漢語語法分析初探

下

Modern Chinese Analytic Syntax

Vol. II

何莫邪著

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This little primer is dedicated to
Professor Lü Shuxiang, Peking
in profound gratitude for his kind support and for the inspiring example of
humanistic scholarship that he has set for students of Chinese linguistics inside
and outside China.

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Preface

The present volume 2 of this draft was prepared while I was a fellow at the Institute for Advanced Study, Berlin in 1990/91. I owe a profound debt of gratitude to the staff and the fellows of that very generous institution for their friendship and for their support.

I also owe very special thanks to Lu Jianming and Ma Zhen from Peking University whose detailed criticism and constructive advice on every aspect of my Berlin draft has been crucial to me at many points.
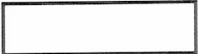
Technically, this volume has been rather troublesome to produce. For the final editing I am grateful to Yu Xiaoxing, who has also acted as my main Chinese informant.

Finally, and above all, I have to thank my students over the years in the University of Oslo, who have cheerfully put up with my changing experiments, and who gleefully continue to insist on corrections and improvements in every single class. Their extraordinary enthusiasm has driven me to try to write this draft for them.
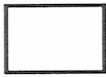
Chapter 8
Registers of grammaticalisation
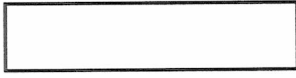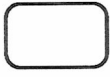
The **shape** of the constituent boxes is used to distinguish between grammatical status of an expression under a given interpretation as bound grammaticalised forms (circles) and other linguistic units (ordinary boxes).

Grammatical registers

Ungrammaticalised morphemes, words and phrases	☐
Semi-grammaticalised forms	☐
Wholly grammaticalised forms	⬭

Compare:

行　　走
xíng　*zǒu*
GO　　WALK
"walk about"

vi

vi　&　vi

趕　　走
gǎn　*zǒu*
CHASE　WALK
"chase away"

vt

vt　c　vi

The definition of registers of grammaticalisation is difficult, and the criteria of grammaticalisation are in principle hard to define. Meanwhile, looking at it from a historical point of view, the process of grammaticalisation of various words is an important pervasive pheonomenon. Indeed it is a crucial phenomenon in the history of the Chinese language.

In spite of the many difficulties of definition, many examples seem clear enough. The phrase *jiào tā qǐlaǐ* 叫他起來 "tell him to get up" involves the ungrammaticalised verb *qǐlái* 起來 "get up". In *jiàoqǐlåilě* 叫起來了 "he started shouting" we have the grammaticalised complement *-qǐlåi* 起來 "start to" which historically derives from the former but is no longer identical with it and has developed a life of its own. In *jiào tā yī tiān wǎnchěng* 叫他一天完成 "be finished by him in three days" *jiào* 叫 itself has a grammaticalised function as a passivising coverb.

Guò 過 "pass (through), exceed" is the historical form of the grammaticalised *-guǒ* 過 EXPERIENTIAL ASPECT as in *wǒ kāiguǒ zhèliàng chē* 我開過這輛車 "I have driven this car" and also of the verbal complement · *guò* 過 in *qìchě kāiguò dàménkǒu* 汽車開過大門口 "The car drives past the main gate."

Xiàqǔ 下去 "go down" is the historical source for the grammaticalised suffix *-xiǎqǔ* 下去 "continue to" as in *kāixiǎqǔ* 開下去 "go on driving".

*** *Kāixiàqǔ* 開下去 is ambiguous between A. "go on driving" and B. "drive down". Is there any difference in intonation?

The verbal suffix *-lě* 了 has a plausible pre-history as a main verb *liǎo* 了 "finish", just as the classical modal particle *yǐ* 已 "definitely" derives from the verb *yǐ* 已 "to finish".

* Identify the grammaticalised elements in the following:
1.
開過
kāiguǒ
DRIVE EXP.
"have driven"
2.
開過
kāiguò
DRIVE PASS
"drive past"
3.
走開
zǒukāi
WALK LEAVE
"go away"
4.
開走
kāizǒu
DRIVE LEAVE
"drive away"

5.
慢開
mànkāi
SLOW DRIVE
"drive slowly"

One might, intuitively, try to arrange grammaticalised form classes on a rough provisional scale of increasing grammaticalisation:
1. adverbs
2. negations
3. coverbs
4. connectives
5. modal particles
6. suffixes
7. operators
8. markers
9. exclamations

One might then go on to define the specialisation of a verb or a noun on any one of these grammaticalised roles as grammaticalisation or *xūhuà* 虛化.

In a case like
埋頭
máitóu
BURY HEAD
A. lexical verb: "bury one's head [and make a concentrated effort]"
B. grammaticalised adverb: "with full concentration"
we might speak of semi-grammaticalised forms.

Unfortunately, a mechanical arrangement of constituent classes even on a rough sliding scale of increasing grammaticalisation does not begin to do justice to the complexity of the facts.

As we shall see, coverbs **cov** vary significantly in the degree to which they show the relevant symptoms of grammaticalisation. Thus *bǎ* 把 is more grammaticalised than *gěi* 給 "for", and moreover *gěi* 給 "passiviser: by" seems clearly more grammaticalised than *gěi* 給 "for"

Among adverbs **adv** one might wonder whether *yīgùnzi* 一棍子 "at one stroke" is not less grammaticalised than *hěn* 很 "very" which apparently has no ungrammaticalised past. However, from a purely syntactic and synchronicpoint of view both a equally specialised on the adverbial role.

Among connectives **conn** one might wonder whether *bùguǎn* 不管 "even though" is not less grammaticalised than *suīrán* 雖然 which again has no ungrammaticalised past, and *yīncǐ* 因此 "therefore" appears less grammaticalised than *suǒyǐ* 所以 "therefore" .

Among modal particles **mp** one might wonder whether *lě* 了 is not after all less grammaticalised than *ně* 呢.

Among the suffixes **sf** one might wonder whether -*guǒ* 過 GO THROUGH > EXPERIENTIAL ASPECT is not less grammaticalised than -*ér* 兒 SUFFIX in *mànmǎnr* 慢慢兒 "slowly"; similarly, one might wonder whether a semi-suffix -*fènzǐ* 分子 as in *zhīshifènzǐ* 知識分子 "intellectual" is not significantly less grammaticalised than *zǐ* 子 in *zhuōzǐ* 桌子 "table".

Among the classifiers **cl** one might wonder whether *duì* 對 "pair of" or the measure (**clm**) *bēi* 杯 is not less grammaticalised than the semantically neutral and atonal *gě* 個. One might even want to say *duì* 對 and *bēi* 杯 are classifier nouns that ought to be categorised as **ncl**.
Even among operators one might perhaps begin to wonder whether *zhě* 者 is not closer to a pronominal noun and therefore less grammaticalised than *suǒ* 所 "the object which".

Among markers one might certainly wonder whether *dě* 得 in *xiě dě hǎo* 寫得好 "write well" is not less grammaticalised than *dě* 的 in *xiě dě rén* 寫的人 "the person who wrote [it]". After all, the good result is something which one "obtains" *dé* 得.

Not all such hunches on degrees of grammaticalisation will turn out well-grounded, and it is certainly necessary to look for precise tests (*cèshì* 測試) for degrees of grammaticalisation, but undoubtedly there is a sliding scale of grammaticalisation. There is a continuum of degrees of grammaticalisation in general along which words, historically speaking, move along.

The degree of grammaticalisation is felt to be determined by two factors:
1. the semantic distance between the current grammatical meaning and a relevant original lexical verbal or nominal meaning of a morpheme that is grammaticalised;
2. the degree of syntactic specialisation of the grammaticalised expression on the grammaticalised role, i.e. the degree to which the syntactic symptoms of verbhood or nounhood are absent.

The first criterion is fairly subjective, the second may be made syntactically explicit through a wide range of tests.

One might want to decide to disregard the first criterion as unduly etymologising and subjective. If one were to decide on this purely syntactic strategy, *yīgùnzi* 一棍子 "at one stroke" would be regarded as exactly as grammaticalised as *yě* 也 "also" in Modern Chinese.

We shall try to apply both criteria in what follows. We must remain aware that in so doing we are leaving the field of purely synchronic descriptive syntax. We regard the phenomenon of grammaticalisation as a partly historico-syntactic phenomenon. Disregarding the historical dimension of grammaticalisation seems uncongenial. Language is historical.

In the case of *dě* 的 or *yě* 也 there is no obvious link with an original lexical meaning. The particles seem completely grammaticalised and their lexical roots may no longer be traced. We know of no lexical meaning for *yě* 也. The graph *dě* 的 is, in a sense, arbitrary, and *dì* 的 "target" does not tell any story about the lexical background of *dě* 的. On the other hand the meaning *dé* 得 "get, obtain" is obviously instructive on the lexical origins of the potential grammatical particle *dě* 得 in Modern Standard Chinese.

The verb *liǎo* 了 "to finish" is highly instructive for a proper understanding for its phonetically reduced and grammaticalised variant *-lě* 了, both the modal particle *lě* 了 and the perfective verbal suffix *lě* 了. The link of the perfective aspect with the meaning "to finish" is self-evident. By contrast, *ně* 呢 seems completely grammaticalised and the history of the morpheme *ně* tells us nothing about a link with a lexical item, nominal or verbal, that served as a background to the grammatical function of *ně* 呢.

Sometimes one can think of distinct different stages of grammaticalisation. *Bìng* 並 "to combine, compare, join together", is first grammaticalised into an adverb in such phrases as *bìng xíng* 並行 "walk together", and it is then further grammaticalised into a connective between verbs in such phrases as *tǎolùn bìng yánjiū* 討論並研究 "discuss and study". The adverbial use seems less grammaticalised than the use as a connective because the distance to the original lexical meaning is less in the first case than in the second.

Along the principles we have outlined now, the perfective suffix *-lě* 了 and the modal particle *lě* 了 may even turn out to have different degrees of grammaticalisation which ideally ought to be represented by different degrees of rounding of the constituent boxes representing these grammatical particles.

Grammaticalisation is a semantic change combined with a change from a lexical or syntactic major class or function (like that of noun, noun phrase, verb, verb phrase, sentence) to a "minor" class or function like that of adverbs counts as . Examples of this are *pà* 怕 "fear > probably", *máitóu* 埋頭 "bury

one's head > with total concentration", -sǐ 死 "die > extremely", bù guǎn 不管 "not care > even if", zài shuō 再說 "speak again > moreover". We note that these expressions continue to be used as full verbal expressions in addition to their adverbial usage.

Exclamations generally do not derive by any process of grammaticalisation from an earlier lexical item with a full lexical meaning. Onomatopoeic words, for obvious reasons, are not the result of grammaticalisation.

In our diagrammes we can do no better than to rank intuitively the relative degree of grammaticalisation of the various elements that are grammaticalised within a given expression.
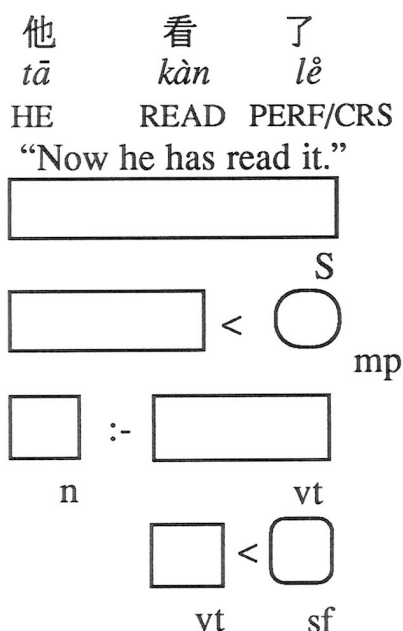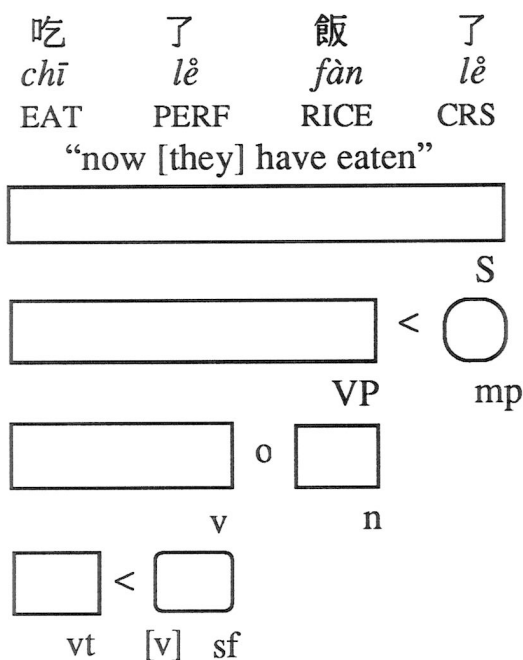
吃	了	飯	了
chī	lě	fàn	lě
EAT	PERF	RICE	CRS

"now [they] have eaten"

他	看	了
tā	kàn	lě
HE	READ	PERF/CRS

"Now he has read it."

*** What are the arguments against taking the scope of sentential *lě* 了 to be the verb phrase only?

* *Liǎo* 了 "to finish" may be more or less grammaticalised, as the following ambiguity shows:

吃不了
chī bù liǎo
EAT NOT FINISH
A. [slightly grammaticalised:] "does not eat up" cf. 吃不完 .
B. [fully grammaticalised:] "cannot eat (because of a disease etc.)" cf. 不能吃.

* *Yào* 要 "want > [grammaticalised] suppose that, if" is sometimes ambiguous between grammaticalised and ungrammaticalised usages. Analyse the following:
1.
他要不要呢
tā yào bù yào ně
HE WANT NOT WANT Q
A. "Does he or does he not want to?"
2.
他要不要呢
tā yào bù yào ně
HE IF NOT WANT Q
B. "If he does not want to ... ...?"

* On which of the following readings is *ràng* 讓 grammaticalised?
讓他停了職的張三
ràng tā tínglě zhí dě Zhāngsān
LET/PASS HE STOP PERF JOB 'S ZHANGSAN
A. "Zhangsan who let him resign."
B. "Zhangsan who was dismissed by him."

拿　　去
ná　　*qù*
TAKE　REMOVE
"take away"

Cf. *qùdiào* 去掉 "remove", *qù pí* 去皮 "remove the skin or peel", and *náqù* 拿
去 "take along".

拿　　　走
ná　　*zǒu*
TAKE　-WALK
"take away"
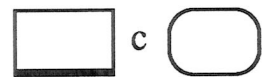
拿　　着　　走
ná　　*zhě*　*zǒu*
HOLD　CONT　WALK
"walk along carrying [it]"
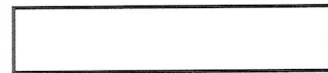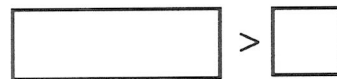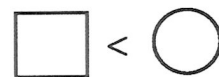
For the grammaticalised use of *ná* 拿 "take" as a coverb meaning something
like "holding in one's hand", see the end of this subsection.

走　　不　　開
zǒu　　*bù*　　*kāi*
WALK　NOT　LEAVE
"be unable to walk away"
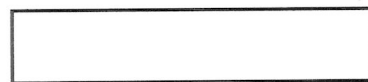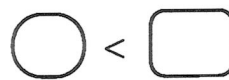
Compare *wǒ bù kāi* 我不開 "I am not driving" where *bù kāi* 不開 is an ordinary verb phrase.

Grammaticalisation works also within morphology. In *kěnéngxìng* 可能性 "possibility" *xìng* 性 is a suffix. In *rén xìng* 人性 "human nature" *xìng* 性 is a full noun.

In modern *qīzi* 妻子 "wife" *zǐ* 子 is a suffix. In classical *qī zǐ* 妻子 "wife and children" *zǐ* 子 is a full noun. We shall analyse these kinds of diachronic problems in the section on historical registers.

In *nándé* 難得 "hard to get, impressive" *dé* 得 is a full verb. In *kàndé* 看得 "can see" it is grammaticalised. In *juédé* 覺得 "feel" it has apparently lost its marked grammaticalised function and has become something like a verbal suffix.

* Contrast *hǎozhù* 好住 "good to live in" with *jìzhù* 記住 "remember", and contrast *chēzi* 車子 "car" with *tiān zǐ* 天子 "son of Heaven".

The verb *qù* 去 is used both as a lexical full verb meaning "go", and as a grammaticalised directional complement. Compare the two readings of the following and decide which reading involved the grammaticalised *qù* 去:

<div align="center">

寄　　去　　了
jì　　*qù*　　*lě*
SEND LEAVE/GO PERF

A. "[He] has sent [the thing] off." (Cf. *jìlě* 寄了)

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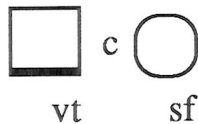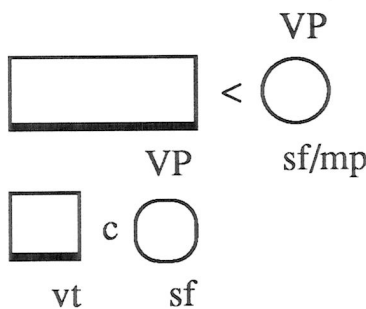
寄　去　了
jì　qù　lě
SEND　LEAVE　PERF
B. "[He] has gone off to mail the thing." (Cf. *qù jì lě* 去寄了）

VP

< ○

vt　sf

□ > □

vt　vi

*** Note, by the way, the grammaticalisation of pre-verbal *qù* 去 as in *qù xué Hànyǔ* 去學漢語 "go and study Chinese" does not necessarily involve any going anywhere, in English or in Chinese.   Cf. "You can't go and study Chinese in this way."

The verb *pà* 怕 can be grammaticalised to function as an adverb deriving from parenthetic sentences:
事情怕不那么簡單
shìqíng pà bù nàmmě jiǎndān
MATTER FEAR NOT SO SIMPLE
"The matter is probably not that simple."
The adverb *pà* 怕 here seems to derive from an abbreviated inserted parenthesis *wǒ kǒngpà* 我恐怕 "I'm afraid". But note that *kǒngpà* 恐怕 in Modern Standard Chinese tends to be restricted to grammaticalised usages. Although one might easily imagine that Zhangsan is afraid, he is not said to be afraid in the following sentence:
張三怕不那么聰明
Zhāngsān pà bù nàmě cōngmíng
ZHANGSAN FEAR NOT SO INTELLIGENT
"Zhangsan is probably not as intelligent as that."

The adverbial status is perhaps less uncontroversial in sentences like this one without any subject:
怕是不成吧
pà shì bù chéng bǎ
FEAR BE NOT ALL-RIGHT BA
"I'm afraid it can't be done."
Lin Yü-tang in his dictionary (p. 393) recognises no adverbial function of *pà* 怕 in this example.

* Under which of the following readings do we have grammaticalisation?
張三怕會發生甚麼問題
Zhāngsān pà huì fāshēng shénmě wèntí
ZHANGSAN FEAR ONCE ARISE SOME PROBLEM
A. "Zhangsan was afraid that there would arise some problems.
B. "In connection with Zhangsan there probably will be some problems.

* Analyse the following two interpretations and decide in which of them we
have a grammaticalised use of *hǎo* 好 :
他穿好衣服
tā chuān hǎo yīfǔ
HE WEAR GOOD CLOTHES
A"He wears good clothes."
他穿好衣服
tā chuānhǎo yīfǔ
HE WEAR GOOD CLOTHES
B. "He has put on his clothes."

Complements of different types may perhaps be distinguished in terms of
different degrees of grammaticalisation, as in the case of *sǐ* 死:

把	這只	狗	打	死	了
bǎ	*zhèizhī*	*gǒu*	*dǎ*	*sǐ*	*lě*
TAKE	THIS	DOG	BEAT	DIE	PERF

"beat this dog to death"
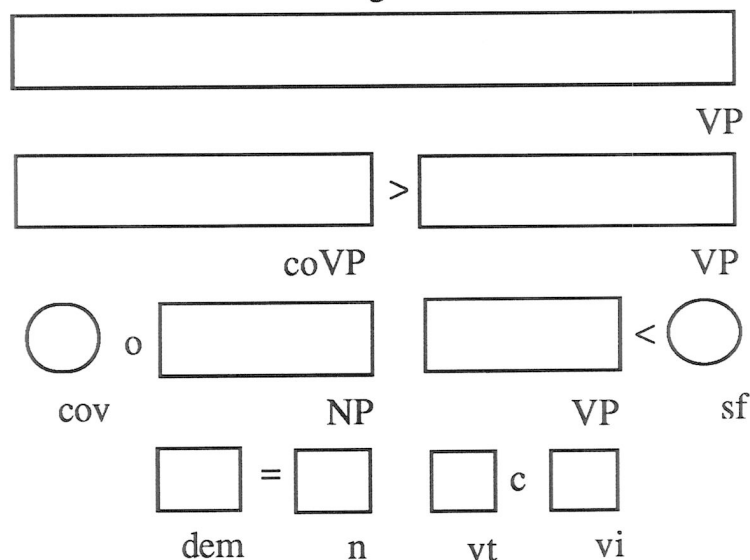
這個	地方	髒	死	了
zhèigě	*dìfǎng*	*zāng*	*sǐ*	*lě*
THIS	PLACE	DIRTY	DIE	CRS

"this place is terribly dirty"
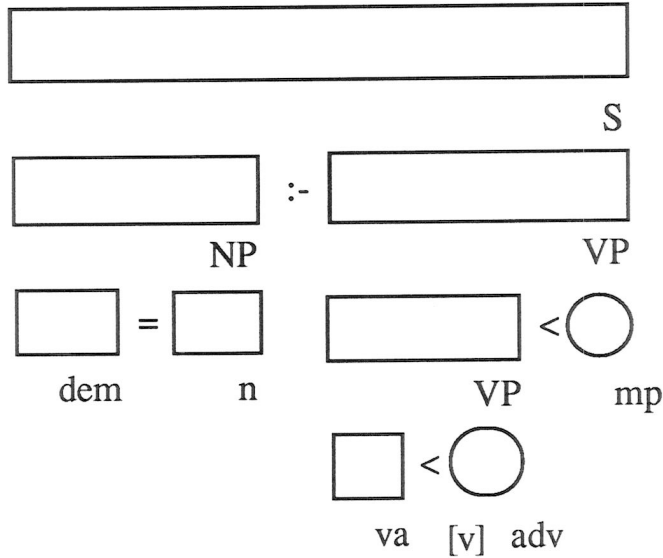
In this analysis we have attached the modal particle *lě* 了 only to the verb phrase (VP). This is, of course, unorthodox and quite possibly wrong, but it would be interesting to know the arguments why one cannot regard the so-called sentential *lě* 了 in this way.

* Analyse the contrast of the following: *èsǐlě* 餓死了 "be very hungery indeed" and *èṣǐlě* 餓死了 "starve to death".
*Analyse and compare:
樂壞了 "He was beside himself with joy."
弄壞了 "He ruined it."

Coverbs vary in their degree of grammaticalisation or specialisation by various criteria, including the criterion of modifiability by verbal suffixes like *-zhě* 着. *Bǎ* 把 is very highly grammaticalised (e.g. not modifiable by *-zhě* 着 in its characteristic position before the main verb), *ná* 拿 "holding, with" turns out to be very little grammaticalised (and is very often modified by *-zhě* 着 in its characteristic position before the main verb as we have seen in the case of *názhě zǒu* 拿着走.) Near *bǎ* 把 are *dào* 到 "to", *cóng* 從 "from", *zài* 在 "in", and *gěi* 給 "for". *Gēn* 跟 and *yòng* 用 share some more features with ordinary verbs.

One might symbolise this set of observations through degrees of rounding of the corners:

他　　拿　　扇子　　跳舞
tā　　*ná*　　*shànzǐ*　　*tiàowǔ*
HE　　TAKE　　FAN　　DANCE
"He danced with a fan"
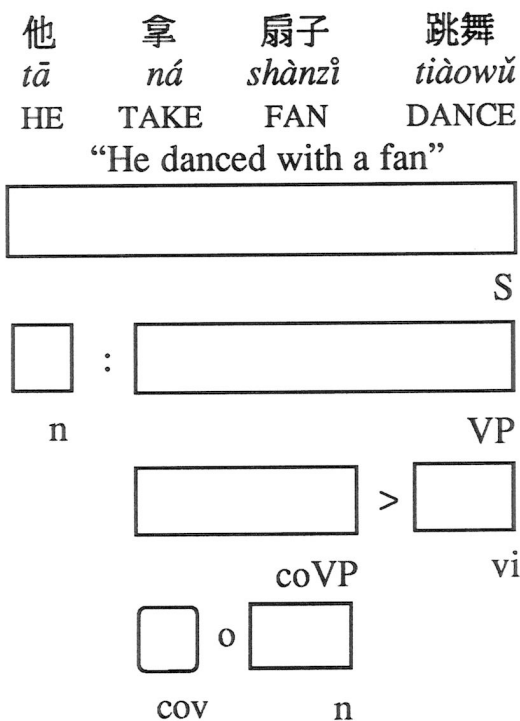
One has a feeling that *ná* 拿 is just slightly grammaticalised here, but it is hard to provide any clear evidence to prove this. In any case, our intuitions may be systematically symbolised along the following lines.

他拿扇子跳舞
"He danced with a fan."   *Ná* 拿

cov

他用筷子吃飯
"He eats with chopsticks."   *Yòng* 用

cov

他對我不好
"He is not kind to me."   *Dùi* 對

cov

他給我唱歌
"He sang a song for me."   *Gěi* 給

cov

我把他忘了
"He forgot me."   *Bǎ* 把

cov

** Compare and translate:
他拿了這個錢
他用了這筆錢
對事不對人
他給了我這筆錢
他給我們把舵
(*Bǎ duò* 把舵 is equivalent to *zhǎngduò* 掌舵 "hold the rudder")

This pattern involves many kinds of simplification. further subtlety is this: *gēn* 跟 in *gēn tā jiè qián* 跟他借錢 "borrow money from him" is markedly more grammaticalised than *gēn* 跟 in *gēn tā jìn chéng* 跟他進城 "go to town together with him", although in both cases *gēn* 跟 may be construed as a co-verb. All this is conveniently expressed by the degree of the roundedness of the round boxes.

** Discuss the degrees of grammaticalisation of various measures and classifiers in Chinese. A measure like *bēi* 杯 "cup of" would seem significantly less grammaticalised than *gě* 個 "item of". Different classifiers and different measures may show varying degrees of nouniness.

Huàn jù huà shuō 換句話說 "in other words" might have to be interpreted as a grammaticalised minor sentence.

There is a whole set of so-called *chārùyǔ* 插入語 "parenthetic phrases" which may be regarded as grammaticalised:
也就是說 "that is to say", "i.e."
總起來說 "in summery", "as a whole"
坦白地說 "frankly speaking"
看起來 "It looks like"
看上去 "when you look at it"
可以這樣說 "kan be put this way"
老實說 "frankly speaking"

** Interpret some NPs that might seem to have become semi-grammaticalised adverbs in some contexts:
1.
高速度建設
gāo sùdù jiànshè
HIGH SPEED CONSTRUCT
A. high speed construction
B. build up at high speed
Cf. 單純追求高速度
"Simply strive after high speed."

2.
多方面探索
duō fāngmiàn tànsuǒ
MANY ASPECT INVESTIGATE
A. "wide-ranging investigations"
B. "make wide-ranging investigations"
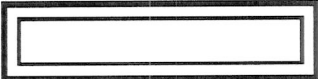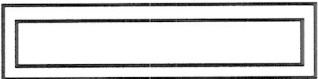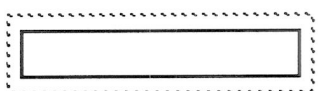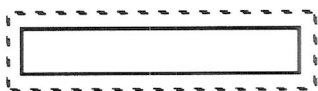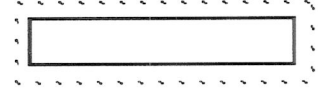
The problems of grammaticalisation are many. At this point we have done no more than point out some typical examples, and some general strategies for providing a graphic representation for some preconceptions about their degree of grammaticalisation.

Chapter 9
Registers of lexicalisation

The **outer frame** of the constituent boxes may be used to indicate the lexical status of constituents as words, word-compounds, lexicalised syntactic forms, or as proverbial phrases. The distinctions are often excruciatingly hard to make, but they raise intensely useful questions.

Registers of lexicalisation

By a **word** in our technical sense we mean a collocation of characters which satisfies all the criteria of wordhood such as constant intonation pattern, free mobility, inseparability of the morphemes, impossibility of the insertion of a major pause except in hesitation or the like. Examples:
bāngzhù 幫助 "help"
bōli 玻璃 "glass" [single-morpheme word].

By a **word-compound** in our technical sense we mean a collocation of morphemes or characters which, though generally satisfying the criteria of wordhood, allow for certain strictly limited possibilities of the insertion of particles or object within the word.

Examples:
bìyè 畢業 "to graduate", cf. *bìlě yè yǐhòu* 畢了業以後 "having graduated..."
fāshāo 發燒 "have a fever"
qǐcǎo 起草 "make a draft"

A **lexicalised syntactic compound** in our sense is a collocation which satisfies many or most of the criteria of wordhood set out below, but which allows for a varied range of possible insertions between the constituents and perhaps even transpositions.
Examples:

bāngmáng 幫忙 "help", cf. *bāng gě dà máng* 幫個大忙 "provide important help".

xǐzǎo 洗澡 "bath", cf. *lián zǎo yě méi xǐ* 連澡也沒洗 "did not even take a bath"

An **idiomatic phrase** in our sense is a fixed syntactic construction which does not normally allow variation or syntactic expansion. Examples:
kòu màozi 扣帽子 "put a label on someone".

A **proverbial expression** is a set idiomatic phrase couched in pre-modern language which is a recognised part of folklore.
Example:
wén rén xiāng qīng 文人相輕 "Men of letters think little of each other."

The distinctions within the area of lexicalisation are far from neat and clear. It is not a foregone conclusion that a cross-linguistic concept of a word turns out to be natural or generally useful for Chinese. There is, however, a good case for setting up criteria and degrees of wordhood for a language like Chinese, a categorial continuum, that is, with free syntactic constructions at the one end and absolutely tightly-knit indivisible words on the other. In this highly exploratory section we shall consider some typical problems one is faced with when trying to distinguish between various levels of lexicalisation in Modern Standard Chinese.

We begin with a comparison. In English we distinguish between the word "not" and the prefixes "in-" and "un-": "not regular" is a syntactic collocation, "irregular" is a morphological collocation. In Chinese we have to say *bù zhèngcháng* 不正常 "abnormal" without taking sides on the issue of morphology versus syntax. This is symptomatic of the relative homogeneity between morphology and syntax in Chinese as compared with English.

** The use of the prefix *fēi* 非 as in *fēinóngqū* 非農區 "non-agricultural area" does, however, show that there is no reason why the Chinese language should not develop negative prefixes as opposed to negations.

There is a highly difficult question regarding the status as words of monosyllabic morphemes. *Yǔyán* 語言 "speech, language" is clearly a word in Chinese, but on their own *yǔ* 語 "speech" and *yán* 言 "words" are not idependent words. Indeed, if one just hears the sound *yán* one suspects, until further notice, that what is at issue is *yán* 鹽 "salt", for *yán* 鹽 "salt" **is** indeed a current word in the modern Chinese language.

We have the words *tiě* 鐵 "iron" and *lù* 路 "way, street, road". One might ask whether we should read the complex word *tiělù* 鐵路 IRON WAY "railway" as one word like the German *"Eisenbahn"* or indeed as several words along the lines of the French *chemin de fer* "way of iron" or whether *tiě* 鐵 could even be taken adjectivally as in the Russian железная дорога "iron-made way"? By what standards do we decide this question?

In *dàxué* 大學 GREAT STUDY "university" the morpheme *xué* 學 STUDY is clearly a word in Modern Standard Chinese, but not in the nominal meaning "school". *Xué* 學 meaning "school" is **not** a word. Therefore we are inclined to regard *dàxué* 大學 as a word, not as a syntactic construction.

In *xiǎokàn* 小看 LITTLE SEE "despise, make little of" both morphemes are independent words, and both do have the relevant meaning also in isolation. The reasons why we are inclined to regard the construction as a word seem to be that the morphemes are strictly inseparable, form a very special syntactic construction, and have a specific idiomatic meaning.

We shall now explore some overlapping criteria for wordhood in Chinese.

1. A **constant obligatory intonation pattern** of a word-like group often is a symptom of wordhood:

<div align="center">

愛　　　人
ài　　*rén*
LOVE　PERSON
"1. spouse; 2. lover"

</div>
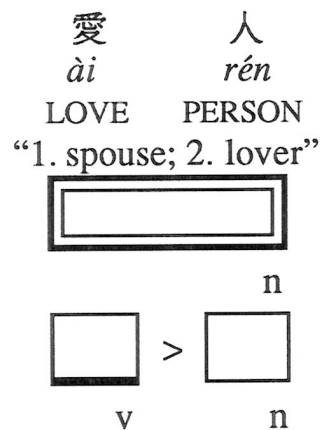
The reduced second tone on *rén* 人 "man" and the obligatory stress on *ài* 愛 in this word is a symptom of the high degree of lexicalisation of this collocation. *Ài rén* 愛人 with a full tone on the second syllable and with stress on that syllable, would have to be construed along classical lines "love other humans", as in the philosophy of Mozi 墨子.

* Compare *yǒu rén* 有人 "somebody is there" with *yǒurén* 有人 "somebody (=*yǒudě rén* 有的人)".

*** Remember that a number of syntactic structures also involve invariable and obligatory intonation patterns. Thus, by itself, this condition is not enough.

2. The **presence of certain grammatical affixes** is a clear symptom of wordhood.

Lǎo mǎ 老馬 "old horse" is an idiomatic syntactic collocation whereas *lǎohǔ* 老虎 "tiger" is a morphological construction in which *lǎo* 老 "old" has lost its original meaning. *Lǎo Mǎ* 老馬 "Old Mr. Ma" seems to hover between those two types.

A *lǎohǔ* 老虎 OLD TIGER "tiger" is not necessarily an old beast. The morpheme *lǎo* 老 has been grammaticalised to become a prefix which has ceased to have the lexical meaning of the word *lǎo* 老. The current view is that *lǎohǔ* 老虎 is certainly one single word and not a syntactic construction consisting of an adjectival verb and a noun head.

*** Why should one not regard *lǎo* 老 as a clitic preposed separate grammaticalised word of limited distribution?

Zhuōzǐ 桌子 "table", *shítǒu* 石頭 "stone", *kànguǒ* 看過 "have seen", *xiàoqǐlai* 笑起來 "start laughing", are regarded as words not only because they have a prominent obligatory intonation pattern, but also because they contain suffixes like *zǐ* 子, *tǒu* 頭, and *guǒ* 過.

Xiàndàihuà 現代化 "modernise, modernisation" and *juéduìxìng* 絕對性 "absoluteness" are words because they contain (Westernised) semi-suffixes that retain full tonality but receive obligatory secondary stress.

What is and what is not a suffix is not always a trivial question:
人手
rénshǒu
MAN HAND
"workforce"
contrasts with:
人的手
rén dě shǒu
MAN 'S HAND
"the hand of man"
In the first case we have a suffix, in the second the ordinary noun *shǒu* 手 "hand".

**Translate and analyse the following:
1. 幫手
2. 歌手
3. 旗手
4. 槍手

5. 水手

Is *shǒu* 手 in these constructions like the word *hand* in *farm hand*, or is it a proper suffix. What are the arguments?

* Contrast:
a.
射手
shèshǒu
SHOOT HAND
"archer"
b.
伸手
shēn-shǒu
STRETCH HAND
"stretch out one's hand"
Note the characteristic difference in intonation between the above two constructions

3. **Inseparability of the constituents** is a common symptom of wordhood, but it is also a characteristic of many proverbial expressions.

Contrast the following two words for "to help" in Chinese:

帮　助
bāng　*zhù*
HELP　HELP
"help"
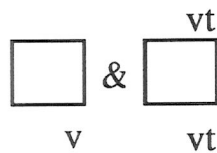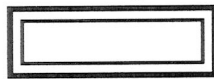
Compare 帮他搬行李 "help him to move the luggage" to illustrate the fact that *bāng* 帮 is an independent word in modern Chinese. However, it seems, no elements whatsoever can be inserted between *bāng* 帮 and *zhù* 助.

The contrast with *bāngmáng* 幫忙 "help" is striking:

幫　　忙
bāng　　*máng*
HELP　BUSY
"help"
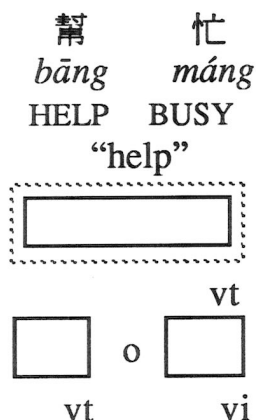
* Translate and discuss:
1. 請你幫個忙
2. 幫個大忙
3. 幫他的忙
4. 幫了我一個大忙
5. 他幫了我甚麼該死的忙

Compare the tightly-knit word *bìyè* 畢業 FINISH JOB "graduate" with the much less tightly-knit *xǐzǎo* 洗澡 WASH BATH "take a bath/shower". We only have *bìlě yè* 畢了業 "took the exam". Other elements than *lě* 了 can only be inserted under special circumstances. The case is different and much more complicated for the still fairly tightly-knit
洗澡
xǐ zǎo
WASH BATH
"take a shower"

Here we can say:
洗個熱水澡
xǐ gě rè shuǐ zǎo
WASH CL WARM WATER BATH
"take a hot bath/shower"

And even things like:
澡都沒地方洗
zǎo dōu méi dìfāng xǐ
BATH ALL LACK PLACE WASH
"There isn't even a place to take a bath/shower."

* Discuss:

1.
服務
"service"
服個大務
"offer a great public service"

2.
努力
"make an effort; with great effort"
努一把力 (.)
"put in an effort"

Consider now a construction like:

生　　　氣
shēng　　*qì*
PRODUCE　VAPOUR/ENERGY/ANGER?
"get angry"
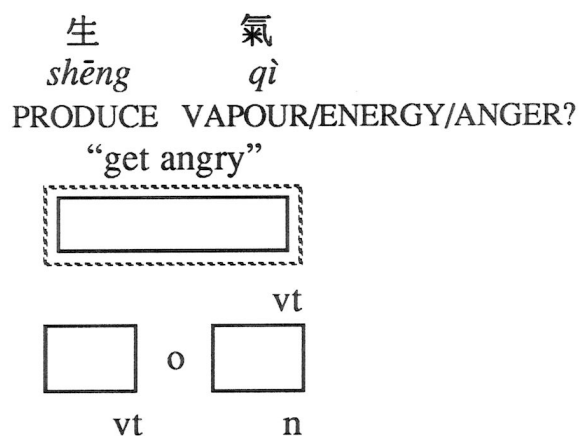
Note incidentally that *qì* 氣 also functions as a verb meaning "be angry", but this does not affect our present analysis.

Verbs like *shēngqì* 生氣 "get angry" and *kāiwánxiào* 開玩笑 "make fun of" raise obvious problems of analysis when they occur with an object inserted between the two elements.

Firstly, one can say things like *shēng yīchǎng dàqì* 生一場大氣 PRODUCE ONE MOUTH LARGE ENERGY/ANGER "get very angry".
But more pervasively, one tends to say things like:

開　　他　　的　　玩　　笑
kāi　　*tā*　　*dě*　　*wán*　　*xiào*
OPEN　　HE　　*dě*　　PLAY　　LAUGH
"make fun of him"
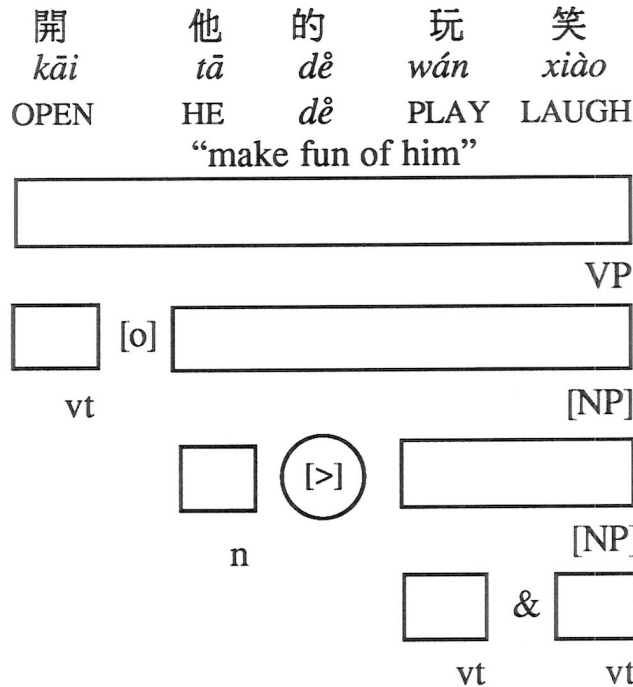
In our example, *tādě wǎnxiào* 他的玩笑 must clearly be construed as an object of *kāi* 開, but the pseudo-NP *tādě wǎnxiào* 他的玩笑 is not an ordinary NP like *tādě qìchē* 他的汽車 HE *dě* CAR "his car" in *kāi tādě qìchē* 開他的汽車 OPEN/DRIVE HE *dě* CAR "drive his car". The construction is idiomatic and in some sense grammatically opaque because it involves an immediate constituent like *tādě wǎnxiào* 他的玩笑 which is not intepretable and which I therefore call a pseudo-NP (*zhǔn míngcíxìng piānzhèng cízǔ* 准名詞性偏正詞組). These pseudo-NP's are not uncommon.

Here is a relevant piece of Taiwanese propagandistic style from *Zhōngyāng Rìbào* 中央日報 Jan.30, 1991:
中共開了正義真理一個大玩笑
zhōng gòng kāilě zhèngyì zhēnlǐ yīgě dà wǎnxiào
CHINESE COMMIE PLAY PERF JUSTICE TRUTH ONE GREAT JOKE
"The Chinese communists made a big joke of justice and truth."

Such phenomena of grammatical opacity or idiomaticity are especially common within the realm of morphology, and they are not at all uncommon within syntax either.

* Note the common idiom
拍馬屁
pāi mǎ pì
BEAT HORSE ARSE
"flatter"
How do you analyse *pāi tādě mǎpì* 拍他的馬屁 HE *dě* HORSE ARSE? *Tādě mǎpì* 他的馬屁 "his horse's arse" seems like another neat case of a pseudo-NP.

One might think that *luòhòu* 落後 "be backward, lag behind" is a word into which nothing may be inserted, but we find:

詞典總是落後於語言的發展，有的還落得很後。

"Dictionaries always lag behind the development of language, some even lag far behind."

Similarly *màoxiǎn* 冒險 might seem to be a tighly-knit word, but we do find sequences like this:

不不不。不能。我寧可甚麼也不幹，這個險萬萬冒不得。

"No, no, no. You can't. I'd rather do nothing. This danger I could not possibly expose myself to."

Gémìng 革命 "revolution; practise revolution" can be split in a similar way without ceasing to be a word:

在這些國家人民是要革命的，但是現在還革不起來。

"In these countries the people would like to carry out a revolution, but at the present time they still can't get to carry it out."

*** Note incidentally that inseparability alone is not a good standard for wordhood in a language like German. Otherwise the German *anfangen* would not be a word, since we have very ordinary sentences like: *Damit fangen die Probleme im Zusammenhang mit dem leidigen Problem der Definition des Wortes erst richtig an.*

4. **Lack of syntactic freedom and mobility of the constituents** is a symptom of the wordhood of the construction they form.

Mùdì 目的 EYE AIM "aim, purpose" consists of two elements neither of which are freely useable and mobile in Standard Modern Chinese. The presence of "unfree" morphemes, like the presence of affixes, is another symptom of wordhood in Chinese. *Mù* 目 "eye" and *dì* 的 "aim, mark" can only be used as independent words in very classical written prose, whereas *mùdì* 目的 is freely used in Modern Standard Chinese.

However, the absence of such "unfree" morphemes does not guarantee that a word-like group is a syntactic group, for *tiělù* 鐵路 IRON ROAD "railway" or *huǒchē* 火車 FIRE CARRIAGE "train" are clearly words although they contain no "unfree" morphemes. These two words have other symptoms of wordhood like the inseparability of the morphemes **under the given interpretation**. For example, *tiě dē lù* 鐵的路 would not be "a railway" but "an iron-made road".

The case of *liǎngrén* 良人 GOOD MAN "husband" is special. *Liáng* 良 by itself is a highly literary word for "good" which is not freely usable in spoken Modern Standard Chinese. But one may play on this literary meaning, as in the following newspaper headline (Zhongyang Ribao 中央日報 March 21, 1991):

良人不良乾脆休夫
liáng rén bù liáng gāncuì xiū fū
GOOD MAN NOT GOOD SIMPLY RELEASE HUSBAND
"When the husband is not good they simply divorce their husbands."

In *lǐfà* 理髮 "cut hair", *lǐ* 理 is a verb that freely occurs on its own (*lǐfà bù lǐ? Lǐ.* 理髮不理？理。 "Do you want a hair-cut? Yes."), but *fà* 髮 "hair" looks like a morpheme rather than an independent word, the word for hair on the head in modern Chinese being *tóufà* 頭髮. What, then, do we do, then, about the phrase *tā lǐlě fà* 他理了髮 "he has had a hair-cut"? Surely *lě* 了 here modifies an independent verb which is followed by an independent object *fà* 髮 "hair". One has to say that *lǐfà* 理髮 is an expression that somehow hovers between syntax and morphology.

Although *fà* 髮 is not an independent word meaning "hair", we can still say things like *lǐ gě fà* 理個髮 "have a hair-cut", *lǐlě hǎojǐcì fà* 理了好幾次髮 "had his hair cut several times", *fà lǐlě méiyǒu* 髮理了沒有 "has he had the hair-cut?". Thus it is as if in the vicinity of *lǐ* 理 *fà* 髮 does acquire certain word-like properties.

The question whether a morpheme is or is not a word in Modern Standard Chinese is often very tricky indeed. One might well think that *tíng* 停 "stop, park" as in *tíngzhǐ* 停止 "stop, halt" is a word in modern Chinese, whereas the classical *zhǐ* 止 "stop" is not any longer a word in MSC, since *zhǐ* 止 is not used as an independent word on its own in current speech. This sounds fair enough, but the precise criteria by which we can distinguish words and non-words among the monosyllabic morphemes are extremely hard to apply.

What, for example, counts as an independent occurrence of a word as a word in a sentence? Surely not, when it occurs only in *chéngyǔ* 成語. Surely not, when it occurs only in very literary *wényánwén* 文言文 -type modern prose. But what about *zhǐ* 止 in the fixed idiom *dào* 到 ... *zhǐ* 止 "until ..."? One is inclined to say that the more idiomatically limited the occurrence of a monosyllabic word to certain classical phrases, the less of an independent word it is in Modern Standard Chinese. The degree of freedom of occurrence as an independent word is highly variable according to the stylistic level of a text. Thus wordhood is a pervasively fuzzy concept in Modern Standard Chinese. There is something radically implausible in the idea that just because one can come to think of one idiom or other in which *zhǐ* 止 appears as an

independent word this should profoundly affect the lexical status of *zhǐ* 止. On the contrary, the basic contrast between *tíng* 停 "stop" which is freely used as an independent word and *zhǐ* 止 "stop" which is not freely useable, remains intact even after the discovery of the idiom *dào* 到 ... *zhǐ* 止 "until". The range of uncertainty concerning what is and is not a word is considerably greater in Chinese than in English, although even we have an abundance of cases like "no one" versus "someone".

Nánmiǎn 難免 "unavoidable" and *nánkān* 難堪 "insufferable" are often regarded as lexicalised morphological structures because *miǎn* 免 "avoid" (as opposed to *bìmiǎn* 避免) and *kān* 堪 are not current words in colloquial Chinese. *Nán tiàoguòqù* 難跳過去 "hard to jump across" and the like are regarded as syntactic constructions because *tiàoguòqù* 跳過去 "jump across" is a current independent expression.

But why is *nánshuō* 難說 "hard to say" lexicalised while *nán kāi* 難開 "hard to drive" and *nán xiě* 難寫 "hard to write" count as syntactic constructions when *shuō* 說 and *kāi* 開 are equally current words? Of course, *nán shuō* 難說 is more current than *nán kāi* 難開, but this could simply be explained by saying that *nánshuō* 難說 is an idiomatic phrase while *nán kāi* 難開 is not. Why is *nánshuō* 難說 a word while *róngyì zuò* 容易作 "easy to do" is a syntactic construction? It is clear that this is one of the many points where the borderline between morphology and syntax is blurred in Modern Standard Chinese. It is clear that the syntactic constructions in *nán* 難 are exactly isomorphic with those morphological constructions which involve morphemes that can also function as words, as in the case of *nán xiě* 難寫 "hard to write" versus *nánshuō* 難說 "hard to say".

* Translate:
1.這事兒還難說
2.這方言很難說
Is *nán shuō* 難說 in these two sentences a word, or is it a syntactic construction? Does it mean the same thing in both sentences? Is the construction of the same degree of lexicalisation in both sentences?

*** One might try to carry this one step further and observe that even the difference between *nán shuō* 難說 "hard to say" versus *nánmiǎn* 難免 "unavoidable" is not really a difference in grammatical structure but only of the historical status of the morphemes involved.

Guānxīn 關心 RELATE MIND "be concerned for" consists of two independent words, but clearly makes up one word because of the idiomatic meaning of the whole. *Guān mén* 關門 CLOSE DOOR "close the door" also consists of two independent words, but one will take this as a syntactic verb-object

construction in Modern Standard Chinese. The reasons for this have to do
with idiomaticity of meaning, which is the next criterion to be discussed.

照相
zhào xiàng
REFLECT PICTURE
"take a picture"
is a syntactic construction, since we can say
照了三個相
zhàolě sāngě xiàng
REFLECT PERF THREE PICTURES
"took three pictures"
and
照了他太太的三個很漂亮的相。
zhàolě tā tàitǎi dě sāngě hěn piàoliǎng dě xiàng
TAKE LE HE WIFE 'S THREE VERY BEAUTIFUL 'S PICTURE
"took three very beautiful pictures of his wife".
However, this syntactic construction enters into a tightly-knit word:
照相機
zhàoxiàngjī
REFLECT PICTURE MACHINE
"camera"

走路
zǒu lù
WALK ROAD
"walk"
is an integral part of basic Chinese vocabulary, and one would certainly be
inclined to consider it as a word. But from a grammatical point of view one
would have to view the construction as a syntactic word-object construction
where modifications can very freely be inserted between the two elements:
走這條他們剛剛修好的路
zǒu zhètiáo tāměn gānggǎng xiūhǎo dě lù
WALK THIS THEY JUST-NOW BUILD-FINISH 'S ROAD
"take the road that they have just built"
In order to account for the latter kind of constructions one might postulate
two constructions: the word: *zǒulù* 走路 "walk", and the syntactic idiom *zǒu lù*
走路 "take [such and such a] road".

But what are when then going to do about *shuìjiào* 睡覺 "sleep" and 睡了三個
鐘頭的覺 "slept for three hours", or about *dǎzhàng* 打仗 "fight" and *dǎlě*
sāngě zhōngtǒu dě zhàng 打了三個鐘頭的仗 "had a three hour fight"? Note
that while *dǎzhàng* 打仗 "fight" surely must be classified as a verb, we can
also say

有錢就有仗打
yǒu qián jiù yǒu zhàng dǎ
HAVE MONEY THEN HAVE WEAPON HIT
"When there is money there is a struggle to fight." Mao Dun, 子夜 ed. 1937, p. 232.

There is an obvious problem in the many, many cases like these. If we recognise a hybrid chameleon-like (*yǔfǎ biànsèlóng* 語法變色龍) category of both lexicalised and syntactic forms we have at least given a name to the problem.

According to Lü Shuxiang 呂叔湘 we have an obvious descriptive problem with apparently similar pairs like *yādàn* 鴨蛋 "duck's egg" versus *jīdàn* 雞蛋 "hen's egg". We have *yāzǐ* 鴨子 for "duck" versus *jī* 雞 for "hen", so that we might get the evident anomaly that "duck's egg" has to count a single word whereas "hen's egg" is a syntactic construction. Anomalies of this sort are not uncommon.

*** Consider *tuómáo* 駝毛 "camel wool" which has a constituent which is not even a morpheme of the Chinese language ....

*** Non-morphemes can come to function as acronyms and sometimes come to perform morphemic roles:

pīngtán 乒壇 "the table tennis court" [Cf. *pīngtán lǎojiàng* 乒壇老將 "pingpong master" and the word *pīngpāngqiú* 乒乓球 "pingpong".]
diéyǒng 蝶泳 "butterfly style" [Cf. the word *húdié* 蝴蝶 "butterfly".]
bōzhuān 玻磚 "glass brick" [Cf. the word *bōlí* 玻璃 "glass".]

5. **Idiomaticity of meaning** can be a symptom of wordhood, although the phenomenon evidently also applies to idiomatic syntactic idioms such as the syntactic English phrase *kick the bucket* "die" and to phrasal verbs in Chinese.

One reason why *nánkàn* 難看 "ugly" is taken as a word and not a syntactic construction is the fact that there is an idiomatic semantic shift involved in the expression, since the idiomatic expression does not mean "hard to look at". Indeed, I would say there is an ambiguity in the following written sentence, an ambiguity which - like so many other ambiguities we have discussed - would usually be resolved through intonation in natural speech, i.e. a short pause between *nán* and *kàn* in reading B:

這本 書 難 看
zhèiběn *shū* *nán* *kàn*
THIS BOOK HARD LOOK
A. "This book is hard to read."

S

		:-		

NP VP

	=				<	
dem n vi vt

這本 書 難 看
zhèiběn *shū* *nán* *kàn*
THIS BOOK HARD LOOK
B. "This book is ugly."

S

		:-	

NP vi

	=				<	
dem n vi vt

* Explain:
牛馬
níu-mǎ
OX HORSE
A. "[literally:] large domestic animals, beasts of burden"
B. "[metaphorically:] slave for others" [Cf. 莫為兒孫作牛馬 "Don't be a slave to your children."]

When this combination refers to "beasts of burden" the semantic symptom of its wordhood is much less prominent, although *lú* 驢 "asses" probably are included under the general concept of *niụmǎ* 牛馬 although they neither are *niú* 牛 nor *mǎ* 馬 .
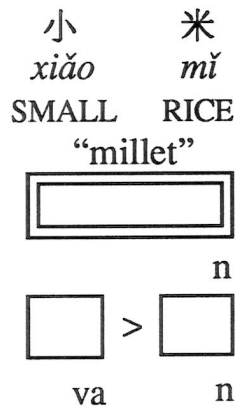Cf. also
人馬
rén mǎ
MAN HORSE
"forces, troops, staff"

Expandability into a fully explicit grammatical form is often a good negative test of wordhood:

<div align="center">

小　　米
xiǎo　　*mǐ*
SMALL　RICE
"millet"

</div>

We cannot expand this into an explicit form without a decisive change of meaning:

<div align="center">

小　　的　　米
xiǎo　　*dě*　　*mǐ*
SMALL　'S　RICE
"short grain rice"

</div>
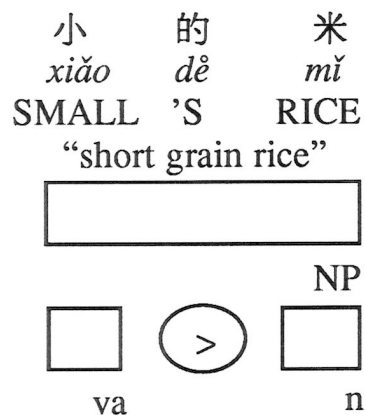
Further examples are easy to find:
Xiǎo háizǐ 小孩子 SMALL CHILD "child" is not the same as *xiǎo dě háizǐ* 小的孩子 SMALL 'S CHILD "little child".

To revert to an earlier example: *hónghuā* 紅花 RED FLOWER "safflower" would be a word. It does not mean the same as *hóng dě huā* 紅的花 RED *dě* FLOWER "red flower" which may in fact be not at all a safflower but a *méiguǐ* 玫瑰 "rose".

Jīnyú 金魚 GOLD FISH "goldfish" is not the same as the problematic *jīn dě yú* 金的魚 GOLD *dě* FISH "golden fish, a fish made of gold", which in any case would normally have to be *huángjīn dě yú* 黃金的魚.

Idiomaticity may reach the point of **semantic inscrutability or semantic opacity**, as in the case of *shēnshǒu* 身手 BODY HAND "ability".

The following has no problem:

拿　　　槍
ná　　*qiāng*
TAKE　　GUN
"take a gun"

　　　　　　　　　　VP

	o	

vt　　　　　　n
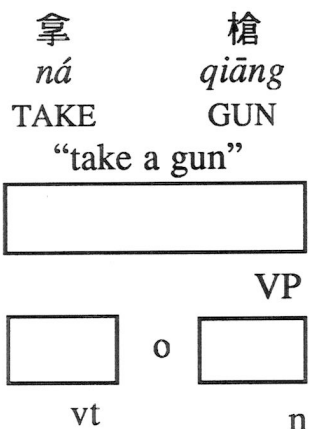
Surprisingly, we seem to have to analyse:

拿　　　人
ná　　*rén*
TAKE　　MAN
"make things difficult for others, tease them"

　　　　　　　　vi

	o	

vt　　　　　　n
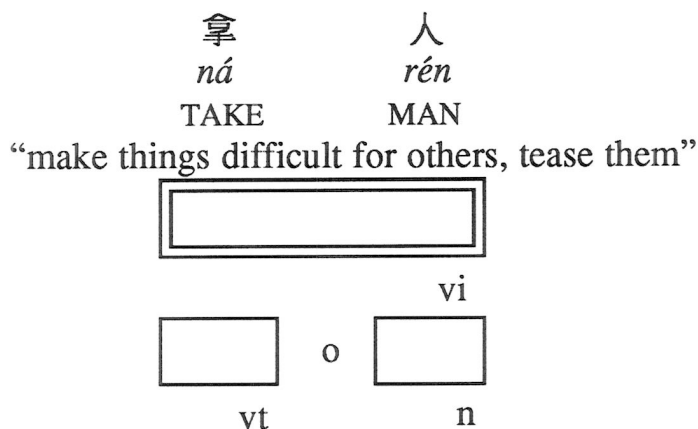
because we cannot insert other elements here without losing the idiomatic force of the expression. At the same time one is intuitively inclined to say that this is a lexicalised syntactic construction. ...

6. **Grammatical distribution**: The more a construction as a whole may act or be modified grammatically in ways not predictable from its internal grammatical structure, the more word-like it is.

Compare:

有　　　錢
yǒu　　*qián*
HAVE　MONEY
A. "be rich" (Cf. 很有錢 "be very rich")

　　　　　　adj

	o	

vt　　　n
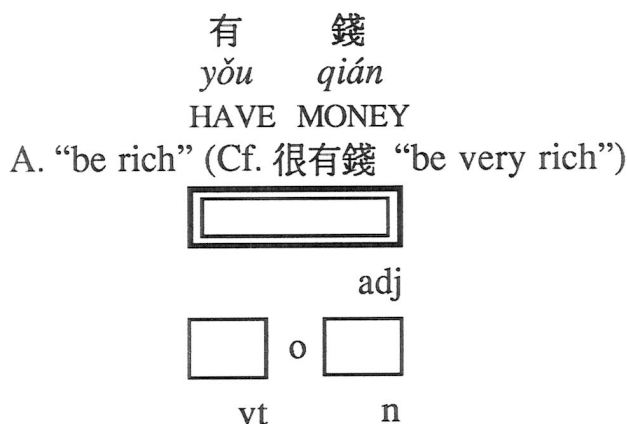
有　　錢
yǒu　qián
HAVE　MONEY

B. "have money" (Cf. 有這個錢 "have that sum of money")

```
┌──────────────┐
│              │
└──────────────┘
                    VP
  ┌────┐  o  ┌────┐
  │    │     │    │
  └────┘     └────┘
    vt         n
```

有　　三　　塊　　錢
yǒu　sān　kuài　qián
HAVE　THREE　PIECE　MONEY

"have three dollars" (**NOT**: 很有三塊錢)

```
┌──────────────────────────┐
│                          │
└──────────────────────────┘
                              VP
  ┌────┐  o  ┌──────────────┐
  │    │     │              │
  └────┘     └──────────────┘
    vt                        NP
  ┌──────────┐  =  ┌────┐
  │┌────────┐│     │    │
  │└────────┘│     │    │
  └──────────┘     └────┘
      nu              n
```

* Is *sān kuài* 三塊 an infix (*cíqiàn* 詞嵌 i.e. a grammaticalised expression inserted into a word) of the adjectival verb *yǒuqián* 有錢 ?

* Compare the range of meanings of *yǒu qián* 有錢 and *yǒu rén* 有人.
*** Note, incidentally, the puzzling pattern *hěn yǒuxiē* 很有些 "have quite a few".

It appears that from the point of view of grammatical function a given construction can function both as a word and as a syntactic construction. *Qǐngjiào* 請教 "1. (fully lexicalised) consult; 2. (lexicalised syntactic idiom) ask to be instructed" looks as if it is used both as a single word and as a syntactic lexicalised phrase:
向群眾請教
xiàng qúnzhòng qǐngjiào
TOWARDS MASS ASK TEACH
"as the masses for instruction"
In the following *qǐngjiào* 請教 looks like a single verb with a direct object which the internal structure of *qǐngjiào* 請教 would appear to preclude:
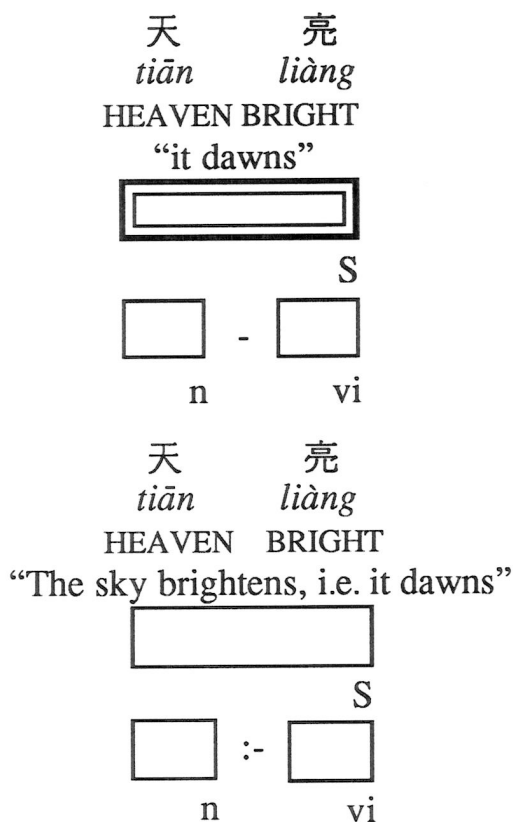請教字典
qǐngjiào zìdiǎn
ASK TEACH DICTIONARY
"consult a dictionary"

Tiān liàng 天亮 may be read syntactically as "the sky brightens" or as "it dawns".

<div align="center">

天　　亮
tiān　*liàng*
HEAVEN BRIGHT
"it dawns"

</div>

<div align="center">

天　　亮
tiān　*liàng*
HEAVEN　BRIGHT
"The sky brightens, i.e. it dawns"

</div>

In cases of this sort the position of additional material such as negations etc. does provide a clear indication of how a given writer at a given point in time resolves the ambiguity.

Consider the following two pairs where the phrase is syntactic in the first example but looks morphological in the second:

天已經亮了（巴金）
tiān yǐjīng liàng lě
HEAVEN ALREADY BRIGHT CRS
"It has already dawned."

還沒有天亮哪（老舍）
hái méiyǒu tiānliàng nǎ
STILL NOT HEAVEN BRIGHT EXCL
"It still has not dawned!"

Or compare again:
天一亮，他就起來。
tiān yī liàng, tā jiù qǐlái
HEAVEN ONE BRIGHT HE THEN GET-UP
"As soon as it dawned he got up."

一天亮，你就得走。（老舍）
yī tiānliàng nǐ jiù děi zǒu
ONE HEAVEN BRIGHT YOU THEN MUST GO
"As soon as it dawns you must get up."

The phenomenon is, perhaps interesting enough to illustrate it with a third example, that of *liǎn hóng* 臉紅 "1. (fully lexicalised) to blush 2. (syntactic lexicalised idiom) to go red in one's face":

我答不出話來，臉也紅了。（巴金）
wǒ dábùchū huà lǎi, liǎn yě hóng lě
I ANSWER NOT GET-OUT SPEECH COME FACE ALSO RED
"I could not find an answer and moreover I went red in the face."
龍飛卻不笑也沒臉紅。（茅盾）
Lóng Fēi què bù xiào yě méi liǎn hóng
LONG FEI HOWEVER NOT LAUGH ALSO NOT FACE RED
"Long Fei, however, did not laugh and did not blush."

It is as if the word-status of *liǎnhóng* 臉紅 is subject to speaker's choice. One can choose to treat it as a word, or as a syntactic lexicalised unit.

** V. I. Gorelov 1984:12 even brings up a single sentence in which *mǎnyì* 滿意 "be satisfied" looks as if it is syntactic in one case and morphological in another. Determine where *mǎnyì* 滿意 is syntactic and where it looks as if it is morphological:

金小姐的一封復信，當然不能滿煥之的意，非但不能滿意，簡直出於他意想之外。（葉聖陶）
"Miss Jin's one letter of reply naturally could not satisfy Huanzhi; not only could it not satisfy him, it simply was beyond his imagination." (Ye Shengtao)

The above five symptoms or criteria of wordhood have this in common that none of them are sufficient by themselves to define a word, and that all of them together do not provide a neat definition of the word in Chinese. Thus wordhood in Chinese turns out to be a matter of degree along a continuous scale of word-like-ness. Quite arbitrarily, we distinguish four typical cases: the word, word-compound, the fully lexicalised group, the idiomatic phrase, and - as a special category with its own laws and regularities - the proverbial phrases.

Certain constructions only permit the insertion of certain clearly circumscribed kinds of expression between its constituents. For example:

吃　　　飽
chī　　*bǎo*
EAT　SATISFIED
"eat enough"

	vi
vt	sf
c	
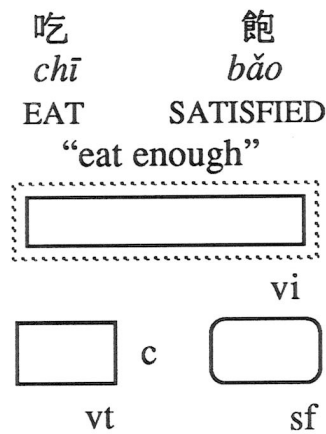
Note that one may hear someone say *chīlě gě dà bǎo* EAT -*lě* CL GREAT SATISFIED 吃了個大飽 "has eaten to his/her heart's content" where *bǎo* 飽 is converted into a pseudo-noun, and *dàbǎo* 大飽 is used as a pseudo-object.

戴　　　帽子
dài　　*màozǐ*
WEAR　HAT
"put a [derogatory] label on somebody" (*kòu màozǐ* 扣帽子)

	VP
vt	n
o	
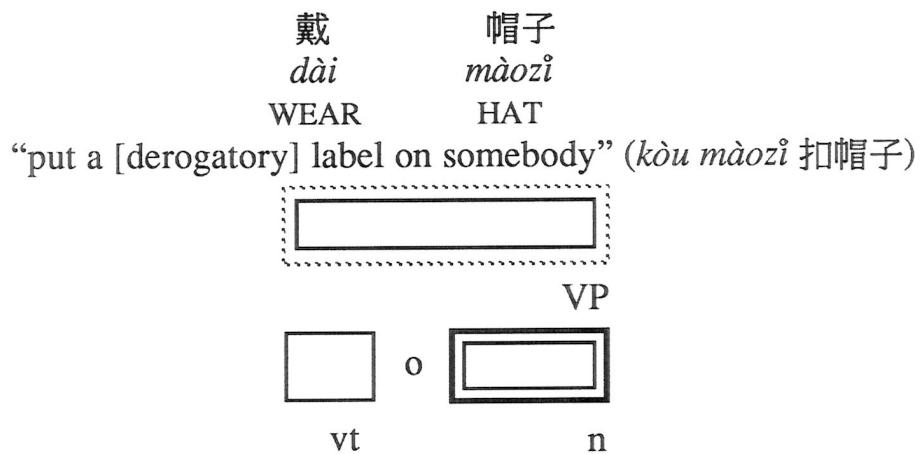
This is a lexicalised idiom which arises through a semantic change in the noun *màozǐ* 帽子 from "hat" to "political negative label". But even this kind of metaphoric idiom may be expanded within the metaphoric usage:
戴大帽子
dài dà màozǐ
WEAR LARGE HAT
"charge with a serious [political] offence"
給他戴上了右派分子的帽子
gěi tā dàishǎnglě yòupàifènzǐ dě màozǐ
FOR HE PUT-ON PERF RIGHT WING ELEMENT 'S HAT
"They labelled him as a right-wing element."

被戴上了各種帽子
bèi dàishǎnglě gèzhǒng màozǐ
PASS PUT-ON UP PERF EACH SORT HAT
"They had all sorts of labels attached to them."
容不得不同意見，亂打棍子、亂戴帽子。
róngbùdé bùtóng yìjiàn luàn dǎ gùnzǐ luàn dài màozǐ
UNABLE-TO-STAND-FOR NOT SIMILAR VIEW CHAOS BEAT STICK CHAOS PUT-ON HAT
"He was unable to accept differing views and would wildly attack others and attach political labels to them."

Note that the idiom *kòu màozǐ* 扣帽子 "put a [politically derogatory] label on someone" always has to be read as a metaphoric idiom:
他到處打棍子，扣帽子。
tā dàochù dǎ gùnzǐ, kòu màozǐ
HE EVERYWHERE BEAT STICK PUT-ON HAT
"He was everywhere attacking people and attaching labels to them."

In the idiomatic phrase there is free grammatical scope of insertion of expressions between the constituents, but there is a strong idiomatic link (regular co-occurrence) between the constituents which demands lexical attention.

The following is an idiomatic but free syntactic collocation:

戴　　帽子
dài　màozǐ
WEAR　HAT
"wear a hat"

VP

v　n
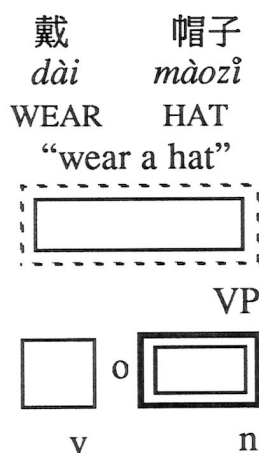
The collocation is idiomatic because the verb *dài* 戴 is idiomatically linked with objects like hats. We can freely add expand this to *dài hóngsè dě màozǐ* 戴紅色的帽子 WEAR RED COLOUR *dě* HAT "wear a red hat".
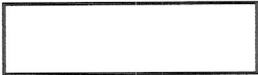
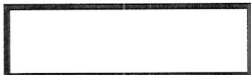On the other hand, *dài lǜ mào* 戴綠帽 WEAR GREEN HAT "be cuckolded, be a cuckold" is highly metaphoric idiom which is not at all synonymous with the ordinary idiomatic collocation *dài lǜsè dě màozǐ* 戴綠色的帽子 WEAR GREEN 'S HAT "wear a green hat".

Chapter 10
Stylistic registers

All natural languages distinguish different stylistic registers. Many languages have very elaborate stylistic registers determined by the rank or sex of the speaker. As we shall see, stylistic features are not limited to words, they also apply at all other levels of immediate constituent analysis. In what follows I present a preliminary attempt to register stylistic features within the grammatical analysis.

The **frame** of the constituent boxes may be used to distinguish between stylistic registers: clearly literary expressions are marked with bold lines. Clearly colloquial or dialectal expressions may be marked by dotted lines. Stylistically unmarked or not very clearly marked expressions have an ordinary thin frame.

Stylistically unmarked (無標記)	
Colloquial (口語)	
Literary (書面語)	
Alien (歐化語)	
Archaic (文言文)	
Obsolete (冷僻語)	
Heterogeneous (多樣)	

Consider to begin with the following noun phrase:

陳毅　　　　及　　　其　　　子
Chén Yì　*jí*　　*qí*　　*zǐ*
CHEN YI　　AND　HIS　　SON
"Chen Yi and his children"
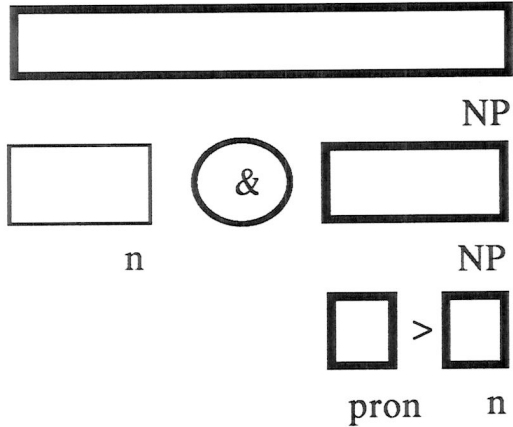
If we replace any of the archaic words with modern Chinese equivalents we get unacceptable sentences:

???　陳毅　　　跟　　　其　　　子　???
　　　Chén Yì　*gēn*　　*qí*　　*zǐ*
　　　CHEN YI　　AND　HIS　　SON
　　　"Chen Yi and his children"
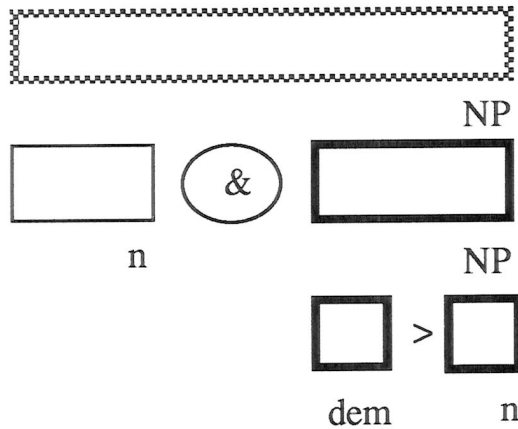
Gēn 跟 "and" is stylistically unmarked and incompatible with the archaic context in which it occurs because it belongs historically to the colloquial layer of the language

	陳毅	及	他	的	子	
???	*Chén Yì*	*jí*	*tā*	*dě*	*zǐ*	???
	CHEN YI	AND	HE	'S	SON	
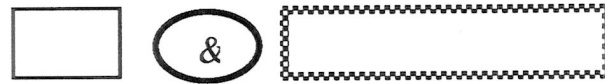
"Chen Yi and his children"

Tādě 他的 "he 's > his" is stylistically unmarked in modern Chinese, and it is incompatible with the archaic context because it belongs historically to the colloquial layer of the language.

	陳毅	及	其	孩子	
???	*Chén Yì*	*jí*	*qí*	*háizǐ*	???
	CHEN YI	AND	HIS	SON+SUFF	
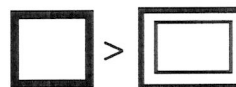
"Chen Yi and his children"

Háizǐ 孩子 "child+suff" is stylistically unmarked in modern Chinese, and it is incompatible with the archaic context.

These three phrases are not unacceptable just because the colloquial words *gēn* 跟 "with", *tādě* 他的 "his", and *háizǐ* 孩子 "child" are stylistically unmarked. It is because they are stylistically incompatible with an archaic context. And if, instead of *gēn* 跟 "with" we used another modern word *hé* 和 "with" this would not make things any better. Let us look at one example:

??? 陳毅　　跟　　其　　子　???

Chén Yì　*gēn*　*qí*　*zǐ*

CHEN YI　AND　HIS　SON

"Chen Yi and his children"

If, on the other hand, we replace all the words - except, of course, the proper name, we get a perfectly acceptable sentence:

陳毅　　和　　他　　的　　孩子

Chén Yì　*hé*　*tā*　*dě*　*háizǐ*

CHEN YI　AND　HE　'S　CHILD
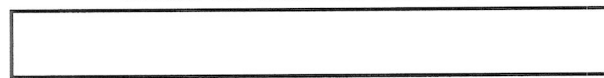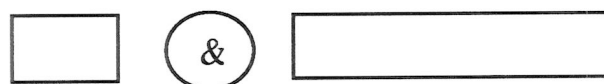
"Chen Yi and his children"

** In a formal scientific context the literary *jí* 及 does combine with modern technical terms: *xiǎomài jí qítā zuòwù* 小麥及其他作物 "wheat and other crops". The presence of the historically old *qítā* 其他 "other" may also affect the acceptability of this phrase.

We can say *zénmě bù tóng* 怎麼不同 "how should they be different?" We can also write, in a more literary vein, *qǐ yì* 豈異 "how should they be different?" But ??? *zénmě yì* 怎麼異 ??? sounds wrong almost to the point of ungrammaticality. Stylistic features affect acceptability. The reason why *qǐ bù tóng* 豈不同 "how should they be different?" is acceptable is clearly related to the historical fact that *bù tóng* 不同 is perfectly acceptable for *yì* 異 in classical or early colloquial Chinese. Thus stylistic register is relevant to considerations certainly of linguistic acceptability and even of grammaticality.

A stylistically unmarked word like *hěn* 很 can combine with both colloquial and with literary words. We can say *hěn chǔn* 很蠢 "very stupid" just as we can say *hěn bèn* 很笨.

Unmarked adjectives may be freely combined with the colloquial *tǐng* 挺 as in *tǐng cōngmíng* 挺聰明 which is quite as acceptable as *hěn cōngmíng* 聰明.

On the other hand, the colloquial *tǐng* 挺 is generally incompatible with literary adjectival verbs. Thus the following are unacceptable:

??? *tǐng hánlěng* 挺寒冷 "very cold" ???

??? *tǐng zhuàngguān* 挺壯觀 "very imposing"???

??? *tǐng xùnměng* 挺迅猛 "very fast"???

??? *tǐng bēifèn* 挺悲憤 "very grieved"???

??? *tǐng shěnshèn* 挺審慎 "very circumspect"???

??? *tǐng xiāotiáo* 挺蕭條 "very desolate"???

If one replaces the colloquial *tǐng* 挺 by the stylistically unmarked *hěn* 很 all these phrases become perfectly acceptable:

hěn hánlěng 很寒冷 "very cold"

hěn zhuàngguān 很壯觀 "very imposing"

hěn xùnměng 很迅猛 "very fast"

hěn bēifèn 很悲憤 "very grieved"

hěn shěnshèn 很審慎 "very circumspect"

hěn xiāotiáo 很蕭條 "very desolate"

The reason for the unacceptability of *tǐng* 挺 is the stylistic incompatibility between the colloquial adverb and the literary verbs. Such stylistic incompatibility is a common force of the unacceptability of Chinese sentences. This incompatibility is part of the grammatical system of the language.

Shū 書 means "book" in the colloquial unmarked contexts, but in literary contexts the word means "letter, writing; write; book". The colloquial particle *dě* 的 creates a context where *shū* 書 is very likely indeed to mean "book", whereas the literary particle *zhī* 之 creates a context where *shū* 書 is just as likely to mean "letter":

曹植	的	書
Cáo Zhí	*dě*	*shū*
CAO ZHI	'S	BOOK

"Cao Zhi's books"

曹植　　之　　書
Cáo Zhí　*zhī*　*shū*
CAO ZHI　'S　BOOK
"Cao Zhi's letters/books"

```
┌─────────────────────────────┐
│                             │
└─────────────────────────────┘
                           NP
┌──────┐    ╭───╮    ┌──────┐
│      │    │ > │    │      │
└──────┘    ╰───╯    └──────┘
   n                    n
```
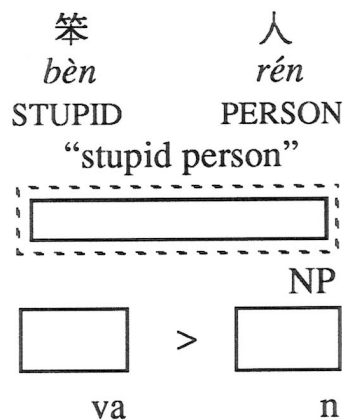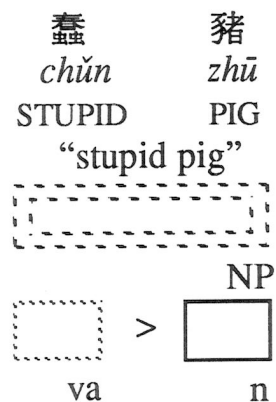
The fact that Cao Zhi 曹植 (192-232 A.D.) wrote famous letters is a contextual feature which is not of grammatical relevance, although it does make the reading "Cao Zhi's letters" the *prima facie* very plausible reading.

Stylistic differences come out very clearly in insults.   A *bèn rén* 笨人 is just a stupid person.   The expression is stylistically neutral because both *bèn* and *rén* are stylistically neutral:

笨　　　　人
bèn　　　*rén*
STUPID　　PERSON
"stupid person"

```
┌┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┐
┆ ┌───────────────┐ ┆
┆ └───────────────┘ ┆
└┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┘
                  NP
┌──────┐   >   ┌──────┐
│      │       │      │
└──────┘       └──────┘
  va              n
```

Chǔndōngxî 蠢東西 "stupid thing" is colloquial, *chǔnzhū* 蠢豬 "stupid pig" vulgar in spite of the fact that *zhū* 豬 "pig" as such is neutral. This particular usage of *zhū* 豬 as a term of insult is colloquial. Stylistically neutral elements can often combine with colloquial elements without creating a stylistic clash even when they are not used in any recognisably colloquial sense. The particle *dě* 的 is an obvious example.

蠢　　　　豬
chǔn　　*zhū*
STUPID　　PIG
"stupid pig"

```
┌┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┐
┆                 ┆
└┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┘
                NP
┌┄┄┄┄┄┐   >   ┌──────┐
┆     ┆       │      │
└┄┄┄┄┄┘       └──────┘
  va              n
```

Bènzhuō dě guǎnliáo 笨拙的官僚 "a block-headed bureaucrat" is bookish.

笨拙　　　的　　　官僚
bènzhuó　　*dě*　　*guǎnliáo*
STUPID　　'S　BUREAUCRAT
"stupid bureaucrats"

NP

va　　　　　n
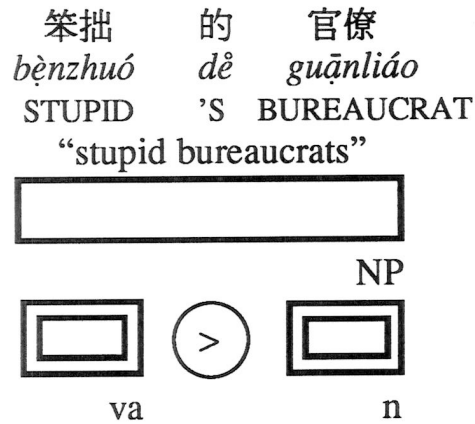
Yúmín 愚民 "stupid common person" is literary.

愚　　　　民
yú　　　*mín*
STUPID　　PEOPLE
"stupid common person"

NP

va　　　n

愚　　　　民
yú　　　*mín*
STUPID　　PEOPLE
"make the people stupid, treat the people as stupid"

NP

va　　　n
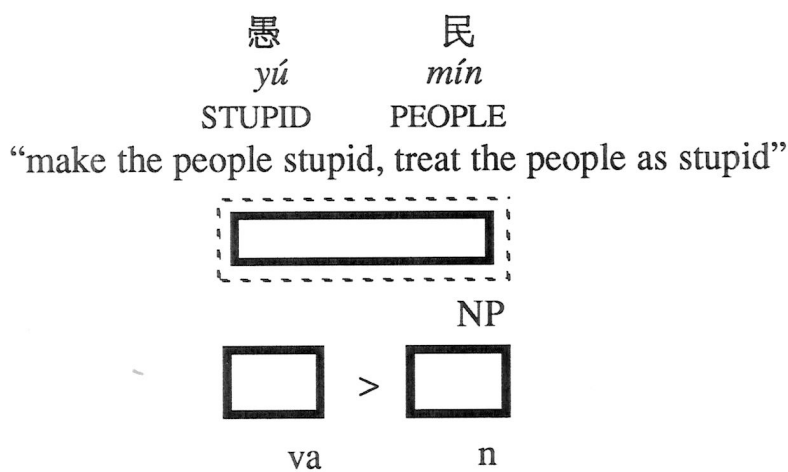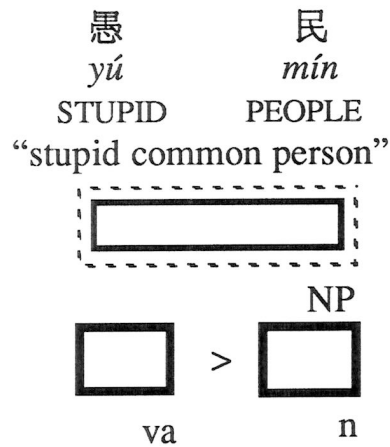
We can lay out more complex sets of stylistically contrasting phrases as follows:

都　　是　　錯　　話
dōu　　*shì*　　*cuò*　　*huà*
ALL　　BE　WRONG　SPEECH
"It is all wrong."

VP

adv > VP
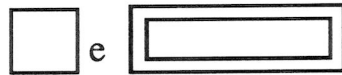
vc e n
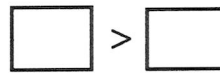
va > n

淨　　廢　　話
jìng　　*fèi*　　*huà*
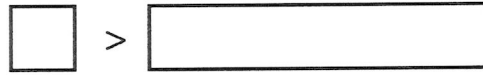PURE[LY]　WASTE　WORDS
"be pure nonsense"

VP
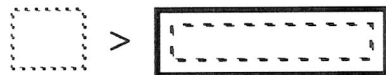
adv > n

va > n

盡　　是　　謬　　論
jìn　　*shì*　　*miù*　　*lùn*
ALL　　BE　WRONG　THEORY
"be all mistaken"

VP

adv > VP

vc e n

va > n

大	謬	不	然
dà	*miù*	*bù*	*rán*
GREAT	MISTAKE	NOT	BE-SO

"be all quite mistaken"

VP

va   va   ne   va
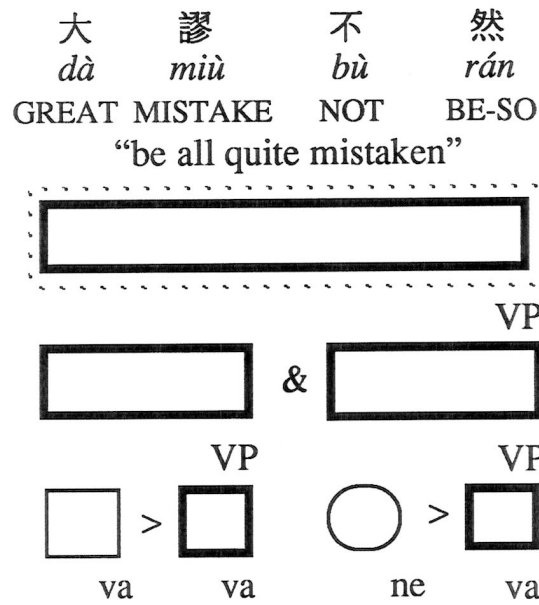
The presence of unmarked words like *shì* 是, *dà* 大, and *bù* 不 does not make this archaic phrase stylistically heterogeneous because it so happens that these words, though stylistically unmarked in Modern Standard Chinese, do belong to the most ancient layer of the language as our next section on the historical parameters will show.

Similar contrasting sets are easy enough to construct, and they are instructive:

我	們	都	知道
wǒ	*mén*	*dōu*	*zhīdào*
I	PLUR	ALL	KNOW

"We all know."

S

n   VP

n   sf   adv   vt
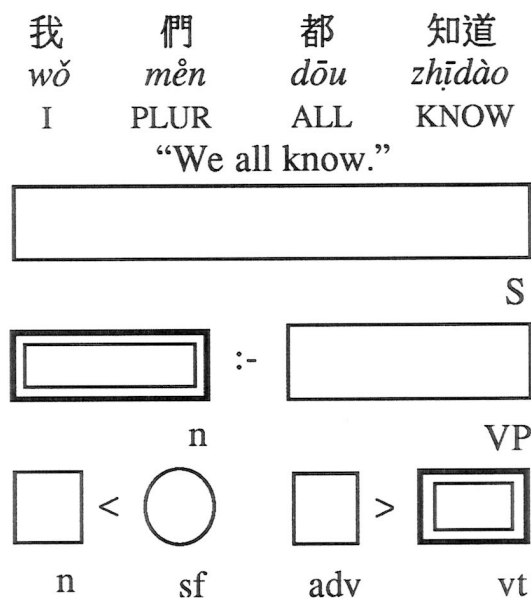
大　　家　　全　　曉得
dà　*jiā*　*quán*　*xiǎodě*
BIG　FAMILY　COMPLETELY　KNOW
"All of us know."
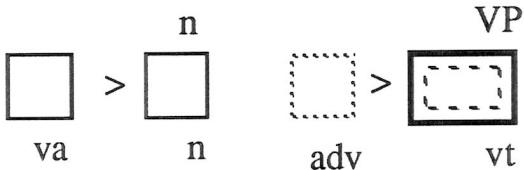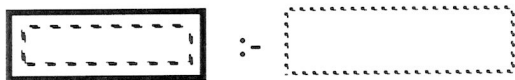
路　　人　　皆　　知
lù　*rén*　*jiē*　*zhī*
ROAD　PERSON　ALL　KNOW
"Every man in the street knows."
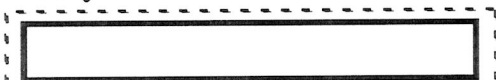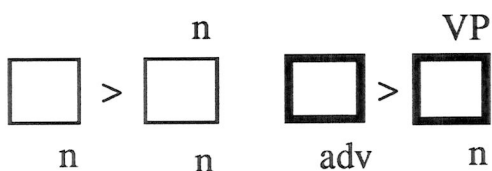
賢　　人　　俱　　識
xián　*rén*　*jù*　*shì*
TALENTED　PERSON　ALL　KNOW
"All men of talent are aware [of this]."
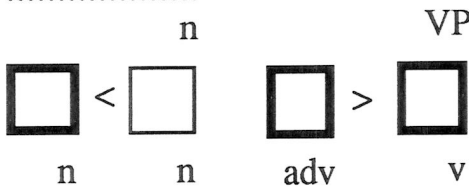
先　王　　咸　明
xiān　wáng　　xián　míng
BEFORE　KING　　ALL　BE-CLEAR
"All the former kings were clear about this."
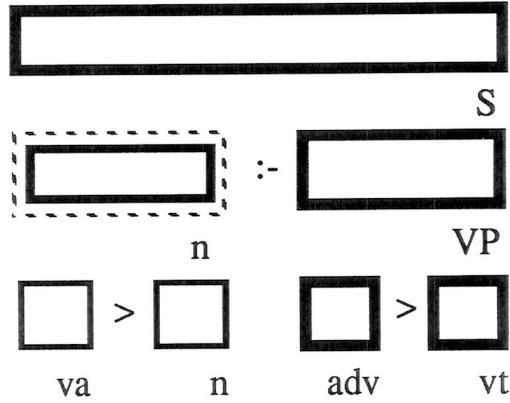
One expression may have several stylistic values, e.g. *dàjiā* 大家 :

我　　門　　大　　家
wǒ　　měn　　dà　　jiā
I　　-PLUR　　BIG　　FAMILY
EVERYONE
"all of us"
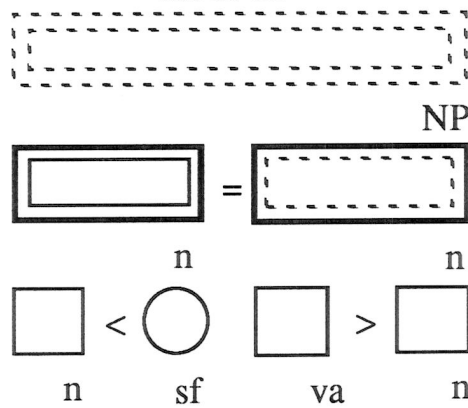
書　　法　　大　　家
shū　　fǎ　　dà　　jiā
WRITE　ART　GREAT　FAMILY
CALLIGRAPHY　　MASTER
"master of calligraphy"

我 們 捉 賊
wǒ *mén* *zhuō* *zéi*
I PLUR CATCH THIEF
"We are catching a thief."
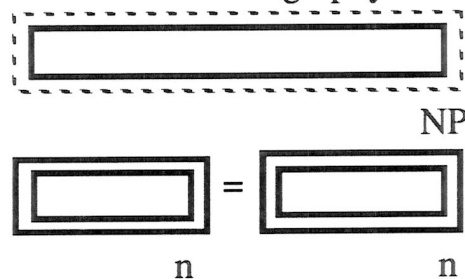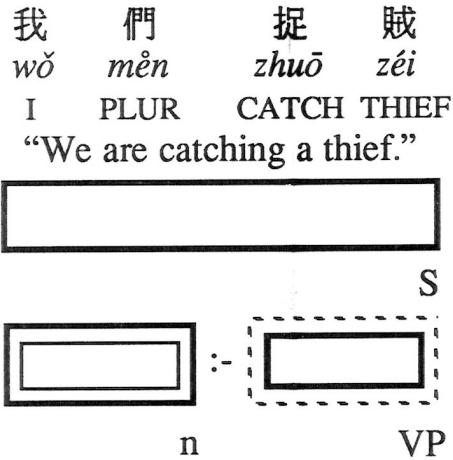
We note that the presence an unmarked word like *wǒmén* 我們 does not affect the overall stylistic character of a phrase. Such words, though of course incompatible with archaic usages, are otherwise stylistically strictly neutral.

* Discuss in detail the stylistic features of the following sentences as roughly indicated below:

1. 你知道嗎

    儂曉得嗎

    君是否早已知之

    汝識諸

    若明乎

2. 說不清楚

    講不清

    道不明

    曰，云

    語

* Translate and characterise the stylistic level of the following:
1.
a.漂亮的女孩兒
b.她可是個大美人兒

c.美麗的姑娘
d.麗人
e.淑女

2. The notion "very beautiful" comes in at least four stylistic modes:
a.很漂亮
b.挺美
c.異常美麗
d.頗麗

3. Similarly one can concentrate on the notion "extremely":
a.最漂亮
b.頂美
c.極其美麗
d.至善至美

*** Find adequate translations in your own language for the following sets of stylistically contrasting phrases:
1.
a. 作事情
b. 幹事兒
c. 進行工作
d. 為事
2.
a. 出售連環畫
b. 賣小人兒書
c. 販賣兒童文學作品
d. 沽酒
e. 賈劍
3.
a. 牆壁有個洞
b. 牆上有個窟窿
c. 壁上有孔
d. 壁有穴
4.
a. 見到士兵
b. 碰見當兵的
c. 遇見軍人
d. 遭卒
5.
a. 害怕人民
b. 怕老百姓
c. 懼怕人民群眾
d. 畏民

6.
a. 走了好幾個商店
b. 跑了好幾個鋪子
c. 走進百貨公司
d. 三人同行
e. 趨前

7.
a. 應該睡覺了
b. 該睡了
c. 睡眠不足
d. 春眠不覺曉
e. 夜寢

8.
a. 村子裡在演戲
b. 村兒裡在唱戲
c. 每個村莊都有演出
d. 里中有戲

9.
a. 和他說話
b. 跟他聊聊
c. 同他談話
d. 與之笑語

10.
a. 到森林去
b. 往林子裡去
c. 赴郊外
d. 之郊
e. 如苑

* Discuss the stylistic features of the following sets of words:
1.
a. 我
b. 俺
c. 本人
d. 余，吾，予

2.
a. 媽媽
b. 媽
c. 母親
d. 母

3.
a. 爸爸
b. 爹
c. 父親
d. 父

4.
a. 如果
b. 要是
c. 如若
d. 若
e. 設

5.
a. 更
b. 還
c. 加，更為
d. 愈

6.
a. 不用
b. 甭
c. 不需要
d. 無用

Note that there are certain ambiguities related to style:

是	以	鹿	為	馬
shì	*yǐ*	*lù*	*wéi*	*mǎ*
THIS/BE	USE	DEER	REGARD	HORSE

A. [literary] "[That] is to regard a deer as a horse" cf. 這是以鹿為馬
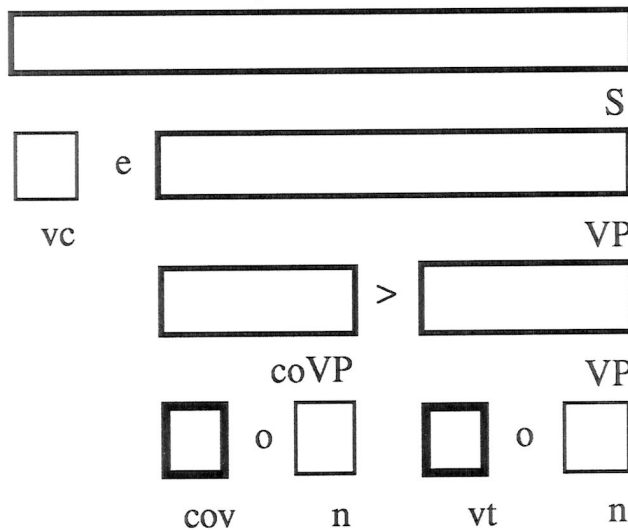
是　　以　　鹿　　為　　馬
shì　　*yǐ*　　*lù*　　*wéi*　　*mǎ*
THIS/BE　USE　　DEER　REGARD　HORSE
B. [archaic] "Therefore a deer is a horse."

Compare a grammatically more coincidental ambiguity:

任　　何　　職　　務
rèn　　*hé*　　*zhî*　　*wù*
TAKE-ON　WHICH　JOB　　DUTY
WHATEVER　　　　DUTY
"any duty whatsoever"

任　　　何　　　職　　　務
rèn　　*hé*　　*zhí*　　*wù*
TAKE-ON　WHICH　JOB　DUTY
"What duty are [you] taking on?"

VP

vt　　o

NP

adn　>　n

n　&　n
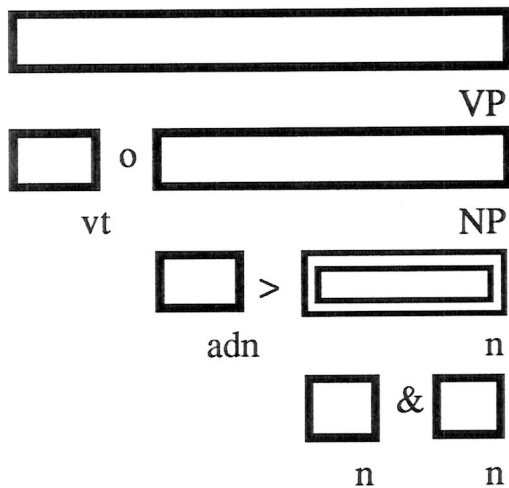
〔人太多了〕所　　以　　難　　治
suǒ　　*yǐ*　　*nán*　　*zhì*
THAT-WHICH USE HARD GOVERN
A. "Therefore they are hard to govern."

S

conj　>　VP

vi　<　vt
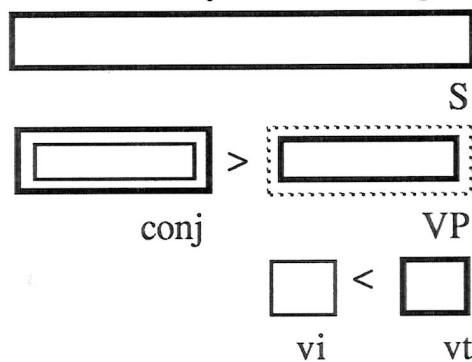
〔文人之〕所　　以　　難　　治〔明矣〕
suǒ　　*yǐ*　　*nán*　　*zhì*
THAT-WHICH USE　　HARD　GOVERN
B. "the reasons why it is difficult to govern [the litterati are clear]"

NP

NP　<　VP

vt　　n　<　n
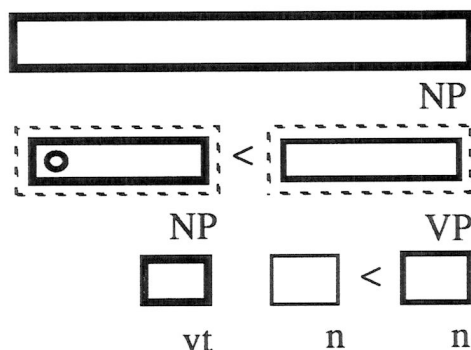
* Analyse the following:
所以回心轉意
suǒ yǐ huíxīn zhuǎnyì
WHICH BY TURN-ROUND MIND TURN IDEA
A. "Therefore he changed his mind."
B. "the reason why he changed his mind"

<div align="center">

因 此 發 怒
yīn *cǐ* *fā* *nù*
BASE THIS EMIT ANGER
THEREFORE GET-ANGRY
A. "Therefore he got angry."

</div>

<div align="center">
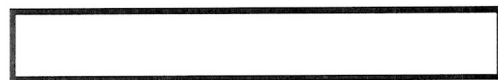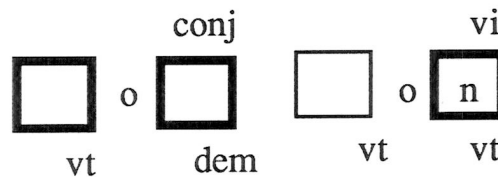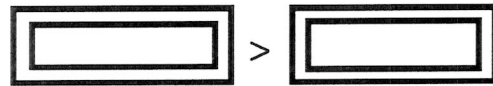
因 此 發 怒
yīn *cǐ* *fā* *nù*
BASE THIS EMIT ANGER
B. "Because of that he got angry."

</div>
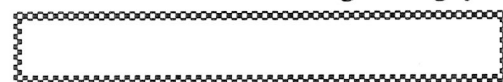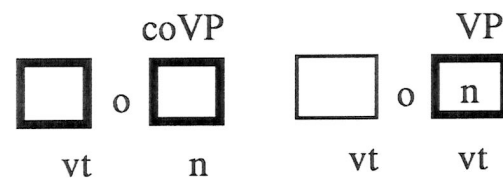
Lao She 老舍 (1887-1966) writes:
中國狗恐怕是世界上最可憐最難看的狗。
"The Chinese dog, I fear, is the most miserable and the ugliest dog in the world.
此處之〈難看〉，並不是指狗種而言，而是與〈可憐〉密切相關。
The expression 'ugly' in this context does not refer to the race of dogs, but it is closely connected the [the notion] 'miserable'."

The change in stylistic level is deliberate. From the grammatical point of view we can say that for reasons of stylistic coherence the following are entirely unacceptable:

??? 這個處之'難看' ???

??? 此地方之'難看' ???

??? 此處的'難看' ???

The unacceptability of these three sentences has to do with the stylistic features of the expressions involved. The analysis of stylistic registers tries to bring out these stylistic features and tries to make them explicit.

Shénsù 神速 is roughly synonymous with *hěnkuài* 很快, but there is a great difference in style: *shénsù* 神速 is much more literary and precious in its stylistic force.

The difference between the literary and the archaic level is particularly difficult. The crucial difference I am aiming for is between a freely usable *wényán* 文言 expression which is impossible in ordinary informal spoken Chinese but current in written Chinese on the one hand (an **archaising literary** expression) and on the other hand another *wényán* 文言 expression which, while impossible in spoken Chinese, is limited to certain fixed idiomatic contexts when used in the written form of the language (an **archaic** expression).

One may find this distinction over-subtle and decide to disregard it for teaching purposes, and indeed I have still disregarded the distinction in the diagrams that follow, but if one is ever to learn to write Chinese proficiently, I suspect one has to learn to make a distinction along these lines.

For example, the sentence-final particle *yǐ* 矣 must count as **archaic**, since it is definitely replaced by *le* 了 in modern spoken Chinese, but it does occur in some sayable idioms like:

悔之晚矣
huǐ zhī wǎn yǐ
REGRET IT LATE PART
"once you regret it it will be too late"

In a sentence like this that ends in *yǐ* 矣 no modern colloquialism would be acceptable. Within the context of written Chinese, *yǐ* 矣 may be decidedly archaic, but it is not obsolete. It occurs every day in the newspapers. Wang Ruowang 王若望 in his obituary for Qin Benli 欽本立 writes a few quite colloquial sentences and then continues:

雖然，哲人死矣不能復生… (中央日報 April 19, 1991)

The combination *ér yǐ* 而已 "and that is all" is archaic but may even, by some, be treated as simply literary. It is certainly an integral part of the stylistic repertoire of any writer of modern Chinese and occurs in many sayable idioms and phrases.

The exclamatory final particle *yǐ* 已 "definitely", on the other hand, must count as **obsolete** in modern written Chinese. Sentences from the newspapers ending in this particle alone are probably quotations from an ancient text, or they are the work of an antiquarian writer.

Considering the range of grammaticalised or semi-grammaticalised expressions in modern Chinese, there is a very obvious distinction in stylistic register between the particles with a clear classical flavour and their standard modern equivalents. For convenience I list some very common examples of literary grammaticalised words with some rough modern equivalents:

Biàn 便 "then" is literary and early colloquial for modern *jiù* 就.

Céng 曾 "once, some time ago" is archaic and classical for *céngjīng* 曾經.

Chéng 誠 "really" is archaic and classical for modern *shízài* 實在.

Cǐ 此 "this" is archaic for modern *zhèigě* 這個.

Dài 殆 "roughly" is archaic for modern *chàbùduō* 差不多.

Dàn 但 "only" is literary for modern *dànshì* 但是.

Dāng 當 "ought to" is literary for *yīngdāng* 應當, *yīnggāi* 應該.

Dé 得 "get" is literary for *dédào* 得到.

Ér yǐ 而已 "and that is all" is literary for *bàle* 罷了 .

Fāng 方 "then and only then" is literary for *cái* 纔／才.

Gāi 該 "this" is literary for modern *zhèigě* 這個.

Gài 蓋 "probably" is archaic for *dàgài* 大概 .

Gù 故 "therefore" is archaic for *suǒyǐ* 所以 .

Háowú 毫無 "completely lack" is literary (cf.毫無辦法) for *yīdiǎnr yě méiyǒu* 一點兒也沒有 .

Hé 何 "what" is archaic for *shénme* 甚麼／怎麼 .

Huòxǔ 或許 "possibly" is literary for *yěxǔ* 也許 or *kěnéng* 可能.

Jí 即 "be identical with" is literary for *jiùshì* 就是.

Jìshǐ 即使 "although" is literary for *jiùshì* 就是.

Jiāng 將 "be about to" is literary for *yào* 要.

Jīn 今 "now" is archaic for *xiànzài* 現在.

Jǐn 僅 "only" is archaic for *zhǐbùguò* 只不過.

Jiū 究 "in the end" is archaic for *jiūjìng* 究竟.

Jué 絕 "absolutely" is literary for *juédùi* 絕對.

Kě 可 "be able to" is literary for *kěyǐ* 可以.

Lì 立 "at once" is archaic for *lìkè* 立刻.

Kuàngqiě 況且 "moreover" is literary for *zàishuō* 再說 .

Qí 其 "his" is archaic for *tādě* 他的 "his".

Qǐ 豈 "how?" is archaic for *zěnme* 怎麼 , *nándào* 難道.

Què 卻 "but" is literary for *kěshì* 可是.

Rú 如 "if" is archaic for *rúguǒ* 如果.

Shèn 甚 "very" is archaic for *hěn* 很.

Suī 雖 "although" is literary for *suīrán* 雖然.

Wèi 未 "not yet; not quite" is literary for *méiyǒu* 沒有.

Wú 無 "lack" is archaic for *méiyǒu* 沒有.

Wú 吾 "I, my" is archaic for *wǒ(de)* 我〔的〕.

Wúlùn 無論 "no matter" is literary for *bùguǎn* 不管.

Wù 勿 "don't" is archaic for *bùyào* 不要, *bié* 別.

Yǐ 矣 "sentence particle" is archaic for sentential *le* 了.

Yǐ 已 "already" is literary for *yǐjīng* 已經.

Yì 亦 "also" is literary for *yě* 也.

Yún 云 "say, write" is archaic for *shuō* 說 .

Zé 則 "then" is archaic for *nèmme* 那麼 *jiù* 就.

One could continue the list indefinitely to great length. The distinction between literary and archaic elements will always remain problematic, but unfortunately it is not without interest. What we have, of course, is a stylistic continuum between vulgar colloquial forms at one extreme and obsolete archaic forms at the other.

One is tempted to say that at the level at which these literary grammaticalised expressions work, what is literary is not just the particle itself but also the whole construction which it serves to form. In any case, stylistic registers are not limited to single words, it applies to whole constructions, phrases and sentences.

Here is a small and perfectly arbitrary illustrative sample of non-grammaticalised literary phrases with their rough modern Chinese equivalents.
Cìrì 次日 "the next day" versus *dì èr tiān* 第二天 "the next day"
N.B. that *rìzi* 日子 is fairly colloquial for *tiān* 天 .
Fù 富 "rich" is literary for *fùyǒu* 富有.
Míngrì 明日 "tomorrow" is literary for *míngtiān* 明天.
Yì 異 "different" is literary for *bùtóng* 不同.

In Chinese, as in all other languages with a long literary tradition, certain obsolete words from the literature can still be used for certain stylistic effects, as in the film title *wú ài wú jiā* 吾愛吾家 "I love my family"

There is no doubt that it is an important part of the competence of native speakers of Chinese to distinguish stylistic layers of their language and to employ words with due respect for their stylistic effect. In short: style is a significant part of the linguistic pattern a sentence makes.

Our concept of *ǫu-rìhuà* 歐日化 "Euro-Japanisation" replaces the customary *ǫuhuà* 歐化 "Europeanisation" because the European influence came to China mainly via Japan, and because a large number of foreign words and constructions are actually of Japanese and not European origin. For example, the use of *yú* 於 as in *guānyú* 關於 is based on Japanese *ni* and not on anything European. From the point of view of history, *guānyú* 關於 is a case of *ǫu-rìhuà* 歐日化, but from a stylistic point of view the usage has been integrated into the Chinese system and has lost **all** of its outlandish stylistic flavour.

Semi-suffixes like *-huà* 化 "-isation, -ise", *-xìng* 性 "-ity, -ness", *yuán* 員 "-ist" and *-jiā* 家 "-ist" should perhaps still be viewed as stylistically marked cases of *ǫu-rìhuà* 歐日化 although in many cases the words formed with these have lost **much of** that foreign flavour they have evidently had down to the 1960's.

I use the texture of the frame to characterise the stylistic register, and I use the texture of the surface for the historical register. The following happens to be a stylistically unmarked modern quotation from Ba Jin 巴金, but from the historical point of view it is a perfectly good classical Chinese sentence:

非	有	雞	鴨	魚	肉	不	能	下	咽
fēi	*yǒu*	*jī*	*yā*	*yú*	*ròu*	*bù*	*néng*	*xià*	*yàn*
NOT	HAVE	CHIC.	DUCK	FISH	MEAT	NOT	CAN	DOWN	THROAT

"Unless there is chicken, duck, fish or meat, or he cannot get down the throat."
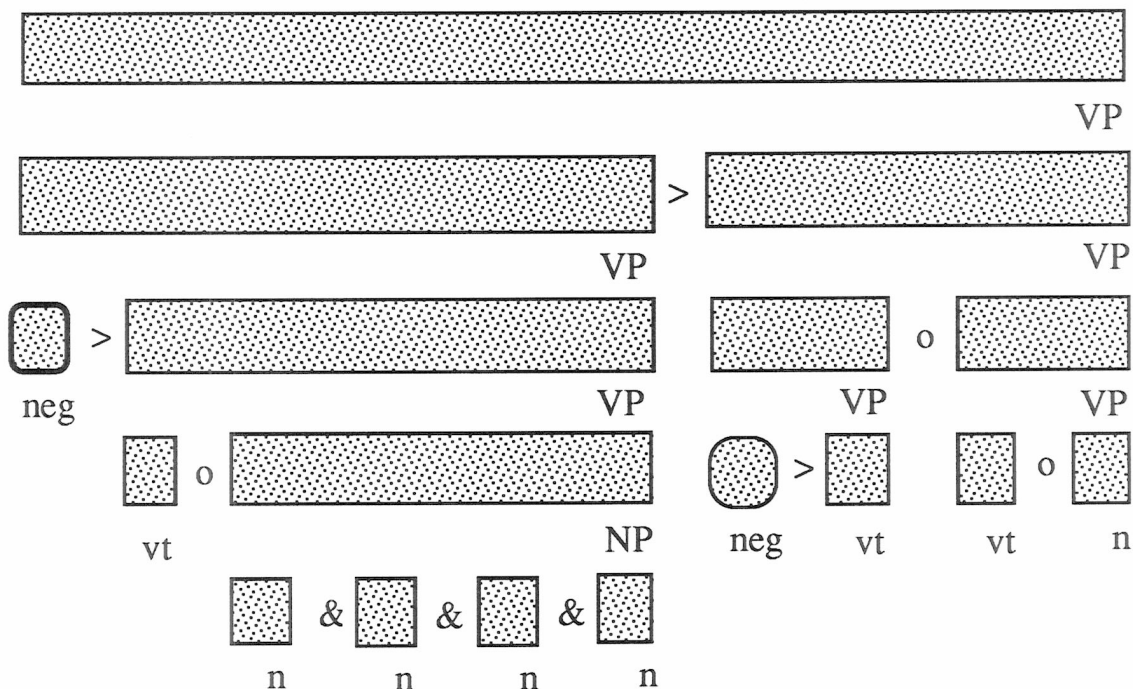
Thus questions of style and of history must be carefully separated.

We repeat that an expression may be stylistically literary without being archaic or even old. Moreover, a neologism need not be a loan, and a neologism may quickly become obsolete, so that obsoleteness has no link with ancientness. Neither, of course, does an old expression have to be literary, archaic or even obsolete in any way.

*** Note incidentally that stylistic registers and the acceptability of their intermixture varies greatly between historical periods and also, within a given period, between different kinds of text. Consider a phrase from the novel *Xīyóujì* 西遊記 ch. 60:

你是何方來者？

"Where do you come from?"
which corresponds to modern Chinese

你是甚麼地方來的？

*** Compare and explain:
1. 馬上得天下
2. 馬上得法

The stylistic principles involved in novels like *Xīyóujì* 西遊記 and also *Sānguóyǎnyì* 三國演義 are especially complex. But so, in fact, are the stylistic principles involved in modern newspaper Chinese. Both kinds of text need to be read with a keen sense for the complex pattern of historical-stylistic layers which greatly contribute to the sense the texts make to competent readers.

Final remarks on rhythm and grammar
Consider finally a symptomatic question of rhythm as an example of the many other stylistic considerations that fall beyond the scope of our present analysis. We can say

按時上班
àn shí shàng bān
ACCORDING-TO TIME GO-TO WORK
"go to work in time"
but not:
??? 按時間上班 ???

Conversely, we can say:

按照時間上班
ànzhào shíjiàn shàng bān
ACCORDING-TO TIME GO-TO WORK
"go to work in time"
but not:
??? 按照時上班 ???

There are many parallels. We can say
極美
jí měi
EXTREMELY BEAUTIFUL
"extremely beautiful"
* Note incidentally that this *měi* 美 is not the colloquial *měi* 美 but its archaic source.

We can also say:
極其美麗
jíqí měilì
EXTREMELY BEAUTIFUL
But we cannot say:
??? 極其美 ???
EXTREMELY BEAUTIFUL
or
??? 極美麗 ???
EXTREMELY BEAUTIFUL

* We have *jí dà* 極大 and *jí qí wěidà* 極其偉大 "extremely large", but can we say *jí qí dà* 極其大 or *jí wěidà* 極偉大 ?

* Try to predict the difference between *chèn* 趁 and *chènzhě* 趁着 .

The reasons for this are not stylistic in the sense of our stylistic registers. They have to do with the very strong aesthetic and rhythmic factor in modern and classical Chinese linguistic practice. Such questions of style as these will not be treated in this subsection, but they do deserve a proper treatment in their their own right, since they form an integral part of the linguistic competence of a native speaker and writer of Chinese.

When one asks oneself at all levels, as one should, what stylistic register a given expression belongs to, one comes to face very serious problems in the case of heterogeneity within a given constituent.
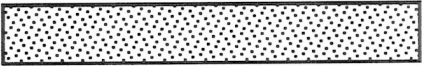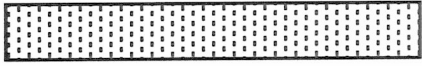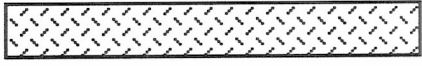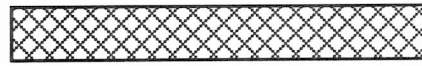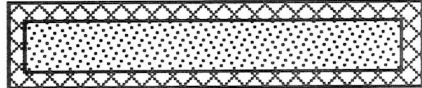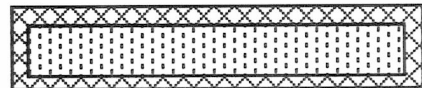
Chapter 11
Historical registers

The **surface pattern** of the constituent boxes may be used to distinguish between historical features of an expression under a given interpretation: expressions that are classical Chinese (dotted pattern), expressions that first occur in pre-modern colloquial Chinese before 1840 (rainfall pattern) or expressions that involve recent loans from languages other than Chinese (brick pattern). Proper names, strictly speaking, do have historical aspects, but of a different order, so we leave the surface patterns plain white.

Surface patterns: historical registers

Classical (古代漢語)	
Pre 1919 colloquial (古典白話)	
After 1919 (現代漢語)	
Modern foreign loan (外來語)	

In the case of a modern loan translation we further distinguish:

Modern loan adaptation of a classical expression:	
Modern loan adaptation of a pre-modern colloquial expression:	
Modern loan adaptation of a modern colloquial expression:	

Generally, an expression is classified historically as belonging to the period where it first occurs (in the case of words) or where it first became grammatical (in the case of phrases).

陳毅　　和　　他　　的　　孩子
Chén Yì　　hé　　tā　　dě　　háizǐ
CHEN YI　AND　HE　'S　CHILD
"Chen Yi and his children"

NP

n   &   NP
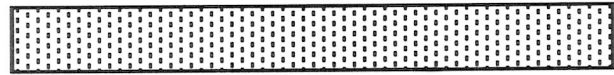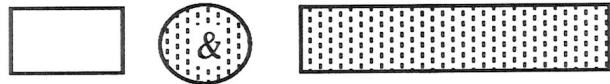
NP

n   >   n

陳毅　　　及　　　其　　　子
Chén Yì　　jí　　qí　　zǐ
CHEN YI　AND　HIS　SON
"Chen Yi and his children"

NP

n   &   NP

NP
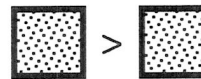
  >
pron   n

There is an obvious complication in the fact that a grammatically classical phrase may be a very recent coinage. For example:

經　　政　　不　　離
jīng　　zhèng　　bù　　lí
ECONOMICS POLITICS NOT SEPARATE
"Not treat economics and politics as separable."

S

   o
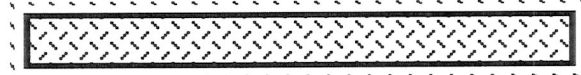
NP   VP

  &   >
n   n   ne   v

The information encoded in this diagramme may be stated discursively as follows:

1. The phrase *jīng zhèng bù lí* 經政不離 is a *chéngyǔ* 成語.
2. Stylistically, the phrase is archaic.
3. Historically, it is modern.
4. It is a non-grammaticalised syntactic formation.
5. It is a verb phrase.
6. *Jīng zhèng* 經政 is a non-lexicalised free syntactic formation.
7. Stylistically, the phrase is classical.
8. Historically, the phrase is post-1919
9. It is a noun phrase.
10. It is a non-grammaticalised syntactic formation.
11. It consists of two coordinated nominal expressions.
12. It is the object of what follows.
13. *Jīng* 經 is a nominal expression that cannot freely be used as a noun in Modern Standard Chinese.
14. Historically, it is modern.
15. Stylistically, it is archaic.
16. It is based on a classical Chinese word with a very different meaning
17. *Zhèng* 政 is a nominal expression that cannot freely be used as a noun in Modern Standard Chinese.
18. Historically, it is modern.
19. Stylistically, it is archaic.
20. It is based on a classical Chinese word with a very different meaning
21. *Bù lí* 不離 is a non-lexicalised syntactic formation.
22. It is a non-grammaticalised formation.
23. Stylistically, the phrase is archaic.
24. Historically, the phrase is classical.
25. The phrase is a verb phrase.
26. *Bù* 不 is a Modern Standard Chinese negation.
27. Stylistically, it is unmarked.
28. Historically, it is classical.
29. It is a grammaticalised form.
30. It is subordinate to *lí* 離 .
31. *Lí* 離 is a verb which may not be freely used in Modern Standard Chinese in this sense.
32. Stylistically, it is archaic.
33. Historically, it is classical.

The ideas that *jīng* 經 and *zhèng* 政 are stylistically archaic, and that they are historically modern require elucidation. They are historically modern because they are modern acronyms for the modern loans *jīngjì* 經濟 and *zhèngzhì* 政治. The abbreviation itself seems to be of Chinese origin. Hence we regard the word as modern acronyms but not as loan word.

The idea that *jīng* 經 and *zhèng* 政 are stylistically archaic may sound unlikely at first glance, but there is no doubt that these acronyms are restricted in use to classical Chinese grammatical contexts. It is as if the acronym converts the western loan and assimilates it to classical Chinese stylistic demands. In ordinary literary Modern Chinese these acronyms are not usable.

Thus the notion of historico-stylistic heterogeneity involves the registers of style as well as historical registers. The presence of the old colloquial *tā* 他 "he" does not make a modern expression heterogeneous in our historico-stylistic sense.

However, the problems of description that remain are pervasive. For example, the word *wǒ* 我 meaning "I" belongs to the classical layer of the language but has no classical flavour whatsoever in modern Chinese. This we indicate by giving *wǒ* 我 "I" an ordinary thin frame to indicate that there is nothing stylistically marked about it, but a classical "dotted" surface to indicate that the word is current in classical Chinese:

<div align="center">

我

wǒ

I

▨

pron

</div>

The dotted surface indicates that in the meaning "I", i.e. on that interpretation, the word *wǒ* 我 is classical. *Wú* 吾 on the other hand is a classical Chinese word which is obsolete in modern Chinese both under the interpretation "my" and under the interpretation "I":

<div align="center">

吾

wú

"I, my"

▨

pron

</div>

The bracketed label indicates the category the expression belonged to at the historical stage indicated by the surface of the box. The absence of an unbracketed category indicates that the expression in question does not have special lexical status. Since the word is obsolete in modern Chinese there is not indication of its grammatical category in the modern language.

The fact that historical characterisation attaches not to morphemes as such but to morphemes under a given reading becomes relevant in cases like that of *tā* 他 "1. he; 2. other".

他
tā
HE
"he"
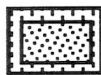
pron

他
tā
OTHER
"something/someone else"

pron

* Consider the historical difference between
不疑有他
"not suspect that there are other motives"
and
懷疑沒有他就不行
"have a suspicion that without him it would not work"

其　　　他
qí　　*tā*
ITS　　OTHER
"others"
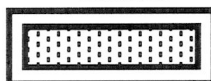
pron

pron　　pron

* We repeat that there are **Westernising graphs** in Chinese, such as the variants *tā* 他／她／牠／它 for "he", "she", "it". These are regarded as irrelevant to our grammatical analyses. Properly speaking, also the graphs for *dě* 的／地／底 should also be regarded as differentiated Westernised graphs for one and the same morpheme "*dě*". Such Westernised graphs do not enter our analyses because the Westernisation in this case is not of the language as such but of the way of writing it only.

An expression is assigned to a given historical register under a given interpretation. Thus we have different historical characterisations for the following:

妻　　　子
qī　　　*zǐ*
WIFE　　SON
"wife and children"

NP

&

n　　　　n

妻　　　子
qī　　　*zǐ*
WIFE　　SON
"wife"

n

<

n　　　　　sf
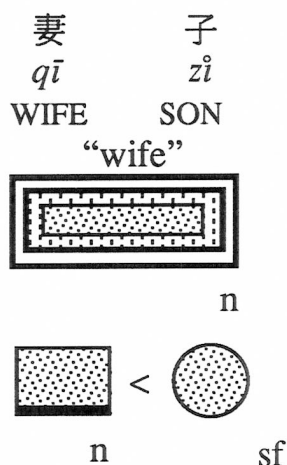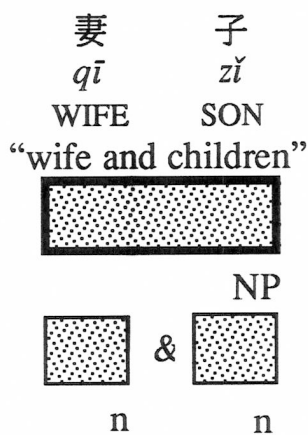
The combination *qī zǐ* 妻子 does exist in classical Chinese, but not in the meaning "wife". But now the theoretically important question is this: does the suffix *zǐ* 子 really occur in the classical Chinese *qī zǐ* 妻子 "wife"? The character *zǐ* 子 occurs, but not the suffix. The suffix does occur in:

女　　　子
nǚ　　　*zǐ*
WOMAN　SON
"female [person]"

n

<

n　　　　sf
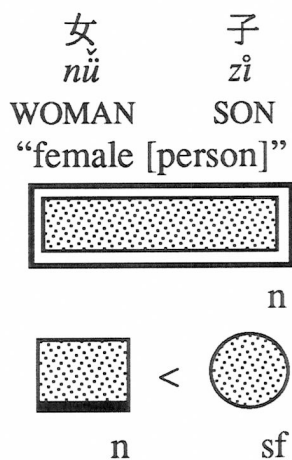
The analysis of *nǚzǐ* 女子 in modern Chinese is exactly the same as in classical Chinese. *Zǐ* 子 turns out to be a very ancient suffix.

科　　　學
kē　　　*xué*
CLASS　-　STUDY
"classified - study" = "science"

n/va

n　　　n
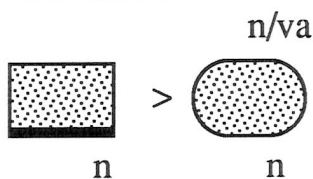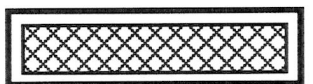
學　　　習
xué　　*xí*
STUDY　　PRACTISE
"study"

vt

vt　　　vt
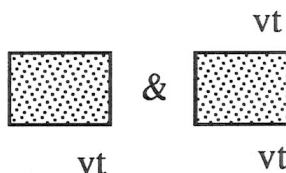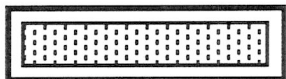
學　　　好
xué　　*hǎo*
STUDY　　GOOD
"study successfully"

vt

vt　　　adv
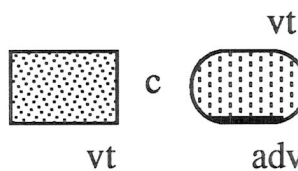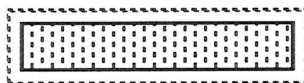
Note that *hǎo* 好 "well, completely" is not an independent word in modern Chinese, although *hǎo* 好 "be good" is.

The case of *rénquán* 人權 MAN POWER "human rights" is special because the notion of a "right" itself is alien to Chinese thinking, so we get a complex diagramme even at the second level:

人 權
rén *quán*
MAN POWER
"human rights"
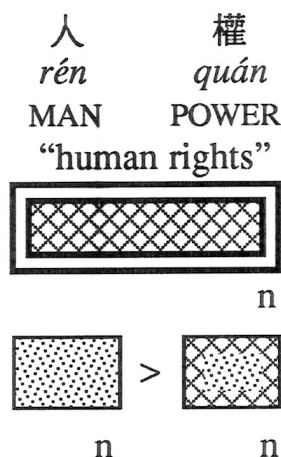
Note that *quán* 權 is not marked as literary.

The combination *zì yóu* 自由 occurs in classical Chinese but is taken over from the Japanese as a loan translation for "free, freedom". This registers as follows in our diagrammes:

自 由
zì *yóu*
SELF FOLLOW
"follow one's own inclinations"
"free, freedom"
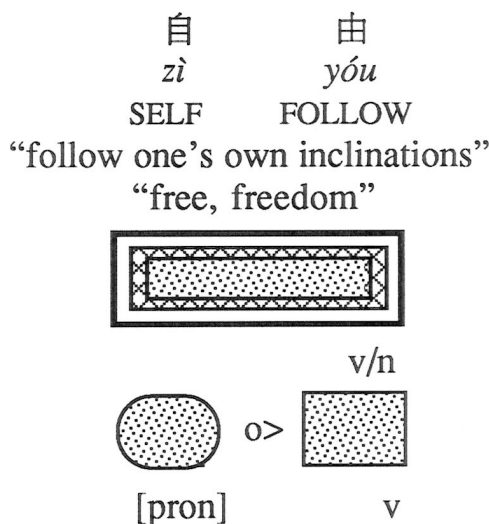
* How does *zìshā* 自殺 differ grammatically from *zìyóu* 自由 ?

社	會	科	學	院
shè	*huì*	*kè*	*xué*	*yuàn*
ALTAR	COMMUNITY	CLASS	STUDY	HALL
SOCIETY			SCIENCE	

"Academy of Social Sciences"
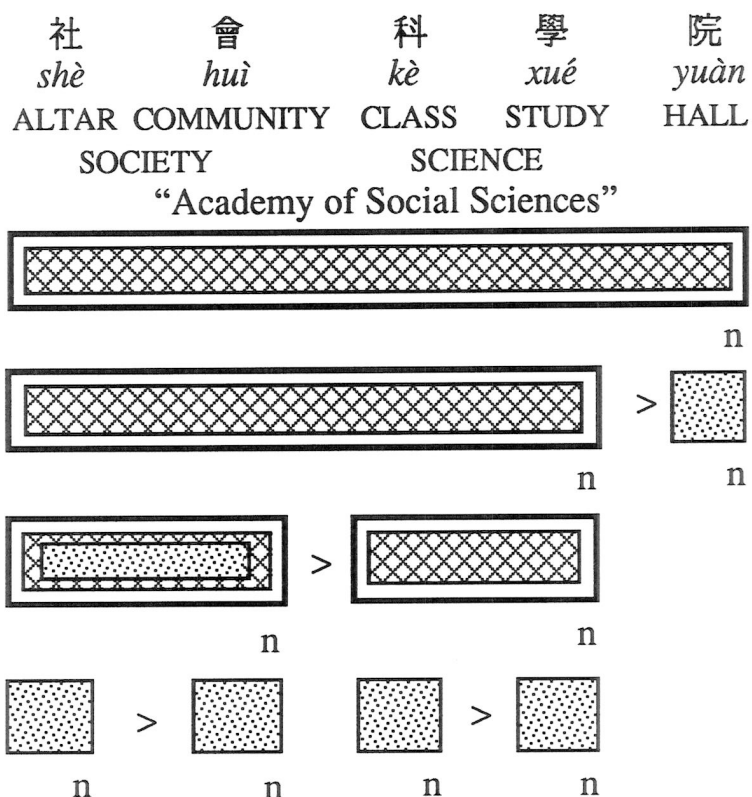
Shèhuì 社會 "society" is not a classical Chinese word, but the expression *shè huì* 社會 does occur in classical Chinese, from the fourth century A.D. onwards, meaning something like "altar community, community of people who share a *shè*-altar".

We note that a classical word *yuàn* 院 "court, hall" is used here in its classical meaning, but still to make a loan word.

There are native Chinese innovations using foreign loans as well, as in the case of

三	此	主義
sān	*cǐ*	*zhǔyì*
THREE	THIS	'ISM

"three-this-ism"
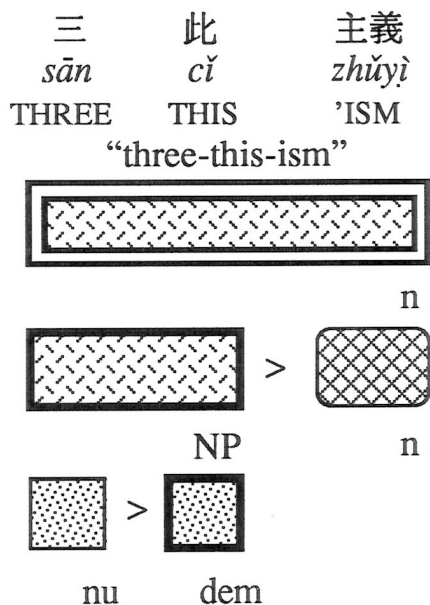
This "-ism" was propagated by Zhu Guangqian 朱光潛, and it refers to act *cǐ shēn, cǐ dì, cǐ shí* 此身，此地，此時 "in person, in this place, at this time". This "-ism" is very much a Chinese product to such a point that it is even very hard to translate into English. At the same time it is built with a Western "suffix-noun" *zhǔyì* 主義.

Cases of this sort are getting increasingly frequent, and what they show is that the Chinese language is making creative use of the semantic and grammatical resources imported - through Japan - from the West.

The combination *tiělù* 鐵路 could have occurred in classical Chinese, but since it doesn't we analyse:

<div align="center">

鐵   路
tiě   *lù*
IRON   ROAD
"railway, Eisenbahn, chemin de fer (three words)"

</div>
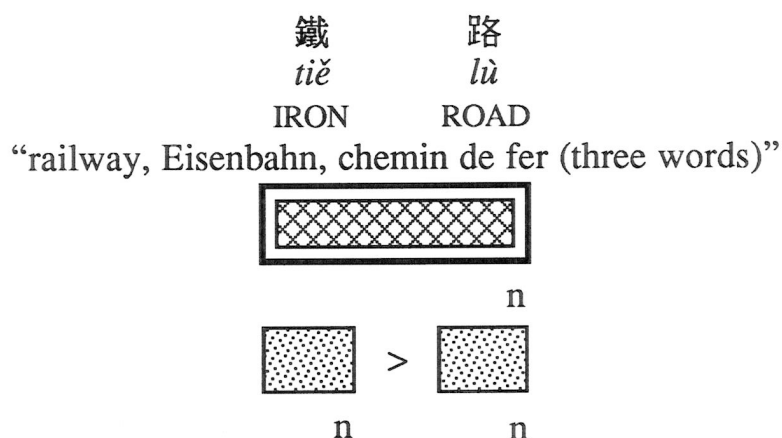
The arguments one might use to justify the view of this as a lexicalised syntactic construction are concerned with the status of the lexical status of the word *tiě* 鐵 "iron" and *lù* 路 "road". But there are many other factors involved that need not concern us in detail now.
Tiěxīn 鐵心 "iron core" poses no problems

<div align="center">

鐵   心
tiě   *xīn*
IRON   HEART
"iron core"

</div>
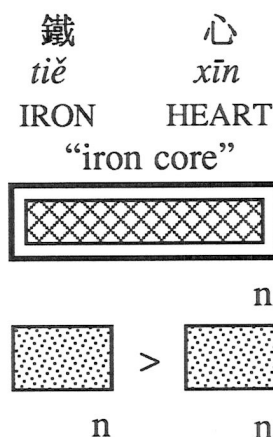
But compare now the headline *Bùxī tiěle xīn* 布希鐵了心 "Bush has taken a rigid attitude" (*Zhōngyāngrìbào* 中央日報 Jan. 18, 1991) and the current idiom:

鐵　　了　　心　　了
tiě　*lě*　*xīn*　*lě*
IRON　PERF　HEART　CRS
"be unshakable in one's determination"

VP

VP　mp

v　n

verb

n　sf
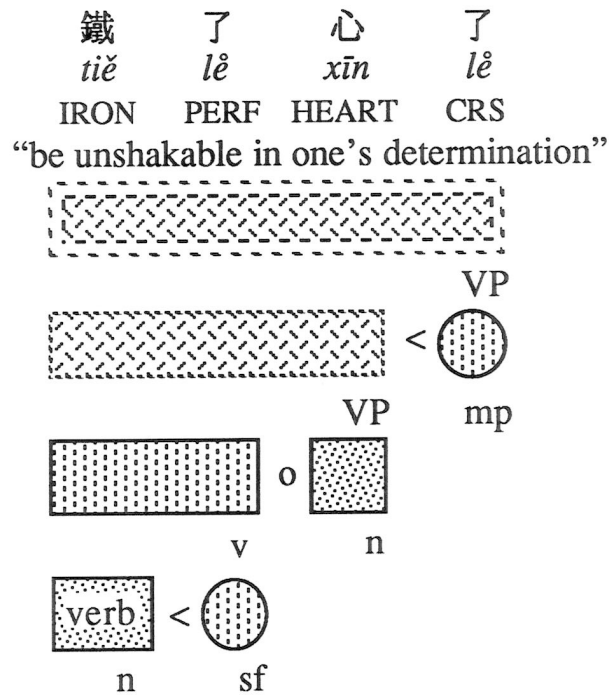
This is a fixed idiomatic phrase.

* Does the currency of this idiom indicate that *tiě xīn* 鐵心 is morphologically also an idiomatic verb-object construction? We note that *tiě* 鐵 alone is nominal and does not ordinarily function as a verb. The use of *tiě* 鐵 as a verb seems derivative. The verb *tiě* 鐵 "to steel (as in 'steel one's determination')" might be described as an "*ad hoc* verb" created by the addition of *lě* 了.

*** On the other hand you might have a sentence like 你說他鐵了心了，我說他連鐵心也不能鐵心 "You say he has an unshakable mind. I say he is not even capable of having an unshakable attitude". Is this an acceptable sentence? If so, what does it prove?

Consider the stylistically unmarked *jīngjì* 經濟 "economy". Most speakers of Chinese may not know, but many speakers do know that *jīngjì* 經濟 derives from the classical phrase *jīng shì jì mín* 經世濟民 "regulate one's generation and give succour to the people". Let us look at an analysis:

經　　　濟
jīng　　*jì*
ADMINISTER　HELP
"economy"

nom & nom
vt　　vt

The fact that most speakers of Modern Standard Chinese do not know about the historical precedent for *jīngjì* 經濟 does not, of course, affect our judgment concerning the historical register to which the word belongs.

I regard the collocation *jīng jì* 經濟 as classical although in point of fact I have not seen it used in classical Chinese.

There is no doubt that *jīngjì* 經濟 in ordinary use has a Westernised historical flavour, in spite of the fact that the composition of the word has deep historical roots.

A word may well be a foreign loan without registering as such in general native speaker awareness. However, stylistic "foreignness" is not essentially connected with the historical register "foreign loan". *Shèhuì* 社會 remains a Japanese loan word whether speakers of Chinese know about this or not. Whether the word *shèhuì* 社會 is **stylistically** marked as foreign is a much more difficult question to decide.

It turns out that loan adaptation in modern Chinese is largely from classical Chinese words or expressions, rarely from pre-modern colloquial words or expressions. In general, however, it is not difficult to ascertain whether a modern Chinese translation was or was not inspired by a Japanese word: if the word was current in Japanese long before it became current in Chinese it is most likely to be a loan.

There are some interesting morphological loans. The suffix *dě* 地, which is
added to verbs to convert them into adverbial expressions, becomes part of a
Europeanising construction when it is added to a noun *běnnéng* 本能
"instinct" to reproduce the English "instinctively":

他	本能	地	伸	了	一	伸	腰。
tā	*běnnéng*	*dě*	*shēn*	*lě*	*yī*	*shēn*	*yāo*
HE	INSTINCT	'LY	STRETCH	PERF	ONE	STRETCH	WAIST

"He instinctively stretched his hips." (Wang Li 1947: 310)
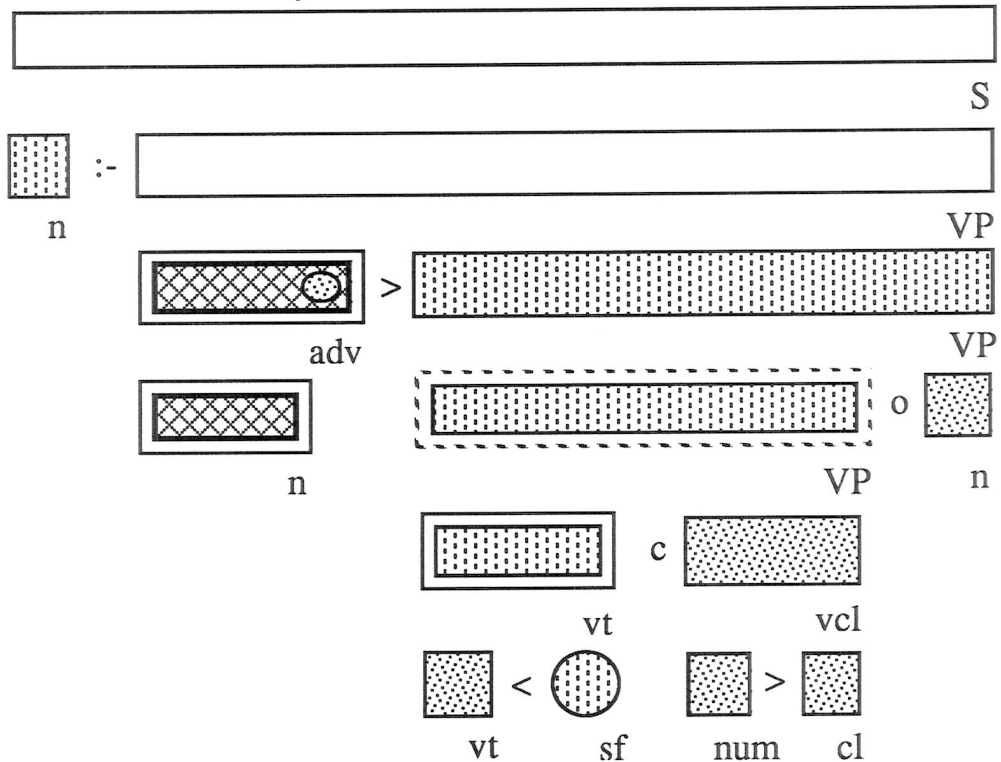
We note three things:

First, the suffix *dě* 地 in this case converts a noun into an adverb. This is not
current in pre-Westernised Chinese suffixation.

Second: one feels disinclined to call the whole sentence historically
heterogeneous just because it contains an element which is doubly Westernised.
One is inclined to say that Westernised Chinese expressions are a sub-class of
modern Chinese expressions.

Third: historical heterogeneity would turn out to be pervasive if one
recognised as historically heterogeneous all expressions that contain elements
from different linguistic historical layers of the language.

Compare a traditional Chinese set phrase:

袖　　手　　旁　　觀
xiù　*shǒu*　*páng*　*guān*
SLEEVE - HAND - SIDE - LOOK
"Put one's hands in one's sleeve and look on from the sidelines"
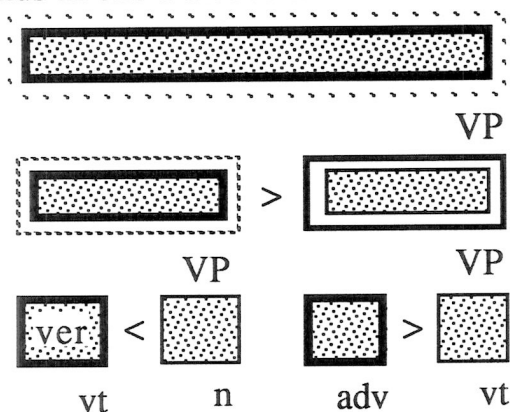
Xiùshǒu 袖手 "to sleeve one's hand" which has very much become a modern verb phrase expandable with a colloquial suffix *zhě* 着 to *xiùzhě shǒu* 袖着手 "with one's hands tucked in one's sleeves". Cf. incidentally the only superficially similar *xiùkǒu* 袖口 SLEEVE-MOUTH "cuff (of sleeve)". The sleeve, in modern Chinese is *xiùzi* 袖子 SLEEVE- NOM/SUFFIX.

Some set phrases or *chéngyǔ* 成語 involve early colloquial elements. If, for a moment, we assume that the use of *zuò* 作 in the following *chéngyǔ* 成語 is not classical but early colloquial, then we get the following analysis:

作　　壁　　上　　觀
zuò　　*bì*　*shàng*　*guān*
DO　　WALL　TOP　LOOK
"do a looking down from the wall"
"observe how the situation develops (and do nothing about it)"
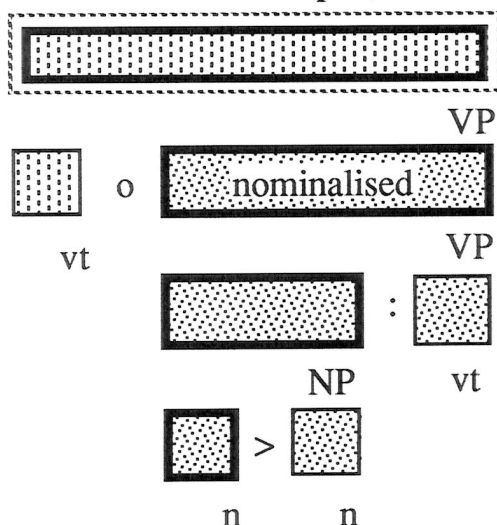
I return, finally, to the analysis of the two sentences I started out with:

小　李　上　夜　班
xiǎo　*Lǐ*　*shàng*　*yè*　*bān*
LITTLE　LI　GO-UP　NIGHT　SHIFT
"Little Li is on night shift."
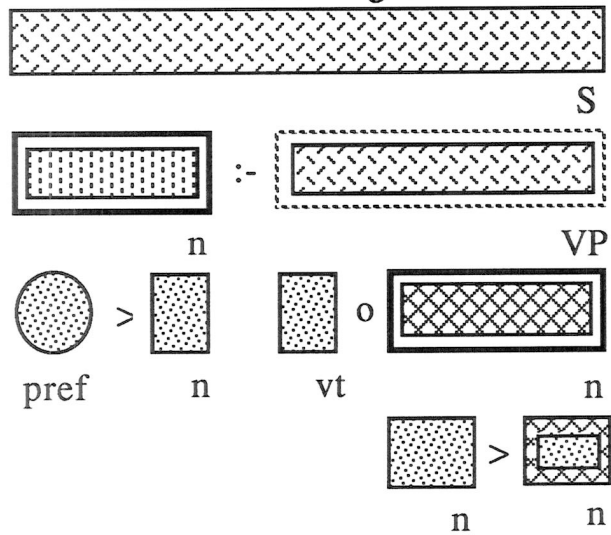
Translated into normal linear form this diagram would become clumsy and inaccessible to intuition.

一　朵　大　紅　花
yī　*duǒ*　*dà*　*hóng*　*huā*
ONE　PIECE　LARGE　RED　FLOWER
"one large red safflower"
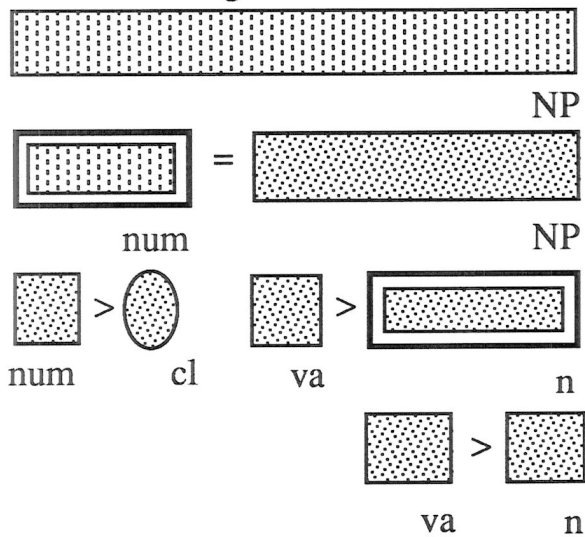
Our principles might seem to lead to some unreasonable results. For example *bù yì lè hú* 不亦樂乎 "extremely" will be given the same kind of historical characterisation as *wǒ yǒu jiǔhú* 我有酒壺 "I have a jug of wine". But the difference turns out to be stylistic:

不	亦	樂	乎
bù	*yì*	*lè*	*hú*
NOT	ALSO	JOY	Q-PART

"extremely, very much"

VP

VP < mp

neg > VP

adv > v
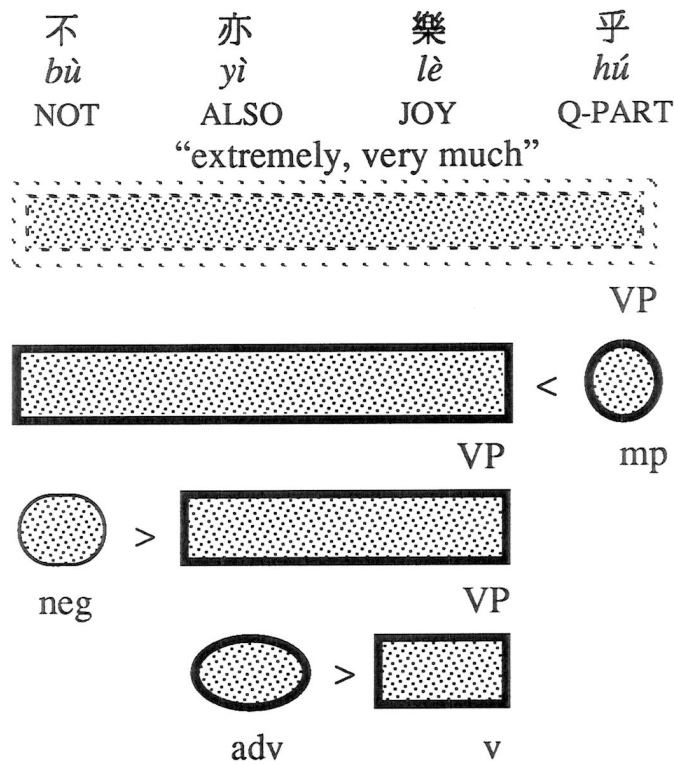
我	有	酒	壺
wǒ	*yǒu*	*jiǔ*	*hú*
I	HAVE	WINE	JUG

"I've got a wine-jug."

S

n :- VP

vt o VP

NP

n > n
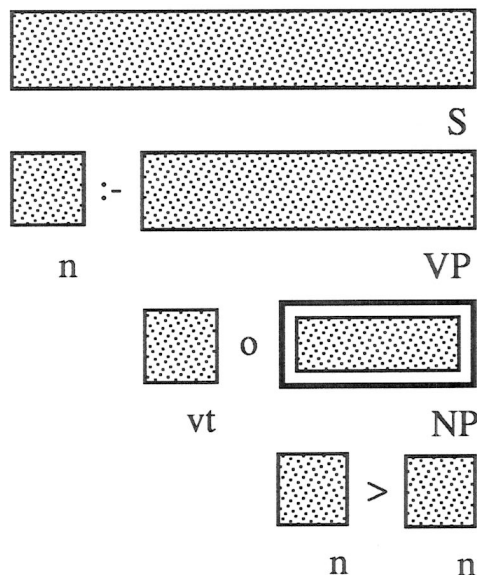
In this instance, the classical reading of *bù yì lè hú* 不亦樂乎 also makes only a stylistic difference:

不	亦	樂	乎
bù	*yì*	*lè*	*hú*
NOT	ALSO	JOY	Q-PART

"isn't that a pleasure"
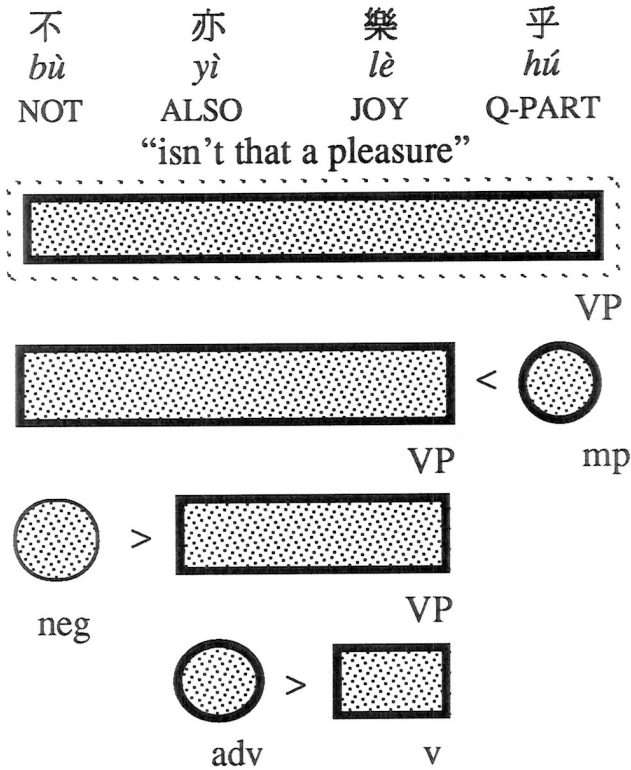
Bù yì lè hú 不亦樂乎 on any of its readings may sound historically very different from *wǒ yǒu jiǔ hú* 我有酒壺 "I've got a wine jug." But on our present analysis the difference is only that the words used in one are archaic or literary, while the words used in the other are not.

* Note the creative use of this pattern by Jin Shengtan 金聖歎 (A.D.1608 - 1661) in the famous phrase *nù yì kuài zāi* 不亦快哉 "is surely fun". Archaic patterns remain highly productive even in modern times. This is a special feature of Modern Standard Chinese which sets it apart from all modern European languages that I know of.

Sentences involving *chéngyǔ* 成語 are typically historically as well as stylistically heterogeneous, as in the case of the following traffic sign:

汽車	自行車	各	行	其	道
qìchē	*zìxíngchē*	*gè*	*xíng*	*qí*	*dào*
CAR	BICYCLE	EACH	WALK	ITS	WAY

"cars and bicycles must each take their lanes"
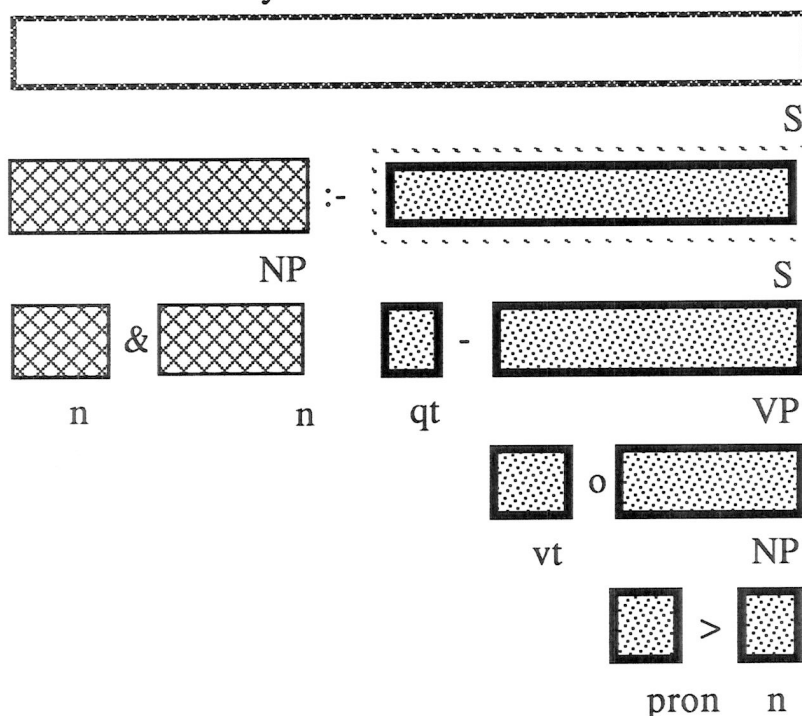
One might be tempted to regard *gè* 各 as a subject here, but not as a topic.

* Note that *gè xíng qí dào* 各行其道 means "each go their own way". We have an interesting question here of the scope of *gè* 各. It is as if *gè* 各 here must be taken to quantify not the individual vehicles but the two groups "each group it's proper way".

For many paedagogical purposes it is convenient to disregard the historical registers, and in these cases the boxes are simply left empty as in all analytical examples presented up to the present section. One may even be tempted to disregard what follows as an inappropriate conflation of historical and structural considerations.

At the other extreme, in advanced language classes, still further historical categories such as early archaic Chinese, middle archaic Chinese, late archaic Chinese, Tang literary Chinese, etc.; early medieval colloquial Chinese, high Tang colloquial Chinese etc. may be found useful. Traditional loans might be further subdivided into traditional colloquial loans from Sanskrit, from Mongolian, and even from other unknown non-Sinitic sources might have to

be specified as the need arises already in the study of the earliest stages of the Chinese language.   Moreover, one might wish to distinguish between phonetic loans, loan translation and a combination of the two.

Again, among the modern loans, an important division would be between the loans via Japan and the direct loan translations. The symbolism for this would be easy to generate, but such a detailed symbolic representation would certainly be confusing for newcomers. For the beginning student, the above rough categories, however, are a convenient starting point.

However this may be, our initial simple historical classification already allows us to attempt some rather important generalisations, namely that the vast majority of morphemes in use in modern Chinese are classical Chinese morphemes, i.e. linguistic innovation happened through the reinterpretation of existing morhpemes.

One may well wonder, though, whether it is sensible to integrate the historical dimension into grammatical analysis. Evidently, etymology must not be confused with syntactic or morphological analysis. However, the presence in modern standard Chinese of large numbers of classical Chinese elements which follow their own grammatical patterns (the *chéngyǔ* 成語 are one well-known example), and of elements of early colloqial Chinese in colloquial sayings (*súyǔ* 俗語, *yànyǔ* 諺語, *xiēhòuyǔ* 歇後語 and the like) makes this desirable. Linguistic history is manifestly present in modern standard Chinese both at the morphological and at the syntactic level. This systematically affects the pattern a sentence makes, the acceptablity of sentences, and it ought to affect our grammatical description.

Chapter 12
The Nature Of chengyu 成語

One might think of a number of grammatical accounts for *chéngyǔ* 成語. We shall consider some current views and then suggest a rather old-fashioned alternative account.

1. The **word** hypothesis

chéngyǔ 成語, like ordinary words, are built up out of the vocabulary of literary Chinese or classical Chinese. They should therefore be treated as words with a varied internal morphology. This view is natural enough, expecially since *chéngyǔ* 成語 are entered as words into most dictionaries. However, the word hypothesis does not stand up to scrutiny.

Since many *chéngyǔ* 成語 are sentences, one might make the following sentential objection:

豈有此理。
qǐ yǒu cǐ lǐ
HOW EXIST THIS PRINCIPLE
"How unreasonable!"

This corresponds to the sentence *nǎlǐ yǒu zhěiyàng dě dàolǐ* 哪裡有這樣的道理. If the latter is not a word, then neither is the first. The word hypothesis must be abandoned as a general account for *chéngyǔ* 成語 as long as current *chéngyǔ* 成語 like *qǐ yǒu cǐ lǐ* 豈有此理 are to be accepted as being indeed *chéngyǔ* 成語.

But *qǐ yǒu cǐ lǐ* 豈有此理 is a highly **colloquial** and a very typical *chéngyǔ* 成語. Moreover, there are many sentential *chéngyǔ* 成語 like it which it would be arbitrary to exclude.

Here is a more literary and elevated example:

文人相輕
wén rén xiāng qīng
PATTERN MAN EACH-OTHER LIGHT
"Men of letters despise each other"

This *chéngyǔ* 成語 usually functions as a sentence in Modern Standard Chinese.

Even when the translation in its modern context is not always in terms of a complete sentence, the internal structure of a *chéngyǔ* 成語 is often sentential:

夫唱婦隨
fū chàng fù suí
HUSBAND SING WIFE FOLLOW
"The husband sings and the wife follows [the tune]."
"be in domestic harmony"
This sort of example one might deal with by pointing to sententially structured
words like *tóuténg* 頭疼 "have a headache".

Here is another comparable instance:
水落石出
shuǐ luò shí chū
WATER FALL STONE EMERGE
"When the water level is lower the stones become visible"
"come out into the open"

Note how this phrase is entered into colloqial speech:
把這件事查個水落石出
bǎ zhèijiàn shì chá gě shuǐ luò shí chū
TAKE THIS THING STUDY CL WATER FALL STONE EMERGE
"get to the very bottom of this thing"
一切水落石出了。
yīqiè shuǐ luò shí chū lě
EVERYTHING WATER FALL STONE EMERGE LE
"Everything came out into the open."
別急。總有個水落石出的日子。
bié jí zǒng yǒu gě shuǐ luò shí chū dě rìzǐ
DON'T URGENT. FINALLY HAVE CL WATER FALL STONE EMERGE 'S DAY
"Don't get excited. In the end there will come a day when the truth emerges."

But what is one to do about the following?
聞名不如見面。
wén míng bù rú jiàn miàn
HEAR NAME NOT LIKE SEE FACE
"Hearing about someone's fame is not as good as meeting him."

Moving, perhaps, somewhat closer to the popular sphere of the *yànyǔ* 諺語, we have

一	犬	吠	形，	百	犬	吠	聲
yī	*quǎn*	*fèi*	*xíng,*	*bǎi*	*quǎn*	*fèi*	*shēng*
ONE	DOG	BARK	FORM,	HUNDRED	DOG	BARK	SOUND

"While one dog barks at a shape a hundred dogs bark at the sound."

<div style="text-align:center">
S
[_____]
       S   S
[_____] & [_____]
  S   S
[___] - [___]   [___] - [___]
NP   VP   NP   VP
[_] > [_]   [_] o [_]   [_] > [_]   [_] o [_]
num   n   v   n   num   n   v   n
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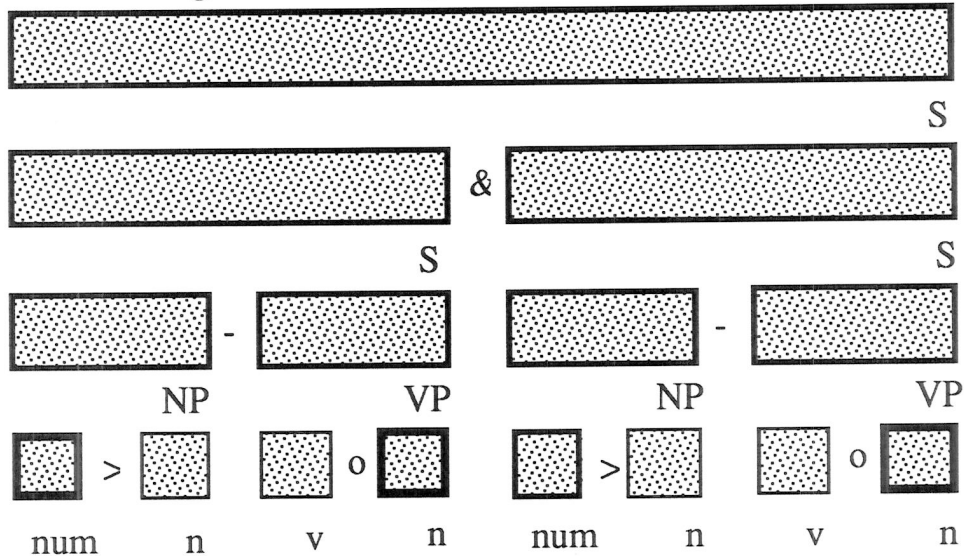
One might well want to interpret the barking of the first dog as subordinate to the barking of the hundred dogs. But the crux is that we definitely have two sentences.

Moreover, we have whole sequences of three parallel sentences couched in a mixture of classical and early *báihuà* 白話 in the following popular idiom:
妻不如妾。
"A wife is not as good as a concubine."
妾不如偷。
"A concubine is not as good as a secret affair."
偷得着不如偷不着。
"A secret affair is not as good as an impossible secret affair."

Note, incidentally, the creative nominal use of *tōu* 偷 and of *tōu dě zháo* 偷得着. Here we have clearly left the area of *chéngyǔ* 成語. Perhaps we should call these *súyǔ* 俗語 or *yànyǔ* 諺語. The point is that the line between four-character *yànyǔ* 諺語 and *chéngyǔ* 成語 is very hard to draw.

2. Having reject ed the word hypothesis one might still think that *chéngyǔ* 成語 are essentially **quotations**. As is very obvious, many *chéngyǔ* 成語 have their well-known literary origins, and one might therefore be tempted to think of them as literary quotations from certain texts. For example, *yī quǎn fèi xíng,*

bǎi quǎn fèi yǐng 一犬吠形，百犬吠影 is simply a quotation from the Han text *Qiánfūlùn* 潛夫論. But we note immediately that the much more popular and current variant *chéngyǔ* 成語 for this saying, *fèi xíng fèi yǐng* 吠形吠影, which is a characteristic almost asyntactic brachylogy (abbreviated figure of speech), has no such direct textual origin at all. It is just inspired by an ancient text, and that is all.

While it is logically certain that someone will have been the first to use the expression *qǐ yǒu cǐ lǐ* 豈有此理, - the same is true for every single expresssion in the language - it is by no means evident that those who came to use the expression standardly afterwards were quoting the first user.

The origin of *chéngyǔ* 成語 is not invariably a part of their meaning, since the speakers and writers of Chinese often are unaware of these origins. There is, also in Western languages, a very profound difference between quotations like *"veni vidi vici"* and the host of unattributed sayings like **quod licet Iovi non licet bovi**. These are unattributed even if their probable first use is well known to philologists: the point is that the origin is not part of the meaning and not known to the users. The first user is not quoted.

To the chagrin of compilers of *chéngyǔ* 成語 dictionaries there are many *chéngyǔ* 成語 which do not even have any known literary source whatsoever and would appear to be of anonymous popular origin. They cannot possibly be interpreted as quotations simply because there is no source to quote. As for the search:

其樂無窮。
qí lè wú qióng
ITS PLEASURE LACK EXHAUST
"the pleasures are infinite".

3. Having rejected the quotation analysis one might still think that *chéngyǔ* 成語 must at least be essentially antiquarian - or at least old - products. We might call this the **antiqueness hypothesis**. One might feel that *chéngyǔ* 成語 must have a certain age in order to count as *chéngyǔ* 成語 .

This again may be plausible enough since many are several thousand years old, and very many are hundreds of years old. But as a generalisation this does not work. For there are many *chéngyǔ* 成語 of very recent origin. *Zhèng jīng bù lí* 政經不離 "not keep politics separate from economics" is a recent coinage which plainly imitates tradtional *chéngyǔ* 成語 . Shi Shi 史式 and Zhao Peiyu 趙培玉, *Hànyǔ xīnchéngyǔ cídiǎn* 漢語新成語詞典 (*Xīān: Shǎnxīrénmín*,1986, 350 pp) lists over three thousand items, part of which are plain *chéngyǔ* 成語 , but of very recent date, and part of which are very old *chéngyǔ* 成語 with very recent new meanings.

4. One might think that at the very least, *chéngyǔ* 成語 have to be, if not old, then at least **literary in stylistic value** in order to count as *chéngyǔ* 成語 . This again is *prima facie* plausible enough, since *chéngyǔ* 成語 are more common in written than in spoken forms of the Chinese language. But even this is not at all a valid generalisation.

In *mángdě bù yì lè hú* 忙得不亦樂乎 "be incredibly busy" the *chéngyǔ* 成語 *bù yì lè hú* 不亦樂乎, which has a supremely respectable and extremely well-known origin in *Lúnyǔ* 論語 1.1, but it also has an extremely colloquial flavour. There also are many basically un-literary *chéngyǔ* 成語 which do not have any literary and dignified readings like *luàn qī bā zāo* 亂七八糟 "complete mess" which has no respectable and dignified origins or uses.

Shi Shi 史式 and Zhao Peiyu 趙培玉 (1986) also illustrates beautifully the continuing change in meaning of the old *chéngyǔ* 成語 . As lexical items they are very much alive. They not only change. They are continuouslyh being made up. They have no ossified fixed meanings. For example, *qǐ yǒu cǐ lǐ* 豈有此理 has changed its meaning from the now slightly antiquated "how is this possible" to "how disgraceful". To use Chinese definitions, it changed from
難道有這樣的道理
to
對方的言語或行動極其荒謬.

5. What then **is** the correct way of viewing the *chéngyǔ* 成語? The analysis that I propose is simply in terms of the **grammatical historical register** in modern Chinese. *Chéngyǔ* 成語, even if they are new, must be highly idiomatic proverbial expressins which are constructed according to classical Chinese grammatical principles or at least according to the grammatical principles of pre-modern traditional *báihuà* 白話.

Modern written, but also spoken, Chinese can move across historical registers without necessarily moving across stylistic registers. Some classical Chinese sayings are so common that they have no special literary flavour at all. Indeed, *qǐ yǒu cǐ lǐ* 豈有此理 is not necessarily a very literary phrase, although grammatically it is old-fashioned. The difference between written and spoken Chinese may now be defined properly: it is that the moving across diachronic registers is largely, though not completely, **limited to idiomatic contexts** in spoken Chinese, whereas in many **written** varieties of Modern Standard Chinese this movement across registers is not at all limited to such idiomatic or lexicalised contexts.

Qǐ yǒu cǐ lǐ 豈有此理 will then turn out to be a highly colloquial phrase which happens to consist of distinctly archaic elements.

History is present in modern Chinese morphology and syntax, both written and spoken. One has always known this about morphology: the meaning *tā* 他 "he" is irrelevant in Chinese morphology. The meaning of *tā* 他 that matters in morphology is the literary meaning of "different, other". Thus we have *tārì* 他日 which has a classical flavour, but we also have *qítā* 其他 which only has a slightly literary literery flavour.

Modern Chinese words are built out of literary rather than out of early colloquial elements.

It has become current to say that Lu Xun 魯迅 (1881 - 1936) wrote in a peculiar mixture of modern and classical or literary Chinese. This way of characterising his language, though current, seems misleading. A more adequate way of stating the case is to say that Lu Xun 魯迅 still made use of the diachronic registers that have traditionally been available to writers of colloquial Chinese for a very long time.

The *Romance of the Three Kingdoms (Sānguóyǎnyì* 三國演義) is a fine example of a novel which expertly exploits the inherent possibilities in the conventions of written colloquial Chinese. This gives modern written Chinese its power and depth, and it gives it a clear advantage over contemporary Western languages such as English, German, or French. In languages such as these the past is predominantly present as etymology, and occasionally through isolated archaism and quotation, but only in exceptional and stylistically highly deviant literary cases do we find Anglo-Saxon, Middle English grammatical constructions in English. Even a mildly anachronistic sentence like "I'm afraid thou shalt not get your operation." (cartoon by Colin Wheeler in The Independent 11 October, 1991) is acceptable only as a jocular phrase. James Joyce's use of pre-modern forms is not in any general sense part of general English linguistic usage.

Middle High German is simply not an acceptable part of modern literary German by any stretch of the literary imagination, just as Old Church Slavonic is not in any way an integrated part of Russian: it belongs to the museum of the past, it is historically important, but with respect to modern Russian, Old Church Slavonic is relevant only for the clues it provides on the history of certain constructions and generally pre-history or etymology of modern usages.

Modern Standard Chinese provides a very strikingly different case. A case which should properly be compared to that of Modern Greek, a comparison which unfortunately has not been made in any detail in the past.

Consider an example from a Chinese newspaper quoted in Gorelov 1979:128:

嗟	來	之	食，	吃	下去	肚子	要	痛	的
jiē	*lái*	*zhī*	*shí*	*chi*	*xiàqù*	*dùzî*	*yào*	*tòng*	*dě*
SIGH	COME	'S	FOOD	EAT	GO-DOWN	STOMACH	WILL	HURT	MP

HUMILIATING PRESENT

"If you eat a humilating present your stomach will hurt."
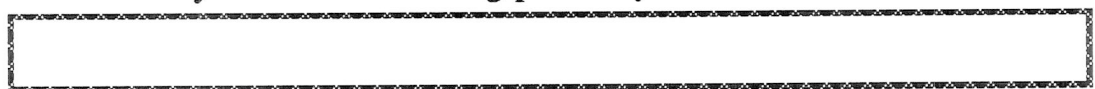
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└──────────────┘   ┊┊┊┊┊┊┊┊┊┊┊┊┊┊┊┊┊┊┊┊┊┊┊┊┊┊┊┊┊┊
      NP                                       VP
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The internal structure of the NP is the syntax of classical Chinese. The texts plays with the change of stylistic as well as historical register. We note that among the *chéngyǔ* 成語 there are literary and fairly recondite specimens, like this one, but there are also highly colloquial cases like *bù yì lè hú* 不亦樂乎 "terribly, awfully [as in 'awfully busy']" and at the other end there is a huge reservoir of obsolete ones which are only used among connoisseurs. The historical register of the *chéngyǔ* 成語 will normally be that of classical Chinese, sometimes of traditional colloquial Chinese. The stylistic register will vary considerably.

* Analyse the siginificance of the style in:
1. 成語並非一成不變之語，它是可以活用的。（漢語成語研究 p. 381）

2. 所以現代人一方面也很需要偶而 "不亦快哉" 一下。
發明 "不亦快哉" 的清代奇人金聖嘆是個怪人，他那些不亦快哉的招式有些難免不登大雅之堂。
（中央日報 May 6, 1991 p. 4）

Chapter 13
The Grammatical Functions Of Chengyu

The grammatical properties of *chéngyǔ* 成語 are distinct, although the distinctions are rarely absolute. It is tempting to subsume some *chéngyǔ* 成語 under word classes.

Consider first the pattern
qiān 千 X *yī* 一 Y
THOUSAND X ONE Y

1. Nominal:

<div align="center">

千 　　 載 　　 一 　　 時
qiān 　 *zǎi* 　 *yī* 　 *shí*
THOUSAND YEAR 　 ONE 　 TIME
"unique opportunity"

</div>

2. Predicative/verbal:

<div align="center">

千 　　 金 　　 一 　　 擲
qiān 　 *jīn* 　 *yī* 　 *zhí*
THOUSAND CASH 　 ONE 　 CAST
"when he throws once it is worth one thousand cash"
"throw away money like dirt"

</div>

3. Sentential

千　　篇　　一　　律
qiān　　*piān*　　*yī*　　*lǜ*
THOUSAND　CHAPTER　ONE　PATTERN
"be completely monotonous throughout"

S

NP   NP

nu   n   nu   n
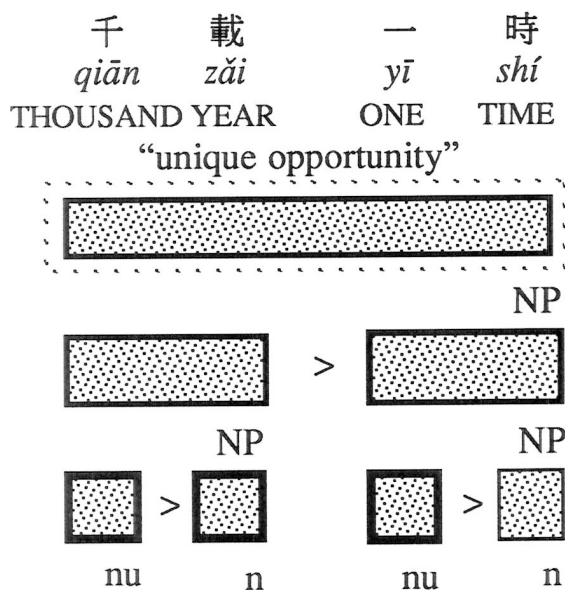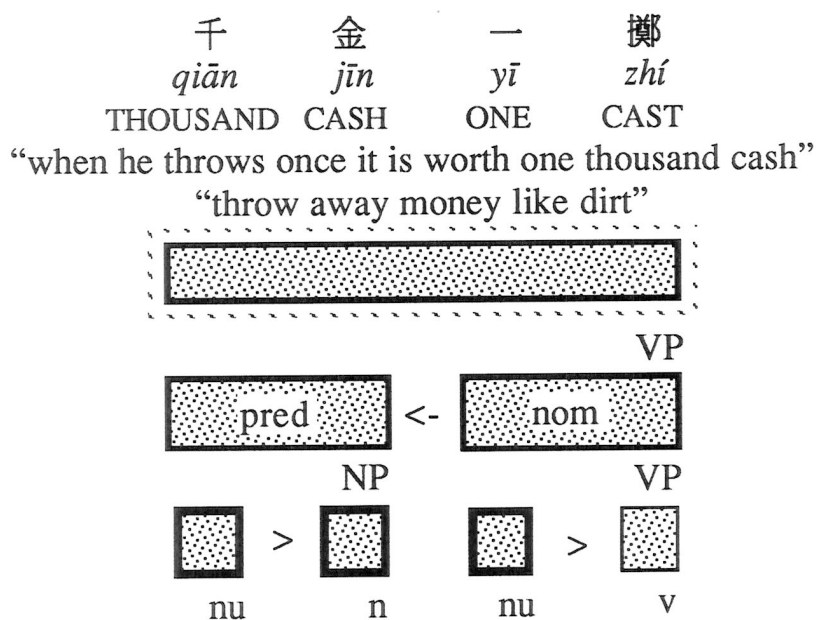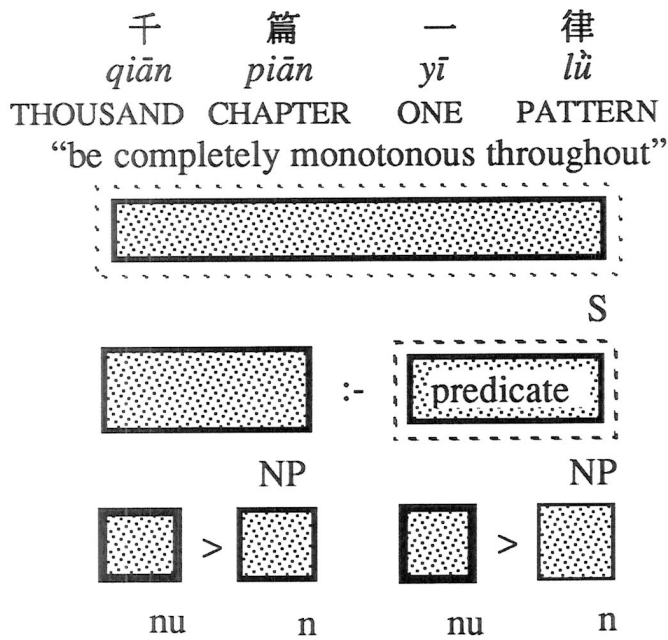
* Discuss the following possible analysis which should be compared with the above analysis of *qiān jīn yī zhí* 千金一擲:

千　　金　　一　　笑
qiān　　*jīn*　　*yī*　　*xiào*
THOUSAND　CASH　ONE　SMILE
"Each smile is worth a thousand cash"

S

NP   NP

nu   n   nu   v
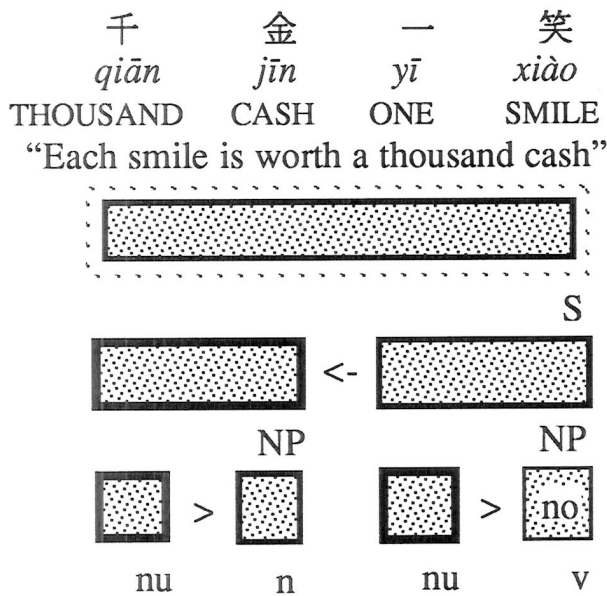
Significantly, these sentential *chéngyǔ* 成語 typically occur after a main topic: "As for her, each smile is worth a thousand cash" so that one might well regard these sentential *chéngyǔ* 成語 as predicative.

4. Sequence of minor sentences.

The following verb phrases may be considered as minor sentences with an omitted subject:

千　　　慮　　　一　　　得
qiān　　*lǜ*　　*yī*　　*dé*
THOUSAND　REFLECT　ONE　GET
"If you think a thousand times you will get one thing right."
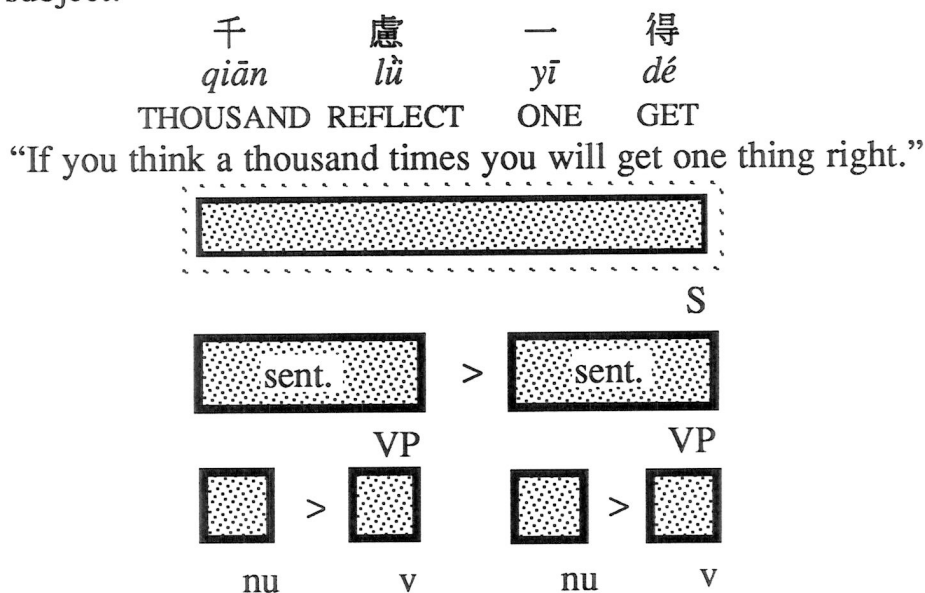
Note that this phrase may be varied in literary contexts: 愚人千慮必有一得 "Even a stupid man, if he thinks a thousand times, will get one thing right." It is important to realize that *chéngyǔ* 成語 vary widely with respect to the syntactiacally free permutations that they permit.

Consider next the pattern
qiān 千 X *wàn* 萬 Y
THOUSAND X　MYRIAD Y:
1. nominal:

千　　　山　　　萬　　　水
qiān　　*shān*　　*wàn*　　*shuǐ*
THOUSAND　MOUNTAIN　MYRIAD　WATER
"a long and difficult journey"
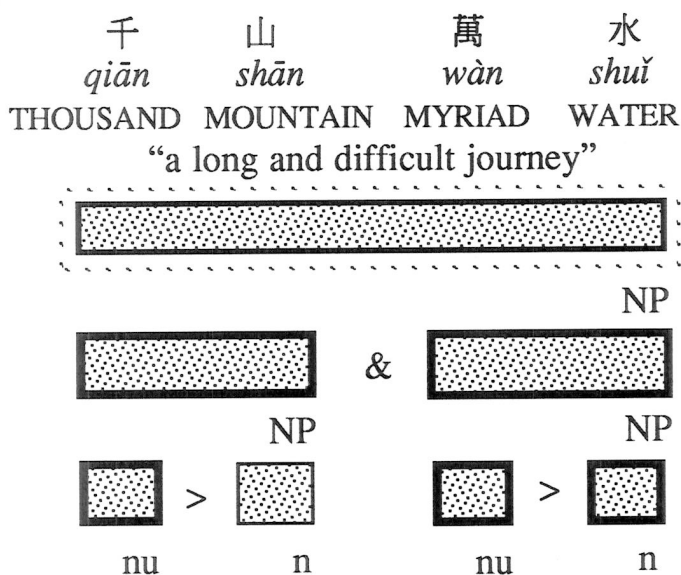
* Translate and explain the following:
千軍萬馬
千村萬落

1a. De-adjectival nominal:

千　　難　　萬　　險
qiān　　*nán*　　*wàn*　　*xiǎn*
THOUSAND　DIFFICULT　MYRIAD　DANGEROUS
"innumerable difficulties"

NP

& NP

nu　　va　　nu　　va
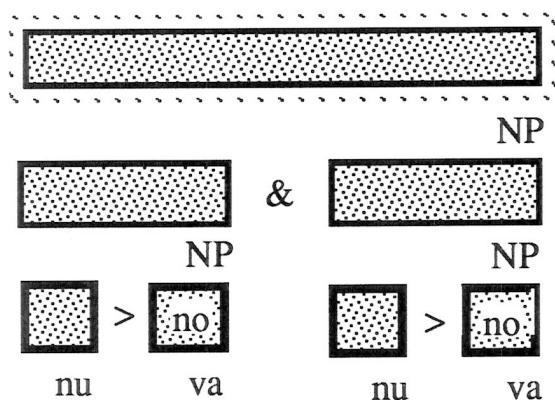
2. verbal, transitive:

千　　刀　　萬　　剮
qiān　　*dāo*　　*wàn*　　*guǎ*
THOUSAND　KNIFE　MYRIAD　MINCE
"cut with one thousand knives" or "cut in one thousand pieces"

VP

instrum >

NP　　　　VP

nu　　n　　nu　　vtr
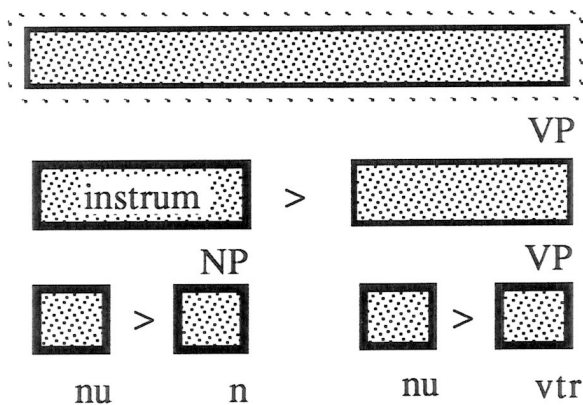
千　　呼　　萬　　喚
qiān　　*hū*　　*wàn*　　*huàn*
THOUSAND　CALL　MYRIAD　CALL
"invite a thousand times"

VP

&

VP　　　　VP

nu　　vtr　　nu　　vtr

3. verbal, intransitive:

千　　變　　萬　　化
qiān　*biàn*　*wàn*　*huà*
THOUSAND　CHANGE　MYRIAD　TRANSFORM
"be subject to many changes"

4. adjectival verb:

千　　真　　萬　　確
qiān　*zhēn*　*wàn*　*què*
THOUSAND　TRUE　MYRIAD　CORRECT
"perfectly true"
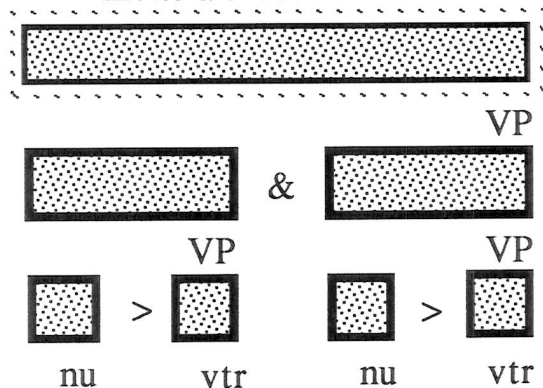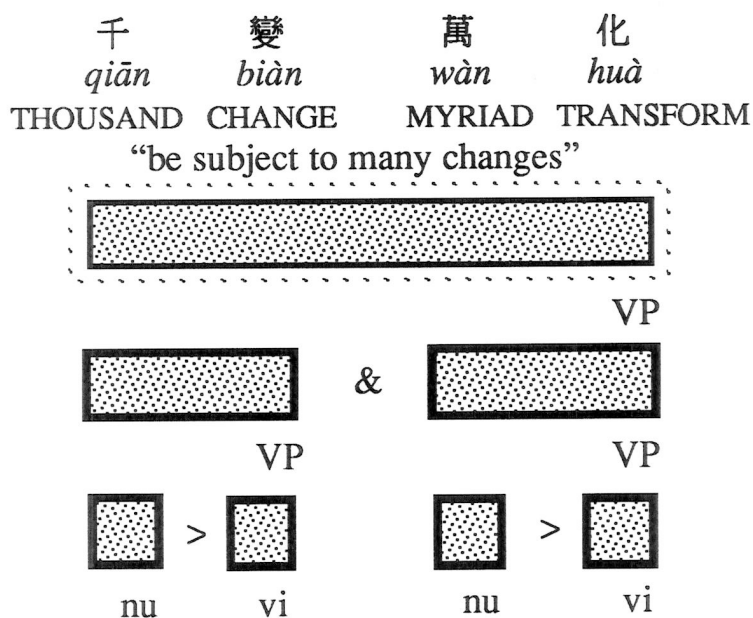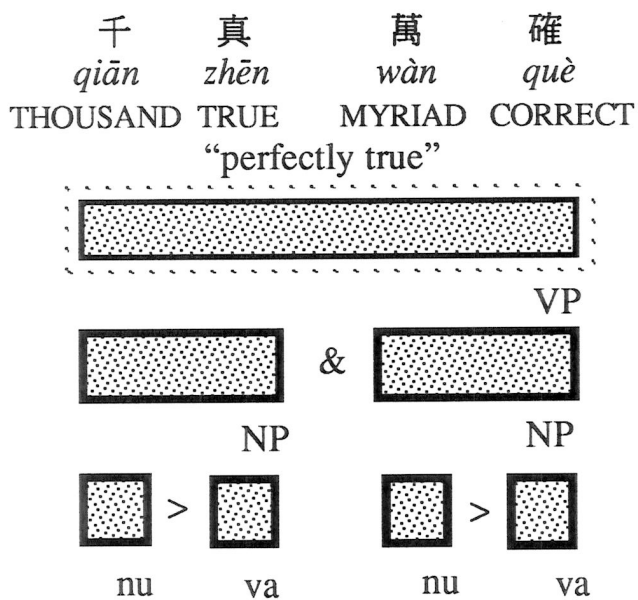
Zhēn 真 "be true" is one of those adjectival verbs that do not tolerate the adverb *hěn* 很. (Cf. *nán* 男 "male", *nǔ* 女 "female". These are called *qūbié xíngróngcí* 區別形容詞 by Chinese grammarians. In English we might call them ad-nominals. Cf. *zhēn qíngbào* 真情報 "true intelligence report", *nán péngyǒu* 男朋友 "male friend".)

5. adnominal phrase

千　　絲　　萬　　縷
qiān　sī　wàn　lǚ
THOUSAND　SILK　MYRIAD　THREAD
"linked in infinitely many ways"

ad-nominal

NP

pred	&	pred

NP　　　　　　　　NP

	>					>	

nu　　n　　　　　nu　　n
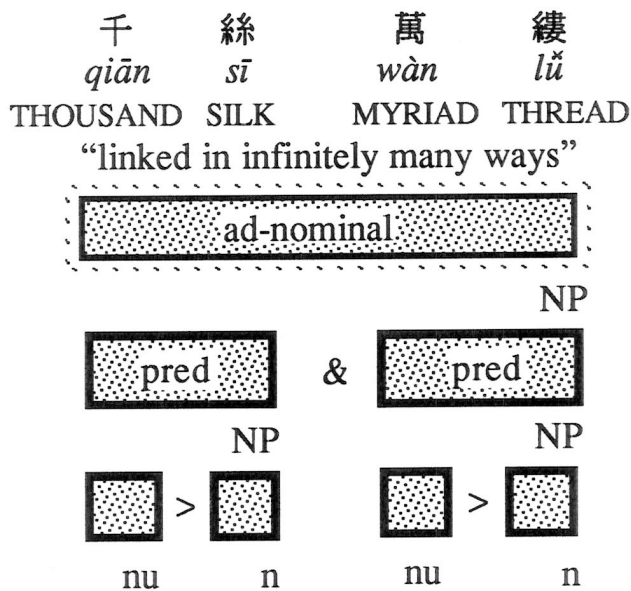
This comes only in 千絲萬縷的聯系 "manifold connections"

* Analyse, translate and explain the following:
千不該，萬不該
千差萬別、千千萬萬

The functional flexibility of *chĕngyŭ* 成語

On the other hand syntactic flexibility of a given *chĕngyŭ* 成語 can be considerable.

Consider the following current idiom:

暴　　跳　　如　　雷
bào　tiào　rú　léi
VIOLENT　JUMP　RESEMBLE　THUNDER
"jump violently like thunder" or "be very angry"

[VP]　　　　　　　　　　v

	c	

VP　　　　　　　　　　VP

adv	>				o	

v　　v　　　　　v　　n
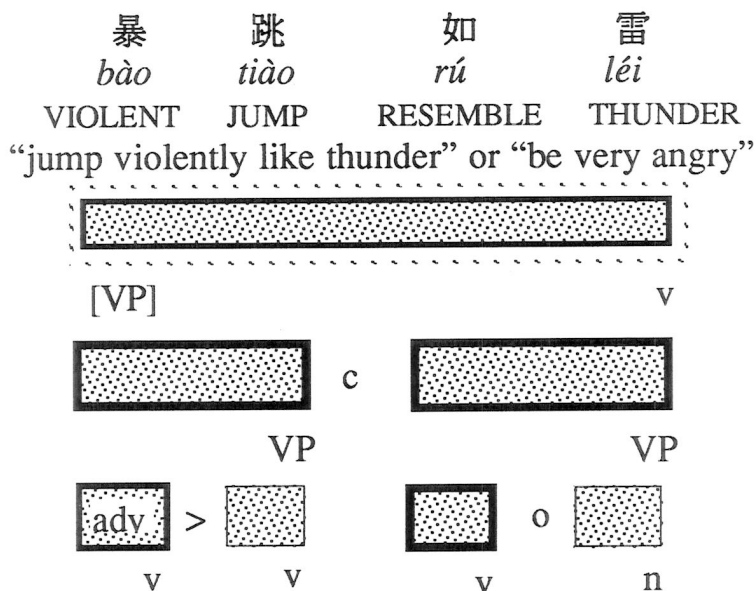
This idiom is syntactically flexible and may be used at least in the following syntactic functions:

1. Main verb:

他	暴跳如雷，	朝着	我	扑	過	來
tā	bàotiàorúléi	cháozhě	wǒ	pū	guò	lái
HE	BE-VERY-ANGRY	TOWARDS	I	POUNCE	PASS	COME

"He was furious and pounced on me."
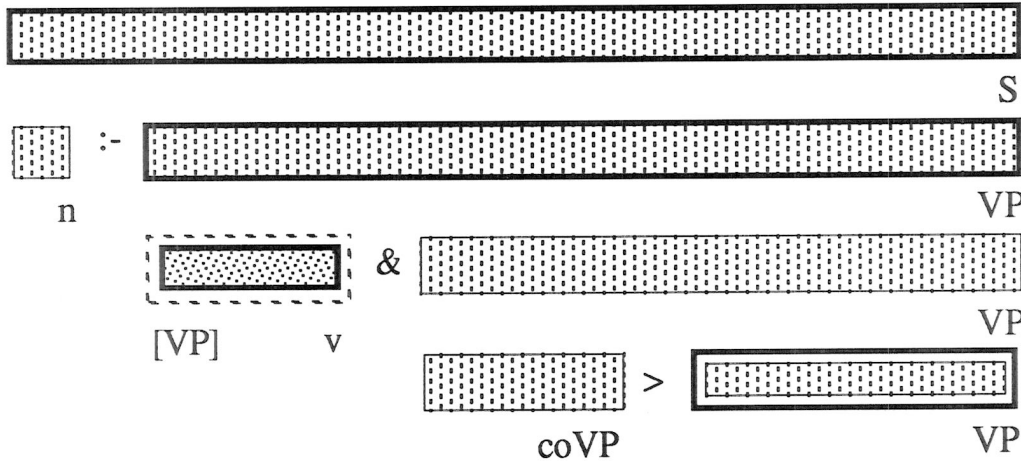
The literary flavour of this sentence is connected with the literary -zhě 着 after cháo 朝.

* Could one read this use of the chéngyǔ 成語 as adverbial?
  Could one read this as two coordinate **sentences**?

2. As subject:

暴	跳	如	雷	是	無	用	的
bào	tiào	rú	léi	shì	wú	yòng	dě
BE-VERY-ANGRY				IS	LACK	USE	'S

"It's no use getting furious."
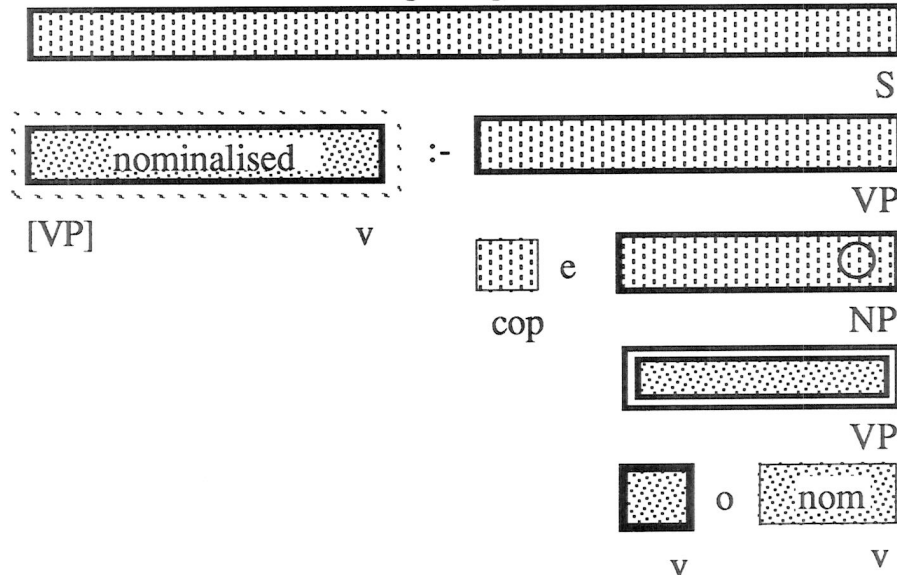
3. As the core of an adverb:

藍毛	吆喝着	暴跳如雷	地	跟	出去
Lǎnmáo	*yāohèzhě*	*bàotiàorúléi*	*dě*	*gēn*	*chūqù*
LANMAO	SHOUT-ING	VERY-ANGRY	-LY	GO-WITH	GO-OUT

"Shouting, and very angry, Lanmao joined them on their way out."
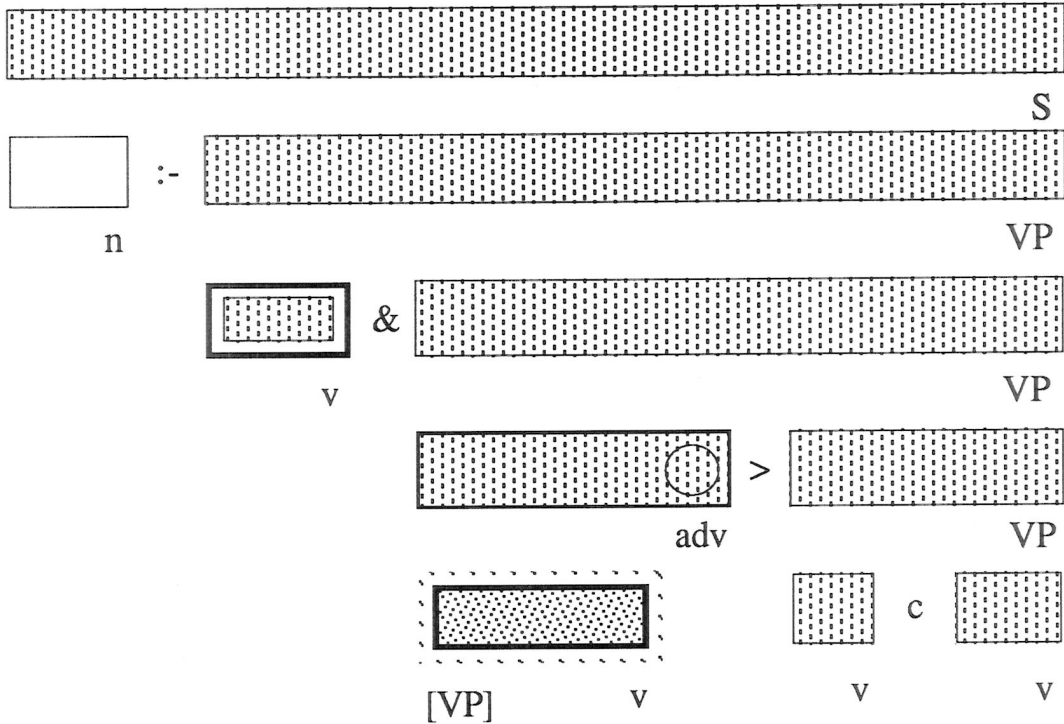
* Contrast *xiàozhě shuō* 笑着說 "say with a smile" where *-zhě* 着 marks coordination.

It is interesting how one hesitates to say that the literary flavour of the idiom gives the whole sentence a literary flavour.

*** Incidentally, as one studies the *chéngyǔ* 成語 more closely one realises that they, like other words, must be examined one for one with respect to their stylistic force. *chéngyǔ* 成語 can have a very colloquial flavour. I shall devote a little subsection on this. The two uses of *bù yì lè hú* 不亦樂乎, 1. literary: "isn't it a pleasure"; 2. colloquial: "tremendously", as in *mángdě bù yì lè hú* 不亦樂乎 "be tremendously busy".

4. As an adjectival modifier:

暴跳如雷	的	塔斯	社	的	訛詐
bàotiàorúléi	*dě*	*Tǎsī*	*shè*	*dě*	*ézhà*
BE-FURIOUS	'S	TASS	AGENCY	'S	BLACKMAILING

"the blackmailing by the furious Tass agency"
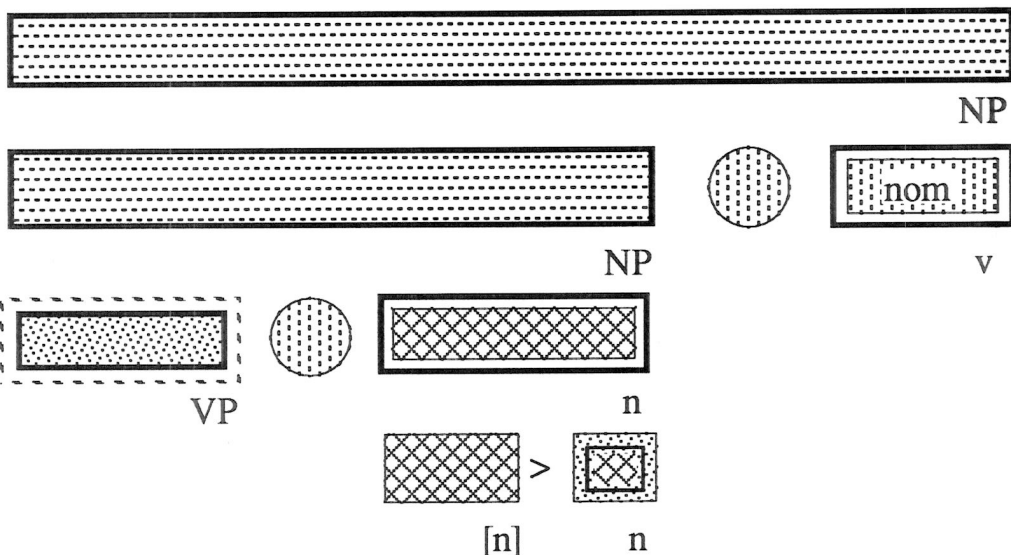
5. As a verbal complement:

周祖鎏	氣	得	暴跳如雷。
Zhōu Zǔliú	*qì*	*dě*	*bàotiàorúléi*
ZHOU ZULIU	BE-ANGRY	PART	STAMP ONE'S FEET IN ANGE

"Zhou Zuliu was terribly angry."
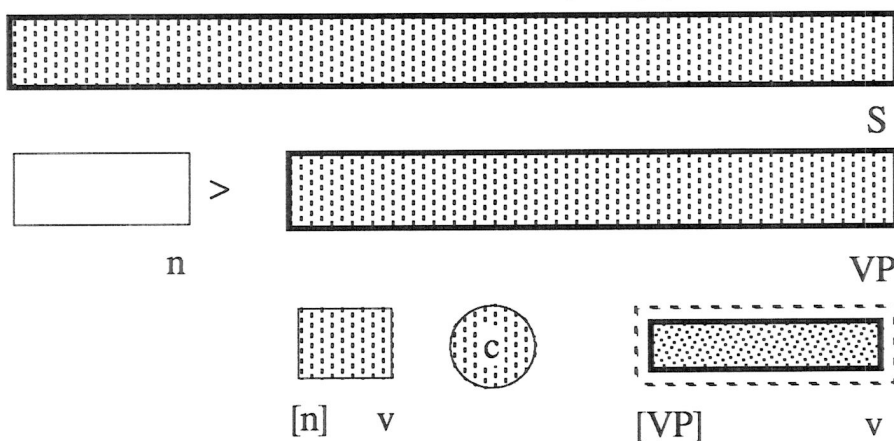
* Cf. 你可不要暴跳如雷
"You really shouldn't [allow yourself to] get very angry."

One might obviously have chosen other examples. Here is another idiom with a range of syntactic environments in which it is used:

<table>
<tr><td>粗</td><td>枝</td><td>大</td><td>葉</td></tr>
<tr><td><i>cū</i></td><td><i>zhī</i></td><td><i>dà</i></td><td><i>yè</i></td></tr>
<tr><td>COARSE</td><td>BRANCH</td><td>LARGE</td><td>LEAF</td></tr>
</table>
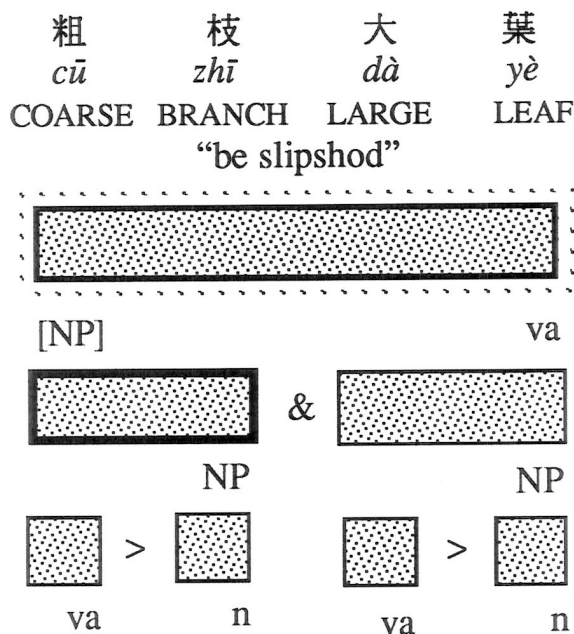
"be slipshod"

1. subject:

粗枝大葉害死人

"**The shoddiness** drives one mad."

2. noun in apposition:

粗枝大葉這種壞作風在有些同志中繼續存在着。 (漢俄 p. 88)

"The bad practice **of shoddiness** continues to exist among certain comrades."

3. main verb:

是不是你粗枝大葉，做錯事一時又忘記了?

"You **were being slipshod**, weren't you? Having done something wrong, after a short while you have forgotten it?"

4. modified noun:

要我檢討工作中的粗枝大葉。

"I wish to investigate **the shoddiness** in the work."

5. core of adverb:

認真地精細地而不是粗枝大葉地去組織各根據地上的經濟。

"Earnestly and subtly, and not **shoddily** to organise the economies of each base."

6. adjectival modifier:

科學形態的、周密的而不是粗枝大葉的理論

"Can one count this as a formally scientific, as a comprehensive and as an not being a **shoddy** theory?"

Pao Erh-li and Cheng Ying, *Wörterbuch der chinesischen Redensarten Chinesisch-Deutsch. Tetragramme des modernen Chinesisch* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1981) provides the best documented survey of the syntactic flexibility of Chinese *chěngyǔ* 成語.

得意忘形

dé yì wàng xíng

GET IDEA FORGET FORM

"have one's head turned with success"

1. main verb:

胖女人得意忘形了

"The fat woman **was beside herself with satisfaction.**"

2. noun:

看到了王道文的得意忘形

"saw Wang Daowen's **being beside himself with satisfaction**"

3. noun modifier

看他得意忘形的樣子

"saw his look **of trimphant satisfaction**"

4. adverb

陳福堂得意忘形地說

"Chen Futang said **with triumphant satisfaction...**"

5. complement

吹得得意忘形

"he bragged **in triumphant satisfaction**"

* Investigate the syntactic flexibility of the following idioms:

局促不安 。

冷言冷語。

理直氣壯。

亂七八糟。

莫名其妙。

急中生智。

神出鬼沒。

失魂落魄。

實事求是。

手足無措。

四平八穩。

突飛猛進。

無可奈何。

自立更生。

走頭無路。

Chapter 14
The Pattern "XY not Z"

Throughout most of its history, the Chinese language has shown a strong rhythmic preference for four-character phrases. An ordinary speaker of standard modern Chinese recognizes a vast number of fixed classical sayings or *chéngyǔ* 成語 which contain four morphemes. He will normally have an active vocabulary of hundreds of such classical Chinese phrases.

In this chapter I consider the internal grammatical structure of a certain subset of such proverbial sayings, namely those that have a negation *bù* 不 in the third position and thus have the general form:

X Y 不 Z.

By using the example of this structure I shall introduce some of the variety of grammatical structure in classical Chinese.

In order to appreciate the extraordinary nature of our enterprise, let us consider the four-morpheme idioms of English of the form "XY not Z". ""How many proverbial idiomatic sayings in English of this type do we have? And how many syntactic types of such sayings do we have? A non-proverbial example of what we are looking for would be "I do not know".

* List the English four-morpheme idioms of the form "XY not Z" that you know. Count and describe the different syntactic types these represent.

* How many syntactically different current *chéngyǔ* 成語 of the type "XY *bù* 不 Z" do you imagine there are in Modern Standard Chinese?

I shall begin by considering the cases where the construction XY functions nominally without X modifying Y or vice versa.

1. XY nominal, Z verbal
a. X not subordinate to Y

1.1. X and Y may be conjoined nominal subjects:

言　　　行　　　不　　　一
yán　　*xíng*　　*bù*　　*yī*
SPEAK　ACT　　NOT　　ONE
"fail to live up to one's words"
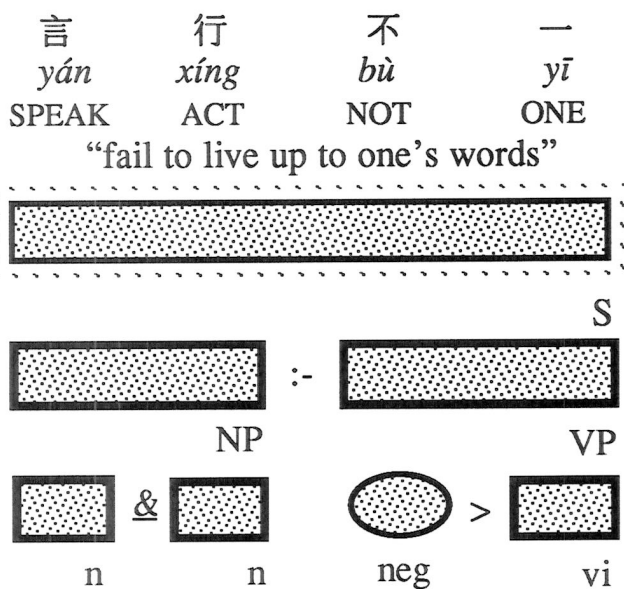
Note that this is not equivalent to the combination *yán bù yī* 言不一 WORD NOT ONE and *xíng bù yī* 行不一 ACT NOT ONE. That is why I have the underlined symbol of the conjunction <u>&</u>. The status of *yán* 言 and *xíng* 行 as nouns needs to be argued for.

1.2. X and Y may be conjoined deverbal subjects:

青　　　　黃　　　不　　　接
qīng　　*huáng*　　*bù*　　*jiē*
GREEN　BROWN　　NOT　　LINK
"as the brown leaves are withering the new green ones are not ready"
"one generation does not follow another"
"there is a gap in succession"
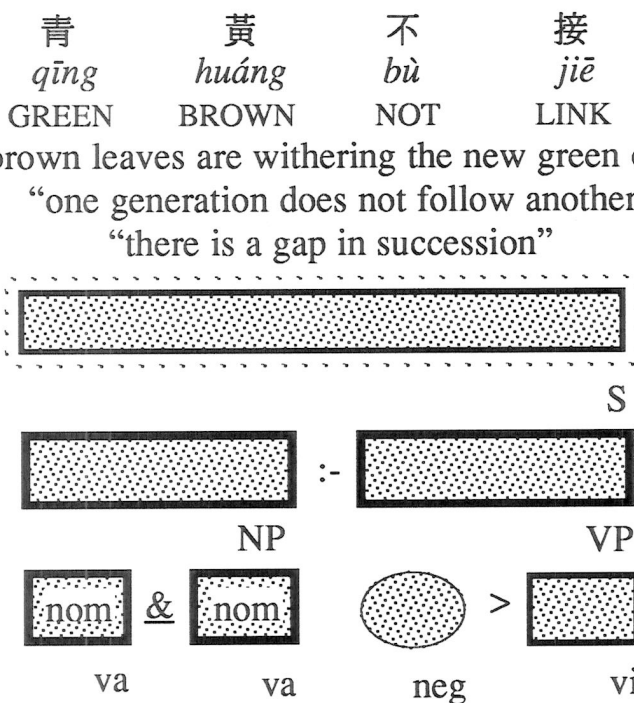
Note that this does not correspond to the combination of *qīng bù jiē* 青不接 FREEN NOT LINK "the green does not connect" and *huáng bù jiē* 黃不接 BROWN NOT LINK "the brown does does connect". The subjects are conjoined.

1.3. X and Y may be coordinate time topics:

<div align="center">

畫　　　夜　　　不　　　息

zhòu　　*yè*　　*bù*　　*xí*

DAY　　NIGHT　　NOT　　REST

"take no rest night or day" or "work all day round"

</div>
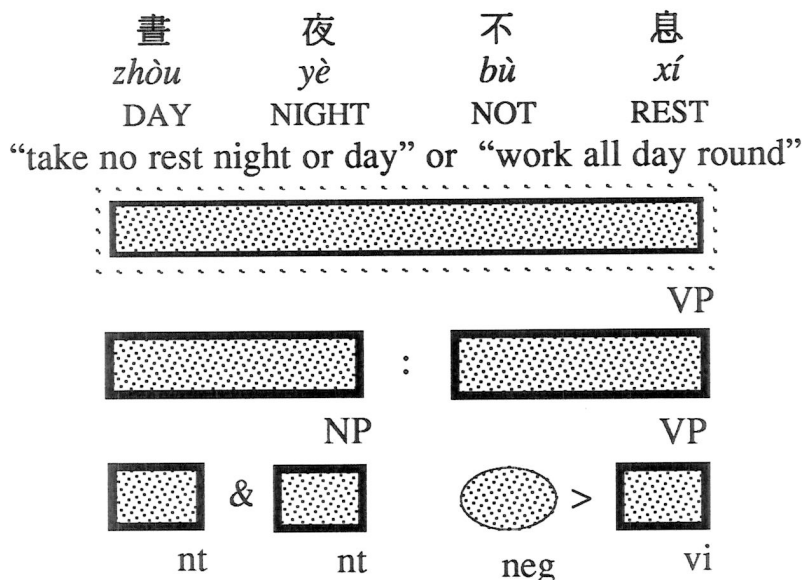
Note that this corresponds to the conjunction of *zhòu bù xī* 畫不息 DAY NOT REST and *yè bù xī* 夜不息 NIGHT NOT REST. These are non-conjoined topics.

* Analyse the following:

息的不是畫跟夜

xī dě bù shì zhòu gēn yè

REST *dě* NOT BE DAY WITH NIGHT

"What is resting is not the day and the night."

1.4. XY can be an adverbial conjoined noun phrase:

<div align="center">

形　　　影　　　不　　　離

xíng　　*yǐng*　　*bù*　　*lí*

BODY　　SHADOW　　NOT　　LEAVE

"not leave each other like the body and its shadow"
or "be inseparable"

</div>
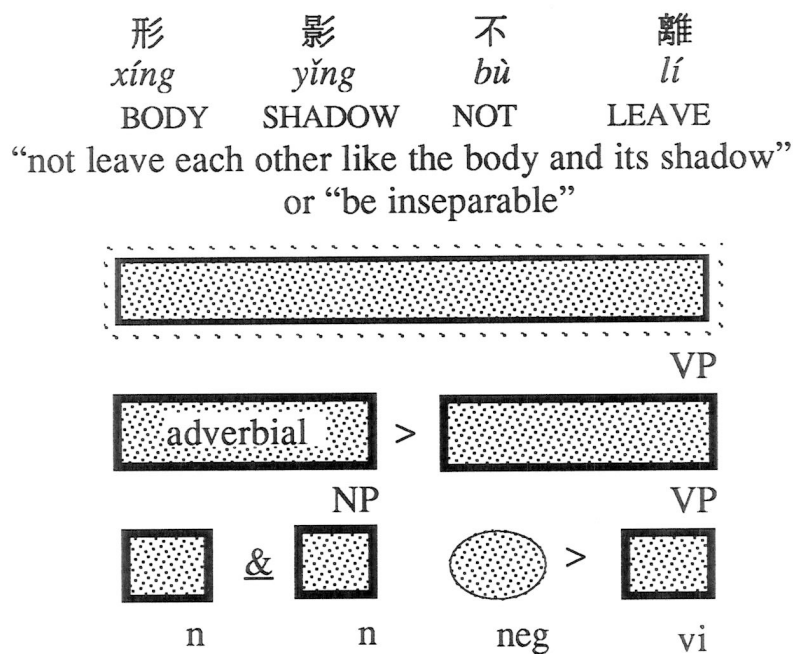
1.5. X and Y may function as alternative objects:

狗	彘	不	如
gǒu	*zhì*	*bù*	*rú*
DOG	PIG	NOT	COME-UP-TO

"not as good as a dog or and/or pig"
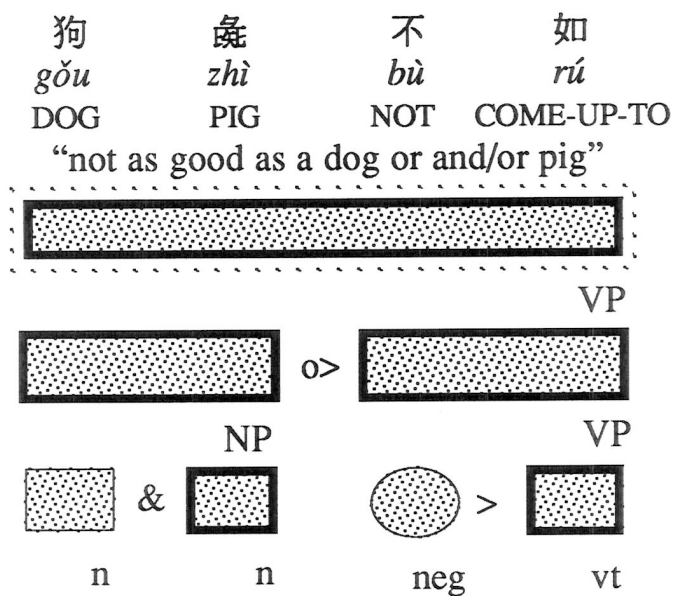
* Find in a dictionary of *chéngyǔ* 成語 and translate:

分文不值
雞犬不驚
雞犬不留
雞犬不寧

1.6. X may function as subject and Y as object:

衆	寡	不	敵
zhòng	*guǎ*	*bù*	*dí*
MANY	FEW	NOT	MATCH

"the more numerous are unable to cope with the less numerous"
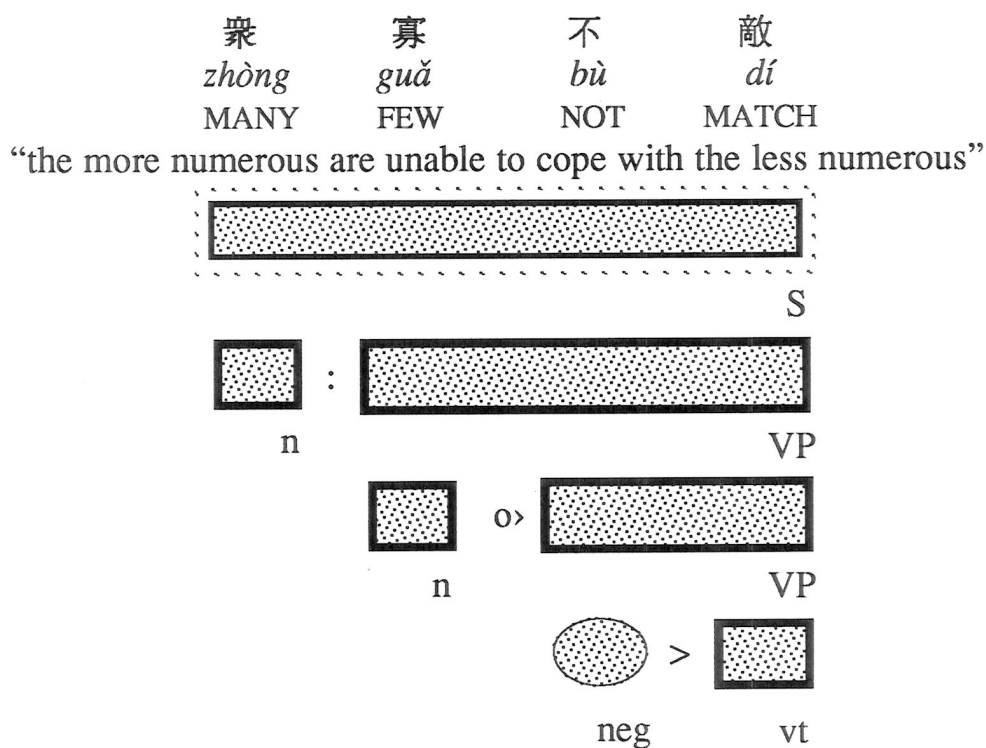
This most puzzling structure is semantically close to the unproblematic variant
衆不敵寡
zhòng bù dí guǎ
MASS NOT BE-EQUAL FEW

There are certain *chéngyǔ* 成語 which seem to defy standard analysis, like *bù kě jiù yào* 不可救藥 NOT CAN SAVE CURE-WITH-MEDICINE "incurable", but once one has noticed the special meaning of *yào* 藥 "to cure" in this instance the problem disappears. By contrast, I do not see how *zhòng guǎ bù dí* 衆寡不敵 may be subsumed under general rules of Chinese syntax at this point.

b. X is subordinate to Y
XY may be a noun with a modifier. I distinguish nine types.

1.7. The initial noun phrase may be the subject of a passivised verb:

原	封	不	動
yuán	*fēng*	*bù*	*dòng*
ORIGIN	SEAL	NOT	MOVE

"The original seal has not been tampered with."
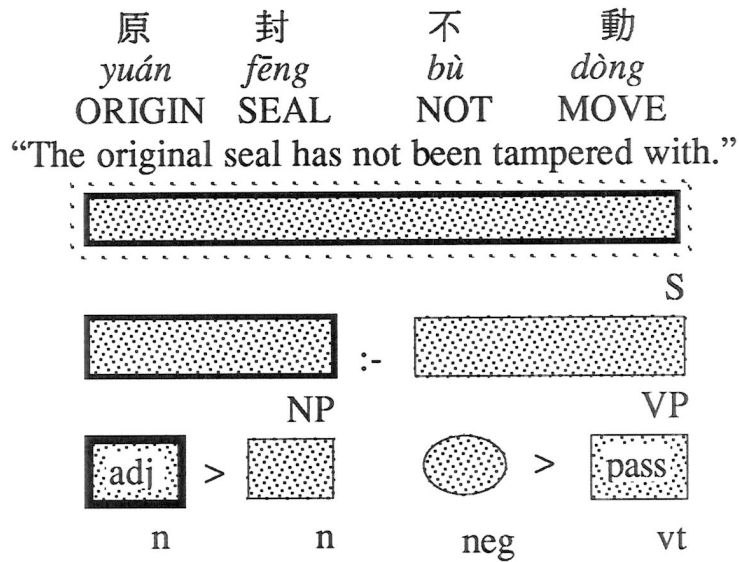
** Why not call the VP *bù dòng* 不動 passivised?

1.8. The initial noun phrase may function as a sentence:

<div align="center">

密　　雲　　不　　雨
mì　　*yún*　　*bù*　　*yǔ*
THICK　CLOUD　NOT　RAIN

"thick clouds, but it does not rain" or "a major event is imminent"

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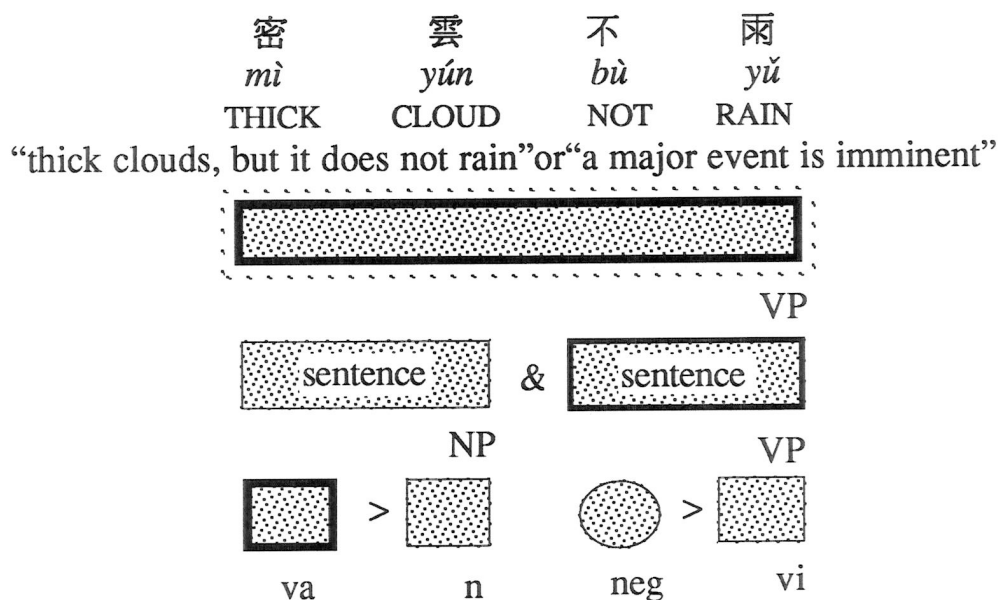
Here an NP is used in the sense of "there is an NP", a usage which is very common in poetry. Cf. also 前事不忘，後事之師。 "If you do not forget the matters of the past they become the teachers for the future." Here the NP *hòu shì zhī shī* 後事之師 is used as a predicate, as if there had been the final particle *yě* 也.

1.9. XY may be place topic and Y may be a 'postposition' or place-word:

<div align="center">

美　　中　　不　　足
měi　　*zhōng*　　*bù*　　*zú*
BEAUTIFUL　MIDDLE　NOT　SUFFICIENT

"a flaw in a beautiful thing"
"a minor deficiency"

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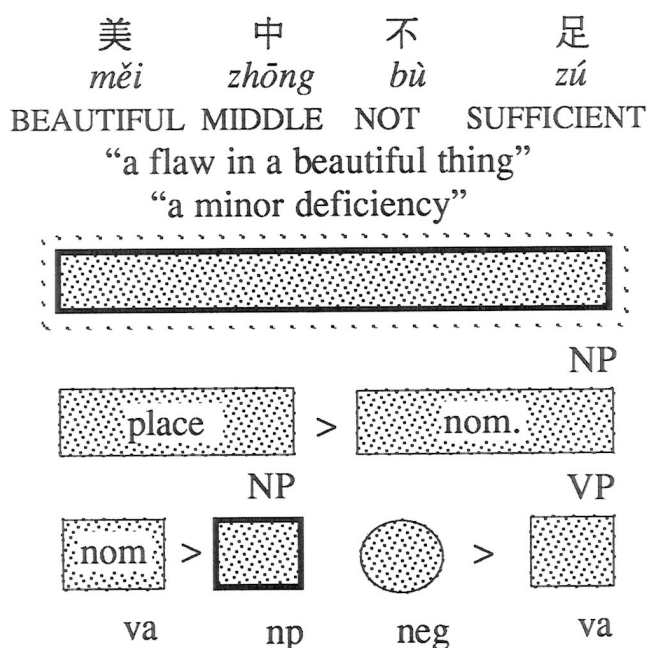
The analysis of the "postpositions" remains problematic.

1.10. X may be an adverb followed by a verb Y, and XY may then be nominalised and function as an object:

<div align="center">

既	往	不	咎
jì	*wǎng*	*bù*	*jiù*
ALREADY	PAST	NOT	BLAME

"let bygones be bygones"

</div>
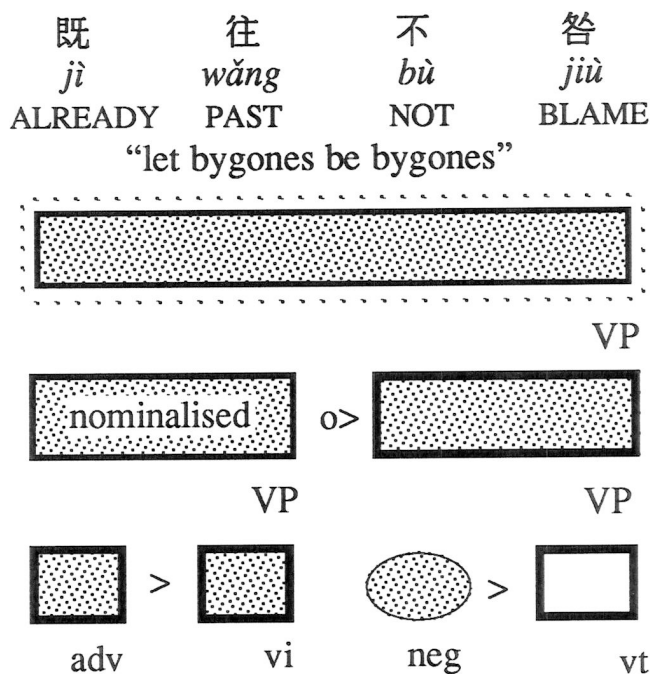
1.11. XY may be a nominalised adv/v construction and Z a verbalised n:

<div align="center">

大	逆	不	道
dà	*nì*	*bù*	*dào*
GREAT	AGAINST	NOT	WAY

"be a heinous crime"

</div>
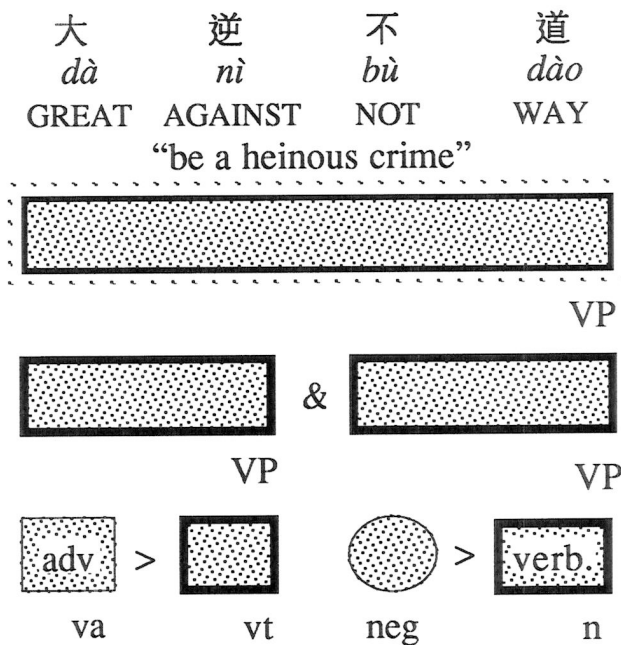
1.12. XY may be a verb preceded by another verb in adverbial function.
Z is normally a verb:

大	謬	不	然
dà	*miù*	*bù*	*rán*
GREAT	LIE	NOT	BE-SO

"be utterly untrue"
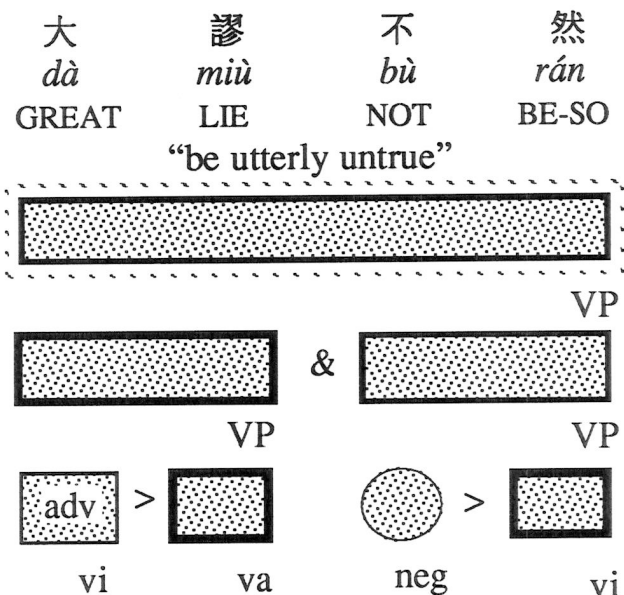
大惑不解
dà huò bù jiě
GREAT DOUBT NOT UNRAVEL
"be extremely puzzled"

*** Cf. incidentally *Zhuāngzǐ* 莊子: 大惑者終身不解。

1.13. An initial individual measure phrase XY may function as a subject:

片	甲	不	回
piàn	*jiǎ*	*bù*	*huí*
PIECE	ARMOUR	NOT	RETURN

"not a single piece of armour returned" or "be thoroughly beaten"
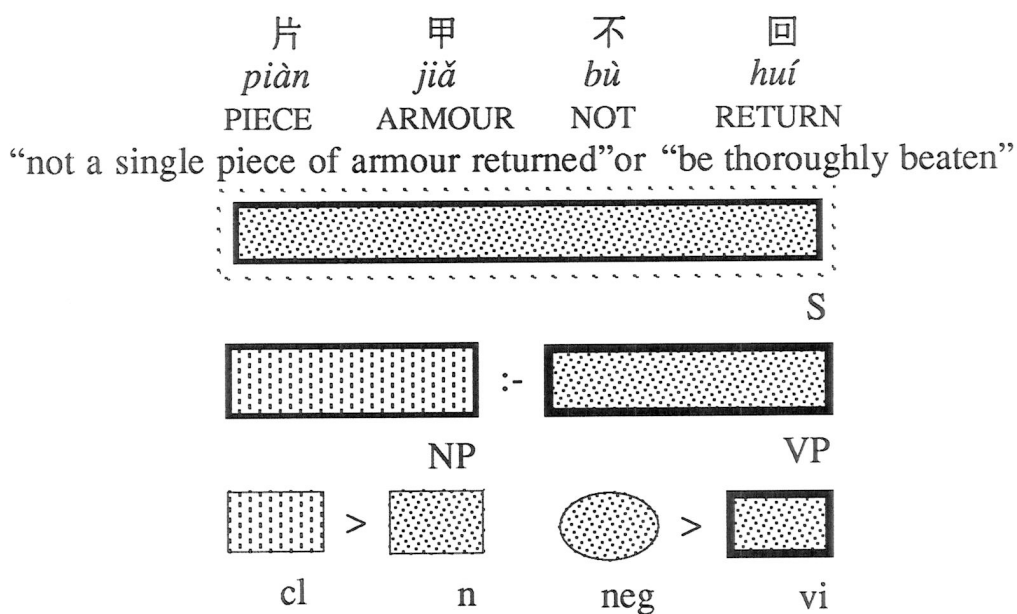
Note that with a measure word like *piàn* 片 something like a "not even" is
understood. The phrase does not mean "the piece of armour did not return".
Similar observation apply to the next case.

1.14. The initial individual measure phrase may involve an individual measure and may function as an object:

只　　字　　不　　提
zhī　　*zì*　　*bù*　　*tí*
SINGLE　CHARACTER　NOT　MENTION
"not mention something at all"

VP

o

NP　　　　　VP

> > >

cl　　n　　neg　　vt
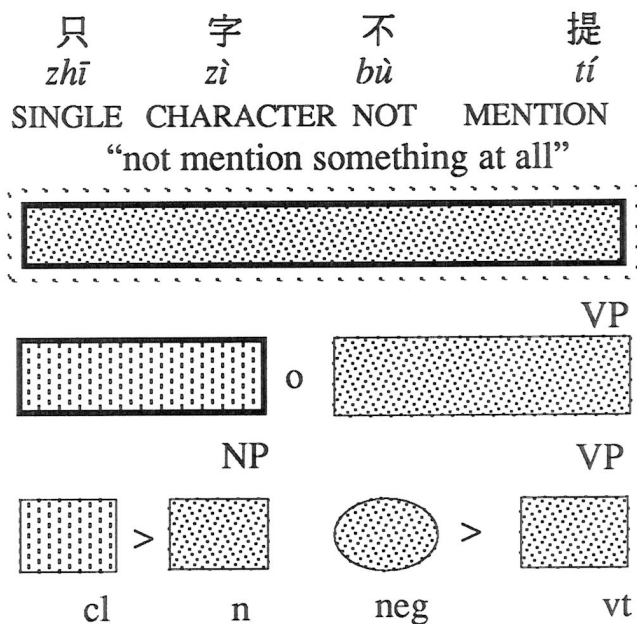
1.15. XY may function as a nominal complement:

寸　　步　　不　　離
cùn　　*bù*　　*bù*　　*lí*
INCH　　PACE　　NOT　　LEAVE
"Not leave by as much as the tiniest step"

VP

c

NP　　　　　VP

> >

n　　n　　neg　　vt
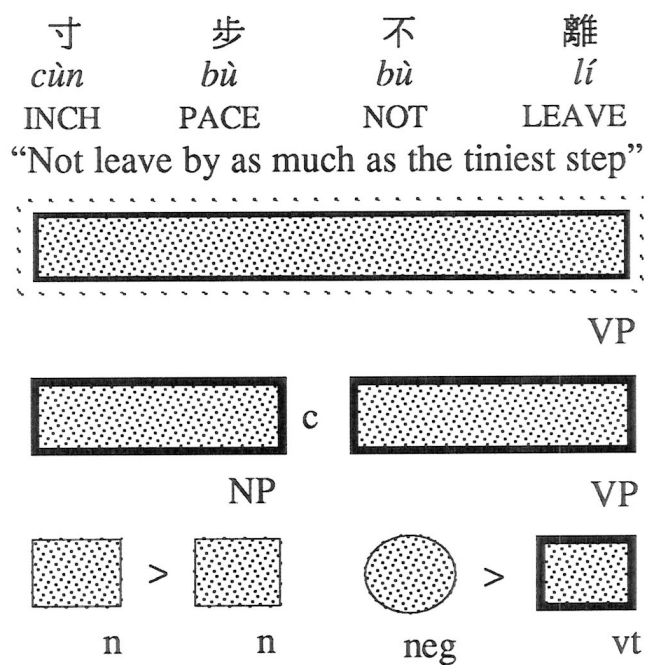
1.16. This initial measure phrase object maybe a mass measure phrase functioning as an object:

寸	草	不	留
cùn	*cǎo*	*bù*	*liú*
INCH	GRASS	NOT	LEAVE

"not leave any vegetation at all"
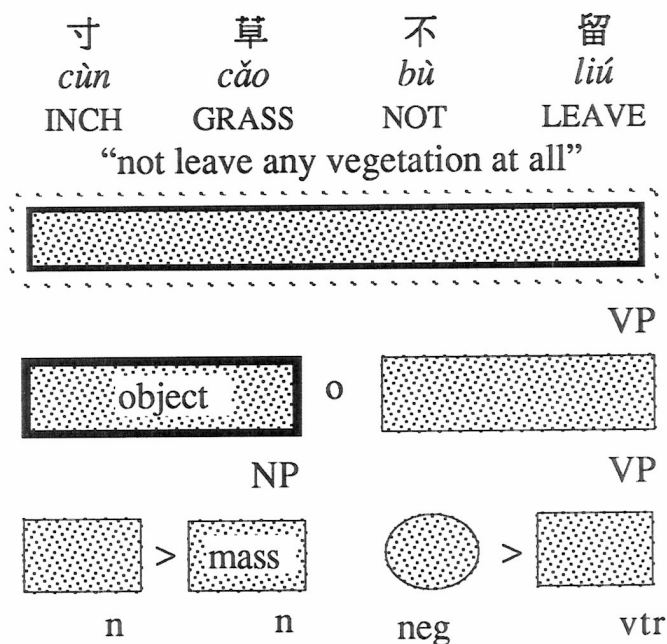
2 XY verbal
a. X and Y not subordinate to each other
I distinguish seven types.

2.1. X and Y subordinate coordinate or disjunctive verbs:

坐	立	不	安
zuò	*lì*	*bù*	*ān*
SIT	STAND	NOT	EASY

"be unable to find one's ease standing or sitting"
"be extremely worried"
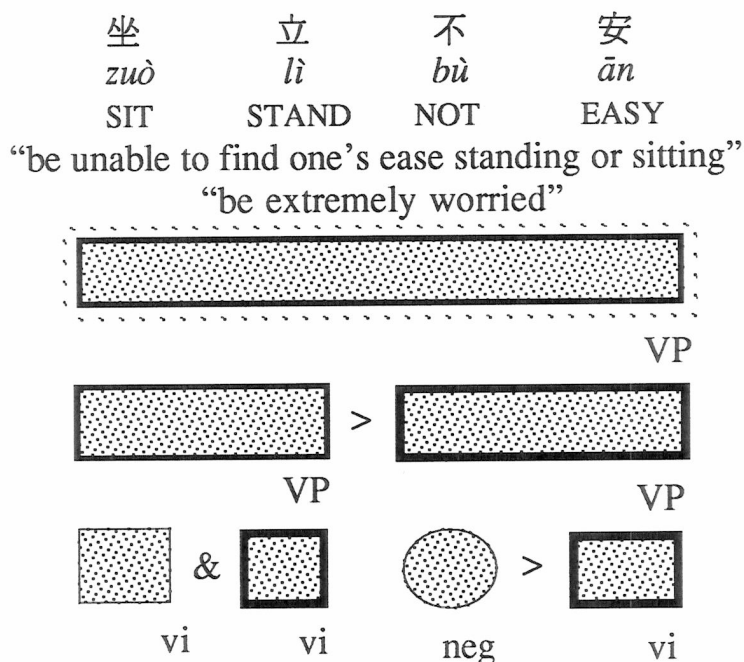
Note that we can read "sitting and standing" or "sitting or reading" without this making a semantic difference.

2.2. X and Y may be coordinate verbs functioning as the complement of Z:

應	接	不	暇
yìng	*jiē*	*bù*	*xiá*
RESPOND	ACCEPT	NOT	LEISURE

"not have the time to respond to or appreciate [something]"
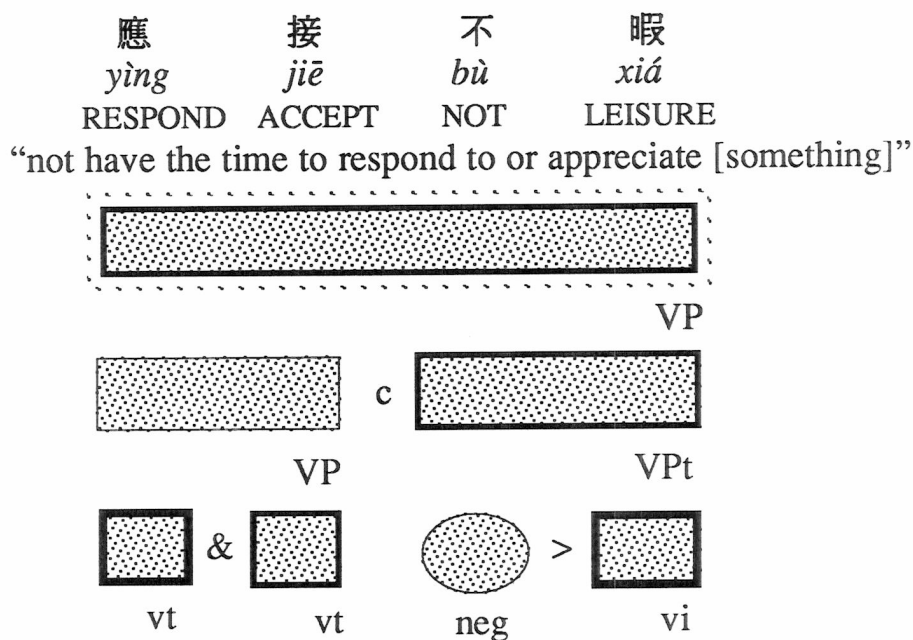
2.3. XY can be a reduplicated coordinate verb phrase followed by an adverbial modification:

生	生	不	已
shēng	*shēng*	*bù*	*yǐ*
LIVE	LIVE	NOT	FINISH

"live on, generation after generation"
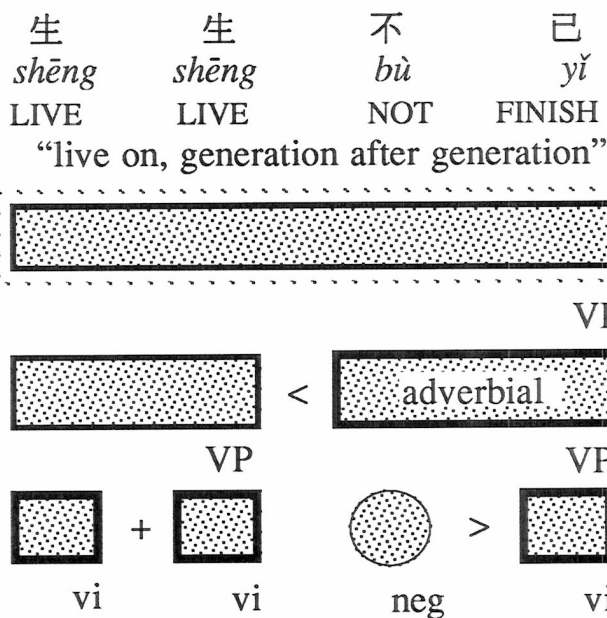
But how does one argue that *bù yǐ* 不已 here must be adverbial in function? One might posit coordination at level 2.

2.4. The reduplicated XY may also be transitive and followed by a coordinate transitive verb Z:

念　　念　　不　　忘
niàn　*niàn*　*bù*　*wàng*
THINK　THINK　NOT　FORGET
"think of all the time and never forget"

VP

intensitive &

VP　　　　　VP

vt + vt　　neg > vt
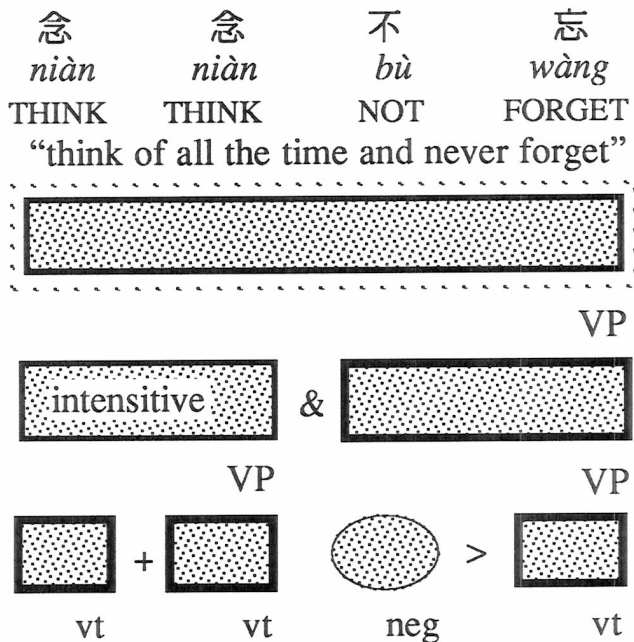
2.5. XY may be verbal and coordinate with intransitive 不 Z:

參　　差　　不　　齊
cēn　*cī*　*bù*　*qí*
CONFUSED/DISORDERLY　NOT　IN-LINE
"be all in confusion"

VP

&

VP　　　　　VP

neg > intr

vi
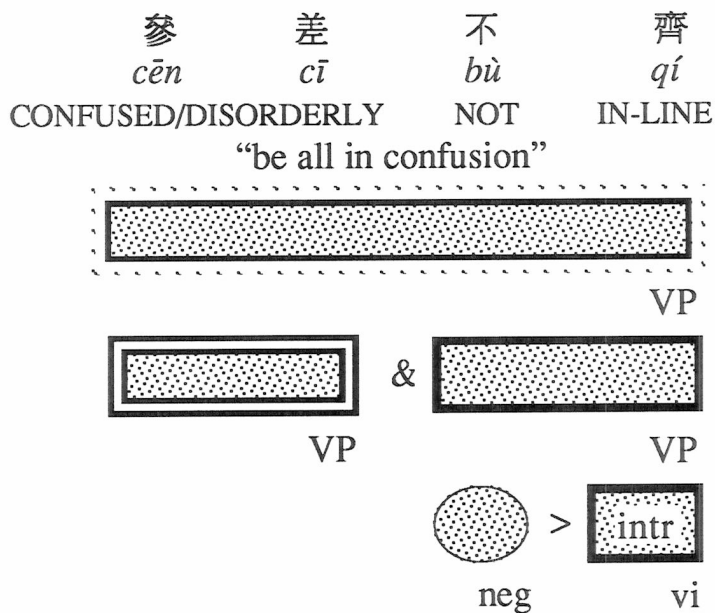
2.6. XY may be a reduplicated verb, and the negated verb phrase that follows
may function as the nominal object:

$$
\begin{array}{cccc}
憤 & 憤 & 不 & 平 \\
\textit{fèn} & \textit{fèn} & \textit{bù} & \textit{píng} \\
\text{ENRAGED} & \text{ENRAGED} & \text{NOT} & \text{JUST}
\end{array}
$$

"be outraged at injustice"
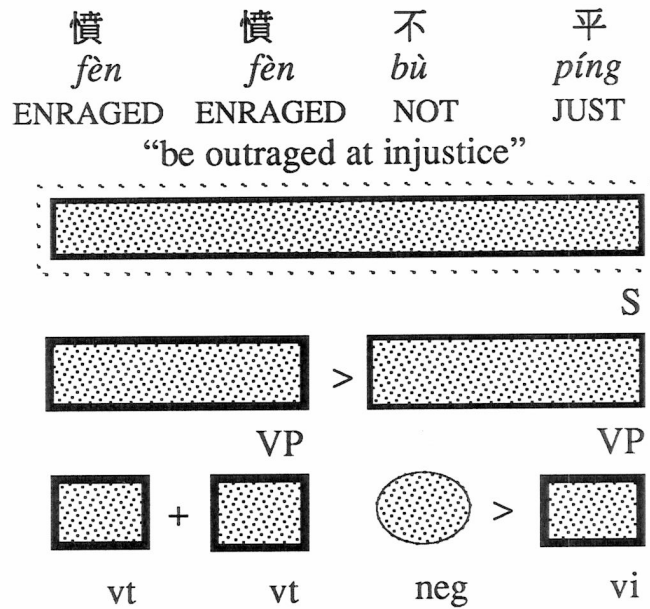
3. XY a number phrase

3.1. The opening number phrase may be the subject of the following verb
phrase:

$$
\begin{array}{cccc}
一 & 塵 & 不 & 染 \\
\textit{yī} & \textit{chén} & \textit{bù} & \textit{rǎn} \\
\text{ONE} & \text{DUST} & \text{NOT} & \text{SOIL}
\end{array}
$$

"not one piece of dust soils him"
"flawless, impeccable"
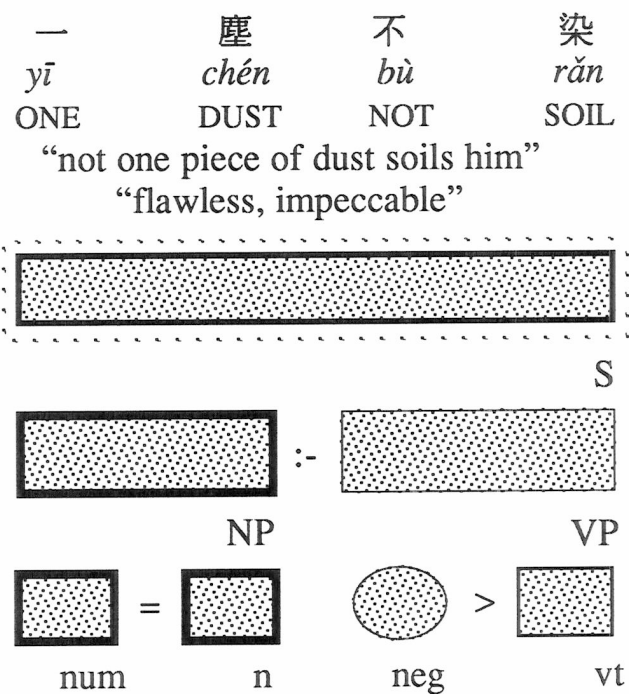
3.2. The opening number phrase may be the object of the following verb phrase:

六	親	不	認
liù	*qīn*	*bù*	*rèn*
SIX	RELATIVE	NOT	RECOGNISE

"not recognise one's six relatives"

"not recognise any moral obligations whatsoever"
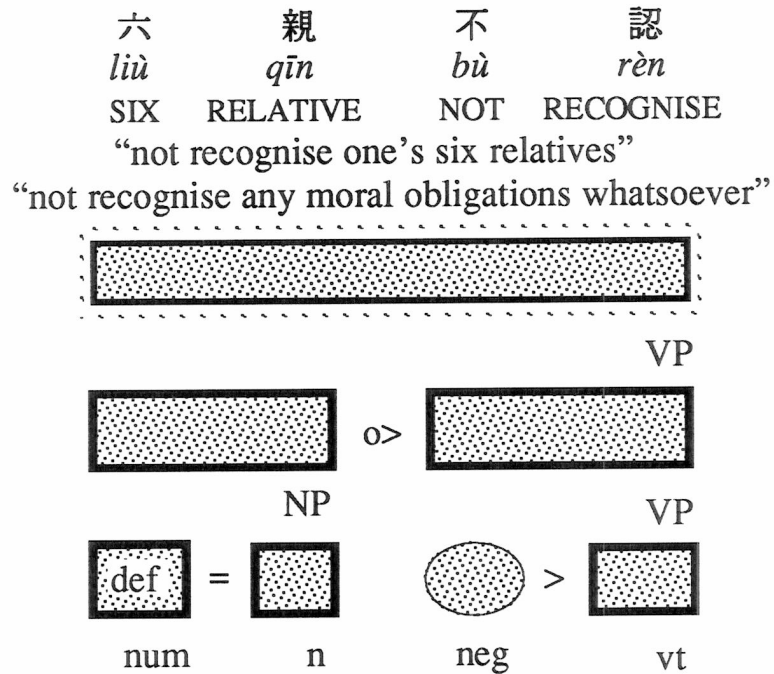
五穀不分

wǔ gǔ bù fēn

FIVE GRAIN NOT SEPARATE

"cannot distinguish between the five kinds of grain".

* Explain:

一文不值 versus the synonymous and equally common 不值一文.

* Analyse:

一着不慎，滿盤皆輸

yī zhāo bù shèn mǎn pán jiē shū

ONE MOVE NOT CAREFUL FULL BOARD ALL LOSE

"If you are not careful about one move the whole game is lost."

3.3. In some cases what may be construed as a subject can also be read as a psychological object:

一	字	不	苟
yī	*zì*	*bù*	*gǒu*
ONE	CHARACTER	NOT	ARBITRARY

"not be negligent with a single character"
"Not a single character is neglegently done"
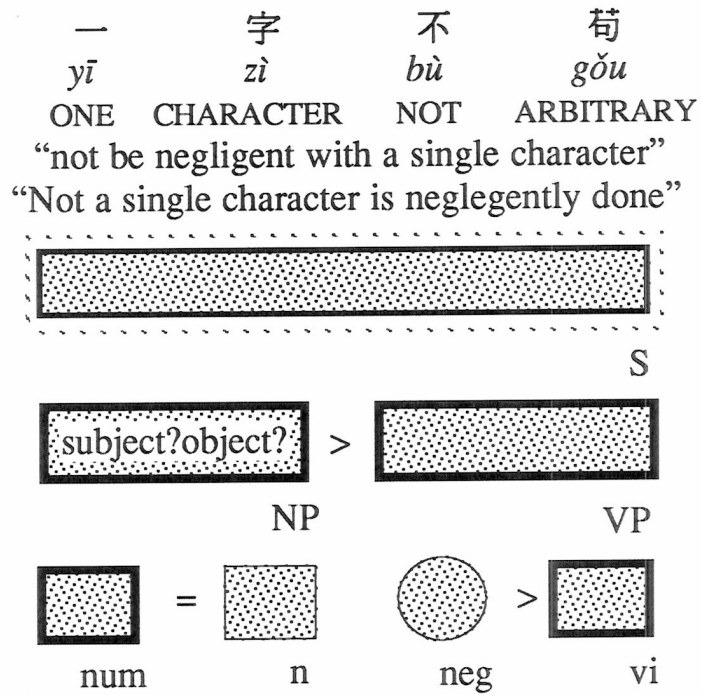
3.4. The opening number phrase may be the topic:

百	年	不	遇
bǎi	*nián*	*bù*	*yù*
HUNDRED	YEAR	NOT	MEET

"not meet in one hundred years"
"rare"
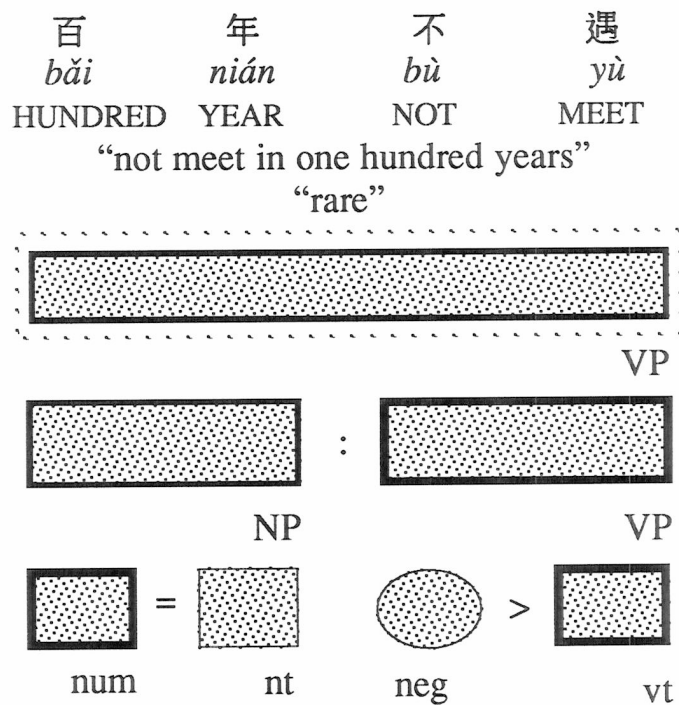
3.5. XY may be a number followed by a verb:

<div align="center">

一　　　蹶　　　不　　　振
yī　　*jué*　　*bù*　　*zhèn*
ONE　STUMBLE　NOT　MOVE
"having once stumbled not to move"
"collapse after one set-back"

</div>
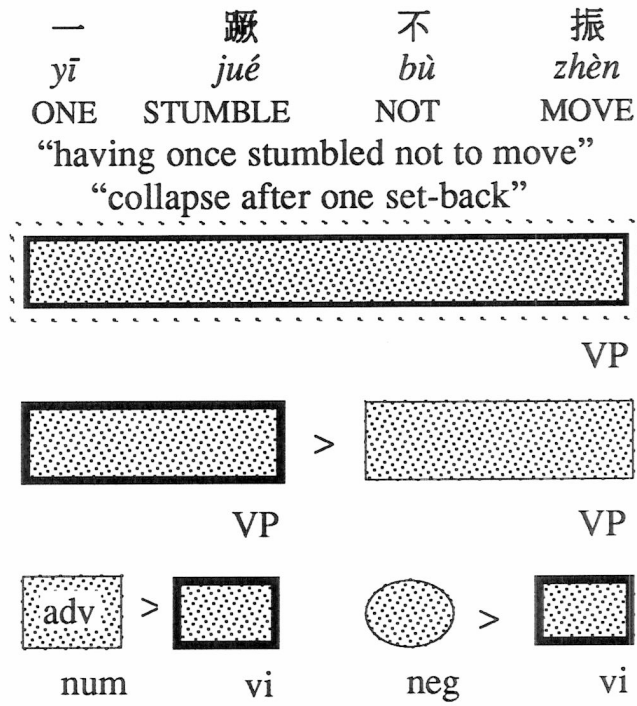
Cf. 一成不變

3.6. The opening number phrase may be a concessive subordinate verb phrase:

<div align="center">

百　　　折　　　不　　　撓
bǎi　　*zhé*　　*bù*　　*náo*
HUNDRED　TWIST　NOT　BEND
"in the face of all sorts of adversity not to bend or deviate"

</div>
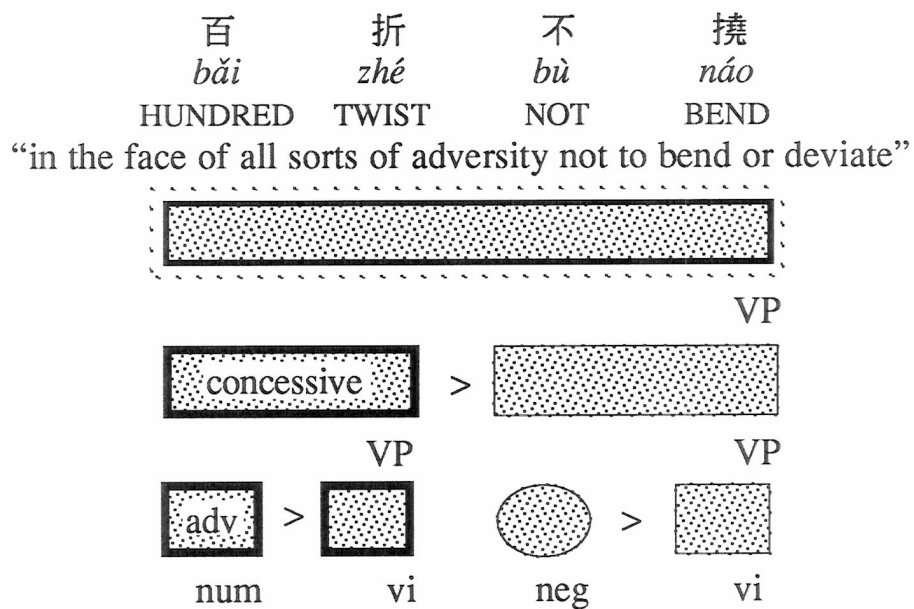
4. Y object or complement to X

4.1. Y may be a nominal object of X, **and** at the same time function as the object of the transitive verb Z:

<div align="center">

食　　　古　　　不　　　化
shí　　*gǔ*　　*bù*　　*huà*
EAT　　OLD　　NOT　TRANSFORM

"fail to digest and **develop** one's ancient models"

</div>

VP

VP　　　&　　　VP

VP ←　　　　　VP

vt　　o　　n　　　　neg　>　vt
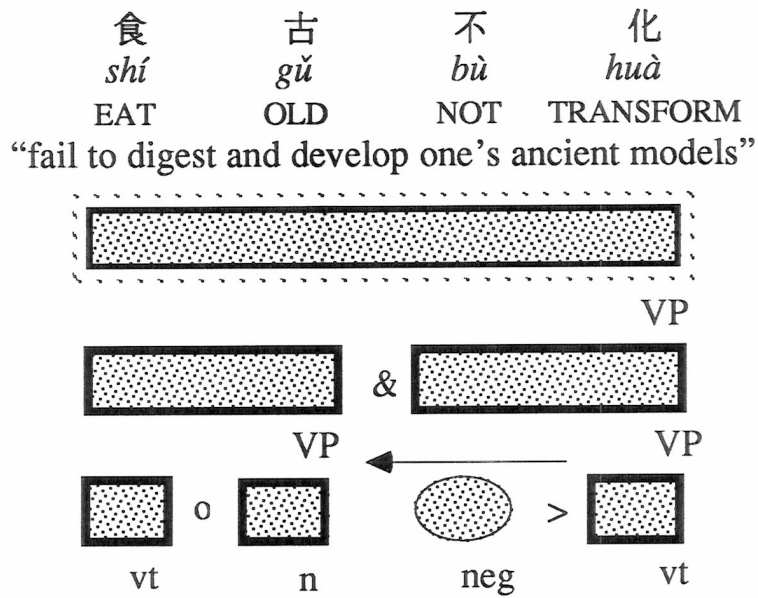
4.2. The verb/object construction XY may function as a nominalised subject:

<div align="center">

害　　　人　　　不　　　淺
hài　　*rén*　　*bù*　　*qiǎn*
HARM　MAN　　NOT　SHALLOW

"The harm to others was not slight."

</div>

S

nom　　:-

VP　　　　　　　VP

vt　　o　　n　　　neg　>　vi
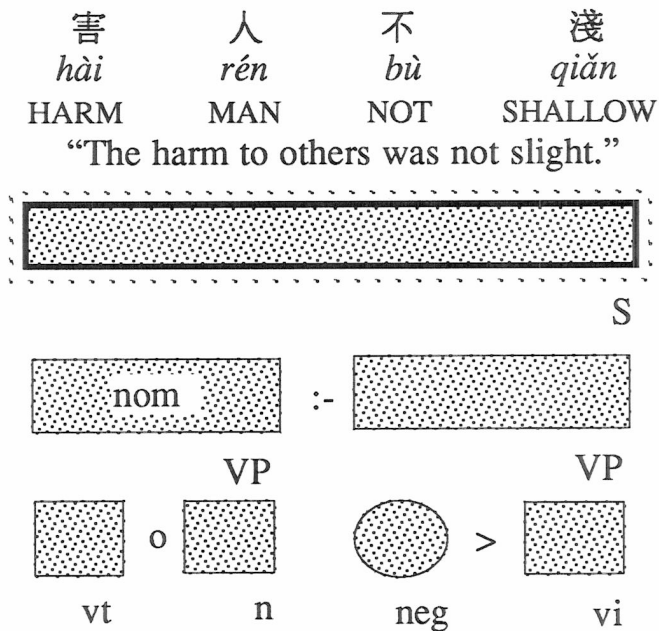
4.3. The object Y may be a "place object":

銘	記	不	忘
míng	*jì*	*bù*	*wàng*
INSCRIBE	MEMORY	NOT	FORGET

"inscribe in one's memory and not forget"
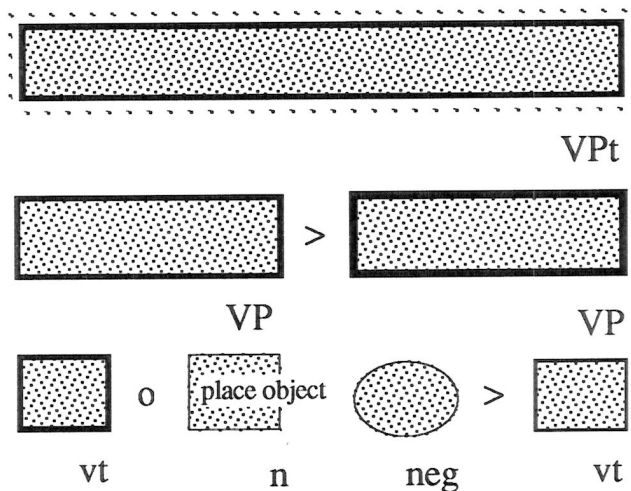
4.4. The object Y may be the particle *yān* 焉 "to it, about it":

語	焉	不	詳
yǔ	*yān*	*bù*	*xiáng*
SPEAK	ABOUT-IT	NOT	DETAILED

"mention without going into in detail"
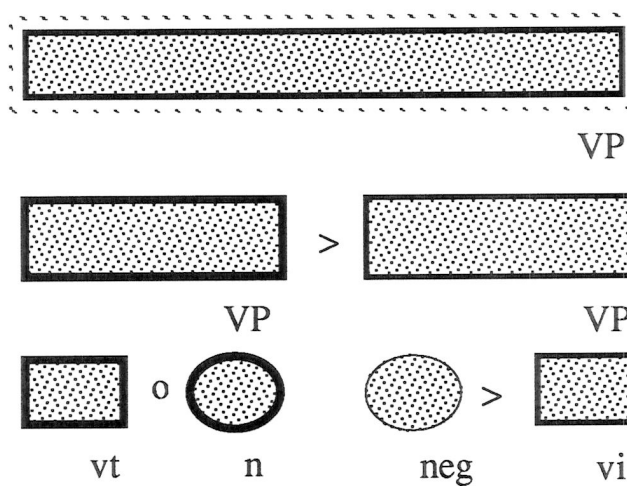
*Translate:

習焉不察

4.5. The object Y may be de-verbal:

見	死	不	救
jiàn	*sǐ*	*bù*	*jiù*
SEE	DIE	NOT	SAVE

"see a dying person without going to his/her rescue"
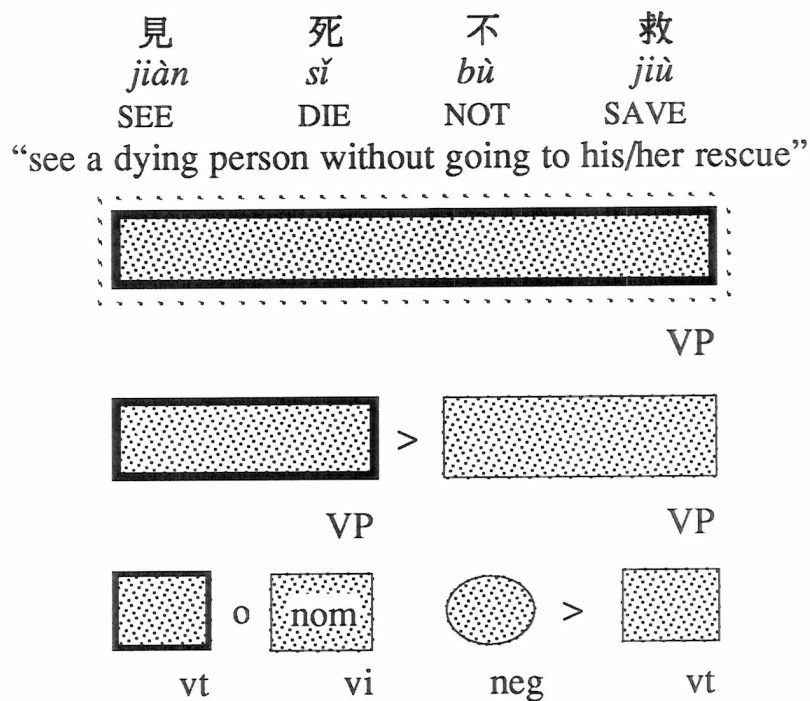
4.6. Y may be the object complement of X:

好	學	不	倦
hào	*xué*	*bù*	*juàn*
LOVE	STUDY	NOT	GET-TIRED

"be indefatigably fond of learning"
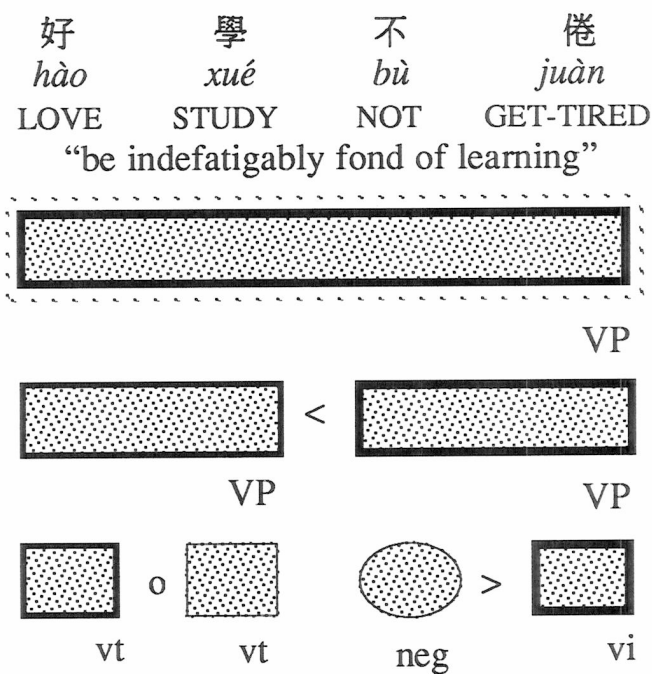
4.7. The verb/object construction XY may function as a subordinate clause:

知	足	不	辱
zhī	zú	bù	rǔ
KNOW	SUFFICIENT	NOT	DISGRACE

"if you know to be content you will suffer no disgrace"

S

subordinate minor sentence   >   minor sentence

VP   VP

vt   o   nom   neg   >   vi
va
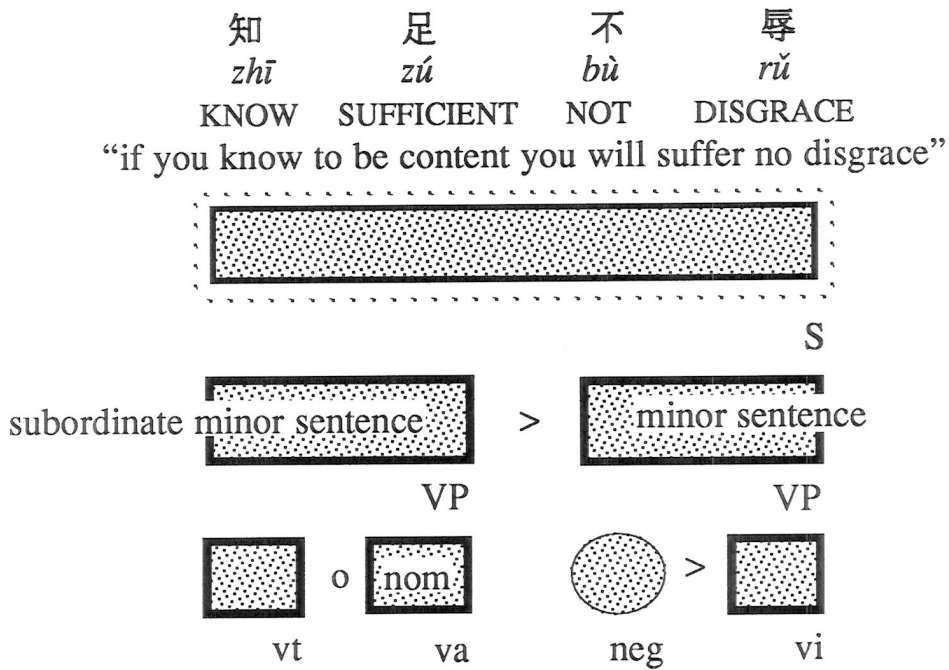
4.8. XY may be a transitive verb phrase with a complement:

誓	死	不	二
shì	sǐ	bù	èr
SWEAR	DIE	NOT	TWO

"swear on pain of death one will not be unfaithful"

VP

VP   o   VP

VP   VP

vt   c   vi   neg   >   v
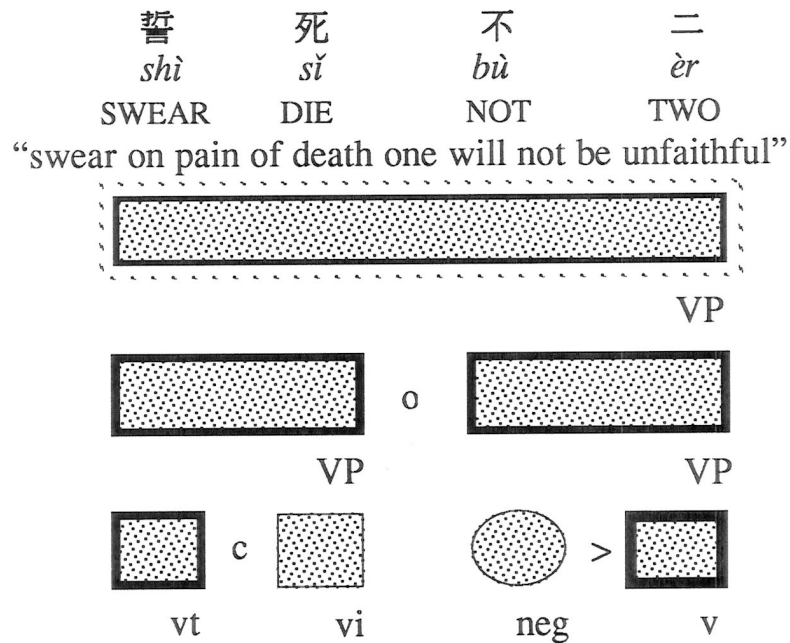
Note the theoretically possible reading "swear not to be double-faced until death".

4.9. XY may be a complement-phrase subordinate to what follows:

當	斷	不	斷
dāng	*duàn*	*bù*	*duàn*
OUGHT	DECIDE	NOT	DECIDE

"fail to take a decision when it is necesary"

S

VP   VP

vt   vt   neg   vt
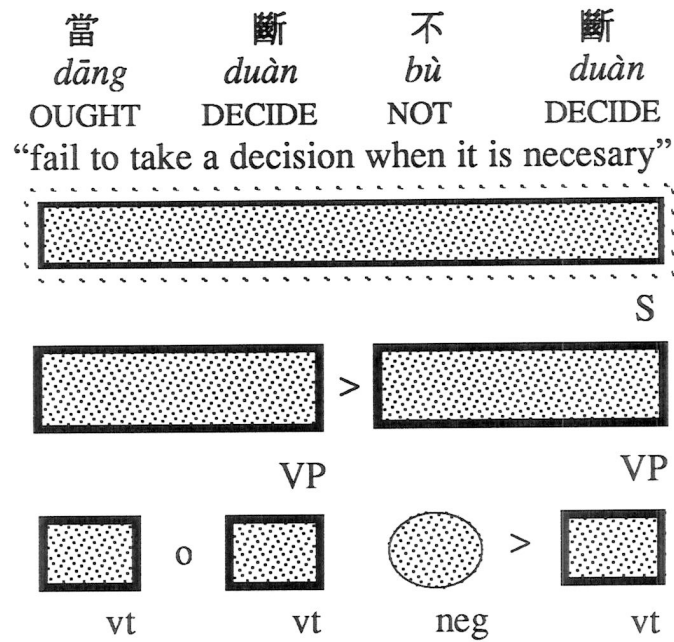
4.10. The verb X may be a coverb:

與	衆	不	同
yǔ	*zhòng*	*bù*	*tóng*
WITH	MASSES	NOT	SAME

"out of the ordinary"

VP

coVP   VP

cov   n   neg   vt
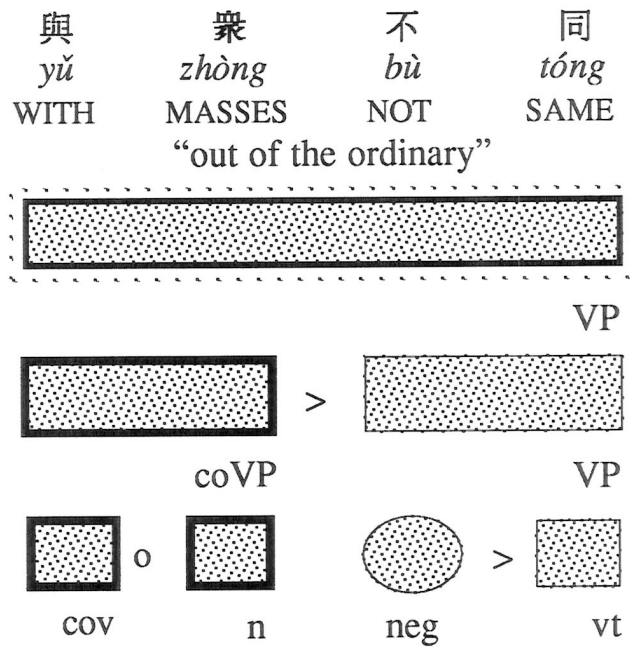
4.11. Z sometimes looks as if it has Y as its subject:

出	言	不	遜
chū	*yán*	*bù*	*xùn*
UTTER	WORD	NOT	OBEDIENT

"speak insubordinate words"

VP

VP > VP

vt   o   subj   neg > vt

vt   n   neg   vt
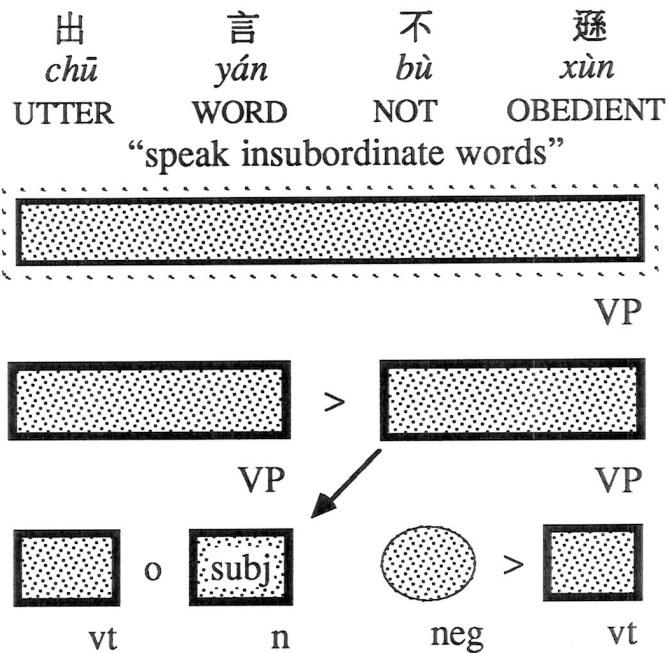
5. XY adverbial

5.1. Y may be an adverbial suffix:

迥	然	不	同
jiǒng	*rán*	*bù*	*tóng*
DISTANT	-LY	NOT	SAME

"be entirely different"

VP

adverbial >

vi   VP

vi < sf   neg > vt

vi   vi   neg   vt
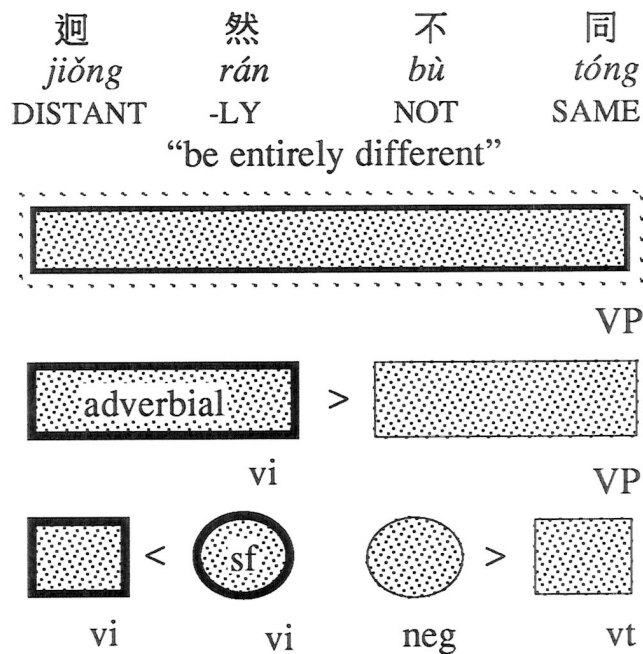
5.2. X may be an adverb-like object of Y:

內	省	不	疚
nèi	*xǐng*	*bù*	*jiù*
INSIDE	INVESTIGATE	NOT	REMORSE

"feel no remorse when investigating one's inside"
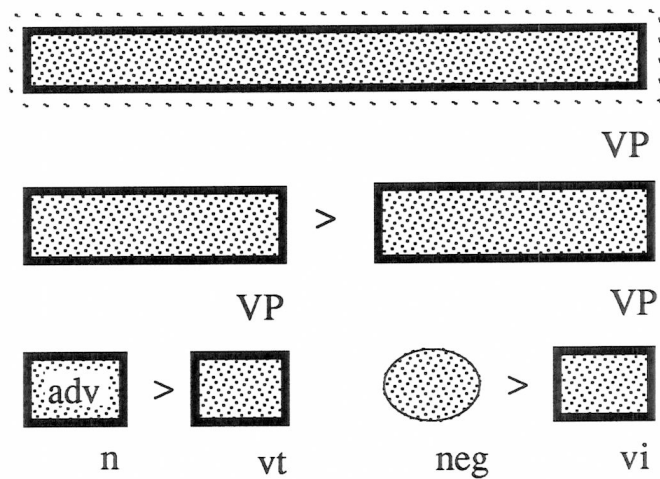
5.3. XY may be an adverb followed by a verb:

長	生	不	老
cháng	*shēng*	*bù*	*lǎo*
LONG	LIVE	NOT	OLD

"live eternally and not grow old"
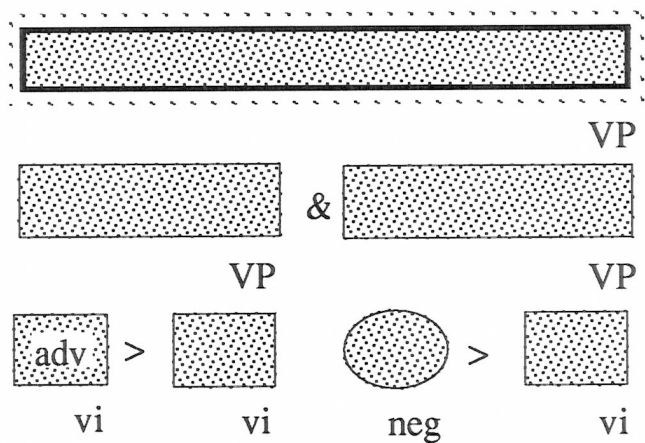
5.4. Y may be construed as a passivised verb:

<div align="center">

屢　　　教　　　不　　　改
lǚ　　*jiào*　　*bù*　　*gǎi*
OFTEN　INSTRUCT　NOT　CHANGE

"refuse to change in spite of frequent instruction"

</div>
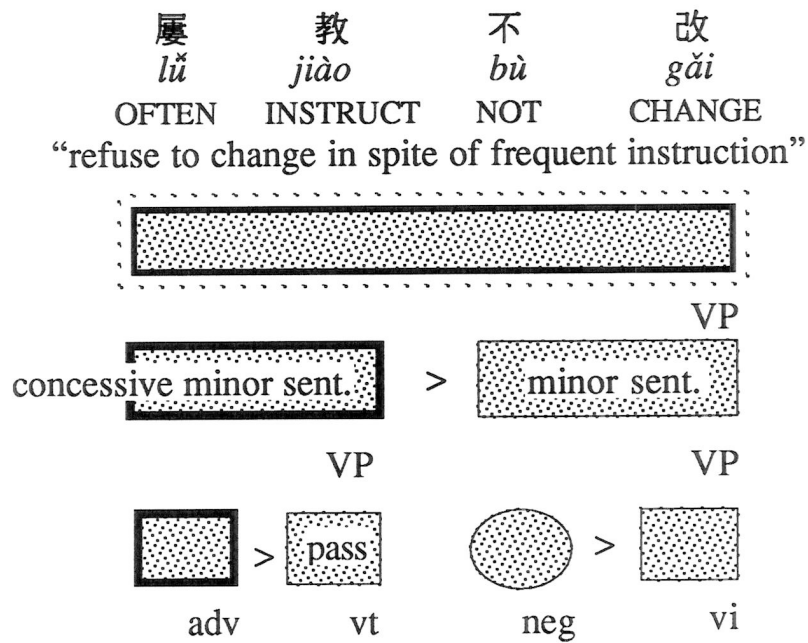
Alternatively, one might have assumed a change of subject for two minor sentences.

The following, incidentally, might be regarded as an "asyntactic" phrase:
數見不鮮
shuò jiàn bù xiān
FREQUENTLY SEE NOT FRESH
"since one has frequently seen someone not to serve up fresh meat"

常來之客不殺雞 on the other hand is not asyntactic since it involves a regular topic comment construction.

5.5. XY may be a noun followed by a verb.

雷	打	不	動
léi	*dǎ*	*bù*	*dòng*
THUNDER	BEAT	NOT	MOVE

"not change even if hit by a thunderbolt"
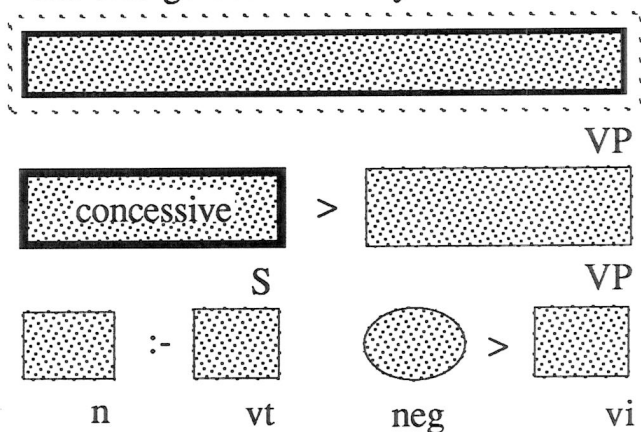
Cf. 打雷 "it is thundering".

5.6. XY may be a subordinate sentence, Z may be transitive:

功	成	不	居
gōng	*chéng*	*bù*	*jū*
ACHIEVEMENT	ESTABLISH	NOT	DWELL

"not rest on one's laurels"
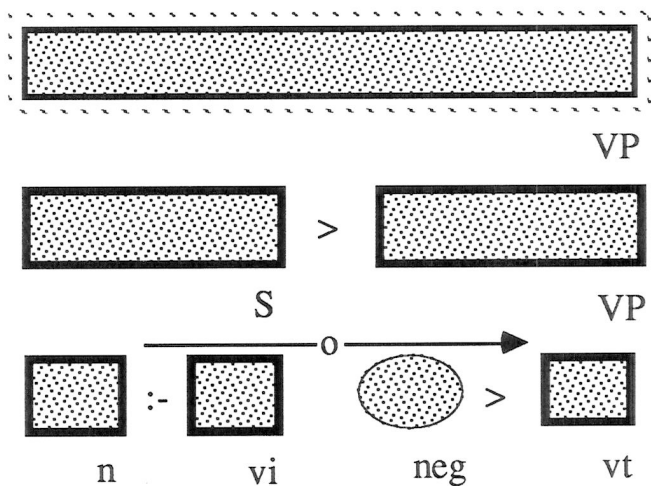
5.7. The noun X may function adverbially in relation to the verb Y:

川	流	不	息
chuān	*liú*	*bù*	*xí*
RIVER	FLOW	NOT	REST

"flow on like a river and not stop"
"never cease"
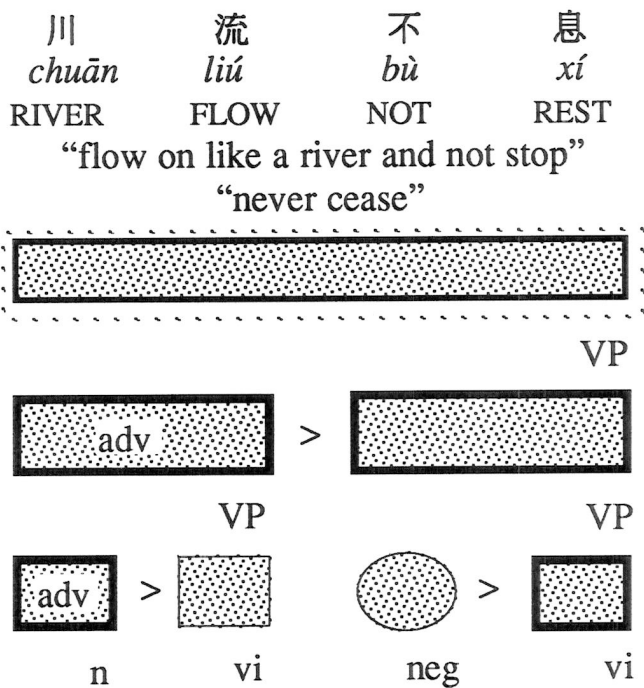
We could, of course, read this as "the river flows and never stops", but this is not how the phrase is understood.

5.8. Y may be a verb negated by *bù* 不:

不	知	不	覺
bù	*zhī*	*bù*	*jué*
NOT	KNOW	NOT	BE-AWARE

"unwittingly"
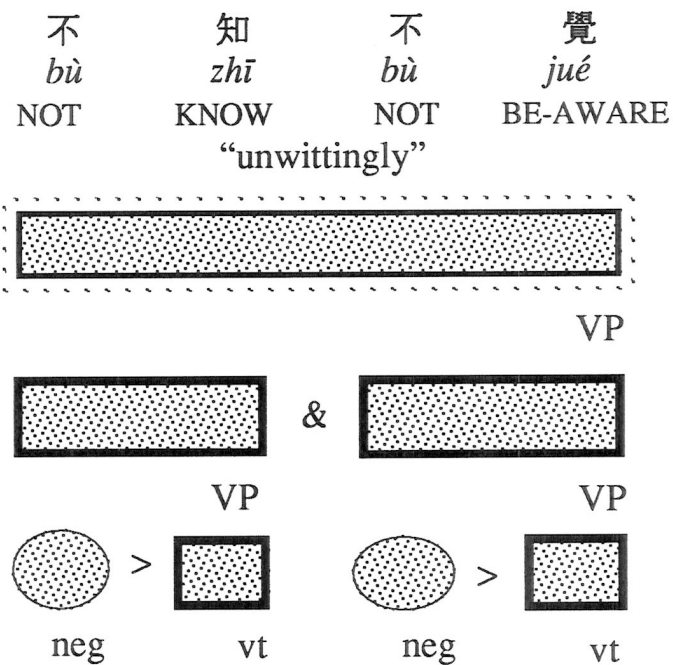
5.9. The negated verb Y may be a denominal verb:

不倫不類
bù lún bù lèi
NOT NORM NOT CLASS
"neither one thing nore another"

不蔓不枝
bù màn bù zhī

The negated element Y may be a number word:

不三不四

What is negated may be even a split binome the two parts of which do not have independent meanings:

不尷不尬
bù gān bù gà
NOT EM- NOT -BARRASSED
"be in a most embarrassing situation, in a pretty pickle"

It is not clear whether one should regard this as a *chěngyǔ* 成語 or not.

5.10. X may be a verb followed by *ér* 而. Two transitive verbs are commonly linked with this particle *ér* 而:

視	而	不	見
shì	*ér*	*bù*	*jiàn*
LOOK	BUT	NOT	SEE

"see but take no notice"
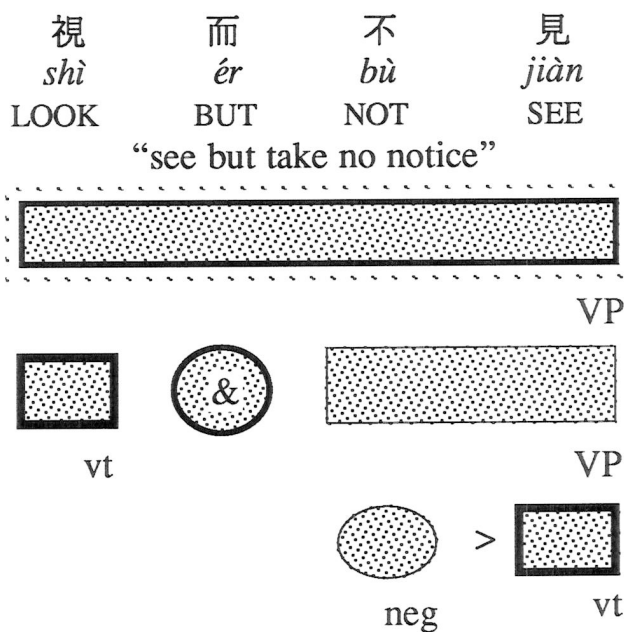
Cf.
述而不作
存而不論

5.11. The verbs connected by *ér* 而 can be intransitive:

<div align="center">

博   而   不   精

bó   *ér*   *bù*   *jīng*

BROAD   BUT   NOT   EXQUISITE

"be broad in interest without being excellent at anything"

</div>
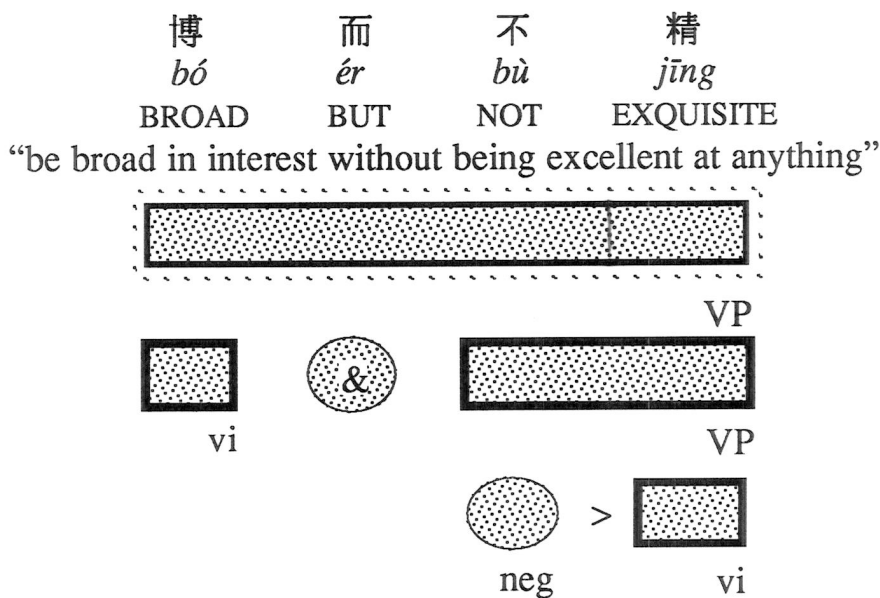
It would be interesting to see whether the first verb can be transitive and the second intransitive, or whether parallelism here is obligatory.

5.12. X may be the subject, the rest the predicate:

<div align="center">

過   猶   不   及

guò   *yóu*   *bù*   *jí*

SURPASS   LIKE   NOT   REACH

"Going too far is just as bad as not going far enough."

</div>
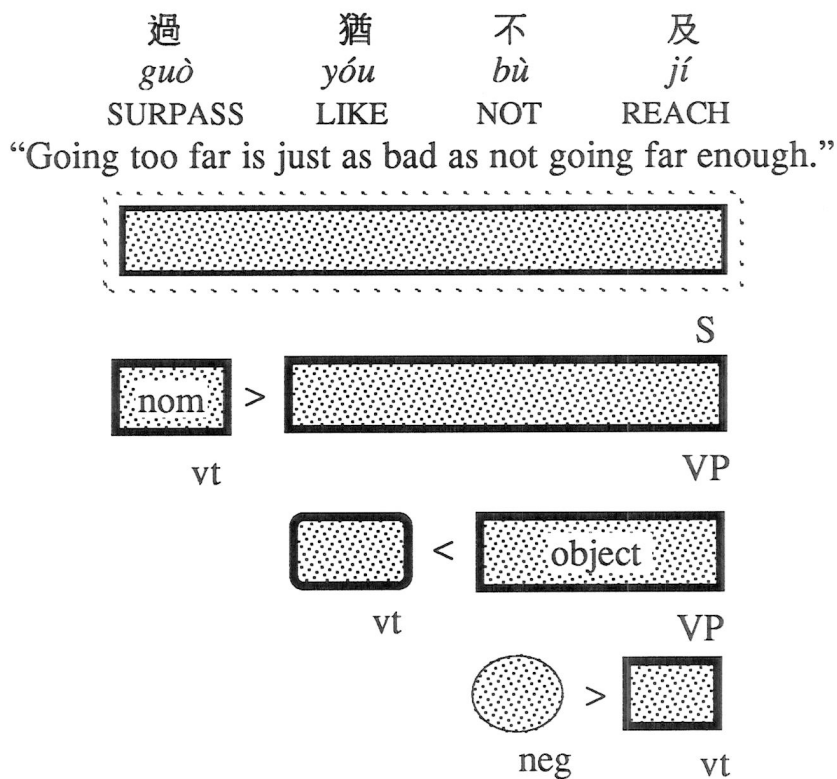
5.13. X may be the main verb followed by an object verb phrase:

佯	為	不	知
yáng	*wéi*	*bù*	*zhī*
PRETEND	MAKE	NOT	KNOW

"pretend that one does not know"

VP

vt   o   VP

vt   o   VP

neg > vt
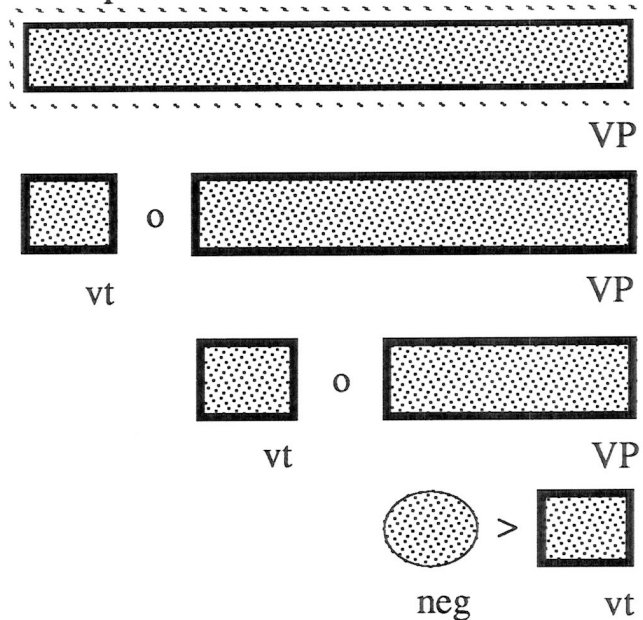
5.14. X may be an adverb modifying the remaining verb phrase:

大	可	不	必
dà	*kě*	*bù*	*bì*
LARGE	CAN	NOT	NECESSARY

"absolutely unnecessary"

VP

adv >

va   VP

vt   o   VP

neg > vi
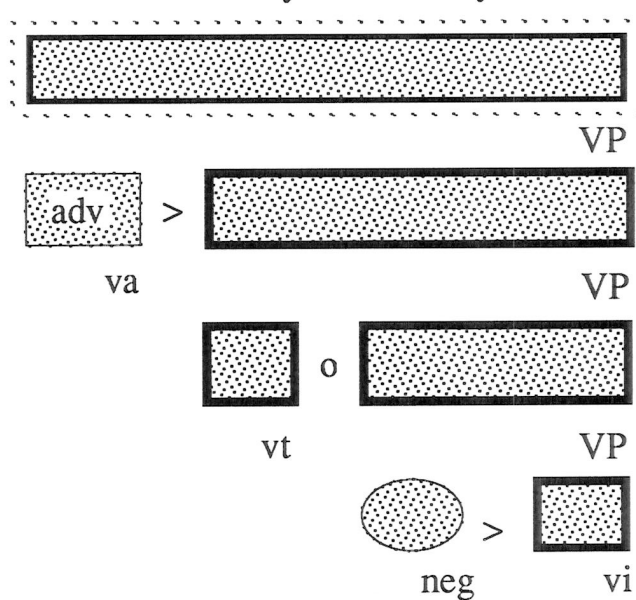
5.15. X may be a verb with the rest as its object. The object may be marked by the object nominaliser *suǒ* 所:

在　　　　所　　　　不　　　　辭
zài　　　*suǒ*　　　*bù*　　　*cí*
BE-IN　THAT-WHICH　NOT　REFUSE
"is among the things one does not refuse"
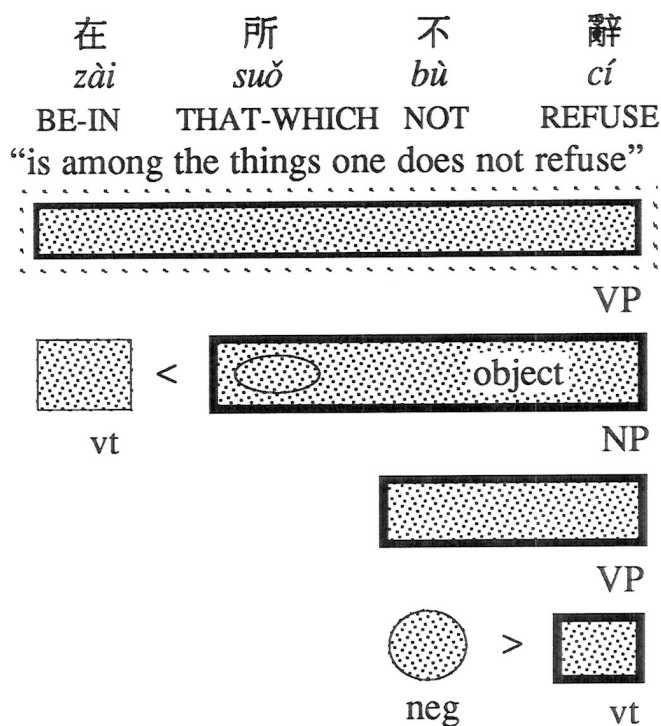
5.16. The object may be modified by the nominalising pronoun *qí* 其:

攻　　　　其　　　　不　　　　備
gōng　　*qí*　　　*bù*　　　*bèi*
ATTACK　ITS　　　NOT　　PREPARE
"attack where the enemy is unprepared"
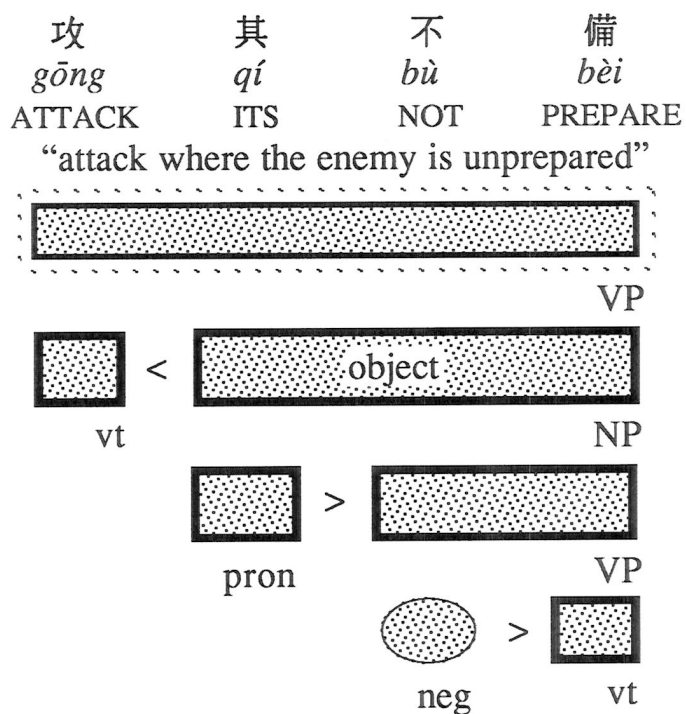
*** Note the logically intractable
出其不意
chū qí bù yì
GO-OUT IT'S/HIS/HER NOT IDEA
"go far beyond expectations"

5.17. The nominalisation of the object may be unmarked:

匡	我	不	逮
kuāng	*wǒ*	*bù*	*dài*
HELP	I	NOT	REACH

"make up for my deficiencies"

VP

vt — o — object (VP)

pron > nominalised (VP)

neg > vt
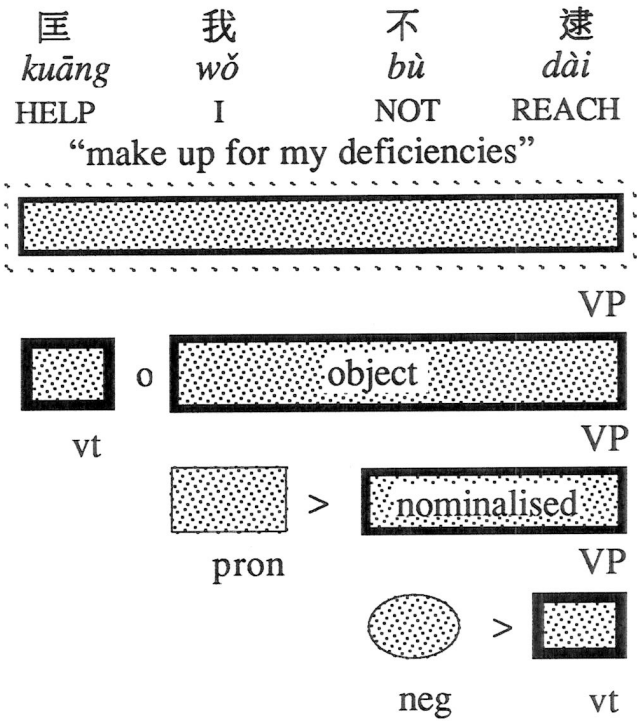
5.18. X may be a verbal topic or a subordinate verb:

戰	無	不	勝
zhàn	*wú*	*bù*	*shèng*
FIGHT	LACK	NOT	WIN

"in every battle successful" or "always victorious"

VP

topic (vt) : comment (VP)

vt — o — nominalised (VP)

neg > vt
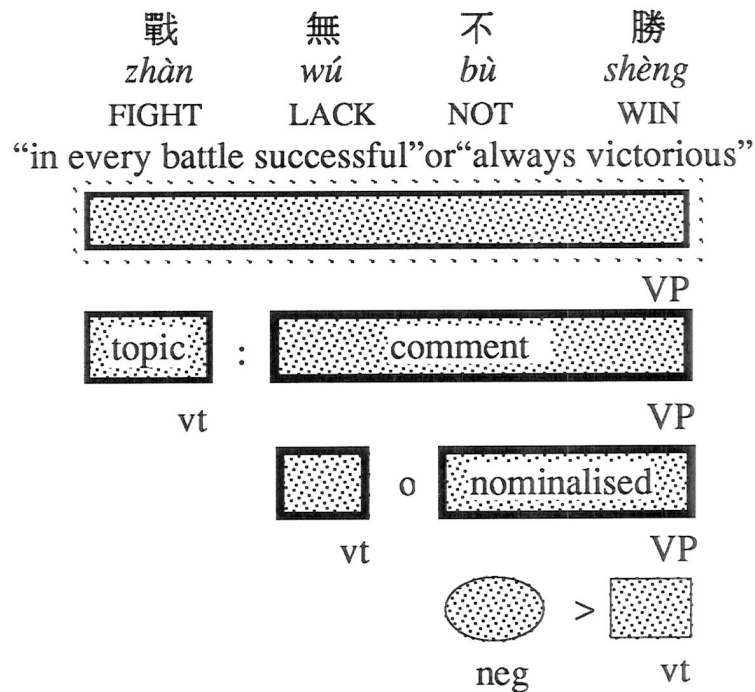
Bù shèng 不勝 is taken to mean something like *suǒ bù shèng* 所不勝.

Cf.

知無不言，言無不盡
攻無不克

5.19. X may be a question particle:

何	樂	不	為
hé	*lè*	*bù*	*wéi*
WHY	ENJOY	NOT	DO

"why should one not be happy to do it?"
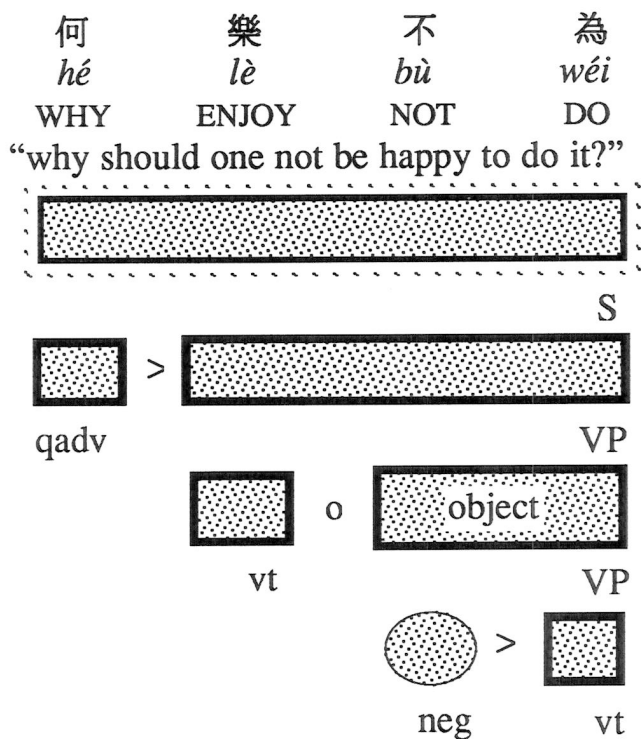
5.20. A special case is that of the transitive verb *wú* 無. The pattern 無 Y 不 Z opens up an interesting range of possibilities. In one common pattern our analysis has great difficulty, whereas the meaning is quite unproblematic:

無	孔	不	入
wú	*kǒng*	*bù*	*rù*
LACK	HOLE	NOT	ENTER

"penetrate everywhere"
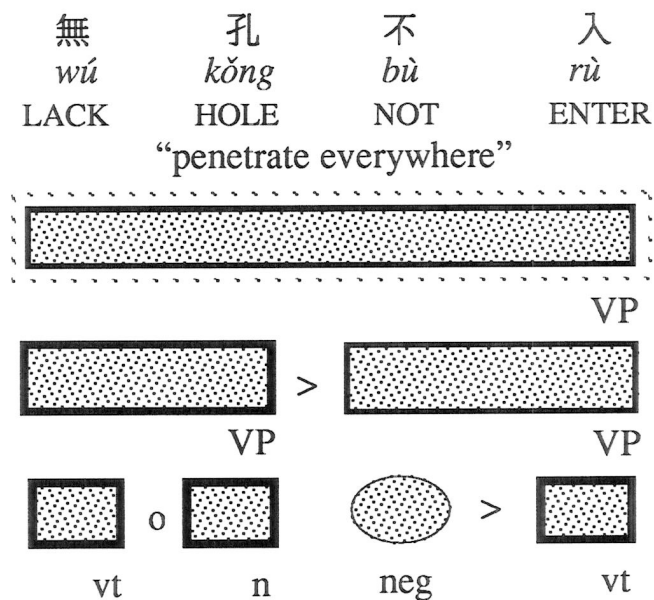
Kǒng 孔 is the object of the transitive verb *wú* 無 "to lack". But what is lacking is only holes "which he/it does not enter". A modern Chinese paraphrase would be 沒有他不進去的洞 which has a more tractable constituent structure:

沒	有	他	不	進	去	的	洞
méi	*yǒu*	*tā*	*bù*	*jìn*	*qù*	*dě*	*dòng*
NOT	HAVE	HE	NOT	ENTER	GO	*dě*	CAVE
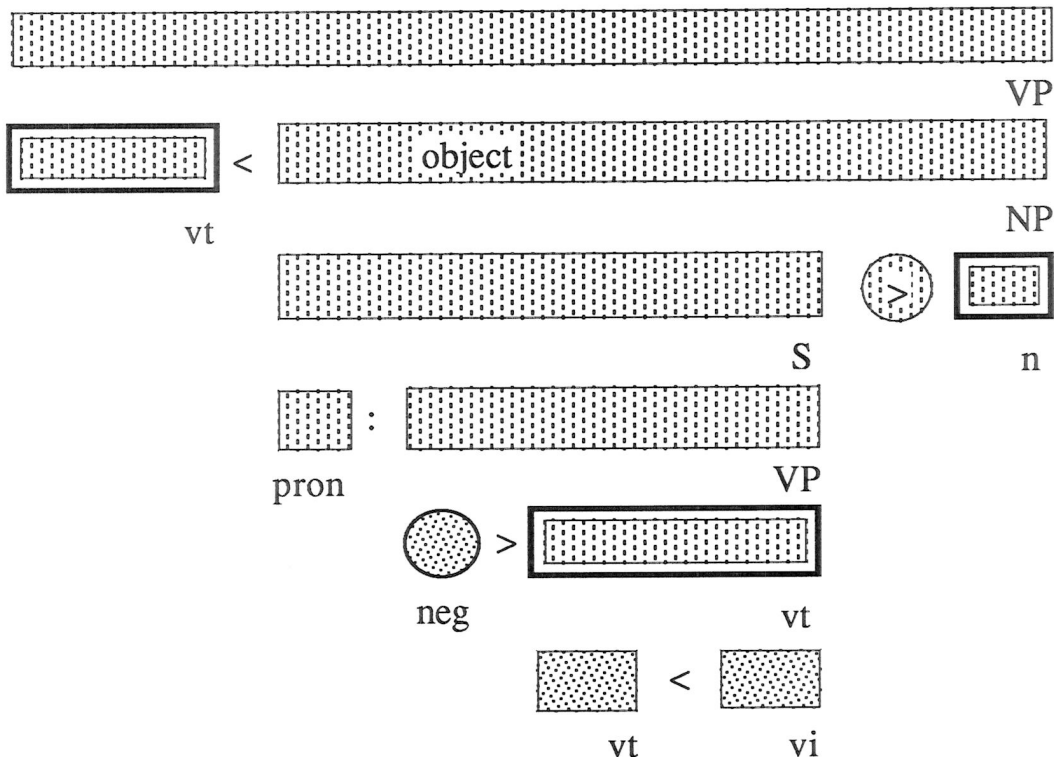
Similarly tricky is the following:
無惡不作
wú è bù zuò
LACK EVIL NOT DO
"indulge in all sorts of evil deeds"

5.21. Y may turn out to be a verb in this idiomatic context with similarly intractable results:

無	往	不	利
wú	*wǎng*	*bù*	*lì*
LACK	SET-OUT	NOT	PROSPEROUS

"do fine everywhere"

VP

VP   VP

vt   vt   ne   vt
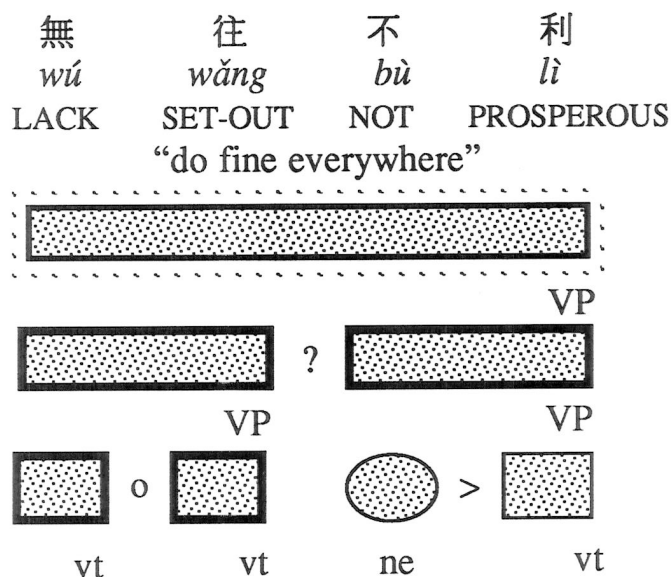
5.22. Y may be a time noun in a similar construction:

無	日	不	來
wú	*rì*	*bù*	*lái*
LACK	DAY	NOT	COME

"come every day"

VP

VP   VP

vt   n   ne   vi
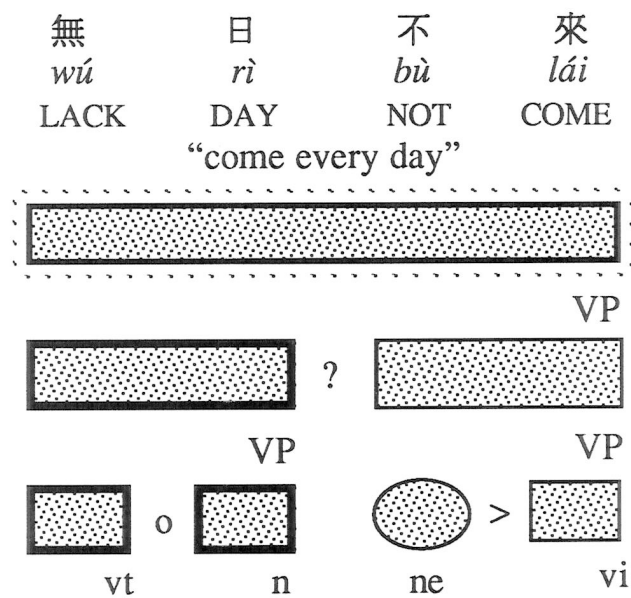
5.23. Contrast the superficially similar but structurally entirely different case which follows where there are no insurmountable difficulties:

無	可	不	可
wú	*kě*	*bù*	*kě*
LACK	CAN	NOT	CAN

"be pleased beyond all measure"
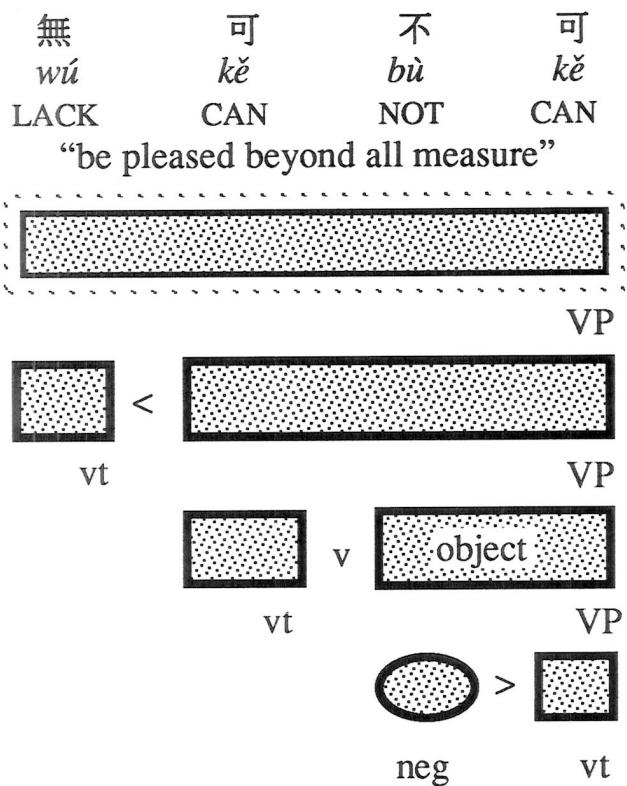
Chapter 15
Comparison With Other Analytical Systems

The usefulness of our analytical procedures introduced so far may be tested by comparing its results with those of alternative approaches. I leave it to the reader to provide such comparison for transformational approaches which are readily available.

At this point I want to consider some suggestions by the leading practitioner of the art of grammatical analysis in China today, Lü Shuxiang 呂叔湘 in what I consider to be the most useful single contribution to the field, the little volume *Hànyǔ yǔfǎ fēnxi wèntí* 漢語語法分析問題 (Peking: *Shāngwù*, 1979). Lü Shu-xiang 呂叔湘 recognises the following grammatical relations:

1. Coordination [*bìngliè guānxi* 並列關系]: "+"
Example:
父母

2. Temporal succession [*liánxù guānxi* 連續關系]: "x"
Example:
進去買書

3. Apposition [*fùzhǐ guānxi* 復指關系]: "="
Example:
他這個人

4. Modification [*xiūshì guānxi* 修飾關系]: ">", "<"
Examples:
買賣人
快買
買得好

5. Complementation [*bǔzú guānxi* 補足關系]: "⊣" and "⊢" (written "o" and "o>" for convenience in what follows. We shall take the liberty to introduce the relation "c" of complementation.)
Examples:
買了書
書買了

6. Subject-predicate/topic-comment relation [*biǎoshù guānxì* 表述關系]: "꞉"
Example:
我買

7. Rection between particles and their scope [*tíqiè guānxi* 提挈關系]: "；"
Example:
連書 (都買了)
不買

8. Affixation [*chènfù guānxi* 襯附關系] or the relation between a clitic word
and the construction to which it is affixed: "，"
Example:
買了
買嗎

Consider the idiom *yī wú shì chù* 一無是處 "have no good points at all, have
not a single good point," which one might translate into unidiomatic Standard
Chinese as 沒有一個好的或者對的地方. One might be excused for feeling that
yī 一 here modifies *shì chù* 是處 and this is brought out beautifully in:

一	無	是	處
yī	*wú*	*shì*	*chù*
ONE	LACK	RIGHT	PLACE

"there is not a single correct point"
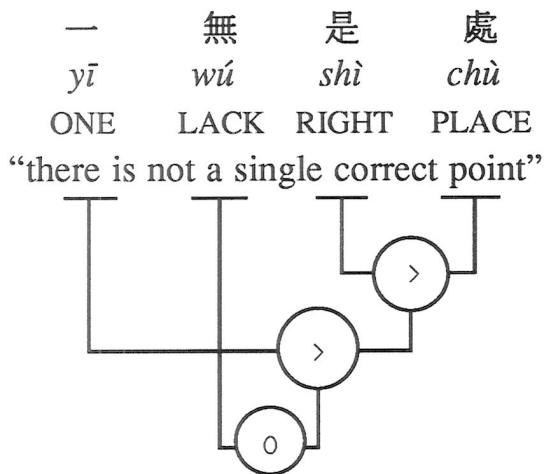
Let us experiment freely with an alternative notation along these lines to see
its strengths. I must emphasise that the analyses presented here, while inspired
by the formalism introduced by Lü Shuxiang 呂叔湘 , are **my own
suggestions** and elaborations for discussion only. Here, in any case, is an
alternative analysis according to our box system:

一　　　無　　　是　　　處
yī　　　*wú*　　　*shì*　　　*chù*
COMPLETELY　LACK　RIGHT　PLACE
"completely lack correct place"

Consider the following ambiguity:

我　　　　就　　　　管　　　　他
wǒ　　　*jiù*　　　*guǎn*　　　*tā*
I　　　ONLY　　　CARE　　　HE
A. "I shall take care only of him."
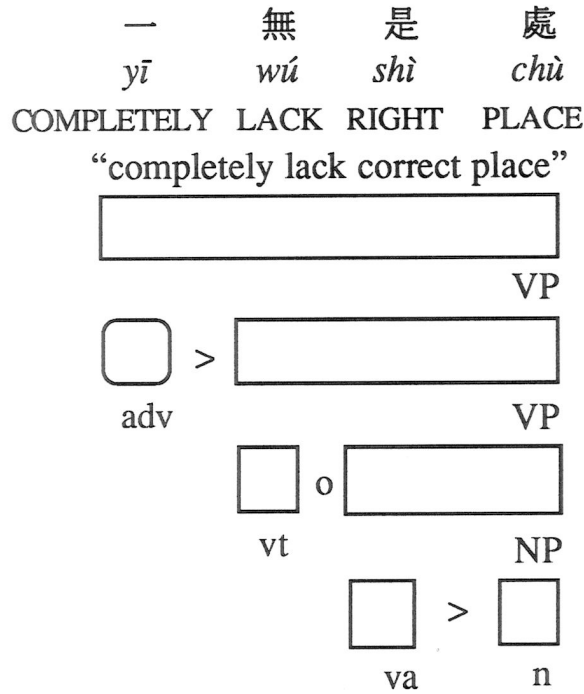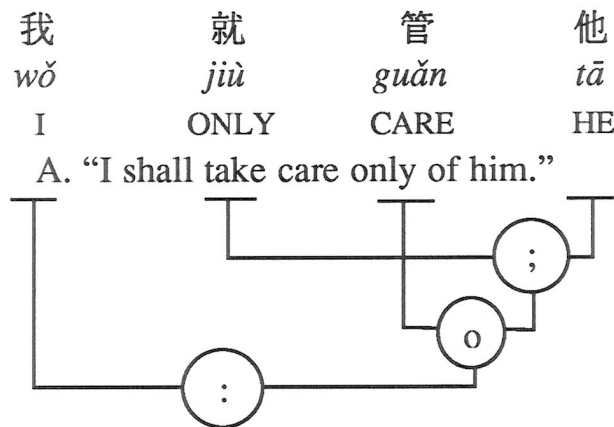
The relation between *jiù* 就 "only" and *tā* 他 "he" is easily represented in this system.

我　　　　就　　　　管　　　　他
wǒ　　　*jiù*　　　*guǎn*　　　*tā*
I　　　ONLY　　　CARE　　　HE
B. "..then I shall take care of him."
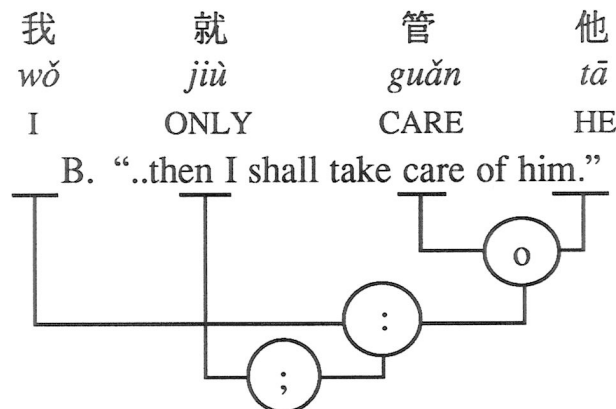
The sentential adverb *jiù* 就 is also conveniently represented in this system.

If the scope of "only" is the whole predicate

我就管他

wǒ jiù guǎn tā

C. "What I do is only taking care of him."

this does not present any problems for any of the systems of analysis.

Similarly, the adverbial reading of *jiù* 就 is uninteresting for us because it does not raise any special descriptive problems on any account:

我就管他

wǒ jiù guǎn tā

D. "I insist on taking care of him."

* Compare the grammatical analyses of the following:

光他吃米飯

"Only he is eating rice."

他光吃米飯

"He is eating only rice"

他只是吃米飯

"He is only eating rice [i.e. all he is doing is eating rice]."

Under our system, **arrows** are used in our system to indicate the grammatical/logical scope of certain constituent in our system:

我	就	管	他
wǒ	*jiù*	*guǎn*	*tā*
I	ONLY	CARE	HE

A. "I shall take care only of him."

多　　　　買　　　　一些
duō　　　 *mǎi*　　　 *yīxiě*
MANY　　　 BUY　　　 SOME

"buy some more"
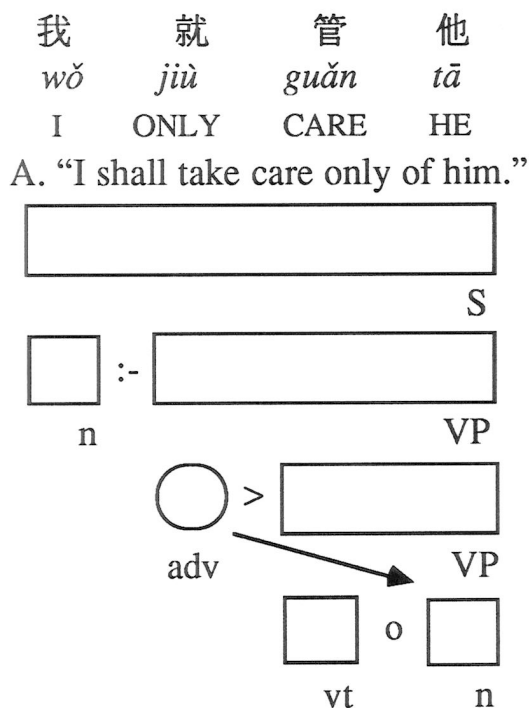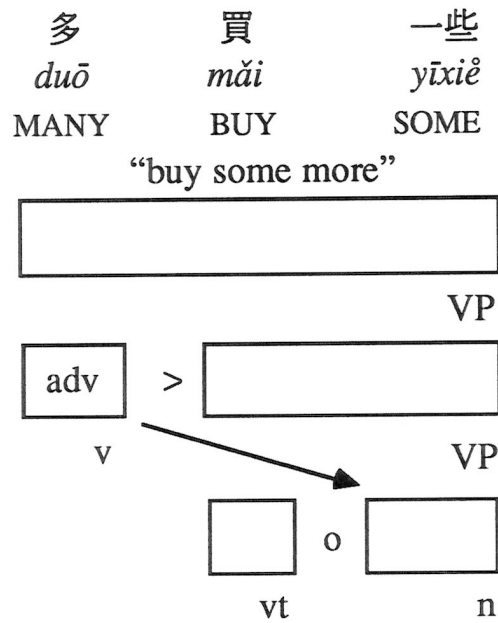
The paraphrase, otherwise plausible, along the lines of "additionally to buy some" does not capture this particular reading. Structurally, the expression *duǒ yīxiě* 多一些 is felt to occur as a discontinuous constituent in this phrase. (Cf. *duǒ yīxiě yě kěyǐ* 多一些也可以 A few more will be OK.)

多　　　　買　　　　一些
duō　　　 *mǎi*　　　 *yīxiē*
MANY　　　 BUY　　　 SOME

"buy some more"
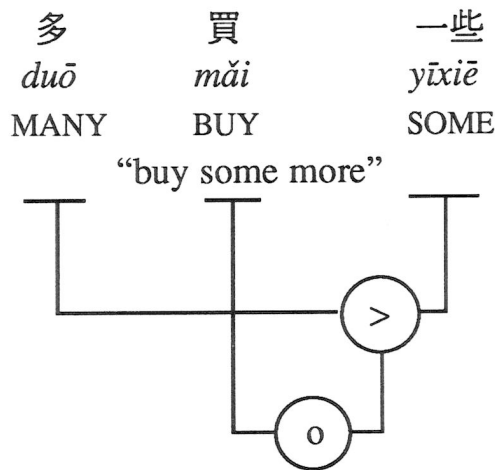
Note the crucial complementary example *shǎo mǎi yīxiē* 少買一些 "buy a few less" which does **not** logically imply "buy a few" any more than *duō mǎi yīxiē* 多買一些 implies "buy many". *Shǎo* 少 is in construction with *xiē* 些 across the verb *mǎi* 買. This kind of discontinuous construction is hard to characterise by our system except through the *ad hoc* use of an arrow. Note that we say *wǒ màilě hěn duō* 我買了很多 "I have bought many" where *hěn duō* 很多 functions as a noun phrase. Zhu Dexi 朱德熙 regards *hěnduǒ* 很多 as a *shùliàngcí* 數量詞 "measure word" along with *bùshǎo* 不少.

Note that *duō mǎi yīxiē* 多買一些 does refer to buying a quantity that is a little larger. It is synonymous with the following:

買　　多　　一些
mǎi　　*duō*　　*yīxiě*
BUY　　MANY　　SOME
"buy some more"
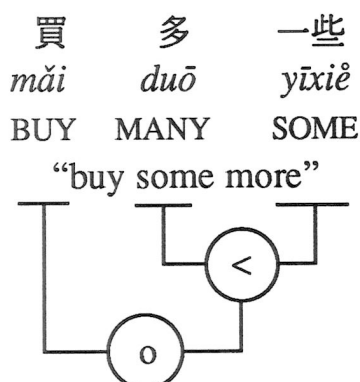
Cf.

買得多一些
買得少一點

But note that we cannot say ???? *mǎi dě yīxiě* 買得一些 ?????

Further examples of discontinuous modification or scope relations are easy to construct. Contrast the following pair:

我　　只是　　喝了　　一　　杯
wǒ　　*zhǐshì*　　*hēlě*　　*yī*　　*beī*
I　　ONLY　　DRINK-*lě*　　ONE　　CUP
"What I did was only to drink a cup."

There is no special problem of grammatical analysis here. On the other hand, the following is highly problematic:

我　　只　　喝了　　三　　杯
wǒ　　*zhǐ*　　*hēlě*　　*sān*　　*beī*
I　　ONLY　　DRINK-*lě*　　THREE　　CUP
"What I drank was only three cups."

The first of the following examples poses no problems, whereas the second comes out very differently under different analyses. Analyse:

他　　慢慢兒地　　醒了　　過來
tā　　*mànmānrdě*　　*xǐnglě*　　*guòlaǐ*
HE　　SLOWLY　　WAKE-UP　　COME-OVER
"He woke up slowly."

慢慢兒地	他	醒了	過來
mànmānrdě	*tā*	*xǐnglě*	*guòlaî*
SLOWLY	HE	WAKE-UP	COME-OVER

"Slowly, he woke up."

In both cases what *mànmānrdě* 慢慢兒地 modifies is just the *xǐnglě guòlaî* 醒了 過來 "waking up". But in the second case what is modified is not adjacent to the modifier. This creates a purely graphic problem, on the one hand. But on the other hand this very graphic problem indicates a deeper fact: that not all modification or immediate grammatical relations are between adjacent constituents.

Similarly, consider:
極快地他想出個道理來
Jī kuài dě tā xiǎng chū gě dàolǐ laí
VERY FAST *dě* THINK OUT CL REASON COME
"Very fast he thought up a reason."
Jíkuài 極快 "very quickly" modifies *xiǎngchū gě dàolǐ lái* 想出個道理來 , and moreover one might want to claim that the discontinuous verb phrase *xiǎngchūlai* 想出來 has the object *gě dàolǐ* 個道理.

Some Chinese linguists will deny that *jìnlái* 進來 "enter" occurs in *jìn mén lái* 進門來 "enter the gate". They will regard *jìn mén* 進門 and *lái* 來 as coordinate verbal expressions and speak of a *liándòng jiégòu* 連動結構. "conjoined verb construction".

Similarly, they will deny that *xiǎngchūlái* 想出來 does occur in *xiǎngchū gě dàolǐ lái* 想出個道理來. The advantage of this counter-intuitive stance is that it enables one to give a coherent structural description of these phrases that does not involve any discontinuous words.

極快地	他	想	出	個	道理	來
jíkuàidě	*tā*	*xiǎng*	*chū*	*gě*	*dàolǐ*	*lái*
VERY FAST	HE	THINK	OUT	CL	REASON	COME

"Very fast he thought up a reason"

S

adv ? S

n :- VP

VP < v

VP o NP

v c v cl = n

慢慢地	他	醒了	過來
mànmàndě	*tā*	*xǐnglě*	*guòlai*
SLOWLY	HE	WAKE-UP	COME-OVER

"Slowly, he woke up."

S

adv > S

n - VP

v < v
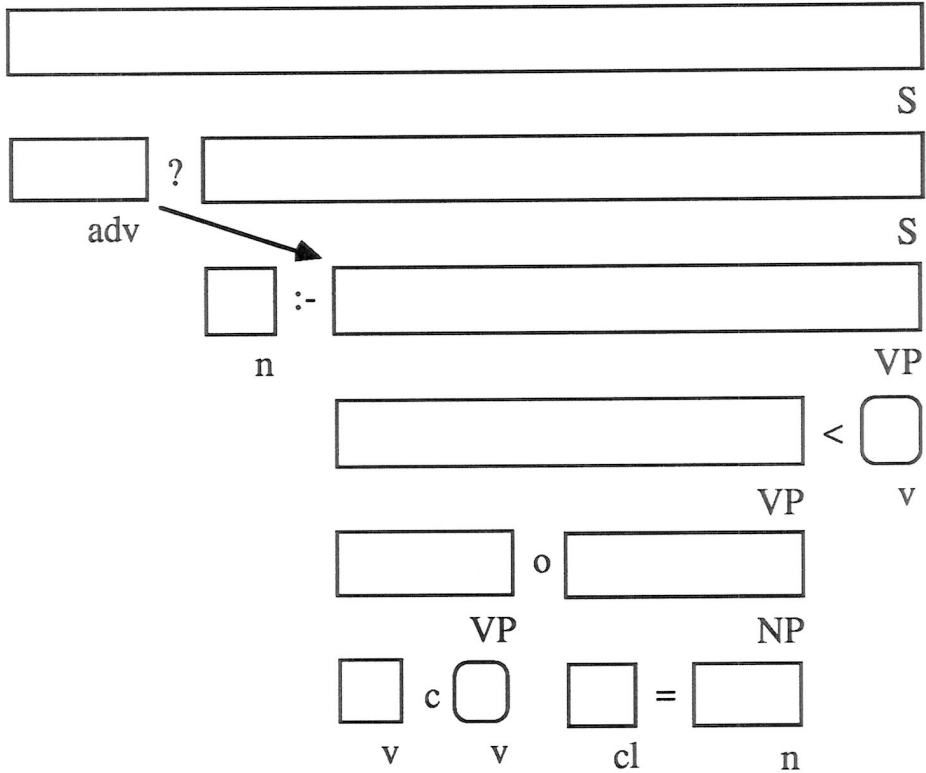
慢慢地	他	醒了	過來
mànmàndě	*tā*	*xǐnglě*	*guòlaî*
SLOWLY	HE	WAKE-UP	COME-OVER

"Slowly, he woke up."
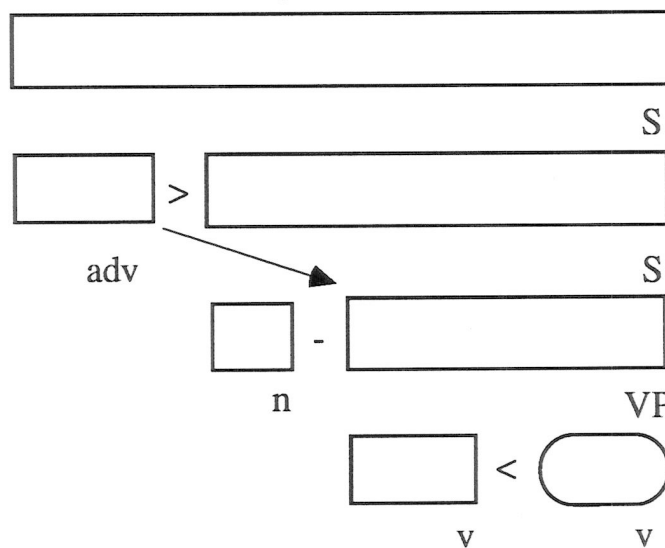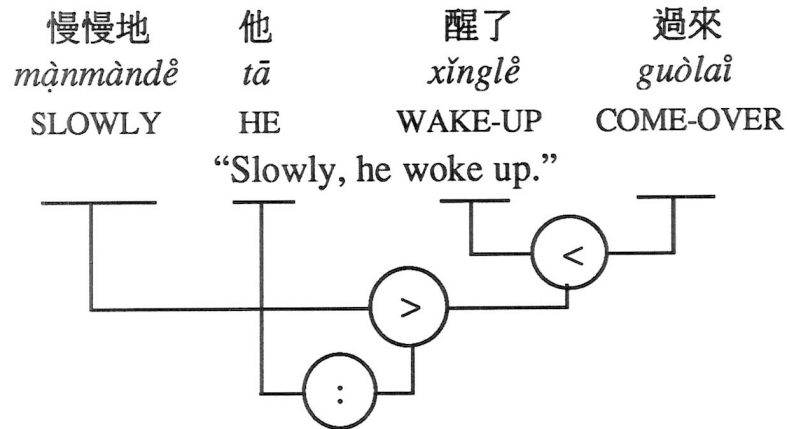
There is no overwhelming need to construe *mànmānrdě* 慢慢地 as modifying only *xǐnglě guòlaî* 醒了過來. Our point is that **if** one wished to express an analysis along these lines, this would require the ad hoc use of an arrow.

* Note incidentally the difference between the following:

他大概不高興

"He probably is dissatisfied."

I.e. "As for him it is probably true that he is dissatisfied."

and

大概他不高興

A. "He probably is dissatisfied."

B. "It is probably that he is dissatisfied."

I.e. "The point probably is that he is not satisfied."

Reading A. creates a problem for our description, but not for Lü's.

喫	饅頭	對	他	來	說	不	習慣
chī	*mántóu*	*duì*	*tā*	*lái*	*shuō*	*bù*	*xíguàn*
EAT	BUN	TOWARD	HE	COME	SPEAK	NOT	BE-USED-TO

"As far as eating mantou is concerned he is not used to it."
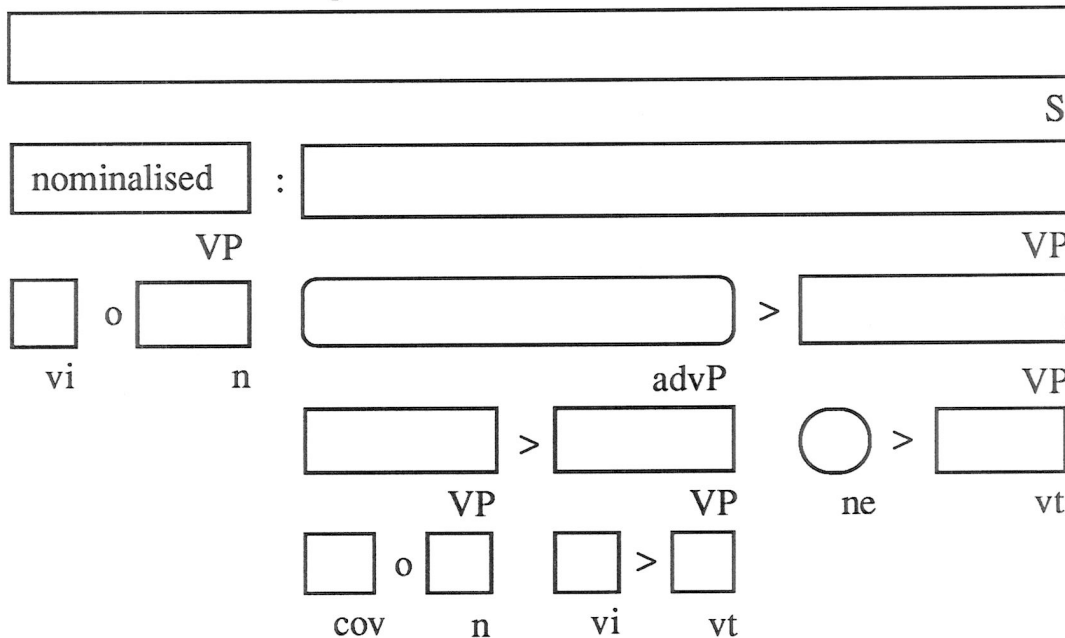
Duì tā lái shuō 對他來說 may be regarded as a parenthetic adverbial phrase. Such a reading is hard to bring out in our boxes but it comes out perfectly in Lü Shuxiang 呂叔湘 's style:

喫	饅頭	對	他	來	說	不	習慣
chī	*mántóu*	*duì*	*tā*	*lái*	*shuō*	*bù*	*xíguàn*
EAT	BUN	TOWARD	HE	COME	SPEAK	NOT	BE-USED-TO

"As far as eating mantou is concerned he is not used to it."
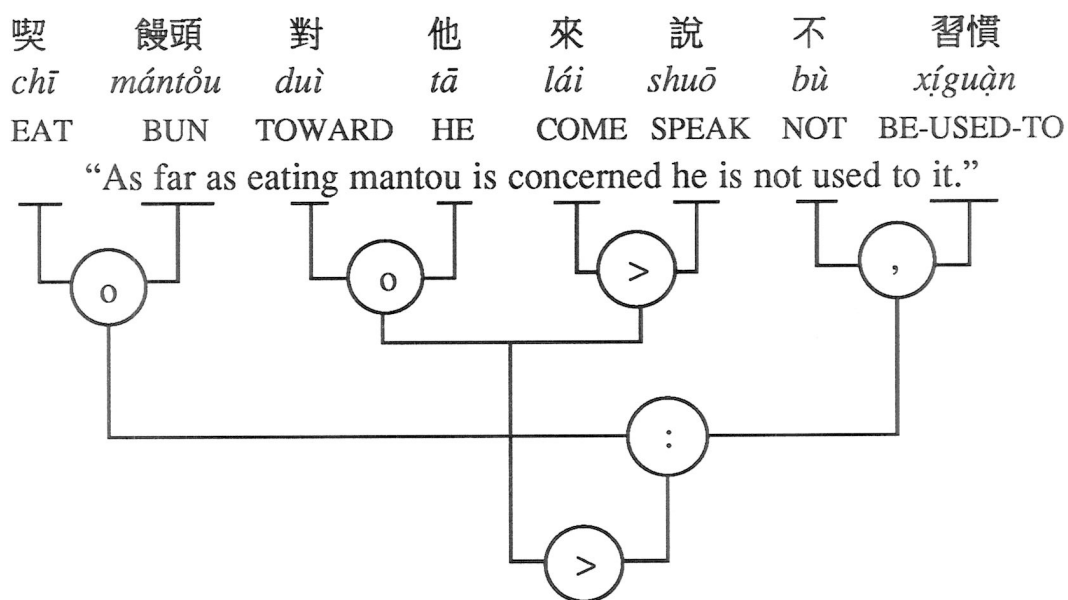
Our IC method encourages us not to recognize discontinuous scopes for any form of modification. Lü Shuxiang 呂叔湘 's easily accommodates this. Perhaps **too** easily.

他	急	得	簡直	說	不	出	話	來
tā	*jí*	*dé*	*jiǎnzhí*	*shuō*	*bù*	*chū*	*huà*	*lái*
HE	HURRY	-*dé*	SIMPLY	SPEAK	NOT	GO-OUT	SPEECH	COME

"He was so excited that he could not say a word."

S

:- n

VP

vi c

VP

adv >

VP

< vi

VP

o n

VP

vt <

VP

neg > vt
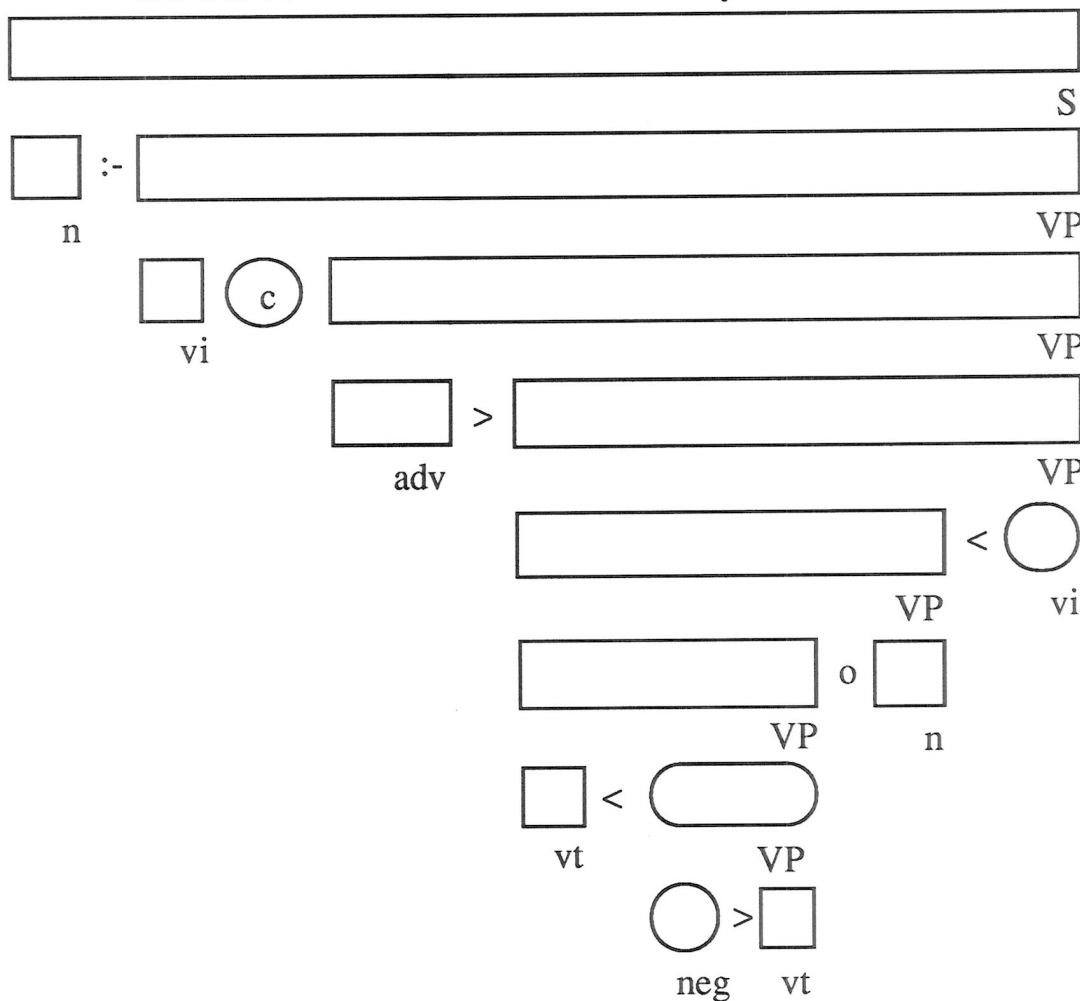
他	急	得	簡直	說	不	出	話	來
tā	*jí*	*dě*	*jiǎnzhí*	*shuō*	*bù*	*chū*	*huà*	*lái*
HE	HURRIED	-*dě*	SIMPLY	SPEAK	NOT	GO-OUT	SPEECH	COME

"He was so excited that he could not say a word."

拿　　　出　　　圖書館　　　　　去
ná　　*chū*　　*túshūguǎn*　　　*qù*
TAKE　　OUT　　LIBRARY　　　　GO
"take it out of the library"
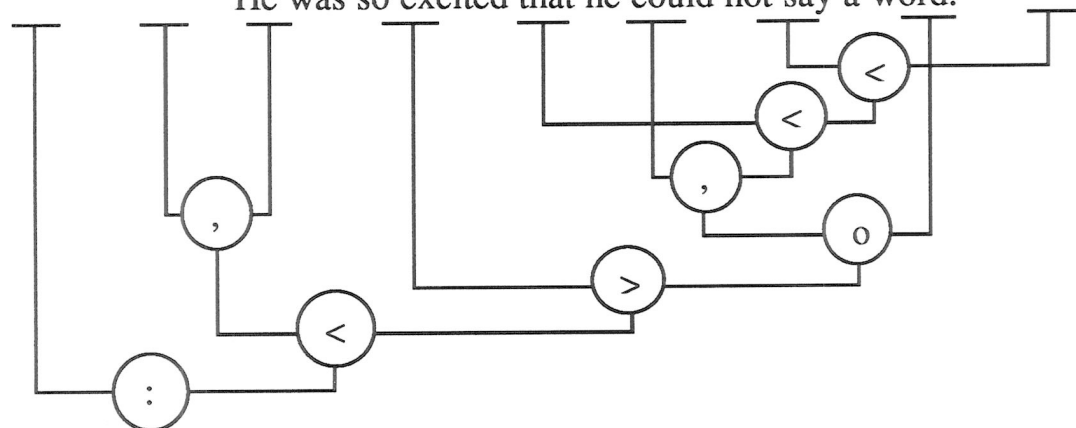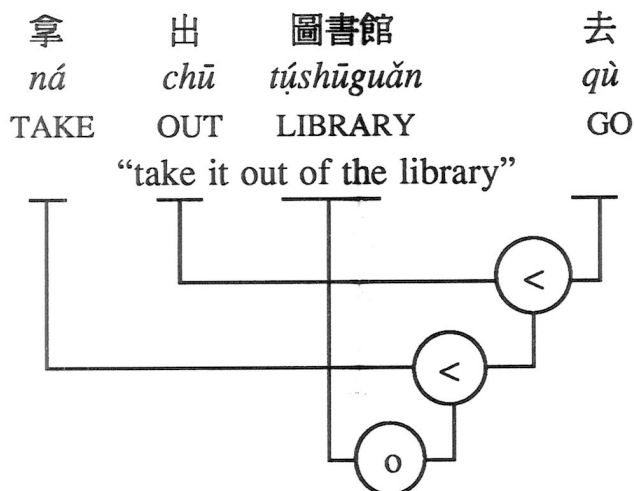
拿出書去
ná chū hū qù
TAKE OUT BOOK GO
"take the book out"

will be assigned the same constituent structure, but there the noun *túshūguǎn* 圖書館 will be marked off as a place noun whereas *shū* 書 is an unmarked object. This makes an important difference.

*** In *wǒ zhǎo túshūguǎn* 我找圖書館 "I am looking for the library" *túshūguǎn* 圖書館 is not a place expression. Thus it will not do to lexically identify a word like *túshūguǎn* 圖書館 as a place word. "Place word" is a function in the sentence and is conveniently marked as a functional label.

The ingenious part of this diagramme is where Lü Shuxiang 呂叔湘 construes *huà* 話 as the object of *shuōbùchūlái* 說不出來. This is a prima facie highly plausible analysis. His graphic system allows him to bring it out effectively. Supposing that Lü Shuxiang 呂叔湘 's analysis is correct, then there is no painless way of incorporating it into the box system. We have to do something like this:

拿　出　　圖書館　　去
ná　chū　túshūguǎn　qù
TAKE　OUT　LIBRARY　GO
"take it out of the **library**"
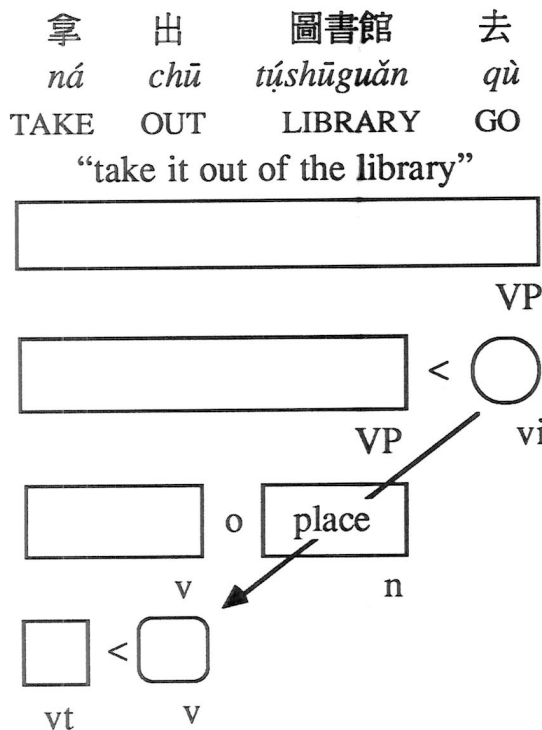
The arrow is a lame attempt to remind ourselves that *chūqù* 出去 is one discontinuous phrase.

拿　出　　書　　去
ná　chū　shū　qù
TAKE　OUT　BOOK　GO
"take the book out of the library"
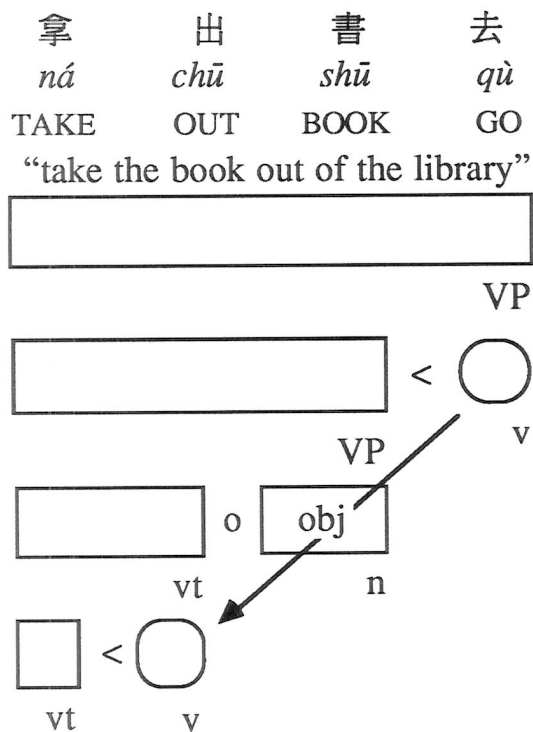
*** When the object is a placeword, the position of the object is obligatorily inside the verbal idiom:

走進屋裡來

爬上山頂去
跳下水去
送回北京來
飛過大海去
On the other hand we can say
拿出來一本書
and that does not cause any problems for our analysis.

In some instances the two analyses according to our system and according to
Lü Shuxiang 呂叔湘 simply come up with competing solutions all of which
one needs to argue about:

你	和	我	一封	信	都	沒	收到
nǐ	*hé*	*wǒ*	*yīfēng*	*xìn*	*dōu*	*méi*	*shǒudào*
YOU	AND	I	ONE	LETTER	ALL	NOT	RECEIVE

"You and I have not received a single letter."
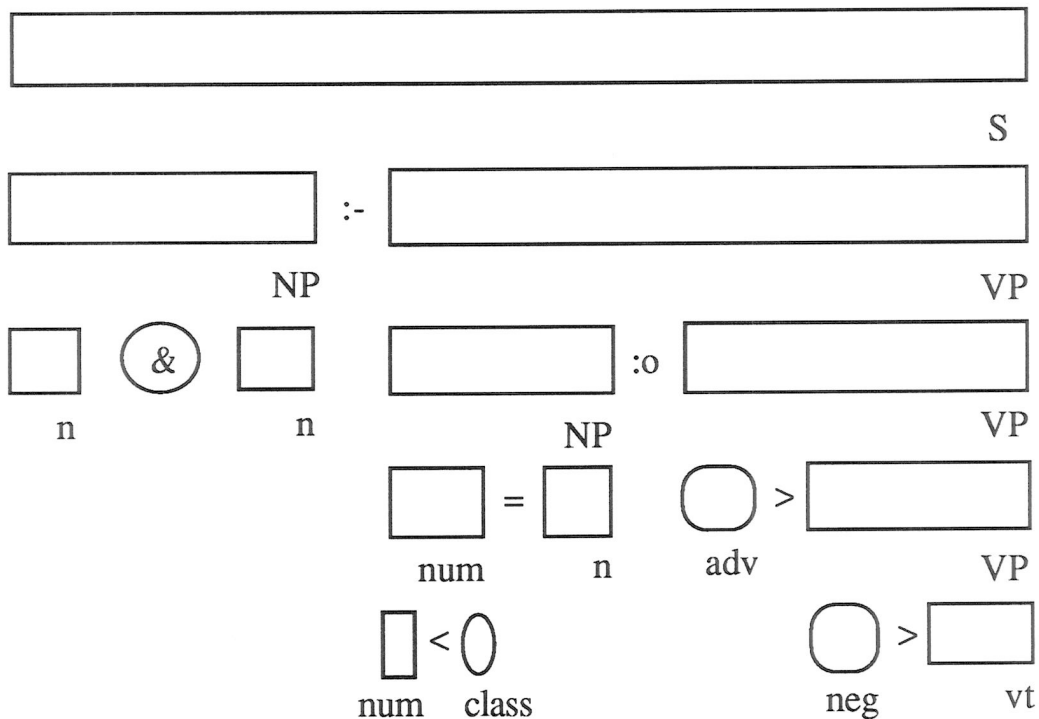
Lü Shuxiang 呂叔湘 1979: 59 provides an analysis which beautifully
illustrates the possibilities of graphically indicating grammatical relations
between non-adjacent constituents.

你	和	我	一	封	信	都	没	收	到
nǐ	*hé*	*wǒ*	*yī*	*fēng*	*xìn*	*dōu*	*méi*	*shōu*	*dào*
YOU	AND	I	ONE	CL	LETTER	ALL	NOT	RECEIVE	
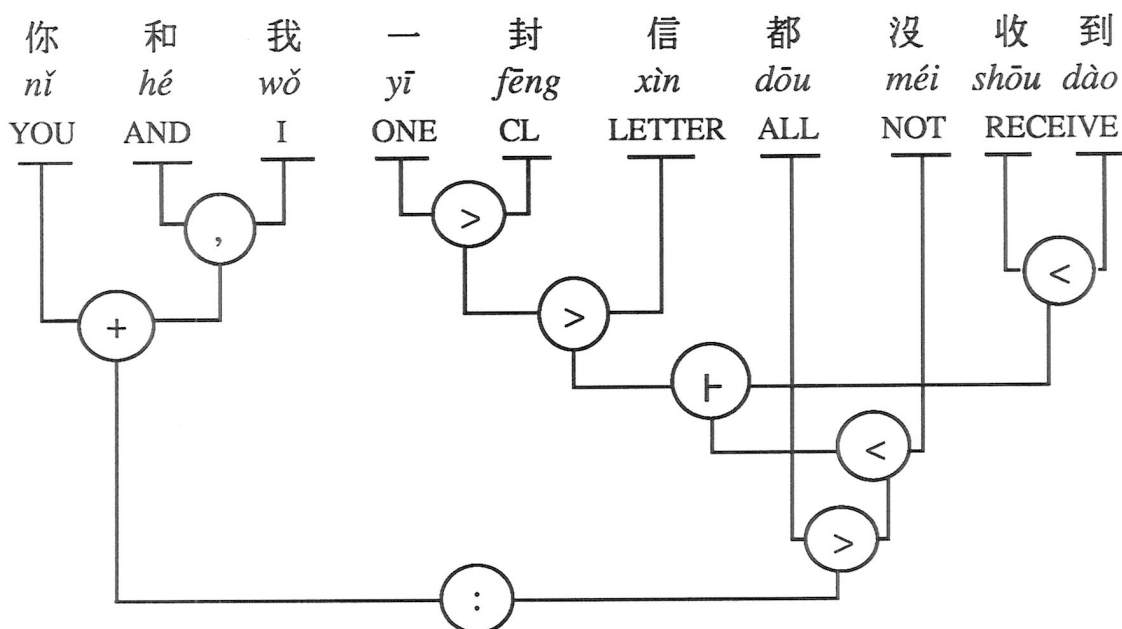
I shall now list all the observations encoded in this analysis and see to what extent these coincide with my own.

1. According to Lü's analysis, *nǐ* 你 is coordinate with *hé wǒ* 和我. The relevant node is marked "+" in his diagramme.
According to the present analysis *nǐ* 你 is coordinate with *wǒ* 我, not with *hé wǒ* 和我.

2. According to Lü's analysis *hé* 和 is a prefix to *wǒ* 我. The relevant node is marked "," in his diagramme.
According to the present analysis, *hé* 和 is a marker of the grammatical relation of coordination between nouns, and not a constituent.

3. According to Lü's analysis *nǐ hé wǒ* 你和我 is the subject of *yīfēng xìn dōu méi shōudào* 一封信都没收到. The relevant relation is marked ":" in his diagramme.
According to the present analysis, *nǐ hé wǒ* 你和我 is both the subject and the topic of the whole sentence.

4. According to Lü's analysis *yī* 一 modifies *fēng* 封. The relevant node is marked ">" in his diagramme.
According to the present analysis, *fēng* 封 is a suffix.

5. According to Lü's analysis *yīfēng* 一封 modifies *xìn* 信. The relevant node is marked ">" in his diagramme.
According to the present analysis, *yīfēng* 一封 is in apposition to *xìn* 信.

6. According to Lü's analysis *yīfēng xìn* 一封信 is the complement of *shōudào* 收到. The relevant node is marked " ⊢ " in the diagramme.
According to the present analysis is not a complement but the object of *shōudào* 收到.

7. According to Lü's analysis *dào* 到 modifies *shōu* 收. The relevant node is marked "<" in the diagramme.
According to the present analysis, *dào* 到 is a grammaticalised complement in *shōudào* 收到 and as such does indeed modify *shōu* 收.

8. According to Lü's analysis *méi* 没 modifies the construction *yīfēng xìn shōudào* 一封信收到.
According to the present analysis, *méi* 没 modifies only *shōudào* 收到 the object of which is topicalised.

9. According to Lü's analysis *dōu* 都 modifies *yīfēng xìn méi shōudào* 一封信没收到.
According to the present analysis, *dōu* 都 modifies only *méi shōudào* 没收到, *yīfēng xìn* 一封信 being topicalised.

Compare another analysis based on the one presented in Lü Shuxiang 呂叔湘 1979: 57

小	説	作	者
xiǎo	*shuō*	*zuò*	*zhě*
SMALL	TALK	MAKE	HE-WHO

"the author of the novel, the author of novels"
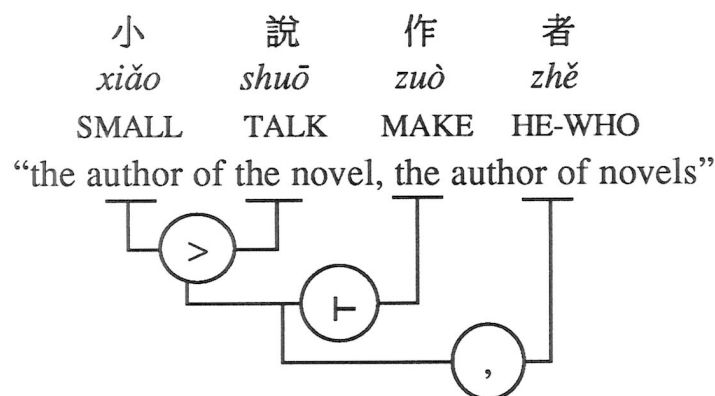
Lü Shuxiang 呂叔湘 takes this phrase to be equivalent to *zuò xiǎoshuō zhě* 作小説者 "someone who writes/has written a novel".

On our principles we should rather analyse:

小　　說　　作　　者
xiǎo　*shuō*　*zuò*　*zhě*
SMALL　TALK　MAKE　HE-WHO
"the author of the novel, the author of novels"
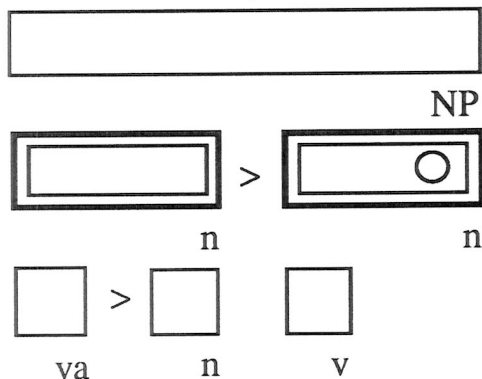
Such differences are not related to the formalism of the analysis.

你　那　又　粗　又　大　的　一　雙　手
nǐ　*nà*　*yòu*　*cū*　*yòu*　*dà*　*dě*　*yī*　*shuāng*　*shǒu*
YOU　THAT　BOTH　ROUGH　BOTH　LARGE　'S　ONE　PAIR　HAND
"that both rough and large pair of hands of yours."

你	那	又	粗	又	大	的	一	雙	手
nǐ	*nà*	*yòu*	*cū*	*yòu*	*dà*	*dě*	*yī*	*shuāng*	*shǒu*
YOU	THAT	BOTH	ROUGH	BOTH	LARGE	'S	ONE	PAIR	HAND

"that both rough and large pair of hands of yours."

The point that marks out the present analysis is that *yīshuāng* 一雙 is taken to modify the discontinuous constituent *nà yòu cū yòu dà dě shǒu* 那又粗又大的手. Such modification of a discontinuous constituent is not easily represented in our b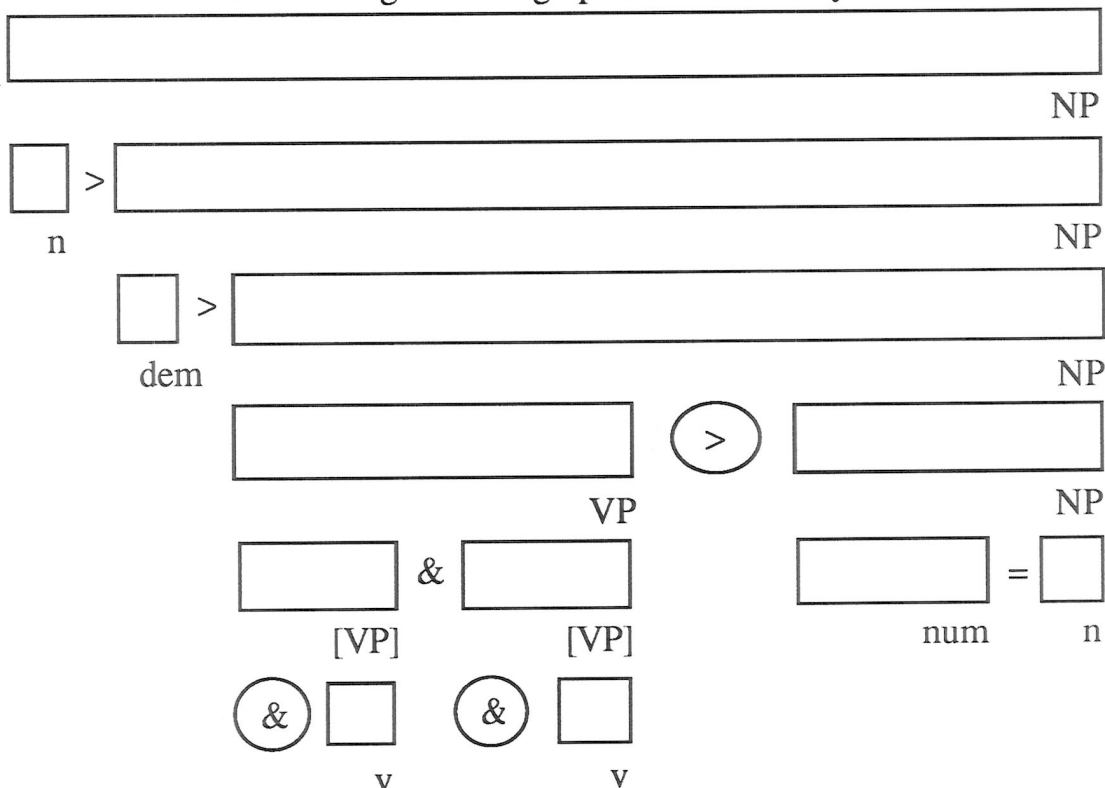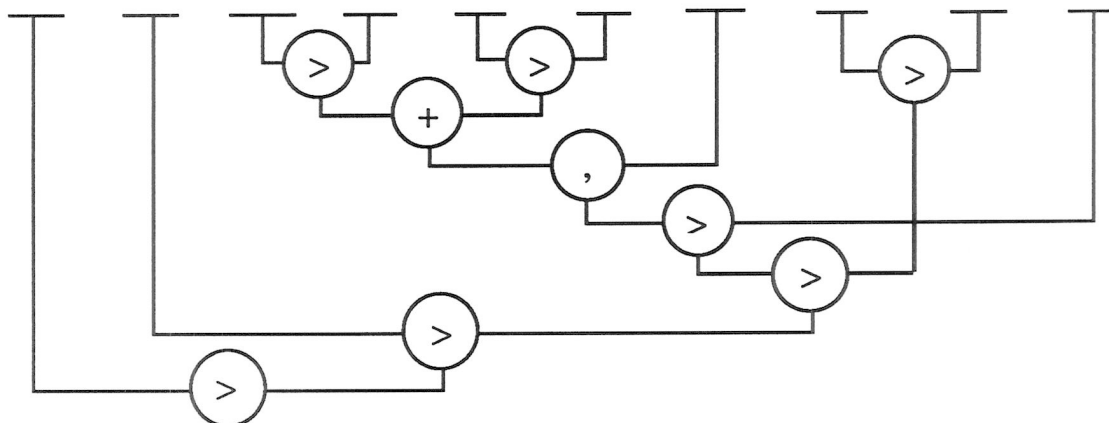oxes. The question whether or not it is necessary to assume such modification of a discontinuous constituent is worth discussing in detail.

** We note in passing that *tā yòu láilě* 他又來了 "he has come again" the word *yòu* 又 functions as an ordinary adverb, not as a marker of coordination.

There are cases where Lü Shuxiang 呂叔湘 with his method could provide a perfectly plausible and entirely justified precise analysis of an expression which causes considerable trouble for the box analysis, as in Lu Xun's phrase from the short story *Yào* 藥:

圓	圓	的	排	成	一	個	圈
yuán	*yuán*	*dě*	*pái*	*chéng*	*yī*	*gě*	*quān*
ROUND	ROUND	'S	FORM	COMPLETE	ONE	PIECE	CIRCLE

"form a perfectly round circle."
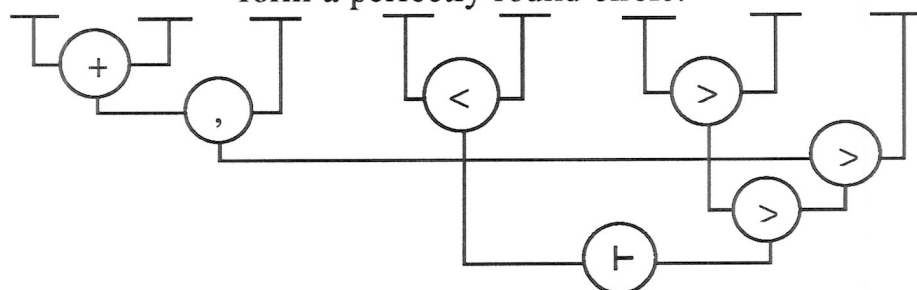
One can quarrel about the *dě* 的 here as everywhere else, but there is no doubt that the diagramme above carefully expresses the analysis that *yuányuándě* 圓圓的 modifies only the *quān* 圈 in *yīgě quān* 一個圈. One might well wonder whether we could not read this as "in a perfectly round way they formed a circle", in which case our box method has no prob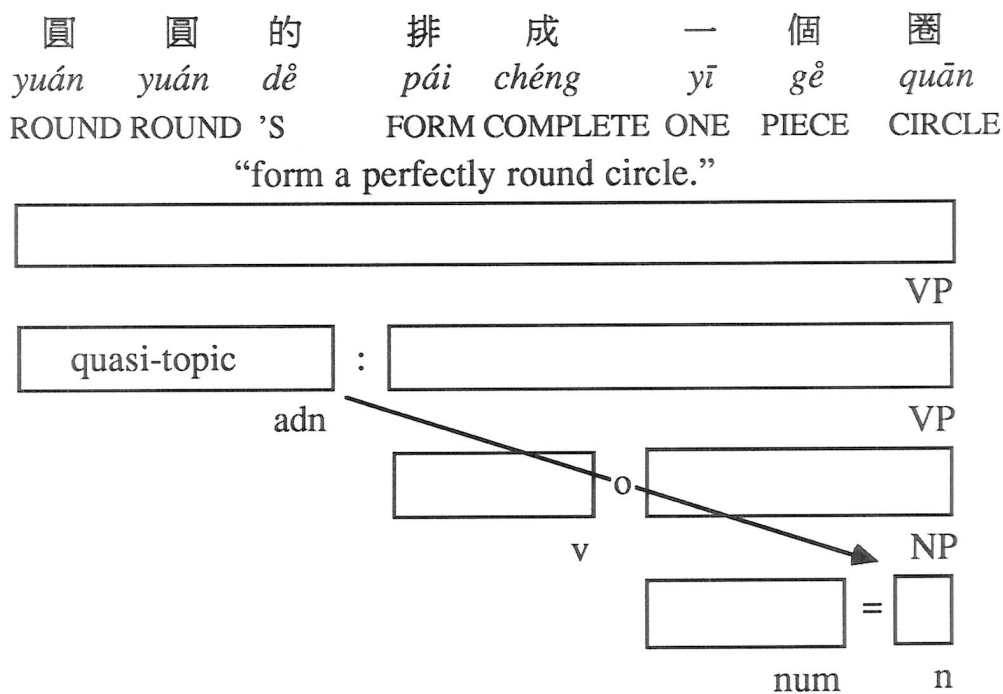lem whatsoever. Indeed, our box method would encourage this reading and discourage the other reading. It involves a bias in structural ascription.

Compare also
辣辣的做一碗湯

Here, in any case, is the attempt to analyse the sentence in boxes:

圓	圓	的	排	成	一	個	圈
yuán	*yuán*	*dě*	*pái*	*chéng*	*yī*	*gě*	*quān*
ROUND	ROUND	'S	FORM	COMPLETE	ONE	PIECE	CIRCLE

"form a perfectly round circle."

The grammatical relation between non-adjacent constituents would have to be marked with an ad hoc arrow within the box system. It would thus stand out as clearly out of the ordinary. One might argue that this is exactly what this sentence is: structurally out of the ordinary. In Latin, a similar word order would be totally within the ordinary, and a structual analysis of that language would have to provide a clear, smooth, mechanism that deals effectively with such pervasive word order problems. On the other hand, for a language like Chinese, where such word order forms are undoubtedly marginal, a congenial grammatical analytical symbolism might perhaps usefully bring this out plainly in the symbolism.

There are, in modern standard Chinese, perfectly ordinary ways of speaking

which work smoothly for Lü Shuxiang 呂叔湘 and cause trouble for us. On one most unlikely reading the following phrase causes no problem for our analysis:

拿	了	一本	書	進	來
ná	*lě*	*yībĕn*	*shū*	*jìn*	*lái*
TAKE	PERF	ONE VOL.	BOOK	ENTER	COME

A. "having taken a book he would come in."
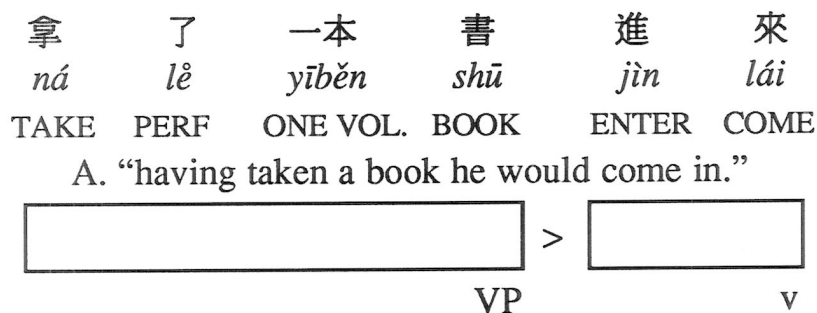
But on the most natural and quite ordinary reading, the box analysis would run into serious trouble:

拿	了	一本	書	進	來
ná	*lě*	*yībĕn*	*shū*	*jìn*	*lái*
TAKE	PERF	ONE VOL.	BOOK	ENTER	COME

"took in a book"

拿	了	一本	書	進	來
ná	*lě*	*yībĕn*	*shū*	*jìn*	*lái*
TAKE	PERF	ONE VOL.	BOOK	ENTER	COME

"took in a book"
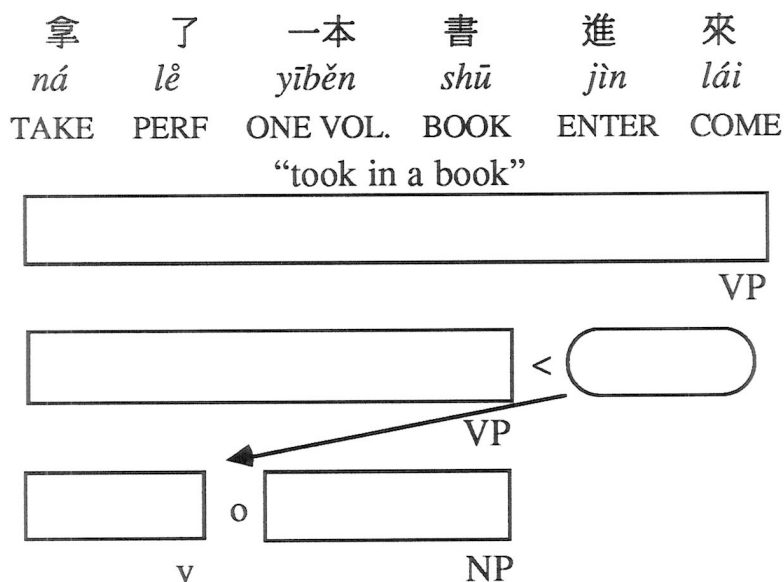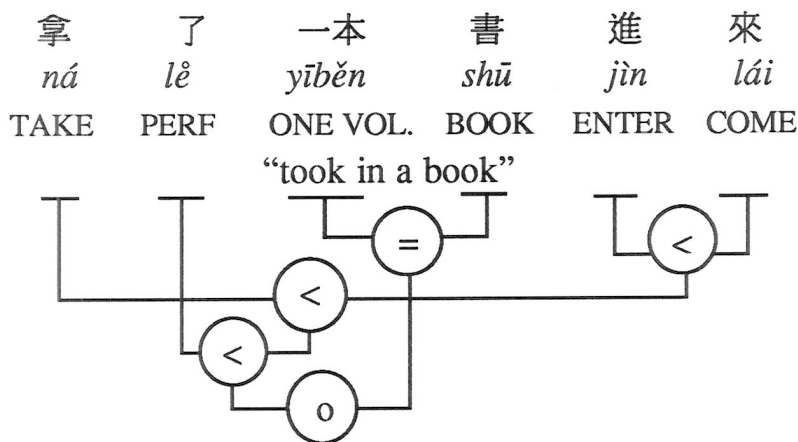
Sometimes our box system discourages certain ways of construing a sentence:

前　　天　　來　　的　　那個　　人
qián　*tiān*　*lái*　*dě*　*nàgě*　*rén*
BEFORE　DAY　COME　'S　THAT　MAN

"the person who came the day before yesterday"

問　　你　　一個　　問題
wèn　*nǐ*　*yīgě*　*wèntǐ*
ASK　YOU　ONE　QUESTION

"ask you a question"
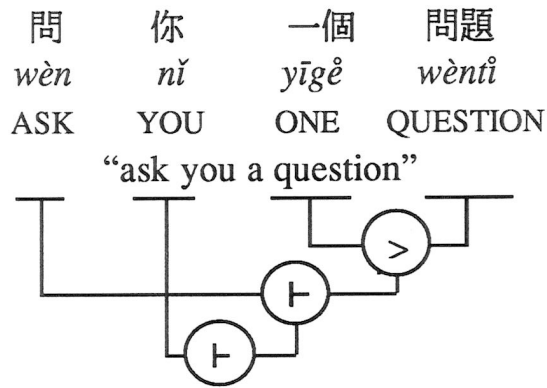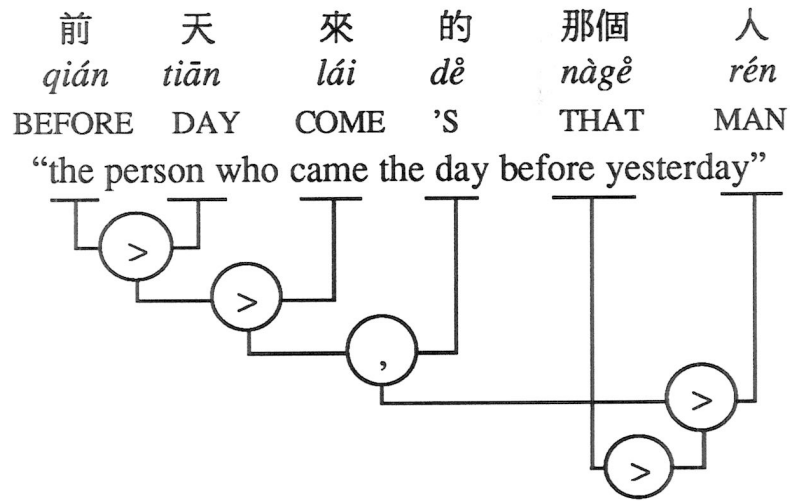
But would one want to maintain such analyses? That is the question.

他　　看　　了
tā　*kàn*　*lě*
HE　READ　PERF/CRS
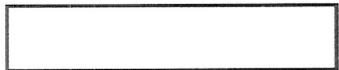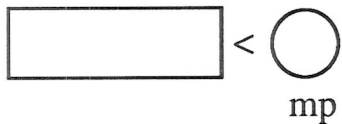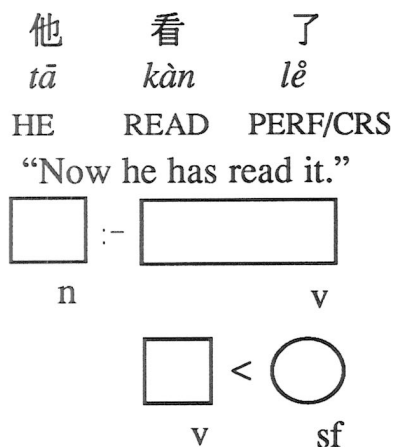
"Now he has read it."

他　　看　　了
tā　　*kàn*　　*lě*
HE　　READ　　PERF/CRS
"Now he has read it."

What are the arguments against taking the scope of sentential *lě* 了 to be the verb phrase only? Such an analysis would be hard to represent by our methods. According to Lü Shuxiang 呂叔湘 's system, one might write:

他　　看　　了
tā　　*kàn*　　*lě*
HE　　READ　　PERF/CRS
"Now he has read it."

他　　看　　了
tā　　*kàn*　　*lě*
HE　　READ　　PERF/CRS
"Now he has read it."
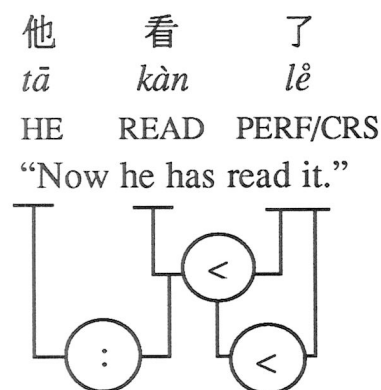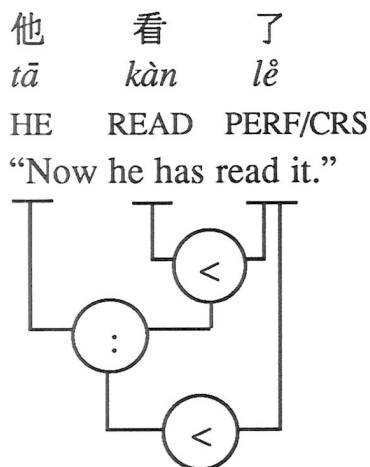
These are extremely elegant ways of representing the facts. By comparison, the box analysis is profoundly unsatisfactory: it cannot comforably accommodate double functional relations.

功　　成　　不　　居
gōng　*chéng*　*bù*　*jū*
ACHIEVEMENT ESTABLISH NOT　DWELL
"not rest on one's laurels"
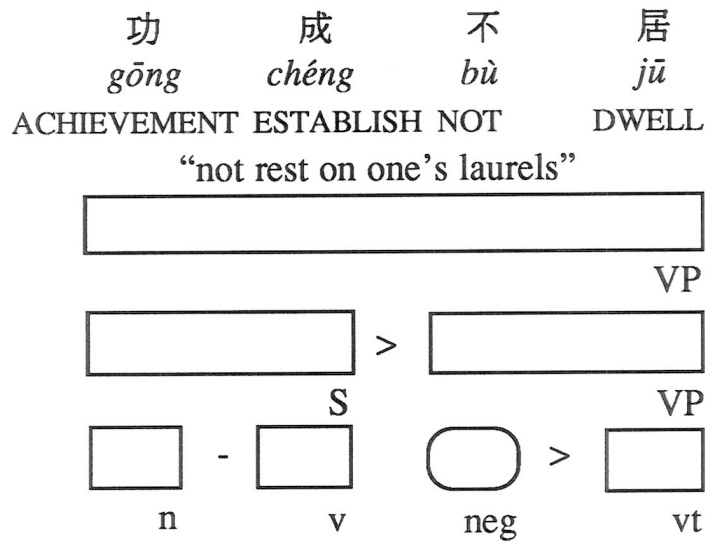
The fact that *gōng* 功 is the object of *jū* 居 remains unmarked in this analysis, but it is conveniently brought out in the following way:

功　　成　　不　　居
gōng　*chéng*　*bù*　*jū*
ACHIEVEMENT ESTABLISH NOT　DWELL
"not rest on one's laurels"

這個　字　很　容易　寫　錯
zhèige　*zì*　*hěn*　*róngyì*　*xiě*　*cuò*
THIS CHARACTER　VERY　EASY　WRITE　WRONG
"This character is easily miswritten."
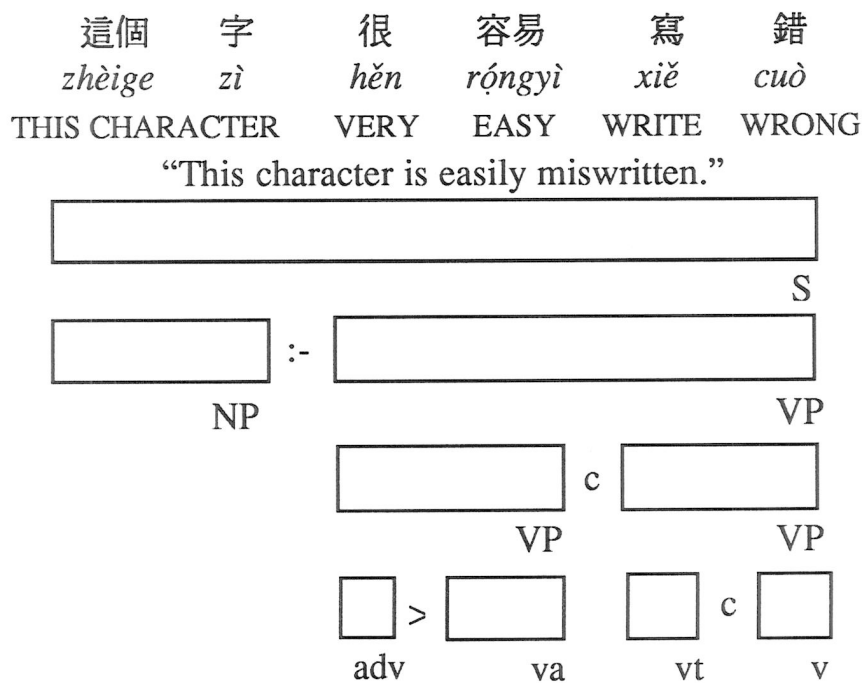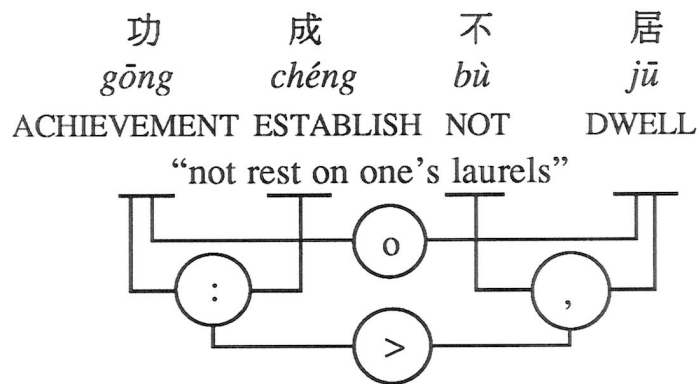
One might wish to maintain that *zhèigě zì* 這個字 is the object of *xiěcuǒ* 寫錯 and that this verb-object construction is in turn the subject of the verb phrase *hěn róngyì* 很容易 "is very easy". This would be impossible to represent through our immediate constituent boxes without some messy arrows, while under something like Lü Shuxiang 呂叔湘 's system, it is easily represented:

這個	字	很	容易	寫	錯
zhègě	*zì*	*hěn*	*róngyì*	*xiě*	*cuò*
THIS	CHARACTER	VERY	EASY	WRITE	WRONG

"This character is easily miswritten."
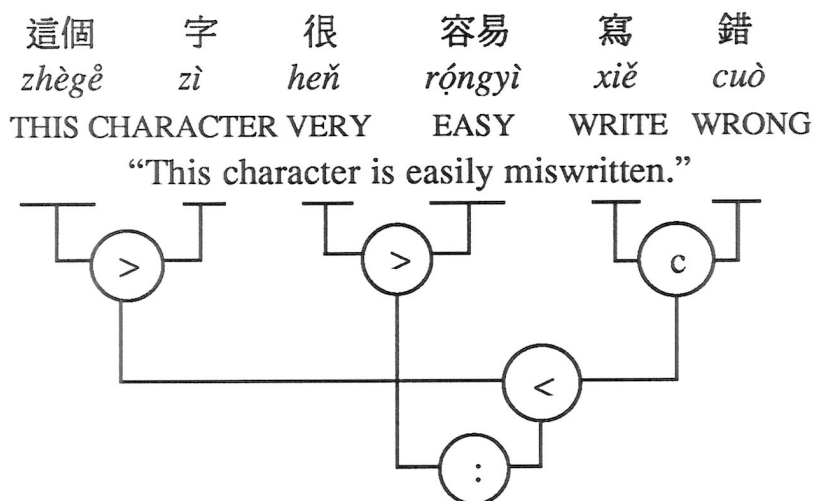
* Provide analyses for the following readings:

他不知道怎麼樣分析好。

A. He didn't know how to analyse it properly.

B. He analyses the thing properly - I don't know how.

* Consider the ambiguity of the following:

他不知道到哪兒去了。

* Using Lü Shuxiang's 呂叔湘 method analyse the following:

他一點也不懂，這個傻子。

他害死了我們的小貓兒，這個家伙。

你神經病啊，你。

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