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Submitted on 14 Oct 2016

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Résumé
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Abstract
This article focuses on the meanings of the postverbal locative construction in the Beijing dialect of Mandarin, as attested in a spoken corpus collected in 2000-2001. We show that in contrast to Standard Mandarin, where this construction has been argued to have two meanings (durative and terminative) for verbs of posture and placement, on the one hand, and in uniformity with Beijing Mandarin texts of the late Qing and with Northern Mandarin data, on the other, this construction in the Beijing dialect of Mandarin has only one, terminative, meaning for all verbs. We also propose an explanation for the existing exceptions to this pattern.

Citer ce document / Cite this document :
http://www.persee.fr/doc/clao_0153-3320_2005_num_34_2_1735

Document généré le 02/06/2016
The paradox of the construction $[V \text{ zai } NP_{\text{Loc}}]$ and its meanings in the Beijing dialect of Mandarin$^1$

Katia CHIRKOVA & Christine LAMARRE

This article focuses on the meanings of the postverbal locative construction in the Beijing dialect of Mandarin, as attested in a spoken corpus collected in 2000-2001. We show that in contrast to Standard Mandarin, where this construction has been argued to have two meanings (durative and terminative) for verbs of posture and placement, on the one hand, and in uniformity with Beijing Mandarin texts of the late Qing and with Northern Mandarin data, on the other, this construction in the Beijing dialect of Mandarin has only one, terminative, meaning for all verbs. We also propose an explanation for the existing exceptions to this pattern.

Key words: postverbal locative construction, terminative, durative, the Beijing dialect of Mandarin, Northern Mandarin, vernacular Qing texts.

Cet article traite de l'interprétation en pékinois des constructions locatives du type 'V zai NP_{Loc}' où le syntagme locatif suit le verbe. Nous montrons, à partir d'un corpus de langue parlée recueilli à Pékin en 2000-2001, qu'à l'inverse du chinois standard, où ces constructions ont deux interprétations possibles -- durative et terminative -- pour les verbes de posture et de placement, en pékinois seule l'interprétation terminative de déplacement est retenue (comme dans le pékinois de la fin des Qing et les dialectes du nord). Nous proposons aussi une explication aux exceptions observées.

Mots-clés: constructions à syntagme locatif postverbal, terminatif, duratif, pékinois, dialectes de la Chine du nord, textes vernaculaires des Qing.

$^1$ We are grateful to Jeroen Wiedenhof for useful comments on an earlier version of this article, and also to the anonymous reviewers of the CLAO for helpful criticism on a second draft.
1. THE PARADOX OF THE CONSTRUCTION [V zai NPLoc], EARLY QING SOURCES AND SIMILAR PATTERNS IN NORTHERN MANDARIN DIALECTS

1.1. The paradox of the construction [V zai NPLoc]

In the syntactic system of Standard Mandarin, verb phrases followed by a locative phrase introduced by the coverb 在 zai 'be in' (hereafter the [V zai NPLoc] construction) function as a terminative construction that denotes a change of location.\(^2\) The terminative meaning of the [V zai NPLoc] construction is illustrated in examples (1) and (2), quoted from Peyraube (1980: 233) and Xú (1994a: 342) (our glosses) respectively.\(^3\)

\(^2\) Hereafter we will refer to 在 zài- and 到 dào- as coverbs. A coverb introduces a noun phrase; the phrase formed by a coverb and the following (locative) noun phrase can both precede and follow the main verb (cf. Li and Thompson 1981: 356). Hereafter the form zai stands for postverbal uses of 在, whereas zài for preverbal uses. In a similar fashion, dao stands for postverbal uses of 到, whereas dào — for preverbal.

In this article, we will use the term terminative in a sense similar to Nedjalkov and Jaxontov (1988: 5), i.e. "denoting a transition from one state into another" and as opposed to durative, in our formulation, a process or state seen as continuing for an appreciable time, cf. Verkuyl (1993: 3-16). This opposition between terminative (a change of location) and durative (a state resulting from a change of location) roughly corresponds to that between bounded and unbounded or that between punctual and durative in Comrie's terminology (1976). We deliberately avoid the term resultative construction throughout the discussion, given that different authors variously understand it as referring to constructions "express[ing] a state implying a previous event" (Nedjalkov and Jaxontov 1988: 6), i.e. close to our understanding of durative, or as being essentially terminative (Verkuyl 1993: 30 and 1993: 329-32, see also a discussion in Goldberg and Jackendoff 2004).

\(^3\) Unless otherwise specified, all examples in this article are quoted from a corpus of spoken Beijing Mandarin collected by Chirkova in 2000-2001 (hereafter corpus). Following Yuen Ren Chao (1968: xvii), we give examples both in characters and in romanized transcriptions (Hányú Pīnyīn, in our case), with an English gloss. The characters are included for the convenience of readers who feel more comfortable with them than with romanization. For more details on the corpus, see § 1.5.
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(1) 真了不得，他掉在水里了。
Zhēn liǎoobudé tā diào zài shuǐ lǐ le.
really terrible he fall be.in water inside CRS
'Good God! He fell into the water!'

(2) 把手放在背后!
Bā shǒu fàng zài bèi hòu!
PTR hand put be.in back behind
'Put your hands behind your back!'

In being terminative the [V zai NP LOC] construction is similar to constructions with the postverbal locative phrase introduced by 到 dao 'arrive' (hereafter the [V dao NP LOC] construction).

Paradoxically, the same, essentially terminative, [V zai NP LOC] construction in Standard Mandarin can also have the durative meaning. This inconsistency has been to our knowledge first noted by Jaxontov (1957: 97, 135; Chinese edition 1958: 100, 140). He points out that the [V zai NP LOC] construction is at variance with the parallel — and always terminative — constructions [V gěi 'give' NP] and [V dao 'arrive' NP LOC]. Conversely, Jaxontov notes that the [V zai NP LOC] construction is different from the [V gěi 'give' NP] and [V dao NP LOC] constructions in that it can express both a terminative and durative event, depending on the context. He quotes the following examples from Zhōu Libō's 周立波 novel Bàofēng zhòuyǔ 暴风骤雨 [The tempest]:

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4 Abbreviations: 1, 2, 3: first, second, third person personal pronouns; CRS: currently relevant state expressed by the perfective particle le; DUR: durative aspect expressed by the particle zhe; EXP: experiential aspect expressed by the particle guo; HON: honorific form; IGV: interrogative meaning as expressed by the particle ma; L: locative phrase; N: nominal phrase; P: plural; RL: particle ne, indicating contextual relevance of the preceding expression; PTR: pre-transitive particle bā-bāi used to mark a direct object; S: singular; SUB: subordination expressed by the particle de; SUG: suggestion expressed by the particle ba; V: verbal phrase. Tone sandhi is indicated in the examples.

5 Given that the kind of semantic opposition discussed here is better understood from the context, we have consulted the original text of Zhōu's novel (1952; we did not have access to the first 1949 edition of the novel used by Jaxontov) and quoted in each case the full sentence, even if Jaxontov quotes only the clause with the locative phrase.
Bái Yùshān had put the small oil lamp on the kang table, taken out a notebook and a pen, and was now writing something.

(Zhōu 1952: 183, Jaxontov 1957: 135, our glosses)

The pork received from the farmer's union was still lying on the table, she had not cooked or minced it.

(Zhōu 1952: 182, Jaxontov 1957: 135, our glosses)

To sum up, the essence of the \([V \text{ zai } NPL_{loc}]\) construction paradox is as follows: despite the overall tendency in Mandarin for the postverbal constructions with \(\text{dao} \ 'arrive'\) and \(\text{gěi} \ 'give'\) to express the terminative meaning, the \([V \text{ zai } NPL_{loc}]\) construction can express both the terminative and the durative meaning.
1.2. Previous studies on the construction \([V \text{ zai } \text{ NP}_{\text{Loc}}]\)

Previous studies on the \([V \text{ zai } \text{ NP}_{\text{Loc}}]\) construction concentrate mainly on the following two issues.

First, the research focus has been placed on the semantic correlate of the position of the locative phrase, i.e. preverbal or postverbal. The difference, as formulated by James H-Y. Tai (1975: 175), is 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 interpretation of the postverbal locative phrase as expressing a resultative location adequately accounts for sentences such as example (1). For instance, the meaning 'fall into the water' cannot be expressed by placing the locative phrase preverbally (Peyraube 1980: 233). However, Tai's explanation fails to account for the fact that the meaning of the \([V \text{ zai } \text{ NP}_{\text{Loc}}]\) and the \([\text{zài NP}_{\text{Loc}} V]\) constructions is often considered synonymous and as encoding a durative state, for some verbs of posture and of placement. By verbs of posture we understand verbs that denote the posture or the physical disposition of an entity at a location (cf. Li and Thompson 1981: 219), e.g. zuò 'sit', zhàn 'stand', tāng 'lie'. Verbs of placement are verbs that "name actions that place the direct object in a certain location" (ibid., p. 404), e.g. fāng 'put', zhuāng 'install', guà 'hang', suǒ 'lock'. For the latter category, the sentence has the durative meaning when the patient of the placement verb is topicalized, e.g. in (4). Notably, example (4) is also semantically passive (Wáng 1957).

Compare sentences (5) and (6), quoted from Peyraube (1980: 241, our glosses):

\[(5) \text{ Tā zài chuáng shàng tāng zhe.} \]
\[3 \text{ be.in bed up lie DUR} \]
'He is lying on the bed.'
In Standard Mandarin, the \([V \text{ zai } \text{ NP}_{\text{Loc}}]\) construction is generally considered to have both the durative and the terminative meaning with the verb \(\text{zhù} \) 'live' and verbs of posture (cf. Šang 1957, Jaxontov 1988, Tai 1975, Peyraube 1980: 228-260, Li and Thompson 1981: 397-409), as well as to some extent with verbs of placement (Fàn 1982, Zhū 1982: 182-184, Chén 1988, Zhào 1995). Fàn (1982: 82-84) demonstrates that the semantic ambivalence of \([V \text{ zai } \text{ NP}_{\text{Loc}}]\) sentences is due to the inherent aspectual features of verbs of posture and of placement.\(^6\) These verbs can be used in the \([V \text{ zai } \text{ NP}_{\text{Loc}}]\) construction to denote either a change of location (terminative), as in example (7), or the state that follows the completion of such an event (durative), as in example (8). Both examples are quoted from Fàn (ibid.):

(7) 他一屁股就坐在沙发上。
Tā yī pígū jiù zuò zài shāfā shàng.
3 one buttocks just sit be.in sofa up
'He flopped onto the sofa.', or
'He sat down with all his weight on the sofa.' (change of location)

(8) 他安安静静地坐在沙发上。
Tā ān'ānjìngjìng de zuò zài shāfā shàng.
3 quiet.qiet SUB sit be.in sofa up
'He was quietly sitting on the sofa.' (durative)

\(^6\) For the analysis of the aspectual features of these verbs, see Chén Ping (1988: 408). Chén also comments on the ambiguity of the \([V \text{ zai } \text{ NP}_{\text{Loc}}]\) construction for this particular set of verbs. Our own more detailed account of verbs of posture follows in § 2.2.
The second emphasis in works on constructions with postverbal locative phrases is placed on various means to introduce postverbal locative phrases, i.e. \textit{zai} 'be in', \textit{dao} 'arrive', the form \textit{de} 的, and \textit{zhe} or \textit{zhuo} 着 (Guò 1986; Jiāng 1994; Xú 1994a, 1994b; Zhào 1995; Yuán 2002). Arguably, the most disputed of these forms is form \textit{de} used in the Beijing dialect of Mandarin. This form is sometimes considered a blend of the written forms \textit{在} and \textit{到} in the spoken language (cf. Chao 1968: 353-354, 106-107, Dragunov 1958: 71-72, Zhū 1961: 1, 1982: 182, Guò 1986: 20) or alternatively, as a neutralization of the coverb \textit{dao} (Xú 1994b: 183).

In addition to these forms, studies dealing mainly with synchronic data, e.g. Peyraube (1980: 134-147), Guò (1986) and Xú (1994a, 1994b), comment on the so-called "zero form" — the term also accepted in this discussion — i.e. the absence of any marker between the verb and the following verb phrase. For instance, Xú (1994a) notes that in the sentence \textit{Bá shǒu fāng zai bèi hòu!} 'Put your hands behind your back!' (example 2), \textit{zai} 'be in' can be replaced by \textit{dao} 'arrive', the form \textit{de} or the zero form, without any change of meaning.

Based on the terminative or durative readings of sentences with various forms introducing postverbal locative phrases as well as on diachronic data, Jiāng (1994) and Yuán (2000) argue that the form \textit{de} originates from the verb \textit{zhuó} 着 'attach' and from the verb \textit{dé} 得 'obtain'.

Both issues, i.e. semantic implications of the positioning of the locative phrase and the distribution and meaning of various forms introducing postverbal locative phrases, will be addressed presently.

1.3. Meaning of [V \textit{zai} \textit{NP}_{\text{LOC}}] in vernacular texts of the late Qīng

As shown by Lamarre (2003a), sentences with the [V \textit{zai} \textit{NP}_{\text{LOC}}] or the [V \textit{de} \textit{NP}_{\text{LOC}}] construction in three texts reflecting the Beijing dialect of Mandarin spoken in the late Qīng dynasty (late
19th – beginning of the 20th century) denote exclusively a change of location, i.e. are terminative. For instance, in Guānhuà zhínán 官话指南 [A guide to the Mandarin language] (1881), a textbook compiled by Wú Qītài and Zhèng Yǒngbāng, Japanese interpreters of Chinese descent, all 39 sentences with the postverbal locative phrase introduced by zài 'be in' are terminative. Alternatively, when a verb of posture or placement appears in a sentence with the durative meaning (the total of 31 examples in this text), the locative phrase is placed preverbally and the verb usually takes the durative particle zhe. Consider the following two sentences with the verb gē 'put':

(9) 脏子盒儿在脸盆架子上搁着哪。
Yìzi hér zài liánpén jiàzi shang gē zhe na.
'Bring me that stool and put my opium tray on it.'

(10) 你把那凳子拿过来。把
Nǐ bā nà dēngzi ná guò lái bā
'yóu your that stool take cross come PTR'

Two more texts that also reflect the Beijing dialect of Mandarin of the same period, Xiǎo Ė 小额 [Young Ė] (1908) and Yànjīng fùyǔ 燕京妇语 [Metropolitan conversation for ladies] (1906), share the same feature. In these works, the preverbal locative phrase used with verbs of posture and placement normally has the durative meaning, whereas the postverbal locative phrase is associated with the terminative meaning. In other words, in the Beijing dialect of
Mandarin of the turn of the 20th century, a postverbal locative phrase construction could only express a change of location.\(^7\) This exclusively terminative meaning of the postverbal locative phrase construction is thus markedly different from the meaning ascribed to this construction in Standard Mandarin. This discrepancy is of interest, given that Standard Mandarin is according to its canonical definition based on the Beijing dialect of Mandarin and that Standard Mandarin and the Beijing dialect of Mandarin are often even considered to be one and the same language, cf. Li and Thompson (1981: 1) and Norman (1988: 136-7).\(^8\)

1.4. Postverbal locative phrase constructions in Northern Mandarin dialects

As demonstrated by Lamarre (2003c) in her study of the Jizhôu dialect of Hébêï, postverbal locative phrase constructions in this dialect express a change of location exclusively. For example, in this dialect, a sentence with the verb zuô 'sit' followed by the locative phrase chuáng shang 'on the bed' can only be used in situations where the subject is standing and is ordered to sit down on the bed, or in situations where the subject, originally standing, sat down on the bed. In other words, such a sentence can only be used to describe the terminative event of sitting down on the bed. A postverbal locative phrase construction, therefore, cannot be used to describe the durative situation following the event of sitting down, as in example (8).

\(^7\) In Guānhuà zhīnán, postverbal locative phrases are introduced by 在 zai 'be in' and 到 dao 'arrive'. Xiào É and Yànjïng Jùyu, in addition to zai and dao, also make use of the form de and the zero form.

\(^8\) Standard Mandarin, 普通话 pǔtōnghuà 'common speech', according to the 1955 definition by Quánguó wénzi gãigé huîyì 全国文字改革会议 (the National Language Reform Meeting) is "the standard language of China that takes the pronunciation of Beijing as its norm of pronunciation, is based on the northern dialects, and has the grammar of exemplary modern vernacular texts as its normative grammar" (Guô 2000: 978).
Lamarre (2003a) furthermore notices that in contrast to Northern Mandarin dialects, in many dialects spoken in Central and Southern China, sentences with the postverbal locative phrase can have both the terminative and the durative reading (see Xu and Shào 1998: 5-9 for details on the Shanghai dialect). The situation in such dialects is thus reminiscent of that in Standard Mandarin. Lamarre therefore concludes that the possibility for postverbal locative constructions in Standard Mandarin to have both the terminative and the durative reading, similar to Central and Southern dialects, is the result of the latter influencing the original northern pattern with only one meaning — a change of location — for postverbal locative phrases. In other words, the durative meaning of postverbal locative phrases in Standard Mandarin is secondary and triggered by Central and Southern patterns.

To sum up, in Northern dialects and early texts reflecting spoken Beijing Mandarin, postverbal locative phrases are exclusively terminative, whereas in some Central and Southern dialects, postverbal locative phrases can express both the terminative and the durative meaning depending on the context. Standard Mandarin follows the Southern pattern. The meaning of this type of construction in the modern Beijing dialect of Mandarin is the focus of this article.

1.5. Goals, data and terminology

The aim of this article is twofold. First, it investigates the meaning of postverbal locative phrases in the Beijing dialect of Mandarin based on a corpus of spoken Beijing Mandarin, collected by Chirkova in 2000-2001. The corpus consists of informal and unplanned conversations with 42 native speakers of the Beijing dialect of Mandarin of various age groups. Chirkova tried to record language consultants who were not exposed to university education and whose language, as a consequence, retained those features that distinguish it from the official educational model, Standard Mandarin. The majority of
language consultants are school children (younger than 20 years old, henceforth referred to as 'younger speakers') and retired workers and employees (above 50 years of age, henceforth referred to as 'older speakers'). The conversations range in length from 30 minutes to one hour and are transcribed in the Hànyǔ Pīnyīn system of transcription. In its written form, the corpus comprises 17,844 sentences. For further details on the corpus, see Chirkova (2003: 6-11).

In continuation of Lamarre's (2003a, 2003b) research and based on the corpus, we aim to answer the question whether postverbal locative phrase constructions in the Beijing dialect of Mandarin follow the Standard Mandarin pattern and allow for two, terminative and durative readings, or are rather uniform with the Northern and early Beijing Mandarin type, where only one, terminative, reading for the postverbal locative phrase construction is possible.

Another goal of the present study is to document various forms that serve to introduce postverbal locative phrases in the Beijing dialect of Mandarin and to comment on their distribution.

In previous studies on the [V zai NP Loc] construction, the two meanings of this construction have been referred to as dynamic (动态 dòngtài) vs. static (静态 jīngtài), e.g. Chén (1988), Jiāng (1994), Fǎn (1982). Alternatively, the meanings of the construction have been described as perfective vs. imperfective (Lamarre 2003a, 2003b). In this article, we will use the term terminative, i.e. denoting a change of location, for what is elsewhere referred to as dynamic or perfective, and durative, i.e. denoting a state resulting from a change of locative, for static or imperfective.

A hotly debated issue in previous studies is the grammatical status of the forms used to introduce postverbal locative phrases, e.g. zai 'be in', dao 'arrive', and the form de, variously referred to as prepositions, coverbs or verbs, acting as complements of the preceding verb. They have also been treated as highly grammaticalized locative markers affixed to the verb, or as locative markers with some properties of aspeectual markers (Zhū 1982, Xú 1994a and 1994b, Liú et al. 2000, Liú 2001).
No unifying term that could account for the diversity of the syntactic behaviour of these forms in the written language as well as in various dialects has yet been proposed and in this discussion we will refer to all different means serving to introduce locative phrases simply as forms. Zài~zai 'be in' and dào~dao 'arrive' are furthermore also referred to as coverbs (see n.2 for definition).

Overall, we will be speaking about the unity or mismatch between construction position and construction meaning. By construction, we understand a verb and an accompanying locative phrase, i.e. [V zai NP_loc] or [zài NP_loc V]. The construction position depends on the position of the locative phrase and is either preverbal or postverbal. The construction meaning is either durative or terminative. Based on Lamarre (2003a, 2003c), we presume that in Northern Mandarin, phrases with postverbal locative phrases essentially express a change of location.9 A postverbal position is hence associated with the terminative meaning, as is also the case with the [V dào NP_loc] and [V gěi NP_loc] constructions in Standard Mandarin. Consequently, when in the corpus a postverbal locative phrase construction is terminative, we describe it as: "construction position and meaning match." When, on the other hand, a postverbal locative phrase construction is durative, we will describe it as: "construction position and meaning do not match."

2. CORRELATION BETWEEN CONSTRUCTION POSITION AND MEANING IN THE MODERN BEIJING DIALECT OF MANDARIN

2.1. Forms introducing locative phrases in the Beijing dialect of Mandarin

In the dialect of Beijing, preverbal locative phrases are usually introduced by dâi~dài 'be in', āi~āi 'be next to', and gěn 'on',

9 Lamarre's findings about the non-occurrence of the durative reading for postverbal locative constructions in Northern dialects have recently been corroborated by her recent field work on several Guānzhōng and Jin dialects of Shānxī and Shānxī.
whereas postverbal locative phrases are introduced by the form de (Hú 1991: 42; Mullie 1932: 73; Xú 1994a, 1994b; Zhū 1987: 328-329). The use of dài, gěn and de is exemplified in sentences (11)-(13). Āi~āi 'be next to' has not been attested in this function in the corpus.

In sentence (11), the language consultant speaks about shoes worn in the past by ice peddlers.

(11) 他 这 个... 这 个... 穿 上 之后
Tā zhèi ge... zhèi ge... chuān shang zhīhòu
3 this item this item put.on up after

zhèi yī xiū jiu dài bīng shāng,
this one night just be.in ice up

shuǐ shāng zhàn zhe, zhèi yī xiū zhàn
water up stand DUR this one night stand

着, 这 鞋... 这 脚 也 不 凉。
zhe, zhèi xié... zhè jiǎo yě bu liáng.
DUR this shoe this feet also not cool

'After he eh... eh... put them on, he stood the whole night on the ice... on the water, he stood all night and because of his shoes... his feet did not get cold at all.'

In sentence (12), the language consultant recalls a traditional Manchu wedding. According to custom, after the marriage the bride had to sit on a bed for three days, not stepping on the ground for a single moment.

(12) 就 跟 床 上 坐 着, 不 能 下 电。
Jiū gēn chuáng shāng zuò zhe, bù néng xià dì.
just follow bed up sit DUR not be.able down earth

'So she was sitting on the bed and could not step on the ground.'
Sentence (13) describes Manchu funeral rituals.

(13) 然后 那个 幔儿 最后 搁 的
Ránhòu nèi ge fār zuìhòu gē de
afterwards that item streamer finally put de

那个 这个 坟头 上。
nèi ge zhèi ge fén tóu shàng.
that item this item tomb head up

'Then the streamer was finally put on that... the top of the tomb.'

Preverbal locative phrases introduced by dǎi–dài 'be in', āi–ài 'be next or near to', and gēn 'on' denote location of an action. When used with verbs followed by the durative particle zhe, the whole construction denotes a durative state, e.g. examples (11) and (12). The meaning of postverbal locative phrases introduced by de, on the other hand, is terminative. Given that dǎi–dài, āi–ài and gēn cannot be used postverbally, and de cannot be used preverbally, the position of a locative phrase in the sentence (preverbal or postverbal) and its meaning (durative or terminative) in the Beijing dialect of Mandarin are linked.

Zhū (1987: 328-329) and Hú (1991: 42) claim that the Beijing dialect of Mandarin does not originally use zài as a copverb, using instead dǎi–dài, āi–ài, and gēn with preverbal locative phrases and de with postverbal locative phrases. Zài as a copverb is allegedly borrowed into the Beijing dialect of Mandarin from the written language. Zài is often considered to be the universal locative copverb of the written language that can be used both preverbally and postverbally (cf. Guō 1986: 20). In Zhū and Hú's analysis, the use of the copverb zài is a feature of the written language and until recently was not typical for the spoken language of the capital. Zhū also notes (1987: 329) that educated speakers of the Beijing dialect of Mandarin tend to use the copverb zài mostly preverbally, while postverbally they have a preference for de. Based on this observation, we conclude that a clear distribution between
forms that introduce preverbal, i.e. dāi~dài, āi~āi, gēn and zài, and postverbal locative phrases, i.e. de, was typical for the Beijing dialect of Mandarin of the late 1980s.

A similar distribution is also characteristic of the corpus of Beijing Mandarin used for this study: the coverb zài is used almost exclusively preverbally, as in the following example:

(14) 我们 在 城里 住，不 在 这儿 住。
Wōmen zài chéngrì zhù, bù zài zhèr zhù.
1P be.in city.inside live not be.in here live
'We live downtown, not here.'

Older language consultants do not use zài postverbally unless with bisyllabic verbs. The occurrence of zài postverbally with bisyllabic verbs, as in example (15), is due to the fact that bisyllabic verbs are generally felt to belong to the realm of the written language (Peyraube 1980: 136, Xú 1994a: 342-343) and for this reason tend to combine with the written style using postverbal coverb zài, as in the next sentence:

(15) ...所以 我 父亲 把 希望 都 寄托 在
... suǒyí wǒ fùqīn bǎ xīwàng dōu jìtuò zài
therefore 1S father PTR hope all consign be.in

我 身 上...
wǒ shēn shàng...
1S body up
'... therefore my father set all his hopes on me...'

Table 1 summarizes the frequency of the preverbal and postverbal occurrences of zài~zai in the speech of nine language consultants of various age groups, totalling seven recording sessions. The number of occurrences of the forms dao and de is included in the table for comparison. The total of sentences in these seven sessions amounts to approximately one quarter of the corpus.
It is worthy of note that in those few instances where zai is used postverbally, it is more often than not terminative. One formal evidence of this is the frequent use of postverbal zai in the so-called bā-construction or disposal sentence (3 out of the total of 19 postverbal usages of zai in Table 1). Notably, the bā-construction usually encodes a change of state, or — in our examples — a change of location. This usage is illustrated in the next sentence.

Table 1. Frequency of preverbal and postverbal occurrences of zài~zai and of the postverbal occurrences of dao and de

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>language consultant (age): session length (sentences)</th>
<th>preverbal occurrences of zài</th>
<th>postverbal occurrences of zài</th>
<th>postverbal occurrences of de</th>
<th>postverbal occurrences of dao</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tián (86 years old): 165</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liú (83 years old): 1267</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fū (76 years old): 964</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhāng (&gt;70 years old): 795</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wāng (&gt; 40 years old): 737</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhào, Zhōu, Liū, Zhāng (all 15 years old): 433</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhào, Zhōu, Liū, Zhāng (all 15 years old): 369</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 used in the written language style, as in sentence (15)

(16) 然后他把乌龟放在我们
Ránhòutā bā wūguī fàng zài wǒmen 1P
afterwards 3 PTR turtle put be.in

10 This is sometimes expressed by the term "disposal meaning", cf. Li and Thompson (1981: 468-470). Hopper and Thompson (1980) note that this construction requires "a perfectivizing expression, either a perfective particle or a phrase or clause specifying the conceptual boundary of the action." The perfective meaning noted here corresponds roughly to what we call terminative.
With postverbal locative phrases, the Beijing dialect of Mandarin also uses, besides de and zài, the coverb dao 'arrive' and the zero form. The latter is often seen as an omission of dao or zai (Peyraube 1980: 134-148, Guō 1986: 22, Xú 1994b: 180). The use of dao in the corpus is illustrated in sentence (17):

(17) 柯南 里边儿 不 是 还 有 一 个
Kēnán lǐbiān bú shì hái yǒu yī ge
Conan\textsuperscript{11} inside.side not be still exist one item

那 什么 扔 到 井 里面 杀 了
nèi shéme rēng dao jǐng lǐmian shā le.
that what throw arrive well inside.site kill PF

'Wasn't there in Conan someone who eh... was killed by being thrown into a well?'

Sentence (18) illustrates the use of the zero form:

(18) 这 《晚报》 昨天 我 搁 哪儿 了?
Zhèi Wǎnbào zuótiān wǒ gē nǎr le?
this evening.paper yesterday IS put where PF

'Where did I put the Beijing Evening News yesterday?'

The relationship between various forms used with postverbal locative phrases, i.e. zài, dao, de and zero form, is complex. Zài and dao are mainly treated as locative coverbs of the written language, whereas the form de and the zero form are considered more typical of the spoken register.

\textsuperscript{11} Conan is the name of a Japanese cartoon, shown on Chinese television in 2000-2001.
According to Peyraube (1981: 136), who bases his observations on Beijing Mandarin data collected in the 1970s, the postverbal zai tends to be used in the spoken language with bisyllabic verbs. He explains this by the fact that bisyllabic verbs rarely occur in the spoken language. This observation is corroborated by Guo (1986: 22). Both remark that the co-occurrence of the postverbal zai with bisyllabic verbs is due to the niveau de langue of the verb rather than to its mere prosodic constraints, and quote as evidence a few colloquial Beijing Mandarin bisyllabic verbs, which admit such an omission.

Guó (1986: 22), Xu (1994b: 1994) and Zhào (1995: 3) argue that zai does not occur in the postverbal locative phrase followed by the directional verbs lai 'come' or qu 'go'. In contrast with the written language, zai may co-occur with the directional verbs lai and qu in the spoken language, as shown in the following example. In this sentence, the language consultant recalls festivities around the Chinese New Year in her childhood. Steamed buns and various dishes used to be prepared well before the New Year and stored outside, in the cold.

(19) 然后 就 拢 一 个 大 盆 儿
Ránhòu jiu gē yí ge dà pér
afterwards just put one item big pot
里头, 拿 一 个 布 一 盖,
litou, ná yí ge bù yí gài,
inside take one item cloth one cover
也 是 拢 在 外边 去。
yě shì gē zai wàibiān qu.
also be put be.in outside.side go
'Then put them in a big pot, just cover them with a cloth, and also put them outside.'

12 Similar examples with the verb 拢 gē 'to put' can be found in Yànjīng fūyǔ. See for instance Lesson 7.
In contrast with other forms that introduce postverbal locative phrases in the corpus, *dao* is infrequent and occurs only in six sentences out of almost 18,000 of the corpus. It is restricted to those instances where the direction of the motion needs to be emphasized. In the following sentence, the language consultant recalls how he grazed sheep on the top of the city wall that used to encircle Beijing. While grazing sheep, he was doing his school assignments and was following the sheep as they moved from one gate to the other.

(20) 得写到哪儿得写到
Déi xiě dào nár, déi xiě dao
must write arrive where must write arrive

广安门往南翼门就
Guāng’ānmén wàng Nányimén jiu
Guāng’ānmén to Nányimén just

是右安门他拐弯儿那儿了。
shi Yòuānmén, tā guāiwār nár le.
be Yòuānmén 3 turn.corner there PF

'Up to where did I have to write my homework? I had to write it from Guāng’ānmén to Nányimén, eh... Yòuānmén, the sheep used to take a turn there.'

The form *de* is sometimes considered as a blend of the written coverbs *zài* and *dao* in the spoken language (Chao 1968: 353-354, 106-107, Dragunov 1958: 71-72, Guō 1986: 20, Zhū 1961: 1, 1982:182) or, alternatively, as a neutralization of the coverb *dao* (Xú 1994b: 183) or also of *zhe* (Jiāng 1994, Yuán 2002, see also § 1.2). The exact nature of the relationship between *zài, dao*, on the one hand, and the form *de* and the zero form, on the other, is currently unclear. Is the form *de* a neutralization of the written forms *zài* and *dào*? Is the zero form an omission of *zài* or *dào*? Do the coverbs *zài* and *dào*, when used postverbally in the written language, automatically transform into the form *de* (or the zero form) in the spoken language? As noted by Xú
(1994a: 182), there are no systematic recordings of the spoken language that can demonstrate that the written locative coverb zài automatically changes to de. All forms, zai, dào, de, dao and zero form have been attested in the corpus. This clearly shows that zai and dao do not automatically change into the form de in the spoken language, as is sometimes suggested.

As shown in Table 1, the form de is one of the preferred ways to introduce postverbal locative phrases for older speakers. Overall in the corpus, the use of de steadily decreases in the speech of younger language consultants, whereas the use of zai in their speech increases. However, the rate of postverbal occurrences of zai is relatively low for all age groups. Statistics for the occurrences of these coverbs (and the zero form) with verbs selected for analysis will be given in the following sections.

2.2. Verbs selected for analysis

The range of verbs that can potentially have a double interpretation (durative or terminative) with the postverbal locative phrase varies according to different grammars of Standard Mandarin. We have opted for the broadest range of verbs possible and have searched for all verbs mentioned in standard reference grammars of Mandarin, Charles N. Li and Sandra A. Thompson's Mandarin Chinese: A functional reference grammar (1981) and Liú Yuèhuá et al. Shiyòng xiàndài Hânyǔ yûfâ / Chinese grammar (1983), as well as in articles on locative phrase position and meaning, Wáng Huán's "Shuō zài" (1957), James H.-Y. Tai's "On the two functions of place adverbials in Mandarin Chinese" (1975) and Fàn Jiyàn's "Lùn jièci duányǔ 'zài + chûsuō'" [On the prepositional phrase 'zài + location'] (1982). This section is based on Li and Thompson's description, which is one of the most detailed.

Li and Thompson divide verbs that allow both preverbal and postverbal positioning of a locative phrase into four groups:
Verbs of displacement, i.e. verbs "whose meaning includes the local displacement of either the subject (in the case of intransitive verb) or the direct object (in the case of the transitive verb)" (1981: 398, original italics), e.g. 扔 rēng 'toss', 推 tuī 'push', 掉 diào 'drop, fall', 拔 bō 'sprinkle', 摔 shuāi 'fall, trip', 倒 dǎo 'fall', 流 liú 'flow', 爬 pá 'crawl'.

Verbs of posture, e.g. 站 zhàn 'stand', 睡 shuì 'sleep', 爬 pá 'crouch', 蹲 dūn 'squat', 停 tíng 'stop', 坐 zuò 'sit', 躺 tāng 'lie', 跪 guì 'kneel', 住 zhù 'have residence', 漂 piāo 'float' (1981: 401).

Verbs of appearing, e.g. 发生 fāshēng 'happen, occur', 出现 chūxiàn 'appear', 出生 (chūshēng 'be born', 生长 shēngzhǎng 'grow up', 长大 zhǎngdà 'grow up' (1981: 403).

Verbs of placement, i.e. verbs "whose meaning includes the local displacement of either the subject (in the case of intransitive verb) or the direct object (in the case of a transitive verb)" (ibid., p. 398, original italics), e.g. 放 fàng 'put, place', 种 zhòng 'plant', 画 huà 'draw, paint', 吐 tòu 'expectorate', 刻 kè 'carve, sculpt', 撒 sā 'spill', 藏 cáng 'hide', 写 xiě 'write', 抄 chāo 'copy', 印 yìn 'print' (1981: 404, original italics).

Of these four categories, verbs of appearing are irrelevant for the present survey, given that all of them are bisyllabic and as such, they are more typical for the written rather than for the spoken language.

Having searched for all these verbs in the corpus and having eliminated those that do not occur, we have narrowed down the range of the verbs for the present survey to the following eight intransitive and thirteen transitive verbs.13

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13 This inventory roughly corresponds to the verbs of posture and placement appearing in the [V zài NPLoc] and [zài NPLoc V zhe] constructions in the two
Table 2 - Intransitive and transitive verbs selected for analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Transitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>蹲 dūn 'squat'</td>
<td>摆 bāi 'display'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>跪 guì 'kneel'</td>
<td>堆 dū 'pile up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>爬 pá 'crawl'</td>
<td>躲 duō 'hide'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>漂 piāo 'float'</td>
<td>放 fàng 'put, place'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>躺 tǎng 'lie'</td>
<td>搁 gē 'put, place'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>站 zhàn 'stand'</td>
<td>挂 guà 'hang'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>住 zhù 'live, take up residence'</td>
<td>埋 mái 'bury'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>坐 zuò 'sit'</td>
<td>扔 rēng 'toss'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3. Criteria for sentence selection

The following sentences that contain these verbs have been selected for analysis:

(a) Only sentences that allow both preverbal and postverbal placement of locative phrases have been selected. This implies that each of the selected sentences can be transformed by shifting the locative construction that it contains either preverbally (if it is originally used postverbally) or postverbally (if it is originally used postverbally).
The paradox of the construction \([V \text{ zai } \text{NP}_{\text{LOC}}]\)...

For example, the expression \(nàr \text{ guà de} \) 'hanging there' in sentence (21) can be transformed to \(\text{guà zai nàr de}\).

(21) 你 就 喜 欢 名人 字 画, 那 儿 挂 的...
Nǐ jiù xǐhuan míngrén zìhua, nàr guà de...
'2S just like famous people calligraphy scroll there hang SUB
You like calligraphy and paintings of renowned artists, hanging there...'

Given that in each case, speakers have two possible positions for the locative phrase, it allows us to examine the choice they make based on the meaning (durative or terminative) they wish to express. Thus, in the sentence above, the speaker chooses preverbal positioning of the locative phrase to express the durative event of hanging.

Note that when the locative phrase is placed before one of the 13 transitive verbs chosen for the present analysis, the sentence can express either a durative or a terminative situation. In the former case, the verb often takes the durative particle \(\text{zhe}\). In the latter case, the verb can be followed by the perfective particle \(\text{le}\) or, alternatively, it is not accompanied by any aspectual particle at all, as in the following example. In this sentence, the speaker explains how fake antiques can be aged artificially.

(22) 在 尿 里 泡, 然后 在 土 里
Zài niào lǐ pào, ránhòu zài tǔ lǐ
be. in urine inside soak afterwards be. in earth inside

'埋, 再 拿 盐 熏。
mái, zài ná yán xūn.
bury again take salt smoke
'Soak them in urine, bury them into the soil and finally smoke them.'

In example (23), the speaker who is afraid of theft on public transport explains that he always spreads the money he carries on himself over several pockets.
Given that the main goal of this article is to investigate the meaning of postverbal locative phrases, sentences including preverbal locative phrases are taken into account only for the sake of comparison. This is why we have excluded those sentences, where the verb denotes an action, e.g. examples (22) and (23), and selected those that express a durative situation of 'being placed or situated somewhere', as in the following example. In this sentence, the language consultant talks about treasures kept at the Báilín Temple in Beijing.

(24) 仅 存 的 都 在 他 那 儿 搁 着。
Jǐn cún de dōu zài tā nàr gē zhe.
only store SUB all be.in there put DUR
'The only remaining ones are kept there.'

(b) Verbal phrases, followed or preceded by a locative phrase, used as modifiers have likewise been selected for analysis. For example:

(25) 牛 街 我 说 过 这 个， 但 是
Niújiē wǒ shuō guò zhè ge， dànshì
Niújiē 1S speak EXP this item but.be

呢 在 那 儿 哈 儿 住 的 汉族人
ne zài nàr her zhù de Hánzú rén
RLV be.in there live SUB Hán.nationality.person
The paradox of the construction [V zai NP_{loc}]. . . / CLAO 34(2005) 169-220

有, 为数不多。
yōu, wéishù bù duō.
exist be.number not much
'Even though, as I said, there are some Hàn Chinese living in Niújiē, they are not numerous.'

This sentence allows the transformation outlined in (a), i.e the expression zài nàrher zhù de Hànzūrén can be transformed to zhù zài nàrher de Hànzūrén.

(c) Set constructions such as 坐车 zuò chē 'ride in a car, go by car', 坐轿子 zuò jiàozǐ 'take a sedan chair', or 住院 zhù yuàn 'be hospitalized' have not been selected, whereas constructions such as 坐在轿子里边儿 zuò zài jiàozǐ libiar, literally, 'sit inside a sedan chair', as in sentence (26), or 在医院住着 zài yuàn lǐ zhù zhe 'staying in (literally, inside) a hospital' have been selected. In the former type of expressions, the substantive does not behave as a place word (cf. Chao 1968: 519-33, Peyraube 1980: 138) and the compound is highly lexicalized (and often listed as a set construction in dictionaries). Alternatively, in the latter type, the substantive is typically followed by localizers such as 里 lǐ 'in, inside', 上 shàng 'up, above', 下 xià 'below', 外 wài 'outside', 前 qián 'in front' and 后 hòu 'behind' (cf. Chao 1968: 620-7, Peyraube 1980: 138).

(26) 她就坐 在 轿子 里边儿 压 着，
Tā jiù zuò zài jiàozǐ lǐbiān yā zhe,
3 just sit inside sedan.chair inside.side press DUR
然后到我们家来。
ránhòu dào wǒmen jiā lái.
then arrive 1P home come
'So she came to our place in a sedan.'
(d) Existential sentences, i.e. those that contain the verb yǒu 'exist' or a verb of posture as the main verb and that describe where something has been put or placed (cf. Li and Thompson 1981: 510), have likewise not been chosen as not allowing for the transformation outlined in (a). For instance:

(27) 他那儿住着哥儿俩。
Tā nèr zhù zhe gēr liǎ.
3 there live DUR elder.brother two.item
'There were two brothers who lived at his place.'

(e) Sentences that express duration of the event or process under discussion, are not discussed, given that normally, this type of sentence does not allow both a duration and a locative phrase in the postverbal position. For example:

(28) 我跟家住了些日子。
Wǒ gēn jiā zhù le xiē rìzi.
1S follow home live PF some days
'I stayed at home for some time.'

2.4. Intransitive verbs: correlation between construction position and meaning

2.4.1. Zhù 'live'

In the Beijing dialect of Mandarin, the verb zhù 'live' has two distinct meanings: one is 'having residence' and the other 'taking up one's residence', cf. Oota (1958: 237, Chinese translation 1987: 223), Lamarre (2003a: 154). The former meaning is durative, whereas the latter meaning is terminative. In the Beijing dialect of Mandarin, the former meaning, i.e. having residence at a location, is usually rendered by placing the locative phrase before zhù. The second meaning, i.e. taking up residence at a location, is indicated by placing the locative phrase after zhù. This division is strictly
observed in *Guānhuà zhīnán*. For example, sentence (29) describes the situation of having long-term residence, whereas sentence (30) depicts the situation of taking up residence.

(29)  
府上在那儿住。— 舍下在
Fūshāng zài nár zhù. Shèxià zài
your.house be.in where live my.house be.in

東單牌樓總布胡同。
Dōngdān Páilóu Zōngbù hútōng.

"Where do you live?" — "I live in Dōngdān Páilóu Zōngbù alley."

(vol. II, ch. 1, p. 6a)

In the corpus, a similar division is still typical for the speech of older language consultants, who in the majority of cases choose the verb zhù, preceded by a locative phrase when talking about having residence at a location, and followed by a locative phrase when describing the event of taking up one's residence.

(30)  
今兒早起火輪船到了，他就下
Jīnr záqǐ huǒlúnchuán dào le, tā jiù xià
today morning steamboat arrive CRS 3 just go.down

船住在我們樓里了。
chuán zhù zài wǒmén zhān lǐ le.
boat live be.in 1P shop inside CRS

'The steamboat arrived this morning, after having disembarked he stopped at our hotel.'

(vol. II, ch. 21, p. 20a)

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14 Lamarre (2003a) notes that these sentences are regularly translated into the Shànghǎi dialect of Tūhuà zhīnán 土话指南 (1908), using the opposite word order, i.e. 住 zhù 'live' followed by la, the Shànghǎi equivalent of zài, and followed in turn by the locative phrase.
Table 3 demonstrates the frequency of co-occurrence of zhù with preverbal and postverbal locative phrases in the corpus. It also estimates correlation between construction position and meaning. The first number in each column represents the total of occurrences of zhù 'live' either with preverbal locative phrases or with de, zai or the zero form and postverbal locative phrases. For instance, zhù co-occurs with the form de 12 times in the speech of older language consultants. The second number, given in square brackets, indicates the percentage of sentences for which construction position and meaning match (see § 1.5).

Table 3. Correlation between construction position and meaning for zhù 'live' in the corpus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Older speakers</th>
<th>Younger speakers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pre-V: Durative 在/跟/ Ø NP\textsubscript{LOC} zhù</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-V: Terminative</td>
<td>Followed by de</td>
<td>12 [33%]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Followed by in zai</td>
<td>10 [50%]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Followed by Ø</td>
<td>19 [63%]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the following examples, the locative phrase is placed before the verb to express the meaning 'have residence'. Similar to the Beijing Mandarin reflected in Guānhuà zhǐnán, zhù 'live' in the corpus sometimes does and sometimes does not take the durative particle zhe:

(31) 回头让您说，我姓什么叫什么大岁数家在哪儿住，
    Huí tóu ràng nín shuō, wǒ xìng shéme, jíao shéme, duó dà suishu, jiā zài nár zhù, 
    return head let you.HON speak 1S have.family.name what be.called what how.much big age home be.in where live
Ah, well, already to the time they check you.

"And then they will ask you: "What's your name?" "How old are you?" "Where do you live?" eh... Well, and then after a while they will come to check you."

(32) 在那儿住着，要唐山不地震
Zài nàr zhù zhé, yào Tángshān bú dìzhèn
be.in there live DUR if Tángshān not.be earthquake

呢也得住着呢。
ne yě děi zhù zhé ne.

'So she was at the hospital there and if not for the Tángshān earthquake, she would still be staying there.'

The following example illustrates the use of zhù with the postverbal locative phrase in the meaning 'stay (for a limited period) at' or 'take up one's residence at':

(33) 你什么...怎么了住院? —心脏病,
Nǐ shénme... zěme le, zhù yuàn? — Xīnzhàng bìng,
2S what how CRS live hospital heart disease

冠心病。—住哪儿了?—住的空总医院了。
guànxīn bìng. — Zhù nǎr le? — Zhù de Kōngzōng yīyuàn le.
coronary disease live where CRS live de air.central hospital CRS

'What had happened to you that you were hospitalized?'
— "Heart problems, coronary disease." — "What hospital were you in?" — "In the Central Air Force Hospital."

This distinction between the two meanings of zhù is arguably currently being conflated in the speech of younger language consultants, presumably under the influence of Standard Mandarin via education and mass media. Nor is such a distinction typical for the
written language, where zhù followed by the postverbal locative phrase can indicate both the durative situation of having residence and the terminative event of taking up one's residence at a location. For instance, the first example that Xiàndài Hànyǔ cídiǎn offers in its entry on zhù in the meaning jūzhù, zhùsù 'reside' is 你住在什么地方? Nǐ zhù zài shénme dìfang? 'Where do you live?' presumably inquiring where the listener has their residence (1996: 1645). To compare, the same meaning, i.e. 'Where do you live?' is given in the entry on zhù in the Chinese-English dictionary (1912: 315-316) by Herbert Giles for the sentence with the preverbal locative phrase, viz. 你在那裏住? Nǐ zài nàlǐ zhù? (ibid., p. 316).

The following example taken from a session with a younger language informant illustrates the mismatch of construction position and meaning.

(34) 因为 我 一般 呢 旗人 都 住在
Yīnwei wǒ yībān ne qírén dōu zhù zài
because 1S usually RLV banner.people all live be.in
城里, 都 是 住在 城里。
chénglǐ, dōu shì zhù zài chénglǐ.
city.inside all be live be.in city.inside
'Because I... usually, all bannermen live downtown, they all live downtown.'

Zhōu Yīmín (2002: 144) quotes similar Beijing Mandarin examples, noting that zài 'be in' can alternate with the form de but not with dao 'arrive'.

2.4.2. Intransitive verbs as the first verb in a serial verb construction

An important distinction for a postverbal locative phrase construction to be taken into account in this analysis is between verbs occurring as the first verbal phrase in a serial verb construction and those used as the main verb. The main verb is the verb that defines
the narrated time, i.e. the time of the situation spoken about in the sentence. By the term *serial verb construction* (or a V-V series), we understand two verbal expressions, usually with an object or a locative phrase after the first verb, juxtaposed and without any marker indicating the relationship between them, cf. Chao (1968: 300-301), Li and Thompson (1981: 594). A serial verb construction describes two separate events, of which the first can be completed before the second event (succession of two events in time, terminative reading for the first verbal phrase). Alternatively, the two events can be seen as overlapping in time, the first verb phrase describing the circumstances under which the event denoted by the second verb phrase occurs (durative reading for the first verbal phrase). For example, the construction zhàn zai nàr kàn le bàntiān can potentially be understood as 'having taken a position there I looked for a long time' (succession of two events in time, coordinate reading) or as 'while standing there I looked for a long time' (the first event serving as a background for the second event, subordinate reading). In a similar fashion, the expression tāng zai chuáng shàng shuǐjìào can be read as 'sleep, having lain on the bed' or as 'sleep while lying on the bed'. In the absence of a locative phrase, the potential ambiguity can be clarified by using the perfective particle *le* after the first verb to signal that the first event is completed before the second event takes place (terminative meaning). For example, *shū le xià cì zhēngqū* 'strive for victory next time after having lost'. The particle *zhe* after the first verb, on the other hand, can be used to signal that the first event serves as a background for the second event (durative meaning). For example, *nà zhe zhè dōngxi dào Běidì* 'go with this thing to Beijing University', literally, 'go to Beijing University while carrying this thing'. The use of the postverbal locative phrase, however, precludes the use of these particles and both, terminative and durative, readings are therefore possible.

As noted by Chao (1968: 326), a serial verb construction favors the subordinate rather than coordinate reading for the first verbal phrase. In his analysis, the second verbal phrase is mostly viewed as having approximately the same function as the whole and
is the center to which the first verbal phrase is a modifier. In other
words, in a serial verb construction without any markers after the
first verb (as is the case with the postverbal locative phrase), the
first verbal phrase tends to be interpreted as denoting an event that
accompanies the event expressed by the second verbal phrase and
overlaps with it in time, i.e. as denoting a durative meaning.

When the verb that serves as first in a V-V series is
transitive, it is more readily seen as signaling an event that
terminates after reaching the location denoted by the locative phrase.
For example, the expression gē jiā lìtou fāngxīn means 'feel relieved
after having left it at home' rather than 'feel relieved while leaving it
at home'. If the first verb in a series is intransitive, on the other hand,
it is more readily seen as denoting a durative event serving as
background for the event expressed by the second verbal phrase.
For example, the expression zhàn zài nàr bù néng dōnɡ is more
likely to be understood as 'be unable to move while standing there',
even though the reading 'be unable to move after having taken up a
position there' is also possible.

With the exception of the verbs zhù 'live', dūn 'squat' and
guì 'kneel', all the intransitive verbs selected for analysis occur in
the corpus mostly as the first verb in a serial verb construction, as
shown in Table 4.

Table 4. Intransitive verbs in a serial verb construction

| Verb Position | Verb | 住 | 坐 | 站 | 躺 | 爬 | 跳 | 跪 | 跑 | 漂 |
|---------------|------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| Pre-V         | zhù | 43 | 8  | 1  | 0  | 0  | 1  | 0  | 1  |
| Post-V        |      | 0  | 14 | 8  | 2  | 3  | 0  | 0  | 0  |
| main verb     |      | 67 | 9  | 3  | 1  | 0  | 1  | 1  | 0  |
| Total         |      | 110| 31 | 12 | 3  | 3  | 2  | 1  | 1  |
The following two sentences illustrate the use of the verbs zhàn 'stand' and zuò 'sit' as the first verb in a serial verb construction.

(35) 过了两天，这些老 头又
Guò le liǎng tiān, zhè liá lǎotóur yǒu
交叉 CR S 两 天 这 两 个 老 先生 又
Two days later, these two old gentlemen came again, and
stood there in the doorway looking around.'

In example (36), the speaker talks about Manchu rituals.

(36) 婆婆，公公 吃饭，儿媳妇儿不 能
Pópo, gōnggōng chī fàn, ér xīfēr bù néng
坐 那儿 一块儿 吃。
zuò nàr yīkuàr chī.
'Stand that door face there look DUR
'Two days later, these two old gentlemen came again, and
stood there in the doorway looking around.'

We suggest that the position of the locative phrase (preverbal and postverbal) with the first verb in a series in the Beijing dialect of Mandarin can potentially differentiate between the terminative and the durative meaning, just like the particles le or zhe do. However, due to the tendency to see the first verb in a series as denoting a background or durative event for verbs of posture, the postverbal locative phrase with such a verb is accordingly easily interpreted as expressing the durative meaning. Thus, the original distinction is blurred in this particular syntactic environment. For this reason, we do not assess the correlation between construction position and meaning for intransitive verbs used as first in a V-V series. Frequency
of co-occurrence of intransitive verbs as first in a V-V series with *de*, *zai*, and the zero form is presented in Table 5. Intransitive verbs normally do not co-occur with *dao* in the corpus, for which reason *dao* is not included in the table. In this as well as in the following tables, "I" stands for older language consultants, and "II" for younger language consultants.

Table 5. Distribution of *de*, *zai* and the zero form with verbs of posture as first V in a V-V series

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form introducing NP&lt;sub&gt;loc&lt;/sub&gt;</th>
<th>坐 zuò 'sit'</th>
<th>站 zhàn 'stand'</th>
<th>爬 pá 'crawl'</th>
<th>躺 tāng 'lie'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>內 de</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>在 zai</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zero form</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that few exceptions to the otherwise strict correspondence of construction position and meaning (postverbal – terminative) in Guānhuà zhīnán are found precisely in this syntactic environment, i.e. with the verb followed by a locative phrase occurring as the first in a serial verb construction:

(37) 小弟 正 坐 在 屋 裏 喝 茶 了。 Xiǎodi zhèng zuò zài wū lǐ hē chá le.\(^{15}\)

I was just sitting inside drinking tea.\(^{15}\)

(vol. II, ch. 35, p. 39a)

\(^{15}\) The modal sentence final particle 了 *le* in Guānhuà zhīnán corresponds to the Modern Mandarin sentence final particle 呢 *ne*, and has been glossed here accordingly.
2.4.3. Correlation between construction position and meaning for intransitive verbs used as the main verb

Table 6 presents the correlation between construction position and meaning for intransitive verbs used as the main verb. The verb zhù 'live' has been excluded, as already outlined with regard to Table 4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Form introducing NPLOC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Seat zuò 'sit'</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stand zhàn 'stand'</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lie tàng 'lie'</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Squat dün 'squat'</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kneel gui 'kneel'</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Float piāo 'float'</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When posture verbs used as the main verb are preceded by a locative phrase, they are usually followed by the durative particle zhe, e.g. example (38):

(38) 小孩儿 反正 在 这儿 坐 着, 我们
    Xiǎohár fǎnzhèng zài zhèr zuò zhe, wǒmen
    child in.any.case be.in here sit DUR 1P
    在 那儿 唱 戏 玩儿。
    zài nàr chàng xi wán ér.
    be.in there sing opera have.fun
    'The children were sitting with us here anyway, so we had our fun singing Beijing opera.'
If, on the other hand, the locative phrase accompanying a verb of posture used as the main verb is postverbal, the sentence expresses either a change of location, as in example (39), or a durative situation, as in example (40). In sentence (39), the speaker recalls that after dog taxes were introduced in Beijing in the 1990s, many people tried to get rid of their pets, sometimes giving them to the relatives in the countryside or sometimes simply abandoning them. He also remembers, his two friends ate the dog that used to be somebody's pet. Dog meat is a delicacy in China.

(39) 俩人买一瓶二锅头就坐在那儿，把这半只狗开了

Liǎ rén mǎi yī píng èrguōtōu jiù zuò zài nàr, bǎ zhèi bàn zhī gǒu kāi le

多一半儿。

duō yī bār.

'So the two people bought a bottle of sorghum vodka, sat down there and ate more than half of the dog.'

Sentence (40) is taken from a fairy tale about two stone lions that used to turn into demons.

(40) 白天就蹲那儿，到晚上就成精了。

Báitian jiù dūn nàr, dào wǎnshang jiù chéngjīng le.

'daytime just squat there arrive evening just become.demon CRS

'In the daytime, they were just squatting there, but in the evening they turned into demons.'
2.4.4. Summary

(a) The use of the verb zhù 'live' in the corpus differs markedly from that reflected in Guānhuà zhīnán, Xiǎo Ė and Yànjīng fùyǔ. The initial distinction between the two meanings of this verb, i.e. having residence and taking up one's residence, typical for these texts and initially differentiated by the position of the accompanying locative phrase (preverbal for the situation of having residence and postverbal for the event of taking up one's residence), is gradually obscured in the Beijing dialect of Mandarin from older to younger language consultants.

(b) Intransitive verbs followed by a locative phrase are used mostly as the first verbal phrase in a serial verb construction.

(c) When intransitive verbs are used as the main verb in the sentence, construction meaning and position mostly match.

2.5. Transitive verbs: correlation between construction position and meaning

2.5.1. Gē 'put' and fāng 'put'

The Beijing dialect of Mandarin has two verbs expressing the meaning 'put, place', gē and fāng. Of these verbs, gē means only 'put, place', whereas fāng has, in addition to 'put', several other meanings, i.e. 'let go', 'loosen', 'dissipate', and 'indulge'. Gē is also more typical for the spoken language, whereas fāng is normally used in the meaning 'put' in the written language.

In the corpus, there is an interesting correlation between the age of language consultants and the frequency of the use of gē. Older language consultants use gē predominantly (55 times) and fāng rarely (10 times). Younger language consultants, on the other hand, use gē and fāng equally (7 times each verb). It is also worthy of note that while gē normally co-occurs with a variety of forms, fāng is predominantly followed by zai. It is reasonable to conclude
that having borrowed făng for 'put' from the written language, the Beijing dialect of Mandarin has also imported with it the coverb zai. The distribution of gē and făng in the speech of older and younger language consultants is summarized in the following table.

Table 7. Correlation between construction position and meaning for 搁 gē 'put' and 放 făng 'put'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form introducing NP LOC</th>
<th>搁 gē 'put'</th>
<th>放 făng 'put'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-V: Durative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>等 de</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[100%]</td>
<td>[100%]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-V: Terminative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>等 zai</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[100%]</td>
<td>[100%]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>等 zero form</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[100%]</td>
<td>[100%]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>等 dao</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[100%]</td>
<td>[0%]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example (41) illustrates the use of gē in a sentence with a preverbal locative phrase. The language consultant speaks about a bicycle tax sticker, which has to be pasted on the bicycle.

(41) 我 都 忘 了 贴, 忘 了 往
Wǒ dōu wàng le tiē, wàng le wàng
1S all forget CRS paste forget CRS towards
自行车 上 贴, 就 老 跟 兜儿
zìxíngchē shàng tiē, jiù lǎo gēn dōur
bicycle up paste just all.the.time follow pocket
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'I completely forgot to stick it, forgot to stick it onto the bicycle and was carrying it around all the time in my pocket.'

In the following sentences, the verb гē 'put' is accompanied by the postverbal locative phrase. All examples express a change of location. The locative phrase is introduced in examples (42) and (43) by the zero form and in example (44) by the form de.

(42) 火苗儿出来以后你把这烟嘴儿
Huòmiáor chūlai yīhòu nǐ bā zhèiyànzuér
flame exit.come after 2S PRT this cigarette.holder

搁嘴里。
gē zuǐ lǐ.
put mouth inside
'After flames come out, put the cigarette holder into the mouth.'

In the following sentence, the speaker recalls how he used to buy sugarcoated haws in his childhood.

(43) 得，你买个一毛五分的，给
Dé, nǐ mǎi ge yī máo wǔ fēn de, gěi
reach 2S buy item one ten.cent five cent SUB give

您一大块，把那东西搁里去。
nín yī dà kuài, bā nèi dōngxi gē lǐ qu.
2S.HON one big piece PTR that thing put inside go
'Well, you bought a piece for 15 cents, they gave you a huge lump and you put it inside.'
In example (44), the language consultant explains how singers of Beijing opera make themselves up before a performance. They brush the hair to the back and cover it with a cloth, so that the make-up does not accidentally make their hair dirty.

(44) 他把这头发弄的后边儿去，
Tā bāi zhèi ge tóufa nòng de hòubiār qu,
3 PTR this item hair make de back.side go

把这布搁的这儿哈儿。
bāi zhèi bù gē de zhèrher.
PTR this cloth put de here

'He combed the hair to the back and placed the cloth here.'

For more examples with the verbs gē 'put' and fāng 'put', see also sentences (13), (16), (18), (19), (23) and (24).

2.5.2. Correlation between construction position and meaning for transitive verbs

Tables 8 and 9 illustrate the correlation between construction position and meaning for the eleven transitive verbs selected for analysis.
Table 8. Correlation between construction position and meaning for 挂 guà 'hang', 埋 mái 'bury', 扔 rēng 'toss', 停 tīng 'stop' and 写 xiě 'write'
Table 9. Correlation between construction position and meaning for 贴‘stick’, 装‘install’, 摆‘display’, 堆‘pile up’, 躲‘hide’ and 锁‘lock’

The verb  guà ‘hang’ in example (45) is used to denote a terminative meaning, whereas in example (46), the same verb expresses a durative meaning. In sentence (45), the speaker talks about a fight between Muslim and non-Muslim Chinese in Beijing. In order to tease and provoke Muslims, a Chinese butcher hung up a pig's head in a mosque.

(45) 卖肉的人呢找来不少人，
Mài ròu de rén ne zhǎo lái bù shǎo rén,
sell meat SUB person RLV look.for come not few person

拿那 个 猪头 挂 的 清真寺 去 了。
ná nèi ge zhūtóu guà de Qīngzhēnsi qu le.
take that item pig.head hang de mosque go CRS
'The butchers assembled a lot of people, took the pig's head and hung it in the mosque.'

In sentence (46), the language consultant describes the appearance of water peddlers in Beijing.
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(46) 这个木桶呢就挂在在他
Zhèige mùtǒng nèijìu guà zài tā
this item wood.bucket just hang be.in 3

那个车上，赶小驴车。
nèige chē shang, gàn xiǎo lùérchē.
that item vehicle up drive small donkey.

'The wooden bucket is hanging on his cart, he is driving a small donkey cart.'

The next example illustrates the use of the verb suǒ 'to lock' with a preverbal locative phrase. In this sentence, the language consultant speaks about his family treasures, which got lost in the years of the Cultural Revolution.

(47) 到文化大革命的时候儿，我
Dào wénhuàdà géming de shíhour wǒ
arrive culture big revolution SUB time 1S

还看见过那东西，还在
hái kànjian guò nèi dōngxi, hái zài
still look see EXP that thing still be.in

那屋子里锁着呢。
nèi wūzi lǐ suǒ zhe ne.
that room inside lock DUR RLV

'At the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, I still saw it, it was locked in that room.'

2.6. Summary for all verbs selected for analysis

Overall in the corpus, both transitive and intransitive verbs occurring as the main verb have the terminative meaning when followed by a locative phrase, apart from some rare exceptions.

Below, we give a summary of Tables 3, 6, 7, 8 and 9 to give a global account of the percentages of all sentences for which construction position (postverbal) and construction meaning (terminative) do not match.
a) For the verb zhù 'live, take up residence', approximately 57% sentences with the postverbal locative phrase (38 out of the total of 67 examples) have a durative meaning, i.e. we can speak of the mismatch of construction position and meaning.

(b) For other intransitive verbs of posture, when used as the main verb, in 12.5% of all cases (2 sentences out of the total of 16) construction position and meaning do not match.

(c) For transitive verbs (of placement), only approximately 1.9% (2 out of the total of 107 sentences) are durative.

These statistics clearly show the semantic change which the verb zhù has undergone from two distinct but related meanings, i.e. terminative 'take up one's residence' and durative 'live', to one, mostly durative, 'live'. On the whole, construction position and meaning match for all other verbs discussed in this article.

We note that the mismatch between construction position and meaning, i.e. the durative reading for the postverbal locative phrase, is more frequent with intransitive posture verbs (12.5% or 2 cases out of the total of 16 sentences) rather than with transitive verbs of placement (1.9% or 2 cases out of 107 sentences).

It is also notable that the mismatch of construction position and meaning occurs in three out of four cases (i.e. with zhàn 'stand', guà 'hang' and bái 'display') when the postverbal locative phrase is introduced by zai, i.e. the form that is arguably alien to the Beijing dialect of Mandarin in the postverbal position. Hence, importing zai as a postverbal locative coverb from Standard Mandarin, the Beijing dialect of Mandarin borrows with it the ambiguity of the written language with regard to the aspectual interpretation of postverbal locative phrases.

3. CONCLUSIONS

3.1. Distribution of de, zai, dao, and the zero form in the corpus

All forms, i.e. de, zai, the zero form and dao, have been attested in the corpus as means to introduce postverbal locative
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The following features are characteristic for their use in the corpus:

(a) The rate of postverbal occurrences of \textit{zai} is low for all age groups.
(b) Preferred ways to introduce postverbal locative phrases for older speakers are \textit{de} or the zero form.
(c) The postverbal use of \textit{zài} increases in the speech of younger speakers, whereas the use of \textit{de} in their speech decreases.
(d) \textit{Dao} is infrequent.
(e) One and the same speaker can use both \textit{zai} and \textit{de} to introduce postverbal locative phrases. There is therefore no evidence that \textit{zai} automatically transforms into the form \textit{de} in the spoken language, as suggested by Guō (1986).

We note that only a detailed survey of different forms, used to introduce postverbal locative phrases, in a variety of Northern dialects can shed more light on the part played by the autonomous meaning of these forms in determining the terminative or durative meaning of the entire construction. In the case of our Beijing Mandarin data, sentences with postverbal locative phrases introduced by \textit{zai} show a considerably stronger tendency to denote the durative meaning than sentences with postverbal locative phrases introduced by the form \textit{de} or the zero form. More precisely, as much as 25\% (5 sentences out of 34) of all sentences with the postverbal \textit{zai} are durative, versus only 2\% (1 sentence out of 47) of sentences with the zero form and 0\% (a total of 37 sentences) of sentences with the form \textit{de}. These figures account for both transitive and intransitive verbs, but not for the verb \textit{zhù} ‘live’, which is likely to reflect the semantic shift of an individual lexical item.

3.2. Correlation between construction position and meaning

Our main conclusion is that for the set of verbs considered the distinction between the durative meaning for preverbal locative
constructions and the terminative meaning for postverbal locative constructions is still typical for the Beijing dialect of Mandarin. Modern Beijing data by and large shows uniformity with the northern pattern, as described by Lamarre (2003a, 2003b, 2003c).

Written norms are however noticeable in the spoken language, as seen in the use of the verb zhù 'live', the verb fàng 'put, place', and the postverbal locative coverb zai. The ambiguity of Standard Mandarin with respect to both terminative (change of location) and durative (the state resulting from a change of location) interpretations for the postverbal locative phrase enters the spoken language from the side of intransitive verbs, which occur frequently as the first verbal phrase in a serial verb construction.

Apart from the role played by the frequent use of verbs of posture in backgrounding clauses, we suggest that another possible explanation for this discrepancy between transitive and intransitive verbs may lie in the voice shift observed in sentences with transitive verbs when they have the durative meaning. For instance, the active sentence (Bâ) ròu gē zai zhuōzi shang! 'Put the meat on the table!', where the word ròu 'meat' is the patient and the object of the verb gē 'put', is terminative. In contrast, the semantically passive example (4), Zhûrôu hái gē zai zhuōzi shang 'The meat was still lying on the table.', where the word ròu 'meat' is the subject, is durative.16

The evolution from terminative to durative can and often is internally motivated, as is the case in Wú dialects. However, based on the fact the [V zai NP_{loc}] construction is never durative in Northern Mandarin dialects and appears not to have been either in early Beijing Mandarin, it is reasonable to conclude that the co-occurrence of both terminative and durative meaning for the postverbal locative phrase in Standard Mandarin is the result of influence from Central and Southern dialects on the written language. A similar influence has been noted in the case of the

16 Lamarre thanks Hideki Kimura for his insightful comments on this issue.
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As noted by Smith (1991: 40), "[v]erbs of posture and location can often appear in both stative and non-stative sentences. As statives they focus on a position or posture; as non-statives they focus on earlier stages of the causal chain." The derived durative meaning of the \([V \text{ zai } N_{\text{PLOC}}]\) construction thus finds a natural, probably cross-linguistically valid, motivation in the semantics of these verbs, cf. Smith's analysis of the verb hang 'hang' in English followed by a locative phrase. However, this semantically motivated derivation is not observed in Northern Mandarin dialects, which favor the consistency of the correlation between the postverbal positioning of the locative phrase, the meaning of change of location and the terminative meaning of the sentence. In other words, in Northern dialects, the weight of the construction meaning wins.

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代汉语语法研究的对象是什么？[What is the aim of modern

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