A Contrastive Study of the Linguistic Encoding of Motion Events in Standard Chinese and in the Guanzhong Dialect of Mandarin (Shaanxi)*

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In Standard Chinese, locative phrases placed after verbs that express the manner or cause of motion typically express the GOAL of the motion, but also sometimes express the SOURCE, the ROUTE, or the DIRECTION. Here we discuss the linguistic encoding of motion events in the Guanzhong dialect, a non-standard variety of Chinese Mandarin, focusing on that particular issue. We show that the only semantic role that postverbal locative phrases can play in the Guanzhong dialect is that of the GOAL (BOUNDED PATH). This constraint is to be connected with the resultative construction, and indicates a stricter correlation between meaning and form than in Standard Chinese.

Keywords: Chinese, motion events, directionals, goal, resultative construction

1. Introduction

1.1 Some preliminary remarks on a nonstandard variety of Chinese: the Guanzhong dialect

The Guanzhong dialect belongs to a Mandarin dialect group named Zhongyuan Mandarin or Central Plains Mandarin,† and is spoken in Shaanxi Province, in the area

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† We follow here the classification adopted by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and reflected by the Language Atlas of China (1987) and Hou (2002), both of which divide the Mandarin 'supergroup' into eight dialect groups (among which are Zhongyuan Mandarin and Beijing Mandarin). The Guanzhong dialect in its narrow sense is spoken mainly in the Guanzhong area around Xi’an in the Shaanxi Province, but actually shares most of its features with the neighboring Qinlong and Longzhong subgroups (Shaanxi), as well as the Fenhe
Zhengda Tang and Christine Lamarre

around Xi’an called the Guanzhong area, which coincides roughly with the Wei River valley in central Shaanxi (or Shānxī). The Guanzhong dialect is spoken in more than 40 cities and counties, including Xi’an, a large city of about six million (this figure includes the five suburban counties under its jurisdiction). Xi’an was known as Chang’an when it was China’s capital during the Tang dynasty (7th -10th c.).

Standard Chinese is based on Beijing Mandarin, another of the eight Mandarin groups. Mandarin dialects are spoken by nearly 68% of the Chinese-speaking inhabitants of the People’s Republic of China (Hou 2002:4), and are generally considered in the literature to be an extremely homogeneous group, especially when it comes to syntax. As the amount and nature of syntactic variation within this group is still not well known, the constraints weighing on the encoding of motion events described here may seem an unlikely exception to this uniformity. Therefore, in this brief presentation of the Guanzhong dialect, we will introduce the reader to a few other grammatical features that distinguish it from Standard Chinese (abbreviated hereafter ‘SC’). The local variety we take our data from is the Yongshou dialect, spoken in Yongshou County, (99 km. northwest of Xi’an), first author Tang’s native language (abbreviated hereafter ‘YD’).

a) The obligatory nature of clause-final Tense/Aspect/Modality (TAM) particles. 2 Examples (1) to (3) are Yes/No questions formed by adding a negation at the end of the sentence and follow the pattern [Verb + TAM Particle + Negation]. Standard Chinese has no equivalent for the irrealis particle used in (1). The equivalent of [ni] in (2), ne, is used less in the written language than the preverbal progressive marker zài ‘to be at’. Only the third particle [li], which marks a change of state, functions similarly in both cases (le in Standard Chinese). Note that in YD the use of these particles is compulsory in the answers as well.3

2 We use the rather vague term ‘TAM (Tense/Aspect/Modality) particle’ for clause-final particles, as no agreement has yet been reached concerning their exact syntactic and semantic status in the northern dialects where they are widespread. A recent paper by Han Baoyu (2006) refers to these particles as expressing TAM categories.

3 The phonetic transcription used here is based on the variety of Guanzhong Dialect spoken in Yǒngshòu County. The pitch values are indicated by the two digits at the right of the IPA
The Linguistic Encoding of Motion Events in a Guanzhong Dialect

(1) [YD]  \( tʂɨ \quad 21-51 \) .ia .pu ?

吃 呀 不

eat PCLIRR NEGIMP

[SC]  

chī-bu-chī ?

吃-不-吃
eat-NEGIMP-eat

‘Will [you] eat [it] ?’

(2) [YD]  \( tʂɨ \quad 21-51 \) .tsuo -.ni .muo?

吃 著 呢 没

eat DUR-PCLPRE NEGPVF

[SC]  

yǒu-mei-yǒu zài chī ?

有-没-有 在 吃

have-NEGPVF-have be:atPROG eat

‘Is [she / he] eating (just now)?’

(3) [YD]  \( tʂɨ \quad 21-51 \) .lie .muo ?

吃 咧 没

eat PCL-CS NEGFVF

[SC]  

chī le mèiyou ?

吃 了 没有

eat PCL-CS NEGFV-have

‘Have [you / they] eaten (it) ?’

b) Different pragmatic and syntactic constraints on word order, including an extensive use of the pretransitive construction, and the impossibility for definite objects to appear after the verb. Chinese is an SVO language. The pretransitive construction, also called the ‘ba’- or ‘disposal construction’, has an OV word order but is restricted in Standard Chinese to highly transitive clauses where the patient is totally affected by the

symbols, following a scale where 5 represents the highest pitch and 1 the lowest. For instance, 35 indicates a high rising tone. Notation like 21-51 in example (1) is used in case of a tone sandhi. The former two digits indicate the base form, the latter two digits the sandhi form. A dot at the left indicates an atonal syllable. Pinyin, the official transcription in PRC, is used to transcribe Standard Chinese sentences.
Zhengda Tang and Christine Lamarre

action (Chao 1968:342-50, Li & Thompson 1981:462-491). For instance, Standard Chinese would not use the pretransitive construction in a sentence like (4a), where the patient is not affected by the action of ‘seeing’. It would use the canonical SVO order, as in (4b), instead:4

(4) a. [YD]  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>p</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>k</th>
<th>lie</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>我</td>
<td>我把</td>
<td>看著</td>
<td>例</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>Zhangsan</td>
<td>Zhangsan</td>
<td>zhāngsān</td>
<td>kàn-jiàn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[SC]  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>wǒ</th>
<th>bā</th>
<th>kàn-jiàn</th>
<th>le</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>我</td>
<td>張三</td>
<td>看見</td>
<td>le</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1SG ACC Zhangsan look-ACH PCL<sub>CS</sub>

b. [SC]  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>wǒ</th>
<th>kàn-jiàn</th>
<th>zhāngsān</th>
<th>le</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>我</td>
<td>看見</td>
<td>張三</td>
<td>le</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1SG look-ACH Zhangsan PCL<sub>CS</sub>

‘I saw Zhangsan.’

Before we discuss the linguistic encoding of spatial motion, let us first give an overview of the linguistic material used for that purpose in Chinese (1.3), and introduce the basic terms to be employed hereafter (1.2).

### 1.2 Basic terms and issues

The terms used in this paper to designate the semantic components of a motion event (FIGURE, PATH, GROUND, MANNER or CAUSE of motion), as well as the terms CO-EVENT VERBS and PATH SATELLITES, which designate the surface elements onto which these semantic elements are mapped in various languages, are borrowed from Talmy’s framework, which is widely referred to in typological studies on motion events (see Talmy 2000 and Slobin 2004). Talmy’s typology focuses on the core schema of a motion event, i.e. the path, to determine if it is typically mapped onto a path verb or onto a path satellite. ‘Satellites’ are defined as non-head elements that relate to the verb root as a dependent to a head (Talmy 2000:102), like English verb particles and Russian prefixes. The first type of encoding is characteristic of verb-framed languages like French or Japanese, which often use path verbs like sortir and deru ‘exit’. The second

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4 The range of use of this construction is narrower in Cantonese (see Cheung 1992), and, obviously, wider in the Guanzhong dialect.
type of encoding is characteristic of satellite-framed languages like English or Russian which rather add to the verb root a particle (as in ‘roll in’) for English or a prefix for Russian. The two patterns seem to coexist in modern Sinitic languages (or Chinese dialects) to express motion events. Chinese path satellites are usually called ‘directional complements’ (see table 1)⁵.

To describe the semantics of postverbal locative phrases, we classify PATHS as Jackendoff (1983:165) does in his analysis of English prepositional phrases. He divides paths into BOUNDED and UNBOUNDED PATHS. The former include GOALS (to the park, into the house) and SOURCES (from the park, off the table). Unbounded paths include DIRECTION (toward, away from + locative phrase) and ROUTE (along/across/through + locative phrase). The term GOAL thus refers here to the GOAL of a BOUNDED PATH, i.e. to the ENDPOINT of the motion.

Chinese word order is, on the whole, similar to that of English or Thai (see Norman 1988:10-11), a few important differences notwithstanding. We saw in example (4) that in Chinese the patient may appear before the verb under certain pragmatic and syntactic conditions. The placement of Chinese locative phrases before or after the verb is also not random: in modern Chinese postverbal locative phrases usually express the GOAL of the motion.⁶ This paper focuses on the differences exhibited by Standard Chinese and the Guanzhong dialect when they encode the path of motion, especially in sentences where the ground NP (the locative Noun Phrase serving as reference for the motion) is overtly expressed after a verb expressing the manner or the cause of the motion. We show that the only semantic role played by locative Noun Phrases in the Guanzhong dialect is that of the GOAL, whereas in Standard Chinese, several syntactic devices (path satellites for instance) enable locative NPs expressing the SOURCE, the ROUTE, or the DIRECTION of the motion to be placed after the co-event verb.

In the next paragraph, we give an overview of the linguistic material used both in Standard Chinese and in the Guanzhong dialect to express a change of location. Then

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⁵ Chinese path verbs cannot be used to express caused motion in the case of spatial motion. To express a causative motion event like ‘She took out a handkerchief (from her bag)’, French and Japanese can use path verbs (sortir and dasu), but Chinese must use a co-event verb followed by a path satellite, like in náchulai ‘take out (toward the speaker)’. Lamarre in Ke (2003) and Lamarre (2007) remarks that only the satellite-framed language pattern is available to express caused motion events, and argues that Chinese exhibits a ‘split pattern of conflation’ (see Talmy 2000:64-66)⁵.

⁶ Locative PPs in Classical Chinese were usually placed after the verb no matter what their semantic role. Source PPs introduced by 去zi ‘from’ could appear both after and before the verb. The rule governing the placement of locative NPs became effective at some time between the 2nd and the 10th century. See Chao 1968:754, Tai 1975:177, Norman 1988:130-31, Peyraube 1994, Sun 1996 (Chap. 2) and Zhang C. 2001 for details.
we examine two different patterns of linguistic encoding, one using path verbs (Section 2), and the other using path satellites (Section 3). In Section 4, we discuss another device found in Standard Chinese that enables expression of an \textit{unbounded path} after the co-event verb: prepositions expressing the \textit{direction} of the motion. These are not used in the Guanzhong dialect. Section 5 summarizes our findings in Sections 3 and 4, and Section 6 deals with the expression of deictic path, and gives an account of the bimorphemic structure of path satellites (deictic and non-deictic) to show how these two categories have lost in the Guanzhong dialect the relative autonomy they enjoy in Standard Chinese. In the conclusion we give some theoretical perspectives and a tentative explanation for the difference between these two varieties of Chinese.

1.3 \textbf{An overview of the linguistic material used in Chinese to express motion events}

As most of the general information given in this section is valid for both varieties of Chinese, we take our examples from Standard Chinese and transcribe them in the \textit{official Pinyin} system. In most cases, the lexical items used in the Guanzhong dialect are cognates of those used in Standard Chinese.

1) \textbf{Ground Noun Phrases} (hereafter ground NPs) or \textbf{Locative Noun Phrases} may behave just like another common noun, for instance when they follow a path verb as in \textit{guò qiáo} [cross bridge] ‘cross the bridge’. But when locative NPs appear in certain syntactic environments, for instance after a preposition, they must belong to a special subcategory of nouns called \textit{place words}. Toponyms, i.e. names of towns, regions or countries are inherent \textit{place words}, ex. ‘Beijing’ in \textit{fēi-dào Bēijīng} [fly-arrive Beijing] ‘fly to Beijing’. Deictic demonstratives like ‘here’, or disyllabic locative words like ‘inside’ (\textit{libianr} in Standard Chinese or \textit{[li$^{51}.\text{ŋɛ}$]} in the Guanzhong dialect), can also function as place words (the latter may be used when the ground NP is covert but understood from the context). However, nouns such as ‘mountain, table, river, chair’ etc., in order to become a place word, must be suffixed by a spatial postposition, or \textit{localizer}.

2) \textbf{Localizers} constitute a closed class of unstressed postpositions that have evolved from nouns. Suffixing onto the ground NP, they indicate the spatial position of the figure relative to the ground NP, like -\textit{shang} ‘upper part’, -\textit{li} ‘inside’, \textit{wài} ‘outside’. They combine with \textit{prepositions}, which have evolved from verbs, like \textit{zài} ‘at’, \textit{cóng} ‘from’ etc. to express the equivalent of English prepositions like ‘on’ or ‘in’. Their use may be compulsory, for example \textit{shān} ‘mountain’ must be suffixed with the localizer ‘upper part’ when it appears after the preposition ‘from’ in \textit{cóng shān-shang xià-lai}
from mountain-upper.part descend-come] ‘come down from the mountain’. Localizers function in the Guanzhong dialect just as they do in Standard Chinese, with some minor lexical modifications, for instance they are more often disyllabic, ex. [li }.${\text{ŋ}}$æ] ‘inside of’, which corresponds to Standard Chinese –li or –libianr. Prepositional phrases are typically placed before the verb they modify in both varieties of Chinese.

3) CO-EVENT VERBS are intransitive verbs that express the manner of motion, ex. zǒu ‘walk’, tiào ‘jump’, or transitive verbs which enable or cause the motion, like sòng ‘deliver’, tuī ‘push’, gǔn ‘roll’ or ji ‘send’, which all imply spatial motion. Other verbs which do not express motion per se like tì ‘carry or hold in one’s hand’, mǎi ‘buy’ or jiào ‘call’ also frequently combine with path satellites, as in jiào-lai ‘to have someone come here by calling him/her’.

4) Chinese has numerous PATH VERBS, which often take ground NPs as their direct objects (see Section 2 below). Some of them, which express “schematic and generalized meanings” (Slobin 2001:419), also appear after other verbs to form verbal compounds similar in many ways to resultative compounds. They seem then to function as PATH SATELLITES (see 5 below). Others like ‘rise’ or ‘fall’ can only enter the slot designed for co-event verbs, and then combine with an adequate path satellite, like fall down and rise up in English.

5) Path verbs that express schematic and generalized meanings, like lái ‘come’ and qù ‘go’ (DEICTIC PATH VERBS), and also shàng ‘ascend’, xià ‘descend’, jìn ‘enter’, chū ‘exit’, guò ‘cross’ and huí ‘return’ (NON-DEICTIC PATH VERBS), can combine with co-event verbs in a way very similar to English verb particles or Russian prefixes, to form a kind of resultative verb compound. These verbal compounds are usually considered a special subset of resultative verb compounds, because of some specific features such as their bimorphemic structure (Li and Thompson 1981:58-65, Zhu 1982:128-30, Liu Yuehua 1998:2). Path verbs appearing after other verbs in a path
resultative compound are usually called ‘directional complements’. We call them here PATH SATELLITES, but there is actually an ongoing discussion on their precise status (see note 16 below).

Path satellites consist of two subsets, one deictic: –lai ‘toward the speaker’ and –qu ‘away from the speaker’, the other non-deictic: –shang ‘up’, –xia ‘down’, –jin ‘in’, –chu ‘out’, –hui ‘back’, –guo ‘over, across’, which may combine in a fixed order, as shown in Table 1. Here ‘Pd’ designates deictic path satellites and ‘Pnd’ non-deictic path satellites. ‘G’ represents the ground noun phrase. These path satellites constitute a closed-class category and undergo phonetic weakening in Standard Chinese and in the Guanzhong dialect: they lose their original tonal value (note that in the Guanzhong dialect, as in Standard Chinese, most grammatical morphemes are unstressed and become atonic syllables).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1: Standard Chinese monomorphemic and bimorphemic path satellites</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pd</td>
</tr>
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<td>___________________</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Let us make two more remarks about Table 1 to complete the picture:

a. We used the symbol Ø, zero, to show that in Standard Chinese it is possible for non-deictic and deictic path satellites (when certain conditions are met) to combine with a verb on their own, as in ná-lai [take.in.the.hand-come] ‘bring’ or pāo-chu fāngjiān [run-exit room] ‘run out of the room’.

b. The ground NP in Standard Chinese may be expressed in preverbal prepositional phrases, be covert, or appear after the verb, in which case it must be inserted between the non-deictic and the deictic path satellite and take the order [co-event verb+Pnd+G+Pd]. The last item in the table, –dao ‘arrive, to’ in Standard Chinese is obligatorily followed by a ground NP, and cannot combine directly with deictic path satellites (that is why we inserted the symbol ‘G’ between –dao and the deictic path satellite in Table 1). There is no agreement in the field on the status of postverbal –dao ‘to’ in Standard Chinese, which derives from the verb dào ‘to arrive’. Some treat it as a path satellite (or ‘directional complement’ to use a more traditional term, see Liu Yuehua 1998 and Lü 1980), others treat it as a preposition (Chao 1968:753, Liu Danqing 2003:144). In Yongshou, the verb ‘arrive’ is pronounced [tɔ̃], and is a cognate of dào. When inserted between the verb and a ground NP, it loses its stress and is pronounced [tɔ]. Both –dao and [tɔ] exhibit a syntactic behavior distinct from other path satellites, as will be seen in the discussion below.
1.4 The language data

The Guanzhong dialect data on which this paper is based are taken, more precisely, from the dialect spoken in Yongshou (99 km. northwest of Xi’an), the first author’s native language. Several native speakers were consulted both in Yongshou and in Xi’an to confirm the validity of our conclusions.9

The examples below are specified as illustrating either ‘Standard Chinese’ (SC) or the ‘Yongshou dialect’ (YD). The abbreviations used in the glosses are listed at the end of the paper. Table 1 shows Chinese path satellites translated into English verb particles (or ‘satellites’) for clarity, but in the examples below, in order to reflect the fact that path satellites derive from path verbs, we gloss them by their original meanings as verbs, i.e. ‘ascend’ and not ‘up’, ‘arrive’ and not ‘to’. When we translate a path satellite elsewhere in the text, we use the symbol ‘>’ to indicate the derivation, as for instance -chu ‘exit>out’, or -dao ‘arrive>to’.

2. Path is Encoded in a Path Verb

2.1 Deictic path verbs and the goal of the motion

In Standard Chinese, the GOAL of the deictic path verbs lài ‘come’ and qù ‘go’ often follows the verb:

(5) [SC] wǒ xiǎng qù yí tàng Chángchūn (Lǚ 1999:455)
    我 想 去 一 路長春
    1SG think go one CL Changchun
    ‘I plan to go to Changchun / to make a trip to Changchun.’

This is not the case in the Guanzhong dialect. First of all, only the venitive path verb [le24] ‘to come’ can be followed by a ground NP, and this with many restrictions. For instance it cannot be followed by ground NPs in an independent clause. In the following examples (6), the phrase [come + Xi’an] ‘come to Xi’an’ is natural in Standard Chinese, but is not grammatical in YD:

9 The reader may find it strange that our examples never take a third person pronoun as their subject. We deliberately avoided the third-person pronoun, which in the Guanzhong dialect is subject to severe pragmatic constraints (see Tang 2005). Of course, the linguistic facts described here are valid for third person subjects too.
Zhengda Tang and Christine Lamarre

(6) [SC]  

wǒ  mèimei  zuótiān  lái  Xī’ān  le.

1SG  younger.sister  yesterday  come  Xi’an  PCL

[YP]  ∗  y这句话

mèimei  zuótiān  lái  Xī’ān  le.

1SG  younger.sister  yesterday  come  Xi’an  PCL

My sister came to Xi’an yesterday.

The order [come + ground NP] is not totally forbidden in YD. It may appear as the first VP of a serial verb construction where the second VP expresses the purpose of the motion, as in (7). The purposive clause is then followed by a deictic directional, unstressed, and semantically redundant with the first deictic verb.

(7) [YP]  

yì  le  cǐ  cǐ  lè  le  yì  le

1SG  come  Xi’an  visit  1SG  GEN  wife  come  PCL

‘I came to Xi’an to visit my wife.’

In short, in YD, the venitive path verb can take a goal NP as its object only in a non-asserted clause expressing given information. As for the andative verb [{le^44}] ‘go’, it cannot be followed by a goal NP whatever the clause. Therefore, sentence (5) is not grammatical in YD, which does not use the phrase [go + Changchun] ‘go to Changchun’. The Yongshou equivalent of Standard Chinese [deictic motion verb + ground NP] is [{‘arrive’ + G + Deictic Path}]. This pattern, in which ‘arrive’ has lost its original meaning to express only the motion to a goal, ‘move to’, is frequent in Standard Chinese too.\(^{10}\)

(8) [YP]  

yì  tuò  cǐ  cǐ  cǐ  jī  yì

1SG  tomorrow  arrive  Xi’an  go  PCL

The use of the pattern [deictic path verb + Ground NP] to express ‘come to + goal NP’, ‘go to + goal NP’ in Standard Chinese is sometimes ascribed to a southern influence. This fits with YD data: as a non-standard variety, it has not been influenced by southern patterns, whereas Standard Chinese, which is also a written medium, has kept the northern pattern, but has also as a result of koineization borrowed the southern pattern (see Hashimoto 1986:84 and Liu Danqing 2000).

\(^{10}\) The use of the pattern [deictic path verb + Ground NP] to express ‘come to + goal NP’, ‘go to + goal NP’ in Standard Chinese is sometimes ascribed to a southern influence. This fits with YD data: as a non-standard variety, it has not been influenced by southern patterns, whereas Standard Chinese, which is also a written medium, has kept the northern pattern, but has also as a result of koineization borrowed the southern pattern (see Hashimoto 1986:84 and Liu Danqing 2000).
2.2 Non-deictic path verbs followed by ground NPs:

In Standard Chinese as well as in the Guanzhong dialect, the non-deictic path verbs ‘ascend’, ‘descend’, ‘enter’, ‘exit’, ‘return’, and ‘cross’ can take a ground NP as their object. In this case, ground NPs do not need to be place words, that is, to be followed by a localizer (see 1.3 above). Here are some examples of such [path verb + ground NP] phrases frequently heard in everyday Yongshou life. In (10a)~(10c) and (10f), the ground NP is not suffixed by any localizer, whereas in (10d) the ground phrase consists in a free morpheme, a place word meaning ‘inside’. In (10e) the lexicalizer ‘inside of’ has been incorporated into the ground NP ‘home’ through lexicalization. In (10d)~(10e), the phrase [non-deictic path verb + Ground] is followed by the deictic path directional \([P_d]\). Note that the word order [non-deictic path verb + deictic path verb + ground NP] is possible in Thai and in southern Sinitic languages like Taiwanese or Cantonese, but not in northern varieties of Chinese, including Standard Chinese. The semantic roles of the ground NPs are indicated before each example, and may vary with the same path verb: the locative NP following ‘descend’ is the GOAL of the motion in (10c), but the SOURCE in (10f).

(10) a. \([P_{nd} + \text{ROUTE}]\) \([YD]\) 
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{shàng} & \text{shān} \\
\text{ascend} & \text{mountain}
\end{array}
\]
\(\text{‘climb the mountain/go up a hill’}\)
In Standard Chinese, as well as in other varieties of Chinese, path verbs can only express the autonomous motion of the figure (the moving entity). When the clause encodes a caused motion event, as in ‘throw out’ or ‘kick back’, Chinese has to combine a co-event verb expressing the cause or the manner of the motion and to encode the path with a satellite (see Ke 2003). This pattern is described in the next section.
3. Path is Expressed by a Path Satellite (or ‘Directional Complement’)

3.1 Previous studies on the special behavior of ‘directional satellites’ in the Xi’an dialect

As we noted above, in both Standard Chinese and YD, deictic and non-deictic path verbs grammaticalize into path satellites that combine with various co-event verbs (see Section 1 above and Table 1). Interestingly, in Standard Chinese, path satellites can be followed by various locative phrases, just like the full path verbs given in ex. (10). In the Guanzhong dialect, however, the six prototypical non-deictic path satellites ‘in/out/up/down/ across/back’ do not take ground NPs as their objects. To our knowledge, this was first noted by Wang Junhu (1997:80-82) in his grammatical sketch of the Xi’an dialect. Examples (11) and (12) are taken from Wang’s description, and show that what is perfectly acceptable in Standard Chinese is not grammatical in the Xi’an dialect (a major Guanzhong dialect).\(^{11}\)

\[
\begin{align*}
(11) & \quad \text{[SC]} \quad \text{bān-jìn} \quad \text{lóu} \quad \text{qu} \\
& \quad \text{carry-enter} \quad \text{building} \quad \text{go} \\
[\text{YD}] & \quad \text{*pē}^{21} \text{-tɕi}^{44} \quad \text{lō}^{24} \text{(-li.qā)} \quad \text{.tɕ}^{h} \text{i} \\
& \quad \text{carry-enter} \quad \text{building-inside} \quad \text{go} \\
& \quad \text{‘carry [it] into the building (away from the speaker)’} \\
(12) & \quad \text{[SM]} \quad \text{zōu-xià} \quad \text{fēi-jī} \quad \text{lái} \\
& \quad \text{walk-descend} \quad \text{plane} \quad \text{come} \\
[\text{YD}] & \quad \text{*tsō}^{51} \text{-xà}^{44} \quad \text{fēi}^{21-24} \text{tɕ}^{h}^{21} \quad \text{.lē} \\
& \quad \text{walk-descend} \quad \text{plane} \quad \text{come} \\
& \quad \text{‘step out of the plane (toward the speaker)’}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^{11}\) Wang’s description did not provide the incorrect sentences in The Xi’an dialect, nor the pronunciation of his Xi’an examples, so we give (11), (12), (11’) and (12’) in the Yongshou dialect.
In the Xi’an dialect, as well as in the Yongshou dialect, the goal of the motion cannot be introduced by the path satellite ‘enter’ in (11). A correct sentence has to replace ‘enter’ with the goal-marking satellite cognate to Standard Chinese –dao ‘arrive-to’. Furthermore, the only way to convey the meaning of (12), where the locative phrase is the source of the motion, is to move it to a preverbal position, using the preposition ‘from’ (Standard Chinese cóng). Examples (11’) and (12’) show that these strategies are also used in Standard Chinese.

(11’) [SC]  bān-dao  lóu-li  qu
搬到     樓里    去
carry-arrive  building-inside  go

[YD]  pæ²⁴-li  tɔ li *(.pæ) .tɛ²⁴i
搬到    樓里    岸去
carry-arrive  building-inside  go
‘carry [it] into the building [away from the speaker]’

(12’) [SC]  cóng  fēi-jī-shang  zǒu-xiā-lai
從     飛機上     走下來
from  plane-upper.part  walk-descend-come

[YD]  ta²⁴-lɔ  fɛ²⁴-tɕi²⁴-tɕi²⁴-li  .sæ  tsu²⁴-.xa-.le
打       飛机      上     走下來
from  plane-upper.part  walk-descend-come
‘step out of the airplane [toward the speaker]’

Wang (1997) does not analyze the link between the two distinct strategies used in Xi’an to render Standard Chinese sentences (11) and (12) and the semantic roles of the ground NP (source, route or goal). However, the impossibility in the Guanzhong dialect for the six canonical path satellites to take locative NPs as their object has several consequences for the semantics of postverbal locative phrases. In the following sections, we examine the possible semantic roles of ground NPs one by one: the source (3.2), the route (3.3), and the goal (3.4), to show the different behavior of Standard Chinese and YD when it comes to form-meaning pairing. Section 4 deals with another type of construction that enables Standard Chinese to express direction (unbounded path) after the verb, and section 5 examines clauses where the ground NP is covert. Wang (1997) and dialect surveys conducted by the authors in Xi’an and other
areas prove that the restrictions on the semantic roles of postverbal locative phrases described here for the Yongshou dialect are fairly representative of the whole Guanzhong area.

### 3.2 Locative phrases expressing the SOURCE

The tendency in Modern Chinese to express the GOAL of the motion after the verb, and the SOURCE of the motion before the verb was formulated by Tai (1975:175) as follows: “While the function of a Chinese preverbal place adverbial is to denote the location of an action or a state of affairs, that of a postverbal one is to denote the location of a participant of an action as a result of the action.” This is sometimes considered to be an expression of a tendency to iconicity. For instance, in the following example, taken from Lü (1999:310), the first ground NP expresses the SOURCE and is introduced by the preposition **cóng** ‘from’, whereas the second one expresses the GOAL and is placed after the verb, introduced by the path verb **jìn** ‘enter’, functioning here as a satellite **-jin** ‘into’.

(13) \[SC\] yǒu ge rén cóng wàimian pào-jìn chējiān lái

have CL person from outside run-enter workshop come

‘Someone ran into the workshop from outside.’

However, there are two exceptions to this tendency. First, PPs formed by the most common preposition expressing the SOURCE of the motion, **cóng** ‘from’, always appear before the verb, but in written style some prepositions borrowed from Classical Chinese, for instance **zì** and **yú**, can actually follow the verb. This exception can be accounted for by the existence of ‘literary layers’ within the modern (written) language12. YD does not allow any source preposition to appear after the verb. The second device which allows in Standard Chinese ground NPs expressing the SOURCE of the motion to appear after the verb is to use path verbs **xià** ‘descend’ (as a satellite ‘down, off’) and **chū** ‘exit’ (as a satellite ‘out of’) after a co-event verb. These path verbs, even when they combine with a co-event verb to form a directional compound, can still take objects expressing the SOURCE of the motion, as is illustrated in sentence (14) below.

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12 Most reference grammars note that preposition **zì** ‘from’, which may appear after the verb to introduce the source of the motion, is a direct borrowing from Classical Chinese (see for instance Chao 1968:754). Zhu (1982:175) noted that PPs following the verb are in small number, and come from Classical Chinese (he listed **zì**, **yú**, **xiàng** and **wāng**).
Zhengda Tang and Christine Lamarre

(14) [SC]  bān-xià  chē  qu  (Lü 1999:570)
搬 下 車 去
carry-descend lorry go
‘Carry [it] off the lorry!’

Such patterns are not usually considered as restricted to the written language. In this section, we show that such sentences are not accepted in YD, where they will be rendered, as in (12’), by moving the ground NP into a preverbal PP using the preposition ‘from’, in YD [ta^51.^a]. In the following example describing the motion of a mouse creeping out of its hole, the Standard Chinese sentence is given in (15a), and the morpheme-to-morpheme corresponding YD sentence is not grammatical (15b). Two strategies are possible in YD to render this meaning: if we employ the path satellite ‘out toward the speaker’ as in the original Standard Chinese sentence, the SOURCE locative phrase ‘hole’ has to be moved into a preverbal PP, with the help of the preposition ‘from’, and the addition of the compulsory localizer ‘inside’, to express ‘from inside its hole’ (15c). If we leave the locative phrase in its original postverbal position, it must then be construed as a GOAL introduced by [.t^o ] ‘arrive>to’, in which case the postnominal localizer must be changed so the mouse creeps ‘to outside its hole’ (15d).

(15) a. [SC]  lǎoshǔ  pà-chu  dōngr  lai  le.
老鼠  爬出  洞  来  了
mouse  crawl-exit  hole  come
PCL_CS

b. [YD] * mouse crawl-exit  hole  come  PCL_CS

c.[YD]  lǔ^51.-21. su  ta^51.  dǔ^44.-li. yă  p^b d^24.-ts^h. i.e  lie
老鼠  打□  洞洞  爬出  来
mouse  from  hole-inside  creep-exit-come
PCL_CS

d. [YD]  lǔ^51.-21. su  p^b d^24.-t^o  dǔ^44.-yă  i.e  lie
老鼠  爬到  洞洞  外来  来
mouse  creep-arrive  hole-outside  come
PCL_CS

‘the mouse crept out of its hole’

13 The second syllable [a] is probably a phonetic reduction of [tsu^a], the durative marker, Xi’an dialect sometimes uses [ts’hun24], a cognate of SC cóng to express the source, but [ta^51.^a] is more colloquial. As we are not sure about the character that should be used to transcribe this syllable, we use □ in the character transcription.

14 To save space, we only give the gloss for ungrammatical sentences in YD.
Let us now compare the rules governing the form-meaning pairing in Standard Chinese and in YD, shown in Fig. 1. The double arrows connecting the semantic roles to the position of the locative NP relative to the co-event verb (left or right of the verb) show the prevalent patterns for both varieties: SOURCE is expressed before the verb, and the postverbal position is typically filled by GOAL locative phrases. However, in Standard Chinese, path satellites ‘down’ and ‘out’ enable the SOURCE to appear after the verb (the shaded gray part in Fig. 1a.). These odd semantic cases are not grammatical in YD.

3.3 Locative phrases expressing the ROUTE

The ROUTE of the motion is an UNBOUNDED type of path. In Standard Chinese as well as in YD, locative phrases expressing the ROUTE typically appear before the verb, introduced by prepositions like yánzhe ‘along’ or cóng ‘from’ (tē in YD). However, as we noted above in (10a~b), the locative NPs, which function as the object of a path verb, often express the ROUTE of the motion. As a result, in Standard Chinese, there are several path verbs which may be followed by a ground NP expressing the ROUTE of the motion even when they appear after another verb, for instance xià ‘descend>down’ in pāo-xià lóu [run-descend stairs] ‘run down the stairs’, shàng ‘ascend>up’ in pā-shang shù [climb-ascend tree] ‘climb a tree’, and of course, guò ‘cross>across’, as can be seen in the following example borrowed from Tai (2003:309-10).

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15 This preposition introduces the route as well as the source. For instance when sunlight ‘streams through the window’, one says in Chinese cóng chuānghu shè-jin-lái [from window + stream-enter-come].

16 Tai used this example to argue that guò ‘cross’ is not a satellite but a full verb incorporating path, and is “the center of the predication in the verb compound fēi-guò, which indicates the completion of passing the channel”. He argues that fēi cannot occur alone in this sentence whereas guò can. It may be the case that in such compounds the path elements still retain some
In YD, none of these path elements can be followed by a ground NP when they function as satellites after another verb. Let’s look at the strategies used in YD to render those meanings. The next sentence (17) describes the motion of a policeman who ‘came tracking [the thief] through the street’. The path satellite ‘cross>through’ is followed by the locative NP ‘street’, which, semantically speaking, is the route of the motion. In YD, the ground NP either has to be construed as a source NP ‘from that side of the street over there’, leaving only the bimorphemic path satellite ‘through/over + toward the speaker’ after the verb ‘chase’ (17c), or it may also become a goal NP ‘to this side of the street’ (17d) and stay after the verb. In the latter case the satellite ‘cross>through’ is replaced by the goal-marking satellite ‘arrive>to’. In both cases the deictic localizers ‘that end’, ‘that side’ ([t44.tb] or [u44.tb]) or ‘this end’, ‘this side’ ([t44.tb]) must be suffixed to the ground NP:

(17)a. [SC]  
警察 擲 過 街 來 了  
police chase-cross street come PCLCS

b. [YD] *police chase-cross street come PCLCS

c. [YD]  
警察 打□ 街 道 那 頭 擲 過 來 咧  
police from street that-end chase-cross-come PCLCS

‘The police came over from that end of the street tracking [the thief]’

d. [YD]  
警察 擲 到 街 道 這 頭 來 咧  
police chase-arrive street this-end come PCLCS

‘The police came tracking [the thief] through the street [to here]’.

of their “verbiness”. However, Tai (2003) only discusses sentences expressing autonomous motion, and we do not know how he would analyze sentences expressing causative motion like (11). We agree that ‘cross>across’ in example (16) may be interpreted as a verb instead of a satellite. One of the purposes of this study is to show that in YD the forms encoding path after co-event verbs behave more like ‘real satellites’ than in SC.
The Linguistic Encoding of Motion Events in a Guanzhong Dialect

The next sentences illustrate various path satellites that sometimes introduce the ROUTE in Standard Chinese: ‘up’, ‘down’ and ‘out’. In each case they must be replaced by the goal-marking satellite [tœ] ‘to’, and have a localizer added to them, which changes the ROUTE NP into a GOAL NP.

(18) a. [SC] Zånģ-san pâ-shang shû qu le 張三 爬上 樹 去 了 Zhang-san climb-ascend tree go PCLCS

‘Zhang-san climbed up the tree.’

b. [YD] *Zhang-san crawl-ascend tree go PCLCS

c. [YD] tœu=21-42 sæ=21 pʰu=24-2 tœ su=22-şâŋ-ŋœ .tœ’i .lie

Zhangsan crawl-arrive tree-upper.part go PCLCS

‘Zhang-san climbed up to the top of the tree’

(19) a. [SC] chê kâi-xia shân lai le 車 開下 山 來 了 car drive-descend mountain come PCLCS

‘The car came down the mountain.’

b. [YD] *car drive-descend mountain come PCLCS

c. [YD] tœh=21 kʰE=21-51 .tœ sæ=21-xaŋ-ŋœ .ÎE .lie

car drive-arrive mountain-bottom come PCLCS

‘the car came down to the foot of the mountain’

(20) a. [SC] bâ xîngli bânchu mën qu. ÆCC luggage carry-exit door go

b. [YD] *ACC luggage carry-exit door go

c. [YD] pœ=21 cʰi=24 .li pœ=21-51 .tœ mœ=24-ueŋ-ŋœ .tœ’i

ACC luggage carry-exit door go

17 The verb kâi ([kʰE=21] in YD) means ‘drive’, but in this sentence the actor is unstated, and it can be translated as a manner verb meaning ‘to move being driven by someone’, which takes vehicles like cars and trains as its subject.
Sentences (18) and (19) express self-agentive motion, with co-event verbs expressing the manner of motion, whereas sentence (20) encodes caused motion. Let us now look at the different rules at work to connect form and meaning in Standard Chinese and in YD for locative phrases expressing the ROUTE of the motion, as we did for the SOURCE. Here too the shaded gray construction breaking up the regularity of form-meaning associations disappears in YD.

3.4 Locative phrases expressing the GOAL

In the preceding sections we have shown that in Yongshou, as in Xi’an, the six canonical items expressing non-deictic path (‘ascend>up / descend>down / enter>in / exit>out / return>back / cross>across/through’) can take ground NPs as their objects only when they function as the main verb of the clause (i.e. as path verbs, as in ex. 10), but not when they function as satellites and follow another verb. In the present section, we will give a more detailed account of clauses where a postverbal locative phrase expresses the GOAL of the motion.

First, let’s look at what happens when we want to translate a Standard Chinese sentence where a path satellite introduces the GOAL of the motion into YD. In example (21a.), ‘enter>in’ is followed by a GOAL NP ‘the room’. In YD, it will be replaced by the goal-marking satellite [tọ] ‘arrive>to’, and the locative NP will have to be suffixed by a localizer.

(21) a. [SC] Zhāngsān zōu-jin fāngjiān lai le
    張三 走進 房間 來 了
    Zhangsan walk-enter room come PCL_CS

b. [YD] * Zhāng-sān zōu-jin fāngjiān lai le
    張三 走進 房間 來 了
    Zhangsan walk-enter room come PCL_CS
If we look at the issue from another angle and examine the forms that can appear between the co-event verb and the locative phrase in Yongshou, we find only three items, all of which introduce the goal and have the same meaning of ‘to’. The first one derives from [tʊ⁴⁴], a cognate of the SC verb dào ‘arrive’, already introduced in 1.3 above, which weakens to an atonal syllable [.tʊ] when inserted between the verb and the locative phrase. Another form is [.tʊə], homophonous with the durative aspect marker [.tʊə] (see example (2) above), which was presumably grammaticalized from a verb meaning ‘to stick to’. The last form [.ʊ] has undergone a phonetic reduction so drastic that it could come from either [.tʊ] or [.tʊə]: the syllable is atonal, the initial consonant is totally lost, and the vowel is reduced to a schwa [.ʊ]. All three forms are unstressed, and when they appear between the co-event verb and the ground NP, they are in free variation to introduce the GOAL of the motion. In the sentences above, wherever [.tʊ] is used to introduce the goal, [.tʊə] and [.ʊ] are also accepted in YD.

Standard Chinese also contains sentences of the type [co-event verb + -dao ‘to’ + G + localizer], which function like the YD sentences [co-event verb+[.tʊ]+G+localizer] given in (15d.), (17d.), (18c.), (19c.), (20c.) and (21c.). Such sentences are actually more colloquial than the Standard Chinese sentences using a non-deictic path satellite to introduce the ground NP given in (14), (15a), (16), (17a), (18a), (19a), (20a) and (21a). Both types are nevertheless given an equal status in linguistic descriptions of Standard Chinese. As in YD, when the locative phrase is introduced by -dao ‘to’, the ground NP in Standard Chinese must be suffixed by a localizer. Therefore, we do not claim that

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18 This reduced variant [ʊ] has various phonetic realizations, and sometimes also induces a phonetic modification of the coda of the preceding syllable (that is, of the co-event verb). We will not get into the details of these phonetic variations, which it would take another study to adequately explore.

19 From what we understand of the geographical distribution of these variants, dialects spoken to the west of Yongshou, like Yinchuan (Ningxia, see Gao et al. 1997:79), Lanzhou (Gansu, see Wang et al. 1997:77) or Tongxin (see Zhang 2000:275) are reported to use cognate forms of ‘stick to’ [tʊə] / [tʊə] to introduce postverbal goal NPs. Language consultants from more eastern areas, like Xi’an and Heyang, use rather cognates with ‘arrive’ [.τau]. The distribution of the reduced variant [ʊ] is unclear, but it has been reported in both Yongshou and Xi’an. [.tʊə] ‘stick to>to’ could introduce the goal of the motion in Early Medieval Chinese (see Peyraube 1994) but is not used any longer in this function in Standard Chinese.
Zhengda Tang and Christine Lamarre

these varieties of Chinese follow a radically different system of rules. The difference between the two systems does not amount to two separate strategies, it would be more accurate to say that the nonstandard variety (YD) is more consistent, ruling out the devices being used in Standard Chinese locative NPs with other semantic roles than that of the GOAL of the motion to be placed after the co-event verb. Let us now examine another device enabling Standard Chinese to put an UNBOUNDED PATH phrase after a co-event verb.

4. Postverbal Prepositions Introducing UNBOUNDED PATH

In this section we discuss sentences where postverbal ground NPs are used in Standard Chinese to express DIRECTION, another type of UNBOUNDED PATH. In modern Chinese, prepositional phrases (PPs) expressing the DIRECTION of the motion, introduced for instance by prepositions wǎng, xiàng or cháo, are typically placed before the verb, as in (22).

(22) [SC] chuánduì cháo hǎidǎo shǐ-qù (Lü 1999:115)
fleet toward island sail-go
‘The fleet was sailing toward the island.’

This fits with the general opposition between preverbal PPs, which have no bounding effect on the clause, and postverbal path satellites, which are usually treated as a subset of resultative satellites (see section 1.3 above) and should as such have a bounding effect on the clause they take part in.

In Standard Chinese, cháo ‘toward’ never appears after a verb. However, reference grammars of Standard Chinese list two prepositions which may introduce ground NPs expressing DIRECTION, and appear after the verb: xiàng and wǎng ‘toward, in the direction of’.

(23) [SC] chēduì kāi-wàng Lāsà (Lü 1999:547, see also Lü 1999:578)
motorcade drive-toward Lhasa
‘The motorcade was marching toward Lhasa’

Such sentences belong to the written register and are highly constrained: only a small set of monosyllabic manner-of-motion verbs may enter the clause (Lü 1999:547 & 578), only two of the three prepositions meaning ‘toward’ are used after the verb
(chāo is excluded), and they are more frequent in political slogans and newspapers headlines (‘let’s walk toward socialism!’) than in colloquial speech (Zhu 1982:175 considers that postverbal xiàng is a borrowing from Classical Chinese, see note 12 above). Nevertheless, most reference grammars consider these items as prepositions, and it is usually admitted that in Standard Chinese the DIRECTION of the motion (UNBOUNDED PATH) may appear either before or after the verb.

Significantly, in YD, such sentences are not grammatical. DIRECTION may be expressed in YD by several prepositions (‘奔’ [pē44] or [pē44], ‘朝’ [tʂʰə̂45], or ‘往’ [uɐ44]), which can only appear in a preverbal PP, as in SC sentence (22).

(24) [YD] 往 左 拢 =
 uɐ44 tsuv51 kue51
 toward left turn
 ‘Turn to the left.’

Figures 3a. and 3b. show the correlation between the semantic roles of the ground NPs and their position relative to the verb in Standard Chinese and in YD. No preposition is available in Yongshou to express an UNBOUNDED PATH after the verb.

5. Summary of our Findings in Sections 3 and 4.

In Standard Chinese, the six canonical path verbs can take locative NPs as their argument, even when they form a directional compound with a co-event verb expressing the manner or cause of motion (i.e. in our terms, they can take a ground NP as their object even when they function as satellites). Such locative phrases may have various semantic roles, including those of SOURCE and ROUTE of the motion. Furthermore, in Standard Chinese, some of the prepositions meaning ‘from’ and ‘toward’ are used after the verb. Therefore, in Standard Chinese, locative phrases expressing the SOURCE, the ROUTE, and the DIRECTION of the motion are used after the verb, creating problematic exceptions to the principle, generally acknowledged, that
postverbal ground NPs express in Chinese as a rule the GOAL of the motion. Conversely, in YD, only [.t3] ‘arrive > to’, [.tšua] ‘stick to > to’ or their reduced variant [.ə] can appear between the co-event verb and the ground NP, no other path satellites, and no preposition ‘toward’ can enter this syntactic slot. As a result, the only semantic role that postverbal locative phrases in YD can play is that of the GOAL.

A last remark: just as -dāo ‘arrive>to’ in Standard Chinese, [.t3] (as well as its variants) in YD only convey the ‘reaching’ of the GOAL, they do not convey any information about the position of the Figure relative to the ground NP, such as ‘on, in, out’ etc., so this information has to be provided by the postnominal localizers.

In the following section, we deal with the expression of deictic direction.

6. Deictic Direction

6.1 Covert ground NPs and the role of the goal-marking satellite

In many dialogue situations experienced in everyday life, the information about the ground NP does not need to be overtly expressed. For instance in Standard Chinese as well as in YD, if we know of the existence of a mouse hole in our wall, the ground NP may be covert as in ex. (25):

(25) [YD]  ƚ5l-21.šɿ pʰd24-.tš-hɿ-.le  .lɪɛ
老鼠  爬出来  来
mouse  creep-exit-come  PCL-CS

[SC]  lāo-shù  pā-čhú-lai  le
老鼠  爬出来  了
‘the mouse crept out’

We focused in the preceding sections on several patterns used in Standard Chinese but not in YD. Let us now present a pattern specific to YD. In Standard Chinese the path satellite expressing the GOAL of the motion, –dāo ‘arrive > to’, is obligatorily followed by the goal NP. It cannot be followed immediately by –lai and –qu, the deictic path satellites (this is one of the reasons for which many reference grammars and textbooks do not include -dāo in the list of the ‘directional satellites’). In contrast with Standard Chinese, in YD [.t3] (or [.tšua] or [.ə]) can combine directly with deictic directionals, as shown the following sentence, which can be used in situations similar to examples (15) and (25):

(25) [YD]  ƚ5l-21.šɿ pʰd24-.tš-hɿ-.le  .lɪɛ
老鼠  爬出来  来
mouse  creep-exit-come  PCL-CS

[SC]  lāo-shù  pā-čhú-lai  le
老鼠  爬出来  了
‘the mouse crept out’
The Linguistic Encoding of Motion Events in a Guanzhong Dialect

(26) [YD]  ṭ5l-21suň pʰd24-tɕ-.lē .lē
老鼠 爬 到 来 咧
mouse creep-arrive-come PCLCS
‘the mouse crept here’

Sentences (27) and (28) illustrate the structural differences between Standard Chinese and YD verb phrases: in Standard Chinese, the ground NP inserted between the non-deictic path satellite and the deictic path satellite in (27a) can be omitted for all non-deictic path satellites, as in (27b), except –dao ‘arrive>to’ (28b). Conversely, in YD, no ground NP can be inserted between the non-deictic and the deictic path satellites (27a), except for [.] ‘arrive>to’ (28b), and (28b) is grammatical. We sum up these rules in Table 2.

(27) a. ‘walked into the room [toward the speaker]’ → b. ‘walked in.’
[SC] a. zǒu-jin fǎngjiànl(n) lai le b. zǒu-jin-lai le
走進 房間 (裏) 來 了 走進來 了
walk-enter room-inside come PCLCS walk-enter-come PCLCS

[YS] a. * tʂ5i-.lciē fət斯坦-li.piäč. le .lē b. tʂ5i-.tɕē-.lē .lē
走 進 房子 裏 岸 來 咧 走 進來 咧
* walk-enter room-inside come PCLCS walk-enter-come PCLCS

(28) a. ‘walked into the room [toward the speaker]’ → b. ‘came walking’
[SC] a. zǒu-dao fǎngjiànl-n_lai le b. * zǒu-dao-lai le
走到 房間 裏 來 了 走 到來 了
walk-arrive room-inside come PCLCS walk-arrive-come PCLCS

[YS] a. tʂ5i-.a44-.tɕ fət斯坦-li.piäč. le .lē .lē → b. tʂ5i-.a44-.tɕ-.lē .lē
走到 房子 裏 岸 來 咧 走 到來 咧
walk-arrive room-inside come PCLCS walk-arrive-come PCLCS

Table 2: Possible combinations of a co-event verb (Vco-e), a non-deictic Path Satellite (Pnd), and a ground NP (G)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pnd = ‘up, down, out, in, across, back’</th>
<th>Pnd = ‘to’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vco-e + Pnd + G + Pd</td>
<td>Vco-e + Pnd + Pd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YD</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The fact that the goal-marking satellite ‘to’ can be directly followed by a deictic path satellite will have an interesting repercussion on the combination of nondeictic and deictic satellites. Whereas in Standard Chinese co-event verbs are frequently followed immediately by deictic path satellites, such as nálai [take-come] ‘bring’, this is not accepted in YD. Even when the speaker need not be precise about the non-deictic path of motion, she or he can use the goal-marking satellite [.t ] (and variants) as a ‘dummy’ element to fill in this slot:

(29) [SC]  bǎ nǐ mā jiào-lai ！
            ACC 2SG mother call-come

[YD]  pd₁ nᵶ₁ md₄ tɕiyᵸᵢ₋ *(.ə)-le
       ACC 2GEN mother call-*(arrive)-come

‘Call your mother (and make her come here)’

In other words, for YD, we can rule out the possibility that the slot devised for the non-deictic satellite will be left empty (we showed earlier in Table 1 that ‘non-deictic satellite = zero’ is possible in Standard Chinese). We will see in the next section that in YD the syntactic slot devised for the deictic path satellite cannot be left empty either.

6.2 Deictic path is obligatorily expressed whenever non-deictic path is expressed

In Standard Chinese, the deictic directional may be omitted when the ground NP appears after the complex [co-event verb + nondeictic path satellite] (see Liu Yuehua 1998:36). We have shown earlier that in YD, such patterns are not used. As a result, in all the YD sentences given above, no matter whether the ground NP expresses the source (Prep+G+V+D) or the goal (V-.t]+ G) of the motion, the deictic viewpoint cannot be omitted.

(30)=(28)  tʂɑ̃²¹ sɛ̂²¹  tsuᵶ⁻⁴⁴-.tʊ  tɕᵶ₂⁴ tʂ̃₁ liŋ- ∗(tɕʰᵢ)  liæ
            Zhang-san walk-arrive room-inside *(go) PCLCS

‘Zhang-san walked into the room’

There is another environment in Standard Chinese where the omission of the
The Linguistic Encoding of Motion Events in a Guanzhong Dialect

deictic Path component occurs: when a figure NP follows the complex [co-event verb + non-deictic satellite] in a caused motion event (Liu Yuehua 1998:36). YD, in contrast, does not use such patterns either. In other words, expression of deictic direction is compulsory in YD in any clause where the co-event verb is followed by a non-deictic Path Satellite.20 In the next example, the speaker fell into a ditch and asks a friend to throw him/her a rope to get out. The figure (the rope) can be inserted in Standard Chinese between the path satellites, especially for an imperative sentence. Figures cannot be inserted in this way in YD. If the moving entity is an indefinite NP as in sentence (31), it must be placed after the deictic satellite:

(31) [SC]  Nǐ  gěi  wǒ  rěngxiá  gēn  shéngzi  lái !
You  give  me  throw-descend  come rope  come
2SG BEN 1SG throw-descend CLF rope come

[YD]  *Nǐ 51  gěi54  wǒ51  rěngxiá  ɡēn  shéngzi  lái !
You  give  me  throw-descend  come rope  come
2SG BEN 1SG throw-descend CLF rope come

‘Throw me a rope down here!’

Of course, in sentences where the ground NP is covert (because understood from the context) or expressed before the verb (in a prepositional phrase expressing the source of the motion for instance), it is also impossible to omit the deictic viewpoint, just as it is impossible in Standard Chinese.

mouse  from  hole-inside  creep-exit *(come) PCLcs
‘the mouse crept out of its hole’

(33) [YD]  pù52-.tēi51-. *(.tě54)
carry-enter*(go)
‘Carry [it] in!’

20 Some sentences with a postverbal [.tě] ‘arrive’ seem to present an exception to this rule, but there is some evidence that in such sentences [.tě] still retains its verbal meaning of ‘arrive’. For reasons of space, we cannot present this evidence here.
6.3 Non-deictic path and deictic path form a tightly knit unit in YD

In Standard Chinese, the two subsets of path satellites, deictic and non-deictic, usually appear together as a bimorphemic unit, especially in the spoken language (see Lamarre, forthcoming). They may, however, appear independently when certain conditions are met. From the data observed in 6.1 and 6.2, we can conclude that in YD, these two subcategories of path satellites always appear together. It should be noted here that path verbs also show much more resistance to being split into a deictic and a non-deictic unit in YD than in Standard Chinese. For instance, in Standard Chinese, bimorphemic path verbs like  

\begin{verbatim}
chūlai [exit-come] ‘come out’ or shàngqu [ascend-go] ‘go up’ behave morphologically like a resultative compound, and can be expanded into a potential phrase expressing the physical impossibility of the motion by the insertion of a negation, as in (34):
\end{verbatim}

\begin{align}
(34) \text{a.}\ & \text{jin-qu} \quad \text{jin-bu-qu} \quad \text{b.}\ & \text{huí-lai} \quad \text{huí-bu-lái} \\
\text{進去} & \quad \text{進不去} & \text{回來} & \quad \text{回不來} \\
\text{enter-go} & \quad \text{enter-NEGIMPF-go} & \text{return-come} & \quad \text{return-NEGIMPF-come} \\
\text{‘go in’} & > \text{‘cannot go in’} & \text{‘come back’} > \text{‘cannot come back’}
\end{align}

In YD, however, these morphological expansions are not used, and these verbs behave like normal verbs rather than like compounds: impossibility is expressed by a preverbal modal auxiliary as shown in (35). Note that these forms all express dynamic possibility (ability), just like the Standard Chinese potential forms in (34). For instance, the typical construction for (35a) would be ‘cannot get in because the door is locked’, and for (35b) would be ‘cannot come back home because there are no buses running tonight’ or ‘because the weather is too bad’.

\begin{align}
(35) \text{a.}\ & \text{tcie}^{d^4}-.tc^{b^i} \quad \text{b.}\ & \text{xui}^{d^4}.IE \\
\text{進去} & \quad \text{不得} & \quad \text{進去} \\
\text{enter-go} & \quad \text{NEGIMPF-get} & \quad \text{enter-go} \\
\text{‘go in’} & > \quad \text{‘[I] cannot go in’} \\
\text{return-come} & \quad \text{NEGIMPF-get} & \quad \text{return-come} \\
\text{‘come back’} & > \quad \text{‘[she] cannot come back’}
\end{align}
6.4 Summary of section 6

To summarize the findings of this section, bimorphemic path-expressing items behave in YD like a tightly knit unit, although each of their components expresses a specific grammatical meaning (non-deictic path and deictic direction). Path verbs can only be split by the insertion of locative NPs. when the non-deictic path verb takes a ground NP as its object (see ex. 10). Furthermore, they cannot be expanded into a potential form, which is common in Standard Chinese. When these path-expressing items function as satellites, a locative NP can be inserted only for the goal marker [.tɔ] ‘arrive > to’. The non-deictic and deictic satellites cannot be separated by the insertion of the figure of the motion either.

The obligation for path-expressing elements to take a twofold shape [non-deictic + deictic] fits with the way YD expresses deictic motion, i.e. by a bimorphemic portmanteau item consisting of the non-deictic path verb [tɔ^+.t] ‘arrive>move to’ and by the deictic path elements [.l] ‘toward the speaker’ and [.t] ‘away from the speaker’, the ground NP being inserted in between (as was illustrated in examples 8 and 9).

7. Conclusion

None of the principles proposed up to now to account for the position of locative phrases in the clause can satisfactorily explain the clauses where path satellites or prepositions are followed in Standard Chinese by ground NPs that express the SOURCE, the ROUTE, or the DIRECTION of the motion. We showed in this paper that these irregular form-meaning pairings are not used in the Guanzhong dialect, which only uses the goal-marking path satellite ‘to’ to appear after the verb to introduce a locative NP. The Guanzhong Dialect does not use the construction [co-event verb+path satellite+locative phrase] where the six canonic path satellites were likely to be followed by NPs with semantic roles other than the GOAL of the motion. It also does not use PPs expressing DIRECTION after the verb, which fits better with the tendency for resultative constructions to express BOUNDED PATHS. Table 3 summarizes the semantic roles of locative phrases in Standard Chinese and in YD.

Table 3: The semantic roles of ground NPs in Standard Chinese and in the Yongshou Dialect

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21 According to Lamarre’s surveys of other Northern dialects, in Hebei, Shanxi and northern Shaanxi, as well as according to secondary sources on Wu dialects and Xiang dialects, spoken in Central China, this evolution is not restricted to the Guanzhong dialect, and is actually common to quite many other areas of Northern and Central China.
Zhengda Tang and Christine Lamarre

These findings raise a question: since Standard Chinese is supposed to share most of its syntactic features with Beijing Mandarin and with the other Northern Mandarin dialects, why should another northern Mandarin dialect, even if it is a non-standard variety, behave so differently in this matter? Let us give here two brief tentative answers:

a) The Mandarin dialects are the most innovative of the Sinitic taxon (southeastern dialects are known to be more conservative). The resultative construction did not exist in Classical Chinese, and we know that in Classical Chinese there was no correlation between the syntactic position of the locative phrases and their semantic roles (see note 6 above). Chinese is very probably evolving from a verb-framed language to a satellite-framed language (see Talmy 2000:118, Ke 2003, Peyraube 2006 and Xu 2006), and innovative dialects are likely to lead the way. Talmy (2000:238, 266, 272) noted that in satellite-framed languages the core schema of an event of state change as well as of an event of realization appears in the satellite. Chinese path satellites appear in the same syntactic environment as the ‘resultative complements’, which typically express state change in Chinese. Chinese path satellites appear in the same syntactic environment as the ‘resultative complements’, which typically express state change in Chinese. Talmy (2000:280-1) also noted the tendency for satellites to be associated with boundedness. This is clearer for languages like Russian and Hungarian than for languages like English, where the picture is quite blurred (see Cappelle & Declerck 2005). Our study proves that if we take care to look at nonstandard varieties, Chinese shows a clear-cut case of a language where path satellites function as bounders.

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22 Shi (2002:163) did recognize the connection between the principle governing the position of locative phrases and the establishment of the resultative construction in Chinese, stating that “except for those prepositional phrases which serve to make the predicate telic, prepositional phrases must appear in a preverbal position”. However, he does not mention how to deal with sentences like (23) where a PP expressing direction (unbounded path) appears after the verb. Besides, Shi believes that directional complements (our path satellites) are different from resultative complements and have no bounding function (2002:159-161), so apparently for him the patterns using postverbal PPs and those using path satellites are not governed by the same rules. There are other apparent exceptions in Standard Mandarin to the general rule that postverbal PPs have a bounding function. See Chirkova and Lamarre (2005) for a study on the construction ‘verb + be.at + locative phrase’ in Beijing Mandarin, another apparent exception to the rule associating the postverbal position to aspectual boundedness, and Mulder and
b) Standard Chinese is the product of koineization, and as such is heterogeneous (see for example the case of deictic motion verbs presented in Section 2). The discrepancy between the Guanzhong dialect and Standard Chinese reflects not only the difference between two regional varieties, but also the gap between a spoken vernacular and a written standard which mixes archaisms and dialectalisms borrowed from various areas, not to mention influences from foreign languages.

**Abbreviations used in the glosses**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG, 2SG</td>
<td>Personal pronoun, first and second person, singular: ‘I’, ‘you’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1GEN, 2GEN</td>
<td>The plural form of a personal pronoun used as a possessive: ‘my’, ‘your’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>Accusative marker forming the pretransitive construction (SC bă)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACH</td>
<td>Achievement marker, expressing the achievement of the verb it follows</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEN</td>
<td>Benefactive marker (SC gēī)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL</td>
<td>Numeral classifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUR</td>
<td>Durative verbal suffix (SC zhe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEGIMFV</td>
<td>Negative marker for habitual or uncompleted events (SC méī)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NECPFV</td>
<td>Negative marker for past or completed events (SC bù)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCLIRR</td>
<td>Clause-final particle marking future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCLCS</td>
<td>Clause-final particle marking a change of state (SC le)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCLPRE</td>
<td>Clause-final particle marking a present, ongoing, or habitual action or state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFV</td>
<td>Perfective verbal suffix (SC le)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROG</td>
<td>Progressive aspect (SC zài ‘be at’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sybesma (1992) for a convincing analysis of postverbal PPs as arguments and preverbal PPs as adjuncts.
Zhengda Tang and Christine Lamarre

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關中方言和普通話位移事件：
表達的對比研究

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普通話中，方所短語如果出現在表示位移的方式或使因的動詞之後，則可以表示位移的目標，也可以表示位移的起點、路徑或方向。本文主要從這方面入手，關注關中方言位移事件的語言表達，並以普通話作爲對比和参照。文章發現，關中方言中動詞後的方所短語只能表達目標（有界路徑）這一語義角色。文章注意到這一限制與動結式之間的聯繫，並指出，關中方言在句法和語義方面的關聯比普通話緊密和嚴格。

關鍵詞：漢語，位移事件，趨向補語，目標，動結式