. A full-fledged adjective phrase is typically composed of an adverb and an adjective. This chapter mainly deals with the modifying function of adjectives and adjective phrases.

10.1. Defining properties of adjectives
The properties that adjectives characteristically represent include the following:

1. Dimension (e.g., 长 chang2 ‘long,’ 宽 kuan1 ‘wide,’ 高 gao1 ‘tall’).
2. Age (e.g., 老 lao3 ‘old,’ 小 xiao3 ‘young/small,’ 年轻 nian2qin1 ‘young’).
3. Color (e.g., 红 hong2 ‘red,’ 白 bai2 ‘white,’ 绿 li4 ‘green’).
4. Speed (e.g., 快 kuai4 ‘fast, quick,’ 慢 man4 ‘slow’).
5. Quantity (e.g., 多 duo1 ‘many/more,’ 少 shao3 ‘little/less,’ 足够 zu2gou4 ‘enough’).
6. Value/quality (e.g., 好 hao3 ‘good,’ 坏 huai4 ‘bad,’ 真 zhen1 ‘true,’ 假 jia3 ‘false/fake,’ 奇怪 qi2gua14 ‘strange,’ 重要 zhong4yao4 ‘important,’ 困难 kun4nan2 ‘difficult,’ 简单 jian3dan1 ‘simple’).
7. Personality (e.g., 大方 da4fang1 ‘generous,’ 小气 xiao3qi4 ‘miserly,’ 豪爽 hao2shuang3 ‘forthright,’ 阴险 yin1xian3 ‘sinister’).
8. Emotional, mental, psychological, physical, and physiological states (e.g., 高兴 gao1xing4 ‘glad,’ 恐惧 kong3ju4 ‘scared,’ 糊涂 hu2tu0 ‘confused,’ 冷 leng3 ‘cold,’ 热 re4 ‘hot,’ 疲倦 pi2juan4 ‘fatigued,’ 粗糙 cu1cao1 ‘coarse’).

The predominant function of adjectives is to serve as a prenominal modifier or as the head of a predicate in clauses. The defining properties of adjectives include the following:

1. Adjectives have no morphological markings for gender, number, case, tense, or any other functional features. The main morphological derivation that adjectives undergo is partial or total reduplication, which results not in new word classes but in more vivid, intensified, and mitigated meanings and different syntactic functions (see section 10.3.2.).
When performing a modifying function, adjectives and adjective phrases always appear before nouns. Derived adjectives, namely those formed via derivational processes such as reduplication and affixation (see section 10.3.2.), typically work as part of a the de0 ‘DE’ (attributive marker) phrase that modifies nouns, for example, 圆圆的脸 yuan2yuan2 de0 lian3 ‘roundish face’ and 干巴巴的饼干 gan1ba1ba1 de0 bing3gan1 ‘dreadfully dry biscuit.’ Non-derived adjectives are of two categories, each with distinct syntactic properties. Compound adjectives with an adverbial modifier generally require a the de0 ‘DE’ (attributive marker) when modifying nouns, such as those in 雪白的衬衫 xue3bai2 de0 chen4shan1 ‘snow-white shirt’ and 崭新的 玩具 zhan3xin1 de0 wan2ju4 ‘brand-new toy.’ Simple adjectives or coordinate compound adjectives may in general modify nouns with or without the marker the de0 ‘DE,’ such as those in 新(的)书 xin1 (de0) shu1 ‘new book,’ 脏的 衣服 zang1 (de0) yi1fu2 ‘dirty clothes,’ and 聪明(的)孩子 cong1ming2 (de0) hai2zi0 ‘smart child.’

Adjective phrases can function as the predicate of a clause. As shown in [1], a predicative adjective phrase typically has some dependent element, including a degree adverbial like 很 hen3 ‘very’ and a negator like 不 bu4 ‘not.’ It can also undergo some morphological changes, such as taking an A-not-A form or taking the suffix the de0 ‘DE,’ which is a homophone of the attributive marker the de0 ‘DE.’

[1] a. 他很聪明。
   ta1 hen3 cong1ming0
   he very smart
   ‘He is very smart.’

b. 他不高。
   ta1 bu4 gao1
   he NEG tall
   ‘He is not tall.’

c. 这家店小小的。
   zhe4 jia1 dian4 xiao3xiao3 de0
   this CL store small DE
   ‘This store is very small.’

d. 他帅不帅？
   ta1 shuai4 bu4 shuai4
   he handsome NEG handsome
   ‘Is he handsome?’

Some adjectives become adverbs without undergoing morphological changes. Derived adverbs alter, clarify, or adjust the meaning contributions of the verbs
or verb phrases that follow them. A small number of monosyllabic derived adverbs can directly modify verbal roots to form compound verbs, such as those in [2]. The adverbial marker 地 de0 ‘DE’ cannot appear between the adverb and the verb in such compounds.

[2] a. 紧跟 jin3gen1/tight_follow ‘to follow closely’
   b. 慢跑 man4pao3/slow_run ‘to run slowly, jog’
   c. 高举 gao1ju3/high_hold ‘to hold high’

Derived adverbs that are formed via reduplication can assume the modifying function with or without 地 de0 ‘DE’ (adverb marker), as shown in [3]:

[3] a. 慢慢(地)跑向厨房
   man4man4 (de0) pao3 xiang4 chu2fang2
   slowly DE run PREP kitchen
   ‘to run to the kitchen slowly’
   b. 模糊(地)结了婚
   hu2li3hu2tu2 (de0) jie2 le0 hun1
   muddle-headedly DE get LE marriage
   ‘got married in a muddle-headed manner’

Adjectives in Chinese are typically polysemous in that the exact interpretation of an adjective crucially depends on the noun it modifies or the nominal phrase of which it is a predicate. The 快 kuai4 ‘fast’ in 快马 kuai4ma3 ‘fast horse’ is different from the same adjective in 快件 kuai4jian4 ‘express delivery package,’ although the two interpretations have the same origin and are connected. Such polysemous adjectives may differ with regard to gradability. When 方 fang1 ‘square’ is associated with 桌子 zhuo1zi0 ‘table,’ it is non-gradable and cannot be modified by 很 hen3 ‘very.’ When it is associated with 脸 lian3 ‘face,’ 方 fang1 ‘square’ is gradable and 脸很方 lian3hen3fang1 ‘the face is very square’ is acceptable. Even typical non-gradable adjectives may become gradable when they are associated with certain nouns, like the 圆 yuan2 ‘round’ in 月亮很圆 yue4liang hen3 yuan2 ‘the moon was very round.’

10.2. Two major subclasses of adjectives in Chinese: non-derived adjectives and derived adjectives

Adjectives can undergo certain morphological processes and become derived ones.

10.2.1. Non-derived adjectives

Non-derived adjectives are those which have not undergone derivational processes, such as reduplication or affixation. They typically appear in monosyllabic
Adjectives and adjective phrases

or disyllabic forms, while a few have more than two syllables. They can be divided into several subgroups based on the way they modify a nominal element, as listed in Table 10.1. Note that the 'DE' in the table is the attributive marker and the nominal phrase is an NP, a CL-NUMP, or a DP (see Chapter 8), while degree adverbs are those like 'very,' 'quite,' and 'extremely' (see Chapter 12).

Regular gradable adjectives, either monosyllabic or polysyllabic, can modify a nominal element in all three patterns, namely, \([\text{NDA} + \text{N}], [\text{NDA} + \text{NP}]\) and \([\text{Degree Adverb} + \text{NDA} + \text{NP}]\). Regular gradable adjectives are the most versatile members of the adjective class. In contrast, the monosyllabic and polysyllabic non-derived adjectives in the other two subgroups behave quite diversely in terms of adnominal modification patterns.

Special gradable adjectives are traditionally called non-adnominal adjectives in that they cannot modify a noun directly. Absolute adjectives are traditionally called non-predicative adjectives in that they do not function as the predicate in a clause. Special absolute adjectives are formed based on gradable adjectives by adding a morpheme that specifies a fixed point on the property scale. As the lexical meaning of special absolute adjectives already encodes a particular degree, similar to absolute adjectives, special absolute adjectives cannot be modified by degree adverbs. Special absolute adjectives differ from absolute adjectives in that they can serve as the predicate on their own, as shown in [4].

[4] a. 大门外石头冰凉。
   
   da4 men2 wai4 shi2 tou0 bing1 liang2
   big door outside stone cold
   'The stone outside the front gate is very cold.'

   b. 花朵极大, 中心鲜红, 边缘雪白。
   
   hua1 duo3 ji2 da4 zhong1 xin1 xian1 hong2
   flower extremely big center bright_red
   bian1 yuan2 xue3 bai2
   edge snow_white
   'The flowers are big; they are bright red in the center and snow white on the rim of the petal.'

10.2.2. Derived adjectives

Derived adjectives are formed via derivational processes such as reduplication and affixation. Derived adjectives are of two subtypes. One type is derived from regular gradable adjectives and the other is derived from non-adjective morphemes.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-derived adjectives (NDAs)</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>NDA + N</th>
<th>NDA + 的 + Nominal Phrase</th>
<th>Degree Adverb + NDA + 的 + Nominal Phrase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Monosyllabic regular</strong></td>
<td>高 gao1 ‘tall,’ 红 hong2 ‘red,’ 好 hao3 ‘good,’ 脏 zang1 ‘dirty,’ 冷 leng3 ‘cold,’ 慢 man4 ‘slow,’ 湿 shi1 ‘wet,’ 软 ruan3 ‘soft,’ 新 xin1 ‘new’</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>gradable</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Monosyllabic special</strong></td>
<td>松 song1 ‘loose,’ 紧 jin3 ‘tight,’ 稳 wen3 ‘steady,’ 累 lei4 ‘tired’</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>gradable</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Monosyllabic absolute</strong></td>
<td>竖 shu4 ‘vertical,’ 横 heng2 ‘horizontal’</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Polysyllabic regular</strong></td>
<td>漂亮 piao4liang0 ‘pretty,’ 干净 gan1jing4 ‘clean,’ 简单 jian3dan1 ‘simple,’ 糊涂 hu2tu0 ‘muddle-headed,’ 普通 pu3tong1 ‘common,’ 具体 ju4ti3 ‘concrete,’ 贫穷 pingqiong2 ‘poor,’ 谦虚 qian1xu1 ‘modest,’ 安全 an1quan2 ‘safe’</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>gradable</strong></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Polysyllabic special</strong></td>
<td>专心 zhuan1xin1 ‘concentrated,’ 刻苦 ke4ku3 ‘hard-working,’ 和气 he2qi4 ‘kind and mild-mannered,’ 了不起 liao3bu4qi3 ‘amazing, extraordinary’</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>gradable</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Polysyllabic absolute</strong></td>
<td>必然 bi4ran2 ‘necessary,’ 本来 ben3lai2 ‘original, true,’ 绝对 jue2dai4 ‘absolute’</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Polysyllabic special</strong></td>
<td>雪白 xue3bai2 ‘snow-white,’ 冰凉 bing1liang2 ‘ice-cold,’ 喷香 pen4xiang1 ‘fragrant’</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>absolute</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Adjectives derived from regular gradable ones are more common and are used more frequently.

Adjectives derived from regular gradable adjectives are typically derived by partial or total reduplication or by affixation. The most common patterns of derivation are presented in the following section. The syllables in the pre-derivation form are given as A, B, and C, while the syllables reduplicated by the process are given as a, b, and c.

10.2.2.1. Reduplication

In the process of total reduplication, either each morpheme is reduplicated as Aa or AaBb, like those in [5] and [6], or the whole morpheme sequence is reduplicated as ABab, like those in [7]. The adjectives that can undergo ABab reduplication are special absolute ones in which the B morpheme is modified by A, such as 雪白 xue3bai2 'snowy white.'

[5]  AB  AB
  a. 脏衣服
     zang1 yi1fu2
     dirty clothes
     'dirty clothes'
  b. 有一天, 马路上趴着一个脏脏的乞丐。
     you3 yi1 tian1 ma3lu4 shang4 pa1 zhe0 yi1
     have one day road top sprawl ZHE one
     ge4 zang1zang1 de0 qi3gai4
     CL dirty-dirty DE beggar
     'One day, a dirty-looking beggar was sprawling on the road.'

[6]  A  AaBb
  a. 漂亮的职工食堂
     piao4liang4 de0 zhi2gong1 shi2tang2
     beautiful DE staff canteen
     'beautiful staff canteen'
  b. 他们要盖一座漂亮漂亮的村委会办公室。
     ta1men0 yao4 gai4 yi1 zhuang4 piao4 piao4liang4liang4
     they want build one CL beautiful
     de0 cun1wei3 ban4gong1shi4
     DE village_council office
     'They want to build a beautiful office for the Village Council.'
Although both AaBb and ABab patterns are potentially available for all adjectives, most adjectives typically only have one reduplication form, and there are more adjectives in the AaBb form than those in the ABab form. A limited number of adjectives have both forms and the two characteristically have different properties. The AaBb form typically behaves like an adjective phrase, while the ABab form behaves more like an activity verb phrase. Derived from the same adjective 高兴 gao1xing4 ‘happy,’ 高高兴兴 gao1gao1xing4xing4 functions with 地 de0 as an adjectival adverbial in [8a] and functions with 的 de0 as an adjectival attributive in [8b], while the 高兴高兴 gao1xing4gao1xing4 ‘being happy’ in [8c] functions as a verbal predicate. [8d] is a list of more adjectives that can have both AaBa and ABab forms. They are typically inchoative adjectives denoting attributes that are amenable to changes.

[8]  

a. 孩子们高高兴兴地跳到水里。  
hai2zi0 men0 gao1gao1xing4xing4 de0 tiao4 dao4  
child PL happy DE jump PREP  
shui3 li3  
water in  
‘The children jumped into the water happily.’

b. 高高兴兴的孩子们一拥而上。  
gao1gao1xing4xing4 de0 hai2zi0 men0 yi1yong1er2shang4  
happy DE child PL swarm  
‘The happy children swarmed in.’
c. 让孩子们也高兴高兴吧。
rang4 hai2zi0 men0 ye3 gao1xing4gao1xing4 ba0
let child PL also happy BA
'Let the children be happy too.'

d. [i] 冷静 leng3jing4 ‘to be calm/to calm down’
[ii] 热闹 re4nao4 ‘be lively, to bustle with noise and excitement, lively’
[iii] 安静 an1jing4 ‘quiet, quiet down’
[iv] 轻松 qing1song1 ‘to be relaxed/to relax’
[v] 快活 kuai4huo2 ‘fun-loving, to enjoy life’

Two reduplicated forms Aa and Bb, derived from two monosyllabic adjectives, may sometimes be combined to create the complex derived form AaBb. Such a form represents properties found in a heterogeneous set of entities in which each subset has the properties represented by A or B. The 长长短短 chang2chang2duan3duan3 ‘long and short’ in [9a] is not the AaBb form of the noun 长短 chang2duan3 ‘length,’ but rather it is the combination of two reduplicated adjectives. This AaBb form has the reading of “the pegs on the wall are of various lengths.” Similarly, the 大大小小 da4da4xia0xia0xiao3 ‘big and small’ in [9b] means the ponds are of different sizes and the 高高低低 gao1gao1di1di1 ‘high and low’ tells us that the hills are of various heights.

[9] a. 土墙上钉满了长长短短的木头橛子。
tu3 qiang2 shang4 ding1 man3 le0
dirt wall on nail full LE
chang2chang2duan3duan3 de0 mu4tou0 jue2zi0
long_long_short_short DE wood pin
'The dirt wall was full of wooden pegs long and short.'

b. 场区内有大大小小的水塘几十个, 高高低低的山包近百个。
chang3qu1 nei4 you3 da4da4xia0xia0xiao3 de0
field inside have big_big_small_small DE
shui3tang2 ji3 shi2 ge4 gao1gao1di1di1 de0
pond several ten CL high_high_low_low DE
shan1bao1 jin4 bai3 ge4
hill around hundred CL
'Within the area there were dozens of ponds big and small, and nearly a hundred hills high and low.'

When a bisyllabic or multisyllabic adjective undergoes partial reduplication, only one morpheme in the adjective is reduplicated. The second morpheme of
年轻 nian2qing1 ‘young’ in [10] is reduplicated to give some sentimental flavor to the clause, unbelievable sadness in this case. The first morpheme of 傻气 sha3qi4 ‘silly’ in [11] is reduplicated and a semantically empty 里 li0 is added as an infix. The sentence thus means the girl was lovely and silly.

[10] 一个年轻年轻的桥梁专家突然就倒下了。
yi1 ge4 nian2qing1qing1 de0 qiao2liang2 zhuan1jia1
one CL young DE bridge expert
tu1ran2 jiu4 dao3xia4 le0
suddenly then fall_down LE
‘Such a young expert on bridges suddenly fell dead.’

nü3hai2 sha3liosha3qi4 xiao4 zhe0 ba3 qian2 na2 le0 chu1lai2
girl DE smile ZHE BA money take LE out
‘The girl took out the money with a silly smile.’

10.2.2.2. Affixation
Derivation by affixation predominantly involves monosyllabic adjectives. A common way to achieve this is to add to the root a suffix in the shape of a repeated syllable like the – hong1hong1 in [12a]. Such a suffix typically does not have very clear semantic content but does make a distinctive contribution to the overall meaning of the derived adjective. When – hong1hong1 is suffixed to 臭 chou4 ‘stinky,’ the combination contributes a special interpretation to the sentence that the kitchen waste is emitting a foul smell constantly and heavily. Similarly, the adjective derived from the suffixation of – 喷喷 pen1pen1 to 香 xiang1 ‘fragrant’ in [12b] has a reading related to 香 xiang1 ‘fragrant’ with a more vivid flavor, namely, releasing a sweet scent continuously and extensively. The adjective 干巴巴 gan1ba1ba1 ‘dreadfully dry’ in [12c] is derived from 干 gan1 ‘dry’ but has the added flavor of awfulness and unattractiveness because of the suffix – 钜 baru.

[12] a. 曾经臭烘烘的浒脚被加工成高质量的有机肥。
ceng2jing1 chou4hong1hong1 de0 gan1jiao3 bei4
once stinky DE kitchen_waste BEI
jia1gong1 cheng2 gao1zhi4liang4 de0 you3ji1 fei2
process into high_quality DE organic fertilizer
‘The kitchen waste that was once rampantly stinky is turned into high-quality organic fertilizer.’
b. 全村每户都端来了一份香喷喷的菜。
quan2 cun1 mei3 hu4 dou1 duan1lai2 le0 yi1
all village every family all bring LE one
fen4 xiang1pen1pen1 de0 cai4
CL fragrant DE dish
‘Every family in the village brought over a dish with a wonderful aroma.’

c. 记者中心里除了一些干巴巴的饼干以外，连一瓶水都找不到。
ji4zhe3 zhong1xin1 li3 chu2le0 yi1xie1
journalist center inside except_for some
gan1ba1ba1 de0 bing3gan1 yi3wai4 lian2 yi1
dry DE cookie other_than even one
ping2 shui3 dou1 zhao3bu4dao4
CL water all not_find_out
‘Except for some unappetizing dry biscuits, there was not even a bottle of water in the News Centre.’

This affixation also may be applied to a derived adjective to produce a complex form AaBb, like the 干巴巴 gan1gan1ba1ba1 ‘awfully dry’ in [13]:

[13] 这些文字是不是比那些干巴巴的传记更有意思?
zhe4xie1 wen2zi4 shi4 bu4 shi4 bi3 na4xie1
these word be NEG be than those
gan1gan1ba1ba1 de0 zhuan4ji4 geng4 you3yi4si0
dry DE biography more interesting
‘Aren’t these words more interesting than those boring dry biographies?’

Another type of suffix has a complex internal structure consisting of -不- bu4, which does not bear the meaning ‘not’ like its counterpart in non-affix use, and is in the form of two syllables, either two identical ones like those in [14a] or two different ones like those in [14b]–[14c]. Adjectives derived in this way generally have a negative or undesirable connotation.

[14] a. 酸 suan1 ‘sour’/酸不咧咧 suan1bu4ji1ji1 ‘really sour, sarcastic’
   [i] 傻 sha3 ‘foolish’/傻不咧咧 sha3bu4ji1ji1 ‘really stupid’
   [ii] 林 hui1 ‘gray’/灰不溜秋 hui1bu4liu1qiu1 ‘drab and grayish’
   [ii] 黑 hei1 ‘black’/黑不溜秋 hei1bu4liu1qiu1 ‘black in an unpleasant way’
[iii] 圆 yuan2 ‘round’/圆不溜秋 yuan2bu4liu1qiu1 ‘round in an unpleasant way’

[iv] 中 zhong1 ‘medium’/中不溜秋 zhong1bu4liu1qiu1 ‘mediocre’

[v] 酸 suan1 ‘sour’/酸不溜秋 suan1bu4liu1qiu1 ‘sour’

\begin{itemize}
  \item [c. i] 傻 sha3 ‘stupid’/傻不拉叽 sha3bu4la1ji1 ‘really stupid’
  \item [c. ii] 酸 suan1 ‘sour’/酸不拉叽 suan1bu4la1ji1 ‘really sour’ (for food or behavior)
  \item [c. iii] 土 tu3 ‘uncultured, unstylish’/土不拉叽 tu3bu4la1ji1 ‘uncultured, unsophisticated’
  \item [c. iv] 脏 zang1 ‘dirty’/脏不拉叽 zang1bu4la1ji1 ‘really dirty’
  \item [c. v] 软 ruan3 ‘soft, soggy’/软不拉叽 ruan3bu4la1ji1 ‘so (damn) soft/soggy/weak’
\end{itemize}

Derived adjectives can come from non-adjectival categories. The complex adjective 虚虚实实 xu1xu1shi2shi2 ‘fiction and fact intertwined’ in [15] is an AaBb form derived from 虚实 xu1shi2 ‘real situation,’ which is a noun but is historically derived from the two adjectives 虚 xu1 ‘empty’ and 实 shi2 ‘solid.’ The AaBb form is now an adjective.

\begin{center}
\begin{verbatim}
[15]  zhong3 xu1shi2shi2 de0 xie3 fa3
    zhong3 xu1xu1shi2shi2 de0 xie3 fa3
this CL fiction_fact_intertwined DE write method
ling4 ren2 er3mu4yi1xin1
make people refreshing
‘This writing style of mixing suggestiveness and realism gives one a refreshingly novel experience of reading.’
\end{verbatim}
\end{center}

The 风风火火 feng1feng1huo3huo3 ‘bustling’ in [16a] looks like an AaBb form of 风 feng1 ‘wind’ and 火 huo3 ‘fire,’ which are both nouns, and the 形形色色 xing2xing2se4se4 ‘various’ in [16b] seems to be an AaBb form of 形 xing2 ‘shape’ and 色 se4 ‘color,’ which are also nouns. Nevertheless, the two AaBb forms describe properties and are bona fide adjectives.

\begin{center}
\begin{verbatim}
[16]  dang1nian2 feng1feng1huo3huo3 de0 cun1zhang3
    dang1nian2 feng1feng1huo3huo3 de0 cun1zhang3
that_year energetic DE village_head
  ru2jin1 yi3jing1 xie4ren4
now already be_relieved_from_one’s_post.
‘The strong and energetic former village head is retired now.’
\end{verbatim}
\end{center}
b. 它们把形形色色的污染物吃进肚子里。
   ta1men0  ba3  xing2xing2se4se4  de0  wu1ran3wu4  chi1
   they  BA  various_kinds_of  DE  contaminant  eat
   jin4  du4zi0  li3
   enter  stomach  inside
   ‘They ate various kinds of contaminants.’

10.3. Functions and properties of adjectives and adjective phrases
Non-derived gradable adjectives characteristically have the following properties:

1 When such adjectives or their phrases are negated, 不 bu4 ‘not’ is predominantly the choice (see Chapter 6, section 6.2.).

[17]  a. 不良习惯
   bu4liang2  xi2guan4
   NEG-good  habit
   ‘bad habit’

b. 不酸的橘子
   bu4  suan1  de0  ju2zi0
   NEG-sour  DE-orange
   ‘oranges which are not sour’

c. 不漂亮的女生
   bu4  piao4liang4  de0  n¨u3sheng1
   NEG-beautiful  DE-girl
   ‘girls who are not pretty’

2 They can be modified by degree adverbials like 微 wei1 ‘slightly’ and 很 hen3 ‘very,’ as in [18].

[18]  [i] 微甜 wei1 tian2 ‘slightly sweet’
    [ii] 少辣 shao3 la4 ‘little hot’
    [iii] 很酸 hen3 suan1 ‘very sour’
    [iv] 很湿 hen3 shi1 ‘very wet’
    [v] 很漂亮 hen3 piao4liang4 ‘very pretty’
    [vi] 很年轻 hen3 nian2qing1 ‘very young’

3 They can modify nouns directly or function as part of a 的 de0 ‘DE’ (attributive marker) phrase to modify a nominal phrase, as in [19].

[19]  a. [i] 脏水 zang1shui3 ‘dirty water’
    [ii] 破碗 po4wan3 ‘broken bowl’
On the other hand, derived adjectives have the following properties:

[a] They can be directly negated by 不 ‘not.’
[b] They characteristically cannot be modified by degree adverbials. 歐 ‘very’ and other degree adverbs are not typically associated with them, since they already encode degree or intensity.
[c] They typically perform a modification function as part of a 的 DE (attributive marker) phrase, as in [20].

[20] a. 臭烘烘的走廊
   chou4hong1hong1  de0  zou3lang2
   stinky  DE  hallway
   ‘a hallway that is full of stinky smells’

   b. 清清楚楚的账目
      qing1qing1chu3chu3  de0  zhang4mu4
      clean_and_clear  DE  account_book
      ‘a nice and clean ledger’

10.3.1. Adjectives in modifier positions

The most salient difference between non-derived gradable adjectives and derived adjectives is how they modify nominal phrases. Non-derived adjectives can modify nouns directly and can also function as part of a 的 DE (attributive marker) phrase to modify nominal phrases. Derived adjectives, on the other hand, do not modify nouns directly and predominantly appear in 的 DE (attributive marker) phrases that modify nominal phrases, as in [21].

[21] a. 石榴树上挂着红红的花。
   shi2liu2  shu4  shang4  gua4  zhe0  hong2hong2  de0
   pomegranate tree on  hang  ZHE  red  DE
Many adjectives, including most derived adjectives, can appear in a clause as the adverb, with or without the adverbial marker  ‘DE,’ as shown in [22].

[22] 一幢幢石头农舍整齐地排列在村路两旁。
yi1zhuang4zhuang4 shi2tou0 nong2she4 zheng3qi2 de0 several stone farm_house trimly DE
pai2lie4 zai4 cun1 lu4 liang3 pang2 array PREP village road two side  
‘Stone farmhouses (were) neatly lined up on both sides of the village road.’

[23] 姚明凤凤火火把NBA变成了一个中国人的舞台。
yao2ming2 feng1feng1huo3huo3 ba3 NBA bian4 YAO_MING energetically BA NBA change
cheng2 le0 yi1 ge4 zhong1guo2ren2 de0 wu3tai2 into LE one CL Chinese DE stage  
‘YAO Ming turned the NBA into a stage for Chinese through his fantastic performance.’

There seem to be exceptional cases where a derived adjective appears in front of an NUM–CL phrase without the  ‘DE’ (attributive marker), as in [24] and [25a]. The  ‘DE’ (attributive marker) may also appear before the NUM–CL phrase, as in [25b].
地上堆着大大小小二十几个纸箱子。

'Lying on the ground were over twenty carton boxes, big and small.'

平原的经验是什么？简简单单一个字：”实”!

'What’s Pingyuan County’s magic formula? It simply boils down to one character: grounded!'

The Pingyuan people’s formula is a simple character: grounded.'

10.3.2. Non-derived and derived adjectives in argument positions
Non-derived and derived adjectives can also be used as arguments, as in [26].

'a. 我向来追求平凡。

'I always strive to be ordinary.'

'b. 简简单单也是一种幸福。

'Being simple is also a kind of happiness.'

10.3.3. Adjective phrases
Adjective phrases (APs) typically appear in the form of [Degree Adverbial + A].
APs typically function as predicates, as part of the 的 de0 'DE' (attributive marker)
phrase that modifies nominal phrases, or as adverbials with or without 地 de0 ‘DE’ (adverb marker).

All gradable adjectives can form adjective phrases with degree adverbials, which are typically degree adverbs like 有点 you3dian3 ‘a little,’ 很 hen3 ‘very,’ 极 ji2 ‘extremely,’ 挺 ting3 ‘quite,’ 非常 fei1chang2 ‘extremely,’ etc. Some absolute adjectives may form adjective phrases with excessive or maximum degree adverbials, such as 非常完美 fei1chang2 wan2mei3 ‘extremely perfect’ and 非常基本 fei1chang2 ji1ben3 ‘extremely fundamental.’ Derived adjectives do not take adverbial degree modification.

Although an adjective phrase typically requires a 的 de0 ‘DE’ (attributive marker) to modify a nominal phrase, as in [27], there are cases in which an AP seems to modify a nominal phrase directly. One of these cases is that 很 hen3 ‘very’ appears in a small number of compound adjectives, such as 很多 hen3duo1 ‘a lot’ and 很大 hen3da4 ‘very big.’ These adjectives can modify nouns without the help of 的 de0 ‘DE’ (attributive marker), as in [28]. Another case is that 的 de0 ‘DE’ (attributive marker) does not have to appear when the nominal phrase being modified has an overt demonstrative, as in [29].

[27]  a. 地上放着一些 很脏 的算命用品。
   di4   shang4 fang4 zhe0 yi1xie1 hen3 zang1 de0
ground on place ZHE some very dirty DE
   suan4ming4 yong4pin3
   fortune_telling tool
   ‘On the ground were some dirty tools used for fortune telling.’

   b. 人们纷纷撤离到 比较安全 的地带。
   ren2men0 fen1fen1 che4li2 dao4 jiao4
ci peopie one_after_another retreat PREP comparatively
   an1quan2 de0 di4da4i4
   safe DE area
   ‘One by one, people evacuated to safer places.’

[28]  this 需与商业银行的要求还有 很大距离。
   zhe4   yu3   shang1ye4ye4yin2hang2 de0 yao1qiu2 hai2
   this PREP commercial_bank DE requirement still
   you3  hen3  da4  ju4li2
   have very big distance
   ‘This is still far away from meeting the requirement for a commercial bank.’
Shi-Zhe Huang, Jing Jin, and Dingxu Shi

A third case is that the superlative morpheme 最 zui4 ‘most’ can form a compound with quite a number of adjectives, and those compounds can modify nouns without the de0 ‘DE’ (attributive marker), as shown in [30].

[30] [i] 最差影片 zuicha4 ying3pian4 ‘the worst film’
    [ii] 最佳选择 zuijia41 xuan3ze2 ‘the best choice’
    [iii] 最优秀教师 zuiyou4you1 xiu4 jia04shi1 ‘the best teacher’
    [iv] 最高建筑物 zui4gao1 jian4zh4w44 ‘the highest building’
    [v] 最高档电脑 zui4gao1dang4 dian4nao3 ‘the most expensive computer’

The nouns modified by these 最-adjective compounds typically have at least two syllables and are often occupation terms, such as 教师 jiao4shi1 ‘teacher,’ 导演 dao3yan3 ‘movie director,’ and 媳妇 xi2fu4 ‘daughter-in-law.’ Since a noun like 最佳导演 zuijia41 dao3yan3 ‘best movie director’ represents the superlative one in a set, the noun being modified typically represents a type of entity rather than a token, namely, the noun being modified is a hypernym rather than a hyponym. Because of this, 最稀有动物 zui4xi1you3 dong4w44 ‘the rarest animal’ is easy to accept, but 最稀有邻居家小狗 zui4xi1you3 lin2ju1 jia1 xiao3gou3 ‘the rarest little dog of the next door neighbors’ is hard to understand.

10.4. Adjectives and verbs: a comparison
Adjectives share many properties with verbs, especially stative verbs, but they do have certain differences. Both gradable adjectives and stative verbs like 喜欢 xi3huan1 ‘to like’ and 相信 xiang1xin4 ‘to believe’ denote states. As such, they can both be associated with 不 bu4 ‘not,’ 都 dou1 ‘all,’ and 也 ye3 ‘also,’ be modified by degree adverbials, and appear in V-not-V form in an A-not-A alternative question. However, a stative verb can take an object, whereas an adjective predominantly does not have an object.

10.5. Special adjectives 多 duo1 ‘many/much,’ 少 shao3 ‘few/little,’ and 大 da4 ‘big’
多 duo1 ‘many/much’ is a gradable adjective with many meanings, and the basic one is to describe relatively large quantities, namely, “many” or “much.” When
used with its basic meaning, 多 duo1 ‘many/much’ typically does not modify nouns directly but predominantly as part of a 的 de0 ‘DE’ (attributive marker) phrase.

多 duo1 has another meaning of “several/multiple.” When used with this meaning, 多 duo1 can modify nouns directly, as in 多人受伤 duo1ren2 shou4shang1 ‘several people were injured,’ 多处感染 duo1chu4 gan3ran3 ‘several places were infected,’ and 多民族国家 duo1min2zu2 guo2jia1 ‘country with multiple ethnic groups.’ This usage of 多 duo1 is mainly found in formal written genres.

多 duo1 ‘several/multiple’ can appear in the NUM position of an NUM-CL phrase as a quantifier, as in 多块金牌 duo1kua1j4 jin1pai2 ‘several medals’ and 多篇文章 duo1pian1 wen2zhang1 ‘several articles.’ It can also function as part of an approximate numeral, as in 三十多本书 san1shiduo1ben3 shu1 ‘over thirty books’ (see Chapter 8, section 8.4).

多 duo1 ‘many/much’ can also be used as an adverb in a verb phrase to indicate the quantity of activities, which can be physical, emotional, mental, and so on, as in [31].

[31] a. 多吃点饭。
   duo1 chi1 dian3 fan4
   much eat a_little rice
   ‘Eat a little more rice.’

b. 多做事, 少说话。
   duo1 zuo4 shi4 shao3 shuo1 hua4
   much do thing little talk words
   ‘Do more and speak less.’

The verb phrase modified by 多 duo1 ‘many/much’ often has a verb quantifier phrase as its object, as in [32].

[32] a. 小明打算在图书馆多待一会儿。
   xiao3ming2 da3suan4 zai1 tu2shu1guan3 duo1
   XIAOMING plan PREP library much
da1 yi1hui4er0
   stay a_while
   ‘Xiao Ming planned to stay a little longer in the library.’

b. 下次我们要多准备几道菜。
   xia4ci4 wo3men0 yao4 duo1 zhun3bei4 ji3
   next_time we need much prepare several
da04 cai4
   CL dish
   ‘Next time we should prepare a few more dishes.’
多 duo1 ‘many/much’ can also replace the degree adverb in a gradable adjective compound to turn it into an interrogative word, such as 多大 duo1da4 ‘how big’ and 多长 duo1chang2 ‘how long,’ to be used in variable questions, as in [33].

[33]  
a. 你要多大的锅？
    ni3 yao4 duo1 da4 de0 guo1
    you want how big DE pot
    ‘How big a pot do you want?’

b. 他们要住多久？
    ta1men0 yao4 zhu4 duo1 jiu3
    they want live how long
    ‘How long will they stay?’

In predicative uses, 多 duo1 ‘many/much’ and 少 shao3 ‘few/little’ are antonyms. The two sentences in [34] thus have opposite meanings.

[34]  
a. 山上的树很多。
    shan1 shang4 de0 shu4 hen3 duo1
    mountain on DE tree very many
    ‘There are many trees on the mountain.’

b. 山上的树很少。
    shan1 shang4 de0 shu4 hen3 shao3
    mountain on DE tree very few
    ‘There are few trees on the mountain.’

However, 多 duo1 ‘many/much’ and 少 shao3 ‘few/little’ are not antonyms in cases like [35], in which 多 duo1 ‘many/much’ cannot replace 少 shao3 ‘few/little’ to produce an opposite meaning. Unlike 多 duo1 ‘many/much,’ 少 shao3 ‘few/little’ is not used to form an interrogative word, nor is it used as a quantifier or as part of an approximate number.

[35]  
我很少在晚上喝咖啡。
    wo3 hen3shao3 zai4 wan3shang4 he1 ka1fei1
    I seldom PREP evening drink coffee
    ‘I seldom drink coffee in the evening.’

10.5.1. 大 da3 ‘big’ and 很大 hen3da4 ‘very big’
Phrases composed of 大 da4 ‘big’ and its modifying degree adverbials, such as 很 hen3 ‘very,’ 极 ji2 ‘extremely,’ 挺 ting3 ‘quite,’ 特 te4 ‘extremely,’ etc., have some characteristics that are different from those of other APs.
While most APs require a 的 de0 'DE' (attributive marker) to modify a nominal phrase, a major feature of these 大 da4 'big' phrases is that they can modify verbal nouns directly, even though they can also appear in a 的 de0 'DE' (attributive marker) phrase. A verbal noun like those in [36] represents an action and typically has a morphologically identical counterpart that is a transitive verb. The modification patterns are shown in [37].

[36]  
[i] 鼓舞 gu3wu3 ‘encouragement, to encourage’
[ii] 支持 zhi1chi2 ‘support, to support’
[iii] 启发 qi3fa1 ‘inspiration, to inspire’
[iv] 刺激 ci4ji1 ‘provocation, to provoke’
[v] 鞭策 bian1ce4 ‘urge, to urge’
[vi] 诱惑 you4huo4 ‘seduction, to seduce’
[vii] 帮助 bang1zhu4 ‘help, to help’
[viii] 危害 wei1hai4 ‘endangerment, endanger’

[37]  
a. 这对促进中美两国的文化交流有 很大的帮助。
   zhe4 dui4 cu4jin4 zhong1mei3 liang3 guo2 de0 this PREP promote Sino_America two country DE
   wen2hua4 jiao1liu2 you3 hen3 da4 de0 culture communication have very big DE
   bang1zhu4 help
   ‘This would greatly promote the cultural exchanges between China and America.’

b. 这一成果对他们的工作有 很大帮助。
   zhe4 yi1 cheng2guo3 dui4 ta1men0 de0 gong1zuo4 this one outcome PREP they DE work
   you3 hen3 da4 bang1zhu4 have very big help
   ‘This result would help their work a lot.’

c. 这种前景无疑对人们具有 极大的诱惑。
   zhe4 zhong3 qian2jing3 wu2yi2 dui4 ren2men0 this CL prospect undoubtedly PREP people
   ju4you3 ji2 da4 de0 you4huo4 have extremely big DE temptation
   ‘This prospect undoubtedly gave people great allure.’
d. 极为可观的利润给了武汉人极大诱惑。

ji2wei2ke3guan1 de0 li4run4 gei3 le0 wu3han4 ren2
remarkable DE profit give LE Wuhan people
ji2 da4 you4huo4
extremely big temptation

‘The remarkable profits gave Wuhan residents great temptation.’
Comparison
Marie-Claude Paris and Dingxu Shi

This chapter discusses four types of comparative clauses and their interpretations in Chinese:

1. The affirmative superiority comparative expressed by a predicate.
2. The superiority comparative marker 比 bi3 ‘than.
3. The equality comparative marked with 跟 gen1 ‘like’ and its variants 像 xiang4 ‘like,’ 如 ru2 ‘as,’ and 有 you3 ‘YOU.’
4. The correlative comparative marked with 越 yue4 ‘the more . . . the more . . .’

When available, both the affirmative and the negative forms of these comparative clauses will be discussed.

11.1. Distinctive properties of comparative clauses in Chinese

A distinctive feature of Chinese comparatives is that there are only two types of markers for comparison. One is the superiority marker 比 bi3 ‘than’ and the other is the equality marker 跟 gen1 ‘with’ and its variants. Inferiority is conveyed by negative forms of superiority or equality comparatives.

The main pattern for comparatives is that the term being compared appears before the verb, usually as the subject, whereas the standard of comparison appears as the complement of a preposition, and the comparative phrase appears as the main predicate. The pattern can be summarized as the schema in [1], where A represents the term being compared, B represents the standard of comparison, MP represents the differential measure phrase, V represents the main part of the predicate, and the comparative marker is a preposition such as 比 bi3 ‘than,’ 跟 gen1 ‘with,’ 像 xiang4 ‘like,’ 如 ru2 ‘as,’ or 有 you3 ‘YOU.’

   bi3/gen1/xiang4/ru2/you3

In [1], the two comparative terms A and B are typically nominal phrases, but they can sometimes be other phrases or even an incomplete phrase with ellipses.
In addition to comparatives in the shape of [1], there are correlative comparatives that contain a marker pair 越 … 越 … yue … yue4 … ‘the more … the more …’ and simple comparatives containing no preposition marker at all.

11.2. Affirmative superiority comparison
The comparative containing no preposition marker has the shape shown in [2], where the two comparative terms A and B are nominal phrases and the verb compound V₁–V₂ takes B as its complement, which can be followed by an optional MP.

[2] \[ A \ V₁–V₂ \ B \ (MP) \]

The verbs occupying the V₁ slot are predominantly monosyllabic verbs of dimension, such as 多 duo1 ‘much,’ 少 shao3 ‘less,’ 大 da4 ‘big,’ 小 xiao3 ‘small,’ 长 chang2 ‘long,’ 短 duan3 ‘short,’ 高 gao1 ‘high,’ and 低 di1 ‘low.’ A differential measure phrase, such as the 一截 yi1 jie2 ‘a section’ in [4], may optionally follow B. The V₂ found in the corpus are 过 guo4 ‘surpass,’ 出 chu1 ‘beyond,’ and more commonly, 于 yu2 ‘at, by.’ Sentences [3] through [7] are examples of affirmative superiority comparisons.

[3] 医生多过病人。
yi1sheng1 duo1 guo4 bing4ren2
doctor more surpass patient
‘There are more doctors than patients.’

[4] 大陆、南韩的实力高出一截。
da4lu4 nan2han2 de0 shi2li4 gao1chu1
mainland South_Korea DE strength high beyond
yi1jie2
a_section
‘The Mainland Team and the South Korean Team were clearly stronger by a large margin.’

[5] 好奇多于同情。
hao4qi2 duo1 yu2 tong2qing2
curiosity much PREP sympathy
‘(It is) more out of curiosity than sympathy.’

[6] 正面效果少于负面效果。
zheng4mian4 xiao4guo3 shao3 yu2 fu4mian4
positive effect less PREP negative
xiao4guo3
effect
‘There are fewer positive effects than negative ones.’

[7] 女人的寿命长于男性。
fu4n¨u3 de0 shou4ming4 chang2 yu2 nan2xing4
woman DE life long PREP man
‘Women’s life expectancy is longer than men’s.’

The standard of comparison in such clauses sometimes appears as the complement of the comparative marker 比 bi3 ‘than,’ while the differential measure phrase still appears after the V1–V2, as in [8].

[8] 我都比他们高出一或二公分。
wo3 dou1 bi3 ta1men0 gao1 chu1 yi1 huo4
I all than they high beyond one or
er4 gong1fen1
two centimeter
‘Even I am taller than them by one or two centimeters.’

Another important characteristic of Chinese comparison constructions to bear in mind in this context is that the lexical meaning of scalar stative predicates in Chinese is comparative, not absolutive, as discussed in Chapter 10. Hence, even when the standard of comparison and the differential measure phrase is not expressed, the simple X+V sentences still have a comparative reading. This can be illustrated by [9], based on sentence [6], and [10], based on sentence [7].

[9] 正面效果少。
zheng4mian4 xiao4guo3 shao3
positive effect less
‘Positive effects are fewer.’

[10] 女人的寿命长。
fu4n¨u3 de0 shou4ming4 chang2
woman DE life long
‘Women’s life expectancy is longer.’

11.3. Superiority comparatives marked with 比 bi3 ‘than’
Comparatives with the marker 比 bi3 ‘than’ have the shape as shown in [11].

In [11], the negator “Neg” between the compared term A and the standard of comparison B is optional depending on the meaning, the obligatory V is the main part of the predicate, the optional degree adverbial is typically an adverb, and the differential MP is a complement in V.

11.3.1. The predicate in 比 bi3 ‘than’ comparatives
The V found in 比 bi3 ‘than’ comparatives is scalar in nature. It can be a gradable stative predicate like 高 gao1 ‘tall’ in [12], an eventual predicate that has a direction scale like 上扬 shang4yang2 ‘go up’ in [13], or the temporal progress of an event that is associated with a gradable property, such as a compound verb affixed with the continuous aspect of 去 xia4qu4 in [14].

[12] 他比我高。
   ta1 bi3 wo3 gao1
   he than I tall
   ‘He is taller than me.’

[13] 烈酒的价格可能比年底稍微上扬。
   lie4jiu3 de0 jia4ge2 ke3neng2 bi3 nian2 di3
   hard_liquor DE price maybe than year bottom
   shao1wei1 shang4yang2
   a_little go_up
   ‘The price of hard liquor may go up a little more than that at the end of the year.’

[14] 他的身体一天比一天消瘦下去。
   ta1 de0 shen1ti3 yi1 tian1 bi3 yi1
   he DE body one day than one
   tian1 xiao1shou4 xia4qu4
   day thin XIAQU
   ‘He got thinner day by day.’

When the predicate in such a comparative stands for an action like 买书 mai3shu1 ‘buy books’ or 花钱 hua1qian2 ‘spend money,’ the scalar requirement can be satisfied by a scalar adverbial, such as 多 duo1 ‘more’ and 少 shao3 ‘less’ in [15] and [16], together with a measurement phrase to indicate the difference.

[15] 我们比昨天多买了三本书。
   wo3men0 bi3 zuo2tian1 duo1 mai3 le0 san1
   we than yesterday more buy LE three
Comparison

- We bought three more books than we did yesterday.

He spent two dollars less than you did.

- They could be slightly lower than theirs.

You make more money than I do during my whole life at home.

The slot of the degree adverbial is filled either by degree adverbs, like 更 'more' in [19] and 还 'still' in [20], or by a modal, like 要 'will' in [21].
It is also common for these adverbs and modals to appear in pairs, such as the sequences 还要 hai2ya04 ‘still will’ and 还更 hai2geng4 ‘still more’ in [22] and [23], respectively. Their sequential order cannot be changed because the scope of 还 hai2 ‘still’ is wider than that of 还更 geng4 ‘more’ and 要 yao4 ‘will.’

The main function of the degree adverbial is to bring in some additional meaning to a comparative clause. An important presupposition in the comparative in [22] is that 我 wo3 ‘I’ is tall, and the main assertion is that 他 ta1 ‘he’ is even taller. If the degree adverbial 还要 hai2ya04 ‘still will’ is taken out of [22] to turn it into the comparative clause found in [12], there will no longer be any presupposition about the height of either 他 ta1 ‘he’ or 我 wo3 ‘I.’ [12] is true as long as there is a
height difference between 他 ta1 ‘he’ and 我 wo3 ‘I,’ even though both are actually short.

11.3.4. The differential measure phrase
The differential measure phrase (MP) in a comparative clause can be either predicative or nominal.

11.3.4.1. Predicative MPs
There are two types of predicative MPs. One type has no direct relation to the V, like 很多 hen3 duo1 ‘much’ or its reduplicated form 很多很多 hen2duo1hen2duo1 ‘very much’ in [24]. The other type is part of the complement marked with 得 de0 ‘DE,’ such as in [25].

[24] 这个社会比我们想象的要复杂很多很多。
    zhe4 ge4 she4hui4 bi3 wo3men0 xiang3xiang4 de0
this CL society than we imagine DE
    yao4 fu4za2 hen3duo1 hen3duo1
will complex more more
‘This society is much more complex than we had thought.’

[25] 她的力量已比一般男孩子大得多。
    ta1 de0 li4liang4 yi3 bi3 yi1ban1 nan2hai2zi0
she DE strength already than usual boy
da4 de0 duo1
big DE much
‘Her strength was already stronger than that of most boys.’

Note that in the degree complement, the 比 bi3 ‘than’ phrase can either precede the V suffixed by 得 de0 ‘DE’ or follow it, as in [26] and [27], respectively.

[26] 他比我来得迟。
    ta1 bi3 wo3 lai2 de0 chi2
he than I come DE late
‘He came later than I did.’

[27] 他来得比我迟。
    ta1 lai2 de0 bi3 wo3 chi2
he come DE than I late
‘He came later than me.’
11.3.4.2. Nominal MPs

The nominal differential MP is typically a quantifier like 一点 yi1dian3 ‘a little bit’ in [28] or the 一个百分点 yi1ge4 bai3fen1dian3 ‘one point of the percentage’ in [29]. It can also be a combination of a numeral and a classifier, as in [30].

[28] 控制中心比一个足球场还要大上一点。
    kong4zhi4 zhong1xin1 bi3 yi1 ge4 zu2qiu2 chang3
center than one CL soccer field
hai2 yao4 da4 shang4 yi1dian3
still will big up a_bit
‘The control center is even a bit bigger than a soccer field.’

[29] 成长率比第二季度还要少一个百分点。
    cheng2zhang3 lu4 bi3 di4er4 ji4 hai2 yao4
growth rate than second season still will
shao3 yi1 ge4 bai3fen1dian3
less one CL percent
‘The growth rate is one percent lower than that of the second quarter.’

[30] 我都比他们多出一两公分。
    wo3 dou1 bi3 ta1men0 duo1 chu1 yi1 liang3
I all than they much beyond one two
gong1fen1
centimeter
‘Even I am one or two centimeters taller than them.’

When the degree adverbial is a paucal adverb such as 稍微 shao1wei1 ‘somewhat,’
the nominal differential measure phrase is typically (一)些 yi1 xie1 ‘a little,’ as in
[31], or 一点 yi1dian3 ‘a little.’

[31] 团费会比一般行程稍微高些。
    tuan2 fei4 hui4 bi3 yi1ban1 xing2cheng2 shao1wei1
tour fee will than usual itineraries a_little
gao1 xie1
high some
‘The fee for this tour may be slightly higher than that of normal itineraries.’

11.4. Negative 比 bi3 ‘than’ constructions

The negative morpheme in a comparative construction can be either 不 bu4 or
没有 mei2you3.
11.4.1. 不bu4 ‘not’ and negative 比bi3 ‘than’ constructions
The negative form of the comparative, such as in [32], typically does not take any
differential MP. In the few cases where it does appear, the MP is predominantly
an interrogative quantifier like 多少 duo1shao3 ‘how much’ in [33], which yields
the reading of an existential quantifier “much” under the scope of the negative
morpheme.

[32] 另加少许洗衣粉, 效果不比漂白剂差。
ing4 jia1 shao2xu3 xi3yi1fen3 xiao4guo3
moreover add a_few laundry_detergent effect
bu4 bi3 piao3bai2 ji4 cha 4
NEG than white dose bad
‘Add a bit of detergent powder as an extra, and the result is not worse
than bleach.’

[33] 色彩的丰富性显然不比国画高多少。
se4cai3 de0 feng1fu4xing4 xian3ran2 bu4 bi3
color DE richness apparently NEG than
guo4hua gao1 duo1 shao3
Chinese_painting high much less
‘The richness of color is obviously not much better than Chinese
paintings.’

Although the negation of superiority comparatives creates an inferiority com-
parative reading, what [32] actually says is that the result is almost the same as
using bleach, while sentence [33] means the richness is better only to a very limited
extent. The thin margin between the two comparative terms in such a sentence is
shown clearly in [34].

[34] 欧洲对企业改造的需求即使不比美国高, 也与美国相当。
ou1zhou1 dui4 qi3ye4 gai3zao4 de0 xu1qiu2
Europe PREP enterprise reform DE need
ji2shi3 bu4 bi3 mei3guo2 gao1 ye3
even_though NEG than the_United_States high also
yu3 mei3guo2 xiang1dang1
PREP the_United_States equal
‘Even if the need for enterprise reform in Europe is not higher than that
of the US, it is at least equal.’
11.4.2. 没有 mei2you3 ‘NEG’ and negative 比 bi3 ‘than’ constructions

The negation 没有 mei2you3 denies the existence of an event (see Chapter 8). When 没有 mei2you3 negates a comparative 比 bi3 ‘than’ clause, as in [35] and [36], it functions similarly to double negation. In [35], the pair of statements progresses from the relevant fact that the speaker’s group does not boast/claim to be stronger than others, to the additional claim (with 会 hui4 ‘will’) of not being weaker than others. Moreover, the negation of the comparative clause in [36] serves to state that not even our parents can claim to be wiser than us.

[35] 我们并没有比谁强, 更不会比谁差。
我们 however NEG than who strong
geng4 bu4 hui4 bi3 shui2 cha4
more NEG will than who bad
‘We were not (boasting to be) stronger than anyone. Yet nor will we be weaker than anyone.’

[36] 父母都没有比我们明事理。
父母 all NEG than we understand
‘Not even our parents could claim to be wiser than we are.’

11.5. 跟 gen1 ‘with’ comparatives: comparison of equality and likeness

11.5.1. Characteristics of 跟 gen1 ‘with’ comparatives

The basic meaning of 跟 gen1 ‘with’ as a comparative is that the two comparative terms are the same, as in 一样 yi1yang4 ‘the same.’ The MP with regard to which two terms are equal may not appear in the sentence and has to be recovered from the context, as in the case of [37] and [38]. Sometimes a degree adverbial may appear before 一样 yi1yang4 ‘the same,’ such as 差不多 cha4bu4duo1 ‘almost’ in [38], which states that the equality is not one hundred percent.

[37] 我的心情跟你们一样。
我 DE mood PREP you same
‘My feeling is the same as yours.’
The equality of the two terms may also be represented by a gradable predicate modified by 一样 
‘the same,’ as in the case of [39] and [40].

In addition to 跟 ‘with,’ prepositions like 和 ‘with’ and 同 ‘with’ can replace 跟 ‘with’ in equality comparatives, as in [41] and [42].

The predicate of an equality comparative clause can also take a 得 ‘DE’ complement, and the equality adverbial 一样 ‘the same’ can appear either after or before 得 ‘DE,’ as in [43]–[44], respectively.
11.5.2. Negation of 跟 gen1 ‘with’ comparatives
The equality comparative is typically negated by 不 bu4 ‘not,’ which appears either after 跟 gen1 ‘with,’ as in [45], or before 跟 gen1 ‘with,’ as in [46] and [47].

[45] 我的理由跟他们不一样。
wo3 de0 li3you2 gen1 ta1men0 bu4 yi1yang4
I DE reason PREP they NEG same
‘My reasons are different from theirs.’

[46] 我的灯笼不跟你们一样。
wo3 de0 deng1long2 bu4 gen1 ni3men0 yi1yang4
I DE lantern NEG PREP you same
‘My lantern will not be the same as yours.’

[47] 你为什么不能跟弟弟一样听话?
ni3 wei4shen2me0 bu4 neng2 gen1 di4di0
you why NEG can PREP younger_brother
yi1yang4 ting1hua4
same obedient
‘Why can’t you be as obedient as your (younger) brother?’

11.6. 像 xiang4 ‘like’: a partial variant of 跟 gen1 ‘with’

11.6.1. The nature of 像 xiang4 ‘like’ equality comparatives
The equality comparative has a partial variant marked by 像 xiang4 ‘like.’ The essential meaning of a 像 xiang4 ‘like’ comparative is that the two terms of comparison look alike or behave similarly. One way to do this is to have one term function as the subject and the other to appear between the pair 像…一样 xiang4…yi1yang4 ‘the same as’ or 像…一般 xiang4…yi1ban1 ‘the same as.’ Sentence [48] thus means that the hall looks like a museum, while [49] states that the two groups behave alike.
Comparison

The hall looks like a museum.

The Taiwanese tourists behave like Japanese tourists.

The silk scarf they produced looks as delicate as a spider web.

Academia Sinica looks like a courtyard house shared by many families.

She behaves like a thief.
11.6.2. Negation of 像 xiang4 ‘like’ comparatives
像 xiang4 ‘like’ comparatives with a gradable predicate can be negated by 不 bu4 or 没有 mei2you3. 不 bu4 appears in sentences with an imperfective predicate, as in [54], while 没有 mei2you3 occurs with a perfective predicate, as in [55] and [56].

[54] 气候就不像高原那么寒冷。
qi4hou4 jiu4 bu4 xiang4 gao1yuan2 na4me0
cold
‘The climate is not as cold as in the highland.’

[55] 保育的观念还没有像今天这样深植人心。
bao3yu4 de0 guan1nian4 hai2
ren2xin1
‘(At that time) the concept of environmental conservation was not yet deeply rooted in people’s hearts as it is nowadays.’

[56] 我的爱从来没像那时那么圣洁, 淳厚。
wo3 de0 ai4 cong2lai2 mei2 xiang4 na4shi2
na4me0 sheng4jie2 chun2hou4
‘My love has never been so sacred, pure, and grounded as it was at that time.’

An important feature of negative 像 xiang4 ‘like’ comparatives is that the equality adverbial 一样 yi1yang4 ‘the same’ is replaced by a deictic adverbial, such as
Comparison

11.7. 如 ru2 ‘as’ equality comparatives

Equality comparatives can also be marked by 如 ru2 ‘as,’ which can function as the head of a main predicate or occur as part of the pair 如 … 一样 ru2 … yi1yang4 ‘the same as,’ as shown in [57] and [58], respectively.

[57] 中研院正如台湾的其他学术机构。
zhong1yan2yuan4 ru2 tai2wan1 de0 qi2ta1
Academia Sinica exactly as Taiwan DE other
xue2shu4 ji1gou4
Academic organization
‘Academia Sinica is exactly like other academic institutes in Taiwan.’

[58] 姿势如吹笛一样。
zi1shi4 ru2 chui1 di2 yi1yang4
gesture as brag flute same
‘The posture looks like flute playing.’

The negative form of 如 ru2 ‘as’ comparatives is predominantly marked with 不 bu4, as in [59] and [60].

[59] 成果不如预期。
cheng2guo3 bu4 ru2 yu4qi1
result NEG as expectation
‘The outcome is not up to expectations.’

[60] 今年资讯月的热度不如以往。
jin1nian2 zi1xun4 yue4 de0 re4du4 bu4
this_year information month DE enthusiasm NEG
ru2 yi3wang3
as previous
‘The enthusiasm for Information Month this year is not the same as in previous years.’
The negative 不如 bu4ru2 comparative can have a scalar predicate, in which the 如 ru2 ‘as’ phrase is an adverbial. Such a negative sentence typically conveys an inferiority reading instead of a simple inequality reading. Sentence [61] thus means that the box office of next year will be worse than this year’s, and [62] means that the situation is less serious.

[61] 明年的票房大概不如今年理想。

ming2nian2 de0 piao4fang2 da4gai4 bu4 ru2
next_year DE box_office perhaps NEG as
jin1nian2 li3xiang3
this_year ideal
‘The box office of next year will perhaps not be as good as this year’s.’

[62] 情势不如外界报导严重。

qing2shi4 bu4 ru2 wai4jie4 bao4dao3 yan2zhong4
situation NEG as outside report serious
‘The situation is less serious than what is being reported (abroad).’

11.8. 有 you3 ‘YOU’ equality comparatives

Equality comparatives marked by 有 you3 ‘YOU’ predominantly have a gradable predicate with a deictic adverbial 这么 zhe4me0 ‘this manner’ or 那么 na4me0 ‘that manner,’ which sometimes takes 这样 zhe4yang4 ‘this way’ or 那样 na4me0 ‘that way’ as a variant. The main meaning of such a comparative is that the term being compared has some property similar to that of the standard of comparison. The most likely scenario for sentence [63] is that the speaker is making a gesture to indicate a certain height and says that the girl is as tall as that, while the standard of comparison in [64] is the height of a table, which is far away from the speaker.

[63] 她女儿有这么高了。

ta1 nü3er2 you3 zhe4me0 gao1 le0
she daughter YOU so tall LE
‘Her daughter is as tall as this.’

[64] 她女儿有桌子那么高了。

ta1 nü3er2 you3 zhuo1zi0 na4me0 gao1 le0
she daughter YOU desk that tall LE
‘Her daughter is as tall as the desk.’

有 you3 equality comparatives are commonly found in interrogative forms, as shown in [65].
The negative form of 有 you3 equality comparatives carries an inferiority reading. The second clause in [66] thus means that there are fewer big cities in China in comparison with the US, while [67] means that the issue is less simple, namely, more complicated than expected.

11.9. 越...越...yue4...yue4... ‘the more... the more...’ correlative comparative constructions
A correlative comparative construction consists of two comparative phrases, each of which is marked with 越 yue4 ‘the more...’ The two comparative phrases can appear as two conjoined clauses or as a single clause with two conjoined predicates. The two comparative phrases can have the same subject, as in [68] and [69], which have conjoined predicates, and [70], which has conjoined clauses.
‘The bigger the parasitic woody vines grow, the more nutrients they need.’

A 越...越...越来越... ’the more...the more...’ comparative indicates a proportional or a parallel decrease or increase along the two scales expressed by the two comparative phrases sharing the same subject, as in [68] through [70]. The same is true for sentences like [71], where the two comparative phrases have different subjects. [71] correlates the crying of the mother with her daughter’s speech.

‘The more Jing CHEN talked, the more her mother cried.’
Adverbs

Yung-O Biq and Chu-Ren Huang

This chapter is concerned with the morphosyntactic and functional properties of adverbs. The major types of adverbs, including temporal adverbs, degree adverbs, scope adverbs, and attitudinal adverbs, will be described. Some of the most commonly used adverbs will also be discussed in detail. An adverb typically modifies the properties of a verb, an adjective, or another adverb. Non-derived adverbs are not morphologically marked, while derived adverbs undergo a word-formation process, such as reduplication or de-suffixation. It is also important to notice that many phrasal units can have the same modifying functions and they are called adverbials. In this chapter, we will only focus on the non-derived adverbs.

12.1. Distinctive properties of adverbs

- Adverbs are typically monosyllabic or disyllabic. A significant number of disyllabic adverbs are formed by the reduplication of monosyllabic adjectives or adverbs.
- Adverbs are typically positioned to the left of the main predicate of a clause and to the left of the unit it modifies. Some adverbs can occur at the sentence-initial position, but others can never do so. When there is more than one adverb in a clause, their occurrence is ordered.
- Adverbs in Chinese can be largely classified into two groups. Descriptive adverbs typically have content word characteristics, including having a big number of members in this group and being open to neologism. Functional adverbs typically have functional word characteristics, including being a small closed group with versatile high-frequency grammatical features.

12.2. Overview of adverbs

Similar to many other languages, adverbs in Chinese form a loosely defined category in which members can differ from one another in their morphology, syntax, meaning, and function.

Chinese adverbs can first and foremost be divided into two groups: descriptive adverbs and functional adverbs (also called “restrictive” adverbs). Descriptive adverbs have a specific meaning that describes a particular aspect of an action or a
state, such as the manner or means of carrying out an action (e.g., 高声 gao1sheng1 ‘loudly,’ 亲自 qin1zi4 ‘in person’). Compared to functional adverbs, descriptive adverbs are more lexical, more of the “content” or “open-class” word type, and the majority of them are disyllabic or longer. Functional adverbs, on the other hand, are more of the “function” or “closed-class” word type. Many of them are disyllabic, such as 经常 jing1chang2 ‘always’ and 虽然 sui1ran2 ‘although,’ but those most frequently used are monosyllabic, such as 都 dou1 ‘all’ and 才 cai2 ‘just.’ Functional adverbs cover a wide spectrum of grammatical meanings, such as degree, scope, time, frequency, logical relations, textual relations, and the speaker’s stance. The total number of adverbs, hence, is smaller than open-class nouns and verbs but greater than closed-class prepositions. Most descriptive adverbs are derived from adjectives, which are discussed in Chapter 10. This chapter focuses on functional adverbs. They will be referred to as adverbs hereafter and, unless confusion arises, the term “adverbs” will replace “functional adverb phrases,” since adverb phrases predominantly consist of just the head adverb when they work as adverbials in a clause.

Adverbs typically modify verbs, as in [1], and adjectives, as in [2].

[1] 你一直待我很好，我会 永远 记着你。

ni3 yi1zi4h2i dai4 wo3 hen3 hao4 wo3 hui4
you always treat I very well I can
yong3yuan3 ji4 zhe0 ni3
always sign ZHE you
‘You have always treated me well. I will remember you forever.’

[2] 此种仪器 非常 昂贵，只有中央卫生单位有类似仪器。

ci3 zhong3 yi2qi4 fei1chang2 ang2gui4 zhi3you3
this CL apparatus very costly only
zhong1yang1 wei4sheng1 dan1wei4 y3u lei4si4
central health unit have similar
yi2qi4 apparatus
‘This kind of apparatus is very expensive. Only the health department in the central government has something like it.’

There are cases where an adverb seems to modify a nominal phrase that serves as the predicate of a clause, underlining its event-modifying function, as in [3] (see Chapter 8).

[3] 春节放假日数由除夕到初三，一共 四天。

chun1jie2 fang4jia4 ri4 shu4 you2
Spring_Festival have_day_off day number PREP
The Chinese New Year's holiday starts from New Year's Eve to the Third Day, altogether four days.

Adverbs generally appear between the subject and the predicate, such as in [4].

I was free anyway, so I decided to accompany him to the place.

However, some adverbs can also appear before the subject, such as in [5].

One way or another, people pass away when they get old.

Adverbs can be modified by other adverbs but are characteristically not modified by elements from other grammatical categories. Another property of adverbs is that only a small number of them can be used alone in answering questions, for example, 也许 ye2xu3 ‘perhaps’ and 一定 yi1ding4 ‘certainly.’

When there is more than one adverb appearing before the modified element, the order of these adverbs often reflects the meaning difference, with the adverb to the left having scope over (i.e., modifying) the adverb following. Such contrasts are most salient when negation is involved, such as in [6] and [7] (see Chapter 6).

This is extremely unfair to the divorced wife and her children.
Some adverbs are used as connective adjuncts to connect two predicates or two clauses. Among these conjunctive adverbs, some are used alone (e.g., 也 ye3, 就 jiu4); some are repeated as a pair (e.g., 也...也... ye3...ye3... 越...越... yue4... yue4...); and some are paired with other adverbs (e.g., 再...也... zai4... ye3...). The connecting function of adverbs will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 14.

Most adverbs are monosyllabic or disyllabic. However, there are also trisyllabic ones, such as 显然是 xian3ranshi4 ‘apparently.’ Many disyllabic adverbs consist of reduplicated roots (e.g., 刚刚 gang1gang1 ‘just now,’ 常常 chang2chang2 ‘often, frequently’). Although these disyllabic adverbs usually share similarity in meaning and function with their monosyllabic counterparts, neither the derivation nor the meaning of these adverbs can be predicted. For instance, an adverb in reduplication form seems to be linked to a verb (e.g., 偷偷 tou1tou1 ‘stealthily’ and 偷 tou1 ‘to steal’), an adjective (e.g., 苦苦 ku3ku3 ‘indefatigably’ and 苦 ku3 ‘bitter’), or a noun (e.g., 草草 cao3cao3 ‘hastily and carelessly’ and 草 cao3 ‘grass’), or an adverb, as those given in the list below. Because the relation between the reduplicated adverb and the monosyllabic root is often lexically conventionalized and idiosyncratic, the reduplicated form is best described as a common morphological feature of adverbs.

暗暗 an4an4 ‘secretly’
白白 bai2bai2 ‘for nothing, in vain’
草草 cao3cao3 ‘hastily’
常常 chang2chang2 ‘often’
迟迟 chi2chi2 ‘slowly, tardily’
处处 chu4chu4 ‘everywhere’
大大 da4da4 ‘enormously’
单单 dan1dan1 ‘only, singularly’
独自 du2du2 ‘only, alone’
泛泛 fan4fan4 ‘generally’
纷纷 fen1fen1 ‘one after another’
惯惯 fen4fen4 ‘angrily’

每次都 mi3mi3 ‘every time, often’
明明 ming2ming2 ‘obviously’
默默 mo4mo4 ‘quietly’
偏偏 pian1pian1 ‘deliberately’
频频 pin2pin2 ‘frequently’
恰恰 qia4qia4 ‘exactly, coincidently’
悄悄 qiao1qiao1 ‘quietly’
轻轻 qing1qing1 ‘gently’
冉冉 ran3ran3 ‘gradually’
稍稍 shao1shao1 ‘slightly’
深深 shen1shen1 ‘deeply’
时时 shi2shi2 ‘often’
Adverbs

- ‘a short while ago’ (gang1gang1)
- ‘deadly tightly’ (s1si3)
- ‘very hard’ (hen3hen3)
- ‘altogether’ (tong1tong1)
- ‘carefully’ (hao3hao3)
- ‘stealthily’ (tou1tou1)
- ‘very hard’ (tuan2tuan2)
- ‘all around’ (tuan2tuan2)
- ‘slowly’ (huan3huan3)
- ‘often’ (wang3wang3)
- ‘gradually’ (jian4jian4)
- ‘slightly, a little’ (wei2wei2)
- ‘just’ (jin3jin3)
- ‘one by one’ (yi1yi1)
- ‘for a long, long time’ (jiu3jiu3)
- ‘tightly’ (yi1yi1)
- ‘well in advance’ (zao3zao3)
- ‘quickly’ (kuai4kuai4)
- ‘full’ (zheng3zheng3)
- ‘tightly’ (lao2lao2)
- ‘earnestly and tirelessly’ (zhun1zhun1)
- ‘repeatedly’ (lian2lian2)
- ‘fully’ (zu2zu2)

Another frequently seen morphological form is “X + shi4,” where X is itself an adverb, for example, 显然 + shi4 = 显然是 xian3ran2shi4 ‘apparently.’

Since functional adverbs express grammatical rather than lexical meaning, they are often pronounced with a reduced stress, rendering a light tone reading. The origin of functional adverbs is not restricted to the vernacular and some of them are residues from Classical Chinese, such as 非 shen4 ‘very,’ 颇 po1 ‘rather,’ and 尚 shang4 ‘yet.’ These adverbs are rarely used in spoken genres but are still frequently seen in written genres. It is also important to note that monosyllabic forms often
indicate a formal register, especially when corresponding disyllabic forms are also available, such as in [10].

[10] 她功课颇好, 为人甚佳, 以致人缘极佳。
    ta1 gong1ke4 po3 hao4 wei2ren2 shen4 jia1  
    she homework rather good behave very fine

                             yi3zhi4 ren2yuan2 ji2 jia1  
    lead relations_with_other_people extremely fine

    ‘Her academic performance is rather good, and she is also a very nice person. So she is very popular.’

12.3. Types of functional adverbs
Functional adverbs can be further divided into a number of subgroups, including the important subtype of negation adverbs, which were already covered in Chapter 6.

12.3.1. Temporal adverbs
Temporal adverbs represent the temporal properties of an event and can be categorized according to the temporal facets they pertain to. Duration adverbs represent a length of time during which actions or states last, including 永远 yong3yuan3 ‘forever,’ 始终 shi3zhong1 ‘always,’ 一向 yi1xiang4 ‘always,’ 一直 yi1zhi2 ‘always,’ 仍旧 reng2jiu4 ‘still,’ 仍然 reng2ran2 ‘still’ (for a long duration), and 暂且 zhan4qie3 ‘for the time being’ (for a short duration). Examples of duration adverbs are shown in [11]–[13].

    ba4ba0 yi1zhi2 xi1wang4 wo3men0 you3 yi1 ge4  
    father always hope we YOU one CL

                             neng2 qu4 xue2 yi1  
    can go learn medicine

    ‘Father has always hoped that one of us can study medicine.’

[12] 昨天下着雨, 今天仍旧下着雨。
    zuo2tian1 xia4 zhe0 yu3 jin1tian1 reng2jiu4 xia4  
    yesterday fall ZHE rain today still fall

                             zhe0 yu3  
    ZHE rain

    ‘It was raining yesterday, and it is still raining today.’
Some adverbs express a point in time, typically the event time, in relation to the time of reference, such as 刚 ‘just now,’ 立刻 ‘immediately,’ and 马上 ‘right away’ for a short interval between two time points, as in [14], and 忽然 ‘suddenly’ for an unexpected happening at the event time point, as in [15].

[14] 她马上拉着我的手往外走。

ta1 ma3shang4 la1 zhe0 wo3 de0 shou3
she at once pull ZHE I DE hand
wang3wai4 zou3 outward go
‘Immediately she took up my hand and walked out.’

[15] 有一天，这头牛忽然发狂，又将新主人撞死了。

you3yi1tian1 zhe4 tou2 niu2 hu1ran2 fa1kuang2
one_day this CL ox suddenly go_mad
you4 jiang1 xin1 zhu3ren2 zhuang4 si3 le0
again BA new host hit dead LE
‘One day the cattle suddenly got crazy, ran into its new owner, and killed him.’

Some adverbs describe the aspectual facet of an event, such as 曾 ceng2 ‘once,’ 曾经 ceng2jing1 ‘once,’ 已经 y3iji1ng1 ‘already,’ and 早已 zao3yi3 ‘long time ago’ for the realis mood; 快 kuai4 ‘about to,’ 就要 jiu4yao4 ‘(be) going to,’ 迟早 chi2zao3 ‘sooner or later,’ and 早晚 zao3wan3 ‘sooner or later’ for the irrealis mood; and 正 zheng4 ‘currently’ and 正在 zheng4zai4 ‘currently’ for the progressive mood. Examples of this type of adverb are shown in [16]–[18].

[16] 我曾住过纽约, 后来以柏克莱为家。

wo3 ceng2 zhu4 guo4 niu3yue1 hou4lai2 yi3
I ever live GUO New_York later PREP
bo2ke4lai2 wei2 jia1
Berkeley as home
‘I used to live in New York, but later I lived in Berkeley.’
这件事快完了，你不用担心。

This matter is soon to be over. Don’t worry.

超过30个鹦鹉种群正在处于灭亡的危机之中。

Over thirty species of parrots are right now facing extinction.

Frequency adverbs represent the frequency of an event taking place within a timeframe, such as 老是 (lao3 (shi4) ‘always’ and 总是 (zong3 (shi4) ‘always’ for high frequency; 时 shi2 ‘often,’ 常 chang2 ‘often,’ 有时 shi2shi2 ‘often,’ 经常 jing1chang2 ‘often,’ 往往 chang2chang2 ‘often,’ 渐渐 jian4jian4 ‘gradually,’ 频频 pin2pin2 ‘frequently,’ 连连 lian2lian2 ‘consecutively,’ and 日渐 ri4jian4 ‘day by day’ for middle frequency; and 偶然 ou3ran2 ‘by accident, occasionally,’ 偶尔 (ou3er3 ‘occasion- ally,’ and 有时 you3shi2 ‘sometimes’ for low frequency. Examples of this type of adverb are shown in [19]–[21].

她当学生时，数学 老是 考不及格。

‘When she was a student, she always failed the math exams.’

生病期间，他仍 时时 关心着《台湾文艺》的编务。

‘While he was ill, he still often concerned about ZHE Taiwan literature_and_art.’
bian1  wu4  
edit  matters  
‘Even when he was ill, he still cared about the editorial matters for  
Taiwan Wenyi constantly.’

[21]  十二月中旬至二月：平均温度15度，有时降至10度或更低。  
shi2er4yue4  zhong1xun2  zhi4  er4yue4  ping2jun1  
December middle to February average  
wen1du4  15  du4  you3shi2  jiang4  zhi4  10  
temperature  15 degree  at_times  drop  to  10  
du4  huo4  geng4  di1  
degree  or  more  low  
‘From mid December to February, the average temperature is 15 degrees,  
and occasionally it can be as low as 10 degrees or even lower.’

Order adverbs deal with the order of events. They include 先 xian1 ‘first,’ 接着  
jie1zhe0 ‘afterwards,’ 然后 ran2hou4 ‘and then,’ 依次 y1ici4 ‘following the order,’  
随后 sui2hou4 ‘afterwards,’ 随即 sui2ji2 ‘right after,’ 接连 jie1lian2 ‘consecutively,’  
相继 xiang1ji4 ‘one after another,’ and 陆续 lu4xu4 ‘one after another’ for different  
aspects of sequencing. Some of these adverbs are shown in [22]–[23].

[22]  我休息片刻, 然后开始教课。  
wo3  xiu1xi2  pian4ke4  ran2hou4  kai1shi3  jiao1ke4  
I rest moment then start teach_a_lesson  
‘I took a short break, and then started teaching.’

[23]  这家公司相继成立马来西亚、韩国、大陆等九家海外分公司。  
zhe4  jia1  gong1si1  xiang1ji4  cheng2li4  
this  CL  company  in_succession  found  
ma3lai2xi1ya3  han2guo2  da4lu4  deng3  jiu3  jia1  
Malaysia  Korea  mainland  etc.  nine  CL  
hai3wai4  fen1gong1si1  
abroad  branch_offices  
‘The company has established nine branch offices, one after another, in  
Malaysia, Korea, and Mainland China.’

Repetition adverbs address the recurrences of an event, as in [24]. They include  
又 you4 ‘again,’ 也 ye3 ‘also,’ 再 zai4 ‘again, once more,’ 还 hai2 ‘more, still,’  
重 chong2 ‘again,’ 一再 y1izai4 ‘again and again,’ 再三 zai4san1 ‘again and again,’  
and 重新 chong2xin1 ‘once again.’
The type of adverbs selected is dependent on the situation type of the verb. For example, achievement verbs like 死 si3 ‘die’ and 破 po4 ‘become broken’ are typically associated with time point adverbs or duration adverbs in the realis mood, as in 忽然死了 huiran2 si3le0 ‘suddenly died’ and 已经破了 yi3jing1 po4le0 ‘already broken,’ rather than adverbs indicating continuation.

Temporal adverbs indicate the temporal aspect of the predicate. Temporal adverbs and temporal nouns are sometimes hard to distinguish, since some of them are morphologically and lexically similar, such as the adverb 刚 gang1 ‘just now’ versus the noun 刚才 gang1cai2 ‘just now.’ Some temporal nouns have the same function of adverbs in that they can serve as adverbials, as in 现在就去 xian4za4i4 jiu4 qu4 ‘Go now!’, in which 现在 xian4za4i4 ‘now’ is a noun, and 立刻去 li4ke4 qu4 ‘go immediately!’, in which 立刻 li4ke4 ‘immediately’ is an adverb (see Chapter 8).

When a temporal adverb co-occurs with other adverbs, it is usually positioned after attitudinal adverbs but before descriptive adverbs, negation adverbs, and degree adverbs. Scope adverbs may precede or follow temporal adverbs. Consider the examples in [25–30].

[25] 这本大部头著作居然已经被抢购一空。 [after attitudinal adverb]

zhe4 ben3 da4bu4 tou2 zhu4zu4o4 ju1ran2
this CL multiple-volumed work unexpectedly
yi3jing1 bei4 qi4ng3gou4yi1kong1
already BEI sell_out
‘Unexpectedly, this big work has been sold out already.’

[26] 这些公共建设已经迅速地获得重建。 [before descriptive adverb]

zhe4xie1 gong1gong4 jian4she4 yi3ji1ng1 xu4n4su4 de0
de4 these common build already rapid DE
huo4de2 chong2ji4n4
get rebuild
‘These public constructions have already been rebuilt quickly.’
12.3.2. Degree adverbs
Degree adverbs include those indicating an excessive degree, like 太 tai4 ‘too (much)’ and 过份 guo4fen4 ‘excessively, too (much)’; a maximum degree, like 最 zu4 ‘the most’ and 极 ji2 ‘extremely’; a high degree, like 很 hen3 ‘very,’ 非常 fei1chang2 ‘very,’ 相当 xiang1dang1 ‘quite,’ and 十分 shi2fen1 ‘quite’; and a low degree, like 有 (一) 点 (儿) you3 (yi1) dian3 (er0) ‘a little’ and 稍微 shao1wei1 ‘a little bit.’ Examples of this type of adverb are shown in [31]–[34].

[31] 部分校长认为今年的考题太难。
bu4fen4 xiao4zhang3 ren4wei2 jin1nian2 de0 part principals think this_year DE
kao3ti2 tai4 nan2 examination_paper too hard
‘Some principals thought that this year’s exam questions were too hard.’
An extremely large percentage of liver cancer patients are Hepatitis B carriers.

The 3 billion budget is indeed a very large sum.

I regretted somewhat that before this trip I did not buy more accident insurance.

Mother concluded: “The older brother is smarter.”

Some degree adverbs express not only degree but also the speaker’s evaluative attitude toward what is talked about. The adverb 太 (tai4) ‘too (much)’ indicates that the speaker considers the situation “excessive.” Among degree adverbs that express subjective evaluation, 绝顶 (jue2ding3) ‘extremely, utterly’ typically connotes a positive stance, as in [36], while 过于 (guo4yu2) ‘overly, excessively’ connotes a negative stance, as in [37].
Adverbs cannot be used alone, such as in answering a question. For the question 'Is this coat expensive?' the minimum answer has to be 'very expensive,' including both the adverb and the modified adjective. Degree adverbs usually follow attitudinal adverbs, temporal adverbs, and scope adverbs, but precede descriptive adverbs, as shown in [39]–[42]. Degree adverbs and negation adverbs may precede or follow each other to represent different meanings, as the contrast between [43]–[44] shows.
[39] 这支新舞**果然**非常轰动。[after attitudinal adverb]
zhè zhī xīn wǔ guīzhǐ hōngtóng
this new dance as_expected very
sensational
‘This new dance was indeed very sensational.’

[40] 他曾经非常热衷于写诗。[after temporal adverb]
tā cèng jīng 1 fēi 1 chāng 2 rè zhōng 1 yù 2 xiě 3
he once very be_enththusiastic_about write
shī
poem
‘He was once very enthusiastic about poetry writing.’

[41] 与会人员都相当赞同推行母语教学。[after scope adverb]
yù huí rén yuán dōu xiāng dǎng tóng xiào
at_the_meeting people all quite
zàn tóng 2 tuì xīng 2 mù 3 yù 3 jiāo xué 2
agree implement mother_tongue teaching
‘Everyone at the meeting all fully supported using the mother tongue as the means of instruction.’

[42] 影片非常刻意地避免偏向民主党或共和党。[before descriptive adverb]
yǐng píng fēi cháng 2 kě yì de bì miàn
film very on_purpose DE avoid
piān 1 xiāng 4 míng zì zhǔ dāng 3 huo 4 gōng hé 2 dāng 3
lean_toward Democratic_Party or Republican_Party
‘The film was extremely careful in not leaning toward the Democratic Party or the Republican Party.’

[43] 心情已经很不好了, 还要上课。[before negation adverb]
xīn qíng 2 yǐ 3 jiāng 1 hén 3 bú hǎo 4 le 0 hǎi 2 yào 4
mood already very NEG good LE still need
shàng kè 4
go_to_class
‘I was already in a very bad mood, and I still had to go to class.’

[44] 走在阴暗的街道上, 心情实在不舒服。[after negation adverb]
zǒu zài yīn àn de jiē dào shàng xīn qíng 2
go PREP dark DE street on mood
shi2zai4  bu4  hen3  shu1fu0
really  NEG  very  comfortable

'Walking on a dark street, I was not in a very good mood.'

12.3.3. Scope adverbs
There are three subtypes of scope adverbs. For universal coverage, 都 dou1 ‘all,’
全 quan2 ‘all,’ and 一共 yi1gong4 ‘altogether’ are frequently used, as in [45]. For
minimum coverage, 只 zhi3 ‘only’ and 光 guang1 ‘only, just’ are frequently used,
as in [46]. For approximation coverage, 大概 da4gai4 ‘about, approximately’ and
大约 da4yue1 ‘about, approximately’ are frequently used, as in [47].

[45] 老公公将经过的情形全看得一清二楚。
lao3gong1gong1  jiang1  jing1guo4  de0  qing2xing2  quan2
old_man  BA  pass  DE  situation  all
kan4  de0  yi1qing1er4chu3
see  DE  be_very_clear_about_this
'The old man saw the whole thing completely and clearly.'

[46] 从龙溪社区到小学, 只有一千五百公尺。
cong2  long2xi1  she4qu1  dao4  xiao3xue2
PREP  Long_Xi  community  PREP  elementary_school
zhi3you3  yi1qian1  wu3bai3  gong1chi3
only  one_thousand  five_hundred  meter
'From the Longxi Community to the elementary school, the distance is
only 1,500 meters.'

[47] 根据现有统计数字, 每年大概有两万台台湾居民移出。
gen1ju4  xian4you3  tong3ji4  shu4zi4  mei3nian2
PREP  existing  statistic  number  every_year
da4gai4  you3  liang3wan4  tai2wan1
approximately  YOU  twenty_thousand  Taiwan
ju1min2  yi2  chu1
resident  move  out
'The old man saw the whole thing completely and clearly.'

Some adverbs of minimum coverage suggest that the named items are the
exceptional cases and the rest are in the opposite situation, such as 唯独 we2tdu2
‘only,’ 只有 zhi2you3 ‘only,’ and 偏偏 pian1pian1 ‘contrarily,’ as shown in [48].
The bride-kidnapping festival is only a tradition of the Bunnuns, and the other tribes do not have it.

Some other minimum coverage adverbs “single out” the named item as the “in” one while they exclude the rest in the group, for example, 光 guang1 ‘only,’ 单 dan1 ‘only,’ and 仅仅 jin2jin3 ‘only,’ as shown in [49]:

高级的私立大学, 一年 光学费就 20 万上下。

In the approximation type, in addition to those describing vague quantities, such as 大约 da4yue1 ‘about, approximately,’ there are adverbs indicating small quantities, such as 不过 bu2guo4 ‘just’ and 最多 zui4duo1 ‘the most,’ and adverbs indicating large quantities, such as 多半 duo1ban4 ‘over half, most,’ 至少 zhi4shao3 ‘at least,’ and 足足 zu2zu2 ‘not less than.’ [50] and [51] are examples of approximation adverbs.

台湾光复之初, 人口 不过 600 余万人。

Although it was in recession this year, (they) still made a profit of no less than $100 million.
Scope adverbs can be divided into two subtypes: backward-referring ones and forward-referring ones. For backward-referring scope adverbs, such as 都 dou1 ‘all,’ 全 quan2 ‘all,’ 尽 jin4 ‘all,’ 一共 yi1gai4 ‘all,’ and 通通 tong1tong1 ‘altogether,’ the quantity they refer to is positioned to their left in the clause. For forward-referring scope adverbs, such as 光 guang1 ‘only,’ 只 zhi3 ‘only,’ 仅仅 jin3jin3 ‘only,’ 一共 yi1gong4 ‘altogether,’ and 唯独 wei2du2 ‘just,’ the quantity they refer to is positioned to their right. Examples of scope adverbs are shown in [52]–[55].

[52] 我们通通是自愿的!
we all be volunteer DE
‘We are all voluntary!’

[53] 出家人的清规, 他一共不理会。
monk DE monastic_rules he all NEG
follow
‘He ignored all of the rules of abstinence for monks.’

[54] 暑期夏令营唯独忽略了智障儿。
summer summer_camp only ignore LE
developmentally-disabled child
‘The summer camp ignores just the mentally disabled kids.’

[55] 国文课本里一共有七课与母亲有关。
Chinese textbook in altogether have seven lesson
prep mother concern
‘There are altogether seven lessons related to “mother” in the Chinese textbook.’

Backward-referring scope adverbs can have multiple NPs to their left, including a pre-posted object. In such cases, contextual information is required to resolve the ambiguity.
who bully she we all NEG will let_go
‘We won’t let go of anyone who abuses her.’
Concerning epistemicity, the reason or the background of what is being said, these adverbs include 难怪 nano2gui4 ‘no wonder,’ 怪不得 guai4bu4de2 ‘no wonder,’ 本来 ben2lai2 ‘originally,’ and 原来 yuan2lai2 ‘originally, it was the case that.’ Concerning the result, the ending, or the likely development of what is being said, these adverbs include 定 yi1ding4 ‘definitely,’ 恐怕 kong3pa4 ‘probably, (I am) afraid that,’ 终究 zhong1jiu1 ‘after all,’ 毕竟 bi4jing4 ‘after all,’ 显然 xian3ran2 ‘apparently,’ 反正 fan3zheng4 ‘one way or another,’ and 好歹 hao2dai3 ‘for better or worse.’ The 怪不得 guai4bu4de2 ‘no wonder’ in [61] marks the epistemic attitude of the speaker, while the 毕竟 bi4jing4 ‘after all’ in [62] indicates the result of the event.

[61] 处处林木，空气洁净，怪不得移居这里的人如此之多。
chu4chu4 lin2mu4 kong1qi4 jie2jing4 guai4bu4de2
everywhere woods air clean no_wonder
yi2min2 zhe4li3 de0 ren2 ru2ci3zhi1duo1
emigrate here DE people so_many
‘There are trees everywhere and the air is clean. No wonder so many people come to live here.’

[62] 不管怎么说，东德人毕竟得到了他们最想要的东西。
bu4guan3 zen3me0 shuo1 dong1de2 ren2
no_matter why talk East_German people
bi4jing4 de2dao4 le0 ta1men0 zui4 xiang3yao4 de0
after_all gain LE they most want DE
dong1xi0
ting
‘No matter what, the East German people got what they wanted the most after all.’

Concerning the gap between one’s assumption or expectation and how things actually turn out, these adverbs include 恰好 qia4hao3 ‘fortuitously, coincidentally,’ 正巧 zheng4qiao3 ‘coincidentally,’ 幸亏 xing4kui1 ‘fortunately,’ 好在 hao3zai4 ‘luckily,’ 倒 dao4 ‘contrary to one’s expectation,’ 反而 fan3 (er2) ‘contrary to one’s expectation,’ 竟然 jing4ran2 ‘contrary to one’s expectation,’ 偏偏 pian1 (pian1) ‘contrary to one’s wish,’ 居然 ju1ran2 ‘beyond one’s expectation,’ and 其实 qi2shi2 ‘in fact, actually.’ Concerning one’s strong will, compromise, or sense of making do, these adverbs include 偏 pian1 ‘insisting on having one’s will,’ 宁可… ning4ke3 ‘(not)… but rather…,’ 非得 fei1dei3 ‘insisting on having to,’ 只好 zhii2hao3 ‘having no choice but,’ and 不得不 bu4de2bu4 ‘having no choice but.’ These types of adverbs are shown in [63]–[68].
[63] 餐馆不大，好在这时还没有客人，我便陪着她。
can1guan3 bu4 da4 hao3zai4 zhe4shi2 hai2
restaurant  NEG big luckily this_moment yet
mei2you3 ke4ren2 wo3 bian4 pei2 zhe0 ta1
NEG guest I then accompany ZHE she
‘The restaurant was not big. Fortunately, there was no other guest at this
moment and I sat with her.’

[64] 读者不会感到无聊枯燥反而觉有趣。
du2zhe3 bu2 hui4 gan3dao4 wu2liao2 ku1zao4
reader NEG can feel silly dull_and_dry
fan3er2 jue2 you3qu4
instead feel amusing
‘The readers would not feel bored but interested.’

[65] 夫妻吵架，女儿竟然充当中介佬。
fu1qi1 chao3jia4 nü3er2 jing4ran2 chong1dang1
couple quarrel daughter unexpectedly act_as
he2shi4lao3 peacemaker
‘The couple got into a fight and their young daughter became the
peacemaker unexpectedly.’

[66] 走回去吧! 其实也不远。
zou3 hui2qu4 ba0 qi2shi2 ye3 bu4 yuan3
walk back BA in_fact also NEG far
‘Let’s walk back! In fact, it is not too far.’

[67] 参加旅游团的人越来越少，大家宁可自己去玩。
can1jia1 li4you2tuan2 de0 ren2 yue4 lai2
join tour DE people the . . . more come
yue4 shao3 da4jia1 ning2ke3 zi4ji3 qu4 wan2
the . . . more few people rather own go play
‘There are fewer and fewer people joining group tours. People would
rather enjoy the vacation on their own.’

[68] 按规定空姐结了婚就不能飞, 她只好辞职。
an4 gui1ding4 kong1jie3 jie2 le0 hun1
as rule flight_attendants marry LE marriage
Adverbs

jiu4 bu4 zai4 neng2 fei1 ta1 zhi3hao3 ci2zhi2
thus NEG again can fly she have_to resign
'Since the rule was that flight attendants should stop flying once married, she had no choice but to resign.'

Concerning the expression of one’s strong stance on what is being said, these adverbs include 绝对 jue2dui4 ‘definitely, absolutely,’ 明明 ming2ming2 ‘obviously,’ 简直 jian2zhi2 ‘simply, extremely,’ 到底 dao4di3 ‘after all,’ 究竟 jiu1jing4 ‘after all,’ and 难道 nan2dao4 ‘unless it is the case that.’ Concerning the expression of one’s concessive endorsement of what is being said, these adverbs include 无非 wu2fei1 ‘nothing but, just,’ 不妨 bu4fang2 ‘why not,’ 好像 hao3xiang4 ‘likely,’ and 也许 ye2xu3 ‘perhaps.’ Examples of these adverbs are shown in [69] and [70].

[69] 电梯明明是往下，往上的人还是要进去。
dian4ti1 ming2ming2 shi4 wang3xia4 wang3shang4 de0 elevator obviously SHI downward upward DE
ren2 hai2shi4 yao4 jin4qu4 people still will enter
'The elevator was obviously going down, but those who wanted to go up still went in.'

[70] 成绩优秀的孩子也许表达能力较强。
cheng2ji1 you1xiu4 de0 hai2zi0 ye3xu3 biao3da2 grade excellent DE child maybe express
neng2li4 jiao4 jia1 capability comparatively fine
'Kids with better grades are perhaps better at expressing themselves.'

The most outstanding feature of attitudinal adverbs, compared to other types, is that they have more flexibility in where they can occur. While all adverbs can appear between the subject and the predicate, disyllabic attitudinal adverbs can also appear at the clause-initial position. Monosyllabic attitudinal adverbs, such as 竟 jing4 ‘contrary to one’s expectation’ in [71], are used clause internally only.

[71] 他没想到竟能得奖, 因此非常兴奋。
ta1 mei2xiang3dao4 jing4 neng2 he unexpectedly contrary_to_one’s_expectation can
de2jiang3 yin1ci3 fei1chang2 xing4fen4 win_a_prize therefore very excited
'He did not expect to be the champion and was very excited.'
When co-occurring with other adverbs, attitudinal adverbs are usually the first in the sequence. For example: ‘indeed have already forgotten’ (before temporal adverb); ‘indeed quite a lot’ (before degree adverb); ‘indeed have forgotten completely’ (before scope adverb); ‘indeed did not forget’ (before negation adverb); and ‘indeed greet . . . in person’ (before descriptive adverb).

12.4. Frequently used adverbs
A number of highly frequently used adverbs will be discussed in this section. All of these adverbs can also function as connective adjuncts (see Chapter 14).

12.4.1. 就 jiu4 and 才 cai2
就 jiu4 and 才 cai2 often contrast with each other. They can be used in the discussion of time, quantity, scope, attitude, etc. 就 jiu4 is more versatile than 才 cai2 is in each area.

12.4.1.1. Time
When used in a discussion about time, 就 jiu4 indicates that the said time is earlier or faster than the assumed or expected time, while 才 cai2 indicates that the said time is later or slower than the assumed or expected time. In other words, the use of 就 jiu4 or 才 cai2 suggests the assumed or expected time point, although it may not be explicitly specified. Examples of the use of 就 jiu4 and 才 cai2 are shown in [72]–[75].

[72] 老刘在胶西时就知道李广的事迹。 [jiu4/earlier]
lao3 liu2 zai4 jiao1xi1 shi2 jiu4 zhi1dao4
old Liu PREP Jiao_Xi when thus know
li3guang3 de0 shi4ji1
Li_Guang DE story
‘Old Liu learned about Li Guang’s stories as early as when he was in Jiaoxi.’

[73] 工地车辆必须清洗后才能上路。 [cai2/later]
gong1di4 che1liang4 bi4xu1 qing1xi3 hou4 cai2
building car must wash after just
neng2 shang4lu4
can set_out_on_journey
‘Vehicles from the construction site should not leave until having been washed clean.’
Adverbs

[74] 犯人很快就落网。 [jiu4/faster]
fan4ren2 hen3 kuai4 jiu4 luo4wang3
criminal very fast thus be_arrested
‘The criminal was arrested in no time.’

[75] 交往六年后, 我们才结婚。 [cai2/slower]
jiao1wang3 liu4 nian2 hou4 wo3men0 cai2 jie2hun1
contact six year after we just marry
‘We did not get married until after dating for six years.’

就 jiu4 can also be used to indicate the immediate temporal relationship between two actions or events, as in [76].

[76] 每次丢下一大堆钞票就走了。
mei3ci4 diou1xia4 yi1 da4 dui1 chao1piao4
every_time drop one big pile bill
jiu4 zou3 le0 thus go LE
‘Every time (he) would leave a pile of money and simply walk away.’

When used this way, 就 jiu4 is often paired with — yi ‘one,’ forming the “— A 就 B” ‘as soon as A (then) B’ construction, as in [77].

[77] 院长吉人天相, 他一来, 地震就停了。
yuan4zhang3 ji2ren2tian1xiang4 ta1 yi1
dean Heaven_helps_a_good_person he once
lai2 di4zhen4 jiu4 ting2 le0
come earthquake thus stop LE
‘Our Dean is a lucky person. As soon as he arrived, the earthquake stopped.’

就 jiu4 can also mean ‘immediately’ and is always stressed in this usage, as in [78].

[78] A: 小宜, 吃饭啦!
xiao3yi2 chi1fan4 la0
Xiao_Yi eat LA
‘Xiaoyi, dinner time!’

B: 妈, 就来了。
ma1 jiu4 lai2 le0
mother thus come LE
‘(I’m) coming, Mom.’
12.4.1.2. Quantity

When talking about quantity, 就 jiu4 indicates that the said amount is more than the assumed or expected amount, while 才 cai2 indicates that the said amount is less than the assumed or expected amount. 就 jiu4/ 才 cai2 used in this way are not stressed, as in [79] and [80].

[79] 你们怎么一顿饭 就 花了两万块钱？

ni3men0 zhen3me0 yi1 dun4 fan4 jiu4 hua1 le0 you how one CL meal only spend LE liang3 wan4 kuai4 qian2 two thousand CL money

‘How could you spend as much as twenty thousand dollars on a meal?’

[80] 东奔西跑一整天 才 办完一件事。

dong1ben1xi1pao3 yi1zheng3tian1 cai2 ban4 wan2 yi1 run_in_circles whole_day just do finish once jian4 shi4 CL thing

‘Only one thing got done after running around for the whole day.’

就 jiu4 can indicate that the quantity is less than the assumed or expected amount and it should be stressed in this case. 才 cai2 can have the same reading when being stressed. In other words, 才 cai2 and 就 jiu4 are interchangeable when both mean ‘only.’

[81] 烤鸭我 就 cai2 吃过一次。

kao3ya1 wo3 cai2 chi1 guo4 yi1ci4 roast_duck I thus eat GUO once

‘I’ve had the roasted Peking duck only once.’

The stressed 就 jiu4 with the meaning ‘only’ may have scope over the subject or over the object, as in [82] and [83], respectively.

[82] 今年可能 就 我 一个人过年了。

jin1nian2 ke3neng2 jiu4 wo3 yi1 ge4 ren2 this_year maybe thus I one CL person guo4 nian2 le0 celebrate New_Year LE

‘I’ll probably celebrate this New Year’s Day alone.’
I thus get GUO cold NEG get GUO pneumonia.
‘I’ve only had a cold, but never had pneumonia.’

12.4.1.3. Speaker’s stance
Both 就 jiu4 and 才 cai2 can be used to indicate the speaker’s attitude toward what is being said. 就 jiu4 expresses insistence and a firm stance and is stressed, as in [84].

我不睡, 我 就 不睡!
wo3 bu4 shui4 wo3 jiu4 bu4 shui4
I NEG sleep I thus NEG sleep
‘I don’t want to go to bed. I just don’t want to go to bed!’

才 cai2, on the other hand, also expresses the speaker’s firm stance but implies that this stance is contrary to what is usually assumed or expected, as in [85].

我笨手笨脚的! 刘师傅 才 不敢收我为徒哩!
wo3 ben4shou3ben4jiao3 de0 liu2 shi1fu4
I clumsy DE Liu master_worker
cai2 bu4 gan3 shou1 wo3 wei2 tu2 li0
just NEG dare buy I PREP student LI
‘I’m clumsy! Master Liu won’t take me as his student!’

12.4.2. 又 you4 ‘again,’ 再 zai4 ‘again,’ and 也 ye3 ‘also’
又 you4 ‘again’ is used to indicate the occurrence of a repeated action or a sequence of actions, as in [86].

昨天他带我们到鼻头角玩, 今天 又 带我们来到西子湾。
zuo2tian1 ta1 dai4 wo3men0 dao4 bi2tou2jiao3
yesterday he take we PREP Bitou_cape
jin1tian1 you4 dai4 wo3men0 lai2dao4 xi1zi3wan1
today again take we come Xizi_bay
‘He took us to Bitou Cape yesterday and again he takes us to Xizi Bay today.’

Sometimes the sense of repetition or recurrence is not explicitly indicated but is understood from the context or the speaker’s background knowledge, as in [87].
The sense of repetition can also be indicated by a special construction in which the same verb occurs once before and once after 又 you4 ‘again,’ or by another construction in which 又 you4 ‘again’ is preceded and followed by the same combination of 一 yi1 ‘one’ + classifier, as in [88] and [89], respectively.

[88] 我想了 又想, 得不到答案。
    wo3 xiang3 le0 you4 xiang3 de2bu4dao4 da2an4
    I think LE again think cannot_find answer
    ‘I thought again and again, but could not find the answer.’

[89] 他为什么每天都认真地吃着一根 又一根的胡萝卜?
    ta1 wei4shen2me0 mei3tian1 dou1 ren4zhen1 de0 chi1
    he why everyday all seriously DE eat
    zhe0 yi1 gen1 you4 yi1 gen1 de0 hu2luo2bo0
    ZHE one root again one root DE carrot
    ‘Why does he eat carrots so seriously, one after another, every day?’

再 zai4 ‘again’ is similar to 又 you4 ‘again’ in meaning but 再 zai4 ‘again’ indicates repeated action that has not yet taken place, while 又 you4 ‘again’ indicates repeated action that has already taken place. Consider [90].

[90] 去去去, 妈妈忙, 等会 再 说。
    qu4 qu4 qu4 ma1ma0 mang2 deng3hui4
    go go go mother busy wait_for_a_moment
    zai4 shuo1
    then talk
    ‘Go away. Mom is busy. Talk to me later.’

When 再 zai4 ‘again’ co-occurs with the negation adverb 不 bu4 or 没 mei2, the order suggests different meanings. 再不 zai4bu4 ‘again NEG’ often suggests a conditional, while 不再 bu4zai4 ‘NEG again, no longer’ often suggests volition, as in [91] and [92], respectively.

[91] 再不走, 就回不去了。
    zai4bu4 zou3 jiu4 hui2 bu4 qu4 le0
    again_NEG go thus back NEG go LE
    ‘If (you) still do not go, you won’t be able to leave.’
‘No more kids. This baby is our last one.’

Also 也 ‘also’ also indicates repetition but it requires similarity in the contrasted units in order to introduce new information in the clause that it marks. For example, two subjects may be contrasted if they have the same predicate. Two objects may also be contrasted with 也 ‘also’ if they have the same subject and main verb. Other elements, such as temporal expressions, may also be contrasted with 也 ‘also’ when the rest of the clause is the same. Consider the examples in [93]–[95].

[93] 我最希望 父母亲 身体 健康, 妻子 也 健康。 [subject contrasted]
wo3 zui1xiang4 fu4mu3qin1 shen1ti3 jian4kang1
I most hope parents body healthy
tai4tai0 ye3 jian4kang1
wife also healthy
‘I sincerely hope that my parents are healthy and my wife is healthy, too.’

[94] 除了 研究生 之外, 周先生 也 教 生物 本科 学生。 [object contrasted]
chu2le0 yan2jiu4sheng1 zhi1wai4 zhou1
except_for graduate_student other_than ZHOU
xian1sheng0 ye3 jiao1 sheng1wu4 ben3ke1xue2sheng1
Mr. also teach biology undergraduate
‘Mr. Zhou teaches not only graduate students but also biology major students.’

[95] 伍兹 去年 参加 了 8 场 比赛, 今年 也 差不多。 [temporal expression contrasted]
wu3zi1 qu4nian2 can1jia1 le0 8 chang3
Tiger_Woods last_year participate LE 8 CL
bi3sai4 jin1nian2 ye3 cha 1bu4duo1
game this_year also the_same
‘Tiger Woods participated in 18 games last year; this year it’s about the same.’

Contrasting may involve more than one syntactic category. In the examples in [96] and [97], both the subjects and the predicates are contrasted.
'Mexico City has now become land, and the lake also disappeared.'

'Mr. Ding has got a wife and some kids, and his parents have also got old.'

'Even cabs cannot be found on the street (let alone rarer objects such as limousines).'

'He knew no one on the street.'
Finally, "also" can indicate that the speaker has some reservation about what is being said. Its appearance in the clause thus makes the statement less forceful, namely, it softens the tone. Note that these sentences are all acceptable without "also." However, adding "also" to them has the effect of mitigating the speaker's tone so that what is being said will not sound too blunt, as in [102] and [103].

[102] 究竟是什么原因, 他自己 也知道。
jiu4jing4 shi4 shen2me0 yuan2yin1 ta1 zi4ji3 ye3
outcome be what reason he self also
bu4 zhi1dao4
NEG know
'Even he (himself) had no idea what the reason was.'

[103] 说她一夕成名, 也太夸张了!
shuo1 ta1 yi1 xi4 cheng2ming2 ye3 tai4
talk she one night become_famous also too
kua1zhang1 le0
overstate LE
'It is too exaggerated to say she became famous overnight.'

12.4.3. 还 "still"

'still' expresses the continuation of an action or a state with the meaning roughly as 'still,' as in [104] and [105].
[104]  我还在山腰，路才走了一半。
wo3 hai2 zai4 shan1yao1 lu4 cai2 zou3
I still be_at midway_up_mountain way just go
le0 yi1ban4
LE half
‘I was still halfway to the mountain top.’

[105]  好好过日子，你的人生还很漫长。
ha02hao3 guo4 ri4zi0 ni3 de0 ren2sheng1 hai2
good live day you life still
hen3 man4chang2
very endless
‘Live your life well. You still have a very long way ahead of you.’

还 hai2 ‘still’ has a disyllabic counterpart 还 hai2shi4, which can also mean ‘still,’ as in [106].

[106]  鸽子在路上被猎人打伤了，但还是飞回了家。
ge1izi0 zai4 lu4shang4 bei4 lie4ren2 sheng1 le0
pigeon road_on BEI hunter injure LE
dan4 hai2shi4 fei1 hui2 le0 jia1
but still fly back LE home
‘(The pigeon) was shot by a hunter and got injured, but it still flew back.’

However, 还 hai2shi4 ‘still’ does not have the following meaning or share these functions with 还 hai2 ‘still.’ When 还 hai2 ‘still’ indicates ‘further’ and ‘also,’ it cannot be replaced by 还 hai2shi4 ‘still.’ Consider the example [107].

[107]  茶叶除了冲泡饮用，还有若干用途。
cha 2ye4 chu2le0 chong1pao4 yin3yong4 hai2 you3
tea_leaves besides brew drink also have
ruo4gan1 yong4tu2
several use
‘In addition to making a drink, tea leaves could be of some other use.’

还 hai2 ‘still’ can occur in a comparative construction, as in [108], but 还 hai2shi4 ‘still’ cannot (see Chapter 11).

[108]  我姐姐本来比你还糟。
wo3 jie3jie0 ben3lai2 bi3 ni3 hai2 zao1
I sister originally than you still bad
‘My older sister was worse than you originally.’
Adverbs

hai2 ‘still’ can be used to suggest a down toning or reduced degree, as in [109], but 还是 hai2shi4 ‘still’ cannot.

[109]  A: 你考得怎么样？
        ni3 kao3 de2 zen3me0yang4
        you examine DE how
        ‘How did you do on the exam?’

        B: 考得 还 好。
            kao3 de2 hai2hao3
            examine DE not_bad
            ‘So so.’

海南 hai2 ‘still’ can also be used to indicate the speaker’s incredulousness with regard to the situation being described. In other words, when the speaker uses 还 hai2 ‘still,’ he is saying that there is a gap between the situation described in the clause and the assumption or expectation held by him or other people. 还 hai2 ‘still’ used in this way is often accompanied by 真 zhen1 ‘really,’ as in [110].

[110] 我老公的红烧鱼 还 真 出我意料之外的好！
        wo3 lao3gong1 de0 hong2shao1 yu2 hai2
        I husband DE braise_in_soy_sauce fish still
        zhen1 chu1 wo3 yi4liao4 zhi1wai4 de0 hao3
        really beyond I expectation out_of DE good
        ‘To my surprise, the braised fish cooked by my husband was exceptionally good!’

12.4.4. 都 dou1 ‘all’

12.4.4.1. Totality

都 dou1 ‘all’ is primarily a scope adverb referring to totality or universality. It is an adverb occurring before the predicate, but it typically has scope over the subject or other nominal components to its left in the clause. 都 dou1 ‘all’ refers to the totality of the subject in [111] and to the totality of the object of the preposition 对 dou4 ‘toward’ in [112].

[111] 先生跟太太 都 一块 去工作。
        xian1sheng0 gen1 tai4tai0 dou1 yi1kuai4 dou1 qu4
        husband and wife all together go_out
        gong1zuo4
        work
        ‘Both the husband and the wife go out to work together.’
[112] 她平时对两个孩子是同样地疼爱。
    ta1 ping2shi2 dui4 liang3 ge4 hai2zi0 dou1 shi4
    she always PREP two CL child all SHI
    tong2yang4 de0 teng2ai4
    same DE love_dearly
    ‘She always loves the two kids in the same way.’

都 dou1 ‘all’ can also refer to the totality of other nominal phrases, such as the temporal phrase in [113] and the locative phrase in [114].

[113] 阿美族人每年都要举行一次盛大的祭典。
    a1mei3zu2ren2 mei3nian2 dou1 yao4 ju3xing2 yi1
    the_Amis every_year all will hold one
    ci4 sheng4da4 de0 ji4dian3
    CL grand DE memorial_services
    ‘The Amis hold a big worship ceremony every year.’

[114] 这种欺骗自己的行为，在世界各处都可看到。
    zhe4 zhong3 qi1pian4 zi4ji3 de0 xing2wei2 zai4
    this kind dupe self DE behavior PREP
    shi4jie4 ge4chu4 dou1 ke3 kan4dao4
    world everywhere all can see
    ‘This self-cheating behavior is seen everywhere in the world.’

When 都 dou1 ‘all’ refers to the totality of the object, the object appears before 都 dou1 ‘all’ and thus before the predicate with several possibilities. Very often the object phrase appears at or near the beginning of the sentence, as in [115a], between the subject and the verb, as in [115b], or with the BA construction, as in [115c].

[115] a. 这些书我都看完了。
    zhe4xie1 shu1 wo3 dou1 kan4 wan2 le0
    these book I all read finish LE
    ‘I've read all these books.’

b. 我这些书都看完了。
    wo3 zhe4xie1 shu1 dou1 kan4 wan2 le0
    I these book all read finish LE
    ‘I've read all these books.’
c. 我把这些书都看完了。

\[
\text{wo3 ba3 zhe4xie1 shu1 dou1 kan4 wan2 le0}
\]

'I've read all these books.'

Sometimes a 都 dou1 'all' sentence is ambiguous, as its scope may refer to the subject or the pre-posed object, or both. The interpretation depends on the context, such as in [116].

[116] 西大街上每一个象样的门庭我们都进去过了。

\[
\text{xi1da4jie1 shang4 mei3 yi1 ge4 xiang4yang4 West_Avenue on every one CL nice}
\]

\[
\text{de0 men2ting2 wo3men0 dou1 jin4qu4 guo4 le0 DE front_entrance we all enter GUO LE}
\]

'We walked into every nice front entrance on West Avenue.'

Since 都 dou1 'all' refers to totality, words meaning 'all,' 'each,' and 'every' often co-occur with it, such as 所有 suo3you3 'all, every,' 一切 yi1qie4 'all,' 每 mei3 'every, each,' 到处 dao4chu4 'everywhere,' and 随时 sui2shi2 'any time.' Consider the examples from [117]–[121].

[117] 所有的人都问我相同的问题。

\[
\text{suo3you3 de0 ren2 dou1 wen4 wo3 xiang1tong2 all DE people all ask I same}
\]

\[
\text{de0 wen4ti2 DE question}
\]

‘All of them asked me the same question.’

[118] 这一切都不该发生在她身上的。

\[
\text{zhe4 yi1qie4 dou1 bu4 gai1 fa1sheng1 zai4 this everything all NEG should happen PREP}
\]

\[
\text{ta1 shen1shang4 de0 she body_on DE}
\]

‘All these should not have happened to her.’

[119] 我所接触过的士兵每一位都是这么的可爱。

\[
\text{wo3 suo3 jie1chu4 guo4 de0 shi4bing1 mei3 yi3 I SUO encounter GUO DE soldier every one}
\]

\[
\text{wei4 dou1 shi4 zhe4me0 de0 ke3ai4 CL all be so DE lovely}
\]

‘Every soldier I have encountered was so charming.’
There are bikers everywhere on campus.

We learn all the time during the process of work.

Sometimes interrogative phrases fall outside the scope of 都 dou1 ‘all’ in a variable question and retain their interrogative interpretation, as in [124].
12.4.4.2. Extremity

reetings 'all' can also be paired with 连 lian2 'even,' as in [125], to form a “连 X 都…” construction to suggest extremity. The “连 X 也…lian2 X dou1…” construction is similar to the “连 X 也…lian2 X ye3…’also…” construction.

The same meaning can also be conveyed by 甚至 shen4zhi4 ‘even,’ 都…dou1…‘even X…’ or 甚至连 shen4zhi4 lian2 X 都 dou1…‘even X…’ Consider the examples [126] and [127].

Products of the company are mainly exported to Japan. They even have customers in Europe.'

‘The young generation cannot even speak their native language.'

都 dou1 ‘all’ can express extremity on its own without the help of 连 lian2 ‘even’ or 甚至 shen4zhi4 ‘even,’ as in [128].
A related construction is “V 都 not V…V dou2 bu4 V…” ‘(even) do not (bother to) V,’ or its variation “V 都没 V…V dou2 mei2 V…” ‘(even) have not (bothered to) V,’ both of which describe a situation as an extreme case not comparable to the presumed normal one. This is shown in [129] through [131].

Finally, a sense of “even already in the state of” can be derived from extremity when 都 dou ‘all’ describes an extreme situation that is beyond the presumed normal expectation, such as in [132].
12.4.5. 很 *hen* ‘very’

很 *hen3* ‘very’ has two major functions. In addition to an intensifying degree adverb, as discussed above, it can function as a modifier for adjectival predicatives to mark their absolute meaning. There are, however, cases where 很 *hen3* ‘very’ is not allowed, such as in the examples [133]–[135].

[133] 他比我还要高。

ta1 bi3 wo3 hai2yao4 gao1
he than I more tall
‘He is much taller than I am.’

[134] 昨日的演出没有预演时好。

zuo2ri4 de0 yan3chu1 mei2you3 yu4yan3 shi2
yesterday DE performance NEG rehearsal when
hao3
good
‘Yesterday’s performance was not as good as the rehearsal.’

[135] 妈妈, 我什么时候会有你高?

ma1ma0 wo3 shen2me0shi2hou0 hui4 you3 ni3 gao1
mother I when will YOU you tall
‘Mother, when will I be as tall as you are?’

These sentences all convey some sense of comparison. Similarly, in the reply to the question in [136], the predicate 哥哥高 *ge1geo0 gao1* ‘the elder brother is taller’ conveys a comparative meaning by itself. Even adjectives whose meanings should be logically absolute, such as 完美 *wan2mei3* ‘perfect’ or 圆 *yuan2* ‘round, circular,’ will be given a comparative reading when standing alone.

[136] A: 哥哥高还是弟弟高?

gelgeo0 hai2shi4 di4di0 gao1
elder_brother or younger_brother tall
‘Is the elder brother taller or the younger brother taller?’

B: 哥哥高。

gelgeo0 gao1
elder_brother tall
‘The elder brother is taller.’

When modifying an adjectival predicate, the appearance of 很 *hen3* ‘very,’ negative adverb 不 *bu4*, and other degree adverbs such as 真 *zhen1* ‘truly’ will suppress the comparative reading of adjectives.
[137] 哥哥真高。
ge1ge0 zhen1 gao1
elder_brother really tall
‘The elder brother is really tall.’

[138] 哥哥不高。
ge1ge0 bu4 gao1
ever_brother NEG tall
‘The elder brother is not tall.’

[139] 哥哥不很高。
ge1ge0 bu4 hen3 gao1
elder_brother NEG very tall
‘The elder brother is not very tall.’

[137] shows that degree adverbs coerce the absolute reading of adjectives, just like the negation adverb 不 bu4 does in [138]. When another adverb coerces the absolute reading, 很 hen3 ‘very’ will retain its intensifying meaning, as shown in [139].
Prepositions and preposition phrases

Jingxia Lin and Chaofen Sun

This chapter describes prepositions and preposition phrases. Chinese prepositions are considered to have originated from verbs, and thus maintain some properties of verbs. However, they are not verbs and cannot occur in a sentence without a predicate. For this reason, prepositions were sometimes called “coverbs” in previous literature. Chinese prepositions cannot be stranded; they need to be followed by their objects, which are generally nominal phrases. The primary function of prepositions is to express a variety of relations between their object and the rest of the sentence, especially the predicate. For instance, the preposition 从 ‘from’ in [1] relates its object 旅行社 ‘travel agency’ to the action 走出来 zou3 chu1lai2 ‘walk out,’ meaning that the event of walking starts from the travel agency.

[1] 珍妮从旅行社走出来。
  zhen1ni2 cong2 lü3xing2she4 zou3 chu1lai2
  Jenny PREP travel_agency walk out
  ‘Jenny walked out [toward the deictic center] from the travel agency.’

A preposition phrase (PP), formed by a preposition and its object, can be used as a modifier to a verb, a sentence, or a noun, or as an object of a verb. The majority of PPs are modifiers contributing information such as the location, time, manner, instrument, and cause of the action described by the verb. A modifying PP is optional in a sentence. For instance, [1] is grammatical with or without the PP 从旅行社 cong2 lü3xing2she4 ‘from the travel agency.’

The defining properties of prepositions and PPs are as follows.

1 A preposition usually takes an object to form a PP. A PP can occur as a modifier in the sentence-initial position, after the subject but before the verb, before the noun (as a pronominal modifier), or after the verb.
2 Many words in Modern Chinese can be used as both prepositions and verbs; some can be used as prepositions and conjunctions, nouns, adverbs, or classifiers.
Chinese has both monosyllabic and disyllabic prepositions, but few prepositions have more than two syllables.

Prepositions can be classified into different semantic types, with a meaning related to space, time, involved participants, condition, and cause.

13.1. Distribution and function of PPs

Chinese PPs can occur in four possible positions: sentence-initial, pre-verbal, post-verbal, and noun modifier. Some PPs can occur in all of the four positions, whereas some are found in only one. The PPs may function differently in each position.

13.1.1. PPs in the pre-verbal position

Most PPs can occur in the pre-verbal position, that is, the position before the verb (while after the subject). In this case, PPs function as modifiers to the verb. For instance, the 使用 ‘use’ PP, the 把 ‘BA’ PP, and the 为 ‘for’ PP in [2] express respectively the instrument, patient, and beneficiary roles of the actions denoted by the verbs.

[2] a. 他们用鞭子打我们的头和背。
   ta1men0 yong4 bian1zi0 da3 wo3men0 de0 tou2
   they  PREP whip hit we DE head
   he2 bei4
   and back
   ‘They hit our heads and backs with a whip.’

b. 哥哥把妹妹杀了。
   ge1ge0 ba3 mei4mei0 sha1 le0
   elder_brother BA younger_sister kill LE
   ‘The brother killed his younger sister.’

c. 我已为你做了很多。
   wo3 yi3 wei4 ni3 zuo4 le0 hen3duo1
   I already PREP you do LE many
   ‘I have done a lot for you.’

Some PPs can only occur in the pre-verbal position. Representative examples include PPs headed by 把 ‘BA’ (the direct object marker), 被 ‘by (an agent),’ 比 ‘than,’ 朝 ‘toward,’ 从 ‘from,’ 给 ‘to, for,’ 给 ‘to, for,’ and so on.

13.1.2. PPs in the sentence-initial position

Many PPs that can occur in the pre-verbal position can also occur in the sentence-initial position (e.g., before the subject). [3] and [4] show that 为了 ‘for’ and
Prepositions and preposition phrases

依照 yi1zhao4 ‘according to’ can occur in both the pre-verbal position, as in [3a] and [4a], and the sentence-initial position, as in [3b] and [4b].

[3]  

a. 他愿意为了她搬家。

\[ \text{ta1 yuan4yi4 wei4le0 ta1 ban1jia1} \]  
‘He is willing to move for her.’

b. 为了孩子, 我辞去工作专心带他。

\[ \text{wei4le0 hai2zi0 wo3 ci2qu4 gong1zuo4 zhuan1xin1} \]  
‘For my child, I quit my job to take care of him.’

[4]  

a. 议会选举将严格依照法律进行。

\[ \text{yi4hui4 xuan3ju3 jiang1 yan2ge2 yi1zhao4 fa3l ¨u4} \]  
‘Parliamentary elections will be carried out strictly in accordance with the law.’

b. 依照法律, 菲律宾总统与参议员的竞选时间长达三个月。

\[ \text{yi1zhao4 fa3l ¨u4 fei1l ¨u4bin1 zong3tong3 yu3} \]  
‘In accordance with the law, the campaign of the President of the Philippines and the Senators can last for up to three months.’

When occurring at the beginning of a sentence, the PP usually introduces the background for the rest of the sentence, including information such as time, location, topic, reason, purpose, reference, and condition. For instance, the 为了 wei4le0 ‘for’ PP in [3b] and the 依照 yi1zhao4 ‘according to’ PP in [4b] respectively specify the reason/purpose and the reference for the following clauses. For this reason, PPs in the sentence-initial position are treated as sentential modifiers in some literature.
Few PPs occur exclusively in the sentence-initial position. The 至于 zhi4yu2 ‘as for’ PP is one of them, as shown in [5].

[5] a. 至于我, 我从来没对我们之间的关系有过任何怀疑。
zhì4yu2 wǒ3 wǒ3 cōng2lái2 měi2 dui4 wǒ3mén0
PREP I I ever NEG PREP we
zhì1jiàn1 de0 guān1xì4 yǒu3 guò4 rén4hè2
between DE relationship have GUO any
huái2yì2
doubt
‘As for me, I never doubted the relationship between us.’

b. 至于孟子的母亲是否受过高等教育, 可能无法考证。
zhì4yu2 mèng4zi3 de0 mú3qín1 shì4fǒu3
PREP Mencius DE mother whether_or_not
shōu4 guò4 gāo1dēng3 jiào1yu4 kě3néng2
receive GUO higher education maybe
wú2fǎ3 kǎo3zhèng4
no_way verify
‘As for [the question] whether Mencius’ mother received advanced education or not, it is probably impossible to verify.’

13.1.3. PPs in the post-verbal position
The 给 gei3 ‘to, for’ PP, the 到 dao4 ‘go, to’ PP, and the 在 zài4 ‘at’ PP can occur in both pre-verbal and post-verbal positions, as illustrated in [6] and [7], respectively.

[6] a. 她又给我带了几本书。
tā1 yòu4 gei3 wǒ3 dǎi4 le0 jī3 běn3 shū1
she again PREP I bring LE several CL book
‘She brought some books to me again.’

b. 我们到哪个餐馆儿去?
wǒ3mén0 dào4 nà3 guǎn3rèn3 qu4
we PREP which CL restaurant go
‘Which restaurant are we going to?’

c. [他]在学校上了一节课。
tā1 zhài4 xué2xiào4 shāng4 le0 yī1 jiē2 ké
he PREP school attend LE one CL class
‘[He] attended a class session at school.’
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[7] a. 她已经送了三本书给朋友。
   ta1 yi3jing1 song4 le0 san1 ben3 shu1 gei3
   she already give LE three CL book PREP
   peng2you3
   friend
   ‘She has sent three books to her friend.’

b. 克里克随后寄了一份书面信函到白宫。
   ke4li3ke4 sui2hou4 ji4 le0 yi1 fen4
   Crick afterwards send LE one CL
   shu1mian4 xin4han2 dao4 bai2gong1
   in_written_form letter PREP White_House
   ‘Crick then sent a letter to the White House.’

c. 我们放了一把尺在容器里。
   wo3men0 fang4 le0 yi1 ba3 chi3 zai4
   we put LE one CL ruler PREP
   rong2qi4 li3
   container inside
   ‘We put a ruler into the container.’

   Note that in [7], the prepositions 给 gei3 ‘to, for,’ 到 dao4 ‘go, to,’ and 在 zai4 ‘at’
   are preceded by a ditransitive or displacement verb (e.g., 送 song4 ‘to give a gift,’
   教 jiao1 ‘to teach,’ 寄 ji4 ‘to send,’ and 放 fang4 ‘to put’) and its direct object. They
   can also immediately occur after a verb, as in [8].

[8] a. 李鹏总理将两台电脑送给了学校。
   li3peng2 zong3li3 jiang1 liang3 tai2 dian4nao3 song4
   LI_PENG premier BA two CL computer give
   gei3 le0 xue2xiao4
   PREP LE school
   ‘Premier LI Peng gave two computers to the school.’

b. 许多驾驶人把车开到了京华城。
   xu3duo1 jia4shi3ren2 ba3 che1 kai1 dao4 le0
   many driver BA car drive PREP LE
   jing1hua2cheng2
   Living_Mall
   ‘Many drivers drove the cars to Living Mall.’
It should be noted that when a preposition occurs immediately after a verb, aspectual markers do not occur after the first verb but rather after the “preposition,” as exemplified by \( \text{le0} \) ‘LE’ in all the sentences in [8]. Since the perfective aspect applies to the full verb complex while attached to the second element of the verbal complex, it is therefore also preferable to treat these cases as compound verbs, as discussed in Chapter 3.

13.1.4. PPs in the noun modifier position

Prepositions such as \( \text{dui4} \) ‘to, toward,’ \( \text{wang3} \) ‘toward,’ and \( \text{guan1yu2} \) ‘about,’ coupled with their objects, can occur before the “\( \text{de0} \) ‘DE’ NP” sequence and function as a modifier to the NP. Consider the examples in [9].

[9]  

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{a.} & \quad \text{对生活的态度} \\
& \quad \text{dui4} \quad \text{sheng1huo2} \quad \text{de0} \quad \text{tai4du4} \\
& \quad \text{PREP} \quad \text{life} \quad \text{DE} \quad \text{attitude} \\
& \quad \text{‘attitudes toward life’} \\
\text{b.} & \quad \text{往加州的公车票} \\
& \quad \text{wang3} \quad \text{jia1zhou1} \quad \text{de0} \quad \text{gong1che1piao4} \\
& \quad \text{PREP} \quad \text{California} \quad \text{DE} \quad \text{bus_ticket} \\
& \quad \text{‘bus ticket to California’} \\
\text{c.} & \quad \text{关于伊拉克的书} \\
& \quad \text{guan1yu2} \quad \text{yi1la1ke4} \quad \text{de0} \quad \text{shu1} \\
& \quad \text{PREP} \quad \text{Iraq} \quad \text{DE} \quad \text{book} \\
& \quad \text{‘books about Iraq’}
\end{align*} \]

13.2. Differentiating prepositions from other lexical categories

A number of words in Modern Chinese belong to more than one lexical category. A form that can be used as a preposition may also be used as a verb, conjunction, adverb, noun, or even a classifier. Each category has its own distinctive morphological, semantic, and syntactic properties.
13.2.1. Prepositions versus verbs

Chinese prepositions were full-fledged verbs in earlier stages of Chinese. In Modern Chinese, there are many forms that can be used as both a verb and a preposition. For instance, 在 zai4 ‘be at’ and 朝 chao2 ‘face’ are understood as verbs in [10] because they are the only predicates in the sentences and they cannot be omitted. In contrast, 在 zai4 ‘at’ and 朝 chao2 ‘toward’ and their objects in [11] can be omitted without affecting the grammaticality of the sentences, and thus are understood as prepositions.

[10]  a. 财富的中心并不在省会太原, 而是在平遥, 祁县和太谷。
    cai2fu4 de0 zhong1xin1 bing4 bu4 zai4
    wealth DE centre however NEG be_at
    sheng3hui4 tai4yuan2 er2shi4 zai4 ping2yao2
    provincial_capital Taiyuan rather be_at Pingyao
    qi2xian4 he2 tai4gu3
    Qixian and Taigu
    ‘The centre of wealth was not at the provincial capital Taiyuan, but at Pingyao, Qixian, and Taigu.’

  b. 瓦斯桶开口一定要朝外。
    wa3si1 tong3 kai1kou3 yi1ding4 yao4 chao2
    natural_gas tank opening definite will face
    wai4 outside
    ‘The opening of the natural gas tank must face outside.’

    zai4 xin1 de0 yi2min2 huan2jing4 zhong1
    PREP new DE immigrate environment in
    jian4li4 xin1 de0 she4hui4 zhi4xu4
    establish new DE society order
    ‘[They will] establish a new social order in the new immigration environment.’

  b. 那些男生朝她走来。
    na4xie1 nan2sheng1 chao2 ta1 zou3lai2
    those boy PREP she come
    ‘The boys walked toward her.’
Some prepositions are no longer used as verbs. For instance, 从 con2 ‘from’ and 被 bei4 ‘by (an agent)’ are prepositions only, as in [12] and [13]. They cannot occur in a sentence without a predicate.

[12] 昨晚七时从家中出发。
zuo2wan3 qi1shi2 cong2 jia1 zhong1 chu1fa1  
last_night 7_o’clock PREP home in depart  
‘[We] departed from home at 7 o’clock last night.’

[13] 阿郎右手被老王抓住。
a1lang2 you4shou3 bei4 lao3wang2 zhua1zhu4  
A-LANG right_hand BEI Old_WANG seize  
‘A-LANG’s right hand was seized by Old WANG.’

[14] and [15] are non-exhaustive lists covering most forms that can be used as prepositions only and forms that can be used as both prepositions and verbs in present-day Chinese.

[14] Forms that can be used as prepositions only:
按照 an4zhao4 ‘according to,’ 被 bei4 ‘by (an agent),’ 除了 chu2le0 ‘besides, except,’ 从 cong2 ‘from,’ 关于 guan1yu2 ‘about, with regard to,’ 随着 sui2zhe0 ‘along with,’ 由 you2 ‘from, by,’ 至于 zhi4yu2 ‘with regard to,’ 自从 zi4cong2 ‘since’

[15] Forms that can be used as both prepositions and verbs:
按 an4 ‘according to; to press,’ 比 bi3 ‘than; to compare,’ 朝 chao2 ‘toward; to face,’ 除了 chu2 ‘besides, except; to divide,’ 到 dao4 ‘to; to arrive,’ 给 gei3 ‘to, for; to give,’ 靠 kao4 ‘depending on; to lean/depend on,’ 拖 ti4 ‘for; to replace,’ 用 yong4 ‘with; to use,’ 指对 zhen1dui4 ‘with regard to; to aim at,’ 在 zai4 ‘at; to be at’

13.2.2. Prepositions versus conjunctions
Chinese has two types of conjunctions, one connecting nominal phrases and the other joining clauses. In both types, there are some conjunctions that can be used as prepositions.

13.2.2.1. Prepositions vs. conjunctions for phrases
和 he2, 跟 gen1, 与 yu3, and 同 tong2 are frequently used as either a preposition or a conjunction. For instance, 和 he2 is a preposition in [16a] but is a conjunction in [16b].
To determine whether a form is a preposition or a conjunction for phrases, the phrase preceding the form and that following the form can be switched to check whether the switch results in a change of meaning in the sentence: a change will occur in the sentence with a preposition, but not in the sentence with a conjunction. Take 和 he2 in [16], for example. When 上天 shang4tian1 ‘God’ and 苦命的人 ku3ming4 de0 ren2 ‘downtrodden people’ in [16a] switch their positions, the meaning of the sentence is changed in that the agent of 开玩笑 kai1wan2xiao4 ‘make fun’ becomes 苦命的人 ku3ming4 de0 ren2 ‘downtrodden people,’ as in [17a], which indicates that 和 he2 is used as a preposition. In contrast, when 我 wo3 ‘I’ and 王豪 wang2hao2 ‘WANG Hao’ in [16b] switch positions, the meaning of the sentence remains the same, as in [17b], which indicates that 和 he2 is a conjunction.

Furthermore, a preposition can be preceded by adverbials, but a conjunction cannot. For instance, 总是 zong3shi4 ‘always’ occurs before the preposition 和 he2 in [17a]. And he2 in [17b] may also be preceded by an adverbial, as in [18]. However, once preceded by 总 is zong3shi4 ‘always,’ and he2 is necessarily understood as a preposition, as indicated by the English translation below.
WANG Hao always went to the restaurant for dinner with me.'

13.2.2. Prepositions vs. conjunctions for clauses
Forms such as 因为 yin1wei4 ‘because,’ 由于 you2yu2 ‘because,’ and 为了 wei4le0 ‘for’ can be followed by either a clause or an NP. In these two cases, their meanings are the same. For instance, 因为 yin1wei4 ‘because’ in both [19a] and [19b] introduces a reason. These forms are traditionally treated as a conjunction for clauses if they are followed by a clause, as in [19a], and as a preposition if they are followed by an NP, as in [19b].

[19] a. 因为儿子很喜欢看「史瑞克」, 全家都陪他看了好多次。
   yin1wei4 er2zi0 hen3 xi3huan1 kan4 shi3rui4ke4
   because son very like see Shrek
   quan2jia1 dou1 pei2 ta1 kan4 le0
   whole_family all accompany he see LE
   hao3duo1 ci4
   many CL
   ‘Because the son liked to watch Shrek very much, the whole family accompanied him and watched it many times.’

b. [我们] 因为这种事情, 而把自己封闭。
   wo3men0 yin1wei4 zhe4 zhong3 shi4qing2 er2
   we PREP this CL thing thus
   ba3 zi4ji3 feng1bi4
   BA self shut_off
   ‘[We] shut ourselves off because of this kind of thing.’

13.2.3. Prepositions versus nouns
A small number of forms in Chinese can be used as both a preposition and a noun, including 根据 gen1ju4 ‘according to; basis of making judgment,’ 作为 zuo4wei2 ‘as; achievement/action,’ 经过 jing1guo4 ‘by, through; process,’ and 距离 ju4li2 ‘from; distance.’ Consider the examples in [20]–[22].
[20] a. 根据佛洛伊德的说法, 人有生的本能, 也有死的本能。

```
gen1ju4 fo2luo4yi1de2 de0 shuo1fa3 ren2 you3
PREP   Freud   DE   saying   human   have
```

```
sheng1 de0 ben3neng2 ye3 you3 si3 de0 ben3neng2
live   DE   instinct   also   have   die   DE   instinct
```

‘According to Freud, human beings not only have life instincts, but also death instincts as well.’

b. 我们的根据是什么呢?

```
wo3men0 de0 gen1ju4 shi4 shen2me0 ne0
we   DE   basis   be   what   NE
```

‘What is the basis [for our claim]?’

[21] a. 作为一个客家籍作家, 我只提供自己对客家文化性格的一种观察。

```
zuo4wei2 yi1 ge4 ke4jia1ji2 zuo4jia1 wo3 zhi3
PREP   one   CL   Hakka   writer   I   only
```

```
ti2gong1 zi4ji3 dui4 ke4jia1 wen2hua4 xing4ge2 de0
offer   self   PREP   Hakka   culture   nature   DE
```

```
i1 zhong3 guan1cha2
one   CL   observation
```

‘As a Hakka writer, I only provide my own observation of cultural characteristics of Hakka.’

b. 我的思想, 作为都与旁人不同。

```
wo3 de0 si1xiang3 zuo4wei2 dou1 yu3 pang2ren2
I   DE   thought   behavior   all   PREP   other_people
```

```
bu4tong2
different
```

‘My thoughts and actions are different from the others.’

[22] a. 那里距离她们家只有一百五十公里。

```
a4li3 ju4li2 ta1men0 jia1 zhi3you3 yi1bai3wu3shi2
there   PREP   their   home   only   150
```

```
gong1li3
kilometer
```

‘That place is only 150 kilometers away from their home.’
b. 现实和理想之间一定有距离。

‘There must be a distance between the real and the ideal.’

It is important to note that while the preposition–verb and preposition–conjunction pairs can almost always be attributed to pairs with the same semantic content but different grammatical functions, the preposition–noun pairs contain pairs sharing little semantic content, such as 作为 zuòwéi as the preposition ‘as’ and as the noun ‘achievement, action.’ In this case, these two forms are simply homophones, like river “bank” versus financial “bank” in English. In addition, note that a preposition and a noun distinctively differ from each other in the following ways. First, a noun can function as an argument of a verb, whereas a preposition cannot. Second, a noun can be modified by other elements, such as a possessor, a determiner, or a relative clause, whereas a preposition cannot be modified by these elements but is necessarily followed by an NP. Therefore, we can always distinguish a noun from a preposition by examining (1) in which position of the sentence it occurs and (2) whether it is accompanied by any modifiers or objects. Accordingly, 根据 gen1ju4 in [20a] is a preposition because it is followed by an NP, whereas 根据 gen1ju4 in [20b] is a noun because it occurs in a subject position and is modified by a possessor.

13.2.4. Prepositions versus adverbs

Similar to preposition–noun pairs, preposition–adverb pairs range from functional variants to homophonic pairs. Although both prepositions and adverbs can occur to the left of the main predicate in a sentence, prepositions are usually followed by an NP, whereas adverbs are not (see Chapter 12 for a detailed discussion on adverbs). For example, 将 jiang1, 较 jiao4, and 就 jiu4 are found to occur as either prepositions (as in [23a], [24a], and [25a]) or adverbs (as in [23b], [24b], and [25b]) in Modern Chinese. Their meanings as prepositions can be either different from or similar to the meanings they have as adverbs. For instance, 将 jiang1 in [23a] is a preposition introducing a patient/theme, but it is understood as a temporal adverb in [23b]; 就 jiu4 in [24a], as a preposition, introduces the basis for the speaker’s claim, whereas 就 jiu4 in [24b], as an adverb, functions to emphasize the speaker’s firm stance; and both 较 jiao4 as a preposition in [25a] and 较 jiao4 as an adverb in [25b] are used with a comparative meaning.
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[23] a. 将雨水导入排水管内。
jiang1 yu3shui3 dao3ru4 pai2shui3guan3 nei4
BA rain guide drain inside
‘As for the rainwater, it will be guided into the drains.’

b. 李女士将于会中发表演讲。
li3 nu3shi4 jiang1 yu2 hui4 zhong1 fa1biao3
LI Ms. will PREP meeting during present
yan3jiang3
speech
‘Ms. Li will deliver a speech at the meeting.’

[24] a. 就我的观察，几乎没有不喜欢率直的人。
jiu4 wo3 de0 guan1cha2 ji1hu1 mei2you3 ren2
PREP I DE observation almost NEG people
bu4 xi3huan1 shuai4zhi2 de0 ren2
NEG like straightforward DE people
‘According to my observation, almost nobody dislikes those who are straightforward.’

b. 这就是我们应该要欢喜的。
zhe4 jiu4shi4 wo3men0 ying1gai1 yao4 huan1xi3 de0
this exactly we should will happy DE
‘This is just what we should be excited about.’

[25] a. 耶稣的年代较孔子晚了五世纪之久。
ye1su1 de0 nian2dai4 jiao4 kong3zi3 wan3 le0
Jesus DE year PREP Confucius late LE
wu3 shi4ji4 zhi1 jiu3
five century that long
‘The time of Jesus came five centuries later than the time of Confucius.’

b. 我们能够提供一些较客观的观点。
women0 neng2gou4 ti2gong1 yi1xie1 jiao4
we can offer some comparatively
ke4guan1 de0 guan1dian3
objective DE viewpoint
‘We can provide more objective perspectives.’

13.2.5. Prepositions versus classifiers
A few forms in Modern Chinese can be used as both prepositions and classifiers, such as 把 ba3 and 对 dui4. These two functions are clearly distinct and all attested
pairs are simply homophonic pairs. When used as prepositions and classifiers, they can occur immediately before a noun; however, when used as classifiers, they are necessarily preceded by determiners, numbers, or quantifiers (see Chapter 7 for classifiers). For example, 把 ba3 is a preposition in [26a] and a classifier in [26b]. In both sentences, 把 ba3 occurs immediately before a bare noun, such as 芭蕉扇 ba1jiao1shan4 ‘plantain-leaf fan’ in [26a] and 扇子 shan4zi0 ‘fan’ in [26b]. However, the classifier 把 ba3 in [26b] needs to be preceded by the determiner 这 zhe4 ‘this.’

[26]  
a. [铁扇公主]答应把芭蕉扇借给他。
   tie3shan4gong1zhu3 da2ying4 ba3 ba1jiao1shan4
   Princess_Iron_Fan promise BA plantain_fan
   jie4gei3 ta1
   lend he
   ‘[Princess Iron Fan] agreed to lend him the plantain-leaf fan.’

b. 这时候, 他才知道这把扇子是假的。
   zhe4 shi2hou0 ta1 cai2 zhi1dao4 zhe4 ba3 shan4zi0
   this time he just know this CL fan
   shi4 jia3 de0
   be fake DE
   ‘It was not until this moment that he knew that the fan was fake.’

Furthermore, a classifier can occur in a noun phrase, which may in turn occur as the object of a preposition. As illustrated in [27], the first 对 dui4 is a preposition, whereas the second 对 dui4 is a classifier and is contained in the object of the preposition 对 dui4.

[27]  
[该委员会]对六十五对的夫妇作了研究分析。
   gai1 wei3yuan2hui4 dui4 liu4shi2wu3 dui4 de0
   the committee PREP sixty_five CL DE
   fu1fu4 zuo4 le0 yan2jiu1 fen1xi1
couple do LE research analyze
   ‘[The committee] studied and analyzed sixty-five couples.’

13.3. Monosyllabic and disyllabic prepositions
Chinese has both monosyllabic and disyllabic prepositions, but only a few prepositions have more than two syllables. [28] provides some commonly used monosyllabic prepositions.

[28]  
把 ba3 (direct object marker), 被 bei4 ‘by (an agent),’ 比 bi3 ‘than,’ 朝 chao2 ‘toward,’ 从 cong2 ‘from,’ 对 dui4 ‘to,’ 给 gei3 ‘to, for,’ 往 wang3 ‘toward,’ 为 wei4 ‘for,’ 沿 yan2 ‘along,’ 向 xiang4 ‘toward,’ 在 zai4 ‘at’
Disyllabic prepositions can be classified into two types according to how they are formed. The first type is formed by elements that used to be a verb and a suffix, such as -了 le0 ‘LE’ and -着 zhe0 ‘ZHE,’ as in [29] and [30]. In these sentences, -了 le0 ‘LE’ and -着 zhe0 ‘ZHE’ do not function as aspectual suffixes in that they can be omitted without changing the meanings of the sentences (see Chapter 5 for the aspectual system).

[29]  a. 爸爸, 你不要吸烟了, 为了你自己也为了我们想。
    ba4ba0 ni3 bu2yao4 xi1yan1 le0 wei4le0 ni3
dad you do_not smoke LE PREP you
    zi4ji3 ye3 wei4le0 wo3men0 xiang3
    self also PREP we think
    ‘Dad, do not smoke anymore, think of yourself and us.’

b. 除了这只玉镯, 已没有纪念妈妈的东西了。
    chu2le0 zhe4 zhi3 yi4zhuo2 yi3 mei2you3
    PREP this CL jade_bracelet already NEG
    ji4nian4 ma1ma0 de0 dong1xi0 le0
    commemorate mother DE thing LE
    ‘Besides this jade bracelet, there is nothing else to commemorate Mom anymore.’

    gao1yu4bao3 chao2zhe0 tai4ping2cun1 fang1xiang4 jiu4
    GAO_YUBAO PREP Taiping_village direction thus
    yi1zhi2 pao3
    all_the_time run
    ‘[GAO Yubao] kept running toward the direction of Taiping village.’

b. 沿着南京东路走到和平饭店。
    yan2zhe0 nan2jing1dong1lu4 zou3dao4 he2ping2fan4dian4
    PREP Nanjing_East_Road walk_to Heping_Hotel
    ‘Walk to Heping Hotel along Nanjing East Road.’

c. 幽灵船向着我驶过来。
    you1ling2chuan2 xiang4zhe0 wo3 shi3 guo4lai2
    ghost_ship PREP I drive come
    ‘The ghost ship sailed toward me.’

d. 阿山对着赵世腾大吼。
    a1shan1 dui4zhe0 zhao4shi4teng2 da4hou3
    A_SHAN PREP ZHAO_SHITENG shout
    ‘A-Shan yelled at ZHAO Shiteng.’
e. 当你改变自己时，世界会随着你的改变而改变。
   dang1 ni3 gai3bian4 zi4ji3 shi2 shi4jie4 hui4
   when you change self when world will
   sui2zhe0 ni3 de0 gai3bian4 er2 gai3bian4
   PREP you DE change thus change
   ‘When you change yourself, the world will change with you.’

The second type of disyllabic preposition is formed by two synonymous monosyllabic prepositions. For instance, 按 an4zhao4 ‘according to’ is formed by the synonymous prepositions 按 an4 ‘according to’ and 照 zhao4 ‘according to,’ and the three forms – 按 an4, 照 zhao4, and 按 an4zhao4 – are equivalent to the English expression “according to.” A few more examples are given in [31].

[31] a. 自从线上游戏风行后, 盗版自然消失。
   zi4cong2 xian4shang4 you2xi4 feng1xing2 hou4
   since on_line game be_popular after
   dao4ban3 zi4ran2 xiao1shi1
   pirate nature vanish
   ‘Since online games became popular, pirated versions naturally disappeared.’

b. 先生是退伍军人, 约九年前因为肝癌过世。
   xian1sheng0 shi4 tui4wu3 jun1ren2 yue1
   husband be be_demobilized soldier about
   jiu3nian2 qian2 yin1wei4 gan1ai2 guo4shi4
   nine_year before PREP liver_cancer pass_away
   ‘My husband was a veteran, and he passed away about nine years ago due to liver cancer.’

c. 对于日本人来说, 这是很光荣的。
   dui4yu2 ri4ben3ren2 lai2shuo1 zhe4 shi4 hen3
   PREP Japanese speaking this be very
   guang1rong2 de0
   honor DE
   ‘For the Japanese, this is a great honor.’

Unlike the first type of disyllabic prepositions that usually have the same meanings as their corresponding monosyllabic prepositions (e.g., 为了 wei4le0 ‘for’ and 为 wei4 ‘for’), not all disyllabic prepositions formed by two synonymous prepositions have the same meanings as their constituents. For example, 自从 zi4cong2 is
formed by the synonymous prepositions 自 zì ‘from’ and 从 cong2 ‘from,’ but 自从 zi4cong2 ‘since’ expresses the starting time of an event that occurred in the past, whereas 从 cong2 ‘from’ can be used for the starting time of both the past and the future event, as in [32] and [33].

[32]  a. 从去年以来红茶价格已经上涨了。
    cong2 qu4nian2 yi3lai2 hong2cha2 jia4ge2 yi3jing1
    PREP last_year come black_tea price already
    shang4zhang3 le0
    rise LE
    ‘The price of black tea has risen since last year.’

    b. 从明天起就是严家的人了。
    cong2 ming2tian1 qi3 ni3 jiu4 shi4
    PREP tomorrow from you thus be
    yan2jia1 de0 ren2 le0
    the_YAN_family DE people LE
    ‘You will be a member of the YAN family from tomorrow onward.’

[33]  自从去年以来红茶价格已经上涨了。
    zi4cong2 qu4nian2 yi3lai2 hong2cha2 jia4ge2 yi3jing1
    PREP last_year come black_tea price already
    shang4zhang3 le0
    rise LE
    ‘The price of black tea has risen since last year.’

Not all monosyllabic prepositions are found in disyllabic forms. For instance, 被 bei4, 把 ba3, 和 he2, and 在 zai4 cannot form disyllabic prepositions with –了 le0 or –着 zhe0. Moreover, 向 xiang4, 往 wang3, and 朝 chao2 have similar meanings, but they cannot be used in combination to form a disyllabic preposition. Therefore, disyllabic prepositions are best treated as formed at the level of lexical–word formation (see Chapter 3).

Monosyllabic and disyllabic prepositions may differ in the types of NPs they can take as objects. A monosyllabic preposition usually takes an NP object that is either monosyllabic or polysyllabic, as in [34]–[35].

[34]  a. 白宫的门向南开。
    bai2gong1 de0 men2 xiang4 nan2 kai1
    White_House DE door PREP south open
    ‘The gate of the White House opens toward the south.’
b. 有一列火车正向北边开过去。
   you3  yi1  lie4  huo3che1  zheng4  xiang4  bei3bian1
   YOU  one  CL  train  ZAI  PREP  north
   kai1  guo4qu4
   drive  go
   ‘There is a train running toward the north.’

[35] a. 依法处理。
   yi1  fa3  chu3li3
   PREP  law  handle
   ‘Deal with [them] in accordance with the law.’

b. 环保局将依水污染法处罚。
   huan2bao3ju2  jiang1  yi1  shui3
   environmental_protection_bureau  will  PREP  water
   wu1ran3  fa3  chu3fa2
   pollution  law  punish
   ‘The Environmental Protection Agency will punish [them] in accordance with the Water Pollution Law.’

However, apart from those containing –了 le0, such as 为了 wei4le0 and 除了 chu2le0, disyllabic prepositions usually can only take NPs that have two or more syllables as their objects, as in [36] and [37].

[36] 辛巴已经和他的好朋友娜娜朝着北方边界冒险去了。
   xin1ba1  yi3jing1  he2  ta1  de0  hao3peng2you3  na4na4
   Simba  already  and  he  DE  good_friend  NANA
   chao2zhe0  bei3fang1  bian1jie4  mao4xian3  qu4  le0
   PREP  north  border  adventure  go  LE
   ‘Simba and his good friend Nana have adventured toward the northern border.’

[37] 工厂依照水污染防治法规定不断进行改善。
   gong1chang3  yi1zhao4  shui3  wu1ran3
   factory  PREP  water  pollution
   fang2zhi4  fa3  gui1ding4  bu2duan4
   prevention_and_cure  law  stipulate  unceasingly
   jin4xing2  gai3shan4
   proceed  improve
   ‘Factories are making continuous improvements in accordance with the provisions of the Water Pollution Control Act.’
13.4. Semantic classification of prepositions

Prepositions are a closed class. Roughly 250 prepositions are found in the Sinica Corpus, with many of them variants sharing similar forms or meanings. For instance, 为 了 wei4, 为了 wei4le0, and 为了 wei4zhe0 all mean ‘for,’ and 依 yi1, 依照 yi1zhao4, 依循 yi1xun2, 依据 yi1ju4, and 依靠 yi1zhe0 are all equivalent to ‘according to.’ As was mentioned above, prepositions express a variety of semantic relations with respect to their objects and the rest of the sentence. In addition, many prepositions have multiple meanings. For instance, 由 you2 ‘from’ can take NP objects in seven semantic roles, including the source of motion, the route of motion, the starting time of an action, the beginning level of a range of things, the initial state of a change, the basis of making a judgment, and the agent of an action. It is still controversial as to how many semantic roles are needed, as well as how and where to establish a boundary between some types of roles. This section introduces the types that are frequently marked by Chinese prepositions, including prepositions for space, space extensions (time, range, and change), involved participants (agent, patient/theme, recipient/beneficiary, instrument, etc.), topic, reference, and condition.

13.4.1. Prepositions for space

Many of the most commonly used prepositions in Chinese are of space origin. The notion of “space” refers to the location where an entity can be found or an action is carried out, as well as the source, path, goal, and direction of an action.

13.4.1.1. Location

Prepositions introducing the location of an entity or an action are commonly called locative prepositions. 在 zai4 is the most frequently used locative preposition in Chinese, as illustrated by two examples given in [38].

[38]  

a. 他在日内瓦有一幢公寓。
    ta1 zai4 ri4nei4wa3 you3 yi1 zhuang4 gong1yu4
    he PREP Geneva have one CL flat
    'He has an apartment in Geneva.'

b. 在桌子下面打滚。
    zai4 zhuo1zi0 xia4mian4 da3gun3
    PREP desk under roll
    'Roll under the table.'

Unlike English locative prepositions such as “in,” “on,” “above,” “over,” and “below,” 在 zai4 does not express a specific spatial reference other than indicating a location. For this reason, 在 zai4 usually cannot directly take a common noun
such as 桌子 zhuo1zi0 ‘table’ as its object. Rather, 在 zai4 only indicates the table as the general location involved in an action, without providing other more specific spatial references with respect to this object, for example, that the event occurs either on top of or under the table. Therefore, 桌子 zhuo1zi0 ‘table’ has to co-occur with a localizer such as 下面 xia4mian4 ‘under’ so that we understand that it is under the table that the action occurs, as illustrated in [38b]. Because the 在 zai4 construction is very frequently used in Chinese, it is important to understand the distribution of localizers in 在 zai4 PPs, which will be dealt with in more detail in section 13.5.

In addition to 在 zai4, 于 yu1 is also used as a locative preposition, as in [39].

[39] [味全公司]于海南岛投资设立味精厂。
wei4qu2an2 gong1si1 yu2 hai3nan2dao3 tou2zi1
Wei_Chuan company PREP Hainan_Island invest
she4li4 wei4jing1 chang3
build MSG factory
‘[Wei Chuan Corp.] invested to build an MSG factory in Hainan Island.’

There are several differences between 于 yu2 and 在 zai4. First, while 在 zai4 is relatively neutral with respect to the register it occurs in, 于 yu2 is usually used in formal and literary texts. Second, unlike 在 zai4, 于 yu2 does not take any verbal complement. Third, 于 yu2 can also be used as a comparative marker, which will be introduced in section 13.4.3.

13.4.1.2. Source
Prepositions introducing the source of a spatial movement include 从 cong2, 由 you2, 自 zai4, and 打 da3, as shown in [40].

[40] a. 我爹爹妈妈从中原来到回疆。
wo3 die1die0 ma1ma0 cong2 zhong1yuan2 lai2dao4
I father mother PREP Central_Plains come
hui2jiang1
Uygur_Xinjiang
‘My father and mother came to Uygur Xinjiang from the Central Plains.’

b. 由合欢山庄出发，往雾社方向前进。
you2 he2huan1 shan1zhuang1 chu1fa1 wang3 wu4she4
PREP Hehuan villa depart PREP Wushe
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fang1xiang4  qian2jin4
direction  go_forward

'Develop from Hehuan Villa, [and then] go forward in the direction of
Wushe.'

c.  自台湾赴大陆的美学家吕荧。
zi4   tai2wan1   fu4   da4lu4   de0   mei3xue2jia1
PREP  Taiwan   go_to  mainland  DE  esthetician
lù3ying2
LV_YING

'[He is] LV Ying, an esthetician who came to the mainland from Taiwan.'

d.  月牙泉和鸣沙山是打哪儿来的呢?
yue4ya2quan2   he2   ming2sha1shan1   shi4   da3
Crescent_Spring  and  Sing_Sand_Dune  be  PREP
na3er0   lai2   de0   ne0
where  come  DE  NE

'Where did Crescent Spring and Singing Sand Dunes come from?'

从 con2g2 is relatively more neutral in style and is the most commonly used
preposition for source, whereas 由 you2 and 自 zi4 are mainly used in literary
Chinese, and 打 da3 is primarily colloquial in Northern Mandarin.

13.4.1.3. Path

Path refers to the route along which an entity moves or the location that an entity
passes during its motion. Prepositions such as 顺(zhe0) shun4 (zhe0), 沿(zhe0) yan2 (zhe0),
and 循(zhe0) xun2 (zhe0) are often used to introduce a route, as in [41]; among them,
顺(zhe0) shun4 (zhe0) is colloquial, 沿(zhe0) yan2 (zhe0) is relatively neutral, and 循(zhe0)
xun2 zhe0 is often used in literary style.

[41]  a.  [我们]顺着弯曲的山路前进。
wo3men0   shun4zhe0   wan1qu1   de0   shan1lu4
we  PREP  winding  DE  mountain_road
qian2jin4
go_forward

'[We] moved along the curved mountain road.'

b.  [三艘帆船]沿美国海岸线航行。
san1   sao1   fan2chuan2   yan2   mei3guo2
three   CL   sailing_boat  PREP  the_United_States
Three sailing boats sailed along the US coastline.

He was forced to go to Teheran from Baghdad by land.

He was forced to go to Teheran from Baghdad by land.

Buddhism was introduced to Japan in 522 AD via Korea.

Let’s go back by the same route!

'Buddhism was introduced to Japan in 522 AD via Korea.'

'Buddhism was introduced to Japan in 522 AD via Korea.'

Let’s go back by the same route!

'Buddhism was introduced to Japan in 522 AD via Korea.'
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'Please use Gate 1 to go up to the 4th floor to visit the president's office.'

a. 走！由秘道走。
   zou3 you2 mi4 dao4 zou
   walk PREP secret road walk
   ‘Let’s go! Go through the hidden passage.’

b. 常常有电单车从门口经过。
   chang2chang2 you3 dian4dan1che1 cong2 men2kou3
   often YOU moped PREP door
   jing1guo4
   pass_by
   ‘Electric bikes frequently pass through by the gate.’

13.4.1.4. Goal

As shown in section 13.1.3, 到 dao4 can be understood as a goal preposition when it occurs after a ditransitive verb, as in [7b], repeated here as [45].

[45] 克里克随后寄了一份书面信函到白宫。
    ke4li3ke4 sui2hou4 ji4 le0 yi1 fen4
    Crick afterwards send LE one CL
    shu1mian4 xin4han2 dao4 bai2gong1
    in_written_form letter PREP White_House
    ‘Crick then sent a letter to the White House.’

In addition to 到 dao4, 至 zhi4 can also mark a goal, as in [46]; however, 至 zhi4 is mainly used in literary style.

[46] 送水至停水地区。
    song4 shui3 zhi4 ting2shui3 di4qu1
    send water PREP cut_off_water_supply area
    ‘Send water to regions where the water supply has been cut off.’

Although predominantly used as a locative preposition, 在 zai4 can also introduce a goal NP when it occurs after a displacement verb such as 放 fang4 ‘to put,’ as in [7c], repeated here as [47].
13.4.1.5. Direction

Prepositions for direction include two types: one introduces the location or direction toward which an entity moves, and the other introduces the entity, location, or direction toward which the subject is facing while carrying out an action.

The first type of directional preposition includes 向(chao4(zhe0), 朝(chao2(zhe0), 往 wang3, and 伸(chung4(zhe0), which can be used interchangeably in [48]–[51]. Note that these prepositions do not entail the actual arrival of the subject at the destination, so they do not co-occur with motion verbs that indicate an endpoint for the motion, for example, 回 hui2 ‘return,’ 进 jin4 ‘enter,’ 出 chu1 ‘exit,’ and 到 dao4 ‘arrive.’

[48]  a. [他们]向新华门走。
        ta1men0 xiang4 xin1hua2men2 zou3
    ‘They walked toward Xinhua Gate.’

[49]  a. 两个人朝玉申家里走着。
        liang3 ge4 ren2 chao2 yu4shen1 jia1 li3
          two CL people PREP Yushen home inside
        zou3 zhe0
        walk ZHE
    ‘The two people were walking toward Yushen’s home.’

[49]  b. [有两名特警]朝他的方向走过来。
        you3 liang3 ming2 te4jing3 chao2 ta1
          YOU two CL special_policeman PREP he
        de0 fang1xiang4 zou3 guo4lai2
        DE direction walk come
    ‘[Two special force officers] walked in his direction.’
The second type of preposition for direction introduces the entity, location, or direction that the subject is facing while carrying out the action denoted by the verb; the action modified by these PPs does not necessarily involve spatial motion of the subject, for example, laughing, waving hands, or shouting. 向(zhe0), 朝(zhe0), 冲(zhe0), and 对(zhe0) belong to this type of preposition, as in [52].

[50] a. 一大群的女学生又往店里跑。
yi1 da4 qun2 de0 nü3 xue2sheng1 you4 one big CL DE female student again
wang3 dian4 li3 pao3 PREP store inside run
‘A crowd of female students ran into the store again.’

b. 野狼往前跑。
ye3 lang2 wang3 qian2 pao3 wild wolf PREP front run
‘The wild wolf ran forward.’

[51] a. 冲铁门撞上去
chong4 tie3men2 zhuang4 shang4qu4 PREP iron_door hit onto
‘hit on the iron gate’

b. 拼命的冲着那个方向跑去。
pin1ming4 de0 chong4zhe0 na4ge4 fang1xiang4 risk_life DE PREP that direction
pao3qu4 run
‘[They] ran desperately toward that direction.’

[52] a. 我抬头向上看。
wo3 tai2tou2 xiang4 shang4 kan4 I raise_one’s_head PREP up see
‘I raised my head to look up.’

b. 天鹅朝青蛙叫了两声。
tian1e2 chao2 qing1wa1 jiao4 le0 liang3 sheng1 swan PREP frog shout LE two CL
‘The swan hissed twice toward the frog.’
c. 道尔冲着教练竖起大拇指。
dao4er3 chong4zhe0 jiao4lian4 shu4qi3 da4mu3zhi3
Doyle PREP coach erect thumb
'Doyle thumbed up toward the coach.'

d. 有个女生在对我笑。
you3 ge4 nü3sheng1 zai4 dui4 wo3 xiao4
YOU CL girl ZAI PREP I smile
'There was a girl smiling at me.'

Notice that 往 wang3 only belongs to the first type of preposition for direction, that is, it can only introduce a direction for a motion event. Interestingly, 往 wang3 is the only preposition that can occur in the lexicalized, metaphorized construction in the form of “往 wang3 + NP + verb.” A few examples are given in [53], where no “往 wang3 + NP + verb” expressions are understood as their literal meaning.

[53]  a. 往心里去
wang3 xin1 li3 qu4
PREP heart inside go
‘take someone’s words/something seriously’

b. 往死里打
wang3 si3 li3 da3
PREP death inside beat
‘beat someone brutally with intention to kill’

c. 往坏里想
wang3 huai4 li3 xiang3
PREP bad inside think
‘take the worst-case scenario/assume the worst of intentions’

d. 往下说
wang3 xia4 shuo1
PREP next say
‘continue telling something’

13.4.2. Prepositions for space extensions
Most spatial prepositions are extended to other domains through metaphor or metonymy. This section discusses the domains of time, change of state, and range.

13.4.2.1. Time
Space and time are conceptually closely related: movement in time can be metaphorically understood as movement in space. For this reason, almost all
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Prepositions for space can be extended to the time domain. For instance, the locative prepositions 在 zai4 and 于 yu2 can be used to introduce a time at or during which an event takes place, as in [54].

[54] a. 抽签仪式在明天中午十二点举行。
   chou1qian1 yi2shi4 zai4 ming2tian1 zhong1wu3
draw_lots ceremony PREP tomorrow noon
   shi2er4dian3 ju3xing2
12_o’clock hold
‘The lottery will be held at 12 P.M. tomorrow.’

b. 李院长于二月二十六日至三月十五日赴美国访问。
   li3 yuan4zhang3 yu2 er4yue4 er4shi2liu4ri4 zhi4
LI dean PREP February 26th PREP
   san1yue4 shi2wu3ri4 fu4 mei3 fang3wen4
March 15th go_to America visit
‘Dean Li went to visit America during the period from February 26 to March 15.’

Similarly, the source and goal prepositions in the space domain can be used to introduce the starting and ending time of an event, as from cong2 and 到 dao4 in [55a], 由 you2 and 至 zhi4 in [55b], 自 zhi4 in [55c], and 打 da3 in [55d].

[55] a. 从一九五八年到他去世的十八年间
   cong2 yi1jiu3wu3ba1nian2 dao4 ta1 qu4shi4 de0
PREP year_1958 PREP he pass_away DE
   shi2ba1nian2 jian1
18_years period
‘during the eighteen years from 1958 to his death’

b. 开放的时间是由上午九点至下午七点。
   kai1fang4 de0 shi2jian1 shi4 you2 shang4wu3
open DE time be PREP morning
   jiu3dian3 zhi4 xia4wu3 qi1dian3
9_o’clock PREP afternoon 7_o’clock
‘The opening time is from 9 A.M. to 7 P.M.’

c. 集训自十九日开始。
   ji2xun4 zi4 shi2jiu3ri4 kai1shi3
intensified_training PREP 19th start
‘The intensified training starts on the nineteenth.’
d. 打那天起，小伙子每天都要来到景文举家。

从那天起，小伙子每天都要来到景文举家。

PREP that day from lad every day

dou1 yao4 lai2dao4 jing3wen2ju3 jia1
all want come JING_WENJU home

‘From that day on, the young man came to JING Wenju’s home
everyday.’

13.4.2.2. Change of state

Change of state can also be understood as change in space: 在 zai4 in [56a] expresses
a certain state that an entity is in, both 由 you2 in [56b] and 从 cong2 in [56c] denote
the initial state of a change, and 到 dao4 in [56c] introduces the final state of a
change.

[56] a. 我们公司正在草创阶段。

we company ZAI PREP start

jie1duan4 stage

‘Our company is at a startup stage.’

b. 周庄原是个水乡小镇, 后来由小镇迅速发展为商业大镇。

Zhouzhuang used_to be CL

region_of_rivers_and_lakes small town later PREP

gxiao3 zhen4 xun4su4 fa1zhan3 wei2 shang1ye4 da4
town rapid develop as trade big
go3men0 gong1si1 zheng4 zai4 cao3chuang4
we company ZAI PREP start

‘Zhouzhuang was a town with rivers and ponds, and it then developed
rapidly from a small town into a commercial center.’

c. 一般森林从破坏到恢复要百十年左右。

usually forest PREP destroy PREP recover need

yi1ban1 sen1lin2 cong2 po4huai4 dao4 hui1fu4 yao4
usually forest PREP destroy PREP recover need

baidian2 zuo3you4
century about

‘Usually it takes about one hundred years for a forest to recover from
destruction.’
13.4.2.3. Range
Like the domain of change of state, the different levels of a range of things can also be interpreted in terms of motion: 在 zai4 introduces the level or a topical range where an entity or event is located, as in [57a]. 从 cong2 and 由 you2 specify the initial level of a topical range, as in [57b]–[57c], respectively, and 到 dao4 marks the final level, also in [57b]–[57c], respectively.

[57]  a. 在几何学上, 线有位置和长短。
   zai4 ji3he2xue2 shang4 xian4 you3 wei4zhi4 he2
   PREP geometry on line have position and
   chang2duan3
   length
   'In geometry, a line has coordinates and length.'

   b. 从歌剧到重金属都有人专精。
   cong2 ge1ju4 dao4 zhong4jin1shu3 dou1 you3 ren2
   PREP opera PREP heavy_metal all YOU people
   zhuan1jing1
   specialize
   'There are people specializing in [all styles] from opera to heavy metal.'

   c. 由走西口到闯荡全中国, 多少山西人…
   you2 zou3 xi1 kou3 dao4 chuang3dang4
   PREP walk west pass PREP make_itinerant_living
   quan2 zhong1guo2 duo1shao3 shan1xi1 ren2
   whole China many Shanxi_Province people
   'From traveling through the West Pass of the Great Wall to traveling all over China to make a living, countless Shanxi people…’

13.4.3. Prepositions for involved participants
An action can involve many entities playing different roles. This section introduces some common semantic roles expressed by Chinese prepositions, including agent, patient/theme, recipient/beneficiary, instrument/manner, entity to be compared with, and excluded entity.

13.4.3.1. Agent
Prepositions for agent denote the doer of an action. One of the most commonly used prepositions is 被 bei4, as in [58] (see Chapter 15 for more detail).
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[58]  a. 我一边做饭一边唱歌，竟然被婆婆骂。
    wo3 yi1 bian1 zuo4fan4 yi1 bian1 chang4ge1
    I one side cook one side sing
    jing4ran2 bei4 po2po2 ma4
    unexpectedly BEI mother-in-law scold
    ‘I was singing while cooking, but was scolded by mother-in-law.’

b. 民房被水冲走。
    min2fang2 bei4 shui3 chong1zou3
    privately_owned_house BEI water wash_away
    ‘Residential houses were washed away by flood water.’

Other frequently used prepositions for agent include 让 rang4, 叫 jiao4, 给 gei3, 由 you2, and 归 gui1, as in [59].

[59]  a. 可是我的老婆儿子却让汉人强盗杀了。
    ke3shi4 wo3 de0 lao3po0 er2zi0 que4 rang4
    but I DE wife son yet BEI
    han4ren2 qian2dao4 sha1 le0
    Han bandit kill LE
    ‘But my wife and son were killed by Han bandits.’

b. 你这样, 很叫人误会。
    ni3 zhe4yang4 hen3 jiao4 ren2 wu4hui4
    you like_this very PREP people misunderstand
    ‘You will easily be misunderstood by others if you (behave) like this.’

c. 我杀了那头狼，但也给狼咬伤了。
    wo3 sha1 le0 na4 tou2 lang2 dan4 ye3 gei3
    I kill LE that CL wolf but also PREP
    lang2 yao3shang1 le0
    wolf bite LE
    ‘I killed that wolf, but was bitten by it as well.’

d. 该段道路, 由新竹县府负责管理维护。
    gai1 duan4 dao4lu4 you2 xin1zhu2 xian4fu3
    the part road PREP Hsinchu county_government
    fu4ze2 guan3li3 wei2hu4
    be_in_charge manage maintain
    ‘This section of the road will be managed and maintained by the
government of Hsinchu County.’
e. 『人民日报』不归你管，你不应过问。
ren2min2ri4bao4 bu4 gui1 ni3 guan3 ni3 bu4
People's_Daily NEG PREP you manage you NEG
ying1 guo4wen4
should interfere
‘People's Daily is not managed by you, so you should not interfere.’

Among them, 让 rang4, 叫 jiao4, and 给 gei3 are more often used in colloquial Chinese. 被 bei4 (and 给 gei3 in some Northern Chinese dialects) can occur alone without an explicitly expressed agent if the information of the agent is unknown or unnecessary, as in [60], whereas generally others always need to take an agent as their object.

[60]  a. 每 19 分钟一辆汽车被偷。
mei3 19 fen4zhong1 yi1 liang4 qi4che1 bei4 tou1
every 19 minute one CL car BEI steal
‘There is a car stolen every 19 minutes.’

b. 猴自古以来都认为是极聪明的动物。
hou2 zi4gu3yi3lai2 dou1 bei4 ren4wei2 shi4
monkey since_ancient_times all BEI think be
ji2 cong1ming0 de0 dong4wu4
extremely smart DE animal
‘The monkey has been considered a very smart animal since ancient times.’

Patient/theme mainly refers to an entity that is affected by an action or undergoes an action. 把 ba3 is the most frequently used preposition to introduce such an entity, as in [61] (see Chapter 15 for more detail).

[61]  a. [曾子]把猪杀了。
zeng1zi3 ba3 zhu1 sha1 le0
Zengzi BA pig kill LE
‘[Zengzi] killed the pig.’

b. 我们把筷子放在水里。
wo3men0 ba3 kuai4zi0 fang4 zai4 shui3 li3
we BA chopsticks put PREP water inside
‘We put the chopsticks into the water.’

As shown in section 13.4.1, 对 dui4 and 对着 dui4zhe0 are alike in that both can be used as prepositions for direction. However, notice that 对 dui4 is different from
对着 *dui4zhe0* in that the former can introduce a patient/theme as in [62], while the latter cannot.

[62]  

```
dui4 liu4bai3 zi4 jin4xing2 le0 yan2jiu1
PREP six_hundred character proceed LE research
'He studied six hundred characters.'
```

将 *jiang1* is also a preposition for patient/theme, as in [63]. Compared with 把 *ba3* and 对 *dui4*, 将 *jiang1* is more often used in literary style.

[63]  

```
wo3men0 jiang1 yu3shui3 dao3ru4 pai2shui3guan3
we BA rain guide drain
nei4
inside
'We guided the rainwater into the drains.'
```

给 *gei3* can mark (1) a recipient, who is in ownership or possession of something after the action denoted by the verb, or (2) a beneficiary, for whose benefit the action takes place, as in [64a] and [64b], respectively.

[64]  

```
a. 有 student happen car_accident after
you3 ge4 xue2sheng1 fa1sheng1 che1huo4 hou4
YOU CL student happen car_accident after
xie3 le0 yi1 feng1 xin4 gei3 wo3
write LE one CL letter PREP I
'A student wrote a letter to me after a car accident.'

b. 我给你消了毒; 伤势并不严重。
wo3 gei3 ni3 xiao1le0du2 shang1shi4 bing4
I PREP you disinfect_LE wound however
bu4 yan2zhong4 NEG serious
'I disinfected your wound; it was not too serious.'
```

为(了) *wei2(le0)* and 被 *ti4* can also introduce a beneficiary in the pre-verbal position, as in [65].

[65]  

```
a. 为老师们兴建宿舍
wei4 lao3shi1 men0 xing1jian4 su4she4
PREP teacher PL build dorm
'build dorms for teachers'
```
b. 赤盲生念书
   ti4     mang2sheng1     nian4shu1
   PREP  blind_student    read
'read for blind students'

In terms of style, 给 gei3 and 替 ti4 are used colloquially, whereas 为 (了) wei4 (le0) is more literary.

Instrument refers to an entity, usually inanimate, that the agent uses to carry out an action. 用 yong4 is the most frequently used preposition for instruments, 以 yi3 is often used in literary and formal styles, and 拿 na2 is highly colloquial. Consider the following examples.

[66]  a. 我们中国人都用筷子吃饭。
   wo3men0    zhong1guo2ren2    dou1    yong4    kuai4zi0
   we         Chinese         all     PREP    chopsticks
   chi1fan4
   eat
'We Chinese people all eat with chopsticks.'

b. 以红外线装置干扰对方
   yi3     hong2wai4xian4     zhuang1zhi4    gan1rao3
   PREP   infrared_rays   device     disrupt
   dui4fang1
   the_other_side
'to disrupt the opponent party with an infrared device'

c. 他先拿打蛋器搅蛋。
   ta1     xian1     na2     da3dan4qi4     jiao3     dan4
   he       first       PREP    egg_beater  stir  egg
'He used an egg beater to beat the eggs first.'

Manner refers to the way in which the action is carried out. Prepositions that are often used for manner include 通过 tong1guo4, 靠 (着) kao4 (zhe0), 用 yong4, 由 you2, and 以 yi3, as shown in [67].

[67]  a. 政府将通过降低出口成本的方法来提高出口收入。
   zheng4fu3     jiang1     tong1guo4     jiang4di1     chu1kou3
   government   will     PREP    drop    export
   cheng2ben3    de0     fang1fa3    lai2     ti2gao1    chu1kou3
   cost         DE       way      come    raise  export
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shou1ru4
income
'The government will increase export revenue through lowering export cost.'

b. 但是光靠轰炸无法把伊拉克军队逐出科威特。
dan4shi4 guang1 kao4 hong1zha4 wu2fa3 ba3
but only PREP bomba nd no_way BA
yi1la1ke4 jun1dui4 zhu2chu1 ke1wei1te4
Iraq army drive_out Kuwait
'But it’s impossible to drive out the Iraqi army from Kuwait by bombing alone.'

c. 对于她的问句，我只用摇头来回答。
dui4yu2 ta1 de0 wen4ju4 wo3 zhi3 yong4
PREP she DE question I only PREP
yao2tou2 lai2 hui2da2
shake_one’s_head come reply
'To her questions, I could only respond by shaking my head.'

d. 我主张很多社会现象应由法律来解决。
wo3 zhu3zhang1 hen3duo1 she4hui4 xian4xiang4
I advocate many society phenomenon
ying1 you2 fa3li4 lai2 jie3jue2
should PREP law come solve
'I advocate that many social phenomena should be resolved by law.'

e. 以书面通知当事人。
yi3 shu1mian4 tong1zhi1 dang1shi4ren2
PREP in_written_form notify the_party_concerned
'Notify the parties concerned by written notice.'

13.4.3.2. Entity to be compared with
Chinese has two types of comparisons – superiority and equality (see Chapter 11 for more detail). Different prepositions are available in Chinese to introduce an entity to be compared with, that is, the standard of comparison. 比 bi3 is the most commonly used preposition for superiority comparison, as in [68].

[68]  a. 蔬菜的平均批发价比零售价便宜 15% 至 20% 。
shu1cai4 de0 ping2jun1 pi1fa1jia4 bi3
vegetable DE average wholesale_price than
The average wholesale price of vegetables is 15 to 20% lower than retail price.

Nothing travels faster than light.

较 jiao is another monosyllabic preposition used for superiority comparison, but it is more literary and formal in style.

The time of Jesus came five centuries later than the time of Confucius.

I can run as fast as before.

If not what happened that year, I will not like now like this.

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‘If it is not for what happened that year, I would not be as popular as now.’

c. 糖尿病和高血压一样，都是长期的慢性病。

diabetes and hypertension same all be

diabetes and hypertension same all be
long_term DE chronic_disease
‘Diabetes, same as hypertension, is a long-term chronic disorder.’

d. 他们同所有人一样，热爱生活。

they like everybody same love_fervently

they like everybody same love_fervently

like everyone else, they love life.’

e. 联合国与其他组织不一样。

the United Nations and other organization NEG

the United Nations and other organization NEG

The United Nations is not the same as other organizations.’

13.4.3.3. Excluded entity

除 chu2 and its variants 除了 chu2le0, 除 (了) chu2 (le0) …外 wai4/以外 yi3wai4/之外

zhi1wai4 can be understood as either ‘except’ or ‘besides,’ depending on the context in which they occur. When used with the ‘except’ meaning, the preposition marks an entity as not part of a particular group; in this case, the preposition often co-occurs with adverbs such as 全 quan2 ‘all’ and 都 dou1 ‘all,’ as in [71].

[71]

照片上的同伴除我以外都已退休了。

picture on DE companion PREP I

picture on DE companion PREP I

‘Except me, all the companions in the photo were retired.’
When understood as ‘besides,’ 除 chu2 and its variants introduce an entity apart from other entities contained in the same group; in this case, the pronoun often co-occurs with adverbs such as 还 hai2 ‘still’ and 也 ye3 ‘also,’ as shown in [72a] and [72b], respectively.

[72] a. 除北京外，他还将访问西安，青岛，上海和香港。
chu2 bei3jing1 wai4 ta1 hai2 jiang1 fang3wen4
PREP Beijing beside he still will visit
xi1an1 qing1dao3 shang4hai3 he2 xiang1gang3
XIAN QINGDAO SHANGHAI and Hong_Kong
‘Besides Beijing, he will also visit Xi’an, Qingdao, Shanghai, and Hong Kong.’

b. 除台北外，也可到其他县市，乡看看。
chu2 tai2bei3 wai4 ye3 ke3 dao4 qi2ta1
PREP Taipei beside also can PREP other
xian4shi4 xiang1 kan4kan4
county_and_city village see
‘Besides Taipei, please also go and see other cities, counties, and villages.’

13.4.4. Prepositions in relation to topics
A topic is the subject matter a sentence is about. It usually occurs at the beginning of a sentence. One way to mark a topic is by the use of prepositions such as 关于 guan1yu2, 对于 dui4yu2, and 至于 zhi4yu2, as shown in [73].

[73] a. 关于灵芝的研究，目前多以赤芝为主。
guan1yu2 ling2zhi1 de0 yan2jiu1 mu4qian2
PREP ganoderma DE research at_present
duo1 yi3 chi4zhi1 wei2zhu3
many PREP red_mushroom as_the_majority
‘As for the current research on ganoderma, most is on the red mushroom [lucidum].’

b. 对于这些问题公众知道得太少。
dui4yu2 zhe4xie1 wen4ti2 gong1zhong4 zhi1dao4
PREP these question public know
de2 tai4shao3
DE too_little
‘In regards to these problems, the public knows far too little.’
c. ...至于擦地板啊，擦窗户这种比较需要出力的工作都由我来做。

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{zhi4yu2} & \quad \text{ca1} \\
\text{di4ban3} & \quad \text{a1} \\
\text{ca1} & \quad \text{chuang1hu4} \\
\text{zhe4} & \quad \text{PREP} \\
\text{wipe} & \quad \text{floor} \\
\text{A} & \quad \text{wipe} \\
\text{window} & \quad \text{this} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{zhong3} & \quad \text{bi3jiao4} \\
\text{xu1yao4} & \quad \text{chu1li4} \\
\text{de0} & \quad \text{gong1zu04} \\
\text{CL} & \quad \text{relatively} \\
\text{need} & \quad \text{exert\_oneself} \\
\text{DE} & \quad \text{job} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dou1} & \quad \text{you2} \\
\text{wo3} & \quad \text{lai2} \\
\text{zu04} & \quad \text{all} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘...As for heavy duties such as wiping the floor and windows, I will take care of all of them.’

Note that 关于 guan1yu1, 对于 dui4yu1, and 至于 zhi4yu1 cannot be used interchangeably in all cases. As illustrated in [73a], 关于 guan1yu1 can introduce an entity/thing that does not enter into any grammatical relation with the verb. In addition, 关于 guan1yu1 can also introduce a patient/theme as the topic of the sentence. As shown in [74], 关于 guan1yu1 can replace 对于 dui4yu1 in [73b].

[74] 关于这些问题公众知道得太少。

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{guan1yu2} & \quad \text{zhe4xi1} \\
\text{wen4ti2} & \quad \text{gong1zhong4} \\
\text{zhi1dao4} & \quad \text{PREP} \\
\text{question} & \quad \text{public} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{de2} & \quad \text{tai4sha03} \\
\end{align*}
\]

DE too\_little

‘In regards to these problems, the public knows far too little.’

Unlike 关于 guan1yu1 and 对于 dui4yu1, which are generally used to introduce old information as the topic of an utterance, 至于 zhi4yu1 can be used to introduce new information as the topic, with the newly introduced topic being either an argument of an verb, as in [73c] (“floor-wiping” is the thing the speaker needs to do), or any other elements that the continuation sentence is about, as in [75].

[75] 精神科医生的自杀率一向最高, 演艺人员其次; 至于作家,

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{jing1} & \quad \text{shen2ke1} \\
\text{yi1} & \quad \text{sheng1} \\
\text{de0} & \quad \text{zi4sha1} \\
\text{ni4} & \quad \text{yi1xiang4} \\
\text{psychiatry} & \quad \text{doctor} \\
\text{DE} & \quad \text{suicide\_rate} \\
\text{always} & \quad \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{zui4} & \quad \text{gao1} \\
\text{yan3yi4ren2yuan2} & \quad \text{qi2ci4} \\
\text{zhi4yu2} & \quad \text{zu04jia1} \\
\text{most}\_tall & \quad \text{entertainer} \\
\text{next} & \quad \text{PREP} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{zhe4} & \quad \text{fang1} \\
\text{mian4} & \quad \text{dao4} \\
\text{mei2you3} & \quad \text{yi1ding4} \\
\text{this}\_\text{facet} & \quad \text{nonetheless} \\
\text{NEG} & \quad \text{definite} \\
\end{align*}
\]
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Besides these three commonly used prepositions, 就 jiù4, 就 jiù4…(而言 er2yan2|论 lun4), 就 jiù4…(来说 lai2shuo1), and 拿 na2…来说 lai2shuo1 can also mark a topic, as shown in [76].

[76] a. 就清洁而言, 现在市面上已有多种「干性皮肤」专用的肥皂或乳液。

    jiù4 qìng1jie2 er2yan2 xian4zai4 shì4màn4 shàng4
    PREP clean speaking now market on

    yī3 yǒu3 duō1 zhòng3 gàn1xíng4 pí2fu1
    already YOU many CL dry skin

    zhuan1yòng4 de0 fēi2zào4 huo4 ru3yé4
    especially_for DE soap or lotion

    ‘As for cleaning, the market already has varieties of soaps or cleansers
dedicated to dry skin.’

b. 拿汉字来说, 汉字的历史很短, 至多有五千年左右。

    na2 hán4zi4 lai2shuo1 hán4zi4 de0
    PREP Chinese_character speaking Chinese_character DE

    li4shì3 hén3 duān3 zhì4duō1 yǒu3 wú3qiān1nián2
    history very short at_most YOU 5000_years

    zuò3niú4
    about

    ‘As for Chinese characters, the history is very short, which is only five
thousand years at most.’

Like 关于 guān1yu2, they can also introduce a topic that is a patient/theme of
the action or any other elements the rest of the sentence is about. 就 jiù4 and 就
jiù4…(而言 er2yan2|论 lun4) are often used in formal and literary styles, whereas
就 jiù4…(来说 lai2shuo1) and 拿 na2…来说 lai2shuo1 are more colloquial.

13.4.5. Prepositions in relation to reference

A variety of prepositions are available in Chinese to introduce a reference for
making a judgment, decision, or taking action, for example, from cong2, by you2, 根据 jù4, 根据 gen1ju4, 依据 yi1ju4, 依据 yi1zhào4, 按 an4, 照 zhào4, 按照 an4zhào4, 冲
着 chòng4 (zhe0), 基于 jì1yu2, and 鉴于 jì1yu2 ‘according to, based on.’ Among
them, 据 ju4, 依 yi1, 依据 yi1ju4, 依照 yi1zhao4, 基于 jì1yu2, and 鉴于 jian4yu2 are usually used in literary and formal styles, whereas 照 zhao4 and 冲 (着) chong4 (zh0) are more colloquial. The reference can be what the speaker observes or what is regulated. Examples of this are shown in [77].

[77] a. 根据美国宪法, 只有国会才有宣战的权力。
    gen1ju4 mei3guo2 xian4fa3 zhi3you3
    PREP the United States constitution only
    guo2hui4 cai2 you3 xuan1zhan4 de0 quan2li4
    congress just YOU declare war DE power
    ‘Under the US Constitution, only Congress has the power to declare war.’

b. 按照澳洲法律规定, 任何外国移民必需在澳洲居住满两年才能取得澳洲公民权。
    an4zhao4 ao4zhu1 fa3li4 gui1ding4 ren4he2
    according to Australia law stipulate any
    wai4guo2 yi2min2 bi4xu1 zai4 ao4zhu1 ju1zhu4 foreign immigrate must PREP Australia live
    man3 liang3nian2 cai2 neng2 qu3de2 ao4zhu1 full two years just can get Australia
gong1min2quan2 citizenship
    ‘In accordance with Australian law, any foreign immigrants must have lived in Australia for two years in order to obtain Australian citizenship.’

c. 鉴于美元今年, 大幅升值, 兰特币值下落是正常现象。
    jian4yu2 mei3yuan2 jin1nian2 da4fu2
    PREP US dollar this year to a great extent
    sheng1zhi2 lan2te4 bi4zhi2 xia4luo4 shi4 appreciate Rand currency_value fall be
    zheng4chang2 xian4xiang4 normal phenomenon
    ‘Given the large-scale rise of the US currency, it is a normal phenomenon for the rand currency to fall.’

d. 由来信看出你和王君已有相当时间没有联络。
    you2 lai2xin4 kan4chu1 ni3 he2 wang2jun1 yi3
    PREP letter see you and Mr_Wang already
From what your letter said, you and Mr. Wang did not contact each other for quite a long time.

I will certainly take care of [it] following your intention.

Go experience different lifestyles while you are young.

Enhance the technical personnel's sensitivity to patents through such discussions.

Relying on his sister's status as the queen, he obeyed neither law nor ethics.

‘risk’ mainly marks an unfavorable and even dangerous situation in which the subject risks himself/herself to carry out an action, as shown in [79].
[79] a. 冒大风浪执行任务。
mao4 da4 feng1lang4 zhi2xing2 ren4wu4
PREP big stormy_wave execute mission
‘[He is] risking the big storm to carry out the mission.’

b. 他冒着生命危险来到金门三次。
ta1 mao4zhe0 sheng1ming4 de0 wei1xian3 lai2dao4
he PREP life DE danger come
jin1men2 san1 ci4
Kinmen three CL
‘Risking his life, he came to Kinmen (Quemoy) three times.’

随(着) sui2 (zhe0) can be used to introduce a change along which the state of another entity also changes, as in [80].

[80] a.不论宝宝吃什么, 其测验结果随年龄增长越来越好。
bu4lun4 bao3bao0 chi1 shen2me0 qi2 ce4yan4
no_matter baby eat what its test
jie2guo3 sui2 nian2ling2 zeng1zhang3 yue4lai2yue4
result PREP age grow more_and_more
hao4
good
‘No matter what the babies have eaten, their test results became better and better with age.’

b. 随着民众的需要愈来愈多, 对政府的要求愈来愈高。
sui2zhe0 min2zhong4 de0 xu1yao4 yu4lai2yu4
PREP people DE demand also
duo1 dui4 zheng4fu3 de0 yao1qiu2 ye3
many PREP government DE demand also
yu4lai2yu4 gao1
more_and_more tall
‘With increased public needs, the public’s expectations of the government are becoming higher and higher.’

The locative preposition 在 zai4 can specify a condition when it co-occurs with 上 shang4 ‘on’ or 下 xia4 ‘under.’ “在 zai4 ‘PREP’ NP 上 shang4” marks a basis on which a further development or improvement is made, whereas “在 zai4 NP 下 xia4” indicates the necessary condition under which the subject is able to make an achievement, as illustrated in [81].
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13.5. Locative PPs

在zai4 is the most frequently used preposition found in the Sinica Corpus, but in
many cases it cannot take a common noun directly as its object. For instance, 山
shan1 ‘mountain,’ a common noun shown in [82a], must co-occur with a localizer
such as 上 when entering into a zai4 PP, as in [82b].

[81] a. [我们]在有效管理的基础上, 开放经贸交流。
    wo3men0 zai4 you3xia4o4 guan3li3 de0 ji1chu3
    we PREP effective manage DE basis
    shang4 kai1fang4 jing1mao4 jiao1liu2
    on open economic_and_trading exchange
    ‘[We] will open up for economic exchanges on the basis of effective
    management.’

b. 在母亲的指导下, 于一九三八年考取伦敦大学。
    zai4 mu3qin1 de0 zhi3dao3 xia4 yu2
    PREP mother DE instruction under PREP
    yi1jiu3san1ba1nian2 kao3qu3 lun2dun1
    year_1938 pass_entrance_examination London
da4xue2
    university
    ‘Under the guidance of his mother, he was admitted by the University
    of London in 1938.’

[82] a. 为什么沙漠上有这许多山?
    wei4shen2me0 sha1mo4 shang4 you3 zhe4 xu3duo1
    why desert on YOU this many
    shan1
    hill
    ‘Why are there so many dunes in the desert?’

b. 小明在山上画画儿。
    xiao3ming2 zai4 shan1 shang4 hua4hua4er0
    XIAOMING PREP mountain on draw_picture
    ‘Xiaoming is drawing pictures on the mountain.’

Localizers, or “locative particles” (treated as “clitics,” “postpositions,” or
“nouns” in previous literature), specify spatial relationships between entities.
For instance, the localizer 上 shang4 in [82b] states that the subject is on the top of
the mountain. However, not all nouns require a localizer in order to occur in 在
PPs. For instance, both 美国 mei3guo2 ‘the United States’ in [83a] and 学校 xue2xiao4 ‘school’ in [84b] are nouns, but when occurring in 在 zai4 PPs, 美国 mei3guo2 ‘the United States’ is not used with any localizer, whereas 学校 xue2xiao4 ‘school’ can occur either with or without a localizer.

[83]  a. 美国是一个强大的国家。
mei3guo2 shi4 yi1 ge4 qian2da4 de0 guo2jia1
the_United_States be one CL powerful DE country
‘The United States is a powerful country.’

b. 他们在美国工作。
ta1men0 zai4 mei3guo2 gong1zu04
they PREP the_United_States work
‘They work in the United States.’

[84]  a. 这两所学校是台中市有名的私立学校。
zhe4 liang3 suo3 xue2xiao4 shi4 tai2zhong1shi4
this two CL school be Taichung_City
you3ming2 de0 si1li4 xue2xiao4
famous DE private school
‘These two are well-known private schools in Taizhong City.’

b. 在学校努力学习。
zai4 xue2xiao4 nu3li4 xue2xi2
PREP school work_hard study
‘Study hard in school.’

c. 在学校里拼命学习。
zai4 xue2xiao4 li3 pan4ming4 xue2xi2
PREP school inside risk_one’s_life study
‘Study extremely hard in school.’

As mentioned in section 13.4.1, 在 zai4 as a locative preposition does not specify any spatial reference as English prepositions such as “in,” “at,” “on,” “above,” and “below” do. Therefore, 在 zai4 has to take an NP object coupled with some “external” locative specifications in order to express location information.

There are three types of NPs that denote locative values and thus can be directly taken as objects by 在 zai4. The first type includes place names, for example, 中国 zhong1guo2 ‘China’ and 美国 mei3guo2 ‘the United States,’ and disyllabic localizers, for example, 上面 shang4mian4 ‘top’ and 后边 hou4bian1 ‘back,’ as in [85]. The NPs of this type denote specific locations, so they can be used without a localizer.
Prepositions and preposition phrases

[85] a. place names:
    中国 zhong1guo2 ‘China,’ 北京 bei3jing1 ‘Beijing,’ 香港 xiang1gang3 ‘Hong Kong,’ 美国 mei3guo2 ‘the United States’

b. disyllabic localizers used as a locative noun:
    上面 shang4mian4 ‘top,’ 后边 hou4bian1 ‘back,’ 中间 zhong1jian1 ‘middle,’
    外面 wai4mian4 ‘outside’

The second type of NP with locative values also has two subtypes: (1) those denoting institutions or organizations involved in people’s daily activities, for example, 学校 xue2xiao4 ‘school’ and 公司 gong1si1 ‘company,’ and (2) those that are explicitly marked as definite, for example, by a demonstrative, an ordinal marker, or a relative clause, as in [86].

[86] a. NPs denoting institutions or organizations where people go very often:
    学校 xue2xiao4 ‘school,’ 公司 gong1si1 ‘company,’ 图书馆 tu2shu1guan3 ‘library,’ 邮局 you2ju2 ‘post office’

b. NPs explicitly marked as definite include:
    NPs marked by a demonstrative:
        这座山 zhe44zuo4shan1 ‘this mountain,’ 这本书 zhe4ben3shu1 ‘this book,’
    NPs marked by an ordinal:
        第一座山 di1yi1zuo4shan1 ‘the first mountain,’ 第一页 di4yi1ye4 ‘the first page,’
    NPs marked by a relative clause:
        去过的山 qu4guo4de0shan1 ‘the mountain that someone has been to,’
        刚买来的书 gang1mai3lai2de0shu1 ‘the book just bought,’ 昨天吃饭的桌子 zuo2tian1chi1fan4dezhuo1zi0 ‘the table where the dinner was had yesterday’

NPs of this type can all occur in a 在 zai4 PP with an optional localizer. The first subtype of NP, which denotes institutions or organizations, is often associated with some regular activity (people go to school to study and go to a company to work). Notice that the locations of entities involved in such activities are always easily identified by speakers/hearers. For example, if a child says to his mother 我去学校了 wo3 qu4 xue2xiao4 le0 ‘I am going to school,’ it is clear to the mother which school the child is going to. Furthermore, when people carry out activities that are typically associated with these locations, the activities are mainly conducted within the location of the institutions, for example, studying is generally done inside a school. Therefore, localizers such as 里 li3 expressing “inside” can be optional. Similarly, although common nouns such as 山 shan1 ‘mountain’ and
Table `table` do not have inherent locative values, the locations denoted by these nouns may also become referential and identifiable if these NPs are explicitly marked as definite, as in [82b]. As a result, they can occur in 在 zai4 PPs with or without localizers. As [87] illustrates, 页 ye4 ‘page’ in both the [a] and [b] sentences are marked by demonstrative quantifiers, so a localizer such as 中 zhong1 is optional.

[87] a. 在这同一页中, 也刊登了汤子康和王宁的研究报告。
   zai4 zhe4 tong2yi1 ye4 zhong1 ye3 PREP this same page in also
   kan1deng1 le0 tang1zi3kang1 he2 publish_in_periodical LE TANG_ZIKANG and
   wang2ning2 de0 yan2jiu1 bao4gao4 WANG_NING DE research report
   ‘On this same page, the research reports by TANG Zikang and WANG Ning were also published.’

b. 我在这一页发现我十月二十九日的借书收据。
   wo3 zai4 zhe4 yi1 ye4 fa1xian4 wo3 shi2yue4 I PREP this one page find I October
   er2shi2jiu3ri4 de0 jie4 shu1 shou1ju4 29th DE borrow book receipt
   ‘I found the receipt of the book loan on October 29 on this page.’

If a common noun is not explicitly marked as definite, then it has to co-occur with a localizer in order to be taken as an object by 在 zai4, as in [82b]. More examples of common nouns with localizers are given in [88].

[88] 山上 shan1shang4 ‘on top of the mountain,’ 桌子上面 zhuo1zi0shang4 mian4 ‘on top of the table,’ 书里 shu1li3 ‘in the book,’ 桥下 qiao2xia4 ‘under the bridge,’ 城市里 cheng2shi4li3 ‘in the city,’ 国内 guo2nei4 ‘in the country,’ 盒子里 he2zi0li3 ‘in the box’

The constraint that 在 zai4 requires an indefinite common noun to co-occur with a localizer is generally true except for contexts where more than one 在 zai4 PP is used for the purpose of contrast or listing. For instance, the bare noun 电梯 dian4ti1 ‘elevator’ is not usually found in a 在 zai4 PP without a localizer, but when it occurs in a listing, the localizer is optional, as in [89b].

[89] a. 仅有两人在电梯中受困。
   jin3you3 liang3 ren2 zai4 dian4ti1 zhong1 only two people PREP elevator in
Prepositions and preposition phrases

Only two people were trapped in the elevator.

No matter if it was in the outpatient services, elevators, or wards, no one discriminated against him because of his rare disease.

The teacher wrote on the blackboard, and the students mimicked on their paper.

In addition to contrastive and listing in zai4 PPs, monosyllabic nouns are also not allowed in zai4 PPs in non-contrastive and non-listing contexts. For instance, 东 dong1 ‘east’ is a monosyllabic noun with inherent locative value, but it cannot be the object of 在 if it does not co-occur with a localizer such as 边 bian1 ‘side,’ as in [91a]; however, the preposition 向 xiang4 in [91b] can take 东 dong1 ‘east’ directly as its object because 向 xiang4 has a strong sense of direction and thus indicates a clear spatial reference.
b. [他们]向东行驶。
   ta1men0  xiang4  dong1  xing2shi3
   they       PREP    east    drive
   ‘[They] drove to the east.’

To summarize, the locative preposition 在 zai4 takes NPs with locative values as its objects in non-contrastive and non-listing contexts. An indefinite common noun has to co-occur with a localizer to participate in forming a 在 zai4 PP. Finally, the NP object of 在 zai4 generally has to be polysyllabic.
This chapter discusses sentence types. An overview of sentence properties is first given, followed by detailed descriptions of sentences, classified according to their communicative function and internal structure, respectively.

### 14.1. Sentences and clauses

A sentence is the largest syntactic unit with independent functions in the discourse. It consists of a main clause, which can have a complicated internal structure, and some peripheral elements, mainly sentence-final particles. A clause is comprised of a subject and a predicate. The subject is typically a nominal phrase, which represents some entity or entities, but it can also be a verb phrase or an adjective phrase. The predicate is predominantly a verb phrase or an adjective phrase, depicting the state or action of the entity or entities represented by the subject. The predicate does not display, in any specific form, agreement with the subject in terms of number, gender, and other grammatical categories. For instance, there is no distinction between the predicates in [1a] and [1b], even though the subject of [1a] is singular while the subject of [1b] is plural.

A prominent property of clauses in Chinese is that their constituents, especially the subject, may be omitted or, in the terminology of contemporary linguistics, appear in a zero form. When the subject of the second clause in [2] appears as a zero form, the whole sentence remains grammatical and has the interpretation of one with the subject position filled with a pronoun. The most likely reading of

1. 那只鸟飞走了。
   na4 zhi1 niao3 fei1 zou3 le0
   "That bird has flown away."

2. 那些鸟飞走了。
   na4xie1 niao3 fei1 zou3 le0
   "Those birds have flown away."

   A prominent property of clauses in Chinese is that their constituents, especially the subject, may be omitted or, in the terminology of contemporary linguistics, appear in a zero form. When the subject of the second clause in [2] appears as a zero form, the whole sentence remains grammatical and has the interpretation of one with the subject position filled with a pronoun. The most likely reading of
A crow was thirsty. It looked for water everywhere.

Another property is that a clause can be part of another clause without any change in constituent order. In [3], both 房价高涨 fang2jia4 gao1zhang3 ‘house prices are soaring’ and 经济很繁荣 jing1ji4 fan2rong2 ‘the economy is prosperous’ are clauses that can appear independently as sentences. When functioning in [3] as the subject and the object respectively, they do not show any marking or any variation.

House prices are soaring, which suggests that the economy is booming.

14.2. Overview of sentence classification

The classification of sentences can be based on either their communicative functions or their internal structures.

14.2.1. Sentence types and communication functions

According to their communicative functions, sentences can be classified into five types, as follows:

1 Declaratives: When a declarative sentence like [4a] is used, the speaker is characteristically making a statement that is believed to be an objective message, without much personal feeling being expressed.

2 Exclamatives: When an exclamatory statement like [4b] is used, the speaker is expressing some strong personal feeling to convey a forceful message to the listener.

3 Interrogatives: With an interrogative like [4c], the speaker asks for information from the listener, who is supposed to respond accordingly.
4 Directives: With a directive like [4d], the speaker typically issues a command asking for action from the listener.

5 Vocatives: With a vocative like [4e], the speaker gives a signal to the listener, suggesting that he is about to send or is ready to receive a particular message and the listener's response is expected.

[4] a. 我看过这部电影。
   wo3 kan4 guo4 zhe4 bu4 dian4ying3
   'I have watched this movie (before).'

   b. 多好的人啊!
      duo1 hao3 de0 ren2 a0
      'What a good man!'  

   c. 你是医生吗?
      ni3 shi4 yi1sheng1 ma0
      'Are you a doctor?'

   d. 站住!
      zhan4 zhu4
      'Stand still!'

   e. 老张。
      lao3 zhang1
      'Lao Zhang.'

14.2.2. Sentence types and internal structures
Sentences can be classified as simplex, complex, and compound, according to their internal structures and the syntactic relation between constituents. A simplex sentence consists of one clause only. A complex sentence has a main clause that has some other clause(s) embedded inside it. A compound sentence is made up of two or more clauses that are related to each other but are not embedded within each other.

A simplex sentence contains only one clause and part of it may appear in zero form. In the conversation in [5], one person uses a simplex sentence as a question, whereas the other person responds with another simplex sentence that appears as part of a clause. It should be understood that the subject of the reduced clause is 我 wo3 ‘I,’ while the predicate has a progressive marker 在 zai4.
A clause can function as the subject, the object, or the adverbial, as well as the attributive of a nominal phrase or the object of a preposition in another clause. If a clause contains other clause(s) but is not contained in or coordinated with another clause, it is the main clause of a sentence and such a sentence is a complex one. The complex sentence in [3] has a subordinate clause as the subject and another one as the object, while the complex sentence in [6] has the clause 路上出了车祸 lu4shang0 chu1 le0 che1huo4 ‘have a car accident on the road’ as the adverbial.

A sentence often contains a main clause and a sentence-final particle, which typically appears in exclamatives like [4b], interrogatives like [4c], sentences with a perfective predicate, or sentences indicating a change of state, as in [6]. The subordinate clause in a complex sentence may not be contained inside the main clause but instead may occur outside of it. Such a clause would look like part of a compound sentence that typically consists of coordinated clauses. These types of complex sentences and compound sentences share many features and a prominent one is the use of connective adjuncts. In the conditional sentence in [7a], the conditional clause is marked with 如果 ru2guo3 ‘if’ to indicate a hypothetic state and the consequence is expressed in the main clause, which is marked with 那么 na4me0 ‘then.’ In the compound sentence in [7b], the two coordinated clauses are marked with the connective adjunct pair 不但...而... bu2dan4 ...hai2... ‘not only... but also...’ Compound sentences can also be connected with coordinators, such as 或者 huo4zhe3 ‘or’ in [7c].
14.2.3. Clauses with non-canonical constituent order

Although the basic constituent order in a clause is for the subject to appear before the predicate, for the object to appear after the verb, and for the adverbial to occur before the predicate, there are cases where some non-canonical order is used. Such clauses typically are embedded in other clauses.

14.2.3.1. Preposing and postposing

In addition to the well-known topic-comment constructions discussed in Chapter 17, a constituent can be moved from its usual position to the very beginning of a clause, and this often occurs in oral communication when the speaker rushes to give the most important information first and then adds the less important information. The effect of such preposing is often similar to postposing a constituent to the end of the clause.

The predicate appears before the subject in [8a(i)], as against the usual order in [8a(ii)], because the speaker feels chilly and wanted to convey his feeling directly and immediately. The speaker then realizes that some more information was needed and added the location. No matter whether the speaker preposes the predicate or postposes the subject as an afterthought, the communicative effect...
is the same. In [8b(i)], the verb appears before the adverbial; in [8c(ii)], the object verb phrase occurs before the main verb; and in [8d(ii)], the resultative expression appears before the verb, in comparison to the default order shown in all the [8ii] sentences.

[8]  a. i. 怪冷的，这儿。
    guai4 leng3 de0 zhe4er0
    pretty cold  DE here
    ‘Pretty cold here.’

ii. 这儿怪冷的。
    zhe4er0 guai4 leng3 de0
    here pretty cold  DE
    ‘It’s pretty cold here.’

b. i. 下班了，已经。
    xia4ban1 le0 yi3jing1
    knock_off_work  LE already
    ‘Off work, already.’

ii. 已经下班了。
    yi3jing1 xia4ban1 le0
    already knock_off_work  LE
    ‘(I’m) already off work.’

c. i. 去上班，准备。
    qu4 shang4ban1 zhun3bei4
    go be_on_duty plan
    ‘Go to work, be ready to.’

ii. 准备去上班。
    zhun3bei4 qu4 shang4ban1
    plan go be_on_duty
    ‘(I’m) ready to go to work.’

d. i. 走不动了，累得。
    zou3bu2dong4 le0 lei4 de0
    cannot_move  LE  tired  DE
    ‘Can’t move, [being] too tired.’

ii. 累得走不动了。
    lei4 de0 zou3bu2dong4 le0
tired  DE cannot_move  LE
    ‘(I’m) too tired to move.’
When a speaker is anxious to get an answer immediately, to prepose the predicate of an interrogative sentence, as in [9a], is a common way to do this in conversation. Another way to achieve the same effect is to repeat the subject at the end of the question, as in [9b].

[9]  
a. 还去不去呀你?
   hai2 qu4 bu4 qu4 ya0 ni3
   ‘Then (will) you still going or not?’

b. 你还去不去呀你?
   ni3 hai2 qu4 bu4 qu4 ya0 ni3
   ‘Then (will) you still go or not?’

14.2.3.2. Parenthetical expressions
Parenthetical expressions are those inserted into a clause, interrupting the normal flow of information to add supplements indirectly related to the clause. It is found in both spoken and written genres. In [10a], the parenthetical expression 还没过门
   hai2 mei2 guo4men2 ne0 ‘not married yet’ is put between 他媳妇 ‘his wife’ and the predicate 老吵架 lao3 chao3jia4 ‘fight a lot’ to correct some potential misperception. In [10b], the parenthetical expression appears between the subject 他的顶头上司 ta1 de0 ding3tou2 shang4si1 ‘his immediate boss’ and the predicate 把他抓了个正着 ba3 ta1 zhua1 le0 ge4 zheng4zhao2 ‘caught him on the spot’ to provide additional information about the subject. The parenthetical expression 听 (someone) say ting1shuo1 ‘hear’ is placed between the subject and the predicate in [10c] and at the very beginning of the sentence in [10d] to indicate that the content of the sentence is hearsay. In [10e], the parenthetical expression is placed between the verb 承诺 cheng2nuo4 ‘promise’ and its object 保守这个秘密 bao3shou3 zhe0ge4 mi4mi4 ‘(he will) keep this secret’ to give the promise a time limit.

[10]  
a. 栓子跟他媳妇 -- 还没过门呢 -- 老吵架。
   shuan4zi0 gen1 ta1 xi2fu4 hai2 mei2 guo4men2 ne0
   Shuanzi and he wife yet_not marry NE
   lao3 chao3jia4
   always quarrel
   ‘Shuanzi and his wife, not married yet, fight a lot.’

b. 他的顶头上司 -- -- 个多疑的人 -- -- 把他抓了个正着。
   ta1 de0 ding3tou2shang4si1 yi1 ge4 duo1yi2 de0
   he DE one’s_direct_superior one CL suspicious DE
ren2 ba3 ta1 zhua1 le0 ge4 zheng4zhao2
person BA he catch LE GE on_the_spot
'His immediate boss, a suspicious man, caught him on the spot.'

c. 语法考试听说很容易。
yu3fa3 kao3shi4 ting1shuo1 hen3 rong2yi4
grammar test allegedly very easy
'The grammar test, it is said, was quite easy.'

d. 听说语法考试很容易。
ting1shuo1 yu3fa3 kao3shi4 hen3 rong2yi4
allegedly grammar test very easy
'It is said that the grammar test is quite easy.'

e. 他承诺 (有效期一天) 保守这个秘密。
ta1 cheng2nuo4 you3xia4qi1 yi1 tian1 bao3shou3
he promise time_of_efficacy one day keep
zhe4 ge0 mi4mi4
this CL secret
'He promised that he would keep this secret (for one day).'

14.3. Declarative and exclamative sentences
Both declarative and exclamative sentences make a statement to convey a message, but they differ in that an exclamative adds strong personal feelings to the message.

14.3.1. Declarative sentences
The basic constituents of a declarative sentence are a clause, simplex or complex, and a sentence-final particle, which appears when the clause describes a particular type of event. Declarative sentences in general have an unmarked even-falling intonation. The adverbials in the clause usually occur between the subject and the predicate, as in [11a(i)] and [11a(ii)], but temporal or modal adverbials may appear at the sentence-initial position, as in [11b(i)] and [11b(ii)].

[11]  a. i. 他当时戴着帽子。
ta1 dang1shi2 dai4 zhe0 mao4zi0
he at_that_time wear ZHE hat
ii. 当时他带着帽子。
dang1shi2 ta1 dai4 zhe0 mao4zi0
at_that_time he wear ZHE hat
'He was wearing a hat at that time.'
b. i. 他也许是个聋子。
   
   ta1 ye3xu3 shi4 ge0 long2zi0
   he maybe be CL deaf_person.

ii. 也许他是个聋子。
   
   ye3xu3 ta1 shi4 ge0 long2zi0
   maybe he be CL deaf_person
   ‘Perhaps he is deaf.’

Sentence-final particles appearing in declarative sentences are those that contribute to the proposition of the sentence and those that do not. The former typically mark the state of the proposition described by the clause, including了 le0, 呢 ne0, and 来着 laizhe0, while the latter typically indicate the speaker's attitude or intention to express some non-propositional meaning, including 着呢 zhe0ne0, 瞧 ma0, 啊 a0, and 嘿 yo0.

The speaker in [12a] intends to inform the listener that “he has had dinner” has become a fact at the time of reference, which is most likely to be the time of speech. The 呢 ne0 in [12b] indicates that the state of “having dinner” is current or is in progress at the time of reference. The 来着 laizhe0 in [12c] signals that the event described in the clause is in a continuous state at some time before the time of speech.

[12] a. 我吃过晚饭了。
   wo3 chi1 guo4 wan3fan4 le0
   I eat GUO dinner LE
   ‘I have had my dinner.’

b. 他吃晚饭呢。
   ta1 chi1 wan3fan4 ne0
   he eat dinner NE
   ‘He is having his dinner.’

c. 他正跟人下棋来着。
   ta1 zheng4 gen1 ren2 xia4qi2 laizhe0
   he right PREP people play_chess LAIZHE
   ‘He was playing chess with someone.’

The 着呢 zhe0ne0 in [13a] not only contributes to the proposition of the sentence but also conveys the speaker's intention. The speaker of [13a] tells the listener that the state of “being rich” persists at the time of reference and that the speaker is not shy saying this. The 瞧 ma0 in [13b] emphasizes an obvious fact, which the speaker thinks the listener should have known, to encourage the listener to face
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the challenge. The 啊 a0 in [13c] reminds the listener of a possible problem. The 呀 yo0 at the end of [13d] tells the listener to pay attention to the issue stated in the sentence, and if the listener does not, he will feel sorry afterward.

[13]  a. 这个人有钱着呢。
    zhe4 ge4 ren2 you3qian2 zhe0ne0
    'This man is rich indeed.'

  b. 你不要灰心，万事开头难嘛。
    ni3 bu4 yao4 hui1xin1 wan4shi4 kai1tou2
    you NEG will lose_heart everything begin
    nan2 ma0
    hard MA
    'Don't be disheartened. Everything is definitely hard at the very beginning.'

  c. 你们肩上的担子很重啊。
    ni3men0 jian1 shang4 de0 dan4zi0
    you shoulder on DE carrying_pole_plus_load
    hen3 zhong4 a0
    very heavy A
    'The burden on your shoulders is heavy indeed.'

  d. 我说的可是明天就兑现哟。
    wo3 shuo1 de0 ke3shi4 ming2tian1 jiu4 dui4xian4
    I say DE actually tomorrow thus fulfill
    yo0
    YO
    'Tomorrow I will do what I said without delay.'

14.3.2. Exclamative sentences
The message conveyed by an exclamative sentence includes a statement of an event or state and some special features indicating the speaker's strong emotion with regard to the event or state, which causes surprise, admiration, or even skepticism. These features can be intonational, lexical, or structural.

14.3.2.1. Intonational features
Exclamative sentences are marked by a stressed falling intonation. In contrast with declarative sentences, exclamative sentences are typically uttered louder, with certain elements stressed. The stressed elements are predominantly those bearing exclamative features, such as special adverbs and interrogative expressions. The
determinative 这 zhe4 ‘this’ in [14] is another such element being stressed to express the speaker’s attitude.

[14] 你这没有骨气的文人!
ni3 zhe4 mei2you3 gu3qi4 de0 wen2ren2
you this NEG backbone DE scholar
‘You spineless scholar!’

14.3.2.2. Lexical features

Certain adverbs, interrogative expressions, sentence-final particles, and interjections can be used in an exclamative sentence to express the speaker’s feelings. In addition to adverbs like 太 tai4 ‘too (much),’ 真 zhen1 ‘really,’ and 好 hao3 ‘very’ in [15a] and [15b], interrogative expressions like 多少 duo1shao3 ‘how much,’ 多多 duo1me0 ‘how,’ 多 duo1 ‘what,’ 何 he2 ‘what,’ and 怎 zen3 ‘how’ are also used to mark exclamations. These interrogative expressions are used to indicate the speaker’s surprise or skepticism, as in [15c]–[15f].

[15]  a. 真了不起!
  zhen1 liao3bu4qi3
  really amazing
  ‘Truly amazing.’

  b. 好一个“世外桃源”!
  hao3 yi1 ge4 shi4wai4tao2yuan2
  such one CL Shangri-la
  ‘This is a true Shangri-la!’

  c. 多少个日日夜夜啊!
  duo1shao3 ge4 ri4ri4ye4ye4 a0
  many CL night_and_day A
  ‘So many days and nights!’

  d. 多好的人哪!
  duo1 hao3 de0 ren2 na0
  so good DE person NA
  ‘What a good man!’

  e. 这是何等的英雄气概啊!
  zhe4 shi4 he2deng3 de0 ying1xiong2qi4gai4 a0
  this be how DE heroism A
  ‘What heroism!’
The most commonly used sentence-final particle in exclamative sentences is 啊 a0, as in [15c] and [15e]. Its actual pronunciation can be influenced by the syllable before it and the two are sometimes merged to form a new particle; hence, variations like 呀 ya0, 哇 wa0, and 哪 na0, as shown in [16].

Interjections occurring in exclamative sentences include 哎 ai1, 哇 wa1, 啊 a1, 哎 hai1, 呵 he1, etc. 哎 ai1 expresses despair, as in [17a], while the other four depict excitement, as in [17b]. Interjections are used independently, followed by an exclamative sentence.

14.3.2.3. Structural features
Exclamative sentences often contain a complete clause but they can also contain only part of a clause. The context will typically provide enough clues from which the listener can infer the necessary information.
A common pattern in exclamative sentences is to use a complicated nominal phrase in the form of 好(你)(一)个 NP hao3 (ni3) (yi1) ge4 NP ‘Good (you) (one) GE–CL NP’ to convey the speaker’s disapproval of, or accusation and anger against, the person it denotes. The pleonastic pronoun 你 ni3 is optional and does not refer to any particular person. The classifier 个 ge4 can be followed by either a noun phrase or a proper name. When a proper name is used, as in [18a] and [18b], the disapproval characteristic of the exclamative is clearly expressed, though not directly.

[18] a. 好个贾雨村!
   hao3 ge4 jia3yu3cun1
   such CL JIA_YUCUN
   ‘JIA Yucun, (such a damn fox)!’

   b. 好你个贾雨村!
      hao4 ni3 ge4 jia3yu3cun1
      such you CL JIA_YUCUN
      ‘JIA Yucun, (such a damn fox)!’

Sometimes a non-canonical constituent order can be used to convey personal emotion. The predicate–subject clause in [19] is a typical case.

[19] 太冷了, 这鬼地方!
   tai4 leng3 le0 zhe4 gui3 di4fang0
   too cool LE this ghost place
   ‘Terribly cold. This damned place!’

Reduplication is another way to express the speaker’s strong emotion in an exclamative sentence. The reduplication can produce an identical copy, as in [20a], or it can produce a more complicated one, as in [20b].

[20] a. 了不起! 了不起!
    liao3bu4qi3 liao3bu4qi3
    amazing amazing
    ‘Amazing! Amazing!’

   b. 好一个公爵! 好一个风流的公爵!
      hao3yi1ge4 gong1jue2 hao3yi1ge1 feng1liu2 de0
      what a duke what a gallant DE
      gong1jue2
duke
      ‘What a Duke! What a gallant Duke!’
14.4. Interrogative and directive sentences
When an interrogative or a directive is used, the speaker is making a request to the listener. For the former, information from the listener as feedback is expected, while for the latter, action or compliance from the listener is expected.

14.4.1. Interrogative sentences
Interrogatives can be classified as open or closed, depending on the type of answer expected. The answer to a closed interrogative is chosen from a closed set, and the answer is typically presented as an alternative in the interrogative sentence itself, as in [21a] and [21b]. An open interrogative, like those in [21c]–[21d], conversely, expects various answers that do not appear in the interrogative sentences.

   ni3 shi4 yi1sheng1 ma0
   you be doctor MA
   ‘Are you a doctor?’

b. 你是不是医生? [closed interrogative]
   ni3 shi4 bu2 shi4 yi1sheng1
   you be NEG be doctor
   ‘Are you a doctor or not?’

c. 他今年几岁了? [open interrogative]
   ta1 jin1nian2 ji3 sui4
   he this_year how_much age
   ‘How old is he?’

d. 他是干什么的? [open interrogative]
   ta1 shi4 gan4 shen2me0 de0
   he be do what DE
   ‘What does he do?’

Interrogative sentences have the same constituent order as declarative sentences, but they bear distinctive intonational, lexical, and structural features.

14.4.1.1. Intonational features
Interrogative sentences usually bear a rising intonation. The rising intonation at the end of an interrogative features expansion in pitch range and time duration. The intonational contrast between declaratives and interrogatives is shown in [22], with the pitch range of the interrogatives wider and their duration longer than those of declaratives, respectively.
14.4.1.2. Lexical features

Open interrogatives are typically variable questions marked by interrogative expressions. There are four types of interrogative expressions:

1 Interrogative nominal elements that typically replace nominal phrases in a clause, such as simple ones like 谁 shui2 ‘who’ and 什么 shen2me0 ‘what’ and complicated ones like 什么时候 shen3me0 shi2hou0 ‘what time, when’ and 哪儿 na3er0 ‘where.’

2 Interrogative adjectives, such as 多少 duo1shao3 ‘how many/much,’ 几 ji3 ‘how many,’ and 怎么 zen3me0 ‘how,’ which can function as modifiers or predicates.

3 Interrogative adverbs, such as 怎么样 zen1me0yang4 ‘how’ and 怎样 zen3yang4 ‘how’ for manner, means, state, or property; 怎么 zen3me0 ‘how’ for means, property, or reason; 什么样 shen2me0yang4 ‘(in) what manner, how’ for state or property; 如何 ru2he2 ‘how’ for manner or means; 为什么 wei4shen2me0 ‘why’ for reason or purpose; and 多 duo1 ‘how’ for questions of degree.

4 Interrogative determinative 哪 na3 ‘which’ for the creation of complicated interrogative nominal phrases (see Chapter 8).

Sentence-final particles typically used in interrogative sentences include 吗 ma0 吧 ba0, and 呢 ne0. The first two are used in yes–no questions, but each has its own properties in terms of function, illocutionary force, and pragmatic requirement.
When a question with the particle 吧 ba0, like in [23a], is used, the speaker assumes something and is asking for confirmation. An auxiliary verb 应该 ying1gai1 ‘should’ can be added to make the assumption stronger, as in [23b]. If the speaker uses a yes–no question with the particle 吗 ma0 as in [23c], no such assumption is made.

[23] a. 你是大三学生吧?
   ni3 shi4 da4san1 xue2sheng1 ba0
   you be college_third_year student BA
   ‘You are a junior, right?’

b. 你应该是大三学生吧?
   ni3 ying1gai1 shi4 da4san1 xue2sheng1 ba0
   you should be college_third_year student BA
   ‘You should be a junior, right?’

c. 你是大三学生吗?
   ni3 shi4 da4san1 xue2sheng1 ma0
   you be college_third_year student MA
   ‘Are you a junior?’

The sentence-final particle 吗 ma0 can be added to an open question to turn it into a closed one. The speaker of [24a] is asking about a place where the listener spent his holiday, and the listener could give a city name like Shanghai as the answer. The speaker of [24b] is asking what the listener wants to eat, and the listener could name a food like noodles. When a particle 吗 ma0 appears at the final position of [24a], the yes–no question in [25a] is created and the interrogative expressions inside the question will have the reading of universal quantifiers instead of variables. The speaker in [25a] is asking whether the listener went anywhere for the holiday and either a yes or a no is expected as the answer. The same could be said about [25b].

[24] a. 春节你去哪儿玩了?
   chun1jie2 ni3 qu4 na3er0 wan2 le0
   the_Chinese_New_Year you go where play LE
   ‘Where did you go during the Chinese New Year?’

b. 你吃什么?
   ni3 chi1 dian3 shen2me0
   you eat some what
   ‘What do you want to eat?’
The particle 呢 ne0 is an optional marker for open interrogative sentences. In \[26a\] and \[26b\], the interrogatives in group (ii) mean the same as their counterparts in group (i). The only difference is that interrogatives in group (i) sound less blunt and less confrontational. On the other hand, when 呢 ne0 is added to a nominal phrase, as in group (iii), a variable question is created. Even when there is no interrogative expression in such cases, the sentence will yield a reading as if it were a full interrogative with a variable. \[26a(iii)\] can be understood as ‘where is my dictionary?’, while \[26b(iii)\] can be interpreted as ‘how much is your hat?’ Note that the actual meaning of such a question depends on the context and each question is naturally ambiguous, with many possible readings.

\[26\]  
\[26a\]  
a. 我的字典在哪儿呢?  
wo3 de0 zi4dian3 zai4 na3er0 ne0  
I DE dictionary PREP where NE  
‘Where is my dictionary?’

b. 你的帽子多少钱呢?  
ni3 de0 mao4zi0 duo1shao3 qian2 ne0  
you DE hat how_much money NE

\[26b\]  
a. 我的字典在哪儿?  
wo3 de0 zi4dian3 zai4 na3er0  
I DE dictionary PREP where

b. 你的帽子多少钱?  
ni3 de0 mao4zi0 duo1shao3 qian2  
you DE hat how_much money
iii. 你的帽子呢?

ni3 de0 mao4zi0 ne0
you DE hat NE

‘How much is your hat?’

The particle 呢 ne0 can be used in other sentences to produce a similar effect. The variable question in [27a] is a conditional sentence and the variable 几点 ji3dian3 ‘which hour, when’ is the temporal adverbial of the consequence clause. If the consequence clause is taken out of [27a] but the 呢 ne0 is directly attached to the conditional clause to create [27b], the new sentence is still a variable question with an interpretation similar to that of [27a], even though some other variable question readings are also possible.

[27]  a. 如果我赶不回来, 你们最迟会等到几点呢?

ru2guo3 wo3 gan3 bu4 hui2lai2 ni3men0 zui4chi2
if I rush NEG back you latest

hui4 deng3 dao4 ji3 dian3 ne0
will wait PREP which o’clock NE

‘If I cannot rush back in time, till when would you wait?’

b. 如果我赶不回来呢?

ru2guo3 wo3 gan3 bu4 hui2lai2 ne0
if I rush NEG back NE

‘What if I cannot rush back in time?’

The particle 呢 ne0 can also be used in alternative questions, like in [28]. Note that although the answer to an alternative question should be chosen from a closed set that has been shown in the question itself, an alternative question is not the same as a yes–no question. The answer to [28a] is either 喝啤酒 he1 pi2jiu3 ‘drink beer’ or 喝红酒 he1 hong2jiu3 ‘drink red wine,’ while the answer to the yes–no question in [28c] is either 咱们吃 zan2men0 chi1 ‘we will eat’ or 咱们不吃 zan2men0 bu4 chi1 ‘we will not eat.’

[28]  a. 你们喝啤酒还是喝红酒呢?

ni3men0 he1 pi2jiu3 hai2shi4 he1 hong2jiu3 ne0
you drink beer or drink red_wine NE

‘Do you drink beer or do you drink red wine?’

b. 他们今晚走还是明早走呢?

ta1men0 jin1wan3 zou3 hai2shi4 ming2zao3
they tonight go or tomorrow_morning
Sentence types

zou3 ne0
go  NE
‘Will they leave tonight or will they leave tomorrow morning?’

c. 咱们吃火锅吗?
zan2men0 chi1 huo3guo1 ma0
we  eat  hot_pot  MA
‘Are we having hot pot?’

14.4.1.3. Structural features

Interrogative sentences in Chinese typically have the same constituent order as their declarative counterparts do. There are, however, two types of interrogative sentences that have special structural and morphological features. One type is the so-called V-not-V alternative question in which the first verbal element in a clause is reduplicated with a negative form. The V part of the V-not-V can be the main verb, as in [29a], the modal auxiliary, as in [29b], or the adjective of an adjectival predicate, as in [29c].

[29] a. 你同意不同意这种说法?
ni3 tong2yi4 bu4 tong2yi4 zhe4 zhong3 shuo1fa3
you agree  NEG agree  this CL  saying
‘Do you agree with this saying or not?’

b. 你能不能吃辣椒?
ni3 neng2 bu4 neng2 chi1 la4jiao1
you can  NEG can  eat  chili_pepper
‘Can you eat chili pepper?’

c. 干净不干净?
gan1jing4 bu4 gan1jing4
clean  NEG  clean
‘Is it clean or not?’

When the V part is a disyllabic verb or adjective, the first V in the V-not-V can be just the first syllable, as in [30a] and [30b]. When the predicate is in an imperfective aspect, the “not” part of the V-not-V will be 没有 mei2you3 ‘not’ or its shortened form 没 mei2 ‘not,’ as in [30c].

[30] a. 他们喜不喜欢游泳?
ta1men0 xi3bu4xi3huan0 you2yong3
they  like_not_like  swim
‘Do they like swimming?’
b. 你的女朋友漂不漂亮?
   ni3 de0 nü3peng2you2 piao4bu4piao4liang0
   you DE girlfriend pretty-not-pretty
   'Is your girlfriend beautiful?'

c. 你们去没去过上海?
   ni3men0 qu4mei2qu4 guo0 shang4hai3
   you go_not_go GUO SHANGHAI
   'Have you ever been to Shanghai?'

Note that the answer to a V-not-V alternative question is derived from either
the V part or the not-V part. The answer to a V-not-V alternative question is thus
similar to that of a yes–no question, as shown in [31a] and [31b].

[31] a. Q: 他们同意不同意?
   ta1men0 tong2yi4 bu4 tong2yi4
   they agree NEG agree
   ‘Do they agree or not?’
A: 不同意。
   bu4 tong2yi4
   NEG agree
   ‘They don’t.’

b. Q: 他们同意吗?
   ta1men0 tong2yi4 ma0
   they agree MA
   ‘Do they agree?’
A: 不同意。
   bu4 tong2yi4
   NEG agree
   ‘They don’t.’

Another type of interrogative sentence with special structural features is the
so-called tag question, or AB-not-B question, in which the predicate is repeated
in its negative form as a tag, like the 不开车 bu4 kai1che1 ‘not drive the car’ in
[32a]. The tag part can also be just the negated verb, as in [32b], or simply the
negative morpheme, as in [32c]. The negative morpheme in the tag can also be
没有 mei2you3 or its shortened form 没 mei2, depending on the aspect borne by the
verb, as shown by [32d] and [32e].
Although the clause bearing the main interrogative feature can appear in different shapes if it is the main clause, such a clause typically has either the shape in [33a] or that in [33b] when it is embedded in a direct question. The V-not-V form in [33a] is inside the object clause but it is the whole sentence that should be interpreted as a V-not-V alternative question, namely, the V-not-V form in the embedded clause has a scope over the main clause. Similarly, [33b] should be interpreted as a direct question, even though the interrogative expression 什么 shen3me0 ‘what’ is in its usual position inside an object clause.
When the clause bearing the main interrogative feature is the main part of an indirect question, it will have either the shape in [34a] or that in [34b]. The V-not-V question form in [34a] is for indirect closed interrogatives, while the variable question form in [34b] is for indirect open interrogatives.

[34] a. 奶奶问我有没有去过天津。
   nai3nai0 wen4 wo3 mei2 qu4 guo4 tian1jin1
   grandma ask I go NEG go GUO TIANJIN
   ‘Grandmother asked me whether I had been to Tianjin.’

b. 他们在打听谁会当主角。
   ta1men0 zai4 da3ting1 shui2 hui4 dang1
   they ZAI gather_info who will become
   zhu3jue2
   protagonist
   ‘They were trying to find out who would play the leading role.’

14.4.2. Directive sentences
With a directive sentence, the speaker asks the listener to perform or not to perform an action. The illocutionary force of directive sentences varies, covering commands, requests, suggestions, advice, etc. Directives have distinctive intonal, lexical, and structural features.

14.4.2.1. Intonational features
Directive sentences are marked by a stressed falling intonation. A forceful command or request is obviously louder than a declarative sentence when uttered. Commands and requests in written texts characteristically end with an exclamation mark.

14.4.2.2. Lexical items
Many directive sentences, especially those expressing commands and requests, have a sentence-final particle, which is typically 啊 a0 or 吧 ba0. 啊 a0 is often found in a command, like in [35a], to attract the listener’s attention and to give more persuasive force. 吧 ba0 is found mainly in requests, like in [35b], to make the request softer so it sounds like advice or even a plea.

[35] a. 快跑啊!
   kuai4 pao3 a0
   fast run A
   'Run!'
14.4.2.3. Structural features

Directive sentences are usually short, as they mainly occur in face-to-face conversation for a “the shorter, the better” communication effect. A few directive sentences take the form of a subject–predicate construction. The subject can be a second-person pronoun, as in [36a], a first-person plural pronoun, as in [36b], or an inclusive pronoun, like the 大家 da4jia1 ‘all people’ in [36c]. In most cases, however, the subject does not show up, as in the cases of [36d] through [36g], since its referent is evident in the context. Such directive sentences consist of just a verb phrase, mainly with an activity verb, achievement verb, or accomplishment verb as the head. A few directive sentences are made of a single nominal phrase, as in [36h], typically as a request for an object.

[36]  a. 你要用笔记下! [Command]
    ni3 yao4 yong4 bi3 ji4 xia4
    you have_to use pen note down
    ‘You should write this down with a pen!’

    b. 咱们明天再谈吧! [Request]
    zan2men0 ming2tian1 zai4 tan2 ba0
    we tomorrow then talk BA
    ‘Let’s talk about it tomorrow!’

    c. 大家(所有人)都坐下! [Command]
    da4jia1 suo3you3 ren2 dou1 zuo4 xia4
    everyone everyone all sit down
    ‘Sit down, everyone!’

    d. 站住! [Command/request]
    zhan4 zhu4
    stand still
    ‘Stop!’
e. 别理他! [Command/advice]
   bie2 li3 ta1
   NEG be_heard he
   'Leave him alone!'

f. 别着急, 慢慢找! [Advice]
   bie2 zha02ji2 man4 man4 zha03
   not worry slow look_for
   'No need to hurry, take your time!'

g. 请让我看看! [Request]
   qing3 rang4 wo3 kan4 kan0
   please let I look
   'Let me have a look!'

h. 纱布! [Command]
   sha1 bu4
   bandage
   'Bandage!'

A directive sentence can also be made of a 把 ba3 construction, as in [37].

[37]  a. 把书拿上来。
   ba3 shu1 na2 shang4 lai2
   BA book bring up
   'Bring the book up here.'

b. 把酒喝光。
   ba3 jiu3 he1 guang1
   BA wine drink nothing_left
   'Finish your wine.'

c. 把窗户开一下。
   ba3 chuang1 hu0 kai1 yi1 xia4
   BA window open once
   'Open the window.'

d. 把头抬高一点儿。
   ba3 tou2 tai2 gao1 yi1 dian3 er0
   BA head raise high a_bit
   'Raise your head a little bit higher.'

When the speaker and the listener both know the identity of the object to be acted upon, the 把 ba3 ‘BA’ phrase does not have to be overtly mentioned. [38a] thus can have the same interpretation as [37a] does, while [38b] can have the reading of [37d], among other possibilities.
a. 拿上来!
   na2 shang4lai2
   bring up
   'Bring it up here!'

b. 抬高一点儿!
   tai2 gao1 yi1dian3er0
   raise high a_bit
   'Lift it up a little higher!

When the speaker and the listener both know the action, the verb in the VP in [38b] can be omitted. The directive in [39] can mean the same as [38b] does, even though it can also mean something else, such as standing at a higher place.

[39]
   gao1 yi1dian3er0
   high a_bit
   'A little higher!'

The一点儿yi1dian3er0 'a little bit' in these directive sentences represents a small amount, with the numeral 一yi1 'one' as the only choice. The speaker uses such a directive to indicate that the request is on a small scale only. In some cases, even the 一yi1 'one' can be left out. [40a] thus can be interpreted as [39], while the two directives in [40b] and [40c] mean the same thing.

[40]  a. 高点儿!
      gao1 dian3er0
      high a_bit
      'A little higher!'

b. 仔细一点儿!
      zi3xi4 yi1dian3er0
      careful a_bit
      'Be more careful!'

c. 仔细点儿!
      zi3xi4 dian3er0
      careful a_bit
      'Be more careful!'

Directive sentences may also be used to ask the listener not to do something or to stop doing something. This is mainly achieved by using "别 VP (了)," where 别bie2 'do not' can be replaced by 不要bu4yao4 'should not,' 不必bu4bi4 'no need,' 不用bu4yong4 'no need,' or 副beng2 'do not,' which is the contracted form of
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We do not and should not are typically used in commands and requests as a warning against certain actions. No need is typically used in advice as a recommendation that certain action is not necessary. No need and need are typically used in suggestions as a clear proposal that there is no need to do the action.

[41]

a. 别碰!
   bie2  peng2
do_not  touch
'Don’t touch it!'

b. 别吃光了!
   bie2  chi1  guang1  le0
not_do  eat  nothing_left LE
'Don’t eat up all [of it]!'

c. 千万别去!
   qian1wan4  bie2  qu4
absolutely  do_not  go
'Don’t go! Never ever!'

d. 你可别这么说!
   ni3  ke3  bie2  zhe4me0  shuo1
you  surely  do_not  so  say
'You’d better not say so!'

Notice that “别 VP 了” can convey either a command or a wish. The directive 别吃光了 bie2 chi1guang1 le0 thus can be a wish, meaning ‘I hope that it has not been eaten up,’ and it can also be a command, meaning ‘don’t eat all of it.’ The verb phrase should be stressed in the first reading, while 別 bie2 ‘do not’ is stressed in the second reading.

别 bie2 ‘do not’ is occasionally used alone. In the conversation in [42], Speaker B utters 別 bie2 ‘do not’ after Speaker A makes a proposal in the form of a suggestion.

[42] A: 咱们早点走吧。
   zan2men0  zao3  dian3  zou3  ba0
we  early  a_little  go  BA
‘Let’s leave earlier.’

B: 别! 我还要等一位顾客呢。
   bie2  wo3  hai2yao4  deng3  yi1  wei4  gu4ke4  ne0
don’t  I  still  wait  one  CL  guest  NE
‘Don’t do that! I still need to wait for a customer.’
An interesting feature of “別 VP (了)” is that the VP part can be a passive one, such as the 被 bei4 ‘BEI’ construction in [43].

[43] 別被车子撞着了!
  bie2 bei4 che1zi0 zhuang4 zhe0 le0
do_not BEI car hit ZHE LE
  ‘Don’t get hit by a car!’

14.5. Logic relations between clauses
In compound sentences and certain complex sentences, no clause is clearly embedded inside another and all clauses might be simply juxtaposed together without any marking. Such a sentence is potentially ambiguous, with many readings, and a common way to avoid ambiguity is to use coordinators, connective adjuncts, or connective prepositions to indicate the logic relationship between clauses.

14.5.1. Conjunctive and disjunctive relations
In both conjunctive and disjunctive relations, two clauses A and B are syntactically equal and relatively independent. However, conjunction requires that both statements be true or false at the same time, while disjunction does not, since in most cases, only one of the alternatives is true in a disjunctive relation.

The clauses in a conjunctive or disjunctive relation may not share any constituent, but each of them could have some constituent that refers to the same entity. It is quite common for the subject of all these clauses to refer to the same entity, and when this happens, the subject of the second clause and those after it typically do not appear overtly. Such a compound sentence will thus look similar to a clause with coordinated predicates.

14.5.1.1. Conjunctive relation
Four subtypes of conjunctive relation can be distinguished, which are now discussed.

CONJUNCTION OF EQUIVALENT CLAUSES Clauses in such a conjunction represent events or states of logically equal status. They are often marked with the coordinator 并且 bing4qie3 ‘and,’ and their order is typically reversible. The two compound sentences in [44a] and [44b] thus have the same meaning.

[44] a. 天天下雨,并且气温偏低,所以庄稼大部分失收。
  tian1tian1 xia4yu3 bing4qie3 qi4wen1 pian1 di1
everyday rain and temperature deviate low
It was raining every day, and the temperature was on the low side. Most of the crops were thus lost.

The temperature was on the low side, and it was raining every day. Most of the crops were thus lost.

If the two clauses linked by 并且 bing4qie3 ‘and’ have an identical subject, the subject of the second clause characteristically will not appear, as in [45a]. Sometimes 并且 bing4qie3 ‘and’ will not appear overtly either, as in [45b].

The logic relation between clauses in this type of conjunction can also be marked with connective adjunct pairs, which typically have a syntactic role to play in the clause and contribute to the overall proposition of the clause. Connective adjunct pairs used in such conjunctions are mainly of three kinds:

1 既…又…ji4…you4…‘not only…but also…’
   也…也…ye4…ye4…‘also…also…both…and…’
   又…又…you4…you4…‘again…again…both…and…’
Connective adjuncts in group [1] and group [2] are adverbs, typically appearing between the subject and the predicate. Those in group [1] can appear in clauses with verbal or adjectival predicates, while those in group [2] appear in clauses with a verbal predicate only. Clauses marked by connective adjuncts in group [1] characteristically describe a state like that in [46a], a property like that in [46b], or an ability like that in [46c], while those marked by connective adjuncts in group [2] usually describe an ongoing action like that in [46d].

Clauses marked by those in group [3] typically describe two sides of the same story, as in [47a] and [47b].
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[47] a. 一方面我们会为香港带来商机，另一方面香港也为我们提供资金。

yi1fang1mian4 wo3men0 hui4 wei4 xiang1gang3
on_one_hand we will PREP HONG_KONG
dai4lai2 shang1ji1 ling4yi1fang1mian4
bring business_opportunity on_the_other_hand
xiang1gang3 ye3 wei4 wo3men0 ti2gong4 zi1jin1
HONG_KONG also PREP we provide capital
‘On the one hand, we provide Hong Kong with business opportunity, and on the other hand, Hong Kong provides us with capital.’

b. 北京一方面干旱缺水, 另一方面每逢大雨则又多处积水。

bei3jing1 yi1fang1mian4 gan1han4 que1 shui3
Beijing on_one_side dry lack water
ling4yi1fang1mian4 mei3feng2 da4yu3 ze2 you4
on_the_other_hand whenever heavy_rain then also
duo1chu4 ji1shui3
many_places stagnant_water
‘On the one hand, Beijing suffers from water shortage and drought, but on the other hand, many places will be flooded after heavy rain.’

Note that the pair 一方面…一方面…yi1fang1mian4…yi1fang1mian4…‘on the one hand…on the other hand’ differs in many aspects from the group [2] pairs 一方面…一方面…yi1mian4…yi1mian4…‘at the same time…at the same time…’ and 一边…一边…yi1bian1…yi1bian1…‘at the same time…at the same time…’, even though all three are metaphorically derived from the similar locative expressions 面 mian4 ‘side,’ 边 bian1 ‘side,’ and 方面 fang1mian4 ‘side.’ The group [2] pairs are typically used as manner adverbials to describe doing two things at the same time. The pair 一方面…一方面…yi1fang1mian4…yi1fang1mian4…‘on the one hand…on the other hand…’ is typically used as a clause-oriented adverbial of evaluation.

CONJUNCTION OF CLAUSES WITH A TEMPORAL SEQUENCE Connective pairs like 一…就…yi1…jiu4…‘as soon as…then…’ and connective adjuncts like 接着 jie1zhe0 ‘then,’ 然后 ran2hou4 ‘then,’ and 后来 hou4lai2 ‘then’ suggest a sequential relation between the events described by the clauses in a compound sentence, like those in [48].

[48] a. “妻子”原是短语, 后来变成了词。

qi1zi3 yuan2 shi4 duan3yu3 hou4lai2 bian4cheng2
wife use_to be phrase later change_into
Sentence types 431

le0  ci2
LE  word
‘“妻子” used to be a phrase but became a word later on.’

b. 食物经过消化，然后变成营养被吸收。

shìwù jìngguò xiǎohuà ránhòu biānchéng
food pass digest and then change_to
yǐnyáng bèi xǐshòu
nutrition BEI draw
‘After food is digested, it becomes nutrients and is then absorbed.’

c. 那屋里发出一声巨响，接着跑出一个人来。

néiróng shìwù fāchū yī rén lài
that house in occur one CL loud_sound
jiēzhè pào chū yī gè rén lái
then run out one CL person come
‘There was a big bang in the house, and then a man dashed out.’

d. 野鸭——到秋天，就南移越冬。

yěyā dào qiūtiān jiù nán yí yuèdōng
mallard once arrive fall thus south move
yǔdéyàn
‘Once autumn comes, wild ducks migrate to the south.’

When a speaker uses the pair —— and then... then... —— to indicate the logic relation between two clauses, he indicates that the event in one clause takes place immediately after that in another clause. When the speaker uses connective adjuncts like 接着 jiēzhè 'then,' 然后 ránhòu 'then,' or 后来 hòulái 'then,' no immediacy is implied and there could be an interval between the events described in the two clauses.

CONJUNCTION OF CLAUSES WITH A PROGRESSIVE SEQUENCE  Clauses marked with connective adjunct pairs like 不但...而且... bu4dan4... er2qie3... ‘not only... but also...’ and 尚且...何况... shàngqie3... hē2kuàng4... ‘even... let alone...’ or connective adjuncts like 况且... kuàngqie3... ‘and moreover...’ are of unequal status but the second clause typically describes an event or status that is more important to the speaker.

When the speaker in [49a] uses 不但...而且... bu4dan4... er2qie3... ‘not only... but also...’ the second clause provides new information on the basis of the first. The speaker in [49b] is presenting an argument and the 尚且...何况... shàngqie3... hē2kuàng4... ‘even... let alone...’ indicates that he thinks the
second clause represents the main issue. Similarly, the speaker in [49c] considers the fact in the second clause more important.

[49] a. 不但我的家人会为我高兴, 而且所有中国人都会为我高兴。
   not_only I DE family will PREP I bu4dan4 wo3 de0 jia1ren2 hui4 wei4 wo3
gao1xing4 er2qie3 suo3you3 zhong1guo2ren2 dou1 happy and all Chinese all
   'Not only will my family be happy for me, but all the Chinese people will also be happy.'

b. 蝴蝶尚且贪生, 更何况人呢。
   lou2yi3 shang4qie3 tan1sheng1 geng4 he2kuang4 ren2 ants even indulge_life let_alone human
   ne0 NE
   'Even ants want to stay alive, let alone humans.'

c. 这种手机信号好, 竟然不贵。
   zhe4 zhong3 shou3ji1 xin4hao4 hao3 kuang4qie3 this CL cell_phone signal good besides
   ye3 bu2 gui4 also NEG expensive
   'This type of cellphone has reliable reception, and moreover, it is not expensive.'

CONJUNCTION OF CLAUSES OF CORRELATIVE COMPARISON A special type of compound sentence can be used to indicate comparison and these sentences are marked with connective adjunct pairs like 越...越...yue4...yue4...‘the more...the more...’ or 愈...愈...yu4...yu4...‘the more...the more...’ The former is found in both oral communication and written texts, whereas the latter occurs mainly in written texts. Both 越 yue4 ‘the more’ and 愈 yu4 ‘the more’ are adverbials in the clause in which they appear, but the former sometimes can be used to compare three or more elements, as in [50b], while the latter is predominantly used for the comparison of two elements.

[50] a. 我们越着急, 他越开心。
   wo3men0 yue4 zhao2ji2 ta1 yue4 kai1xin1 we more worry he more happy
   'The more anxious we are, the more pleased he will be.'
14.5.1.2. Disjunctive relation

The clauses in a disjunctive compound sentence have equal syntactic status but not the same semantic status, because in most cases only one of the alternatives in a disjunctive relation can be true.

DISJUNCTION OF EQUIVALENT CLAUSES

When a speaker uses this type of disjunctive, he believes that all clauses are logically equal but only one of them can be true, even though he does not make it clear which one should be true.

A common coordinator for such disjunctives is or. It can link two clauses together, as in [51a], but it can also link three or more clauses, as in [51b]. Like their counterparts in conjunctive relation, clauses in disjunctive relation may have some constituents in common and such constituents may not always show up overtly. When the subject of these clauses refers to the same entity, the subjects of the second and following clauses, if any, are typically not overt. This type of disjunctive relation can also be marked with connective adjunct pairs like either...or..., as in [51c], not...then will be..., as in [51d] or is...it is..., as in [51e].

[51]  
a. 我们可以去苏州见你, 或者你可以来上海看我们。

\[
\text{we can go SUZHOU see you or you can come SHANGHAI see we}
\]

'We could go to Suzhou to visit you, or you could come to visit us in Shanghai.'
b. 对不利于我们的观点，或者掩埋之，或者批判之，或者干脆无视之。
    dui44 bu22 li4yu22 wo3men0 de0 guan1dian3
PREP NEG favor we DE viewpoint
    huo4zhe3 yan3mai2 zhi1 huo4zhe3 pi1pan4 zhi1
or bury it or critique it
    huo4zhe3 gan1cui4 wu2shi4 zhi1
or simply ignore it
    'As to those views not favoring us, we may bury them, or criticize them,
or simply ignore them.'

c. 要么迫降，要么弃机跳伞!
    yao4me0 po4jiang4 yao4me0 qi4 ji1 tiao4san3
or forced_landing or idle plane parachute
    'Forced landing, or parachuting!'

d. 我不是在咖啡馆，就是在去咖啡馆的路上。
    wo3 bu4shi4 zai4 ka1fei1guan3 jiu4shi4 zai4 qu4
I NEG be_at coffee_shop or be_at go
    ka1fei1guan3 de0 lu4shang0
coffee_shop DE en_route
    'I might be in the coffee shop or on my way to the coffee shop.'

e. 是爸爸更了解儿子，还是妈妈更了解儿子?
    shi4 ba4ba0 geng4 liao3jie3 er2zi0 hai2shi4
be father more understand son or
    ma1ma0 geng4 liao3jie3 er2zi0
mother more understand son
    'Is it the father or the mother who knows more about their son?'

Note that 是…还是…shi4…hai2shi4…’it is…or it is…’ typically appears
only in interrogative sentences, either direct or indirect.

DISJUNCTION OF NON-EQUIVALENT CLAUSES  There are typically two clauses in such
a disjunctive compound sentence and the two clauses do not have the same status
in terms of logic relation. There are two possibilities:

1 The two clauses represent two statements contradictory to each other and the
   speaker thinks that either one is true but the other is not or one is preferred
   over the other. Such a relation is typically marked with connective adjunct
   pairs like 与其…(还)不如…yu3qi2…(hai2) bu4ru2…’rather than…it is better…’ or 与其…宁可…yu3qi2…ning4ke3…‘rather than…it is better…’
The former is found in both written and oral genres, while the latter is mainly used in written contexts.

Of the two pairs of connective adjuncts, ‘rather than . . . it is better . . . ’ is typically used in mild persuasion, while ‘rather than . . . it is better . . . ’ is often used in protest or as a strong statement of one’s preference.

2 The clauses in the disjunctive compound sentence represent two statements of which only one is true, and the speaker is making a strong claim about which one is true. The connective adjunct pairs that mark these two clauses are 不是 . . . 而是 . . . ‘it is not . . . it is . . . ’, as in [53a] and [53b], or 不.
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但(不/没有)…反而…bu4dan4 (bu4/mei2you3)…fan3er2…‘not only (not)… but on the contrary…’, as in [53c].

[53] a. 女主角不是演不好, 而是不想演。
   nü3zhu3 bu4shi4 yan3 bu4 hao3
female_lead NEG act NEG good
   er2shi4 bu4 xiang3 yan3
rather NEG want act
   'It is not the case that the leading actress cannot perform, but it is
that she doesn’t want to perform.'

b. 不是我车速快, 而是你闯红灯。
   bu4shi4 wo3 che1su4 kuai4 er2shi4 ni3
NEG I vehicle_speed fast rather you
   chuang3hong2deng1
run_a_red_light
   'It is not me that drove too fast, but it is you that ran the red light.'

c. 骚乱不但没有停止, 反而不断升级。
   sao1luan4 bu4dan4 mei2you3 ting2zhi3 fan3er2
riot not_only NEG stop instead
   bu4duan4 sheng1ji2
unceasingly escalate
   'The riot didn’t stop, but on the contrary, it escalated.'

Note that when the speaker uses the connective adjunct pair 不但(不/没有)…反而…bu2dan4 (bu4/mei2you3)…fan3er2… ‘not only (not)… but on the contrary…’ to mark the two clauses in a disjunctive relation, he is making a very clear statement that although the clause marked 不但不 bu2dan4 ‘not only not…’ is supposed to be true, the clause marked with 反而 fan3er2 ‘but on the contrary…’ is actually true.

14.6. Concessive complex sentences

When a speaker uses a concessive complex sentence, he characteristically presents two statements, one as the main clause and the other as the concessive adjunct. The clauses in such a sentence are typically marked with connective adjunct pairs like the 虽然…但是…sui1ran2…dan4shi4…‘although…but…’ in [54a] and the 即使…也…ji2shi3…ye3…‘even though…still…’ in [54b] and [54c]. Of these pairs 虽然 sui1ran2 ‘although’ or 即使 ji2shi3 ‘even though’ marks the
adjunct clause, while 但是 dan4shi4 ‘but’ or 也 ye3 ‘still’ marks the main clause. Although the truth of the adjunct clause seems to indicate that the main clause will be false, it actually does not detract from the truth of the main clause.

If the first clause in [54a] 房租这么低 fang2zu1 zhe4me0 di1 ‘the rent is so low’ is true, it indicates that everyone should be able to afford it. Since [54a] is marked with the connective pair 虽然 sui1ran2…但是 dan4shi4… ‘although . . . but . . . ’, it has a specific reading that there are still people who cannot afford the rent in spite of its all-time low. The sentences in [54b] and [54c] have the same type of interpretation.

[54]  a. 虽然房租这么低, 但是也有人交不起。

    sui1ran2 fang2zu1 zhe4me0 di1 dan4shi4 ye3 you3 
    although rent so low but also have
    ren2 jiao1bu4qi3
    people cannot_afford
    ‘Although the rent is so low, some people still cannot afford it.’

b. 即使房租这么低, 也有人交不起。

    ji2shi3 fang2zu1 zhe4me0 di1 ye3 you3
    even_though rent so low also have
    ren2 jiao1bu4qi3
    people cannot_afford
    ‘Even though the rent is so low, some people cannot afford it.’

c. 即使房租再低些, 也还是有人交不起。

    ji2shi3 fang2zu1 zai4 di1 xie1 ye3 hai2shi4
    even_though rent more low some also still
    you3 ren2 jiao1bu4qi3
    have people cannot_afford
    ‘Even if the rent went lower, there are still people who could not afford it.’

Other connective adjuncts marking the concessive clause include 尽管 jin3guan3 ‘though,’ 固然 gu4ran2 ‘though,’ and 纵然 zong4ran2 ‘though,’ and connective adjuncts marking the main clause include 却 que4 ‘but,’ 可是 ke3shi4 ‘but,’ 不过 bu4guo4 ‘but,’ 然而 ran2er2 ‘but,’ and 只是 zhi3shi4 ‘but.’ Note that 然而 ran2er2 and 只是 zhi3shi4 typically mark the main clause alone without any marker on the concessive adjunct clause. The difference between [55a] and [55b] thus does not affect the concessive reading.
14.7. Conditional complex sentences

A conditional complex sentence predominantly consists of two clauses, a conditional adjunct clause that expresses a condition, real or imagined, and a main clause that explains the consequence of the condition. Conditional complex sentences are typically marked with connective adjunct pairs to indicate the logic relation between the two clauses, and they can be categorized into four subtypes according to their logical relation:

1 Sufficient condition

Connective adjunct pairs like 只要...就.../若...则... ‘as long as...then...’ and 一旦...就.../若...则... ‘as soon as...then...’ are common ones to mark sentences of sufficient condition, in which if the conditional clause is true, the main clause will also be true.

2 Necessary condition

Connective adjunct pairs like 只有...才.../若...则... ‘only if...then...’ and 除非...才.../若...则... ‘unless...then...’ are commonly used to mark necessary condition sentences in which the main clause will not be true unless the conditional clause is true.

3 Hypothetical condition

Connective adjunct pairs like 如果...假使.../若...则... ‘if...then...’ and 要是...就.../若...则... ‘if not that...then...’ are markers for hypothetical conditions, in which the conditional clause expresses an imaginary situation while the main clause spells out...
the consequence, and it is not possible for the conditional to be true and for the main clause to be false.

4 Exhaustive condition

Connective adjunct pairs like 无论/任凭/不管…都…/ZdZ6924/ren4ping2/bu4guan3…dou1…‘no matter…all…’ and 无论/任凭/不管…也…/ZdZ6924/ren4ping2/bu4guan3…ye3…‘no matter…also…’ are markers for exhaustive conditionals, in which the main clause will be true regardless of which option of the conditional is realized.

The sufficient condition in [56a] means that if the condition “you join us” is satisfied, the speakers will definitely start the project. It is also implied that among all the conditions, “you join us” is the easiest to satisfy. The necessary condition in [56b] means that only if “you join us” is satisfied will the speakers start the project, and it is also implied that among all the conditions, it is the hardest to satisfy. The sentence in [56c] has a hypothetical condition “you join us,” which the speakers hope will be realized, and what is being conveyed is that a project will be started if the condition is satisfied. The exhaustive condition in [56d] makes it clear that the project will start, regardless of whether the condition is satisfied or not.

[56] a. 只要你参加, 我们就启动这个计划。
   zhi3yao4 ni3 can1jia1 wo3men0 jiu4 qi3dong4
   as_long_as you join we thus switch_on
   zhe4 ge0 ji4hua4
   this CL plan
   ‘As long as you join us, we will start this project.’

b. 只有你参加, 我们才启动这个计划。
   zhi3you3 ni3 can1jia1 wo3men0 cai2 qi3dong4
   only_if you join we just switch_on
   zhe4 ge0 ji4hua4
   this CL plan
   ‘We will start the project only if you join us.’

c. 如果你参加, 我们就启动这个计划。
   ru2guo3 ni3 can1jia1 wo3men0 jiu4 qi3dong4 zhe4
   if you join we thus switch_on this
   ge0 ji4hua4
   CL plan
   ‘If you join us, we will start the project.’
A conditional sentence typically does not distinguish what is being planned from what has actually happened. An exception is those marked with 要不是... ‘if not...’ in which the conditional clause describes a past event and the main clause presents a state or event that is counterfactual. The 律师鼓励了我 ‘being pushed by the lawyer’ in [57] is a past event, while 我真不想打这个官司 ‘I did not want to go to the court’ describes something contrary to the fact. What the sentence conveys is that the speaker actually went to the court even though he had had some reservations about doing so.

[57] 要不是律师鼓励, 我真不想打这个官司。

14.8. Causative and purposive complex sentences

Causatives and purposives are both complex sentences consisting of an adjunct clause and a main clause. The two clauses typically form a temporal sequence, with one describing an event or state happening earlier than that in the other. The main difference between these two types of sentences is that purposives involve some intentional behavior while causatives do not necessarily involve such an intention.

Causatives are marked with connective adjunct pairs, such as 因为... 所以... ‘because... therefore...’, as in [58a], 之所以... 是因为... ‘with such a result... it is because...’, as in [58b], or 既然... 于是... 那就... 那么... 可见... ‘given that... therefore...’, as in [58c]. A prominent feature of causatives is that the sentence can be marked with either a connective adjunct pair or half of the pair, as shown in [58d] and [58e].
The causative relation marked with 既然…可见…ji4ran2…ke3jian4…‘since…therefore…’ is based on an indirect inference, while the causative relation marked with 因为…所以…yin1wei4…suo2yi3…‘because…therefore…’ is based on a direct cause–effect correlation. The inference relation of the
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former is sensitive to the temporal sequence of events, as well as to the order of presentation. The sentence in [59a] first presents “given the fact that the ground is wet” and then presents the inferred conclusion “it must have rained,” and such an order should normally not be reversed. If the speaker wants to present the story in a reversed order, a possible choice would be [59b], in which a hedge phrase 看来 kan4lai2 ‘it looks like’ is used.

[59]  a. 既然地上是湿的, 可见昨晚肯定下过雨。
   ji4ran2 di4shang4 shi4 shi1 de0 ke3jian4 zuo2wan3
   since ground be wet DE therefore last_night
   ken3ding4 xia4 guo4 yu3
   must fall GUO rain
   ‘Since the ground is wet, it must have rained last night.’

   b.  看来昨下过雨了, 地上都湿了。
   kan4lai2 zuo2wan3 xia4 guo4 yu3 le4 di4shang4
   looks_like last_night fall GUO rain LE ground
   dou1 shi1 le0
   all wet LE
   ‘It might have rained last night, since the ground is wet.’

In comparison, the direct cause–effect relation marked with 因为…所以…yin1wei4…suo2yi3…‘because…therefore…’ is typically not affected by the order of presentation. Both [60a] and [60b] are thus acceptable and have the same interpretation.

[60] a.  因为昨晚下过雨, 地上是湿的。
   yin1wei4 zuo2wan3 xia4 guo4 yu3 di4shang4 shi4
   because last_night fall GUO rain ground be
   shi1 de0
   wet DE
   ‘Because it rained last night, the ground is wet.’

   b.  地上是湿的, 因为昨晚下过雨。
   di4shang4 shi4 shi1 de0 yin1wei4 zuo2wan3 xia4
   ground be wet DE because last_night fall
   guo4 yu3
   GUO rain
   ‘The ground is wet, because it rained last night.’

既然…ji4ran2…‘given the fact that…’ can pair with the adverbs 也 ye3 ‘as well,’ 就 ji4 ‘then,’ or 还 hai2 ‘still’ to mark a causative relation. When a speaker uses 既然…也(就)…ji4ran2…ye3(jiu4)…‘given the fact that…it’d be better
also…’ in [61a], he conveys two ideas with the main clause. On the one hand, he says that the listener should not pursue the case anymore, and on the other hand, he hints that there is an additional issue that the listener should also take care of. The speaker in [61b] uses 既然…还…‘given that…still…’ to indicate two things as well. On the one hand, he says that the listener should not take the examination, and on the other hand, he tells the listener that this should be given up a long time ago.

[61]  a. 既然已经和解, 也就不要再追究了。
    ji4ran2 yi3jing1 he2jie3 ye3 jiu4 bu2yao4 zai4
    since already settle also thus do_not again
    zhuiljiu1 le0
    find_out LE
    ‘Since it’s already settled, just let it go.’

    b. 你既然把握不大, 还去考什么?
    ni3 ji4ran2 ba3wo4 bu4 da4 hai2 qu4 kao3
    you since certainty NEG big yet go exam
    shen2me0
    what
    ‘Since you have no confidence [in the result], why do you bother to take the exam?’

Purposives are typically marked with a preposition, such as the 为了…‘ in order to achieve…’ in [62a] and the 以免…yi3mian3…‘in order to avoid…’ in [62b]. 以免…yi3mian3…‘in order to avoid…’ has some variations in spoken genres, such as 免得…mian3de0…‘in order to avoid…’ and 省得…sheng3de0…‘in order to avoid…’ Given their usage in different genres, it is appropriate to use 以免…yi3mian3…‘in order to avoid…’ in [62b], which is a police warning, and it is also fine to use 省得…sheng3de0…‘in order to avoid…’ in [62c], which is a casual exchange between close friends. However, it is not proper to switch the two prepositions, since that would constitute an inappropriate mixture of styles.

[62]  a. 为了不增加家里的负担, 她辍学了。
    wei4le0 bu4 zeng1jia1 jia1li3 de0 fu4dan1 ta1
    PREP NEG add family DE load she
    chuo4xue2 le0
    drop_out LE
    ‘In order to ease the burden on her family, she dropped out of school.’
14.9. Strategies of clause linking
The main function of coordinators, connective adjuncts, and connective prepositions is to indicate the logic relation between clauses in compound sentences and certain types of complex sentences. However, when such logic relation is clearly understood, these connective elements may not be obligatory and the interpretation of the sentence will depend on the context.

14.9.1. Connective words
In addition to coordinators, connective adjuncts, and connective prepositions, certain adverbs also have the function of indicating the logic relation between clauses in compound sentences and certain complex sentences, such as 也 ‘as well,’ 又 ‘again,’ and 都 ‘all.’

A few other words or phrases are sometimes used to indicate the logic relation between these clauses. A typical example is 的话 de0hua4 ‘if,’ which can be used as part of a complex nominal phrase like 你说的话 ni3 shuo1 de0 hua4 ‘the words you said,’ but can also be placed immediately after a clause to indicate a hypothetic condition, as in [63a]. Interrogative pronouns like 谁 shui2 ‘who,’ 什么 shen2me0 ‘what,’ 怎么 zen3me0 ‘how,’ and 哪儿 na3er0 ‘where’ can help to establish the logic relation between clauses, as in [63b]. Even determinatives like 那 na4 ‘in that case, then’ in [63c] can be used as connectives to indicate a possible cause–effect relation.

[63] a. 你不去的话, 我也不去。
   ni3 bu4 qu4 de0 hua4 wo3 ye3 bu4 qu4
   you NEG go DE if I also NEG go
   ‘If you don’t go there, I won’t either.’
b. 谁先做完, 谁先走。
shui2 xian1 zuo4 wan2 shui2 xian1 zou3
who early do finish who early go
‘Whoever finishes earlier leaves earlier.’

c. 你听不懂, 那你就别在这儿碍事。
ni3 ting1 bu4 dong3 na4 ni3 jiu4 bie2
you listen NEG understand that you thus do_not
zai4 zhe4er0 ai4shi4
PREP here matter
‘If you don’t understand it, then just stay away.’

14.9.1.1. Position of connective words

Coordinators and connective prepositions predominantly appear at the beginning of the clause they mark. Some connective adjuncts are adverbs and some of them are modal auxiliaries. As such, connective adjuncts can appear at the beginning of a clause, and some of them can appear between the subject and the predicate.

There are cases where a coordinator or a connective preposition apparently appears after the subject, as shown in [64], [65], and [66], but they characteristically have a different interpretation. The coordinator 不但 ‘not only’ in [64a] appears at the beginning of the first clause but appears between the subject and predicate in the first clause of [64b]. The difference represents the fact that the subject of the second clause in [64b] refers to the same person as the subject of the first clause does, while the subject of the two clauses in [64a] refers to different persons.

[64] a. 不但你要去, 而且我也要去。
bu4dan4 ni3 yao4 qu4 wo3 ye3 yao4 qu4
not_only you will go I also will go
‘Not only you have to go there, I also have to.’

b. 你不但要去, 而且要馬上去。
ni3 bu4dan4 yao4 qu4 er2qie3 yao4 ma3shang4 qu4
you not_only will go and will at_once go
‘Not only you have to go there, but you also have to go immediately.’

14.9.1.2. Connective words with multiple functions

Some connective words are polysemous and can be used to represent different logical relations. The 就是 jiu4shi4 in [65a] marks a concessive relation and means ‘even if.’ The same word indicates a contrastive relation in [65b] and means ‘except for.’ It marks a disjunctive relation in [65c] and should be understood as ‘or.’
[65] a. 就是天塌下来，他也不怕。
    jiù4 shì4 tiān1 tā1 xià4 lái2 tā1 yě3 bù4 pà4
    ‘Even if the sky is falling, he will not be scared.’

b. 他什么都好，就是脾气坏了点。
    tā1 shén2 mé0 dōu1 hǎo3 jǐu4 shí4 pí2 qí4 huái4
    ‘Everything about him is fine except for his temper.’

c. 到了北京，不是参观故宫，就是游览长城。
    dào4 lè0 běi3 jīng1 bù4 shí4 gōng1 qū1 guāng1
    ‘What you will do in Beijing is to visit either the Forbidden City or the Great Wall.’

The pair —… 就… jiu4… ‘as soon as … then …’ in [66a] indicates a temporal sequence of events, whereas the pair in [66b] indicates a sufficient condition relation derived from the temporal relation.

[66] a. 他一到办公室，就给学生打了一个电话。
    tā1 yī1 dào4 bān4 gōng1 shì4 jìu4 gěi3 xué2 shēng1
    ‘As soon as he arrived at the office, he gave the student a phone call.’

b. 水一到零度，就会结冰。
    shuǐ3 yī1 dào4 líng2 dù4 jìu4 huì4 jié2 bīng1
    ‘Once the temperature drops below 0°C, water freezes.’

Certain polysemous connective words may have the syntactic functions of more than one category. The 或者 huo4 zhe3 in [67a] is a coordinator that marks a disjunctive relation and should be understood as ‘or.’ The 或者 huo4 zhe3 in [67b] is an adverb with the meaning of ‘perhaps.’ The 尽管 jǐn3 guān3 ‘even though’ in [68a] is a connective adjunct marking a concessive relation, while the 尽管 jǐn3 guān3 ‘just’ in [68b] is an adverb, which functions as an adverbial but marks the logic relation between clauses.
Sentence types

[67] a. 他去或者不去，都由他自己决定。
    ta1 qu4 huo4zhe3 bu4 qu4 dou1 you2 ta1
    he go or  NEG go all  PREP he
    ziji3 jue2ding4
    self  decide
    'It is up to him to decide whether or not to go.'

b. 他去得早，或者还有救。
    ta1 qu4 de0 zao3 huo4zhe3 hai2 you3 jiu4
    he go DE early or  still have  save
    'If he goes earlier, there might be hope of being saved.'

[68] a. 尽管我很轻，还是把他惊动了。
    jing1dung4 le0
    alarm  LE
    'Even though my movement was light, he was alerted anyway.'

b. 你有什么需要，尽管告诉我。
    ni3 you3 shen2me0 xu1yao4 jin3guan3 gao4su4 wo3
    you have what  need just  tell I
    'If you need any help, just let me know.'

The connective adjunct pair 既…也…ji4…ye3…'either…or…' in [69a] marks a conjunctive relation. The 既…也…ji4…ye3…in [69b], on the other hand, is the shortened form of 既然…也…ji4ran2…ye3…which marks a causative relation and should be understood as ‘given the fact that… therefore…’

[69] a. 我们既反对保守，也反对冒进。
    wo3men0 ji4 fan3dui4 fan3dui4 bao3shou3 ye3 fan3dui4
    we also oppose  conservation also oppose
    rash_advance
    'We are against being either too conservative or too radical.'

b. 事情既已败露，我也不再隐瞒了。
    shi4qing2 ji4 yi3 bai4lu4 wo3 ye3 bu4
    thing  since  already  be_exposed  I also  NEG
    zai4 yin3man2 le0
    again  hide  LE
    'Given that it has been exposed, I don’t have to hide it anymore.'
14.10. Compound sentences without overt marking

Although coordinators and connective adjuncts are commonly used to indicate the logic relation between clauses in compound sentences and certain types of complex sentences, there are cases where the logic relation is marked by other means. One possibility is to use clauses with identical structures and with corresponding lexical items to create a parallelism. The two clauses in [70a] have an identical structure with a linking verb ‘be’ as the head of the predicate. What is more, several lexical items in the two clauses are antonyms, such as 直线 zhi2xian4 ‘straight line’ versus 曲线 qu3xian4 ‘curve’ and 流畅 liu2chang4 ‘smooth’ versus 婉转 wan3zhuan3 ‘uneven,’ and they appear in corresponding positions. These clauses are thus in a conjunctive relation without any overt marking. The two clauses in [70b] describe two events with a clear temporal sequence, and they form a conjunction without overt marking.

[70]  a. 直线是流畅的美, 曲线是婉转的美。
zhīxíng shì liúchuánghē de méi qu3xiàn
‘While a straight line illustrates the beauty of free-flow directness, a curved line displays the grace of round-aboutness.’

b. 孩子们讨论了一上午, 通过了一个决议。
háizi tōulùn le yī shangwǔ tōngguò yī ge juéyì
‘The children had spent the whole morning discussing it, and they made a decision.’

Another way to indicate the logic relation without a coordinator or connective adjunct is to use interrogative pronouns or their compounds in corresponding positions. The 谁 shuí ‘who’ in the first clause of [71a] represents whoever causes the pollution and should be understood as ‘anyone,’ while the 谁 shuí ‘who’ in the second clause refers back to the first 谁 shuí ‘who’ and should be understood as ‘he.’ The first clause is therefore a conditional clause and the second one is the main clause. The two clauses in [71b] form a sequential conjunction and such a relation is indicated by the two 什么时候 shěnzhéshí ‘what time,’ which should be interpreted as ‘any time when . . .’ in the first clause and as ‘at that time’ in the second. Similarly, the 怎么样 zen3me0yàng4 ‘how’ in [71c] should be
understood as ‘any manner’ in the first clause and as ‘in that manner’ in the second. The two clauses form a conditional sentence.

[71] a. 谁造成的污染, 谁负责治理。
    shui2 zao4cheng2 de0 wu1ran3 shui2
    who cause DE pollution who
    fu4ze2 zhi4li3
    be_responsible_for govern
    ‘If someone causes the pollution, he should do the cleaning up.’

b. 钱什么时候到账, 我什么时候开工。
    qian2 shen2me0 shi2hou0 dao4 zhang4 wo3
    money what when reach account I
    shen2me0 shi2hou0 kai1gong1
    what when start_to_work
    ‘I will start the work when the money is in my account.’

c. 我怎么说, 你怎么写。
    wo3 zen3me0 shuo1 ni3 zen3me0 xie3
    I how say you how write
    ‘You should write it in the same way as I say it.’

Since these compound or complex sentences are not marked by coordinators or connective adjuncts, it is possible for them to have more than one reading. The sentence in [72a] does not bear any overt marker and therefore can be understood in several ways, such as the causative in [72b] and the conditional in [72c].

[72] a. 你不是我们的员工, 新股就没你的份。
    ni3 bu4shi4 wo3men0 de0 yuan2gong1 xin1gu3
    you NEG we DE employee new_stock
    jiu4 mei2 ni3 de0 fen4
    then NEG you DE share
    ‘You are not our staff member, hence you have no share in the new stock options.’

b. 因为你不是我们的员工, 所以新股就没你的份。
    yin1wei4 ni3 bu4shi4 wo3men0 de0 yuan2gong1
    because you NEG we DE employee
    suo3yi3 xin1gu3 jiu4 mei2 ni3 de0 fen4
    so new_stock then NEG you DE share
    ‘Since you are not our staff member, you have no share in the new stock options.’
c. 如果你不是我们的员工，新股就没你的份。
   ru2guo3 ni3 bu4shi4 wo3men0 de0 yuan2gong1
   if you NEG we DE employee
   xin1gu3 jiu4 mei2 ni3 de0 fen4
   new_stock then NEG you DE share
   ‘If you are not our staff member, then you have no share in the new stock options.’

Sometimes such clauses are uttered without any pause and they will sound like one simple sentence, such as the ones in [73a] and [73c]. Sentence [73a] is ambiguous, with a number of readings, and one of them is [73b]. Similarly, [73c] has several possible readings and [73d] is one of them.

[73]  a. 钟不敲不响。
   zhong1 bu4 qiao1 bu4 xiang3
   bell NEG knock NEG ring
   ‘The bell will not ring unless it is struck.’

b. 钟如果不敲，就不响。
   zhong1 ru2guo3 bu4 qiao1 jiu4 bu4 xiang3
   bell if NEG knock then NEG ring
   ‘If the bell is not struck, it will not ring.’

c. 他不哭不闹。
   ta1 bu4 ku1 bu4 nao4
   he NEG cry NEG whine
   ‘He is not crying or whining.’

d. 他既不哭，又不闹。
   ta1 ji4 bu4 ku1 you4 bu4 nao4
   he also NEG cry also NEG whine
   ‘He is neither crying nor whining.’
This chapter focuses on two major non-canonical clause types that are both unique and frequently used in Chinese: the ba constructions and various passive constructions represented by bei constructions. Both of these clause types share the feature of a complex predicate.

15.1. The ba constructions

15.1.1. Introduction
The term /ZdZ6070 ba3 ‘BA’ constructions refers to clauses like those in [1], in which the nominal phrase /ZdZ5949 wo3 xie3 de0 zi4 ‘the words I wrote,’ which represent the entity affected by the event, does not appear in its typical post-verbal object position but occurs before the verb with a /ZdZ6070 ba3 ‘BA’ marker. Such a nominal phrase is commonly known as the ba NP.

Although a ba NP can sometimes appear in the post-verbal object position as well, the option of appearing in either position is not always available. The predicate in [2] is an idiom with an object position filled with /ZdZ812 yi1tan2 ‘same discussion’ and it is not possible for the ba NP to appear in the post-verbal object position.

[1]  她把/写/的/字/擦掉了。
  ta1 ba3 wo3 xie3 de0 zi4 ca1diao4 le0
  she BA I write DE character erase LE
  ‘She erased the characters I wrote.’

[2]  我们不要把自由和散漫混为一谈。
  wo3men0 bu4 yao4 ba3 zi4you2 he2 san3man4
  we NEG will BA freedom and undisciplined
  hun3wei2yi1tan2
  confuse_with
  ‘We should not confuse freedom with lack of discipline.’
A ba construction like that in [3], which has a locative preposition phrase following the verb, typically does not allow the ba NP to occur in the object position either.

[3] 天黑了，我就能了。 把辫子放在兜里。
   tian1 hei1 le0 wo3 jiu4 neng2 ba3 bian4zi0 fang4
   sky dark LE I then can BA plait put
   zai4 dou1 li3
   PREP pocket in
   ‘When night falls, I can (take off my cap and) put my plait in a pocket.’

Such a distribution is determined by the syntactic and semantic properties of the ba NP, as well as the properties of the predicate.

15.1.2. Major features of the ba construction
The information represented by the ba NP is typically given or old, namely, known or shared by the speaker and the hearer. It can refer to an entity that has been mentioned in the previous discourse or is known as a consequence of contextual or pragmatic factors. Sentence [3] is taken from the middle of a narration by a woman talking about her extraordinarily long plait, which is now known information and appropriately represented by a ba NP. Sentence [4] comes from a conversation at the beginning of a fiction piece describing the decline of a factory. The 厂长 chang3zhang3 ‘manager of the factory’ represents a person known to everyone in the story and represents a piece of given information for contextual reasons. It is therefore natural for it to function as a ba NP.

[4] 听说没有？上面把厂长撤了。
   ting1shuo1 mei2you3 shang4 tou2 ba3 chang3zhang3
   hear NEG boss BA factory_director
   che4 le0
   fire LE
   ‘Have you heard it? The boss fired the manager.’

The ba NP, such as those in [1] through [4] above, characteristically bears the semantic role of patient, which is understood as being highly affected by the event so undergoing an observable change of state. There are certain ba NPs that look like exceptions, such as 我们 wo3men0 ‘we, us’ in [5], as the verb 忘 wang4 ‘forget’ seems to be non-volitional and should not affect the ba NP. However, the sentence is about how the speakers went to their hometown to look for a lost relative but they encountered an obstacle because most people did not recognize them. In [5], the ba NP 我们 wo3men0 ‘we, us’ is thus indeed affected by the event. [6] presents
a slightly different case. Although 吓了一跳 xia4 le0 yi1tiao4 ‘startled’ typically requires a reading where the subject is the party affected, it has a causative reading instead in [6]. That is, the story caused 那一家老小 na4 yi1 jia1 lao3xia03 ‘members of that family’ to be startled. It is thus appropriate to put 那一家老小 na4 yi1 jia1 lao3xia03 ‘members of that family’ into the ba NP slot.

[5] 这么多年过去了, 好多人都把我们忘了。
zhe4me0 duo1 nian2 guo4qu4 le0 hao3duo1 ren2 so many year pass LE many people
dou1 ba3 wo3men0 wang4 le0 all BA we forget LE
‘So many years have passed by, and most people no longer remember us.’

[6] 那小说里爬山的事儿也是真的, 也把那一家老小吓了一跳。
na4 xiao3shuo1 li3 pa2shan1 de0 shi4er0 ye3 that novel in mountain_climb DE thing also
shi4 zhen1de0 ye3 ba3 na4 yi1jia1lao3xia03 be true also BA that members_of_the_family
xia4 le0 yi1 tiao4 frighten LE one jump
‘The story in the novel about mountain climbing was true. It did startle everyone in the family, young and old.’

A declarative ba construction typically represents an event that has taken place before the time of reference and has affected the ba NP. This complevent property is encoded in the dependents of the verb, including post-verbal nouns, post-verbal expressions of extent or result, and perfective aspect marking.

15.1.3. Predicate types in ba constructions
A complevent predicate can be a verb with an aspect marker, a verb with 得 de0, ‘DE,’ and a descriptive or resultative expression, or an expression of frequency or duration.

15.1.3.1. Verb + perfective aspect markers
Of all the aspect markers found in ba constructions from the corpus, perfective 了 le0 ‘LE’ has the highest frequency of appearance, especially in declarative sentences with a monosyllabic verb as the predicate head, such as the 吃 chi1 ‘eat’ in [7], the 包 bao1 ‘book the whole shop’ in [8], and the 烧 shao1 ‘burn’ in [9]. Such sentences would not usually be acceptable, if the aspect marker were not used.
‘She has eaten the meal.’

‘Of course, it was us from the Lower YangTze region who patronized the classiest barber shops almost exclusively.’

‘(They) chased away the monks, and then set fire to the temple and burned it down.’

Although perfective marker 过 guo4 also indicates the completion of an event, it is only occasionally used in ba constructions, exemplified by [10].

‘The servants at the Lin house already cleaned the house from top to bottom several days ago . . . ’

In spite of the almost obligatory use of aspect markers, imperative ba sentences (i.e., strong requests or commands), like the one in [11], do not take aspect markers. Another context where aspect markers are not usually allowed is when an attributive or resultative complement occurs after the verb, such as 明白 ming2bai2 ‘clear’ in [12]. In such sentences, a modal like 可以 ke3(yi3) ‘may,’ 能够 neng2(gou4) ‘can,’ or 会 hui4 ‘will, be likely’ typically occurs before the verb, as in the case of [12].
Major non-canonical clause types: ba and bei

11. 来! 把嘴巴张开!
    lai2 ba3 zui3ba0 zhang1kai1
    come BA mouth open
    ‘Come on! Open your mouth wide!’

12. 他一定(能)把事情说明白。
    ta1 yi1ding4 neng2 ba3 shi4qing2 shuo1 ming2bai2
    he surely can BA thing say clear
    ‘He can certainly explain the issue.’

When a ba construction is part of a series of coordinated clauses describing a sequence of events, the aspect marker can be left out except in the last clause. The four events described by the four declarative clauses in [13] form a sequence in which one event will not happen until the previous one has ended. A typical way to present such events is to attach the perfective aspect marker 了 le0 ‘LE’ to the last predicate only. The three ba constructions in [13] thus do not carry any aspect marker, even though they convey a perfective meaning.

13. …牙医拿一些工具把阿明的蛀牙拔掉，然后用纱布把伤口压住，止住了血。
    ya2yi1 na2 yi1xie1 gong1ju4 ba3 a1ming2 de0
dentist take some tool BA A_MING DE
    zhu4ya2 ba2diao4 ran2hou4 yong4 sha1bu4 ba3
cavity_tooth extract then use gauze BA
    shang1kou3 ya1zhu4 zhi3zhu4 le0 xue3
wound press stop LE blood
    ‘…The dentist extracted A-Ming’s tooth with a cavity with some instruments, pressed the wound with gauze, and stopped the bleeding.’

15.1.3.2. Verb + imperfective aspect markers
The use of imperfective markers 在 zai4 and 着 zhe0 in ba constructions is quite limited for the simple reason that they code an ongoing situation but not a completed event. In the corpora there are only a small number of ba constructions with a marker 在 zai4 or 着 zhe0, and they typically carry special illocutionary force. The ba construction in [14] is a strong warning, stating that the listener is doing something suicidal, while that in [15] is an instruction, telling the listener what to do on a trip.

14. 行了, 阿宏, 你在把自己往死路上逼。
    xing2 le0 a1hong2 ni3 zai4 ba3 zi4ji3 wang3
    okay LE A_HONG you ZAI BA self PREP
si3lu4  shang4  bi1
death  on     force
‘Stop it, A Hong. You are pushing yourself into an impasse.’

[15] 把重要物品贴身带着。
ba3  zhong4yao4  wu4pin3  tie1shen1  da1  zhe0
BA  important  belongings  close  bring  ZHE
‘Keep your important belongings close to you.’

15.1.3.3. Verb compounds with a resultative or directional expression
The predicate of ba constructions is often headed by a verb compound formed with a verb and a resultative expression. The verb in such a compound is typically an activity verb but it is occasionally an achievement or accomplishment verb, while the resultative expression is typically a stative verb. The compound 惊醒 jing1xing3 ‘disturb-awake’ in [16] has a stative verb 醒 xing3 ‘awake’ as the resultative expression, while the 玩掉 wan2diao4 ‘play-lost’ in [17] has an achievement verb as the resultative expression.

[16] 动也没敢动, 就怕 把茶桌挪动了, 会 把他惊醒。
dong4  ye3  mei2  gan3  dong4  jiu4  pa4  ba3
move  also  NEG  dare  move  then  fear  BA
cha2zhuo1  nuo2dong4  le0  hui4  ba3  ta1  jing1xing3
tea_table  move  LE  will  BA  he  awake
‘(I) just didn’t dare to move, afraid that if I moved the coffee table, I would disturb him and awaken him.’

[17] 就是因为我们太会玩游戏, 结果 把时间玩掉了, 也 把事业玩掉了。
jiu4shi4  yin1wei4  wo3men0  tai4  hui4
exactly  because  we  too  be_good_at
wan2you2xi4  jie2guo3  ba3  shi2jian1  wan2diao4  le0
play_games  as_a_result  BA  time  play_out  LE
ye3  ba3  shi4ye4  wan2diao4  le0
also  BA  career  play_out  LE
‘It’s all because we’ve indulged ourselves too much in playing games, so that we’ve ended up wasting our time and destroying our careers.’

Sometime the resultative expression is a directional verb indicating motion or trajectory, such as 上 shang4 ‘go up,’ 下 xia4 ‘go down,’ 过 guo4 ‘cross over,’ 回 hui2 ‘return,’ 到 dao4 ‘arrive,’ 出 chu1 ‘exit,’ and so on. The 送到 song4dao4 ‘send-arrive’ in [18] is such a case.
Major non-canonical clause types: ba and bei

[18] 为掩人耳目, 玄宗先把她送到太真宫修行。
wei4 yan3ren2er3mu4 xuan2zong1 xian1 ba3 ta1
PREP cover_up Xuanzong first BA she
song4dao4 tai4zhen1gong1 xiu1xing2
send Taizhen_Temple practice
'To cover up, Xuanzong sent her to the Taizhen Temple (to be a nun) at
first.'

The resultative expression can occasionally be a combination of two verbs of
motion, such as those in 送回去 song4hui2qu4 'send-return-go' in [19].

[19] 天黑下去前就把苦根送回去。
tian1 hei1 xia4qu4 qian2 jiu4 ba3 ku3gen1 song4
sky dark XIAQU before then BA Kugen send
hui2qu4 back
'Before it got dark, (I) would take Kugen home.' [literally, ‘accompany-
return-go’]

15.1.3.4. Verb + 得 de0 ‘DE’ + resultative or extent expression
The predicate of a ba construction can also have a resultative expression occurring
after 得 de0 ‘DE.’ Such an expression can be an adjectival phrase like those in [20]
and [21].

[20] 这短短的一句话, 已把禅的本质说 得 很明确。
zhe4 duan3duan3 de0 yi1 ju4 hua4 yi3 ba3
this short DE one CL words already BA
chan2 de0 ben3zhi4 shuo1 de0 hen3 ming2que4
Zen DE nature say DE very clear
'This very succinct sentence could explain the nature of Zen unequivocally
on its own.'

[21] 《诗经》有许多地方把感情描写 得 相当泛滥。
shi1jing1 you3 xu3duo1 di4fang1 ba3
Book_of_Odes have many place BA
gan3qing2 miao2xie3 de0 xiang1dang1 fan4lan4
emotion describe DE quite inundate
'Description of emotion in the Book of Odes can be overly sentimental
occasionally.'
The resultative expression in [22] is a verb phrase illustrating the status of the affected person Jiazhen, who is too tired to say anything after work. Similarly, [23] describes the desired result state of cooking the food, designated by the ba NP. The expression 太早也太满 tai4zao3 ye3 tai4man3 ‘too early and with too much certainty’ in [24] does not describe the resultative status of the ba NP, but instead describes how far the bragging has gone, as an expression of extent.

[22] 田里的活已经把家真累得说话都没力气了。
    tian2 li3 de0 huo2 yi3jing1 ba3 jia1zhen1 lei4
    field in DE work already BA Jiazhen tired
deo shuo1hua4 dou1 mei2 li4qi4 le0
    DE talk all NEG strength LE
    ‘Working in the fields had already made Jiazhen so tired that she had no strength to talk.’

[23] 把菜烧得味道鲜美。
    ba3 ca14 shao1 de0 wei4dao4 xian1mei3
    BA dish cook DE taste delicious
    ‘To cook the food well such that it tastes delicious.’

[24] 他把肯定出成绩的话说得太早也太满。
    ta1 ba3 ken3ding4 chu1cheng2ji4 de0 hua4 shuo1
    he BA definitely obtain_outcome DE words say
deo tai4 zao3 ye3 tai4 man3
    DE too early also too full
    ‘He made the claim that (he/the team/…) will obtain the desired outcome too early and with too much certainty.’

15.1.3.5. Verb + frequency or duration phrase
The ba construction is very often used with a phrase of frequency or duration following the verb to imply the completion of the event, since it states that the event has taken place for the indicated number of times or duration. Such examples are well attested in various corpora. Frequency phrases are constructed with event classifiers like 顿 dun4, 下 xia4, 遍 bian4, 回 hui2, 和 番 fan1, while duration phrases are constructed with standard measure words of time like 小时 xiao3shi2 ‘hour,’ 天 tian1 ‘day,’ 月 yue4 ‘month,’ and 年 nian2 ‘year.’ The 一顿 yi1dun4 ‘one time’ in [25] indicates that the rebuke happened once, the 几下 ji3xia4 ‘several times’ in [26] means that the dribbling of the ball was done several times, and the 几年 ji3nian2 ‘several years’ in [27] is the length of the jail time.
15.1.4. *Ba* constructions with a nominal element in the post-verbal position

The main feature of *ba* constructions is that the nominal phrase bearing the patient role appears before the verb as the *ba* NP. This leaves the canonical position for the object open; thus, it can be occupied by another nominal expression, including an extra nominal phrase with a patient role, a locative phrase, and a nominal phrase that is the complement of an equative verb or a verb of fabrication.

15.1.4.1. Verb + extra object

The post-verbal position of a *ba* construction can sometimes be filled with an extra object. The verb and the extra object together describe an action that affects the *ba* NP. The *刮鳞* `gua1lin2 'peel/remove scales' in [28] describes a procedure that affects the 鱼 *yu2 'fish,'* while the *少写一点* `shao3 xie3 yi1dian3 'write one dot less' describes an action affecting the Chinese character 太 *tai4 'too.'* There is a part-whole relation between the scales and the fish in [28] and between the stroke and the character it belongs to in [29]. Because of such semantic relations, the extra object is often termed a *保留宾语* `bao3liu2 bin1yu3 'retained object.'* However, there are also examples like [30], where the extra object does not seem to have a direct relation with the *ba* NP but the verb still forms a unit with the extra object to depict an activity affecting the *ba* NP. 打 *da3 'make' takes 包 *bao1 'package' as the patient to mean the action of packaging, which applies to the *ba* NP 剩下的饭菜 *sheng4xia4 de0 fan4cai4 'leftover food.'*
The two then got busy scaling the fish. [literally, ‘took the fish and scraped its scales off’]

He candidly admitted that he was too careless, and had written the character tai with one dot less.

After dinner, Xue Feng asked the waitress to pack the leftovers.

It is important to note that even though most of these V + N sequences can be treated as a compound, such as 打包 da3bao1 ‘to doggy-bag,’ they also appear to fulfill the syntactic requirement of a verb plus an object configuration. For instance, the aspect marker -le can be attached to the verb, as shown in all three examples above. In addition, in [29], the object is a full numeral-classifier phrase that cannot be incorporated into a compound.

15.1.4.2. Verb + locative phrase
The post-verbal position can also be filled with a prepositional locative phrase. Such a locative phrase typically expresses the final destination of the ba NP. The head tou2 ‘head’ in [31] has moved toward 我 wo3 ‘I’ and finally rested on 我的肩胛 wo3 de0 jian1jia3 ‘my shoulder blade.’ Similarly, 孤儿院 guier2yuan4 ‘orphanage’ in [32] is supposed to be the final destination of the 小孩 xiao3hai2 ‘child.’ These locative
phrases provide a clear endpoint for displacement and code the completeness of the predicate.

[31] 起先, 她是斜着身子, 把头倚在 我的肩胛上。
qi3xian1 ta1 shi4 xie2 zhe0 sheng1zi0 ba3 tou2
firstly she SHI lean ZHE body BA head
yi3 zai4 wo3de0 jian1jia3 shang4
rest_on PREP my shoulder_blade on
‘At first, she leaned over, and rested her head on my shoulder blade.’

[32] 他不是真的希望 把 小孩 关在孤儿院里。
ta1 bu4shi4 zhen1de0 xi1wang4 ba3 xiao3hai2
he NEG really hope BA child
guan1 zai4 gu1er2yuan4 li3
lock_up PREP orphanage in
‘He didn’t really want to lock up the children in an orphanage.’

15.1.4.3. Ditransitive verb + indirect object
If the predicate of a ba construction is headed by a ditransitive verb, the indirect object typically remains in the post-verbal position, while the direct object is the ba NP. Such sentences are typically headed by a verb of transaction, such as 给 gei3 ‘give’ in [33], a compound consisting of a ditransitive verb and 给 gei3 ‘give,’ such as the 送给 song4gei3 ‘send-give’ in [34], or a transaction verb compound consisting of an activity verb and 给 gei3 ‘give,’ such as the 交给 jiao1gei3 ‘pass-give’ in [35].

[33] 大哥, 把 地 图 给了 他们, 咱们认输便是。
da4ge1 ba3 di4tu2 gei3 le0 ta1men0 zan2men0
elder_brother BA map give LE they we
ren4shu1 bian4shi4
accept_defeat so_be_it
‘Elder brother, please just give the map to them, and accept that we lost this one.’

[34] 这对 儿女, 把 旧 玩具 维尼 小 熊 送给 了 爸爸。
zhe4 dui4 er2 nü3 ba3 jiu4 wan2ju4
this pair son daughter BA old toy
wei2ni2xiao3xiong2 song4gei3 le0 ba4ba0
Winnie_the_Pooh give_to LE father
‘The son and the daughter gave their old toy, Winnie the Pooh, to their father.’
Ditransitive verbs of saying also occur in a \( ba \) construction, with the addressee in the post-verbal object position, as in [36].

[36] 村干部把原因告诉了她。

\[
\text{cun1 gan4bu4 ba3 yuan2yin1 gao4su4 le0 ta1}
\]

village cadre BA reason tell LE she

‘The village cadre told her the reason.’

15.1.4.4. Equative verb + complement

Equative verbs such as 当(作) \( dang1(zuo4) \) ‘act as, treat as’ and 成为 \( cheng2wei4 \) ‘become’ and verbs of creation that form a compound with 成 \( cheng2 \) ‘become, as’ express the basic meaning of “treating or viewing the \( ba3 \) ‘BA’ NP as something else,” or turning the \( ba3 \) ‘BA’ NP into something else. Such verbs require a post-verbal noun with which the \( ba3 \) ‘BA’ NP is being compared or equated, as in [37] and [38].

[37] 不过爸妈倒不会把我们当摇钱树。

\[
\text{bu2guo4 ba4 ma1 dao4 bu4 hui4 ba3}
\]

but father mother nonetheless NEG will BA

\[
\text{wo3men0 dang1 yao2qian2shu4}
\]

we treat_as money_tree

‘Nonetheless, Mum and Dad certainly won’t treat us as a money tree.’

[38] …把公司当成是自己的。

\[
\text{ba3 gong1si1 dang1cheng2 shi4 zi4ji3 de0}
\]

BA company treat be self DE

‘…(they) treated the company as if it was their own.’

15.1.5. Negation and modal verbs

In negation, a negator, either 不 \( bu4 \) ‘NEG’ or 没(有) \( mei2(you3) \) NEG_YOU, typically appears before the \( ba3 \) NP, as shown in [39]–[41]. 没(有) \( mei2(you3) \) negates the presupposition of an event having ever taken place, while 不 \( bu4 \) ‘NEG’
negates events located in either present, future, or hypothetical time contexts (see Chapter 6).

[39] 小王没有把饭吃完。
xiao3wang2 mei2you3 ba3 fan4 chi1 wan2
little_Wang NEG BA meal eat finish
‘Little Wang hasn’t finished eating his meal.’

[40] 所以你把他当好朋友, 但是他从来没有把你当好朋友。
suo3yi3 ni3 ba3 ta1 dang1 hao3peng2you3
so you BA he treat_as good_friend
dan4shi4 ta1 cong2lai2 mei2you3 ba3 ni3 dang1
but he ever NEG BA you treat_as
hao3peng2you3
good_friend
‘This is why even though you treat him as a close friend, he has never treated you as a close friend.’

[41] 为什么不把居住的环境改善得更好?
wei4shen2me0 bu4 ba3 ju1zhu4 de0 huan2jing4
why NEG BA live DE environment
gai3shan4 de0 geng4 hao4
improve DE more good
‘Why don’t they further improve the residential environment?’

The negator itself can be part of the predicate, such as the idiomatic expression 不放在眼里 bu4 fang4 zai4 yan3 li3 (literally, ‘not put in eyesight’) ‘not take seriously.’ In this case, the negator 不 bu4 may either stay as part of the predicate, or occur before the 把 ba3NP, as in [42], to mark the negation focus. Note that although the idiomatic predicate 放在眼里 fang4 zai4 yan3 li3 ‘take seriously’ cannot typically be used in a sentence in non-negative form, the negative focus marked on 把 ba3NP is able to resolve such a potential problem.

[42] 我们不把解放, 重汽放在眼里。
wo3men0 bu4 ba3 jie3fang4 zhong4qi4 fang4
we NEG BA JIEFANG ZHONGQI put
zai4 yan3 li3
PREP eye inside
‘We do not consider either the company Jiefang or Zhongqi as our serious competitor.’
The negative morpheme 别 bie\(^2\) ‘don’t’ is used in imperative persuasion or prohibition only and it typically appears before the 把 ba\(^3\) NP, as in [43].

[43] 我妈老说：「别把身体搞坏了。」
wo3 ma1 lao3 shuo1 bie2 ba3 shen1ti3
I mother always say do_not BA body
gao3huai4 le0
damage LE
‘My mother always said: “Don’t ruin your health.”’

Modal verbs express ability, capacity, obligation, and possibility, among other meanings, and they typically precede the 把 ba NP to take the whole predicate in their scope. Consider the examples in [44]–[47].

[44] 他要 把家里好好整理解一下。
ta1 yao4 ba3 jia1 li3 hao3hao3 zheng3li3
he will BA home inside good arrange
yi1xia4
once
‘He will tidy up his house properly.’

[45] 他们可以 把系统内其他频道都关掉。
ta1men0 ke3yi3 ba3 xi4tong3 nei4 qi2ta1 pin2dao4
they can BA system inside other channel
dou1 guan1diao
all shut_off
‘They can turn off all the other channels within the system.’

[46] 你们不要 把国内大跃进想得那么好。
ni3men0 bu2yao4 ba3 guo2nei4 da4yue4jin4
you do_not BA domestic Great_Leap_Forward
xiang3 de0 na4me0 hao4
think DE that good
‘You shouldn’t paint such a rosy picture of the Great Leap Forward in China.’

[47] 那么文字是否能 把语言表现得完全准确呢？
na4me0 wen2zi4 shi4fou3 neng2 ba3 yu3yan2
that word whether_or_not can BA language
biao3xian4 de0 wan2quan2 zhun3que4 ne0
represent DE completely accurate NE
‘Then can writing represent language completely accurately?’
15.1.6. Other construction types

15.1.6.1. Intransitive verbs in the 把 ba3 ‘BA’ construction

The predicate of a 把 ba3 ‘BA’ construction can sometimes contain an intransitive verb, especially when the verb forms a resultative compound with a stative verb to produce a causative reading. Sentence [48] means that the ghost story made 我 wo3 ‘I’ frightened, sentence [49] means that the bad weather made the speaker’s wife feel frozen, and sentence [50] means that someone caused the child to die of hunger.

[48] 唉! 这闹鬼的事可把 我 吓坏了。
    ai1 zhe4 niao4gui3 de0 shi4 ke3 ba3 wo3
    AI this haunting DE thing eventually BA I
    xia4huai4 le0
    scare LE
    ‘My! The ghost story gave me the fright of my life.‘

[49] 可把 我 老婆冻坏了。
    ke3 ba3 wo3 lao3po0 dong4huai4 le0
    eventually BA I wife freeze LE
    ‘(Just one overnight stay), it got my wife frozen to the teeth.’

[50] 把 孩子 饿死了。
    ba3 hai2zi0 e4si3le0
    BA child starve_to_death LE
    ‘(Someone) starved the child to death.’

15.1.6.2. 把 ba3 ‘BA’ construction with 给 gei3 ‘GEI’ + verb

The main verb in a 把 ba3 ‘BA’ construction is sometimes preceded by a prefix like 给 gei3 ‘GEI,’ which is homophonous with the verb 给 gei3 ‘give.’ This particular usage is common in Northern dialects and can be treated as a free variant of the more common usage without the pre-verbal 给 gei3 ‘give,’ as in [51].

[51] 一把火就把阿房宫(给)废了。
    yi1 ba3 huo3 jiu4 ba3 a1fang2gong1 gei3 fei4
    one CL fire thus BA Epang_Palace GEI ruin
    le0
    LE
    ‘It just took a fire to burn down the Epang Palace.’
15.1.6.3. Markers other than 把 ba3 ‘BA’

In different styles and genres of Chinese, there are some other markers with a function similar to that of 把 ba3 ‘BA’: 将 jiang1, 给 gei3, 拿 na2, and 管 guan3. Among all these variants, the use of 将 jiang1 ‘BA’ is the most common. (Except for 将 jiang1, the other prepositions also have other functions and we keep the transliterations as the glosses to avoid confusion.) Although mainly used in formal speech and writing, it can be traced back to Medieval Chinese. This is exemplified in [52].

[52] 我写好一个短篇, 将原稿放在书桌上。
wo3 xie3hao3 yi1 ge4 duan3pian1 jiang1 yuan2gao3
I write one CL short_story BA manuscript
fang4 zai4 shu1zhuo1 shang4
put PREP desk on
‘I finished a short story and then placed the manuscript on the desk.’

In the vernacular dialect of Beijing and adjacent regions, the 给 gei3 ‘GEI’ marker is the preferred form, as in [53].

[53] 我攥住豹尾, 给它撂到三丈开外的崖下去了。
wo3 zuan4zhu4 bao4 wei3 gei3 ta1 liao4 dao4
I grip panther tail GEI it throw PREP
san1 zhang4 kai1wai4 de0 ya2 xia4 qu4 le0
three 10_feet more_than DE cliff down go LE
‘I grabbed the leopard’s tail and threw it down thirty feet away from the cliff.’

The verb 拿 na2 ‘hold’ can also be used as a replacement for 把 ba3 ‘BA,’ and such usage is common in many dialects of Central and Southern China, as in [54].

[54] 字模厂拿我的字当母字, 作字模子。
zhi4mu2chang3 na2 wo3 de0 zi4 dang1 mu3
type_foundry NA I DE character treat_as mother
zi4 zuo4 zi4mu2zi0
caracter make matrix
‘The Chinese character type foundry used my characters as the matrix for their character types.’

Another ba construction variant involves 管 guan3 ‘GUAN’ in place of ba in the fixed construction of ‘管 guan3 ‘GUAN’ X 叫 jiao4 ‘call’ Y,” literally meaning ‘to take X and call it Y,’ as in [55].
15.2. Passive constructions
Passive constructions in Chinese are marked with 被 bei4, 让 rang4, or 叫 jiao4. Some verbs, such as 挨 ai2 'suffer' and 遭 (受) zao1 (shou4) 'suffer,' also convey a passive meaning.

15.2.1. The passive
In passive constructions the nominal phrase bearing the patient role appears in the subject position, while the agent phrase either appears in a position marked by the passive marker or simply does not show up. Since the subject of the passive typically has the patient role, the verb is predominantly a two-argument verb of activity, accomplishment, or achievement, and occasionally a three-argument verb. The passive with an agent phrase is often referred to in the literature as a "long passive," while the one without the agent phrase is referred to as a "short passive."

15.2.2. Arguments of the passive
The passive constructions found in the corpora are typically formed with 被 bei4 'BEI' and a large portion of them do not have an agent phrase. The more colloquial variants with 让 rang4 or 叫 jiao4 generally co-occur with an agent phrase. The 被 bei4 'BEI' marker has its origins in a verb meaning 'cover' but is no longer used as a verb, while 让 rang4 and 叫 jiao4 still have a separate use as verbs.

Passives with two arguments have the patient in the clause-initial position as the subject, while the agent is introduced by one of the passive markers. The 那只猫 na4 zhi1 mao1 'that cat' in [56] and the 我妈 wo3 ma1 'my mother' in [57] are both agents.

[55] 村里的人都叫两只小鸡子「革命鸡」。
cun1 li3 de0 ren2 dou1 guan3 liang3 zhi1
village inside DE people all GUAN two CL
xiao3 ji1zi0 jiao4 ge2ming4ji1
small chicken call revolution_chicken
‘The village people called the two chicklets “revolutionary chickens.”’

[56] 那群老鼠仍然被那只猫追得死去活来呢。
na4 qun2 lao3shu3 reng2ran2 bei4 na4 zhi1 mao1
that CL rat still BEI that CL cat
zhui1 de0 si3qu4huo2lai2 ne0
chase DE half_dead_half_alive NE
‘The mice were nonetheless chased to the point of exhaustion by that cat.’
It is common for a bei passive to have the patient phrase only, as in [58] and [59]. The agent phrase need not show up in [58] because its identity can be readily recovered in the story of a ghost-hunting witch doctor. The agent phrase does not appear in [59] because no one knows who the agent is. Agentless bei passives are much more common in usage, as attested in the corpus data, than those with an agent.

The passives in [60] and [61] present a different case. Regardless of whether the agent phrase appears, the subject position is occupied by a zero anaphora, identified with an antecedent in the context (see Chapter 16). The subject of the passive clause in [60] refers to 砍柴的人 kan3chai2 de0 ren2 ‘people collecting firewood,’ while that in [61] refers to 娼妓 chang1ji4 ‘prostitute.’
15.2.3. Verbs in the passive construction

The range of verb classes compatible with bei passives is wider than that found in the transitive ba constructions. In addition to the typical transitive activity verbs, many verbs of cognition and perception, as well as experiencer verbs, occur in bei passives, including 知道 ‘know,’ 看见 ‘see,’ 折磨 ‘torment,’ 恨 ‘hate,’ 喜欢 ‘like,’ and 爱上 ‘fall in love,’ as in [62].

[62] 如果你不想一辈子被恨折磨, 就不要听她的。
ru2guo3 ni3 bu4 xiang3 yi1bei4zi0 bei4 hui3hen4
if you NEG want all_one’s_life BEI remorse
zhe2mo2 jiu4 bu4yao4 de0 ting ta1 de0
tortment thus do_not listen she DE
'If you do not want to be tormented by remorse for the rest of your life, don’t listen to her.'

Certain cognition or emotion verbs are possible in the bei passive when they are interpreted as an activity verb as opposed to a purely stative one. The 知道 ‘know’ in [63] takes on the intentional meaning of ‘find out,’ instead of the usual stative meaning of ‘know,’ and regularly depicts an adversative outcome for the subject NP.

[63] 可惜, 这一切都被巫婆知道了。
ke3xi1 zhe4 yi1qie4 dou1 bei4 wu1po2 zhi1dao4
pity this everything all BEI witch know
le0 LE
'Unfortunately, all of this was found out by the witch.'

Similarly, stative 看见 ‘see’ is interpreted as ‘catch sight of (to somebody’s detriment)’ when it appears in a bei passive. Predicative adjectives typically do not head the predicate of the passive, unless they are used as the resultative part of a compound, like the 模糊 ‘blurred’ in [64].
Intransitive verbs typically do not function as the head of the predicate in bei passives, either. However, when such a verb forms a resultative compound with another verb or adjective to indicate a change of status, like the 走尽 zou3 jin4 'walk-exhaust' in [65], it can appear in a bei passive.

15.2.4. Predicate types in passives
In declarative passive clauses, the event being described is typically a completed one. The completeness is marked on the predicate by attaching an aspect marker to the main verb, using a resultative compound that denotes a change of status, using a post-verbal predicative expression, or using an expression of frequency or duration.

15.2.4.1. Predicate with perfective aspect marker
The aspect marker commonly used to code completeness is the perfective 了 le0 'LE,' especially in predicates containing just one single verb, like the one in [66].

A perfective 过 guo4 'GUO' may also be used in the bei4 passive, as in [67] and [68], to indicate that the subject has experienced the passive event at least once before the time of reference.
Major non-canonical clause types: ba and bei

[67] 我一生从未被别人如此侮辱过。
wo3 yi1sheng1 cong2wei4 bei4 bie2ren2 ru2ci3
I life never BEI others so
wu1ru3 guo4
humiliate GUO
‘I’ve never in my life been humiliated by other people like this.’

[68] 毛寿先也被蛇咬过。
mao2shou4xian1 ye3 bei4 she2 yao3 guo4
MAO_SHOUXIAN also BEI snake bite GUO
‘Mao Shouxian has also been bitten by a snake.’

If the perfective marker does not appear in [66]–[68], people will consider the clause part of a compound sentence and wait for the next clause. This explains why a bei clause without a perfective aspect marker is acceptable, if it is the first part of a compound sentence, as shown in [69].

[69] 那时就感到国家弱，被人欺，光是游行，烧东西不行。
na4shi2 jiu4 gan3dao4 guo2jia1 ruo4 bei4
at_that_time thus feel country weak BEI
ren2 qi1 guang1shi4 you2xing2 shao1 dong1xi0
human bully just demonstrate burn things
bu4xing2
be_no_good
‘At that time, I realized that our country was weak and was being bullied by others. Just joining a rally on the street and burning things was not enough.’

15.2.4.2. Imperfective aspect marker 着 zhe0 ‘ZHE’

Although bei passives typically describe completed events, a small number of cases are found in the corpus where the bei predicate is marked with the imperfective 着 zhe0 ‘ZHE.’ Such a passive typically describes the continuation of a situation that accompanies another situation or event. The bei passive in [70] states the reason for not being able to enter, while that in [71] describes a situation going on at the time of the investigation.

[70] 门被锁着进不去啊!
men2 bei4 suo3 zhe0 jin4bu4qu4 a1
door BEI lock ZHE cannot_get_in A
‘The door has been locked and we can’t get in!’
15.2.4.3. Resultative and directional verb compounds

The predicate of bei passives is commonly found to have a resultative or directional verb compound as the head, since it characteristically signifies the completeness of the situation. The verb 破 po4 ‘break’ in [72] describes an activity, while 坏 huai4 ‘broken’ denotes its result, and they both signify an activity with an endpoint. The 问 wen4 ‘ask’ and 烦 fan2 ‘annoyed’ combination in [73] also denotes an endpoint, namely, the gay man being annoyed.

[72]  长城…被人以及大自然破坏了。  
 chang2cheng2 bei4 ren2 yi3ji2 da4zi4ran2 po4huai4  
 Great_Wall BEI human and nature destroy  
 le0  
 LE  
 ‘The Great Wall has been ruined by both people and nature.’

[73]  大家都知道他是同志, 被问烦了。  
 da4jia1 dou1 zhi1dao4 ta1 shi4 tong2zhi4 bei4  
 everyone all know he be gay BEI  
 wen4fan2 le0  
 question_until_annoyed LE  
 ‘Everyone knew he was gay, so he was asked questions to the point of annoyance.’

The directional verbs 回 hui2 ‘back’ and 来 lai2 ‘come’ in [74] entail a new location for the subject noun 情书 qing2shu1 ‘love letter,’ as the result of a motion event 退 tui4 ‘return.’ Similarly, the 出 chu1 ‘out’ in [75] indicates the direction of the activity 诊断 zhen3duan4 ‘diagnose’ to mean that the result of the medical examination had been announced.

[74]  他写的情书都被退回来了!  
 ta1 xie3 de0 qing2shu1 dou1 bei4 tui4hui2lai2 le0  
 he write DE love_letter all BEI send_back LE  
 ‘The love letters he wrote were all sent back!’
Resultative or directional verb compounds have a potential form marked by the infix 得 de0 ‘able’ or its negative counterpart 不 bu4 ‘unable’ (see Chapter 4), but such a form typically does not appear in bei passives since it does not indicate a completed event. There are a few exceptions, such as the 看不起 kan4 bu4 qi3 ‘look-unable-up’ in [76] and its counterpart 看得起 kan4 de0 qi3 look-able-up, but these are actually not potential forms. They are instead resultative compounds, in which 看不起 kan4 bu4 qi3 is a lexicalized compound with the meaning of ‘to look down upon.’

15.2.4.4. 得 de0 + resultative or extent expression
The completeness of a bei4 passive can also be described by a resultative expression following the extent marker 得 de0. The 满满的 man3man3 de0 ‘fully covered’ in [77] indicates the status of 墙壁 qiang2bi4 ‘wall’ as a result of 画 hua4 ‘paint,’ while the 脸红 lian3hong2 ‘flush’ in [78] describes the status of 少女 shao4n¨u3 ‘girl’ as a result of 问 wen4 ‘ask.’ Both events have a clear endpoint.

15.2.4.4. 得 de0 + resultative or extent expression
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[76] 我们的家庭被人看不起，所以孩子的心态上有些自卑。
    wo3men0 de0 jia1ting2 bei4 ren2 kan4bu4qi3
    we DE family BEI people scorn
    su3yi3 hai2zi0 de0 xin1tai4 shang4 you3 xie1
    so child DE mentality regarding have some
    zi4bei1
    self_abasement
    ‘Our family was despised by others, so the children always had low self-esteem.’

[77] 家里的墙壁总是被她画得满满的。
    jia1 li3 de0 qiang2bi4 zong3shi4 bei4 ta1 hua4
    home in DE wall always BEI she paint
    de0 man2man3 de0
    DE full DE
    ‘The walls at home were always fully painted over by her.’
15.2.5. Negation in passives

When the \textit{bei} passives are involved in negation, \textit{bei} predominantly appears after the negator, which is typically 没有 \textit{mei2you3}, as in [79] and [80]. What 没有 \textit{mei2you3} conveys is that the event described by the \textit{bei} predicate has not taken place and the result is not a reality.

[79] 只有青蛙族 没有 被 拍摄过。
\begin{verbatim}
  zhi3you3  qing1wa1zu2  mei2you3  bei4  pai1she4  guo4
  only  Frog_Clan  NEG  BEI  film  GUO
\end{verbatim}
‘It was only the Frog Clan who had not been filmed.’

[80] 像我从来没有 被 人家欺负过。
\begin{verbatim}
  xiang4  wo3  cong2lai2  mei2you3  bei4  ren2jia1  qi1fu0
  like  I  ever  NEG  BEI  others  bully
  guo4
  GUO
\end{verbatim}
‘For example, I was never bullied by others.’

The negator 不 \textit{bu4} can also be used in the negation of \textit{bei} passives, especially in a conditional clause describing a hypothetical situation, as in [81], or negating a modal, such as 会 \textit{hui4} ‘be able to’ in [82].

[81] 海豹 不 被 切割成两截, 也会身受重伤。
\begin{verbatim}
  hai3bao4  bu4  bei4  qie1ge1cheng2  liang3  jie2  ye3
  seal  NEG  BEI  cut_into two  CL  also
  hui4  shen1shou4  zhong4shang1
  will  experience_personally  seriously_injured
\end{verbatim}
‘Even if the seal is not cut into two, it could still be seriously injured.’

[82] 甜度为蔗糖的 100 至 200 倍, 没有热量也不会 被 人体吸收。
\begin{verbatim}
  tian2du4  wei4  zhe4tang2  de0  100  zhi4  200  bei4
  sweetness  be  sucrose  DE  100  PREP  200  times
  mei2you3  re4liang4  ye3  bu4  hui4  bei4  ren2ti3
  NEG  calorie  also  NEG  will  BEI  human_body
\end{verbatim}
15.2.6. Modal verbs and modality

15.2.6.1. Modal verbs in passives

When modal verbs are found in bei passives, they predominantly appear before the passive marker. The 会 hui4 ‘be likely, will’ in [83] is an epistemic modal stating the possibility that the result will be realized, the deontic modal verb 能 neng2 refers to the ability to do something due to having fulfilled the right preconditions, as in [84], and the 可能 ke3neng2 ‘may, could’ in [85] expresses less certainty about a future event that might take place.

[83] 可不能把论文留在他们单位, 更不能寄给刊物, 否则一个无名小辈的成绩会被人偷去的。
ke3 bu4 neng2 ba3 lun4wen2 liu2 zai4
they unit never NEG can paper leave PREP
ta1men0 dan1wei4 geng4 bu4 neng2 ji4gei3
they unit more NEG can post
kan1wu4 fou3ze2 yi1 ge4 wu2ming2 xiao3bei4
periodical if_not one CL unknown junior
de0 cheng2guo3 hui4 bei4 ren2 tou1 qu4 de0
DE outcome can BEI people steal go DE
‘Don’t leave your paper at work and never send it to a journal. Otherwise, the results of an unknown younger generation (like you) could be stolen by others.’

[84] 唯有采用干邑区葡萄, 才能被称作干邑白兰地。
wei2you3 cai3yong4 gan4yi4 qu1 pu2tao0 cai2
only use Cognac region grape just
neng2 bei4 cheng1 zuo4 gan4yi4bai2lan2di4
can BEI call PREP cognac
‘Only with the use of Cognac region grapes can it be called cognac.’

The modal verb 可能 ke3neng2 ‘may, could,’ which also has a use as the adverb ‘maybe, possibly’ express less certainty about a future event taking place than either 会 hui4 ‘be likely’ or 能 neng2 ‘can,’ as shown in [85].
15.2.6.2. Imperatives and the passive
The only imperative passive sentences attested in the corpora are marked with 不要 
bu4yao4 or its contracted form 別 bie2 ‘don’t.’ The imperative in [86] serves the 
purpose of an admonition or warning.

[86] 別被我的话吓住了, 其实没有你想的那么难。
bie2 be1 wo3 de0 hua4 xia4zhu4 le0 qi2shi2 do_not BEI I DE words scared LE in_fact
mei2you3 ni3 xiang3 de0 na4me0 nan2 NEG you think DE that hard
‘Don’t be overawed by what I said. In fact, it’s not as difficult as you imagine.’

15.2.7. Post-verbal nominal phrases in the passive
A variety of different semantic categories of nominal phrases may be found in the 
post-verbal position of the 被 bei4 predicate.

15.2.7.1. Extra objects in passives
An extra nominal phrase sometimes can appear in the object position to form a bei 
passive like those in [87]–[90]. The extra object and the verb together describe an 
activity that affects the subject. Such an activity can affect the subject in various 
ways. The extra objects in [87] and [88] are body parts of the subjects such that any 
damage to the body part will affect the subject. The subjects in [89] and [90] are 
possessors of the extra object and the loss of possession affects the possessor.

[87] 七岁的 Lahai 两年前被叛军截烂一条腿。
qi1 sui4 de0 Lahai liang3 nian2 qian2 bei4 seven year DE Lahai two CL before BEI
pan4  jun1  chuo1  lan4  yi1  tiao2  tui3
rebel  army  stab  rot  one  CL  leg
‘Two years ago, seven-year-old Lahai had his leg badly stabbed by the rebel army.’

[88]  他已被吓破了胆。
ta1  yi3  bei4  xia4  po4  le0  dan3
he  already  BEI  scared  break  LE  gallbladder
‘S/he was already scared out of her/his wits.’

[89]  一次我被人偷了十块钱。[Possession]
yi1  ci4  wo3  bei4  ren2  tou1  le0  shi2  kuai4
one  CL  I  BEI  person  steal  LE  ten  CL
qian2
money
‘Once I had 10 dollars stolen from me by someone.’

[90]  杨某自称在台中被窃了五百万元。
yang2mou3  zi4  cheng1  zai4  tai2zhong1
someone_named_Yang  self  say  PREP  Taichung
bei4  qie4  le0  wu3bai3wan4  yuan2
BEI  steal  LE  five_million  yuan
‘A Mr. Yang claimed that he had five million yuan stolen from him in Taichung.’

However, such a close relationship between the subject and the extra object is not a necessary condition for the activity to affect the subject. The 贴罚单 tie1  fa2dan1 ‘stick on a fine ticket’ in [91] is clear enough in its affect on the subject 车子 che1zi0 ‘car,’ even though the two have no previously existing relationship.

[91]  马路两旁的车子都被贴了罚单。
ma3lu4  liang2pang2  de0  che1zi0  dou1  bei4  tie1  le0
road  two-side  DE  car  all  BEI  stick  LE
fa2dan1
ticket
‘The cars on both sides of the street were given tickets.’

Similarly, the 打了一巴掌 da3  le0  yi1  ba1zhang3 ‘hit a slap’ in [92] is an activity that could affect the subject, although there is no existing relation between the subject and the object prior to the activity. The 绊了一跤 ban4  le0  yi1  jiao1 ‘trip a twist’ in [93] does affect the subject 她 ta1 ‘she,’ even though there is no existing relation between 一跤 and 她.
15.2.7.2. Post-verbal locative expressions
The post-verbal position in passives can be occupied by a locative expression to indicate the activity that affects the subject. The locative expression can be a nominal phrase, like the 山东老家 shan1dong1 lao3jia1 ‘hometown Shandong’ in [94], but it can also be part of a preposition phrase, such as the 在越南河内北部 zai4 yue4nan2 he2nei4 bei3bu4 ‘in the northern part of Hanoi’ in [95].

[92] 所有的民意调查像是被打了一巴掌。
suo3you3 de0 min2yi4 diao4cha2 xiang4shi4 all DE popular_will investigation seem_to
bei4 da3 le0 yi1 ba1zhang3 BEI hit LE one palm_of_hand
‘All the opinion polls seemed to have been openly rebuffed.’ [literally, ‘given a slap’]

[93] 不料因没注意到门槛的高度, 她被硬生生绊了一跤。
bu2liao4 yin1 mei2 zhu4yi4dao4 unexpectedly because NEG notice
men2kan3 de0 gao1du4 ta1 bei4 threshold_to_door DE height she BEI
ying4sheng1sheng1 ban4 le0 yi1 jiao1 forcibly trip LE one twist
‘Unexpectedly, as she didn’t take any notice of the height of the threshold to the door, she got unavoidably tripped up by it.’

[94] 因此被遣返回山东老家去。
yin1ci3 bei4 qian3fan3 hui2 shan1dong1 lao3jia1 therefore BEI repatriate back Shandong old_home
qu4 go
‘As a consequence, (my father) was sent back to his hometown in Shandong.’

[95] 和另外三名台胞留在越南河内北部。
he2 ling4wai4 san1 ming2 tai2bao1 and other three CL Taiwan_compatriots
bei4 liu2 zai4 yue4nan2 he2nei4 bei3bu4 BEI leave ZAI Vietnam Hanoi northern_part
‘With three other compatriots from Taiwan, (he) was detained in North Hanoi in Vietnam.’
15.2.7.3. Complement of copular verbs
The complement of copular class verbs and compounds, which include a copula such as 成 cheng2 为 wei4 'be, become,' may occur in the post-verbal 'become' position of the predicate in 被 bei4 passives. The 剑桥讲师 jian4qiao2 jiang3shi1 'lecturer of Cambridge' in [96] is such a complement.

[96] 被 聘 为 剑 桥 讲 师 之 后，．．．
bei4 pin4 wei4 jian4qiao2 jiang3shi1 zhi1hou4
BEI be_appointed as Cambridge lecturer after
‘After he had been appointed as a Cambridge lecturer…’

15.2.8. Adversity feature
The traditional view of the 被 bei4 'BEI' passive is that it is an adversative passive; in other words, it is one that must express an unfortunate or undesirable event that happens to its subject. This is clearly the interpretation of the majority of the examples presented in this chapter. Nonetheless, there are plenty of attested uses of bei passives in which neutral or desirable events are expressed when the agent noun is absent, as in the case of [97].

[97] 早 在 希 腊 时 代 即 已 被 提 出。
zao3 zai4 xi1la4 shi2dai4 ji2yi3 bei4 ti2chu1
early be_at Greece time already BEI propose
‘(This type of question) had already been proposed as early as the time of Ancient Greece.’

It can be observed from corpus data that it is the bei4 passive with an agent phrase that tends to retain its overall adversative meaning. Moreover, it is significant to find that in the corpora, the neutral agentless form of the 被 bei4 passive outnumbers the adversative form with an agent.

15.2.9. Other kinds of passive constructions
In addition to the bei4 passive, there are several variant structures of the bei passive and passive constructions that use markers other than bei4.

15.2.9.1. 被 bei4．．．给 gei3 + verb
A variant of the bei4 passive has a morpheme 给 gei3 that acts like a prefix on the main verb and serves to reinforce the passive meaning of the whole construction, as shown in [98].

[98] 这 种 关 系 本 来 是 天 生 的，但 不 幸 往 往 被 父 母 自 己 给 破 坏 了。
zhe4 zhong3 guan1xi4 ben3lai2 shi4 tian1sheng1
this CL relationship originally be innate
Hilary Chappell and Dingxu Shi

15.2.9.2. 讓 rang4 passive

讓 rang4 is another marker that characteristically appears in passives with an agent phrase. Apart from the fact that its use characterizes informal speech, the 讓 rang4 passive bears very similar properties to the 被 bei4 passive, as shown in [99].

[99] 這牲口不好抓，讓人慣壞了。
zhe4 sheng1kou3 bu4 hao4 zhua1 rang4 ren2
this animal NEG easy catch BEI people
guan4huai2 le0
spoil LE
‘This animal was not easy to catch, as it had become spoiled by people.’

It is relatively less frequent as a passive marker than the 被 bei4 passive is, as shown in the statistics for contemporary corpora.

15.2.9.3. 叫 jiao4 passive

The 叫 jiao4 passive, similar to the 讓 rang4 passive, mainly occurs with an agent, as confirmed in the corpus data. Identical to 讓 rang4, the 叫 jiao4 passive tends to be used in informal genres of speech and writing, as shown in [100].

[100] 美差全叫他的老乡占了。
mei3 chai1 quan2 jiao4 ta1 de0 lao3xiang1
good job all BEI he DE fellow_villager
zhan4 le0
take LE
‘All the cushy jobs are occupied by other people from the same village as him.’

15.2.9.4. 挨 ai2 and 遭 (受) zao1 (shou4) passives

The passive formed with 挨 ai2 ‘suffer, endure’ belongs to a more literary and formal register. The 挨 ai2 passive has been called an “inflictive” passive, as it almost always expresses a misfortune that has been inflicted upon its subject. Furthermore, unlike 被 bei4, 挨 ai2 takes an obligatory object noun in its complement,
Major non-canonical clause types: ba and bei

which either denotes some kind of aggressive action or destructive event, or a nominal denoting a weapon. An agent phrase may be present, as in [101], but it is not syntactically or semantically required by the 挨 ai2 passive, as in [102].

[101] 老说挨人打, 也丢人。
lao3 shuo1 ai2 ren2 da3 ye3 diu1ren2
always say suffer people beat also lose_face
‘It is shameful too, to always be talking about how you’ve been beaten up by others.’

[102] 社员们在台下吃瓜子，笑，看我们挨斗。
she4yuan2men0 zai4 tai2 xia4 chi1
commune_members PREP stage down eat
gua1zi0 xiao4 kan4 wo3men0 ai2 dou4
melon_seeds smile see we suffer denounced
‘Below the stage, the commune members were eating melon seeds, laughing, and watching us getting denounced.’

Passives marked with 遭 (受) zao1 (shou4) and 受 shou4 are not as frequently used. Both are verbs meaning ‘to suffer,’ and both precede a nominal phrase. They typically do not have an agent phrase, as shown in [103].

[103] 回来就受审查。
hou2lai2 jiu4 shou4 shen3cha2
return then SHOU investigate
‘(We) were investigated after our return.’

15.2.9.5. 给 gei3 passive

It is also possible for the verb 给 gei3 ‘give’ to be used as a marker of the passive. While this general source is typical of the Southern dialects, it can nonetheless be sometimes found as a passive marker introducing the agent phrase in certain Northern dialects. It is rarer in standard Chinese, as exemplified by [104].

[104] 苏普给父亲打得很可怜。
su1pu3 gei3 fu4qin1 da3 de0 hen3 ke3lian2
Supu GEI father beat DE very pathetic
‘Supu had been beaten into a miserable state by his father.’

It is important to observe that the 给 gei3 passive typically appears without an agent phrase, as in [105].
The parents grew old and they were taken up to the mountain and abandoned.

A recent development in the use of 被 bei4 has seen it collocated increasingly with a verb that typically does not show up in passives. The overall meaning represented by this new construction concerns the reporting of false information about the subject NP, including the padding out of official figures and other types of cover-ups, such as the cause of unexplained deaths and disappearances. Although clearly a form without an agent phrase, the typical implication is that the unnamed agent is some kind of official source, as the following examples reveal.

- 被代表 dai4biao3 ‘falsely reported as a representative’
- 被捐款 juan1kuan3 ‘falsely reported as having donated money’
- 被失踪 shi1zong1 ‘falsely reported as missing (e.g., as a cover-up for an arrest)’
- 被就业 jiu4ye4 ‘falsely reported as employed (but in fact jobless)’
- 被自杀 zi4sha1 ‘falsely reported as having committed suicide (but may in fact have died in prison)’
- 被小康 xiao3kang1 ‘falsely reported as being well-off’
- 被结婚 jie2hun1 ‘falsely reported as married’

There is a preponderance of the 被 bei4 passive embedded into relative clauses in both the headless and headed variety (see Chapter 9), as opposed to the other main types of passive constructions. In the nominal phrase in [107], the head noun phrase is 人 ren2 ‘people,’ while in [108] the noun phrase is headless, with its referent found in the preceding discourse: 隐藏的事 yin3cang2 de0 shi4 ‘hidden affairs.’
'All those (people) who have been moved by the landscape paintings of the Northern Song…'

‘Hidden affairs, there are none which are not found out about by others.’
Deixis and anaphora

Yan Jiang

This chapter describes the main types and usages of deictics and anaphors. The phenomenon of deixis involves the use of a word or phrase whose interpretation is determined through considerations of the physical properties in the situation of utterance, from the perspective of the speaker or the addressee who are engaged in the act of communication. When the need to make further structural distinctions is in order, a deictic consisting of one single word is referred to as a “deictic term,” while a larger deictic built around a deictic term is referred to as a “deictic expression.”

Anaphora as a phenomenon is defined as a co-referential relationship between an anaphor and its antecedent. Such a relation can be established either within a clause or beyond, resulting in unification or partial overlap in reference. For ease of exposition, an anaphor consisting of one single word is given the label “anaphoric term,” while a larger one built around an anaphoric term is labeled “anaphoric expression.”

Deixis and anaphora are studied together because, given the existence of a few dedicated deictics (such as 我 wo3 ‘I,’ 你 ni3 ‘you,’ and 现在 xian4zai4 ‘now’) and prototypical anaphors (such as 他 ta1 ‘he’), there also exists a closed set of common terms and expressions that can have both usages (such as 那里 na4li3 ‘there’ and 那时 na4shi2 ‘then’). The distinctive properties of deixis and anaphora are as listed below.

1. Deictics and anaphors typically take the form of pronouns, nouns, and, to a lesser extent, verbs and adverbs. Some deictic expressions can take the form of fixed idiomatic constructions.
2. The very basic deictics and anaphors are pronouns, whose usages form a cluster of systematic variations that bear language-specific characteristics.
3. Both deictics and anaphors have under-specified content that needs to be fully instantiated in actual language use, with reference to syntactic and discourse information.
4. Different manners of instantiation lead to distinctions between deictic and anaphoric uses. The value of a deictic is specified with reference to some
Deixis and anaphora

non-linguistic information gathered from the situation of utterance. On the other hand, the value of an anaphor is determined through total or partial co-reference with an antecedent, which is identified in the linguistic context.

Some terms can be used either deictically or anaphorically, depending on the context.

Deictics and anaphora are closely related to determinative phrases, which are typically composed of the demonstratives 这 ‘this’ or 那 na4 ‘that,’ followed by a head noun. Demonstratives can be used as either deictics or anaphors. Moreover, some inherently non-demonstrative words or expressions can acquire an occasional demonstrative use through ostensive or symbolic pointing. Such demonstrative uses are also deictic, albeit in a marginal way.

16.1. Overview of deixis

Deictics embody the indicating function of referential expressions, which constitutes a fundamental aspect of language use. The very basic usages of deixis are naturally associated with pointing gestures, at entities within the physically observable range, in the situation of utterance. The more sophisticated ones can be displaced, encoding symbolic rather than physical acts of indication, ranging from nodding toward a direction to giving a noticeable gaze, the use of stress, and analogical uses like pointing out a spot on a map.

Compared with anaphors, deictics are more basic: there are dedicated deictic terms, but no dedicated anaphoric terms. That is to say, there are terms that are exclusively deictic in the sense that no anaphoric use is available. These terms can be exemplified by first- and second-person pronouns. On the other hand, a prototypical anaphoric term such as the third-person singular pronoun can always receive a demonstrative use through emphatic mentioning or with an accompanying pointing gesture, thereby acquiring deictic properties.

Deictics can be classified in two ways, according to their lexical categories (pronouns, nouns, verbs, and adverbs) or according to their semantic types (person, place, time, manner, social, and discourse deictics). Representative examples of both types are given in Tables 16.1 and 16.2.

Social deictics encode information pertaining to differences in perceived status and degrees of intimacy. The nominal ones deviate from the more neutral address terms in being either deferential or pejorative, or either intimate or distanced. Such information is also encoded in deictic verbs reflecting social values. Discourse deictic terms refer to previously occurring segments of discourse.

A deictic expression can be built in one of three ways. First, it can be built around a noun head, which is a deictic term (see the underlined part in the examples), resulting in attributive-head deictic compounds: 大前天 da4 qian2tian1 ‘the day
Table 16.1 Types of deictic terms by lexical category

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pronoun</td>
<td>我 wo3 ‘I’ first-person singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>你 ni3 ‘you’ second-person singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>你 nin2 ‘you’ second-person singular (polite use)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>这 zhe4 ‘this’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>那 na4 ‘that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>左边 zuo3bian1 ‘left’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>上级 shang4ji2 ‘senior’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>下级 xia4ji2 ‘junior’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>人家 ren2jia1 ‘other person’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>现场 xian4chang3 ‘(on) the scene’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>现在 xian4zai4 ‘now’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>来 lai2 ‘come’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>去 qu4 ‘go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>出 chu1 ‘exit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>进 jin4 ‘enter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>入 ru4 ‘enter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>回 hui2 ‘return’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>返 fan3 ‘return’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>送 song4 ‘see off’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverb</td>
<td>这么 zhe4me0 ‘so’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>那么 na4me0 ‘in that way’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

before the day before yesterday’ and 右后方 you4 hou4fang1 ‘backward to the right.’ Second, it can be built in the form of Det + N, where the Det is a demonstrative and the N is non-deictic: 这些天 zhe4 xie1 tian1 ‘these days,’ 那东西 na4 dong1xi1 ‘that stuff,’ and 这地方 zhe4 di4fang1 ‘this place.’ Third, there are also conjoined compounds, consisting of one or both deictic terms: 如是 ru2shi4 zai4san1 ‘like this repeatedly’ (where 如是 ru2shi4is a deictic) and 如此这般 ru2ci3 zhe4ban1 ‘like this; in such a way’ (where both 如此 ru2ci3 and 这般 zhe4ban1are deictic terms). These deictic terms often contain roots that are deictic terms themselves in Classic Chinese, such as 是 shi4 ‘this’ and 此 ci3 ‘this.’

Deictics can be characterized with three basic and related notions: the “origo” is the deictic center from which a referent is perceived to be either “proximal” (i.e., physically near the origo) or “distal” (i.e., further away). What is proximal and distal can also be perceived as psychologically close or distant, respectively. These notions, together with notions such as the speaker and the hearer (i.e., the participant roles), are generally referred to in this chapter as “parameters of the utterance act.”
Table 16.2 Types of deictic terms by meaning

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Person</td>
<td>我 wo3 ‘I’ first-person singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>你 ni3 ‘you’ second-person singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>咱们 zan2men0 ‘we’ first-person plural inclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>大家 da4jia1 ‘all’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place</td>
<td>这儿 zhe4er0 ‘here’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>那儿 na4er0 ‘there’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>现在 xian4zai4 ‘now’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>最近 zui4jin4 ‘recently’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>明天 ming2tian1 ‘tomorrow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>那时 na4shi2 ‘that time’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manner</td>
<td>这么 zhe4mo0 ‘so’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>那么 na4mo0 ‘in that way’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>这样 zhe4yang4 ‘such’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>那样 na4yang4 ‘like that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td>阁下 ge2xia4 ‘your honor’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>敝人 bi4ren2 ‘the humble I’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>府上 fu3shang4 ‘your honored residence’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>光临 guang1lin2 ‘honored presence’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discourse</td>
<td>这 zhe4 ‘this’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>那 na4 ‘that’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The proximal is demonstrated by 这 zhe4 ‘this’ and the distal by 那 na4 ‘that.’ Both can either stand alone, as in [1], or be followed by a noun and optionally with a classifier, as in [2] and [3] (this was also discussed in Chapter 8, section 8.2). The proximal 此 ci3 and the distal 彼 bi3 form a pair and are used mainly in written genres and in idiomatic expressions, as in [4] through [6].

[1] 这已是难以改变的事实。
   zhe4 yi3 shi4 nan2yi3 gai3bian4 de0 shi4shi2
   this already be difficult change DE fact
   ‘This is an irreversible situation.’
   (这 zhe4: single deictic)

[2] 如果这细胞是一个细菌呢?
   ru2guo3 zhe4 xi4bao1 shi4 yi1 ge4 xi4jun4 ne0
   if this cell be one CL germ NE
   ‘What will happen if this cell is a bacterium?’
   (这 zhe4 ‘this’ deictic + 细胞 xi4bao1 ‘cell’)
3️⃣ 她打开了那把有点变形的雨伞。
   她 open LE 那 CL 有些 be_out_of_shape 雨伞
   ‘She opened that rather deformed umbrella.’

(那 na4 deictic + 把 ba3 CL + 有点 you3dian3 ‘a little’ 变形 bian4xing2 ‘deform’ 的 de0 + 雨伞 yu3san3 ‘umbrella’)

4️⃣ 许多国际会议在此举行。
   许多 many 国际国际会议会议 stopped PREP 这里 here 举行 hold
   ‘Many international conferences are held here.’

5️⃣ 两者的默契已到了此呼彼应的地步。
   两者的默契已到此呼彼应的地步。
   两者的默契已到了此呼彼应的地步。
   两者的默契已到了此呼彼应的地步。
   其的默契已到此呼彼应的地步。
   两者的默契已到了此呼彼应的地步。
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Some common verbs can encode directional deictic features, such as 来 lai2 ‘come’ and 去 qu4 ‘go,’ which, in addition to their primary senses as verbs, have also been semantically bleached to convey a deictic sense of directionality or tendency, as shown in [8]–[10].
Deixics and anaphora

16.1.1. Person deixis

Deictics as a whole exhibit a gradient of utterance-dependent properties. Strong deictics, that is, dedicated deictics, encode parameters of the utterance act, while weaker deictics are merely occasionally used as demonstratives for emphatic purposes, like the demonstrative use of third-person pronouns with pointing gestures. Positional words such as 前 qian2 ‘front’ and 后 hou4 ‘back’ are not deictic if they are used to describe absolute directions related to a static object such as a house or a building, as in 房前屋后 fang2qian2 wu1hou4 ‘in the front and back of the house.’ Here, the utterance act offers no variable perspectival choices. Yet 在你身后 zai4 ni3 shen1hou4 ‘behind you’ has deictic meaning, as the positioning of the listener is usually understood to be changeable and cannot be fixed once and for all. Moreover, 在我左边 zai4 wo3 zuo3bian1 ‘on my left’ is much more deictic because “left” and “right” are always decided by the exact direction the speaker is facing at the moment of speaking, which is person-oriented and ever-changeable.

16.1.1. Person deixis

Person deictics form a closed set, with first-person singular 我 wo3 ‘I’ and plural 我们 wo3men0 ‘we’ and second-person singular 你 ni3 ‘you’ and plural 你们 ni3men0 ‘you’ as the most basic. The third-person singular 他 ta1 ‘he’ and plural 他们

[8] 客人从哪里来？要去很远的地方吧？
ke4ren2 cong2 na3li3 lai2 yao4 qu4 hen3 yuan3
guest PREP where come will go very far
de0 di4fang1 ba0
DE place BA
‘Where do (you) guest come from? Will you go to a place far away?’
(deictic verb)

[9] 我不明白你们为什么到这里来。
wo3 bu4 ming2bai2 ni3men0 wei4shen2me0 dao4
I NEG understand you why come
zhe4li3 lai2
here come
‘I don’t understand why you have come here.’ (verbal deictic)

[10] 小女儿要跟她父亲上京城去。
xiao3n¨u3er2 yao4 gen1 ta1 fu4qin1 shang4
the_youngest_daughter want PREP she father go
jing1cheng2 qu4
capital_of_country go
‘The youngest daughter wanted to go to the capital with her father.’
(verbal deictic)
ta1men0 ‘they’ can sometimes be demonstratively used with an emphatic pointing gesture, giving them deictic properties.

The first-person inclusive plural 咱们 zan2men0 ‘we’ is used to include both the speaker and the addressee, with or without the inclusion of other parties on the scene or in the speaker’s mind. On the other hand, 我们 wo3men0 ‘we’ can be used either inclusively or exclusively, with the latter use excluding the addressee. The dedicatedly inclusive 咱们 zan2men0 ‘we’ is mainly used in oral language.

Since the totality-denoting 大家 da4jia1 ‘all the people’ shares the deictic features of 咱们 zan2men0 ‘we,’ it can be used alone as a first-person inclusive plural, as shown in [11]. 大家 da4jia1 ‘all the people’ can also appear after first-person plural pronouns as an appositive element, resulting in both an inclusive meaning and an emphasis on totality like that in [12]. It is occasionally used after the second-person plural 你们 ni3men0 ‘you,’ as in [13], and characteristically does not appear after the third-person plurals 他们 ta1men0 ‘they.’ 她们 ta1men0 ‘they,’ or 它们 ta1men0 ‘they’ as an appositive element.

[11] 过去六年, 大家的日子并不好过。
guo4qu4 liu4 nian2 lai2 da4jia1 de0 ri4zi0
past six come all_the_people DE day
bing4bu4 hao3guo4 not at all having an easy time
‘Over the past six years, we have all had a hard time.’ (first-person inclusive plural deictic)

[12] 社会是我们大家的, 环境也是我们大家的。
she4hui4 shi4 wo3men0 da4jia1 de0 huan2jing4
society be we everyone DE environment
ye3 shi4 wo3men0 da4jia1 de0
also be we all_the_people DE
‘This society belongs to us all, so does this environment.’
(大家 da4jia1 as apposition to 我们 wo3men0)

wo3 wei4shen2me0 zhe4yang4 sha3 hai2 bu4 shi4
I why like this stupid still not be
wei4le0 ni3men0 da4jia1 de0 xing4fu2
PREP you all_the_people DE happiness
‘Why am I so silly? Am I not doing it for the happiness of you all?’
(大家 da4jia1 as apposition to 你们 ni3men0)
Table 16.3 Corpus frequency of second-person pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Corpus</th>
<th>Word Form</th>
<th>Sinica</th>
<th>Gigaword2all (TW)</th>
<th>Gigaword2cna (CN)</th>
<th>Gigaword2xin (CN)</th>
<th>Gigaword2zbn (SIN)</th>
<th>Gigaword_alt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>您 nin2</td>
<td>2.391</td>
<td>15,638</td>
<td>7.248</td>
<td>7.637</td>
<td>753</td>
<td>11,522</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>您们 nin2men0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>107</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>你 ni3</td>
<td>25,432</td>
<td>82,936</td>
<td>30,601</td>
<td>37,780</td>
<td>14,555</td>
<td>58,720</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>你们 ni3men0</td>
<td>2,549</td>
<td>23,883</td>
<td>7,492</td>
<td>15,093</td>
<td>1,298</td>
<td>6,283</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

大家 da4jia1 can also be used as a noun with only a totality meaning, which is non-deictic and does not involve any parameters of the utterance act, not even the speaker/writer, as shown in [14], in which 大家 da4jia1 is equivalent to 人人 ren2ren2 'everyone.' A more colloquial variant of the first-person plural 大家 da4jia1 is 大伙儿 da4huo3 (er0) 'all the people,' which is only used in casual oral language, as in [15].

[14] 小孩子十几岁就去学生意了, 大家都觉得理所当然。
    xiao3hai2zi0 shi2 ji3 su14 jiu4 qu4 xue2
    child ten some year then go learn
    sheng1yi4 le0 da4jia1 dou1 jue2de0 li3suo3dang1ran2
    business LE everyone all feel of_course
    ‘Children started to learn business as teenagers. This was taken as the norm by everyone.’ (totality and non-deictic use of 大家 da4jia1)

[15] 一条鱼就够咱们大伙吃一个月。
    yi1 tiao2 yu2 jiu4 gou4 zan2men0 da4huo3
    one CL fish then enough we all_the_people
    chi1 yi1 ge4 yue4
    eat one CL month
    ‘One fish could sustain us for a whole month.’

您 nin2 'you' is a dedicated deferential term for second-person singular reference, sometimes also used to show estrangement or to achieve a distancing effect. In oral language, the plural form of 您 nin2 'you' is 您二位 nin2 er4 wei4 'you two,' 您三位 nin2 san1 wei4 'you three,' and 您几位 nin2 ji3 wei4 'you all' (for more than two people). In written language, there is no plural form of 您 ni3, and the neutral second-person plural 你们 ni3men0 is used instead. The use of 您们 nin2men0 in written language is exceptional and not commonly accepted, as attested by its extremely low frequency in several corpora (see Table 16.3).

人家 ren2jia1, 别(的人) bie4 (de0) ren2, 其他(的)人 qi2ta1 (de0) ren2, and 他人 ta1ren2, all meaning 'other person(s),' serve as residual deictic person reference, that is, terms addressing or referring to individuals other than the speaker and the hearer.
As an exception, 人家 ren2jia1 is sometimes coquettishly used as a self-addressing term by young women or entertainers.

16.1.2. Place deixis

The basic proximal and distal place deictics constitute the following contrastive pairs: 这里 zhe4li3 ‘here,’ 那里 na4li3 ‘there’; 这儿 zhe4er0 ‘here,’ 那儿 na3er0 ‘there’; and 这边 zhe4bian1 ‘here,’ 那边 na4bian1 ‘there.’ Although these three pairs are often used interchangeably, there are nuances of differences.

这里 zhe4li3 ‘here’ and 那里 na4li3 ‘there’ consist of the proximal or the distal deictic term, followed by the locative morpheme 里 li3 ‘inside.’ However, the two resulting expressions, 这里 zhe4li3 ‘here’ and 那里 na4li3 ‘there,’ do not convey the “inside” meaning, which is to be conveyed by 这里 zhe4li3 mian4 ‘in here’ and 那里 na4li3 mian4 ‘in there.’

这边 zhe4bian1 ‘here’ and 那边 na4bian1 ‘there’ have the more basic and more physical meaning of ‘this side’ and ‘that side.’ However, they are also used with the extended sense of ‘this spot, that spot; this part, that part; and this area, that area,’ causing them often to be used interchangeably with 这里 zhe4li3 ‘here,’ 那里 na4li3 ‘there’ and 这儿 zhe4er0 ‘here,’ 那儿 na3er0 ‘there.’ The proximal 这儿 zhe4er0 ‘here’ and那儿 na3er0 ‘there’ are used more often in oral language, although they can also be found in written language. As a matter of preference, some people choose not to use words with a 儿 er0- suffix in writing, and some do not use 儿 er0- suffixed words at all.

这边 zhe4bian1 ‘here’ and 那边 na4bian1 ‘there’ do not have a distal counterpart in Modern Chinese.

Some other place deictics are both directional and locative: the directional deictic terms 左 zuo3 ‘left’ and 右 you4 ‘right’ can combine with relevant locative morphemes 边 bian1 ‘side’ and 面 mian4 ‘surface,’ forming deictic expressions such as 左边 zuo3bian1 ‘left side’ and 右面 you4mian4 ‘right side.’ As explained above, relative directional terms such as 上 shang4 ‘up,’ 下 xia4 ‘down,’ 前 qian2 ‘front,’ and 后 hou4 ‘back’ can acquire deictic properties in some uses when the center of reference is not fixed. They can form expressions such as 上边 shang4bian1 ‘above,’ 下面 xia4mian4 ‘below,’ 前方 qian2fang1 ‘at the front,’ and 后边 hou4bian1 ‘behind,’ which can also have deictic use.

The directional terms 里 li3 ‘in’ and 外 wai4 ‘out’ combine only with a following 边 bian1 ‘side,’ 面 mian4 ‘surface,’ or 头 tou2 ‘end’ to form deictic expressions like 里边 li3bian1 ‘inside,’ 外边 wai4mian4 ‘outside,’ and 里头 li3tou2 ‘inside.’ The 里 li3 ‘in’ in this case is different from the locative morpheme 里 li3 ‘inside’ discussed above, not only in position but also in meaning. The 里 li3 ‘in’ here is followed by a locative morpheme and the combination always means ‘inside,’ while the previous 里 li3 follows a deictic term and the combination means ‘place’ only, as in 这里 zhe4li3 ‘here’ and 那里 na4li3 ‘there,’ although it can also mean ‘inside’ in
16.1.3. Time deixis
The time of speaking can be considered the temporal origo and is encoded by 现在 xian4zai4 ‘now,’ departing from whatever other time deixis is deployed. The more basic proximal and distal terms 这 zhe4 ‘this’ and 那 na4 ‘that’ can combine with ensuing time-denoting units, with possible numerals and classifiers in between: 这时 zhe4shi2 ‘at this moment,’ 这会儿 zhe4hui4er0 ‘at this (short) period,’ 那时候 na4 ji3 nian2 ‘in those years,’ 那(一)年 na4 (yi1) nian2 ‘in that year,’ 这个月 zhe4 ge4 yue4 ‘the current month,’ and 这几个月 zhe4 ji3 ge4 yue4 ‘these months.’

Neither days of the week nor calendar dates are deictics. For deictic reference, Chinese has a seven-slot system: 今天 jin1tian1 ‘today,’ 明天 ming2tian1 ‘tomorrow,’ 昨天 zuo2tian1 ‘yesterday,’ 后天 hou4tian1 ‘the day after tomorrow,’ 前天 qian2tian1 ‘the day before yesterday,’ 大后天 da4hou4tian1 ‘the day after the day after tomorrow (three days ahead),’ and 大前天 da4qian2tian1 ‘the day before the day before yesterday (three days ago).’ Likewise, years are referred to deictically in a similar seven-slot system: 今年 jin1nian2 ‘the current year,’ 去年 qu4nian2 ‘last year,’ 明年 ming2nian2 ‘next year,’ 前年 qian2nian2 ‘the year before last year,’ 后年 hou4nian2 ‘the year after next year,’ 大年前 da4qian2nian2 ‘the year before the year before last year (three years ago),’ and 大年后 da4hou4nian2 ‘the year after the year after next year (three years ahead).’

As shown in the examples above, some spatio-directional terms such as 上 shang4 ‘up’ and 下 xia4 ‘down’ are also used as time deictics when combined with time-denoting words. More examples are 上一年 shang4 yi1 nian2 ‘the last year,’ 下一年 xia4 yi1 nian2 ‘the next year,’ 上个世纪 shang4 ge4 shi4ji4 ‘the last century,’ and 下个世纪 xia4 ge4 shi4ji4 ‘the next century.’

16.1.4. Social deixis
Chinese has an ever-changing system of terms of address. The instability of the system is caused by the abandonment of the rich archaic system accumulated in Classical Chinese, as well as the continuous and fast changes in social relationships in modern China over the past century. However, only a limited number of address terms are deictics, as others do not encode parameters of the utterance act. The deferential second-person singular 您 nin2 is deictic, as the speaker uses it out of consideration of social distance: respect or estrangement is an extended application of the concept distal. However, terms of address involving one’s administrative duties or titles, such as 王校长 wang2 xiao4zhuan3 ‘President Wang,’ 李教授 li3 jiao4shou4 ‘Professor Li,’ and 陈博士 chen2 bo2shi4 ‘Dr. Chen,’ are not deictics because they are relatively fixed terms. Likewise, some rather commonly used
terms of address, such as 先生 xian1sheng0 ‘Mr.’ 太太 tai4tai4 ‘Mrs.,’ 夫人 fu1ren2 ‘Madam,’ and 小姐 xiao3jie3 ‘Miss’ are not deictics either.

Some older socially deictic terms are still widely used in oral language on formal occasions, as well as in written and more literary language, especially as address terms in epistle writing, including e-mails. They can be further divided into two types: deferentials and depreciatories, the latter being mostly self-depreciatories.

16.1.4.1. Deferentials
1 大人 da4ren2 ‘your honor,’ now obsolete, was formerly used in face-to-face dialogue by a subordinate to his senior. It can be preceded by a surname or a title. In epistle works, it is still often used to address a parent or a senior and usually an aged relative when it is preceded by a senior kinship term, such as 母亲大人 mu3qin1 da4ren2 ‘my honored mother’ and 舅父大人 jiu4fu4 da4ren2 ‘my honored uncle.’
2 贵 gui4 ‘your honorable’ can be combined with many nouns to form deferential references, such as 贵校 gui4 xiao4 ‘your honored school,’ 贵军 gui4 jun1 ‘your honored army,’ 贵所 gui4 suo3 ‘your honored institute,’ and 贵厂 gui4 chang3 ‘your honored factory.’ However, nouns preceded by 贵 gui4 are not used as terms of address.
3 光临 guang1lin2,莅临 li4lin2 ‘be honorably present’ is used to honor an addressee’s visit.
4 敬 jing4shang4 ‘respectfully presented’ is used at the end of a letter, after the name of the writer, and it can be shortened to 上 shang4.
5 敬祝 jing4zhu4 ‘respectfully extending a wish’ is used before an offer of good wishes.

16.1.4.2. Depreciators
1 小人 xiao3ren2 ‘my humble self’ or 小的 xiao3de0 ‘my humble self’ was formerly used in face-to-face communication by a subordinate as a self-addressing term, now obsolete.
2 下人 xia4ren2 ‘the lowly’ has less of a deictic character than 小人 xiao3ren2, as it is only used to refer to servants and not as an address term.
3 小辈 xiao3bei4 ‘the junior family members and relatives’ (literally, the younger generation): self-addressing term for singular or plural reference.
4 晚辈 wan3bei4 ‘the junior’ (literally, the later generation): self-addressing term, usually singular, used by juniors in the presence of seniors.
5 后学 hou4xue2 ‘the later student’: self-addressing term, usually singular, used by younger students or scholars in the presence of senior ones.
Deixis and anaphora

6.1.5. Discourse deixis

Discourse deixis, represented by *zhe* ‘this’ and *na* ‘that,’ can be used as discourse deictics to refer to a part of the previous utterance(s) or text. The relationship between a discourse deictic and its reference is different from one between a discourse anaphor and its antecedent. The former operates on the physical discourse segment, while the latter, with a clausal antecedent, summarizes the content. The *zhe* sentence in [16] is not a summary of the content of the sentence but instead denotes the sentence as an entity in the immediate environment, namely, it is being used deictically. Similarly, the *zhe* sentence in [17] points to the sentence being said and is deictic.

[16] “我的妈妈, 是最好的妈妈”, 这句话他脱口而出。

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I</th>
<th>DE mother</th>
<th>be</th>
<th>best</th>
<th>DE mother</th>
<th>this</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ju4 hua4 ta1 tuo1kou3er2chu1</td>
<td>CL words</td>
<td>he</td>
<td>let_slip</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“My mother is the best,” he uttered this sentence without much thinking.’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[17] “我要感谢养育我的父母, 感谢他们的养育之恩!,” 这是罗雪娟夺冠后第一句话。

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I</th>
<th>want</th>
<th>thank</th>
<th>nurture</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>DE parents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gan3xie4 ta1men0 de0 yang3yu1 zhi1 en1</td>
<td>thank</td>
<td>they</td>
<td>DE nurture</td>
<td>DE affection</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zhe4 shi4 luo2xue3juan1 duo2guan4 hou4</td>
<td>this</td>
<td>be</td>
<td>LUO_XUEJUAN</td>
<td>win_championship</td>
<td>after</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de0 di4yi1 ju4 hua4</td>
<td>DE</td>
<td>first</td>
<td>CL</td>
<td>words</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“I wish to thank my parents for nurturing me!” This was the first sentence uttered by LUO Xuejuan after winning the championship.’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
16.1.6. Alternating between the proximal and the distal

The proximal and the distal parameters can be expressed and viewed objectively, but they can also be taken symbolically, especially with reference to time. Moreover, they can be encoded subjectively, on the basis of psychological distance, which may not correspond to physical reality. This gives deictics a “cognitive zooming” function. That is, what is physically distal can be focalized and referred to with a proximal term. On the contrary, what is physically proximal can also be distanced through the use of a distal term. These uses reflect value judgments on the part of the language user.

The 这种产品 zhe4zhong3 chan3pin3 ‘this kind of product’ in [18] refers to an entity in the immediate environment or a type of entity being discussed and is considered proximal, while the 那 na4 ‘that’ refers to the actual product in other countries and is considered distal. The same could be said about the relation between 这种仪式 zhe4zhong4 yi2shi4 ‘this ritual’ and 那 na4 ‘that’ in [19], with the former being discussed in the current discourse while the latter refers to things in India and Africa. The sentence in [20] is an excerpt from a phone conversation. The 这辈 zhe4bei4 ‘this generation’ in this case refers to the generation of the speaker, while 那辈 na4bei4 ‘that generation’ refers to the generation of the listener, who is at the other end of the phone line. The contrast between proximal and distal is obvious.

[18] 有的国家正在削价抛售这种产品, 但那是前年的库存, 质量不能跟我们的相比。

you3de0 guo2jia1 zheng4zai4 xue4jia4 pao1shou4 zhe4 some country ZAI cut_price dump this zhong4 chan3pin3 dan4 na4 shi4 qian2 ji3 kind product but that be previous several nian2 de0 ku4cun2 zhi4liang4 bu4neng2 gen1 year DE stock quality cannot PREP wo3men0 de0 xiang1bi3 we DE compare ‘Some countries are dumping this kind of product with a low price but these are their surplus stock from previous years, so their quality cannot be compared with ours.’

[19] 你说的拜月是怎么回事? 据说印度非洲真有这种仪式, 但那只是迷信而已。

ni3 shuo1 de0 bai4yue4 shi4 zen3me0 hui2 you say DE worship_moon be what CL shi4 ju4shuo1 yin4du4 fei1zhou1 zhen1 you3 zhe4 thing it_is_said India Africa really have this
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zhong3 yi2shi4 dan4 na4 zhi3shi4 mi2xin4 er2yi3
CL ritual but that only superstition only

'What about moon-worshipping that you just mentioned? It is said that such rituals really exist in India and Africa, but that is no more than superstition.'

[20] 现在的年轻人接受外来的冲击太多, 多到我们这辈, 或者是你们那辈, 都无法想象
xian4zai4 de0 nian2qing1ren2 jie1shou4 wai4lai2 de0
now DE young_people receive external DE

chong1ji2 tai4 duo1 duo1 dao4 wo3men0 zhe4
impact too many many PREP we this

bei4 huo4zhe3 shi4 ni3men0 na4 bei4
generation or be you that generation
dou1 wu2fa3 xiang3xiang4
all no_way imagine

'Today's youngsters receive so much external impact, to the extent that it is not imaginable by our generation, or your generation.'

16.1.7. Generic use of deictic terms
Some dedicated deictic terms (i.e., terms that are never used anaphorically) can be used to give arbitrary reference, in the sense that the deictic term at issue is not authentically referential but encodes generic meaning. The second person singular 你 ni3 ‘you’ in [21], which refers to anyone in the world, is a case in point. Similarly, the 你 ni3 ‘you,’ 今天 jin1tian1 ‘today,’ 明天 ming2tian1 ‘tomorrow,’ 这样 zhe4yang4 ‘this way,’ and 那样 na4yang4 ‘that way’ in [22] are all used as generic terms, referring to “someone,” “sometime,” and “some way,” respectively.

[21] 棋赛有很高的可塑性, 你可以用棋子创造出美丽的难题。
qi2sai4 you3 hen3 gao1 de0 ke3su4xing4 ni3 ke3yi3
chess_game have very high DE plasticity you can

yong4 qi2zi3 chu4zao4 mei3li4 de0
use chess_piece create out beautiful DE

nan2ti2
hard_issue

‘A game of chess is full of changes, and you can use chess pieces to create a beautiful puzzle.’ (generic use of 你 ni3 ‘you’)

[22] 如果你对生活没有完整的了解, 就会今天这样做, 明天那样做。
ru2guo3 ni3 dui4 sheng1huo2 mei2you3 wan2zheng3
if you PREP life NEG thorough

qi2sai4 you3 hen3 gao1 de0 ke3su4xing4 ni3 ke3yi3
chess_game have very high DE plasticity you can

yong4 qi2zi3 chu4zao4 mei3li4 de0
use chess_piece create out beautiful DE

nan2ti2
hard_issue

‘A game of chess is full of changes, and you can use chess pieces to create a beautiful puzzle.’ (generic use of 你 ni3 ‘you’)

[22] 如果你对生活没有完整的了解, 就会今天这样做, 明天那样做。
ru2guo3 ni3 dui4 sheng1huo2 mei2you3 wan2zheng3
if you PREP life NEG thorough
If you do not have a comprehensive understanding of life, you would go this way one day, and that way another day.’ (generic use of paired deictics:

今天 jin1tian1 ‘today’ and 明天 ming2tian1 ‘tomorrow’; and 这样 zhe4yang4 ‘this way’ and 那样 na4yang4 ‘that way’)

The 你 ni3 ‘you’ and 我 wo3 ‘I’ in [23] appear in an idiom chunk, which means to do something to each other such as looking at each other, and are generic, referring to any two groups of people. The 左 zuo3 ‘left’ and 右 you4 ‘right’ in [24] also appear in an idiom chunk, which means doing something again and again, such as waiting for a long time, and refers to some repeated manner of doing things.

When people meet on the street, they can only look at each other and do not dare to speak to each other.’ (generic use of paired deictics: 你 ni3 ‘you’ and 我 wo3 ‘I’)

The 女主人 nü3zhu3ren2 ‘lady_of_the_house’ 左 zuo3 ‘left’ 等 右 you4 ‘right’ from worry,牵挂担心转为生气。

The 这 zhe4 ‘this’ and 那 na4 ‘that’ in [25] work as a pair, with a generic interpretation referring to random things, very much like the English expression “this and that.”
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16.2. Overview of anaphora

At the beginning of this chapter, we defined anaphora as involving a closed set of lexical items whose semantic values are determined through unification with some previously occurring antecedents in the discourse. In connection to this, an anaphoric relationship can be defined as a co-referential linkage between two elements in the discourse, one of which, the anaphor, being dependent on the other, the antecedent, for its reference.

Anaphors can be either retrospective, with the antecedent appearing first, or anticipatory, with the anaphor appearing first. The latter is also called cataphor, with the related phenomenon termed “cataphora” or “backward anaphora.” As retrospective anaphors are much more often found than the anticipatory ones, they are simply referred to as “anaphor” in this chapter.

This section is concerned with the typology of anaphora, its distribution, and its similarities with and differences from deictics. Anaphors in Chinese can be divided into three types: nominal anaphors, pronominal anaphors, and zero anaphors. Pronominal anaphors also include reflexives and reciprocals as two idiosyncratic subtypes.

16.2.1. Nominal anaphors

Nominal anaphors concern cases where a nominal expression, excluding pronouns and the zero form (which will be treated separately), is co-referential with another noun, with partial or no sharing of lexical forms. This definition excludes cases where a noun or noun phrase simply repeats itself in discourse.

Thus defined, the first type of nominal anaphora concerns those with shortened forms of their antecedents. The shortened 缩写 suoxie forms can be established acronyms whose relationship with the full expressions is recoverable independent of context, such as the 安理会 an1li2hui4 ‘the UN Security Council’ in [26]. They can also be temporary simplifications whose meaning can only be fully comprehended in the specific discourse context, such as the 世青赛 shi4qing1sai4 and 中国足球 zhuo1qi1shang4.
zhong1guo2dui4 in [27], which are shortened forms of ‘the Ninth FIFA U-20 Coca-Cola World Cup Tournament’ and ‘the Chinese Youth Team,’ respectively. See Chapter 3, section 3.5.3. for discussion on the formation of suoxie abbreviation.

[26] 联合国安全理事会又叫安理会。
lian2he2guo2 an1quann2li3shi4hui4 you4 jiao4
the_United_Nation_Security_Council also name
an1li3hui4
peace_manage_meeting
'The United Nations Security Council is also known as the Security Council.'

[27] 参加第九届国际足联可口可乐杯世界青年 (20岁以下) 锦标赛的
zhong1guo2 qing1nian2 dui4 cheng2ji1 shi4
de0 zhong1guo2 can1jia1 shi4qing1sai4 li4shi3
China_team participate world_youth_game history
shang4 zui4cha4 de0
on worst DE
'The Chinese Youth Team participating in the Ninth FIFA U-20 Coca-Cola World Cup Tournament achieved the worst result for a Chinese team in the history of the tournament.'

The second type of nominal anaphora involves nouns that are hypernyms of their antecedents, that is, nouns that are more general in meaning than their antecedents. They can be further divided into two kinds: general nouns with neutral categorical reference, such as the 这个问题 zhe4 ge4 wen4ti2 'this issue' in [28], and general nouns with specific reference, used with emotional connotations (i.e., epithets), such as the 四个小家伙 si4ge4 xiao3jia1huo0 'four little ones' in [29].

[28] 电影业的困境, 主要来自“艺术性”与“票房”的矛盾。这个问题不好解决。
dian4yin3 de0 kun4jing4 zhi4yao4 lai3zi4
film DE dilemma mainly come_from
yi4shu4xing4 yu3 piao4fang2 de0 mao2dun4 zhe4 ge0
artistic_ness and box_office DE conflict this CL
Deixis and anaphora

wen4ti2 bu4 hao3 jie2jue2
issue NEG easy solve

'The dilemma of the movie industry comes mainly from the conflict between artistic value and box office. This is not an easy issue to solve.'

[29] nong2fu4 chan3xia4 si4bao1tai1 hu2da4mao2
farmer_woman give_birth quadruplet HU_big_MAO
hu2er4mao2 hu2san1mao2 hu2si4mao2 si4
HU_second_MAO HU_third_MAO HU_fourth_MAO four
gu2 xiao3jia1huo3 hou4lai2 zhuan3 dao4 an1hui1
CL little_chaps later transfer PREP ANHUI
yi1xue2yuan4 fu4shu3 yi1yuan4
medical_college affiliated hospital
'The farmer gave birth to quadruplets HU Da Mao, HU Er Mao, HU San Mao, and HU Si Mao. The four little ones were then transferred to the hospital affiliated with the Anhui Medical College.'

The difference between the anaphoric reference in [28] and the uses involving discourse deixis (see section 16.2.5) is that the 'this issue' in [28] does not refer to a discourse segment per se, but rather to the content presented in that segment. However, it may be difficult to distinguish them in some cases, as shown in [30], where the expression 'this utterance' can be taken in either way in relation to the quoted sentence. It is a discourse deictic if it refers to the physical utterance of the sentence, but it is a discourse anaphor if the content of the utterance is taken to be the real thrust.

[30] "wo3 yuan4 yi3 wo3 zou3 guo4 de0 quan2bu4
I wish PREP I walk GUO DE all
da04lu4 zheng4ming2 yi1 ju4 hua4 ren2sheng1 shi4
road prove one CL words life be
ek3yi3 diao1su4 de0 liu2kai1qu2 xian1sheng0 de0
can sculpture DE LIU_KAIQU Mr. DE
zhe4 ju4 hua4 rang4 ren2 wei4zhi1yi1zhen4
this CL words let people be Moved
"I would like to use my life’s journey to prove one proposition. That is, life can be sculptured." This saying by Mr. Liu Kaiqu moved everyone.'
The third type of nominal anaphora involves cases where the referential content of a noun is later picked up by a synonymous noun, as shown in [31], where 汉语 han4yu3 ‘Chinese’ refers to the same thing as 中文 zhong1wen2 ‘Chinese’ does.

[31] 他大三开始学习中文, 汉语现在讲得还不流利。

‘Having started learning Chinese as a sophomore, his spoken Chinese is not fluent yet.’

16.2.2. Pronominal anaphors

Pronominal anaphors involve the third-person singular pronoun ta and the plural tamen. Neither of them makes distinctions in gender in oral language, yet both have acquired gender-distinct but case-neutral written forms in Modern Chinese: 他 ta1 ‘he,’ 她 ta1 ‘she,’ and 它 ta1 ‘it’ and the corresponding 他们 ta1men0 ‘they-masculine,’ 她们 ta1men0 ‘they-feminine,’ and 它们 ta1men0 ‘they-nonhuman.’ Demonstrative anaphora includes 这 zhe4 ‘this,’ 那 na4 ‘that,’ 该 gai1 ‘the,’ 其 qi2 ‘whose,’ and their variants when used with referential nouns.

这 zhe4 ‘this,’ when combined with a following noun, can be used to give definite reference, such as 这时 zhe4shi2 ‘this moment,’ 这人 zhe4ren2 ‘this person/the person,’ and 这车 zhe4che1 ‘this car/the car.’ Such expressions are sometimes anaphoric and sometimes deictic, and they are also highly lexically specific.

这时 zhe4shi2 ‘this moment’ is predominantly anaphoric, referring to a time in the past and in contrast with 现在 xian4zai4 ‘now,’ which refers to the immediate present. Both 这次 zhe4ci4 and 这回 zhe4hui2 are combinations of demonstrative and event classifiers meaning ‘this time’ and can be used either anaphorically or deictically, referring to an occasion either in the past or at the time of speech. 这 下 zhe4xia4, however, either means ‘as a result’ or ‘this immediate present.’ The first is used as a connective adjunct while the second is a deictic. 此 ci3 ‘this’ can also have such twofold usage. 此时 ci3shi2 ‘(at) the time’ is anaphoric, 此地 ci3di4 ‘this place’ and 此处 ci3chu4 ‘this location’ are deictic, and 此事 ci3shi4 ‘this matter’ and 此人 ci3ren2 ‘this person’ can be used either way.

16.2.2.1. Reflexives and reciprocals

Pronominal anaphors include reflexives and reciprocals as subcategories. Reflexives take two main forms: the independently used 自己 zi4ji3 ‘self’ and the 自己 zi4ji3 ‘self’ attached to a pronoun, a name, or a full nominal phrase. The stand-alone 自己 zi4ji3 ‘self’ occupies an argument position, while the 自己 zi4ji3 ‘self’
used after other nominal elements is an emphatic pronoun. The emphatic 自己 zieji3 co-refers with the nominal element to which it is attached, while the argument 自己 zieji3 ‘self’ should establish an anaphoric link to its antecedent, either within a single clause or beyond, across one or more superordinate clauses, or even inter-sententially. Several possibilities are available, which can be conveniently grouped under two categories: 自己 zieji3 as the subject and 自己 zieji3 as the object.

When the stand-alone 自己 zieji3 ‘self’ appears in the subject position, it can establish reference in three possible ways. First, as a subject in the matrix clause, it can be used as shortened forms of pronoun + 自己 zieji3 (i.e., 我自己 wo3 zieji3 ‘myself,’ 你自己 ni3 zieji3 ‘yourself,’ or 他自己 ta1 zieji3 ‘himself’). Such uses are usually found in thought description discourse for self-reference, as exemplified by [32].

[32] 人秋的季节, 自己总习惯性地带件外套; 人秋的夜里, 自己总习惯性地在床尾铺上薄被

ru4 qiu1 de0 ji4jie2 zieji3 zong3 xi2guan4xing4 enter autumn DE season self always be_used_to
de0 dai4 jian4 wai4tao4 ru4 qiu1 de0 ye4li3 DE bring CL coat enter autumn DE at_night
zieji3 zong3 xi2guan4xing4 de0 zai4 chuang2 wei3 self always be_used_to DE be_at bed end
pu4 shang4 bao2 bei4
lay on thin quilt
‘In the fall, I am used to going out with a thicker coat; and at night, I am used to sleeping with a thin quilt.’

Second, as the subject in the subordinate clause co-indexed with the subject in the matrix clause, the 自己 zieji3 ‘self’ works like a pronominal, as in [33] and [34].

[33] 不久, 我自医院返家, 过起正常的生活, 甚至忘了自己罹患癌症这件 事

bu4jiu3 wo3 zi4 yi1yuan4 fan3 jia1 guo4 qi3 soon I PREP hospital return home live QI
zheng4chang2 de0 sheng1huo2 shen4zhi4 wang4 le0 normal DE life even forget LE
zieji3 li2huan4 ai2zheng4 zhe4 jian4 shi4 self have cancer this CL thing
‘Soon afterwards, I left the hospital and went back home, where I began to lead a normal life and even forgot that I had had cancer.’
我猛然发现自己是多么有福气，早早地就能享受泡茶的乐趣。
I abruptly find self be how have
luck well_in_advance DE then can enjoy
make_tea DE joy
'I suddenly realize how lucky I was, being able to experience the joy of
tea-making early on.'

Third, 自己 zi4ji3 'self' in the subject position can sometimes have an arbitrary
reference, meaning 'anyone himself,' functioning as a pronominal, as shown
in [35].

When the stand-alone 自己 zi4ji3 'self' appears in the object position, its presence
is not limited to the specific content of the discourse. Moreover, there is much
structural freedom in the way an anaphoric link is built between the object 自己
zi4ji3 'self' and its antecedent, as shown in the following examples, where the
same subscript index indicates co-reference. The 自己 zi4ji3 'self' in the object
position of the first clause in [36] can have either 男生 nan2sheng1 'boy' or 女生
nü3sheng1 'girl' as the antecedent, and it is the second clause that provides the cue
to link 自己 zi4ji3 'self' with 女生 nü3sheng1 'girl.' The 自己 zi4ji3 'self' in the object
position of the embedded clause of [37] can be co-referential with either 他 ta1 'he'
or 别人 bie2ren2 'other people,' and the cue from the first clause helps readers to
connect 自己 zi4ji3 'self' with 他 ta1 'he.' Similarly, the 自己 zi4ji3 'self' in [38] takes
她 ta1 'she' as the antecedent because of the cue from the second clause.

男生:常觉得女生:不能清楚的表达自己的感情, 男生只好很辛苦的
玩猜谜游戏
nan2sheng1 chang2 jue2de0 nü3sheng1 bu4neng2
boy often feel girl NEG_can
'Boys often feel that girls cannot express their feelings explicitly, so that they have no choice but to play the riddle-solving game.'

‘There was such a young man. He always felt that others had treated him badly.’

‘She thinks that it is still he who knows her voice best and can bring her music to perfection.’

Reciprocals in Chinese, encoded as 互相 hu4xiang1 ‘each other,’ 相互 xiang1hu4 ‘each other,’ or a shorted form 互 hu4 ‘each other,’ are usually used as adverbials, as in [39]. They are sometimes used as a subject argument, but never as an object argument. A third item, 彼此 bi3ci3, though often used as an adjunct, can appear in both the subject position, as in [40], and, to a much lesser extent, in the object position, as in [41].

‘The students helped each other and reached the mountaintop quickly.’
On Chinese [New] Year’s day, all people go out to give New Year greetings, and say “Best wishes! Best wishes!” to each other when they meet.

A three-year separation seems like a lifetime between you and me, but we quiver at our meeting and are deeply moved by each other.

As a common term, 本 ben3 ‘this’ alternates between deictic and reflexive usage. When combined with a following noun to form a full-fledged nominal phrase, it is deictic, like 本人 ben3ren2 ‘this very person, I,’ 本地 ben3di4 ‘this location, here,’ 本周 ben3zhou1 ‘this week,’ 本世纪 ben3shi4ji4 ‘this century,’ 本年度 ben3nian2du4 ‘this year,’ etc. However, when such a phrase is attached to a nominal phrase for humans, the 本 ben3 ‘this’ is used for self-reference and is hence reflexive, like 我本人 wo3 ben3ren2 ‘I myself’ and 校长本人 xiao4zhang3 ben3ren2 ‘the Principal himself.’

As a bound morpheme, 当 dang1 ‘that very’ only appears in compounds formed with nominal morphemes denoting time or place. Some of these compounds are used anaphorically, as in 当年 dang1nian2 ‘that year,’ 当时 dang1shi2 ‘that time,’ 当场 dang1chang2 ‘(at) the scene,’ and 当天 dang1tian1 ‘that day.’ The anaphoric 当地 dang1di4 ‘local’ contrasts with the deictic 本地 ben3di4 ‘local,’ but 当代 dang1dai4 ‘this era,’ 当前 dang1qian2 ‘(at) the present,’ and 当初 dang1chu1 ‘at that earlier time’ are typically used deictically.

Also as a bound morpheme, 自 zì4 ‘self’ does not appear alone, but can combine with other morphemes to form self-referring compounds. Verbal compounds formed with 自 zì4 ‘self’ include 自带 zì4dai4 ‘self-equip,’ 自发 zì4fa1 ‘self-initiate,’ 自付 zì4fu4 ‘self-pay,’ 自愿 zì4yuan4 ‘self-willed, voluntary,’ 自费 zì4fei4 ‘self-sponsor,’ 自封 zì4feng1 ‘self-appoint,’ 自罚 zì4fa2 ‘self-inflict,’ 自理 zì4li3 ‘self-manage,’ 自虐 zì4nue4 ‘self-torture,’ 自拟 zì4ni3 ‘self-draft,’ 自欺 zì4qi1

Nominal compounds include 自述 zi4shu4 ‘own statement,’ 自传 zi4zhu4an4 ‘autobiography,’ 自白 zi4bai2 ‘confession,’ 自信 zi4xin4 ‘self-confidence,’ 自尊 zi4zun1 ‘self-esteem,’ 自我 zi4wo3 ‘self,’ 自闭 zi4bi4 ‘autism,’ 自家 zi4jia1 ‘own home.’

Idioms constructed with 自 zi4 ‘self’ include 自生自灭 zi4sheng1zi4mi4 ‘leave someone on his own,’ 自艾自怨 zi4ai4zi4yuan4 ‘self-blame,’ 自娱自乐 zi4yu2zi4le4 ‘self-entertain,’ 自高自大 zi4gao1zi4da4 ‘egotistic,’ 自弹自唱 zi4dan4zi4chang4 ‘play and sing on one’s own,’ 自强自爱 zi4qiang2zi4ai4 ‘self-powered and self-respected,’ 自编自导 zi4bian1zi4dao3 ‘written and directed by oneself,’ 自由自在 zi4you2zi4zai4 ‘carefree,’ 自暴自弃 zi4bao4zi4qi4 ‘given-up and self-deserted,’ 自作自受 zi4zu4zi4shou4 ‘bearing one’s own consequences,’ 自吹自擂 zi4chui1zi4lei2 ‘self-exaggerated,’ 顾影自怜 gu4ying3zi4lian2 ‘self-pity,’ 自力 更生 zi4li4geng1sheng1 ‘self-reliance,’ 自强不息 zi4qiang2bu4xi2 ‘always self-motivated,’ 孤芳自赏 gu1fang1zi4shang4 ‘self-admiration,’ 自惭形秽 zi4can2xing2hui4 ‘look down on oneself,’ 心然自得 yi2ran2zi4de2 ‘happy-go-lucky,’ 自顾不暇 zi4gu4zi4xia2 ‘no time to take care of oneself,’ 无师自通 wu2shi1zi4tong1 ‘self-taught,’ 自欺欺人 zi4qi1qi1ren2 ‘self-deluding as well as deceiving others,’ 甘自落拓 zi4gan1zi4luo4 ‘self-deserted,’ 监守自盗 jian1shou3zi4dao4 ‘guarding property and stealing from it,’ 自命不凡 zi4ming4bu4fan2 ‘self-proud,’ 自命清高 zi4ming4qi1gao1 ‘self-aloof,’ and 不自量力 bu2zi4liang4li4 ‘without self-knowledge.’

In some words where 自 zi4 ‘self’ and its following morpheme have been fused into one, it is no longer possible to tell the individual meaning apart in Modern Chinese, as in 自动 zi4dong4 ‘automatic,’ 自己 zi4si1 ‘selfish,’ 自豪 zi4hao2 ‘proud,’ 自觉 zi4jue2 ‘self-conscious,’ 自然 zi4ran2 ‘natural,’ 自如 zi4ru2 ‘dexterity,’ 自行 zi4xing2 ‘on one’s own,’ 自由 zi4you2 ‘free,’ and 自已 zi4yi3 ‘self-control.’

Anaphors can sometimes have the antecedent appearing after them, namely, anticipatorily. The antecedent for the 自 zi4 ‘self’ in [42] is 儿童 er2tong2 ‘children,’ which occurs after the reflexive. The antecedent for 他 ta1 ‘he’ in [43]
16.2.3. Zero anaphors

Zero anaphors refer to a situation in which an anaphor does not have a phonetically realized lexical form. It is distinguished by identifying the unrealized argument positions of a predicate. The verb of a sentence has its argument positions specified in the lexicon, which determines the number of obligatory arguments that the verb should take. Typical argument positions include the subject, the direct object, the indirect object, the Ba-object, and the object of prepositions in certain positions.

As Chinese sentences can have zero forms in obligatory argument positions, the first criterion in identifying a zero argument is to determine when the lexically specified argument position of the relevant predicate does not appear in a sentence. As a zero argument needs to have its semantic value specified, it must have an antecedent and is therefore a zero anaphor. In addition to those compulsory argument positions, some elements can optionally appear in a sentence, in the form of adjuncts, in non-argument positions. The absence of such optional elements – sometimes called “semantic arguments” – never entails the existence of zero arguments, as their presence or non-presence does not affect the
completeness of the sentence. When such non-obligatory elements are not lexically present, they are usually taken not to be present at all.

A typical case is the zero anaphor related to the topic in topic-comment constructions like [44]. The ‘these students’ in [44] appears in the sentence-initial position of the topic but represents the entity affected by the action of 教 ‘teach,’ which requires an argument in the object position. Given such an interpretation, the object position in [44] is occupied by a zero anaphor that takes the topic ‘these students’ as the antecedent.

[44] 这几个学生我都教过。

zhe4 ji3 ge4 xue2sheng1 wo3 dou1 jiao1 guo4
‘These students, I taught them.’

The topic 年夜饭 nian2ye4fan4 ‘New Year’s Eve Dinner’ in [45] also represents the entity being affected by the verb 吃 ‘eat’ and could have appeared in the object position if it was not already occupied by 火锅 huo3guo1 ‘hot pot.’ Under such circumstances, 年夜饭 nian2ye4fan4 ‘New Year’s Eve Dinner’ is not taken as the antecedent of a zero anaphor, which is not even observable. In other words, the object position in this case does not host a zero anaphor, according to the criteria for identifying zero anaphors described above. On the other hand, when the subject argument position is not filled, it can accommodate a zero subject argument. [45] serves to exemplify this last point, where 年夜饭 nian2ye4fan4 takes the topic position and a zero anaphor (ø) is identified as the subject.

[45] 胡阿姨早打算好了, 年夜饭 ø 就吃火锅, 既方便又热闹。

(ø = subject)

hu2 a1yi2 zao3 da3suan4 hao3 le0
HU auntie early plan good LE
nian2ye4fan4 jiu4 chi1 huo3guo1 ji4
new_years_eve_dinner JIU eat hot_pot and
fang1bian4 you4 re4nao4
convenient again lively
‘Auntie HU has planned well ahead of time. For the New Year’s Eve Dinner, they will eat (the contents of) hot pot. It is both convenient and lively.’

Summarizing the above descriptions, a zero anaphor occupies an obligatory argument position as defined by the predicate argument structure in the lexicon. It can be identified if the argument position is not occupied by a lexically realized item. The same applies to cases where a zero anaphor has an anticipatory
antecedent. The subject position of the first clause in [46] is occupied by a zero anaphor, which takes the 他 ‘he’ in the second clause as the antecedent, while the zero anaphor in [47] takes 道格拉斯 ‘Douglas’ as the anticipatory antecedent.

[46] 今天中午 ø 刚吃过饭，他顾不上休息又急匆匆地出门了
jin1tian1 zhong1wu3 gang1 chi1 guo4 fan4 ta1
today noon just eat GUO meal he
gu4bu2shang4 xiu1xi2 you4 ji2cong1cong1
cannot_attend_to_or_manage rest again hurriedly
de0 chu1men2 le0
DE go_out LE
‘Immediately after his lunch today, he set out in a hurry without taking a break, saying that he needed to visit some close contacts.’

[47] ø 出院之后，道格拉斯果然戒掉了酗酒的恶习。
chu1yuan4 zhi1hou4 dao4ge2la1si1
discharge_from_hospital after Douglas
guo3ran2 jie4diao4 le0 xu4jiu3 de0
as_expected quit LE drink_excessively DE
e4xi2
bad_habit
‘Sure enough, Douglas quit his nasty drinking habit after leaving the hospital.’

16.2.4. Anaphors in discourse
This section sketches the distribution of different types of anaphors and factors affecting their alternation. Zero, pronominal, and nominal anaphors not only differ in lexical form but also in the amount of referential information each is encoded to carry. A zero anaphor has nil lexical form. It also contains minimal information, linking itself to an antecedent that is easily accessible and identifiable. The distance from the zero anaphor to the antecedent is by default the nominal phrase that is the closest, but the anaphoric reference can also be maintained by one or more ensuing zero anaphors, thus forming an anaphoric chain sharing a single initial antecedent. Pronominal anaphors form a closed set of lexical forms that contain information pertaining to number and gender (but not case), encoding clues for antecedent-tracking, which can involve a longer distance. A nominal anaphor has both full-fledged lexical form and complete information content. Its link to an antecedent can be long-distance.

When a zero anaphor is used, the structure containing it and the one containing its antecedent are understood to be closely linked in meaning. In cases where a
chain of zero anaphors is related to a single antecedent, a chain of states or events is presented in series. In the series of clauses in [48], a personal name 左小龙 zuo3 xiao3long2 is introduced in [48a] to serve as the antecedent for the zero anaphors in [48b], [48c], [48d], and [48e].

[48]  a. 左小龙蹲在地上。 [nominal phrase initiated]
   zuo3xiao3long2 dun1pa1 zai4 di4shang4
   ZUO_Xiaolong squat PREP ground
   'Zuo Xiaolong squatted on the ground.'

   b. ø [sequence of acts]
   yi1kao4 zhe0 ju2huang2se4 lu4deng1 de0 wei2
   backing ZHE orange road_lamp DE dim
   guang1 light
   'guided by the dim light of the orange road lamp that was adjusted to its minimum brightness'

   c. ø摸索着把散落的引擎部件一片一片拾了起来, [sequence of acts]
   mo1suo3 zhe0 ba3 san4luo4 de0 yin3qing2
   fumble ZHE BA fall_here_and_there DE engine
   bu4jian4 yi1 pian4 yi1 pian4 shi2 le0 qi3lai2
   parts one CL one CL collect LE up
   '(he) fumbled to gather together the scattered engine parts piece by piece'

   d. ø弄得满手都是机油, [related state]
   nong4 de0 man3 shou3 dou1 shi4 ji1you2
   make DE full hand all be machine_oil
   '(he) got his hands completely covered by engine oil'

   e. ø然后让洪岚到店里要了一个塑料袋。 [related sequence]
   ran2hou4 rang4 hong2lan2 dao4 dian4 li3 yao4
   then let Honglan go_to inn inside ask_for
   le0 yi1 ge4 su4jia01 dai4
   LE one CL plastic bag
   '(He) then had Honglan get a plastic bag from a shop.'

   f. 他将这些残缺的活塞、曲轴、连杆等东西放进了塑料袋里。 [An event separated from (a)–(e)]
   ta1 jiang1 zhe4xie1 can2que1 de0 huo2sai1
   he JIANG these incomplete DE piston
   qu1zho2 lian2gan3 deng3 dong1xi1 fang4
   crankshaft connecting_rod and_so_on thing put
'He put the broken pistons, crankshaft, connecting rods, and other parts into the plastic bag.'

Sometimes a pronoun is used instead of a zero anaphor in such a series, due to the influence of several discourse factors. A common factor is that the referential link needs to be reasserted, because there has been an intervention by some other referent, as in the case of [48]. A different personal name 洪岚 hong2lan2 is introduced in [48e] to compete with 左小龙 zuo3 xiao3long2, and an overt pronoun 他 ta1 'he' is used in the subject position to ensure the correct flow of information. Another factor is that a demarcation of states or events needs to be imposed, as in [48f]. The third factor is that in oral speech, the speaker pauses long enough between sentences or repeatedly uses pronouns as fillers, as in [49a].

[49]  
a. 我有一个哥哥。我们俩呀, 早就分开了。因为我吧, 小的时候,  
是抱给人家的。
wo3 you3 yi1 ge1 ge4 ge1ge0 wo3men0 liang3
I have one CL elder_brother we two
ya0 zao3 jiu4 fen1kai1 le0 yin1wei4 wo3 ba0
YA early then part LE because I BA
xiao3 de0 shi2hou0 shi4 bao4gei3 ren2jia1 de0
small DE when be cradle_give other_people DE
'I had one elder brother. My brother and I were separated long time ago, because I was given up for adoption when I was small.'

b. 解放以后我哥哥要找我, 这我们俩又, 又相认。
jie3fang4 yi3hou4 wo3 ge1ge0 yao4 zhao3
Liberation after I elder_brother want seek
wo3 zhe4 wo3men0 liang3 you4 you4
I this we two again again
xiang1ren4
mutually_recognize
'After Liberation, my elder brother wished to look for me. Thus, we two got acquainted again.'

c. 他是哪儿的?
ta1 shi4 na3er0 de0
he be where DE
'Where is he (working) now?'
If, further still, a nominal anaphor is used instead of the two other variants, or if exactly the same nominal phrase is reintroduced, it is once again due to several discourse factors. One is that the anaphoric chain has been blurred due to the occurrence of multiple referents, so that an earlier referent needs to be introduced anew. Another is that the discourse shifts to an entirely different topic, as in [49e]. Yet another reason is that the newly introduced referent only partially overlaps with its antecedent in content, like the he ta1 'he' in [49c], which refers to one of the two persons mentioned in [49b].

The above descriptions on the distribution of anaphora are general tendencies that can be overridden by other factors. Where the encoded grammatical and structural information provides stronger clues, guiding the reference tracking in a fixed direction, the distance in anaphoric dependency can be extended, and even intervening referents will not cause disruption to the anaphoric chain of reference. Such encoded features include lexical information of specific verbs, discourse structure, perspective, and information structure. [50] presents a case where the first-person narrator can reactivate an anaphoric chain in [50e] with a zero anaphor when the narrator-oriented verb 想起 xiang3qi3 ‘recall’ is used, even with the intervention of another referent 某皇帝 mou3 huang2di4 ‘a certain emperor’ as the subject of a sentence in between, that is, in [50c], and the occurrence of one more human referential nominal phrase in a non-argument position, that is, 文武百官 wen2wu3bai3guan1 ‘officials and generals.’ However, in [50h], a zero anaphor is no longer possible because 泄气 xie4qi4 ‘lose hope’ is not lexically distinct enough to evoke a subject zero anaphor that takes the narrator as its antecedent, rather than the intervening 武大郎
wu3da4lang2 ‘Wu the Elder.’ Hence, the deictic pronoun is introduced again in [50h].

[50]  a. 我憧憬放牛读书, 青灯黄卷的淳朴境界,
    wo3 chongjing fangniu du2shu1 qing1
    I want herd_cattle read green
    deng1 huang2 juan4 de0 chun2pu2 jing4jie4
    lamp yellow scroll DE simple realm
    ‘I have been longing for the idealistic life of reading while cattle-herding, and studying the aged classics with a soft-lighted lamp,’

b. 近日翻阅史籍,
    jin4ri4 fan1yue4 shiji2
    recent browse historical_records
    ‘recently, I read history books (and found out that)’

c. 某皇帝曾颁旨,
    mou3 huang2di4 ceng2 ban1 zhi3
    certain emperor ever award decree
    ‘a certain emperor once issued a decree’

d. 京城民居房顶不得高于文武百官上朝站立的地方。
    jing1cheng2 min2ju1 fang2ding3
    capital_of_country house_of_common_people roof
    bu4de2 gao1 yu2 wen2wu3bai3guan1
    must_not higher PREP the_civilian_and_military_courtiers
    shang4chao2 zhan4li4 de0 di4fang1
    hold_court stand DE place
    ‘That buildings in the Capital should not be higher than the place where all the officials and generals gathered to greet the emperor.’

e. 想起漫画家方成的《武大郎开店》,
    xiang3qi3 man2hua4 jia1 fang1cheng2 de0
    think_of cartoon master Fang_Chen DE
    wu3da4lang2 kai1 dian4
    Wu_Dalang open inn
    ‘I recalled a cartoon by Fang Cheng titled “Wu the Elder doing business.”’
f. 武大郎在矮矮的房子里做老板，
wu3da4lang2 zai4 ai3ai3 de0 fang2wu1 li3 zuo4
Wu_Dalang PREP short DE house inside do
lao3ban3
boss
'In which the short Mr. Wu was the boss in a low-ceilinged house.'

g. 又不愿雇用比他高的伙计。
you4 bu4 yuan4 gu4yong4 bi3 ta1 gao1 de0
again NEG want hire than he tall DE
huo3ji4
employee
'And was reluctant to hire anyone taller than he is.'

h. 我不由泄气: 这就是我们的封建心态, 没有田园诗般的生活。
wo3 bu4you2 xie4qi4 zhe4 jiu4 shi4
I cannot_help be_discouraged this then be
wo3men0 de0 feng1jian4 xin1tai4 mei2you3
we DE feudal mentality NEG
tian2yuan2shi1 ban1 de0 sheng1huo2
idyllic like DE life
'At the thought of this, I couldn’t help losing hope: this was our
feudal mindset, and there is no room for the real idyllic life.'

16.2.5. Pro-verbs and headless nominals as anaphors
Pro-verbs are those with more general meaning – such as 做 zuo4 ‘do,’ 干 gan1
‘do,’ 办 ban4 ‘do,’ and 是 shi4 ‘be’ – that are sometimes used to stand for a previ-
ously mentioned verb or VP segment. The semantic content of such verbs needs
to be recovered by establishing an anaphoric link to the previously occurring
antecedent verbs. The 那么做 na4me0 zuo4 ‘do so’ in [51] represents the previous
verb phrase “giving him 160 dollars”; the 这么干 ‘do this’ in [52] is linked with the
previous predicate “adding another optical cable”; and the 我也是 wo3 ye3 shi4
'so do I' in [53] is related to the previous statement “I miss you a lot.”

[51] 我想, 还没有赚到钱, 就要先给他 160 元, 我不愿那么做, 就推掉了。
wo3 xiang3 hai2 mei2you3 zhuang4qian2 jiu4 yao4
I think still NEG make_money then will
xian1 gei3 ta1 160 yuan2 wo3 bu4 yuan4
before give he 160 yuan I NEG be_willing_to
that way do then push LE

'I thought: I have not made any money yet and have to give him 160 dollars. I didn’t want to do that, so I turned down the request.'

Optical fiber cable is very expensive. One such line is enough, why add another? Even developed countries would not do that.'

The Higher Court came to the conclusion that the two had had an intimate relationship, based on telephone (transcripts) which contain affective dialogues such as "I miss you terribly," and "Me too, I miss you so much."

Elements in a construction are sometimes reduced to simpler forms. The remainder of such a reduction needs to have its semantic content recovered through establishing an anaphoric link with an antecedent, either in the same clause or beyond, in the larger discourse. Thus, a reduced segment acts as an anaphor, looking for an antecedent whose grammatical category matches that of the missing element in the reduced form. A typical case is headless nominal phrases, either in the form of Num-CL without the head noun or in the form of the headless 的- de0-construction. The reference of 一二十杯 yì hú shí èr shí bēi 'ten or twenty cups' in [54] is recovered from the antecedent 酒 jiǔ 'boring liquor
(drink alone).’ In the case of headless 的-de0-constructions, its missing head can be either recovered in the immediate context or construed as having an arbitrary reference. Those in [55], namely, 搞原子弹的 gao3 yuan2zi3dan4 de0 'one who makes atomic bomb,' 卖茶叶蛋的 mai4 cha 2ye4dan4 de0 'one who sells tea-leaf eggs,' 拿手术刀的 na2 shou3shu4dao1 de0 'one who works with scalpels,' and 拿剃头刀的 na2 ti4tou2dao1 de0 'one who works with barber’s razor,' all have an arbitrary reference in that they refer to people who have a particular business for a living.

[54] 他一个人在酒吧喝闷酒, 足足喝了一二十杯。

他 by_self PREP bar drink sullen_liquor
zu2zu2 he1 le0 yi1 er4 shi2 bei1
fully drink LE one two ten CL
‘He was drinking alone and sulking in a bar, and ended up finishing ten, twenty full glasses.’

[55] 早些年, 这句 “搞原子弹的不如卖茶叶蛋的, 拿手术刀的不如拿剃头刀的”,

连小学生都知道。

zao3 xie1 nian2 zhe4 ju4 gao3 yuan2zi3dan4 de0 early some year this CL make atomic_bomb DE
bu4ru2 mai4 cha 2ye4dan4 de0 na2 not_as_good_as sell tea_leaf_egg DE handle
shou3shu4dao1 de0 bu4ru2 na2 ti4tou2dao1 scalpel handle barber_razor
not_as_good_as handle barber_razor
de0 lian2 xiao3xue2sheng1 dou1 zhi1dao4 DE even pupil all know
‘In those earlier years, the saying was well known (in China), even among elementary school students: “those who work on atomic bombs fare worse than those who sell tea-flavored eggs, and those who work with scalpels fare worse than those who work with barber’s razors.”’ [antecedent understood as an arbitrary reference]

What has been discussed in this sub-section does not involve ellipsis, because the relevant cases involve syntactic remnants. Zero anaphora also does not involve ellipsis, as it concerns the zero form, which, though not directly observable, cannot be considered omitted.
This chapter introduces “information-packaging” constructions, which differ syntactically from canonical constructions. These information-packaging constructions present and package information differently from canonical structures (see Chapter 2). It is important to note that although many of the non-canonical sentences adopting information-packaging constructions express the same truth condition or illocutionary meaning as their canonical counterparts, there are also instances of such non-canonical sentences without canonical counterparts (see Chapter 15). Although the information-packaging function remains the same regardless of whether a sentence has a canonical counterpart or not, this function is best illustrated with pairs of information-packaging [a] sentences and their canonical [b] counterparts in [1]–[8].

[1]  
a. 这两套书他看过。/他这两套书看过。 [object preposing]
   zhe4 liang3 tao4 shu1 ta1 kan4 guo4 ta1
   this two CL book he look GUO he
   zhe4 liang3 tao4 shu1 kan4 guo4
   this two CL book look GUO
   ‘These two series of books, he has read.’

   b. 他看过这两套书。
   ta1 kan4 guo4 zhe4 liang3 tao4 shu1
   he look GUO this two CL book
   ‘He has read these two series of books.’

[2]  
a. 摇篮里躺着出世未久的婴儿。 [locative inversion]
   yao2lan2 li3 tang3 zhe0 chu1shi4wei4jiu3 de0
cradle inside lie ZHE new_born DE
   ying1er2
   baby
   ‘In the cradle lies the newly born baby.’
b. 出生未久的婴儿躺在摇篮里。

`chu1shi4wei4jiu3  de0  ying1er2  tang3  zai4  yao2lan2`

`new_born  DE  baby  lie  PREP  cradle`

li3
inside

‘The newly born baby lies in the cradle.’


`jia1li3  lai2  le0  yi1  ge4  wai4guo2ren2`

`home  come  LE  one  CL  foreigner`

‘(What happened at our home was that) a foreigner came.’

b. 有一个外国人来家里。

`you3  yi1  ge4  wai4guo2ren2  lai2  jia1li3`

`YOU  one  CL  foreigner  come  home`

‘A foreigner came to my home.’


`ta1  ba3  na4  ben3  shu1  kan4  wan2  le0`

`he  BA  that  CL  book  look  finish  LE`

‘He finished reading that book.’

b. 他看完了那本书。

`ta1  kan4  wan2  le0  na4  ben3  shu1`

`he  look  finish  LE  that  CL  book`

‘He finished reading that book.’

[5] a. 他被蜜蜂刺了一下。 [bei construction]

`ta1  bei4  mi4feng1  ci4  le0  yi1  xia4`

`he  BEI  bee  sting  LE  one  CL`

‘He was stung by a bee.’

b. 蜜蜂刺了他一下。

`mi4feng1  ci4  le0  ta1  yi1  xia4`

`bee  sting  LE  he  one  CL`

‘A bee stung him.’

[6] a. 我是从美国来的。 [shi ... de construction]

`wo3  shi4  cong2  mei3guo2  lai2  de0`

`I  be  PREP  the_United_States  come  DE`

‘It is from the United States that I came.’
b. 我从美国来。
wo3 cong2 mei3guo2 lai2
I PREP the_United_States come
'I came from the United States.'

[7] a. 他们连自己的心跳声都听见了。 [lian … dou/ye construction]
ta1men0 lian2 zi4ji3 de0 xin1tiao4 sheng1 dou1 they even self DE heartbeat sound all
ting1jian4 le0 hear LE
'They can even hear their own heartbeat.'

b. 他们听见了自己的心跳声。
ta1men0 ting1jian4 le0 zi4ji3 de0 xin1tiao4 sheng1 they hear LE self DE heartbeat sound
'They heard their own heartbeat.'

[8] a. (你) 只有这条路 (你) 可以走。 [zhi sentences]
ni3 zhi3you3 zhe4 tiao2 lu4 ni3 ke2yi3 zou3 you only this CL way you can walk
'This is the only way you can take.'

b. 你只可以走这条路。
ni3 zhi1 ke3yi3 zou3 zhe4 tiao2 lu4 you only can walk this CL way
'You only can take this way.'

The word order variations are largely motivated by how speakers choose to convey parts within the sentences as “given” or “new” information in discourse, which was introduced in Chapter 15. While phonetic stress may be a device to mark emphasis, Mandarin also utilizes various syntactic means to package prominent information. Given information, or “old” or “familiar” information, is what the speaker takes or assumes to be shared by both the speaker and the addressee. This is termed as “discourse-old.” By contrast, “unfamiliar” or “new” information that is newly introduced to the current discourse is “discourse-new.” In fact, discourse-old information may not always be mentioned in a given context. Once a salient relation between one entity and another contextually known entity is established, this entity, albeit apparently new, can be counted as discourse-old.

[9] a. 有位朋友送我一本书。作者是 Roni。
you3 wei4 peng2you3 song4 wo3 yi1 ben3 shu1 YOU CL friend give I one CL book
zuo4zhe3  shi4  Roni  
author  be  Roni
'A friend of mine gave me a book. The author is Roni.'

b.  月梅直奔阿吉的练团室。门掩着。
yue4mei2  zhi2  ben4  a1ji2  de0  lian4tuan2shi4
Yuemei directly run  A-Ji  DE  practice_room
men2  yan3  zhe0
door close  ZHE
'Yuemei rushed to A-Ji’s practice room. The door was closed.'

ren2  neng2gou4  fa1sheng1  dong4wu4  ye3  hui4
human can make_sound  animal also can
fa1sheng1  niao3  hui4  jiao4  hui4  fei4
make_sound  bird  can chirp  dog can bark
'Men can make sounds, so do animals. Birds can chirp. Dogs can bark.'

作者 zuo4zhe3 ‘author’ in [9a] is discourse-old information because it relates to the book just mentioned. Likewise, there is a part-whole relation between the door and the room in [9b]; hence, we can infer that men2 ‘door’ refers to the practice room in the first clause. Familiar bare nouns like 鸟 niao3 ‘bird’ and 狗 gou3 ‘dog’ in [10] are discourse-old because they refer to commonly known and shared knowledge. Their familiarity is enhanced in this case by the mentioning of their hypernym 动物 dong4wu4 ‘animal’ in the context.

Discourse-old information often correlates with addressee-old information in the sense that discourse-old information is usually familiar to the addressee. However, they are not absolutely identical. There are cases where an addressee can easily and accurately pinpoint the referent of a term, even though this term occurs for the first time in the discourse.

zong3tong3  PREP  zhong1you2  nu3li4  tan4kan1
president  PREP  China_Petroleum  work_hard  prospect
you2yuan2  suo3  hua1fei4  de0  xin1li4  biao3shi4
oil_source  SUO  spend  DE  efforts  express
ken3ding4
acknowledge
'The president acknowledges China Petroleum’s prospecting efforts for oil.'
The sentence above shows that, although 总统 zong3tong3 ‘president’ seems to appear for the first time, its referent is known to the addressee. In this sense, it encodes discourse-new but addressee-old information. On the other hand, information that is new to the addressee (i.e., “addressee-new”) tends to serve as the focus or emphasis of a clause.

ni3 shi4 cong2 na2li3 lai2 de0
‘Where are you from?’

b. A: 我是从美国来的。
wo3 shi4 cong2 mei3guo2 lai2 de0
‘It is the United States that I am from.’

The phrase 从美国 cong2 mei3guo2 ‘from United States’ in [12b] is a focus answer to the question in [12a], with the presupposition that “you have come from somewhere.” This focus reading is enforced by the 是...的 shi4...de0 construction.

Terms like “topic” and “focus” have been commonly used to encode (or package) the given/new pragmatic information. These two terms are similar. However, they differ in that topics express discourse-old information, while foci express addressee-new information. Specifically, there are two main devices to convey pragmatic information: word order alternation, exemplified in [1]–[5], and focus constructions, exemplified in [6]–[8]. Before elaborating on each pattern, some general properties of information structure are summarized as follows.

1. The linear order of a sentence is closely related to information structure; in particular, new and specific information is usually preceded by old and general information. In other words, a more informative item tends to occur toward the end of a sentence.
2. Occurrence in the pre-verbal position marks the information contained as given or definite.
3. Given information is usually expressed by a definite or specific nominal phrase, while new information is often encoded by an indefinite or bare form.
4. Sentence may be partitioned into “topic” and “comment” parts. The former identifies a contextually understood entity and the latter elaborates on or provides more information for this entity. In a canonical subject–predicate pattern, the subject may be interpreted as the topic and the predicate as the comment.
17.1. Topic and object preposing

A topic typically involves preposing a participant of the main predicate to achieve the following information effects: signaling discourse-old information, setting a frame, and contrasting topics.

17.1.1. Discourse-old information

A topic usually occurs at the beginning of a sentence, and the rest of the sentence, the comment, elaborates on it or talks about it. Topics usually take the form of definite or specific nominal phrases, and they are either mentioned or relevant to the previous discourse. Take the short narrative in [13] as an example.

[13]   a. 我特别喜欢读... 贾平凹的书。[SVO]
        wo3 te4bie2  xi3huan1  du2  jia3ping2wa4  de0  shu1
        I especially like read JIA_PINGWA DE book
        ‘I especially like to read books by JIA Pingwa.’

   b. 在台湾只看到了... 贾平凹的两本书, ...  
        zai4  tai2wan1  zhi3  kan4dao4  le0  ping2wa4  de0
        PREP Taiwan only see LE PINGWA DE
        liang3  ben3  shu1
        two CL book
        ‘In Taiwan, I only saw two of Pingwa’s books...’

   c. 这两本书我都要看烂了。[OSV]
        zhe4  liang3  ben3  shu1  wo3  dou1yao4  kan4
        this two CL book I almost look
        lan4  le0
        torn_apart LE
        ‘These two books are worn and torn because I have read them so often.’

The underlined post-verbal object in [13a], books written by JIA Pingwa, is discourse-new information, just introduced to the discourse. In the following sentence [13b] the speaker specifies two of his books that she can get in Taiwan. When more new information about these two books is added in [13c], the target referent, which is a definite nominal 这两本书 zhe4 liang3 ben3 shu1 ‘these two books’ and signals its status as discourse-old information, occurs in the sentence-initial position as a topic for the remaining comment clause to elaborate on. In addition to definite nominal phrases, bare nominal phrases and specific nominal phrases, as exemplified in [14] and [15], respectively, can also function as topics. Moreover, a specific nominal phrase occurring with the modal verb 能 neng2 ‘can’ in [15b] is interpreted as a generic topic.
只要肯做, 困难一定能克服。

As long as (you) are willing to do it, difficulties can be overcome.

一个可容以万计人数的大堂, 出现在眼前?

A hall that can accommodate tens of thousands of people appears in front of us.

一篇上好的佳作并不是只靠以上三点就能完成。

An excellent writing cannot be achieved just by the above three points.

17.1.2. Frame-setting, aboutness topics

Discourse-old topics set a spatial, temporal, or eventive frame relevant to the comment clause, which talks “about” or adds new information to the topics. Sentences containing frame-setting or “aboutness” topics may exhibit a “part–whole” relation between the comment and the topic.

香港消费的水果以进口的为主...

Fruits consumed in Hong Kong are mainly imported...
b. 在进口的各种水果中，以橙子和苹果最多。
   
   ‘Among various imported fruits, oranges and apples are the most common.’

The topic ‘among the imported fruits’ in [16.b] refers to the previously mentioned imported foods in Hong Kong in [16a], meanwhile, setting a “frame” (the “whole”) for the remaining comment clause to specify the most common subtypes: oranges and apples (the “parts”).

Sentences in [17] through [19] further illustrate the part–whole relation and the frame-setting function of the topic, for example, the Song Dynasty’s territory and population in [17] and Chinese dynasties in [18]. As for [19b], a so-called double-subject construction can be seen as having an aboutness topic. Specifically, the first nominal phrase can serve as a topic, particularly when it is followed by a longer pause or a phrasal boundary marker like 啊 a4 or 呢 ne0.

[17] 宋朝地广人众，纵然战败，实力仍强。
   
   ‘The Song Dynasty has vast territory and a large population; even if it is defeated (in this war), it still has great strength.’

[18] 中国历代吃蟹花样繁多。
   
   ‘The China dynasties have various ways of eating crabs.’

[19] a. 你六十四年次的吗？你看起来怎么那么老？我不太相信呢！
   
   ‘(You said) you were born in 1975? How come you look so old? I don’t believe it!’
b. 你身份证让我看一下好不好？

ni3  shen1fen4zheng4  rang4  wo3  kan4  yi1  xia4
you  identity_card  let  I  look  one  CL

hao3  bu4  hao3
OK   NEG   OK

'How about your ID, can I see it?'

Discourse-old information applies not only to elements that have been explicitly mentioned in the prior discourse, but also to those that are relevant to the current discussion, though not having been explicitly said. Location, temporal, and prepositional phrases are commonly used as frame-setting topics.

[20]  a.  中研院的对面有所胡适国小，侧边有座胡适公园，院区内还有个胡适纪念馆。

zhong1yan2yuan4   de0   dui4mian4   you3   suo3
Academia_Sinica   DE   opposite_side   YOU   CL

hu2shi4   guo2xiao3   ce4bian1   you3   zuo4
HU_SHI   elementary_school   side   YOU   CL

hu2shi4   gong1yuan2   yuan4qu1   nei4   hai2   you3   ge4
HU_SHI   park   campus   inside   also   have   CL

hu2shi4   ji4nian4guan3
HU_SHI   memorial_museum

'At Academia Sinica, there is HU Shi Elementary School in front of it, HU Shi Park to its side, and HU Shi Memorial Museum on campus.'

b.  在这个地方，胡适先生似乎享有着一份特殊的地位。

zai4   zhe4   ge4   di4fang1   hu2shi4   xian1sheng0   si4hu1
PREP   this   CL   place   HU_SHI   Mr.   seem

xiang3you3   zhe0   yi1   fen4   te4shu1   de0   di4wei4
enjoy   ZHE   one   CL   special   DE   respect

'At this place, Mr. HU Shi seems to enjoy a special status.'

[21]  在台大的四年里，我只听过一次钱校长…的演说。

zai4   tai2da4   de0   si4   nian2   li3   wo3   zhi3   ting1
be_at   NTU   DE   four   year   in   I   only   listen

guo4   yi1   ci4   qian2   xiao4zhang3   de0   yan3shuo1
GUO   one   CL   QIAN   president   DE   speech

'In the four years (when I was at) National Taiwan University, I only heard President QIAN’s speech once.'
From Zhong's argumentation, we know that Taiwan has become over-medicalized.'

In the context of mentioning the places near Academia Sinica named after Dr. Hu Shishi, the topic 在这个地方 zai4 zhe4 ge4 di4fang1 ‘at this place’ in [20b] is uttered to continue the discussion and serve as a background for its following comment clause. The sentence in [21] illustrates temporal frame-setting topics, while [22] contains a prepositional topic phrase: 从 锺的论述 cong2 zhong1 de0 lun4shu4 ‘from Mr. Zhong’s statement.’ Aboutness topics may include phrases introduced by 至于 zhi4yu4, 关于 guan1yu2, or 对于 dui4yu2 ‘as for, regarding.’ These topics direct the hearer’s attention to some salient entities relevant to the previous discourse, though they are not necessarily identical to the prior mentioned elements.

[23] a. 「文化大革命」中林被捕入狱四年半。

During [the] Cultural Revolution, Lin was jailed for four years.’

b. 大量的精心作品先已浸入水盆，浴缸中溶成纸浆, 从下水道冲走。

A lot of his carefully crafted works had been immersed in water in a basin or tub to dissolve into pulp, and flushed away through the sewer.’

c. 至于油画, 则早在杭州沦陷后被日军用作防雨布了。

Oil painting then early PREP Hangzhou fall after BEI Japanese_army use_as
As for his paintings on canvas, (they) were already gone when Hangzhou had fallen to the Japanese army earlier, used by them as a tarpaulin.

In the context of discussing the political turmoil that devastated art works in the 1950s, the painter 林 was mentioned in [23a]. Although the topic phrase 大量的精心作品 da4liang4 de0 jing1xin1 zuo4pin3 ‘a lot of (Lin’s) carefully crafted art masterpieces’ in [23b] is not explicitly mentioned in the previous context, the knowledge of his works has been assumed to be shared by the addressee. Hence, appearing in the sentence-initial position, the phrase facilitates confining the issue to his art works. In its following sentence [23c], the attention is shifted to his works that were lost earlier: the topic 至于油画 zhi4yu2 you2hua4 ‘as for the oil paintings’ was elaborated on by the following comment clause.

17.1.3. Contrastive topics
In addition to the topics conveying given information, a topic may be introduced into the discourse to contrast a relevant entity with what has been established in the context. This is often termed as a “contrastive topic.” It is discourse-old, but it is informative and sometimes addressee-new. A contrastive topic is not necessarily mentioned previously.

[24]  a. 周先生子女皆知上进...
   zhou1 xian1sheng0 zi2nu3 jie1 zhi1 shang4jin4
   ZHOU Mr. children all know self-motivated
   ‘Mr. Zhou’s children are all self-motivated…’

b. 对于孩子的教养, 周先生主张让孩子思想多方面发展。
   dui4yu2 hai2zi0 de0 jiao4yang3 zhou1 xian1sheng0
   PREP child DE nurture Zhou Mr.
   zhu3zhang1 rang4 hai2zi0 si1xiang3 duo1 fang1mian4
   suggest let child thought many facet
   fa1zhan3
dev
   ‘As for how to raise his children, Mr. Zhou believes that one should allow their ideas and thoughts to develop in multiple directions.’

c. 但行为则须稍有约束。
   dan4 xing2wei2 ze2 xu1 shao1 you3 yue1shu4
   but behavior then need somewhat YOU discipline
   ‘… but their behavior should be somewhat disciplined.’
[24] discusses Mr. Zhou's philosophy for raising children. [24b] contains a typical frame-setting or aboutness topic, 对于孩子的教养 dui4yu2 hai2zi0 de0 jiao4yang3 'as for raising the children,' for the comment clause to assert support for his children’s free-thinking development. In [24c], the contrastive topic 行为 xingwei2 'behavior' contrasts with 思想 si1xiang3 'thought' in [24b] in that, unlike the freedom given to the development of thoughts, he claims that behavior should be disciplined.

Contrastive topics allow indefinite but specific nominal phrases, usually accompanied by prenominal modifiers, as in [25].

[25] 何先生藏书逾万本一些目前国内已不多见的珍本, 在他的书架上也可找到。he2 xian1sheng0 cang2shu1 yu2 wan4 ben3 yi1xie1 mu4qian2 guo2nei4 yi3
HE Mr. collection_of_books exceed ten_thousand CL some at_present within_the_country already bu4duo1jian4 de0 zhen1ben3 zai4 ta1 de0 rare DE precious_book PREP he DE shu1jia4 shang4 ye3 ke3 zhao3dao4 bookshelf on also can find
Mr. He’s collection is over ten thousands books . . . Some of [the] rare books which are rarely seen in our country, (they) can be found in his bookshelves.’

Another characteristic of contrastive topics is that they are often preceded (or contextually understood) by a topic of sum, of which the contrastive topic is a subordinate part or hyponym. For example, the answer in [27a], 多半儿的意思 duo1ban4er0 de0 yi4si0 ‘most of the meanings,’ is part of the topic of sum in [26], Dr. You’s speech. The remaining answers employ contrastive topics to juxtapose the parts that the speaker understands and those that s/he does not.

[26] Q: 刚才尤博士的演讲, 你听得懂听不懂? gang1cai2 you2 bo2shi4 de0 yan2jiang3 ni3 ting1 just_now YOU Dr. DE speech you listen de0 dong3 ting1 bu4 dong3 DE understand listen NEG understand
‘As for Dr. You’s speech just now, did you understand it?’

[27] A: a. 多半儿的意思我都听懂了。duo1ban4er0 de0 yi4si0 wo3 dou1 ting1 most DE meaning I all listen dong3 le0 understand LE
‘I could understand most of the contents.’
b. 只有一小部分不太懂。
   zhī'èr yì xiǎo bù fen bú tài dòng
   'There is only a small portion that I don’t understand.'

c. 可能是那些字, 我还没学过。
   kě néng shì nà xiē zì wǒ hái méi xué guò
   ‘Maybe it is because of those words that I haven’t learned.’

17.1.4. Clause-internal pre-verbal objects
An object may be placed in between the subject and the verb. They are called clause-internal pre-verbal objects because they function within the clause. These clause-internal pre-verbal objects can be given or shared information but are intended for emphasis or contrast. A pre-verbal object can be either a definite nominal phrase, as in [28], or a bare nominal, as in [29].

[28] a. 李先生这一觉睡到次日辰时才醒。
   lǐ xiānsheng yí jiào shuì dào cì rì chén shí cái xǐng
   ‘Mr. Li slept and didn’t wake up until 8ish [the] next morning.’

b. 尽管对这本书所讲的宏观经济理论我略知一二, 但这本书却看不懂。
   jǐn guǎn duì zhè běn shū suǒ jiǎng de guān jiāo yí lìng, dàn zhè běn shū què bù kàn dǒng
   ‘Although I understand a little about the macro-economy theory discussed in this book, (but) I don’t understand this book.’

[29] 许多民众最近纷纷反应中央健康保险局电话打不进去。
   xǔ duō mín zú zuì jìn fēn fēn yǎng fàn zhōng yāng jiǎnkāng bǎo xù jù diànhuà dǎ bù jìn qù
   ‘Many people recently one after another complained to the Central Health Insurance Bureau that they could not reach their telephone number.’
Many people recently complained that calls to [the] Central Health Insurance Bureau failed to connect.

Clause-internal objects may convey new information, such as 功课 ‘homework’ in [30].

Mr. You went home in the afternoon after drinking and noticed his younger son didn’t finish his homework.

Clause-internal objects are often used to express contrastive alternatives. The examples in [31] below exemplify parallel structures of contrasting various foods.

When I was young, I was picky with foods. I didn’t eat chicken, duck, fish, or meat.

In addition to chicken, duck, fish, or meat, I also seldom ate vegetables and fruits. But I drank milk a lot.

A clause-internal object may further specify a part of a superordinate or hyponym that is contextually understood.
[32]  a. 爸爸妈妈...说...你书念不好就不让吃饭...就是恐怕不上中学。
    ba4ba0 ma1ma0 shuo1 ni3 shu1 nian4 bu4 hao3
    father mother say you book read NEG good
    jiu4 bu4 rang4 chi1fan4 jiu4shi4 kong3pa4 bu4
    thus NEG allow eat just afraid NEG
    shang4 zhong1xue2
    up middle_school
    ‘Dad and Mom kept saying if you didn’t study well, you were not
    allowed to eat. They were just afraid that I wouldn’t be able to get
    into a middle school.’

  b. ...其实四川的中学也考上了。
    qi2shi2 si4chuan1 de0 zhong1xue2 ye3
    in_fact Sichuan_province DE middle_school also
    kao3 shang4 le0
    examine up LE
    ‘...in fact I did test into a middle school in Sichuan.’

In [32b] the contrasted object 四川的中学 si4chuan1 de0 zhong1xue2 ‘middle school
in Sichuan’ is an instance of the high middle school, which was introduced in [32a].

Pre-verbal clause-internal objects often occur in a negative context, as shown in
[33]. In this case, the adverbs 也 ye3 ‘also’ or 都 dou1 ‘all’ are often in use.

[33]  a. 他越想越害怕...他饭也吃不下, 肚也睡不着...
    ta1 yue4 xiang3 yue4 hai4pa4 ta1 fan4 ye3
    he more think more fear he meal also
    chi1bu4xia4 jiao4 ye3 shui4bu4zhao2
    cannot_eat sleep also cannot_sleep
    ‘The more he thought about (it), the more scared he became. He could
    neither eat nor sleep...’

  b. 有一只小蚱蜢叫明明, 他非常顽皮, 功课都不写...
    you3 yi1 zhi1 xiao3 zha4meng3 jiao4 ming2ming2
    YOU one CL little grasshopper call MINGMING
    ta1 fei1chang2 wan2pi2 gong1ke4 dou1 bu4 xie3
    he very naughty homework all NEG write
    ‘There is a little cricket called Mingming. He is very naughty and
doesn’t like to do homework...’

The existence of universal quantifiers often triggers preposing of objects, as
exemplified in [34]. Strong quantifiers indicating higher degrees, such as 每 mei3
‘every’ and 很多 hen3duo1 ‘many, much,’ are typically followed by 都 dou1 ‘all.’ In
[34], 每一张按摩椅 mei3 yi1 zhang1 an4mo1yi3 ‘every massage chair’ is highlighted, bringing contrastive focus to the set of chairs in the previous clause.

Moreover, wh-phrases wh-indefinites, can co-occur with 都 dou1 ‘all’ in affirmative sentences to function as clause-internal contrastive topics. They are exemplified by 什么 shen2me0 ‘WHAT’ + 都 dou1 ‘all’ in [35a], 怎么样 zen3me0yang4 ‘how’ + 都 dou1 ‘all’ rendered in [35b], and 哪里 na3li3 ‘where’ + 都 dou1 ‘all’ in [35c].

When a clause-internal wh-phrase and 都 dou1 ‘all’ co-occur in a negative sentence, it leads to a negative polarity “any” reading. In [36a], 什么 shen2me0 ‘what’ has the typical interrogative function, but it is interpreted as “any” in the negative sentence in [36b], and so are the wh-phrases in [37].
Cabanne asked him, “What do you believe then?”

‘He answered, “Of course I don’t believe in anything.”’

‘The prince claims that . . . he won’t marry anyone except her.’

Younger brother says, “When I grow up, I can do everything.”

‘Younger brother says, “When I grow up, I can do everything.”’

‘I will give out everything. I have everything.’
a. [他给我什么东西]我都吃。
   ta1 gei3 wo3 shen2me0 dong1xi0 wo3 dou1 chi1
   he give I what thing I all eat
   ‘Whatever he gives me, I will eat.’

b. [谁欺侮她]我们都放过。
   shui2 qi1wu3 ta1 wo3men0 dou1 bu4 fang4guo4
   who bully she we all NEG let_go
   ‘Whoever bullies her, we will not let him go.’

In addition to the indefinite usage above, wh-phrases are sometimes used in rhetorical questions, as shown in [40].

[40] a. ...她冲我喊，什么没给你? 你还想要什么?
   ta1 chong4 wo3 han3 shen2me0 mei2 gei3 ni3
   she PREP I yell what NEG give you
   ni3 hai2 xiang3yao4 shen2me0
   you yet want what
   ‘She shouted at me, “What didn’t I give to you? What do you want?”’

b. 「你都没有什么想跟我说的吗?」「你怎么都不说话啊?」
   ni3 dou1 mei2you3 shen2me0 xiang3 gen1 wo3
   you all NEG you what want PREP I
   shuo1 de0 ma0 ni3 zen3me0 dou1 bu4 shuo1hua4
   say DE MA you how all NEG talk
   a0
   A
   ‘Didn’t you have anything to talk to me (about)? Why didn’t you talk?’

Rather than its literal interrogative meaning of asking the question of what was not given, the rhetorical question in [40a] implies that “I have given you everything.” Likewise, instead of asking if there is anything you wanted to tell me, the speaker in [40b] presumes that you should have something to tell me.

17.1.5. Topic chain
In addition to the topic–comment pattern at the sentence level, a topic can represent unexpressed co-referential nominals in subsequent sentences. The domain that is associated with the topic may possibly cover many sentences that follow it. The first occurrence topic (a “shared topic” or “chain topic”) and its subsequent unexpressed nouns form a so-called “topic chain” (see Chapter 16).
In [41a], the dermatologist 'Doctor Guan' is the topic in its own clause, and it is also a shared topic that the unexpressed subject pronoun in [41b] refers to. The use of zero or unexpressed pronouns is quite common in Mandarin when the references of the noun phrases are retrievable in a certain context.

Phrases with various grammatical functions can serve as topic chains. Consider the examples in [42] and [43].
b. 收到后，好兴奋，开始盘算该吃几碗阳春面……牛肉面可吃多少碗？

After I received it, I would be excited and start to calculate how many bowls of plain noodles I could eat, how many bowls of beef noodles I could eat.

c. 偶尔写点稿有三十块的稿费，就加两块臭豆腐。

Sometimes I would earn $30 for publishing an article, and then I could have added two pieces of stinky tofu.

The grammatical subjects, such as 我 'I' in [42] and 我妈妈 'my mother' in [43], link all unexpressed nouns in the respective sentence to form a topic chain. Moreover, a topic chain may contain another topic chain in
the same passage. For example, the direct objects, such as 挂号信 gua4hao4xin4 'registered mail' in [42] and 剩下来的谷粒 sheng4xia4lai2 de0 gu3li4 'remaining grains' in [43], serve as separate topic chains. Consequently, there are two topic chains in each of the two passages above, the subject 我 wo3 'I' and the object 挂号信 gua4hao4xin4 'registered mail' in [42], and 我母亲 wo3 mu3qin1 'my mother' and 谷粒 gu3li4 'grains' in [43]. Note that the primary and secondary topic chain may have different relations. For instance, the secondary topic chain 'registered mail' in [42] is only linked to the second sentence, referring to its receipt, while both the primary and the secondary topic chains are linked to most of the sentences in [43].

A bare noun as a clause-internal object, as in [44], or an indefinite generic subject, as in [45], can serve as a topic chain as well.

[44] a. 许多民众最近纷纷反应中央健康保险局电话打不进去。
    xu3duo1 min2zhong4 zui4jin4 fen1fen1
    many people recently one_after_another
    fan3ying4 zhong1yang1 jian4kang1bao3xian3ju2
    complain central Central_Health_Insurance_Bureau
    dian4hua4 da3 bu4 jin4qu4
    telephone dial NEG into
    'Many people complained that calls to [the] Central Health Insurance Bureau were always failing to connect.'

b. 即使打进去了，工作人员的答案又不相同。
   ji2shi3 da3 jin4qu4 le0 gong1zuo4ren2yuan2
   even_though dial into LE staff
   de0 da2an4 you4 bu4 xiang1tong2
   DE answer also NEG same
   'Even if they made it successfully, the answers they received from the staff varied.'

[45] a. 一只狗、一只猫不是生活得很愉快吗？
    yi1 zhi1 gou3 yi1 zhi1 mao1 bu4shi4 sheng1huo2
    one CL dog one CL cat NEG live
    de0 hen3 yu1kuai4 ma0
    DE very happy MA
    'Doesn’t a dog or a cat have a happy life?'

b. 早上吃饱了之后出去每个人到处晃一晃，然后就回家睡觉了...
   zao3shang4 chi1 bao3 le0 zhi1hou4 chu1qu4
   morning eat full LE after go_out
everyone here_and_there wander then
thus go_home sleep LE
'They go out and wander around after having a full meal in the
morning, and then go back home to sleep . . .'
c.
liu1da0 wan3shang4 you4 pao3 hui2lai2 le0 pao3
walk evening again run back LE run
hui2lai2 zhi1hou4 shui4jiao4 di4er4tian1 you4
back after sleep the_next_day again
qi3lai2 pao3lai2pao3qu4
wake_up run_around
'They wander, and then come back at night to sleep, and get up and
run around again the next day.'

An unexpressed argument can refer to a situation under discussion, and it does
not have to have an identical nominal phrase as its precedent. In the context in
[46], the topic chain concerns a situation that doctors rarely stop in front of the
wishing pond. It is this situation, rather than a particular nominal phrase, that is
referred to in the following discourse by unexpressed forms.

[46] a. [这里的医生绝少在许愿池前停留过]。
zhe4li3 de0 yi1sheng1 jue2shao3 zai4 xu3yuan4chi2
here DE doctor scarcely PREP wishing_pond
qian2 ting2liu2 guo4
front stay GUO
'Doctors here scarcely ever stop in front of the wishing pond.'
b. 从我进医院工作到现在, 我真的没有见过。
cong2 wo3 jin4 yi1yuan4 gong1zu04 dao4 xian4zai4
PREP I enter hospital work PREP now
wo3 zhen1de0 mei2you3 jian4 guo4
I really NEG see GUO
'I have never seen that ever since I joined the hospital.'
c. 真要说有的话, 他们顶多只是经过而已。
zhen1 yao4 shuo1 you3 de0 hua4 ta1men0
if want say have DE words they
ding3duo1 zhi3shi4 jing1guo4 er2yi3
at_most only pass_by only
'The closest I have seen was some of them passing by [the wishing pond].'
17.2. Word order variations

17.2.1. Inversion
This section presents inversion patterns in sentences containing locative phrases or unaccusative verbs. The word order variations largely follow the information structure outlined at the beginning of this chapter. In general, inversion not only signals the discourse-old information status but also uses this given information to set up the background.

17.2.1.1. Locative inversion
A common way to clearly indicate the informational status of a canonic subject (usually an agent or experiencers, occasionally a theme) as new is to use locative inversion construction and put the nominal phrase in the post-verbal position, as in [47]–[49].

[47] 池的旁边有五个大大小小的拱门, 里头躺着好多病人…
chi2 de0 pang2bian1 you3 wu3 ge4
pond DE side have five CL
da4da4xiao3xiao3 de0 gong3men2 li3tou2 tang3 zhe0
big_and_small DE arch inside lie ZHE
hao3duo1 bing4ren2
many patient
‘Next to the pond were five arches. Inside, there lay many patients . . . ’

[48] 门外放着一张大狼皮, 做成了垫子的模样。
men2 wai4 fang4 zhe0 yi1 zhang1 da4 lang2pi2
door outside place ZHE one CL big wolf_skin
zuo4 cheng2 le0 dian4zi0 de0 mo2yang4
make into LE carpet DE look
‘Outside the door [was] placed a big wolf skin, which was made into a carpet.’

[49] a. 有一只小猴子爬到树上。
you3 yi1 zhi1 xiao3 hou2zi0 pa2 dao4 shu4
YOU one CL small monkey climb PREP tree
shang4
on
‘A monkey climbed up the tree.’

b. 树上爬着一只小猴子, 猴子吃着香蕉 . . .
shu4 shang4 pa2 zhe0 yi1 zhi1 xiao3 hou2zi0
tree on climb ZHE one CL small monkey
Information structure

17.2.1.2. Unaccusative verb

An unaccusative verb allows a single argument (typically a theme or experiencer) to occur in either the subject or the post-verbal position (see Chapter 4). The former order reflects the topic–comment structure, whereas the latter usually introduces new information.

[50] 他们看见家里来了一个外国人, 都很好奇。

\[\begin{array}{l}
\text{ta1men0} \quad \text{kan4jian4} \quad \text{jia1li3} \quad \text{lai0} \quad \text{yi1} \quad \text{ge4} \\
\text{they} \quad \text{see} \quad \text{home} \quad \text{come} \quad \text{LE} \quad \text{one} \quad \text{CL} \\
\text{wai4guo2ren2} \quad \text{dou1} \quad \text{hen3} \quad \text{hao4qi2} \\
\text{foreigner} \quad \text{all} \quad \text{very} \quad \text{curious} \\
\end{array}\]

‘When they saw that a foreigner came to our home, they were curious.’

[51] 果然可以发现最近坊间出现了不少新的名词。

\[\begin{array}{l}
\text{guo3ran2} \quad \text{ke3yi3} \quad \text{fa1xian4} \quad \text{zui4jin4} \quad \text{fang3jian1} \\
\text{as\_expected} \quad \text{can} \quad \text{find} \quad \text{recently} \quad \text{neighborhood} \\
\text{chu1xian4} \quad \text{le0} \quad \text{bu4shao3} \quad \text{xin1} \quad \text{de0} \quad \text{ming2ci2} \\
\text{appear} \quad \text{LE} \quad \text{many} \quad \text{new} \quad \text{DE} \quad \text{term} \\
\end{array}\]

‘As expected, one can find new terms appearing and being used.’

[52] 岛上的原住民也消失了十多个民族。

\[\begin{array}{l}
\text{dao3} \quad \text{shang4} \quad \text{de0} \quad \text{yuan2zhu4min2} \quad \text{ye3} \quad \text{xiao1shi1} \\
\text{island} \quad \text{on} \quad \text{DE} \quad \text{aborigine} \quad \text{also} \quad \text{vanish} \\
\text{le0} \quad \text{shi2} \quad \text{duo1} \quad \text{ge4} \quad \text{min2zu2} \\
\text{LE} \quad \text{ten} \quad \text{more} \quad \text{CL} \quad \text{people} \\
\end{array}\]

‘Of the aborigines on this island, over ten groups have become extinct.’

The examples above show that, in addition to locative inversion, unaccusative verbs can also trigger information-packaging with inversion. Unaccusative verbs can appear in a locative inversion construction sentence, such as involving the actual location of the event, as in [50], or the metaphor location of the event, as in
In addition to the above-mentioned condition of familiar–new information bipartition, an inversion commonly serves a scene-setting function at the outset of a narrative, such as [47] through [49] above. The verbs used often include existential, posture, or locating verbs (e.g., 有 you3 'have,' 放 fang4 'place,' 躺 tang3 'lay,' 爬 pa2 'crawl,' 装 zhuang1 'load,' etc.) and presentational unaccusative verbs (e.g., 来 lai2 'come,' 出现 chu1xian4 'appear,' 消失 xiao1shi1 'disappear,' 走 zou3 'leave,' etc.).

17.2.2. Ba construction
The ba construction was introduced in Chapter 15. It shows an object may be placed in a pre-verbal position under the introduction of 把 ba3 'BA.' In line with the information structure mentioned above, the post-ba nominal phrase usually expresses given information, as shown in [53]. The definite nominal 那本书 na4 ben3 shu1 'that book' in the second clause of [53] refers to given information, as it has been mentioned in the first clause. In the second clause, the speaker provides more information about this book; specifically, the speaker finished reading this book.

Nevertheless, the ba phrase can also be discourse-new but with addressee-old information. For example, though the post-ba nominal phrases in [54] are not previously mentioned, they are assumed to be retrievable based on the relevant contexts. Given this, it is acceptable for this piece of discourse-new information to be placed in a pre-verbal position, which is usually associated with old information.

Nevertheless, the ba phrase can also be discourse-new but with addressee-old information. For example, though the post-ba nominal phrases in [54] are not previously mentioned, they are assumed to be retrievable based on the relevant contexts. Given this, it is acceptable for this piece of discourse-new information to be placed in a pre-verbal position, which is usually associated with old information.
information structure

wen4ti2 sou1ji2 qi3lai2
question collect QILAI
'There is no such bureau or division head like him who collects each
and every question from the audience.'

b. 德国厨房…把很多厨房的问题都解决了。
de2guo2 chu2ju4 ba3 hen3duo1 chu2fang2
Germany kitchen_appliance BA many kitchen
deo wen4ti2 dou1 jie3jue2 le0
DE problem all solve LE
‘German kitchen appliances solve many of [the] kitchen problems
(that we know).’

Likewise, the post-ba indefinite nominal phrase is another example in point.
When the reference of the indefinite nominal is known to the speaker, it is indefi-
inite specific, as in [55a]; otherwise, it is indefinite non-specific, as in [55b].

[55] a. 他…曾把一位与他观点不合的医生烧死在柱上。
ta1 ceng2 ba3 yi1 wei4 yu3 ta1 guan1dian3
he once BA one CL PREP he viewpoint
bu4he2 de0 yi1sheng1 shao1 si3 zai4 zhu4
disagree DE doctor burn dead PREP pillar
shang4
on
'He once burned to death on a stake a doctor who had opposing views
to him.'

b. 我…切肉的时候, 不小心把一块肉掉在地上。
wo3 qie1 rou4 de0 shi2hou0 bu4xiao3xin1 ba3 yi1
I cut meat DE when carelessly BA one
kuai4 rou4 diao4 zai4 di4 shang4
CL meat drop PREP ground on
‘When I . . . cut the meat, I accidentally dropped a piece of meat on the
ground.’

Indefinite non-specific nominals are usually prohibited from serving as topics;
however, they are allowed to function as post-ba objects. This post-ba object may be
a part or an instance of what has been established in the discourse, for example,
肉 rou4 ‘meat’ / 一块肉 yi1 kuai4 rou4 ‘a piece of meat’ in [55b]. There are some
other triggers for the use of the ba construction. For example, when a predicate
is “heavy,” for example, 打入酒里 da3 ru4 jiu3 li3 ‘beating and blending into
wine’ in [56a], a ba construction is preferred. Moreover, when a nominal phrase
at issue serves as a topic chain for the following clauses, as shown in [56b], a *ba* construction also tends to be used.

[56] a. …把一颗蛋打人酒里，过一阵子蛋白部分会熟透。
   
   ba3 yi1 ke1 dan4 da3 ru4 jiu3 li3 guo4
   BA one CL egg break put_into wine in after
   yi1zhen4zi0 dan4bai2 bu4fen4 hui4 shou2tou4
   a_while egg_white part will cooked
   ‘…Crack an egg and beat and blend it into wine. After a while its egg white will be cooked.’

b. 我把一小块饼干弄碎，撒在空地上，各式各样的鸟儿…不一会儿就把饼干吃光了！
   
   wo3 ba3 yi1 xiao3 kuai4 bing3gan1 nong4sui4
   I BA one small CL cookie smash
   sa3 zai4 kong4di4 shang4 ge4shi4ge4yang4 de0
   sprinkle PREP ground on various DE
   niao3er0 bu2yi1hui3er2 jiu4 ba3 bing3gan1
   bird soon then BA cookie
   chi1guang1 le0
   eat_up LE
   ‘I crushed a small piece of cookie and sprinkled them on the ground.
   All kinds of birds … devoured them in no time.’

17.2.3. *Bei* construction

Similarly introduced in Chapter 15, 被 *bei4* sentences manifest another type of topic-comment articulation, in which the affected patient preceding 被 *bei4* functions as both a grammatical subject and a topic, while the rest of the clause serves as the comment, usually indicating a resultative state of the activity. The common schema for the *bei* construction is presented in [57], in which the patient nominal phrases are definite, like topics.

[57] (Patient topic/subject) + *bei* + (Agent) + VP

[58] a. 家产已被他吃喝，赌光了。
   
   jia1chan3 yi3 bei4 ta1 chi1 he1 du3
   family_fortune already BEI he eat drink gamble
   guang1 le0
   nothing_left LE
   ‘All the family fortune has been squandered by his lavish banqueting and gambling.’
b. 孔子似乎被这个问题难倒了，一时不知如何回答。
 Kongzi3 si4hu1 bei4 zhe4 ge4 wen4ti2 nan2dao3
 Confucius seem BEI this CL question stumped
 LE a_short_while NEG know how answer
 'Confucius seemed to be stumped by this question, and didn’t know how to answer it immediately.'

[59] 世界的政要几乎都已经被西装所统一……
 Shi4jie4 de0 zheng4yao4 ji1hu1 dou1 yi3jing1
 world DE political_leaders almost all already
 bei4 xi1zhuang1 suo3 tong3yi1
 BEI suits SUO unite
 'Almost all the political leaders in the world are unified by the suits they wear …'

[60] …只觉背上微微一痛; 似乎被蜜蜂刺了一下。
 Zhi3 jue2 bei1 shang4 wei1wei1 yi1 tong4 si4hu1
 just feel back on mild one pain seem
 bei4 mi4feng1 ci4 le0 yi1 xia4
 BEI bee sting LE one CL
 '…[s/he] felt a mild pain in her/his back; it seems s/he was stung by a bee.'

[61] [种子]…身价一天比一天高…; 结果被一个土匪抢了去。
 Zhong3zi0 shen1jia4 yi1 tian1 bi3 yi1 tian1 gao1
 seed value one day than one day high
 jie2guo3 bei4 yi1 ge4 tu2fei3 qiang3 le0 qu4
 as_a_result BEI one CL bandit rob LE away
 'The seeds became more and more valuable everyday; then (they) were stolen by a bandit.'

The post-bei agent can be optional. It is overt when the referent is (required to be) identified. Specifically, the post-bei NP can be a definite nominal phrase, as in [58], a generic nominal phrase, as in [59], a bare indefinite nominal phrase, as in [60], or an indefinite nominal phrase, as in [61]. In [58b], 这个问题 zhe4 ge4 wen4ti2 ‘this question’ further functions as a topic chain, and the paralleling relation between these two clauses is achieved for a smooth flow of information, which is hard to achieve with its non-bei counterpart. As mentioned above, subjects can be elided in the bei construction, as illustrated in [58b], [60], and [61], in which the elided subjects correlate with retrievable old information.
A father and a son took a donkey to the market to sell. On the way to the market, (this) was seen by a passer-by, who laughed at them.

The unexpressed subject can also be a full clause, as in [62]. In such cases, the interpretation of the topic chain in subsequent clauses can sometimes have context-dependent variations. In [62], it is the way that the father-son pair is bringing the donkey to the market that was seen by a passer-by; but the pronoun 'them' at whom the passer-by is laughing refers to the father and son specifically.

17.3. Sentences involving 是 shi4

This section presents sentences involving 是 shi4 ‘be,’ including the emphatic 是...shi4...de0, the bare 是 shi4, and the pseudo-cleft 是 de0 shi4 constructions, which differ from the A is B pattern specifying copular equation sentences (see Chapter 9).

17.3.1. Emphatic sentences

The “it”-clef construction in English expresses emphasis by means of extracting a target phrase and placing it in the post-copula position, while the 是...的 shi4...de0 construction in Chinese does not have to reshuffle the linear order to emphasize an element. These 是...的 shi4...de0 sentences manifest a topic-comment pattern: the element preceding 是 shi4 ‘be’ is the topic, and the part between 是 shi4 ‘be’ and the de0 ‘DE’ is the comment. Usually, the first element after shi in the comment receives the focal center (but not necessarily the phonetic stress), as shown by the subject focus in [64] and the adjunct focus in [63]. The topic, however, can also follow 是 shi4, as discussed later in section 17.3.4. and exemplified by [65A].

[63]  a. 是 + subject + VP + 的
    b. Subject + 是 + (adjunct) + VP + 的
[64]  a. 谁让这些……老人成为老贼的？
   shi4  shui2  rang4  zhe4xie1  lao3ren2  cheng2wei2  lao3
   be  who  let  these  old_man  become  old
   zei2  de0
   thief  DE
   'Who allowed these old men to become deadwood assemblymen?'

b. 是立委让这些……老人成为老贼的。
   shi4  li4wei3  rang4  zhe4xie1  lao3ren2  cheng2wei2
   be  legislators  let  these  old_man  become
   lao3  zei2  de0
   old  thief  DE
   'It is the legislators who allowed these old men to become deadwood assemblymen.'

[65]  Q: 你是从哪儿来的?
   ni3  shi4  cong2  na3er0  lai2  de0
   you  be  PREP  where  come  DE
   'Where do you come from?'

A: 我是从美国来的。
   wo3  shi4  cong2  mei3guo2  lai2  de0
   I  be  PREP  United_States  come  DE
   'I come/am from the United States./It is from the United States that I come.'

In addition, 是……的 shi4……de0 sentences are commonly used in forming
wh-interrogatives to elicit answers to questions pertinent to focal information.

是……的 shi4……de0 is often used to contrast alternatives. In [66], the topic 成绩
cheng2ji4 ‘grade’ is predicated with opposing clauses: “given by teachers” versus
“industriously earned by students.”

[66]  在许多同学的观念里，成绩是[老师给学生]的，而不是[学生自己努力
   zai4  xu3duo1  tong2xue2  de0  guan1nian4  li3
   PREP  many  student  DE  opinion  in
   cheng2ji4  shi4  lao3shi1  gei3  xue2sheng1  de0  er2
   grade  be  teacher  give  student  DE  but
   bu4shi4  xue2sheng1  zi4ji3  nu3li4  qu4  zheng1qu3
   NEG  student  self  work_hard  go  earn

   去争取来]的。
In many students’ minds, grades are what teachers gave to students, not what students themselves earned through hard work.’

Is shi4 ‘be’ can only occur in pre-verbal positions. When it is the object that is focused, the pseudo-cleft 的 is de0 shi4 pattern is employed, which will be discussed in section 17.3.7. Please also see specifying copular sentences containing a headless relative clause in Chapter 9.

Is… 的 shi4… de0 often occurs in regular wh-interrogatives, and it is used to express a predicative relation between the topic and the comment. In this sense, it does not bring as strong a focus as the English “it is X that” counterpart does. [67Q] simply means “who created men,” and in [67A], “God created men” is a natural answer.

[67] Q: 人是谁创造的?
ren2 shi4 shui2 chuang4zao4 de0
human be who create DE
‘As for men, who created them?’

A: 是神创造的。
shi4 shen2 chuang4zao4 de0
be God create DE
‘(Men) God created (them).’

17.3.1.1. Subject focus
This section further illustrates the topic-comment relation in 是… 的 shi4… de0 and various foci signaled by 是 shi4.

[68] a. 这个道理是谁告诉你的呢?
zhe4 ge4 dao4li3 shi4 shui2 gao4su4 ni3 de0
this CL principle be who tell you DE
ne0
NE
‘Who told you this principle?’

b. 孔融: (是)我自己想出来的。
kong3rong2 shi4 wo3 zi4ji3 xiang3 chu1lai2 de0
Kong_Rong be I self think out DE
‘I myself thought of it.’

In the question part of [68a], 这个道理 zhe4 ge4 dao4li3 ‘this principle’ is backgrounded in the discourse and assumed by the speaker to be revealed to KONG Rong by someone else. The comment/answer clause in [68b] asserts the whole
proposition: “(it is that) I thought of it” and, consequently, the subject serves as the most prominent element. Note that is shi4 ‘be’ can be omitted, as in [68b].

[69]  a. [这张画好或那张画好], 是我们后人加以判断的。
    zhe4 zhang1 hua4 hao3 huo4 na4 zhang1
    this CL painting good or that CL
    hua4 hao3 shi4 wo3men0 hou4ren2 jia1yi3
    painting good be we later_generations proceed
    pan4ding4 de0
    judge DE
    ‘Whether this or that painting is better is decided by us, the later generations.’

  b. 不管陕西人怎么样解释, 客栈主人就认定 [猪] 是他偷的。
    bu4guan3 shan3xi1 ren2 zen3me0yang4 jie3shi4
    no_matter Shanxi_province people how explain
    ke4zhan4 zhu3ren2 jiu4 ren4ding4 zhu1 shi4 ta1
    inn owner thus believe pig be he
    tou1 de0
    steal DE
    ‘No matter how the person from Shaanxi explained (it), the innkeeper believed that the pig was stolen by him.’

Likewise, in [69a] the topic is predicated with a 是... 的 shi4... de0 comment, rendering the meaning ‘the value of paintings is decided by later generations.’ In [69b] 是他偷的 shi4 ta1 tou1 de0 ‘was stolen by him’ is the asserted and predicated topic “the missing pig.”

17.3.1.2. Adjunct focus

is shi4 ‘be’ can precede various adjuncts, including location, temporal, and manner phrases, as schematized in [70] and [71].

[70]  a. (overt/zero) Subject + 是 + adjunct + VP + 的
    b. (overt/zero) Subject + 是 + adjunct + V + 的 + O

[71]  subject/object topics + (subject) + 是 + adjunct + V + 的

The structure of [70a], the subject (or the topic) preceding is, is exemplified by the temporal foci in [72a] and [73b], location phrases in [73a], and the manner foci in [74]. The structure of [70b], as exemplified in [72b], is more commonly used in Northern dialects and will not be discussed further here.
[72]  a. 法国政府是在昨天做出这一决定的。
fa4guo2 zheng4fu3 shi4 zai4 zuo2tian1 zuo4chu1
France government be PREP yesterday make
zhe4 yi1 jue2ding4 de0
this one decision DE
'The French government made this decision yesterday.'

b. 穆巴拉克总统是在新年前夕发出上述的呼吁。
mu4ba1la1ke4 zong3tong3 shi4 zai4 xin1nian2
Mubarak president be PREP New_Year
tian2xi1 fa1chu1 de0 hu1yu4
eve issue DE appeal
'President Mubarak made such an appeal on New Year's Eve.'

[73]  a. Q: 我那几位朋友都是去年从美国来的。李先生, 您是哪一年来的?
wo3 na4 ji3 wei4 peng2you3 dou1 shi4
I that some CL friend all be
qu4nian2 cong2 mei3guo2 lai2 de0 li3
last_year PREP United_States come DE Li
xian1sheng0 nin2 shi4 na3 nian2 lai2 de0
Mr. you be which year come DE
'My friends all came from The United States last year. Mr. Li, which year did you come?'

b. A: 我是一九八五年来的。
wo3 shi4 yi1jiu3ba1wu3nian2 lai2 de0
I be year_1985 come DE
'I came in 1985.'

[74]  a. 学校的老师都是坐着船来的。
xue2xiao4 de0 lao3shi1 dou1 shi4 zuo4 zhe0
school DE teacher all be sit ZHE
chuan2 lai2 de0
boat come DE
'School teachers all come by boat.'

b. 第二只小猪是用树枝作材料来建造房子的…第三只胖小猪是用砖瓦做材料来建造房屋的。
di4er4 zhi1 xiao3 zhu1 shi4 yong4 shu4zhi1
the_second CL small pig be use twig
zuo4 cai2lia4 lai2 jian4za04 fang2zi0 de0
PREP material come build house DE
The second pig uses twigs to build its house, and the third pig uses bricks to build its house.'

As for the structure in [71], is shi4 'be' precedes the adjunct phrases and follows the object topic, which is followed or preceded by an overt or unexpressed subject, illustrated by the location focus in [75], the temporal phrase in [76], and the manner phrases in [77]. Note that the object topic can occur in the clause-initial position, and the subject may be null, as in [75a], or in the clause-medial position, as in [75b]. The topic, a self-portrait in [77], is not overtly mentioned but is understood in the discourse.

[75] a. 我本人学的是社会学, [博士学位] 是在美国大学获得的。
    wo3 ben3ren2 xue2 de0 shi4 she4hui4xue2 bo2shi4
    I oneself learn DE be sociology doctor
    xue2wei4 shi4 zai4 mei3guo2 da4xue2
degree be PREP the_United_States university
    huo4de2 de0
    earn DE
    'I studied sociology. My doctorate was earned from a US university.'

b. 学生在校期间有[一半左右的时间]是在宿舍度过的。
    xue2sheng1 zai4 xiao4 qian1you3 yi1ban yi1ban4
    student PREP school period YOU half
    zuo3you4 de0 shi2qian1 shi4 zai4 su4she4 du4guo4
    about DE time be PREP dorm spend
    de0
    DE
    'Half of the time that students spend in schools is in the dorm.'

[76] 已有一百三十万人饿死...[这个数字] 是在文化革命初期披露的。
    yi3 you3 yi1bai3san1shi2wan4 ren2
    already YOU 1.3_million people
e4si3 zhe4 ge4 shu4zi4 shi4 zai4
    starve_to_death this CL number be PREP
The sentences above demonstrate that not only can the comment clause contained in 是…的 shi…de0 express novel information, but the adjunct that follows 是 shi4 ‘be’ can be singled out to be the focal center, which may include more than one adjunct. For instance, both the temporal and location phrases in [73a] are construed as information focus.

17.3.1.3. Predicate focus
Sentences [78]–[80] exemplify emphatic (or contrastive) verb phrases, which are predicated of the subject/topic.

[78] [牧场内有五匹马]是属于这个社区的。
mu4chang3 nei4 you3 wu3 pi1 ma3 shi4 ranch inside YOU five CL horse be
shu3yu2 zhe4 ge4 she4qu1 de0 belong_to this CL community DE
‘There are five horses in the ranch. They belong to the community.’

[79] 父母永远是站在他那一边而伸出援手的。
fu4mu3 yong3yuan3 shi4 zhan4 zai4 ta1 na4 yi1 parents always be stand PREP he that one
bian1 er2 shen1chu1yuan2shou3 de0 side thus give_a_hand DE
‘Parents always stand by his side and lend him a helping hand.’

[80] 维生、养生是「做」出来的, 是要付辛勤代价的, 不是不劳而获的。
wei2sheng1 yang3sheng1 shi4 zuo4 chu1lai2 maintain_living keep_in_good_health be make out
To maintain and cultivate healthy living, one must “act” and pay (earn it) with your efforts. One cannot reap without sowing.

是…的 shi4… de0 sentences are also used to explicate a fact or proposition by way of asserting the manner, purpose, reason, or means, as shown in [81]–[83].

[81] a. 门前: 请问先生有什么事?
men2fang2 qing3wen4 xian1sheng0 you3 shen2me0
doorman excuse_me Mr. YOU what
shi4 thing
‘Doorman: Sir, may I ask why are you here?’

b. 吴先生: 我是公司派来验货的。
wu2 xian1sheng0 wo3 shi4 gong1si1 pai4 lai2
WU Mr. I be company send come
yan4 huo4 de0
check goods DE
‘Mr. Wu: I am sent by my company to check the merchants.’

[82] [第十二届金旋律总决赛的多样化], 让李先生认为, 是来欣赏节目,而不是来当评审的。
di4shi2er4 jie4 jin1xuan2 zong3jue2sai4 de0
the_twelveth CL Gold_Melody final_competition DE
duo1yang4hua4 rang4 li3 xian1sheng0 ren4wei2 shi4
diversify make Li Mr. believe be
lai2 xin1shang3 jie2mu4 er2 bu2shi4 lai2 dang1
come enjoy program but NEG come act_as
ping2shen3 de0
come judge DE
‘The rich varieties in the 12th final competition of [the] Golden Melody award made Mr. Li think that he came here to enjoy the programs, not to be a judge.’

[83] 找你, 不是要你来忏悔的, 也不是要让妳感觉内疚的…。
zhao3 ni3 bu4shi4 yao4 ni3 lai2 chan4hui3
look_for you NEG ask you come repent
DE nor want make you feel guilty

'The reason I came to see you is not to ask you to repent, nor to make
you feel guilty.'

是…的 shì…de0 utterances express one’s subjective stance toward the
asserted proposition. In particular, it can convey mental perceptions, make inferences, or evaluate the state of affairs, such as [84]. Moreover, this construction is compatible with modals of possibility 会 hui4 ‘will,’ as in [85], necessity 应该 yīnggāi ‘should,’ as in [86], or ability 可以 ke3yi3 ‘can,’ as in [87].

[84] 这一家子…大伙儿瞧不起阿小，阿小是知道的。
zhē4 yi1jiā1zi0 dà4hùo3ér0 qīáo2bù4qǐ3 à1xiāo3
this a-family everyone despise A-Xiao
a1xiāo3 shì4 zhī1dào4 de0
A-Xiao be know DE
‘In this family, everyone looks down on A-Xiao. And A-Xiao knows it.’

[85] a. 生活富裕是会使人懒散，不知惜福的。
shēng1huò2 fù4yü4 shì4 huí4 shì3 rèn2 lán3sàn3
life rich be can make people indolent
bù4 zhī1 xī1fù2 de0
NEG know appreciate DE
‘Affluent life will make people lazy and unable to appreciate (one’s)
fortune.’

b. 如果按照这草案做下去，是会出人命的!
rú2guò3 àn4zhāo4 zhē4 cáo3àn4 zuò4 xià4qu4
if according to this draft plan do XIAQU
shì4 huí4 chū1rèn2míng4 de0
be will lose life DE
‘If this proposal is followed through, lives could be lost.’

[86] Q: 妹说这么作对吗?
ní3 shuō1 wǒ3 zhē4me0 zuò4 duì4 ma0
you say I so do right MA
‘Do you think what I did is right?’
A: 嗯! 您是应该这么做的!

   en4 ni3 shi4 ying1gai1 zhe4me0 zuo4 de0
   'Yes! You should do (it) this way!'  

[87] 不是每个人都可以成为哲学家的。
   bu4shi4 mei3ge4ren2 dou1 ke3yi3 cheng2wei2
   NEG everyone all can become
   zhe2xue2jia1 de0
   philosopher DE
   'It’s not the case that everyone can be a philosopher.'

  Deontic modals are also compatible with 是 … 的 shi4 … de0 assertions, such as ability 能 neng2 in [88], obligation 能 neng2 in [89], and concession 可以 ke3yi3 in [90].

[88] [白马]已经老了只能慢慢的走, 但终是能回到中原的。
   bai2 ma3 yi3jing1 lao3 le0 zhi3neng2 man4man4
   white horse already old LE can_only slowly
   de0 zou3 dan4 zhong1 shi4 neng2 hui2dao4
   DE walk but finally be can return_to
   zhong1yuan2 de0
   Central_Plains DE
   'The white horse is getting old and can only go slowly, but it surely can return to Central Plains eventually.'

[89] 孙小姐, 这批货是不能耽误的…
   sun1 xiao3jie3 zhe4 pi1 huo4 shi4 bu4neng2
   SUN Miss this CL goods be cannot
   dan1wu4 de0
   delay DE
   'Ms. Sun, these goods cannot be delayed…'

[90] 他做的反应, 我想是可以理解的。
   ta1 zuo4 de0 fan3ying4 wo3 xiang3 shi4 ke3yi3
   he make DE reaction I think be can
   li3jie3 de0
   understand DE
   'His reaction (to this incident) is understandable in my view.'

  Assertion may be modified and preceded by the prediction modal 可能 ke3neng2 'possible,' as in [91], and obligation 应该 ying1gai1 'should,' as in [92].
This novel attempts to explicate a hypothesis: homosexuality may be inherited from [the] mother’s side.

Most people think volunteers should do service for family and relatives.

In sum, the emphatic sentences follow the topic-comment information structure. The phrase framed by is ... of serves as the comment. As for the construal of focus, there are two possibilities: the first one is that the immediate phrase following is ‘be’ is the focus, while the rest of the comment is a presupposition; the second one is that the whole phrase encodes new information.

17.3.2. Specifying copular sentences
A specifying copular sentence, unlike the previous is ... of emphatic sentences, equates two nominal phrases before and after the copular is ‘be,’ as schematized in [93] and exemplified in [94] (see Chapter 9). The predicate contains a headless relative clause.

Specifying copular sentences can be preceded by just, as shown in [95]. Moreover, the subject can be replaced by a demonstrative this ‘this’ or that, referring to the unexpressed head noun of the relative clause, as in
Furthermore, the head of the relative clause noun can be “recovered” and represented by a generic noun, like 事 shì4 ‘matter’ or 东西 dòng1xi0 ‘thing,’ as shown in [96].

[95]  
a. [彼此感恩, 互相提携…] 这就是 [我们应该要欢喜的]。
   bì2cǐ3  gàn3cèn1  hù4xiāng1  tí2xi2  zhè4  
each_other  thankful  each_other  lead_by_hand  this
   jiù4  shì4  wò3mén0  yīng1gài1  yào4  húān1xi3  dé0  
thus  be  we  should  need  happy  DE
   ‘Being thankful and helpful to each other . . . this is exactly what we should be happy about.’

b. [世界上第一架飞机], 就是 [他们兄弟两个发明的]。
   shì4jiè4  shāng4  dì1yì1  jiā4  fēi1jī1  jiù4  shì4  
world  on  first  CL  airplane  thus  be
   tā1mén0  xióng1di4  liǎng3  gè4  fā1mìng2  dé0  
they  brother  two  CL  invent  DE
   ‘The first airplane in the world is just what the two brothers invented.’

[96]  
yǒu shuō de, shì lìshǐ shàng cón wéi4  
you  shuō  DE  be  history  on  never
   fā1shèng1  guò4  dé0  shì4  
happen  GUO  DE  thing
   ‘What you described is something that has never happened before in history.’

Specifying copular sentences are also used to contrast alternatives. In talking about two sets of chivalrous novels, the pair of specifying copular sentences [97b] and [97c] are used to underline the differences between them.

[97]  
a.  tā1  yě3  zhī3  kàn4  gùò4  fēi1hu2wài4zhuan4  
he  also  only  look  GUO  Flying_Fox_unofficial_story
   yǔ3  shēn2diáo1xià2lù3  zhè4  liǎng3  táo4  
and  Heaven_Candor_Hero_Companion  this  two  CL
   shū1  
book
   ‘He only read “Other Tales of the Flying Fox” and “The Return of the Candor Heroes,” these two books in multi-volume sets.’
If there is a context through which a nominal phrase can be recovered or explicitly expressed, then sentences like [98a] may be ambiguous between a specifying reading like [98b] and an emphatic reading, as in [67A].

[98]  a. 人是神创造的。

b. 人是神创造的生物。

In addition to the topic-comment reading, the same string, as in [96], may denote an equation of 人 ren2 ‘human’ and the head noun of the relative clause, for example, 生物 sheng1wu4 ‘creature,’ giving rise to the specifying pattern. This ambiguity can be resolved depending on the contextual information, although their truth-conditional meanings can be considered equivalent in most contexts.

17.3.3. Bare 是 shi4 sentences
A sentence with 是 shi4 ‘be’ without 的 de0 ‘DE’ simply affirms the elements in the domain of 是 shi4 ‘be,’ without the speaker’s strong subjective stance in the emphatic information structure of 是…的 shi4…de0. The sentence in [99] expresses surprise at spotting a wolf. Bare 是 shi4 ‘be’ sentences are also used to contrast alternatives, as in [100], or emphasize who-interrogatives, as in [101].
'A wolf appeared. The musician saw it and then said: “Aiya! It’s the wolf that comes to see me.”'

'Zha4dan2 (bombs), it is true that I haven’t seen them before; but zha4dan4 (fried eggs), I have eaten before.'

'Someone has invited me for dinner, but I cannot recall who (did it.)'

'Its was last Saturday when they left for Thailand.'

'By singing that Confucius expressed his happy emotion.'

Bare 是 shi4 sentences are employed to place a focus on a predicate, as in [104], or on predicates containing modals of possibility or necessity, as in [105a] and [105b], respectively.
Mr. Li went to wrap the wound for him, saying, “Uncle, I am trying my best. Please bear with the pain for a while.”

'It is probable that he was setting the standard too high.'

'Both men and women SHOULD try to change their attitudes.'

As exemplified above, the bare 是 shì ‘be’ construction is associated with the use of a single emphatic marker 是 shì ‘be’ to mark the focused phrase(s) in its domain. In general, there is no restriction on the verb types or aspects that can co-occur with bare 是 shì ‘be’ sentences.

17.3.4. Pseudo-clefts

Pseudo-cleft 的是 de0 shì ‘be’ sentences, also referred to as pseudo-clefts, consist of [1] a headless relative clause as the subject, [2] the copula 是 shì ‘be,’ and [3] a focused element, as illustrated in [106d] (see Chapter 9).

Part 1 Part 2

[106] a. [母亲寄来] [—一张美金支票]。[canonical sentence]

‘Mother sent over a US dollar check.’
b. [母亲寄来] 的 [一张美金支票] [relative clause]
   mother send come DE one CL US_dollar
   check
   ‘a US dollar check sent over by Mother’

c. 是[母亲寄来的一张美金支票]。 [emphatic sentence]
   be mother send come DE one CL US_dollar
   check
   ‘(What this is) is a US dollar check sent over by Mother.’

d. [母亲寄来的] 是 [一张美金支票]。 [pseudo-cleft]
   mother send come DE be one CL US_dollar
   check
   ‘What mother sent over was a US dollar check.’

We can see from the examples above that the information structure is largely maintained with a canonical sentence in [106a], a relative clause in [106b], an emphatic sentence in [106c], and a pseudo-cleft in [106d], with all of them introducing the check sent by mother as the new information. The main difference among them is the focus. The canonical sentence and the relative clause do not encode a focus. By contrast, the 是 shi4 ‘be’ sentence in [106c] places a focus on the clause that follows 是 shi4 ‘be,’ while the pseudo-cleft emphasizes the phrase adjacent to 是 shi4 ‘be.’

The post-copular focus can be a nominal phrase that is related to the unexpressed argument inside the relative clause. The unexpressed argument can be either an object or a subject. [106d] and [107] contain unexpressed objects, while [108] includes an unexpressed subject.
What we strive for in academic research is refinement and precision, but what our academy presents is a coarse and chaotic image.

The one who advocates the beauty of the humanities is Confucius, and the one who advocates the beauty of human virtue is Mencius.

What is so marvelous is that the creator only used 1% of the gene to create a full-fleshed human with a thinking mind.

The only thing I can do is to just give her a pack of tissues...
17.3.4.1. Provide new information

The post-copular element is intended to provide specific novel information on account of the pre-copular background information. This background-focus pseudo-cleft pattern is often used in wh-interrogatives and answers.

[112] a. ...我轻轻的说: 爸爸, 您看什么书啊?
   wo3 qing1qing1 de0 shuo1 ba4ba0 nin2 kan4
   I gently DE say dad you look
   shen2me0 shu1 a0
   what book A
   ‘...I asked gently, “Father, what are you reading?”’

b. 父亲...说: [我看的]是[一本古诗]。父亲...自言自语的念了两句诗。
   fu4qin1 shuo1 wo3 kan4 de0 shi1 yi1 ben3
   father say I look DE be one CL
   gu3shi1 fu4qin1 zi4yan2zi4yu3 de0 nian4 le0
   ancient_poem father mumble DE read LE
   liang3 ju4 shi1
two CL poem
   ‘Father said, “What I am reading is a book of ancient poems.” He recited two verses to himself.’

c. 我笑着说: 爸爸，[您念的]是[什么诗]啊?
   wo3 xiao4 zhe0 shuo1 ba4ba0 nin2 nian4 de0 shi4
   I smile ZHE say dad you read DE be
   shen2me0 shi1 a0
   what poem A
   ‘I laughed and asked, “Father, what poem are you reciting?”’
d. 父亲说: [我念的]是[唐朝诗人的诗句]。
   fu4qin1 shuo1 wo3 nian4 de0 shi4 tang2chao2
   father say I read DE be Tang_Dynasty

   shi1ren2 de0 shi1ju4
   poet DE verse
   ‘Father said, “What I was reciting was the verses of a poet in [the]
   Tang Dynasty.”’

In [112], the father’s reading event is backgrounded in [112a]. In reply to his son’s question, the father emphasizes “a book of poetry” in [112b] that he is reading. The son continues to elicit further details by placing the focus on the wh-interrogative in [112c]. The father answers with the same pattern by highlighting “verses from a poet in Tang Dynasty” in [112d].

The post-copular phrase is used to introduce a new entity, as in [113a], for the following discourse to elaborate on, as [113b].

[113]  a. [值得一提的]是 [我在台湾认识了一个新朋友名叫棕背伯劳]。
   zhi2deyi4ti2 de0 shi4 wo3 zai4 tai2wan1
   worth_mentioning DE be I PREP Taiwan

   ren4shio le0 yi1 ge4 xin1 peng2you3 ming2 jiao4
   know LE one CL new friend name call

   zong1bei4bo2lao2
   shrike
   ‘What’s worth mentioning is that I came to know a new friend in
   Taiwan called Rufous-backed Shrike.’

b. 他…，因下背至尾上覆羽红棕色而得名。
   ta1 yin1 xia4bei4 zhi4 wei3shang4 fu4 yu3
   he PREP lower_back PREP top_tail cover feather

   hong2zong1se4 er2 de2ming2
   red_brown thus be_named
   ‘It is named for red-brown feathers from the lower back to the tail.’

As a way to express emphasis, the speaker may use this pattern to express his/her stance of surprise, like, dislike, fear, etc.

[114]  她冲我喊, 什么没给你? 你还想要什么?… [我恨的]就是[这句话]。
   ta1 chong4 wo3 han3 shen2me0 mei2 gei3 ni3
   she PREP I yell what NEG give you
ni3 hai2 xiang3yao4 shen2me0 wo3 hen4 de0 jiu4
you yet want what I hate DE thus

shi4 zhe4 ju4 hua4
be this CL words
‘She shouted to me, “What didn’t I give you? What else do you want?”
What I hate is these words.’

[114] also provides an example, similar to [110], where the focus marker 是 shi4 ‘be’ is preceded and modified by the adverb 就 jiu4, 只 zhi3 ‘just’ and is separated from 的 de0 ‘DE.’

17.3.4.2. Contrast alternatives
的... 是 de0... shi4 sentences are often used to contrast alternatives. In addition to the above purpose of providing specification or new information, speakers may use the 的... is de0... shi4 pattern to clarify a possible misunderstanding or contradict something said or presupposed, as indicated in [115].

[115] Q: 彼得跟我说是明天走。
bi3de2 gen1 wo3 shuo1 shi4 ming2tian1 zou3
Peter PREP I say be tomorrow leave
‘Peter said it’s tomorrow that he will leave.’

A: 你大概记错了, [明天走的]是[我]。
ni3 da4gai4 ji4 cuo4 le0 ming2tian1 zou3
you probably remember wrong LE tomorrow leave
de0 shi4 wo3
DE be I
‘You’ve probably got it wrong. The one who will leave tomorrow is me.’

[116] [但最后得奖的]是[罗伯兹]而非[周芷]。
dan4 zui4hou4 de2jiang3 de0 shi4 luo2bo2zi1 er2
but finally win_a_prize DE be Roberts but
fei1 zhou1zhi3
NEG ZHOU_ZHI
‘The one who won the prize is Roberts not ZHOU Zhi.’

17.3.4.3. Elaboration of nuance
Another function of 的... 是 de0... shi4 is to elaborate a nuance of the preceding conversation.
[117] a. 游先生倡行社区教育委员会主导学校行政, 可惜的是,... 家长会企图把持校务...

you2 xian1sheng0 chang4xing2 she4qu1
YOU Mr. advocate community

jiao1yu4wei3yuan2hui4 zhu3dao3 xue2xiao4 xing2zheng4
Education Board lead school administration

ke3xi1 de0 shi4 jia1zhang3hui4 qi3tu2 ba3chi2
pity DE be PTA attempt manipulate

xiao4wu4 school_affairs

'Mr. You advocates [that the] community education board should be leading administrative decisions, but the PTA attempts to manipulate school affairs...'

b. 在此[我要说的]是, [事实与理论往往是相差甚远的...]

zai4 ci3 wo3 yao4 shuo1 de0 shi4 shi4shi2
PREP here I want say DE be fact

yu3 li3lun4 wang3wang3 shi4 xiang1cha1 shen4
and theory often be differ very

yuan3 de0
far DE

'Here what I want to say is that reality often deviates from the theory.'

In [117], the speaker agrees with Mr. You's view, which is challenged by a minority of parents. The speaker then elaborates on the nuance of his point by uttering a... is de0... shi4 sentence. A speaker may also summarize previous points as a focus by using... is de0 shi4.

[118] a. 如果一个执政者有心...应该...做个具备泰雅族特色的博物馆...成为泰雅族传承的标竿。

ru2guo3 yi1 ge4 zhi2zheng4zhe3 you3xin1 ying1gai1
if one CL governor thoughtful should

zuo4 ge4 ju4bei4 tai4ya3zu2 te4se4 de0
do CL have Atayal characteristic DE

bo2wu4guan3 cheng2wei2 tai4ya3zu2 chuan2chengu2 de0
museum become Atayal heritage DE
'If those who govern care for the aboriginal people . . . they should build a museum featuring Atayal characteristics . . . as a standard bearer of the Atayal heritage.'

b. [可惜的]是[这样的人太少了]!
ke3xi1 de0 shi4 zhe4yang4 de0 ren2 tai4 shao3
pity DE be like_this DE people too few
le0
LE
'It is a pity that we have too few of such people!'

On a par with the above-mentioned information structure, the 的 . . . is de0 . . . shi4 pseudo-cleft manifests another type of topic-comment bipartition: the relative preceding 是 shi4 ‘be’ serves as background and the phrase following 是 shi4 ‘be’ is the focus.

17.4. 连 lian2 . . . 都/也 dou1/ye3 ‘even’ sentences

连 . . . 都/也 lian2 . . . dou1/ye3 ‘even . . . all/also’ sentences not only assert the sentence proposition but also implicate the focused element after 连 lian2 ‘even’ to be the least expected alternative in one’s presupposition in the context (see Chapter 12). 连 lian2 ‘even’ and 都 dou1 ‘all’/也 ye3 ‘also’ occur in a pre-verbal position. As schematized in [119], various pre-verbal positions can host the 连- lian2- phrase, while 都/也 dou1/ye3 ‘all/also’ usually immediately precedes the verb phrase. Adverbs like 甚至 (于) shen4zhi4 (yu2), 竟然 jing4ran2, 居然 ju1ran2 ‘unexpectedly’ can optionally precede 连- phrases.

[119] a. 连 + S . . . + 都/也 + VP [subject focus]
   b. S + 连 adjunct + 都/也 + VP [adjunct focus]
   c. S + 连 complement + 都/也 + V__ [complement focus]
   d. 连 complement + S + 都/也 + V__[complement focus/CT]
   e. 连 adjunct + S + 都/也 + VP [adjunct focus/CT]

The sentences in [120] correspond to the structure of [119a], in which the bracketed subject is presupposed to be the least likely individual that the VP is predicated of. Adjunct foci of [119b] are illustrated in [121].

[120] a. 连[向导]也是第一次来。
lian2 xiang4dao3 ye3 shi4 di4yi1ci4 lai2
even guide also be first_time come
‘Even the guide was here for the first time.’
b. 由于河水实在太急, 连[大象]也站不住脚。
you2yu2 he2shui3 shi2zai4 tai4 j2 lian2 da4xiang4
because stream really too rapid even elephant
ye3 zhan4 bu2 jiao3
also stand NEG firm foot
‘The stream is so rapid that even the elephant cannot stand firm.’

[121]  a. ...地震 ...连[在兰州市区]也有轻微震感。
di4zhen4 lian2 zai4 lan2zhou1 shi4qu1 ye3
earthquake even PREP Lanzhou urban_area also
you3 qing1wei1 zhen4 gan3
YOU slight shake feel
‘The earthquake can be felt even in [the] Lanzhuo urban area.’

b. 我真的没想到... 连[在街上走]都会发生意外。
wo3 zhen1de0 mei2 xiang3dao4 lian2 zai4
I really NEG imagine even PREP
jie1shang4 zou3 dou1 hui4 fa1sheng1 yi4wai4
street_on walk all can happen accident
‘I cannot imagine that one may encounter accidents even when
walking on the street.’

Being able to be separated from 都/也 dou1/y3, 连- lian2 ‘even’ can occur in the
clause-initial position. As presupposed to be the least likely element, it often func-
tions to add further information in the continuation of the previous discourse, as
in [121b].

Focused elements introduced by 连 lian2 ‘even’ must occur pre-verbally. There-
fore, when post-verbal elements such as nominal or clausal direct objects need
to be emphasized, they are required to be preposed, as shown in [122] and [123],
respectively.

[122]  a. 石东连[开玩笑的话]都会用了, 简直跟中国人一样了嘛!
si1dong1 lian2 kai1wan2xiao4 de0 hua4 dou1 hui4
Stone even joke DE words all can
yong4 le0 jian3zhi2 gen1 zhong1guo2ren2 yi1yang4
use LE almost PREP Chinese same
le0 ma0
LE MA
‘Stone even knows how to use jokes. He is essentially a Chinese!’
b. 有时甚至连[计程车]也不见得叫得到。

```
you3shí2  shèn4zhì4   liăn2  jiù4 chéng2chē1   yě3
sometimes  even  even  taxi  also
```

```
bù2 jiàn4 de0  jiào4 de0  dào4
may_not  call  DE  come
```

‘Sometimes one cannot even find a taxi.’

[123] 她居然连[我叫什么名字]都知道!

```
tá1  jū4 rán2  liăn2  wǒ3  jiào4  shèn2 mé0  míng2 zi0
she  unexpectedly  even  I  call  what  name
```

```
dóu1  zhī1 dào4
all  know
```

‘She even knows what I am called!’

These sentences often co-occur with adverbs like 甚至 shèn4zhì4, 竟然 jìng rán2, and 居然 jū4 rán2 for further emphasis, as in [124].

[124] 甚至连[选举日]他们都宁愿加班。

```
shèn4zhì4  liăn2  xuǎn3 jù1 rì4  tā1 mén0  dōu1
even  even  election  day  they  all
```

```
níng2 yuán4  jīa1 bàn1
would_rather  work_overtime
```

‘They prefer to work overtime even on voting day.’

Given the societal value of voting in newly democratic Taiwan, working overtime on voting day is thought to be the least likely scenario. Thus [124] shows that a non-definite nominal can appear in this position for the meaning of ‘not even one . . . ’

In addition, the clause-initial 连- liăn2- phrase is used for contrasting alternatives, as shown in [125].


```
kái3 lóu4 lín2  bù4  shì4  nǐ3  qiǎng3 zòu3  de0  wéi1 mǎ3
Caroline  NEG  be  you  take_away  DE  Wilma
```

```
bù4  shì4  nǐ3  qiǎng3 zòu3  de0  xiàn4 zài1  liăn2
NEG  be  you  take_away  DE  now  even
```

```
bèi4 zhēn1  nǐ3  yě3  yào4  qiǎng3
Bea_Jane  you  also  want  take_away
```

‘Didn’t you take away Caroline? Didn’t you take away Wilma! Now you want to take even Bea_Jane away from me!’
While the clause-initial 连- lian2- phrase retains its focus status, it behaves similarly as a contrastive topic (CT), which may be addressee-new but discourse-old in the sense of having an understood alternative to be contrasted with.

When 连 lian2 ‘even’ brings focus to a noun phrase denoting the smallest amount (一 or 半 + classifier + noun, often called a “minimizer”) in negative sentences, the proposition denies the existence of even the smallest amount, resulting in the meaning of “none.”

[126] a. 他在山上…跑了一整天, 却连[一只野兔]都没有发现。
   ta1 zai4 shan1 shang4 pao3 le0 yi1 zheng3
   he PREP mountain on run LE one whole
   tian1 que4 lian2 yi1 zhi1 ye3tu4 dou1 mei2you3
   day yet even one CL hare all NEG
   fa1xian4
   find
   ‘He hunted a whole day on the mountain, but didn’t find even a hare.’

b. 思汉觉得自己很笨, 连[一个字]也没听懂。
   si1han4 jue2de0 zi4 hen3 ben4 lian2 yi1 ge4
   SIHAN feel self very stupid even one CL
   zi4 ye3 mei2 ting1 dong3
   word also NEG listen understand
   ‘Sihan felt himself stupid; he didn’t understand even a word.’

c. 没有一个例外, 连[半个]都没有呢。
   mei2you3 yi1 ge4 li4wai4 lian2 ban4 ge4 dou1
   NEG one CL exception even half CL all
   mei2you3 ne0
   NEG NE
   ‘There is no exception, not even half an exception.’

d. 当我们双腿一伸的时候, 连[一片云彩]我们都带不走。
   dang1 wo3men0 shuang1tui3yi1shen1 de0 shi2hou0
   when we die DE when
   lian2 yi1 pian4 yun2cai3 wo3men0 dou1
   even one CL cloud we all
dai4bu4zou3
cannot_take_away
   ‘When we die, we cannot take away even a cloud.’
[127] 耶稣曾说过他要睡觉连个枕头都没有。
ye1 su1 ceng2 shuo1 guo4 ta1 yao4 shui4 jiao4 lian2
Jesus once say GUO he want sleep even
ge4 zhen3 tou2 dou1 mei2 you3
CL pillow all NEG
'Jesus once said that he didn’t even have a pillow to sleep on.'

[126] means he didn’t find any prey, not even a hare, which is assumed to be the most likely prey to be found. [126b] means Sihan didn’t understand anything, and [126c] means the speaker didn’t earn anything on his first day of business. Note the numeral — yi1 ‘one’ can be omitted, as shown in [127].

With an appropriate context, the omission of 连 lian2 ‘even’ before a minimizer does not affect the meaning in a negative sentence with a minimizer, as shown in [128].

[128] a. 爸爸至少救了上百人, 可是[半个]都没有来家感谢的意思。
ba4 ba0 zhi4 shao3 jiu4 le0 shang4 ren2
father at least save LE more_than hundred people
ke3 shi4 ban4 ge4 dou1 mei2 you3 lai2 jia1
but half CL all NEG come home
gan3 xie4 de0 yi4 si0
thank DE idea
'Dad saved nearly one hundred people, but none of them came to say thanks.'

b. 空洞洞的书包, 常常[一本书]也不带。
kong1 dong4 dong4 de0 shu1 bao1 chang2 chang2 yi1
empty DE school bag often one
ben3 shu1 ye3 bu4 dai4
CL book also NEG take
'The empty school bag often doesn’t contain any books.'

When it is the verb that is focused, the verb is repeated between 连 lian2 ‘even’ and 都/也 dou4/ye3 ‘all/also,’ for example, the verbs in [129].

[129] a. 他连动[也]动不了。
ta1 lian2 dong4 ye3 dong4 bu4 liao3
he even move also unable_to_move
'He couldn’t even move.'

b. 菜却弄焦了, ... 小狗连看[都]都不看一眼呢!
cai4 que4 nong4 jiao1 le0 xiao3 gou3 lian2 kan4
dish yet do burnt LE small dog even look
The direct object is sometimes not overtly expressed in its canonical object position or understood as a topic, for example, 菜 ca3i4 ‘meal’ in [129b]. The 连 ... 都/也 lian2 ... dou1/ye3 ‘event...all/also’ sentences not only signal the informative element but also reveal the speaker’s presupposition or expectation in pragmatic situations. The variation of clause-initial or medial 连-phrases pertains to the discourse flow. For the former type to be understood, a set of alternatives must be mentioned or understood in the context.

17.5. 只 zhi3, 只 (有) zhi3 (you3), and 只(是) zhi3 (shi4)

Another focus construction witnesses word order variations in sentences containing the restrictive focus adverb 只 zhi3 ‘only’ (see Chapter 6).

[130] a. 他(投篮5次)只进1球。[S-zhi-V-O]
ta1 tou2lan2 wu3 ci4 zhi3 jin4 yi1 qiu2
he shoot five CL only enter one ball
‘He (shot five times) and only made one.’

b. 他(投篮5次)只(有)1球进进了。[S-zhi(you)-OV]
ta1 tou2lan2 wu3 ci4 zhi3you3 yi1 qiu2 tou2
he shoot five CL only one ball shoot
jin4 le0
enter LE
‘He (shot five times) and only made one shot.’

c. (投篮5次)只(有)1球他进了。[zhi(you)-OSV]
tou2lan2 wu3 ci4 zhi3you3 yi1 qiu2 tou2
shoot five CL only one ball he shoot
jin4 le0
enter LE
‘(Having shot five times) there was only one shot that he made.’

[131] 我一想, 果然只有这条路可以走。
wo3 yi1 xiang3 guo3ran2 zhi3you3 zhe4 tiao2
I one think as_expected only this CL
lu4 ke3yi3 zou3
way can walk
‘I realized that I can take only this path.’
When it was just born, it only weighed 80 to 90 grams.

In [130a], 只 zhi3 ‘only’ precedes the verb phrase in a canonical SVO sentence. By contrast, the object focus is displaced to precede the verb, as in [130b], or to the clause-initial position, as in [130c]. The displacement is possible only when the verb 有 you3 ‘have’ conflates with 只 zhi3 ‘only.’ As the subject is often omitted, the pre-verbal 有- zhi3you3- phrase is possible both in the clause-medial or initial positions, as in [131], meaning ‘there is only X that.’ Sometimes a restrictive adverb 仅仅 jin3jin3 ‘only,’ for example, that in [132], may precede 只 zhi3 ‘only’ for further emphasis.

When the subject is restricted, 只有 zhi3you3 ‘only’ immediately precedes it and often co-occurs with another restrictive focus (strictly pre-verbal) adverb 才 cai2.

Like other pre-verbal elements, adjuncts, when being restricted, are preceded by 只有 zhi3you3 ‘only,’ as shown in [134].
Shu-ing Shyu

kan4de2dao4
be_able_to_see
'The natural wonder of hundred thousands of brown shrikes gathering at one place can be watched only in Heng-chun.'

In addition to the restricting function, 只 zhi3 'only' is used to contrast with opposing alternative(s), sometimes juxtaposed with a negative conjunct.

[135] 解说人员的言论只代表他们个人观点, 而不代表艺术中心或创作者。
jie3shuo1ren2yuan2 de0 yan2lun4 zhi3 dai4biao3
docent DE speech only represent
ta1men0 ge4ren2 guan1gan3 er2 bu4 dai4biao3 they individual opinion but NEG represent
yi4shu4zhong1xin1 huo4 chuang4zuo4zhe3
art_center or artist
‘What the docents say only represents their own personal views, not those of the art center or the artists.’

只 zhi3 ‘only’ can co-occur with 是 shi4 ‘be’ in regular specifying copular sentences to restrict the predicate rendering “only” or “just” in [136], as well as in the “not only” context in [137].

[136] 孔子原来只是个平凡的小孩, 家里很穷...
kong3zi3 yuan2lai2 zhi3 shi4 ge4 ping2fan2 de0
Confucius originally only be CL ordinary DE
xiao3hai2 jia1li3 hen3 qiong2
child family very poor
‘Confucius was just an ordinary child, from a poor family…’

[137] 桂花乌龙不只是茶香味美而已, 还有一种细腻温和。
gui4hua1 wu1long2 bu4zhi3 shi4 cha2 xiang1
osmanthus oolong not_only be tea fragrant
wei4 mei3 er2yi3 hai2 you3 yi1 zhong3 xi4ni4
taste good only also have one CL delicacy
wen1run4
tenderness
‘Osmanthus oolong tea does not just have fragrance and taste, it also has a touch of delicacy and tenderness.’

A whole proposition may be restricted in cases when 只 zhi3shi4 ‘be only’ precedes the clause.
没有啦！...只是昨天晚上有两名青少年骑车在街上游荡，被人拿刀砍伤...

Nothing! It was just that yesterday there were two young men riding scooters on the street and being stabbed . . .

The restrictive semantics then gets further extended to concession to soften the (opposing) tone of the speech, indicated by the sentence-final particle  ‘只 la0 in [138] and 罢了 ba4le0 in [139].

[139] a. 投资再多的电厂也只是浪费罢了。

No matter how much investment one puts in more power plants, it is just a waste.

b. 台湾并不产虎，最多只是被昵称为大猫的石虎罢了！

Taiwan does not have tigers. The closest to tigers is just the leopard cat, which is nicknamed “the big cat.”

There are other means to express uniqueness, such as by employing the modifiers ‘唯独 wei2du2 ‘only’ or 唯一 wei2yi1 ‘only,’ as shown in [140].

[140] a. 别的好说，唯独这件事，我不管就受不了。

Others easy_to_handle only this CL thing
I cannot stand ignoring it.

'The only difficulty came from the fact that early documents in Taiwan were all written in Japanese.'
Appendix: Punctuation

Shui Duen Chan

Punctuation, strictly speaking, is part of the orthography and not a proper component of the grammar. In reading and writing, however, punctuation marks bring out the subtlety in grammar which is often inadequately expressed by textual representation. In this sense, punctuation is not unlike prosody in speech: something that is needed for understanding and has to be considered in conjunction with the perceived phonemic units. Punctuation is a relatively new innovation in Chinese writing. Traditional Chinese printed texts did not have punctuation and until the early twentieth century, readers of Chinese texts were required to break down the text into different units, as mentioned in Chapter 1. Punctuation marks are now an integral part of written Chinese. They are symbols to indicate pauses, the nature and function of certain expressions, and the structure and organization of sentences.

There are seventeen types of punctuation marks in written Chinese: period, question mark, exclamation mark, comma, caesura mark, semicolon, colon, quotation marks, emphasis marks, parentheses, dash, ellipsis points, connection mark, interval mark, separation mark (slash), book title mark, and proper noun mark. They can be classified into two major categories:

1. Punctuation marks that indicate boundaries, which are divided into three subcategories:
   (a) markers of major (usually sentential) boundaries: period, question mark, and exclamation mark;
   (b) markers of secondary boundaries between expressions or clauses: comma and caesura mark; and
   (c) markers of boundary and relationship between two expressions: colon and semicolon.

2. Punctuation marks that indicate the nature and function of expressions, which are divided into five subcategories:
   (a) markers to enclose a quotation or to indicate emphasis: quotation marks and emphasis marks;
   (b) markers to indicate amendment or explanation: parentheses and dash;
   (c) markers to indicate omission: ellipsis points;
(d) markers to indicate the relation between words: hyphen, interval mark, and slash mark; and
(e) markers to indicate the nature of certain expressions: book title mark and proper noun mark.

A.1. Boundary-marking punctuation marks
As mentioned above, there are three subtypes of boundary-marking punctuation marks.

A.1.1. Marks marking major boundaries
A.1.1.1. Period
A period “。” is a small circle at the bottom part of the line. It is different in appearance from the Western period “.” but has similar functions. It is conventionally used to mark major boundaries of a statement, regardless of whether it is the end of a grammatical sentence or not and irrespective of the length of the statement concerned. The single clause in [1a] is a complete sentence with a period at the end, while the four clauses in [1b] also form a sentence with only one period.

[1] a. 我会按照指示去做的。
wo3 hui4 an1 zhi3shi4 qu4 zuo4 de0
I will PREP instruction go do DE
‘I will act according to the instruction.’

b. 客人进门, 服务员要先问候, 然后带位, 再送上菜单。
ke4ren2 jin4men2 fu2wu2yuan2 yao4 xian1 wen4hou4
guest enter_door waiter must first greet
ran2hou4 dai4wei4 zai4 song4shang4 cai4dan1
then lead_seat again present menu
‘When the customers come in, the waiters should greet them, take them to their seats, and then present the menu.’

It is important to note that a Chinese period does not necessarily mark the end of a sentence like an English full stop. Very often, it marks a string of sentences forming a topic chain, like in [1b]. In terms of orthography, the rule that a period marks the end of a sentence simply does not work. A period can sometimes be used at the end of a directive or exclamatory sentence that does not convey a strong feeling. The directive in [2a] is a soft suggestion and [2b] is a soft exclamation in the form of an admiring statement. Both have a period at the end.
Appendix: Punctuation

A.1.1.2. Question mark

A question mark “?” is used at the end of a direct question, as in [3].

[3] 他为什么不来?
  ta1 wei4shen2me0 bu4 lai2
  she why NEG come
  ‘Why did he not come?’

A question mark has the additional function of being used in the middle of a sentence to indicate an unknown factor, typically appearing between parentheses, to express uncertainty or suspicion. The question mark in [4a] indicates that the birth year of the person is unknown or uncertain, and the one in [4b] conveys the speaker’s doubt about the status of the “experts.”

   li3guang3 qian2 119 nian2 shi4 han4dai4
   LI_GUANG before 119 year be HAN_dynasty
   zhu4min2 da4jiang4
   well-known general
   ‘LI Guang (?–119 BC) was a famous general in the HAN Dynasty.’

b. 这些专家 (?) 的言论不值得相信。
   zhe4xie1 zhuan1jia1 de0 yan2lun4 bu4 zhi2de2
   these experts DE words not worthy
   xiang1xin4
   believe
   ‘Words by these so-called experts are not reliable.’

A.1.1.3. Exclamation mark

An exclamation mark is often used at the end of an exclamative sentence to express excitement, as in [5a], surprise, as in [5b], or admiration.
[5]  a. 好精彩的表演!
   hao3 jing1cai3 de0 biao3yan3
   very superb DE performance
   ‘What a wonderful show!’

   b. 吓死我了!
   xia4si3 wo3 le0
   scare_death I LE
   ‘(You are /This is) scaring me to death!’

   It could also be used to indicate a strong directive. [6a] is a command and [6b] is
   a warning, and both are marked with an exclamation mark.

   huo3ji4 gan3kuai4 kai1deng1
   staff_member hurry_up turn_on_the_light
   ‘Waiter! Turn on the light right now!’

   b. 躲开点!
   duo3kai1 dian3
   dodge_away a_bit
   ‘Stay away!’

A.1.2. Marks marking secondary boundaries

A.1.2.1. Comma

A comma marks the boundary between elements within a statement or topic
chain, such as between the clauses in [7].

[7]  昆明四季如春，山清水秀，是个养老的好地方。
   kun1ming2 si4ji4ru2chun1 shan1qing1
   KUMING four_season_as_spring mountain_green
   shui3xiu4 shi4 ge4 yang3lao3 de0 hao3 di4fang
   water_clean BE CL retire DE good place
   ‘Kuming has a spring-like climate all year round. It has green mountains
   and beautiful rivers. It is an ideal place for retirement.’

   A comma is sometimes used to separate a long subject with the predicate, as in
   [8a], or to separate a verb with a long object, as in [8b].

[8]  a. 坦桑尼亚的沿海城市桑几巴尔，是主要港口和商业中心。
   tan2sang1ni2ya4 de0 yan2hai3 cheng2shi4 sang1ji3ba1er3
   TANZANIA DE coastal city ZANZIBAR
The seaside city of Zanzibar in Tanzania is the main port and commercial center of the country.

The report says that the bad weather in recent years is clearly due to global warming.

Paris, one of the most prosperous metropolises in the world, is known as the city of flowers.

Its last function is to indicate the pause after a vocative, as in [10].

A caesura mark “、“ looks like a tilted water drop. It is used to indicate the boundary between parallel phrases, as in [11a], or numbers in a sequence, as in [11b].
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bi3jiao4wen2xue2 san3wen2 fan1yi4 he2
comparative_literature essay translation and
xian4dai4shi1ge1
Contemporary_Poetry
'I taught history of English literature, comparative literature, essay,
translation, and contemporary poetry.'

b. 我在北京住了五、六年。
wo3 zai4 bei3jing1 zhu4 le0 wu3 liu4 nian2
'I lived in Beijing for five or six years.'

A.1.3. Marks denoting boundary and relationship between two expressions

A.1.3.1. Colon
A colon is used to prompt or introduce a text or clause that elaborates on the
element before the colon, such as the direct quote in [12].

[12] 他逢人便问：“什么地方可以找到红豆?”
ta1 feng2 ren2 bian4 wen4 shen2me0 di4fang1
de meet person then ask what place
ke3yi3 zhao3dao4 hong2dou4
can find red_bean
'He asked everybody he met: “Where could I find the red beans?”'

The elaboration after a colon can be a phrase that provides an explanation,
comment, or description, as in the dictionary entry of [13a] and the announcement
in [13b].

xi2ji2 chu1qi1bu4yi4 de0 da3ji2
'surprise attack unexpected DE strike
'surprise attack: to strike unexpectedly'

b. 地点: 香港理工大学
di4dian3 xiang1gang3li3gong1da4xue2
'location HONG_KONG_POLYTECHNIC_UNIVERSITY
'venue: The Hong Kong Polytechnic University'

It is also used to indicate the pause after the vocative in a speech or addressee
in a letter, as in [14].
A.1.3.2. Semicolon

The typical use of a semicolon is to mark the boundary between coordinated parallel expressions, such as between the two coordinated causative complex sentences in [15].

[15] 有了门, 我们可以出去; 有了窗, 我们可以不必出去。
you3 le0 men2 wo3men0 ke3yi3 chu1qu4 you3 le0
YOU LE door we can go_out YOU LE
chuang1 wo3men0 ke3yi3 bu4bi4 chu1qu4
window we can NEG go_out
‘With door, we can go out (to the outside world); with window, we do not have to go out (to see the outside world).’

Another use for a semicolon is to indicate the end of items in a list, as in [16].

[16] 出发前的准备事项包括 :
chu1fa1 qian2 de0 zhun3bei4 shi4xiang4 bao1gua1
start_out before DE preparation issues include
‘Preparations before the trip are:’

一、把水箱加满水;
yi1 ba3 shui3xiang1 jia1man3 shui3
one BA radiator add_full water
‘1. to fill the radiator with water;’

二、检查轮胎的气压;
er4 jian3cha2 lun2tai1 de0 qi4ya1
two check tire DE pressure
‘2. to check the air pressure of the tires;’

三、把油箱加满汽油;
san1 ba3 you2xiang1 jia1man3 you2
three BA gas_tank add_full gas
‘3. to fill the gas tank;’
四、多带一个备胎。
si4  duo1  dai4  yi1  ge4  bei4tai1
four  more  bring  one  CL  spare_tire
‘4. to get an extra spare tire.’

A.2. Punctuation marks indicating the nature and function of expressions
When such marks are used, the marked element will be assigned a specific function or a particular status.

A.2.1. Marks enclosing a quotation or indicating emphasis

A.2.1.1. Quotation marks
There are two quotation marks, double quotation marks [“ ”] and single quotation marks [‘ ’]. These paired punctuation marks mark direct speech, or expressions that should receive special attention or are carrying some connotative meaning. Under normal circumstances, double quotation marks [“ ”] are the choice, as in [17a]. Single quotation marks [‘ ’] are used to indicate a quotation within a quotation, as illustrated in [17b].

[17] a. 二乔问伙计:“新娘子来了没有?”伙计答道:“来了。”
er4qiao2  wen4  huo3ji4  xin1nian2zi0  lai2  le0
ERQIAO  ask  staff_member  bride  come  LE
mei2you3  huo3ji4  da2dao4  lai2  le0
NEG  staff_member  reply_say  come  LE
‘Erqiao asked the waiter, “Has the bride arrived?” The waiter said, “Yes. She has.”’

b. 她对记者说:“我不喜欢在歌里出现‘炸弹’这种字眼。”
ta1  dui4  ji4zhe3  shuo1  wo3  bu4  xi3huan1  zai4
she  PREP  reporter  say  I  NEG  like  PREP
gi1  li3  chu1xian4  zha4dan4  zhe4  zhong3  zi4yan3
song  in  appear  bomb  this  CL  wording
‘She told reporters, “I do not like words like ‘bomb’ to appear in the lyrics.”’

A.2.1.2. Emphatic marks
Emphasis marks highlight the importance of the word or words that should be marked to attract special attention. They are written as a string of small dots placed beneath the words concerned, like those in [18]:

A.2.2. Marks indicating amendment or explanation

A.2.2.1. Parentheses

Parenthetical marks come in several paired forms. The most common are parentheses “( ),” while square brackets “[ ],” hexagon brackets “[ ],” and thick brackets “[ ]" are variants. Parentheses are typically used to indicate an explanation, a supplement, or an amendment, as in [19]:

[19] 祭品中绝对少不了的是“糖瓜儿” (一种瓜形的麦芽糖)。

Parentheses are also used with numbers or order words, as in [20a] where some major punctuation marks are listed with numbering. Square and hexagon brackets “[ ],” “[ ],” and thick brackets “[ ]” are typically used with the name of an era or country, as in [20b]. Thick brackets “[ ]” are used with the name of a press agency or lexical entries in dictionaries, as in [20c].

[20] a. (1) 句号 ju4hao4; (2) 问号 wen4hao4; (3) 感叹号 gan3tan4hao4.

b. [英] 达尔文《物种起源》

'yOn the Origin of Species' by Darwin of England.'
A.2.2.2. Dash

A dash is normally used to indicate an explanation, or to mark an insertion or summary. It can mark an extended pause or a prolonged speech sound. The dash in [21a] introduces an explanation to the cliché that goes before it, while the two dashes in [21b] indicate a prolonged pronunciation of the word 你 ni3 ‘you’.

[21]  a. 泥菩萨过江---自身难保
    ni2pu2sa4  guo4  jiang1  zi4sheng  nan2  bao3
    mud-Budda cross river self hard keep
    ‘A mud Buddha statue crossing the river: not even sure if it can keep itself safe.’

    b. 你瞧---你倒是评评理看!
    ni3  qiao2  ni3  ni3  dao4shi4  ping2ping2li3  kan4
    you watch you you indeed judge_judge see
    ‘You take a look, you, you make a fair judge!’

Another usage of the dash is to introduce a subtitle, as in [22a], or to indicate supplementary information to a quotation or a name, such as the author in [22b].

[22]  a. 从毕加索到爱因斯坦
    cong2  bi3jiasu03  dao4  ai4yin1si1tan3
    PREP  PICASSO  PREP  EINSTEIN
A.2.3. Marks of omission

Ellipsis points “……” are six small dots close to the bottom of a line. They are mainly used to indicate omissions from listed items or a quoted text or speech. The ellipsis points in [23a] indicate that the speaker utters quite a number of 好 hao3 ‘fine’ as well as 你赢了 ni3 ying2le0 ‘you win.’ If the omitted part is a whole line or a paragraph, the number of dots can be increased to twelve. The quoted statements in [23b] are part of a long list of eulogies to an author who has passed away and the twelve dots indicate that the list is very long. Although six- or twelve-dot ellipsis points are prescribed, in actual use speakers often use as few as three and sometime even an arbitrary number of dots. It is very rare, however, to see more than thirteen dots.

[23]  a. 他气得连声说道：“好，好……你赢了，你赢了……”
    ta1 qi4 de0 lian2sheng2 shuo1 dao4 hao3 hao3 hao3
    he angry DE repeatedly say that fine fine
    ni3 yin2 le0 ni3 yin2 le0
    you win LE you win LE
    ’He got so angry that he uttered repeatedly, “Fine, fine… You won. You won…”’

b. “这个作家真像是时代的一面镜子。”
   “他的作品是生活的镜子。”

    zhe4 ge4 zuo4jia1 zhen1 xiang4 shi4 shi2 dai4 de0
    this CL author true like be era DE
This writer is like a mirror of our time.

His work is a reflection of life.

A.2.4. Marks indicating relationship between words

A.2.4.1. Hyphen

There are three kinds of hyphens, the long hyphen “–,” the short hyphen “-,” and the tilde “∼,” which can sometime be a variant of the short hyphen. The long hyphen is used to represent two endpoints of a range of items mentioned, such as the range of page numbers in [24a], or the two endpoints of a journey, as in [24b].

di4 shi2 er4shi2ba1 ye4
DI ten twenty_eight page
‘from page 10 to page 28’
b. 北京–上海旅客快车
bei3jing1 shang4hai2 lü3ke4 kuai4che1
BEIJING SHANGHAI passenger express
‘passenger express train from Beijing to Shanghai’

The short hyphen is used between words in a compound involving different orthographic units, such as between a character and a numeral in [25a]. The tilde, on the other hand, is used to mark the range of numbers in estimation.

[25] a. 歼-10歼击机
jian1 10 jian1ji2ji1
strike 10 jet_fighter
‘F-10 jet fighter’
b. 30 ~ 35克
30 50 ke4
30 50 gram
‘between 30 to 35 grams’

A.2.4.2. Interval mark

An interval mark is a small dot “•” appearing at the middle level of a line and is used to separate related words, such as between the first, middle, and last names
of foreigners, as in [26a], between the book title and the chapter title, as in [26b], and between the dates of events, as in [26c].

[26] a. 乔治·华盛顿
   qiao2zhi4 hua2sheng4dun4
   GEORGE WASHINGTON
   ‘George Washington’

b. 《论语·颜渊》
   lun2yu3 yan2yuan1
   THE_ANALECTS YAN_YUAN
   ‘Chapter Yan Yuan in Confucian Analects’

c. 九·一八事变
   jiu3 yi1ba1 shi4bian4
   September eighteen incident
   ‘The September Eighteenth Incident.’

A.2.4.3. Slash
A slash is used to indicate alternative lexical items in a text, which often marks a coordinative ellipsis. Sometimes it can be written as a straight line “|.”

[27] 登记/补领身份证
   deng1ji4 bu3ling3 sheng2fen4zheng4
   register receive_replacement identity_card
   ‘to register for or to receive reissued identification card’

A.2.5. Marks indicating the nature of expressions

A.2.5.1. Book title mark
A book title mark is a pair of double angle brackets “《 》” or single angle brackets “〈 〉.” It is used to mark the title of books, magazines, journals, plays, movies, songs, or TV programs, as in [28a]. The double angle brackets are used more commonly, while the single angle brackets are normally used to indicate a title within a title, as in [28b].

[28] a. 《现代汉语》
   xian4dai4 han4yu3
   modern Chinese
   ‘Modern Chinese’
b. 《评 <狂人日记> 》
ping2 kuang2ren2 ri4ji4
review mad_man diary
‘On The Diary of a Mad Man’

A.2.5.2. Proper noun mark
The proper noun mark is used to mark proper nouns, including the names of
a person, place, dynasty, religion, and other proper nouns. It is written as an
underline when horizontal writing is used, such as in [29], and a vertical line to
the left when vertical writing is used.

[29] 《永乐大典》是在明朝皇帝朱棣的授意下编撰的。
yong3le4 da4dian3 shi4 zai4 ming2chao2
YONGLE great_classics be PREP MING_dynasty
huang2di4 zhu1di4 de0 shou4yi4 xia4
emperor ZHU_DI DE authorization under
bian1zhuan4 de0
edit_author DE
‘The Great Classics of Yongle was compiled under the authorization of
Emperor ZHU Di of the MING Dynasty.’


张斌. 2010. 《现代汉语描写语法》. 北京: 商务印书馆.
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