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When Lexicalization Meets Grammaticalization: The Development of ‘*wang*+path’ Adverbials in Northern Chinese*

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This paper discusses a productive compounding pattern, which combines preposition 往 *WANG* (*wàng* or *wǎng*) ‘towards’, with a path-expressing element, either a monosyllabic localizer, e.g. 往裡 *wǎnglǐ* ‘in’, or a path verb, e.g. 往回 *wǎnghuí* ‘back’ or 往起 *wǎngqǐ* ‘up’. These compounds, like directional complements, express the core path meanings of a spatial motion event (‘up’, ‘down’, ‘in’, ‘out’, ‘across’ etc.), but they appear before the verb, whereas directional complements follow the verb. Only the latter (e.g. 拿進去 *nájìnqu* ‘take in’, 拿回去 *náhuìqu* ‘take back’ or 拿起來 *náqilai* ‘take up’) have a bounding effect on the clause. We argue that one important motivation for this lexicalization process is the need for two complete symmetrical sets of path-marking elements which share the same repertory of path meanings, but have different aspectual implications for the clause. The second type of compounds (*WANG* + directional verb) appears later in history than the first type (*WANG* + localizer), and fills up the gaps existing in the repertory of core path meanings provided by localizers, e.g. *huí* ‘back’, *qǐ* ‘up (source-oriented)’, *guò* ‘over’ etc. We also discuss the role of grammaticalization in this evolution, and conclude on a few typological perspectives.

Key words: path of motion, directionals, localizers, Northern Mandarin, lexicalization, grammaticalization

1. Introduction

We discuss here a productive compounding pattern, which combines preposition 往 *WANG* (*wàng* or *wǎng*) ‘towards’, with a path-expressing element (hereafter path),

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either a monosyllabic localizer, e.g. 往裡 *wǎnglǐ* ‘in’, or a path verb, e.g. 往回 *wǎnghuí* ‘back’ or 往起 *wǎngqǐ* ‘up’. *WANG*-path compounds, like directional complements, express the core path meanings of a spatial motion event (‘up’, ‘down’, ‘in’, ‘out’, ‘across’ etc.), but they appear before the verb, whereas directional complements follow the verb.

This study is part of a wider project which has the ambition to give another illustration of an important principle of form-meaning pairing in Chinese: the correlation of syntactic position (left or right of the verb) and perfectivity. This topic has been discussed in a number of studies of various theoretical backgrounds, dealing mainly with cases when the same noun phrases appeared before and after the verb, for instance “*zài* + locative noun” and “*gěi* + noun phrase”. In the case discussed here, though, the first component of the *WANG*-PATH adverbials, preposition *WANG* ‘toward’, expresses the direction of the motion and appears only at the left of the verb,¹ contrasting with directionals and with the goal marker 到 *dào* ‘to’ which appear after. The second component is in mainstream Mandarin a localizer, which bears no relation whatsoever to the directional complements that express the path in Verb-Directional compounds. The fact that these two types of path-expressing element belong to separate word classes has made the form-meaning correlation less conspicuous than in other constructions. Through the lexicalization process discussed here, path verbs combine with preposition *WANG* ‘toward’ to form *WANG*-DIR compounds, e.g. 回 *huí* ‘return’ in 往回走 *wǎnghuí zǒu* ‘walk back’ or 起 *qǐ* ‘rise’ in 往起撿 *wǎngqǐ jiǎn* ‘pick up’. As a result, the same path-expressing elements, i.e. directionals, may appear before the verb in an adjunct prepositional phrase (hereafter PP) and after the verb as a resultative, e.g. 走回去 *zǒuhuíqu* ‘walk back’ or 撿起來 *jiǎnqǐlai* ‘pick up’. This unveils two types of path marking in a ‘mirror image’.

This paper is organized as follows: Section 2 presents an overview of Chinese localizers and directionals, the two path-expressing categories involved here. Section 3 describes both types of *WANG*-PATH compounds and discusses their ‘wordhood’ and their historical development. Section 4 presents data illustrating the use of both types of *WANG*-PATH compounds in standard and less standard Mandarin. Section 5 discusses the motivation for this lexicalization process. The conclusion gives a few typological perspectives.

¹ We showed (Lamarre 2007a, Tang & Lamarre 2007) that verbs followed by *WANG* appear only in written style, and that in the spoken language of the Northern dialects they are not used.

2. The development of *WANG*-PATH adverbials in Mandarin Chinese

2.1 The linguistic expression of the path of motion in Chinese: localizers and directionals

Mandarin Chinese uses various linguistic devices to encode the path of motion in a spatial motion event: besides path verbs (e.g. 進 *jìn* ‘enter’, 出來 *chūlai* ‘come out’), it can use directional complements, prepositions, and localizers, or a combination of these elements. Prepositions and monosyllabic localizers necessarily combine with a locative noun phrase (hereafter locative NP), e.g. source preposition *cóng* ‘from’ and localizer *-li* ‘in’ in (1a), and therefore belong to an *adnominal* type of encoding. Directional complements mainly combine with verbs. Although they may also introduce a locative NP, e.g. *jìn* ‘enter’ in (1b), they often appear without, e.g. (1c), and can thus be considered as an *adverbial* type of path encoding.²

- (1) a. 從 包裡 掏出來
cóng *bāo-lǐ* *tāo-chū-lai*
 from bag-inside draw-exit-come
 ‘draw out of the bag’
- b. 放進 包(裡)
fàng-jìn *bāo(-lǐ)*
 put-enter bag(-inside)
 ‘put into the bag’
- c. 放進去
fàng-jìn-qu
 put-enter-go
 ‘put in’

These various types of path encoding combine following complex and numerous patterns which differ according to dialects and style (see Lamarre 2007a, Tang & Lamarre 2007 etc.). The lexicalization pattern discussed here originates in a prepositional phrase where the preposition *WANG* ‘toward’ (*wǎng* or *wàng*, hereafter represented as *WANG*) combines with a locative NP (which may include a localizer) to express the direction of the motion in a motion event. Instead of a whole locative NP, preposition *WANG* ‘toward’ has come to combine with localizers to form an adverbial which expresses the

² The terms of *adverbial* and *adnominal encoding* are borrowed from Berthele (2004). They correspond roughly to the distinction made by Talmy between satellites and prepositions. Satellites modify the verbs and may appear without the reference (or ground) noun phrase.

direction of the motion such as ‘in’ or ‘up’. The focus of this study, *WANG-PATH* adverbials, is divided into two subtypes according to the nature of the path-expressing element: a monosyllabic localizer (LOC) in *WANG-LOC* adverbials, e.g. 往裡 *wǎnglǐ* ‘in’; a directional complement (DIR) in *WANG-DIR* adverbials, e.g. 往回 *wǎnghuí* ‘back’ or 往起 *wǎngqǐ* ‘up’. We give below a brief presentation of the two grammatical categories from which these path-expressing elements are taken, i.e. localizers and directional (or path) verbs. In modern Chinese, localizers and directional (or path) verbs form two distinct closed-class categories which have been widely discussed in the literature, but rarely compared one to each other.

2.2 Localizers

Localizers express “the relative position of objects” (Chappell & Peyraube 2008:15). Their main function is to change the ordinary noun they follow into a ‘place word’, which can then function as a locative NP in specific syntactic environments, for instance combine with locative prepositions and verbs like 從 *cóng* ‘from’, 往 *wǎng* ‘toward’, 在 *zài* ‘be at, at’, or 到 *dào* ‘to arrive at, go to’. Chinese localizers follow the evolutionary path proposed by Svorou (1993:101) and by Heine et al. (1991:132), from a noun to an adposition through a genitive construction (see Peyraube 2003). They are considered either as a subcategory of nouns or as postpositions. It is generally admitted that disyllabic localizers function more like nouns and monosyllabic ones more like adpositions: only the former can function as subject or object of a verb, and the latter are bound forms and often undergo some degree of phonetic reduction (tonal neutralization, erosion of the initial consonant etc.). Localizers are also known to combine with prepositions such as 往 *wǎng*, 朝 *cháo*, 向 *xiàng* ‘towards’, or 從 *cóng* ‘from’ etc., like in the *WANG-PATH* compounds examined here.

Chinese localizers, like the *spatial grams* discussed by Svorou (1993:31), designate a spatial region of the locative noun used as the reference of the localization or of the motion (the *landmark* in her terms, or *ground NP* in Talmy’s terms). The repertory of Chinese localizers fits with Svorou’s (1993) core regions used in spatial reference: the INTERIOR/EXTERIOR/TOP/BOTTOM/Front/BACK/SIDE/MEDIAL REGIONS (respectively 裡 *lǐ*, 外 *wài*, 上 *shàng*, 下 *xià*, 前 *qián*, 後 *hòu*, 旁 *páng*, 中 *zhōng* and 間 *jiān* etc., see Peyraube 2003 and Chappell & Peyraube 2008 for more details). If we follow Talmy (2000:53-57) in distinguishing several components of path, localizers express among other things what he calls the *conformation* component of the path, which includes notions such as “the inside of an enclosure” or “the surface of a volume”.

2.3 Directional (or path) verbs and complements

Chinese directional complements grammaticalized from path verbs (or directional verbs *qūxiàng dòngcí* in the traditional terminology; see Ota 1958:210, Peyraube 2006 and Ma 2008), and compound with verbs to form VERB-DIRECTIONAL compounds just as the resultative complements do (see ex. (1)). Several studies of various theoretical backgrounds (Talmy 2000:108-109, Lamarre 2003, 2007b, Shen 2003, Peyraube 2006) have pointed out the similarity of directional complements with Talmy's path satellites (Talmy 2000:101-112). Strictly speaking, only a subclass of Chinese path verbs function as directional complements: their repertory is similar to that of path satellites in typical satellite-framed languages. Slobin (2001), in discussing the role played during language acquisition by the opposition between closed-class categories and open-class categories, noted that although verbs generally form an open-class category, in a language such as Jacaltec (a Mayan language spoken in Central America, as described in Craig 1993), where directionals grammaticalized from verbs, the verbs expressing core path schema actually form a closed-class category within the open category of verbs.³ Table 1 shows the correspondence between Jacaltec path verbs and path directionals (Craig 1993), Standard Mandarin path verbs and path directionals, and Hungarian verb prefixes, to illustrate Slobin's remark about the 'schematic, generalized meanings'. Hungarian verb prefixes do not have any path verbs corresponding to the verb prefixes listed here, and can therefore be considered as a more 'typical' satellite-framed language than Chinese, which uses both path verbs and path satellites (see Lamarre 2003 and 2007b).

³ Slobin (2001:419) noted this about Jacaltec's directionals: "The directionals have all of the defining features of closed-class morphemes: there is a small, phonologically reduced set of bound morphemes, with schematic and generalized meanings. However, each of these suffixes corresponds to a full verb of motion, and such verbs are clearly an open class by standard definitions. [...] In fact, both sets are small and closed, and both have the familiar characteristics of grammaticizable notions. Clearly, the directionals are grammaticized forms of the verbs. And just as clearly — within the 'open class' — these ten motion verbs constitute a small, closed class."

Table 1: The core path verbs and path directionals in Jacaltec, Hungarian and Chinese

Jacaltec VERB > DIRECTIONAL	Hungarian	Mandarin Chinese VERB > DIRECTIONAL
<i>toyi</i> 'go' → <i>-toj</i> 'away from'	VERB <i>megy</i>	去 <i>qù</i> 'go' → <i>-qu</i> 'thither'
<i>tita</i> 'come' → <i>-tij</i> 'toward'	VERB <i>jön</i>	來 <i>lái</i> 'come' → <i>-lai</i> 'hither'
<i>ahi</i> 'to ascend' → <i>-(a)h</i> 'up'	PREFIX <i>fel-</i>	上 <i>shàng</i> 'ascend' → <i>-shang</i> 'up'
<i>ayi</i> 'to descend' → <i>-(a)y</i> 'down'	" <i>le-</i>	下 <i>xià</i> 'descend' → <i>-xia</i> 'down'
<i>oki</i> 'to enter' → <i>-(o/e/i)k</i> 'in'	" <i>be-</i>	進 <i>jìn</i> 'enter' → <i>-jin</i> 'in(to)'
<i>eli</i> 'to exit' → <i>-(e/i)l</i> 'out'	" <i>ki-</i>	出 <i>chū</i> 'exit' → <i>-chu</i> 'out'
<i>ek'i</i> 'to pass' → <i>-(e/i)k</i> 'through'	" <i>át-</i>	過 <i>guò</i> 'pass, cross' → <i>-guo</i> 'over'
<i>paxi</i> 'to return' → <i>-pax</i> 'back/again'	" <i>vissza-</i>	回 <i>huí</i> 'return' → <i>-hui</i> 'back'
<i>kanh</i> 'to rise' → <i>-kanh</i> 'up'	/	起 <i>qǐ</i> 'rise' → <i>-qi</i> 'up'

Although each language has a few idiosyncratic items for which no corresponding form can be found in other languages, a similar set of core path schema is found in many other languages (see François 2003 or Ross 2004 on Oceanic languages). This explains why in order to introduce the Western or the Russian reader to Chinese directionals, Chao (1968:459) and Jaxontov (1958:90) compared Chinese with German and Russian verbal prefixes (about Russian preverbs as path satellites, see Talmy 2000:106).

2.4 The repertoires of localizers and of directionals

We saw that from a semantic point of view, localizers and directional complements express different facets of path or spatial reference. Whereas localizers may also appear in sentences expressing static location or motion, directional complements are devices which (in their spatial meaning at least) encode mainly the path of motion in sentences expressing a motion. In sentences expressing a spatial motion (like examples (1a-c) above), their repertory displays a partial overlapping shown in Table 2.⁴ Here a distinction must be made for English glosses between 'back₁' antonym of 'front' (like in 'step back') and 'back₂' meaning 'go back to one's original position', and between 'up₁', expressing an upward motion toward a goal (used for instance in a running motion from the ground-floor to the second floor), and 'up₂', which is source-oriented (used for instance when the moving entity stands up from a chair, or when the agent picks up something from the floor). Two items, *shàng* and *xià*, are homomorphic (and polysemous). In *WANG*-PATH adverbials, where *WANG* expresses direction 'toward', locatives and directionals come to fill the same slot, and both encode the path of motion.

⁴ This table lists only a few core items. Other items such as 近 *jìn* 'close' and 開 *kāi* 'away', and the deictic directionals 來 *lái* and 去 *qù* could be added to the repertory of the directionals, localizers 對(面) *duì(miàn)* 'facing', or 中間 *zhōngjiān* 'middle' etc. to the repertory of the localizers.

Table 2: The core members of localizers and directionals: overlapping of path meanings

Loc.	<i>dōng</i> east	<i>páng</i> near	<i>qián</i> front	<i>hòu</i> back ₁	<i>shàng</i> top	<i>xià</i> bottom	<i>lǐ</i> inside	<i>wài</i> outside			
Dir.					up ₁	down	in	out	back ₂	up ₂	over
					<i>shàng</i>	<i>xià</i>	<i>jìn</i>	<i>chū</i>	<i>huí</i>	<i>qǐ</i>	<i>guò</i>

The grey cells at the right of the table show the path meanings for which only directionals are available. *huí* ‘back₂’, *qǐ* up₂ and *guò* ‘over’ are precisely the items which will in some Mandarin dialects combine with *WANG* to form *WANG-DIR* adverbials.

In mainstream Chinese such switches are not usual, which explains why *WANG-DIR* adverbials are rarely discussed. We will see in §4 that the only *WANG-DIR* compound fully integrated in Standard Mandarin is 往回 *wǎnghuí* ‘back (to one’s original position)’, and that other items are more or less marked as dialectal. Fang (2003) described a similar overlapping in the colloquial dialect of Beijing, where *-li* (‘inside’, a localizer) appears after verbs, in the position usually occupied by directional complements:

- (2) 你是什麼時候住裡的？
nǐ shì shénme shíhou zhù-lǐ de
 2SG⁵ be which time live-inside NOM
 ‘When did you move in?’

In the case of *WANG-PATH* compounds, the switch of functions occurs the other way round: the directional fills in a slot primarily devised for a localizer. As a result, 往外推 *wàngwài tuī* and 往出推 *wàngchū tuī* both mean ‘push out’ in the Mandarin dialects which use both.

3. More on *WANG-PATH* adverbials

3.1 *WANG-LOC* and *WANG-DIR* adverbials, and their repertory

The *WANG-PATH* compounds discussed here are not usually considered as words by Chinese reference grammars and dictionaries. They are not listed in the authoritative *Dictionary of Contemporary Chinese* (現代漢語辭典 *Xiàndài Hànyǔ Cídiǎn*), but are listed in the recently published dictionary of ‘phrases’ or 短語 *duǎnyǔ* (Li & Xu 2008:

⁵ The following abbreviations are used 1/2/3 (1st 2nd 3rd person), CL (classifier), DUR (durative), NOM (nominalizer), NEG (negation), OM (object marker), PAS (passive marker), PL (plural), PRT (various particles of pragmatic nature), SG (singular).

259). Only the first of the two types discussed here, where *WANG* combines with a monosyllabic localizer, is widely described in the literature. The first descriptions of *WANG-LOC* compounds by Lü (1965[1990]) and Chao (1968:525-526) treat them like phrases consisting of a preposition and a substantive. Although Chao transcribes these compounds without hyphenation, as he does for words, he uses the vague term ‘occurrence after prepositions’, and Lü (1965[1990], 1980) uses the term ‘combination’ (*zǔhé* in Chinese); hence, neither treats them as a word. According to Lü (1980:482), a major reference glossary of grammatical words, PPs formed of the preposition 往 *wàng* ‘toward’ and localizers or locative NPs appear before the verb to express “the direction of the action”. Lü’s examples include both *WANG-LOC* compounds such as in 往前看 *wàngqián kàn* ‘look forward, look ahead’, 往外走 *wàngwài zǒu* ‘walk out’, 往上拉 *wàngshàng lā* ‘pull up’, and PPs where *WANG* combines with a nominal or pronominal element, such as 水往低處流 *shuǐ wàng dīchù liú* ‘water flows toward low places’, or 往我這兒瞧 *wàng wǒ zhèr qiáo* ‘look at me’.

According to Lü’s survey (1965[1990]) on the use of localizers in Mandarin Chinese,⁶ 往 *wàng* ‘toward’ is the preposition which appears the most frequently with the largest repertory of monosyllabic localizers: 上 *shàng* ‘top, up’, 下 *xià* ‘bottom, down’, 前 *qián* ‘front’, 後 *hòu* ‘back’, 裡 *lǐ* ‘inside’, 外 *wài* ‘outside’, 東 *dōng* ‘east’, 南 *nán* ‘south’, 西 *xī* ‘west’, and 北 *běi* ‘north’. Other prepositions expressing direction, 向 *xiàng*, 朝 *cháo* and 衝 *chòng*, also appear in combination with monosyllabic localizers, but less frequently.

Chao (1968:525) also described in detail the possible combinations of various prepositions, including *WANG*⁷ ‘toward’, 向 *xiàng* ‘toward’, 在 *zài* ‘at’, 從 *cóng* ‘from’ etc. with monosyllabic localizers. Both *WANG* and *xiàng* ‘toward’ can combine with most of the monosyllabic localizers, but according to Chao (1968:526), the fact that 內 *nèi* is more literary than its synonym 裡 *lǐ* ‘inside’ accounts for the absence of the combination *望內 **wàngnèi* ‘in’. Earlier studies show some discrepancy regarding the repertory of these compounds for prepositions other than *WANG*. For instance Lü notes that 在 *zài* ‘at’ can usually only combine with polysyllabic localizers, with one exception in his corpus: 在前 *zàiqián* ‘at the front (of it)’. Chao mentions that combinations of 在 *zài* with monosyllabic localizers are subject to various semantic restrictions, which disappear with a polysyllabic localizer (suffixed with *-tou* or *-bianr*). Fang (2003) mentions the use in Beijing colloquial of 在裡 *zàilǐ* ‘in’, considered by Chao as lacking.

⁶ The survey was based on two written corpora amounting to about 10,000 characters, and representing a rather colloquial variety of Mandarin. These include a few chapters of Lao She’s novel *Rickshaw*, also used in the present paper, which reflects a variety of northern Mandarin.

⁷ Chao (1968:525-526) uses character 望 *wàng*, (see the discussion in §3.2). We changed Chao’s original phonetic transcription to pinyin.

As for prepositions expressing the source of the motion, both Chao and Lü remark that 從 *cóng* and 由 *yóu* tend to be restricted to symmetrical sentences where both the source and the goal of motion appear, such as ‘from X to(ward) Y’. Lü only found one isolate occurrence of 從裡 *cónglǐ* ‘from inside’ in his corpus, a combination given as non-occurring by Chao. This restriction apparently pertains to the semantics of the preposition: Zou (1984) noted that 往裡去 *wǎnglǐ qù* ‘go inside’ or 朝東去 *cháodōng qù* ‘go eastward’ are possible, while 從裡來 *cónglǐ lái* ‘come from inside’ and 自東來 *zìdōng lái* ‘come from the east’ are infelicitous. He attributed this dissymmetry to the semantics of the preposition: only prepositions expressing the direction of the motion, and not those expressing the source, can compound with monosyllabic localizers. The asymmetry disappears with disyllabic localizers, i.e. when the combination operates at the syntactic level.

To conclude, previous studies do not consider *WANG-LOC* compounds as adverbs, but agree that monosyllabic localizers are bound forms, and that they combine freely only with prepositions expressing direction, whereas disyllabic localizers combine freely with any preposition no matter what the meaning.

No mention is made in the studies presented above of the other type of *WANG-PATH* compounds, where the path-expressing elements belong to the category of path (or directional) verbs, and more exactly, to the closed-class category of those path verbs which grammaticalized into directional complements. This may be because most of these compounds are felt as non-standard. Ota (1958:308, §18.8), mentions two *WANG-DIR* items: 往起 *wàngqǐ* ‘up (source-oriented)’ and 往出 *wàngchū* ‘out’ (without giving any example), and remarks that the item which combines with preposition *WANG* is not a substantive, and that these compounds should be analyzed as a kind of adverbial. We follow here this analysis and consider that both *WANG-LOC* (e.g. 往裡 *wànglǐ*) and *WANG-DIR* (e.g. 往起 *wàngqǐ*) are adverbials.

Another peculiar construction where *WANG* combines with verbs or adjectives has been mentioned in the literature (see Lü 1980:480). However in such constructions the verb or the adjective is usually followed by the localizer 裡 *lǐ* ‘in’, e.g., 往壞裡改 *wàng huàilǐ gǎi* ‘change for the worse’, 往死裡打 *wàng sǐlǐ dǎ* ‘beat to death’. This is obviously a related issue, especially if we consider that the early occurrences of *wànghuí* ‘back’ were followed by *-li*, but there is insufficient space to discuss it here.

3.2 More on preposition *WANG*: its origin, its phonetic and graphic variants

Preposition *WANG* ‘toward’ comes from the verb 往 *wǎng* ‘to go’ (now obsolete in modern Mandarin), and appeared around the Tang period to introduce the direction of

motion (Ota 1958:253, Jiang & Wu 1997:469-470, Ma 2002:81-85). Another preposition of similar meaning but with a different initial and a different tone (falling tone *wàng*) developed from the verb 望 *wàng* meaning ‘look (into the distance)’. According to Jiang & Wu (1997:469-470), after these verbs independently grammaticalized into prepositions of similar meaning, during the Ming and Qing period, after some time of competition, they eventually merged, and this merging triggered a new reading *wàng* for 往 ‘toward’. Both characters appear in various proportions in historical documents (see also Chao 1968:758).

The pronunciation *wàng* for ‘toward’ (falling tone category) is generally believed to reflect colloquial Northern Chinese. For instance a dictionary of Beijing lexicon (王璞 Wang Pu, 1911, 京音字彙 *Jīngyīn zìhuì*, p.116) mentions a colloquial pronunciation *wàng* for the meaning ‘towards’. Lü Shuxiang (1980:482) transcribes *WANG* as *wàng* when it stands for ‘toward’. This reading *wàng* was however eliminated in 1985 from the list of accepted readings for 往 in the RPC, and now in Standard Chinese only *wǎng* is listed (some dictionaries list *wàng* as an ‘old’ reading). Both tones are observed in various Mandarin areas for preposition ‘toward’: for instance a falling tone in central Shaanxi, and a rising tone in Kaifeng (Henan), which both belong to the Zhongyuan Mandarin subgroup.

In some documents, the Ming novel 金瓶梅 *Jīn Píng Méi* for instance, both 往 and 望 *wàng* appear in *WANG-LOC* compounds. The more recent, northern texts where *WANG-DIR* compounds appear mainly use 往. We draw therefore the conclusion that the complex issues presented above, however important they may be for the history of Chinese prepositions, bear no direct relationship to the focus of this study, i.e. the lexicalization process which leads first to a full set of *WANG-LOC* compounds then to a more or less developed set of *WANG-DIR* compounds. As noted by previous studies, most of the prepositions with the semantics of ‘toward’ (*xiàng*, *cháo*, *chòng* etc.) are likely to compound with monosyllabic localizers. We discuss mainly *WANG* here because it is the most frequent preposition with this semantics in our data.

3.3 *WANG-LOC* and *WANG-DIR* compounds: prepositional phrases or words?

As was pointed in §3.1, neither *WANG-LOC* compounds nor *WANG-DIR* compounds are usually treated as words in Chinese reference grammars and dictionaries. However, they appear in several Chinese-Japanese dictionaries edited in Japan. Some transcribed them as two separate words, and list them as idioms, for instance the *Hakusuisha Chuugokugo Jiten* (白水社中國語辭典, Hakusuisha 2002) which lists 往裡 *wǎng lǐ*, 往外 *wǎng wài*, 往上 *wǎng shàng*, 往下 *wǎng xià*, 往前 *wǎng qián* and 往

後 *wǎng hòu* (all *WANG-LOC* compounds), as well as two *WANG-DIR* adverbials, both given as ‘dialectal’: 往回 *wǎng huí* ‘back’ and 往起 *wǎng qǐ* ‘up (source-oriented)’. The older *Chuunichi Daijiten* compiled by Aichi University (中日大辭典, Taishuukan 1986/89) lists basically the same items but transcribes them as words (*wǎnglǐ*, *wǎngwài*, etc.), adding 往出 *wǎngchū* ‘out’, and giving 往回裡 *wǎnghuǐlǐ* (or *wǎnghuǐli*) as a synonymous variant of 往回 *wǎnghuǐ* ‘back’.

Let’s now return to the issue of the ‘wordhood’ of *WANG-PATH* compounds. Monosyllabic localizers are bound forms (Chao 1968:524, Packard 2000:75-76, etc.), which is a sufficient reason to treat *WANG-PATH* compounds as words. If we follow Packard’s classification of Chinese words, *WANG-LOC* compounds are ‘bound root words’ (formed from a root word, ‘toward’ and a bound root, the localizers). We follow however Chao (1968:359) and call them ‘compounds’, for the sake of simplicity. Packard (2000:95-106) also analyzes VERB-DIRECTIONAL compounds as words (see his answer in note 2 p.81 about his grounds for analyzing 走進 *zǒujìn* ‘walk in’ as a word). To analyze *WANG-PATH* adverbials as words provides a consistent treatment of the compounding process at work on both sides of the verb (left and right). Here are a few other reasons to treat *WANG-PATH* compounds as words (adverbials), and to consider their development as being also a phenomenon of lexicalization.

(a) Some of the dissyllabic *WANG-LOC* compounds undergo semantic change, whereas combinations of prepositions with disyllabic localizers usually keep their spatial meaning (Chao 1968:524~). For instance *wǎnghòu* ‘back’ also has the temporal meaning of ‘from now on, in the future’, and *wǎngxià* ‘down’ is used to mark an ongoing action: 往下說 *wǎngxià shuō* corresponds to 說下去 *shuōxiàqù* ‘go on talking’. We deal here only with the spatial meanings of these forms, but the ‘wordhood’ of these *WANG-LOC* adverbials is the basis for such semantic changes: *WANG-LOC* items are listed in the lexicon (see Packard 2000:298-303), as opposed to phrases where the localizer is polysyllabic (e.g. 往下邊兒 *wǎng xiàbiānr* ‘down’), which function at the syntactic level.

(b) Both *WANG-LOC* and *WANG-DIR* items are unequally distributed in Chinese dialects. Shanghainese, for instance, developed neither *WANG-DIR* nor *WANG-LOC* adverbials, but uses PPs formed from *WANG* and a polysyllabic localizer.⁸ The next sections shows that *WANG-PATH* compounds are more frequently used in northern Mandarin than in Standard Mandarin.

⁸ At this point, I would like to thank colleagues and postgraduate students from the University of Tokyo who speak Shanghainese and the Shengzhou dialect, another Wu dialect, for this information, and also Wu Fuxiang for the information that *WANG-D* compounds do exist in his mother tongue (a Mandarin dialect of the Jianghuai subgroup).

3.4 From direction PPs ‘toward NP’ to *WANG*-PATH adverbials

From a preliminary survey of a sample of various historical texts of the last thousand years, we can provide a rough sketch of the development of *WANG*-PATH compounds. *WANG*-LOC adverbials are likely to have originated from expressions where preposition *WANG* combines with a locative NP (followed by a localizer), or with a disyllabic localizer. The first *WANG*-LOC compounds we found appeared in the novel 金瓶梅 *Jin Ping Mei* (where there are not yet any *WANG*-DIR compounds to be found) and in Pu Songling’s 聊齋俚曲 *Liáozhāi lǐqǔ* (late Ming). These appear later, in the novel 紅樓夢 *Hóng Lóu Mèng* (Qing period), as shown in Table 3. In the Qing period, *WANG*-DIR compounds occur only in texts reflecting northern Chinese, so we have not listed any texts reflecting a more southern usage in Table 3.

Table 3: *WANG*-DIR compounds in a few historical texts reflecting northern Chinese

<i>WANG</i> +	<i>huí</i>	<i>huílì/huílai</i>	<i>qǐ</i>	<i>jìn</i>	<i>chū</i>	<i>guò</i>
<i>Lǎo Qǐdà</i> and <i>Piáo Tōngshì</i> (Yuan, Ming and Qing editions), <i>Jīn Píng Méi cíhuà</i> (late 16 th c.)	---	---	---	---	---	---
<i>Hóng Lóu Mèng</i> (18 th cen.) chap. 1-120	---	3/0	---	---	---	---
<i>Èr nǚ yīngxióng zhuàn</i> (mid.19 th cen.)	1	2/2	---	---	---	---
<i>Guānhuà Zhīnán</i> (1881)	---	1/0	---	---	---	---
<i>Xiǎo È</i> (1908)	---	---	1	---	---	---
<i>Luótuo Xiángzi</i> (1937)	4	---	11	---	2	---

The details of this process require a separate investigation: *WANG*-*huí* ‘back’ first appeared not as a disyllabic compound, but as a phrase where *WANG* combined with the directional verb *huí* followed by localizer *lǐ* (thus treated as a noun, like some other verbs or adjectives in modern Chinese) or with the bimorphemic path verb *huílai* ‘come back’. At the present stage we suppose that *WANG*-DIR compounds developed from *WANG*-LOC compounds through some kind of analogy. However, these data point at a switch from an adnominal encoding where preposition *WANG* ‘toward’ combines with a locative NP encoding the spatial reference of the motion, and possibly including a localizer, to an adverbial type of encoding. This shift can be schematically represented as the schema below shows. In STAGE 1, we deal with an average prepositional phrase (hereafter PP) consisting of preposition *WANG* and a locative NP. Many locative NPs consist in an ordinary noun followed by a localizer, either disyllabic (type a) or monosyllabic (type b). When the NP is covert and its interpretation relies on the context or the situation, we go to STAGE 2, where preposition *WANG* combines either with a disyllabic localizer, i.e. a free morpheme of substantive nature, to form a PP (STAGE 2a), or with a monosyllabic localizer, i.e. a bound morpheme, to form a *WANG*-LOC adverbial (STAGE 2b).

In some northern dialects (including Beijing colloquial), there is a STAGE 3, where the path-expressing element is filled in by a directional verb (or path verb) to form *WANG-DIR* compounds. The covert reference noun cannot be recovered without modifying the semantics or the structure of the verb phrase.

STAGE 1

nature of the linkage: syntactic level (PP = *WANG* + locative NP)

type of encoding: adnominal encoding of the DIRECTION of the motion

reference noun: overtly expressed

e.g. (a) 往屋子裡頭擠 *wǎng wūzi lītou jǐ*;

(b) 往屋裡擠 *wǎng wūli jǐ* ‘squeeze into the room’

↓

STAGE 2a: *WANG* + disyllabic localizer

nature of the linkage: PP (phrase, syntactic level)

type of encoding: indeterminate

(the localizer functions like a substantive but the reference noun is covert)

reference noun: covert (recoverable through situation or context)

e.g. 往裡頭擠 *wǎng lītou jǐ* ‘squeeze in(side)’

↓

STAGE 2b: *WANG-LOC* adverbial

nature of the linkage: compound (morphological level)

type of encoding: adverbial encoding of the DIRECTION of the motion

reference noun: covert

e.g. 往裡擠 *wǎnglǐ jǐ* ‘squeeze in(side)’

↓

STAGE 3: *WANG-DIR* adverbials

nature of the linkage: compound (morphological)

type of encoding: adverbial

reference noun: covert or inexistent, overt reference noun impossible to recover

e.g. 往回走 *wǎnghuí zǒu* ‘walk back’, 往起站 *wǎngqǐ zhàn* ‘stand up’

Departing from *WANG-LOC* compounds (STAGE 2b), in STAGE 3 the noun used as reference of the spatial motion cannot be recovered easily for *WANG-DIR* compounds. For instance, in the case of 往回走 *wǎnghuí zǒu* ‘walk back’ we can recover a *WANG-NP* phrase with an overt reference noun 往家裡走(回去) *wǎng jiālǐ zǒu (huíqu)* ‘walk home’, where *huí* disappears or moves to the slot of the directional complement. In the

case of *wǎngqǐ zhàn* ‘stand up’ it is impossible to insert a locative NP if we keep preposition *wǎng* ‘toward’, because *qǐ* is source-oriented (*往床站 **wǎng chuáng zhàn*). A possible paraphrase will use preposition ‘from’ and express the path ‘up’ as a directional complement: 從床上站起來 *cóng chuángshàng zhànqǐlái* ‘rise from the bed’. Similarly, 從地上撿(起來) *cóng dìshàng jiǎn(qǐlái)* ‘pick up from the floor’ will correspond to 往起撿 *wǎngqǐ jiǎn* ‘pick up’. This shows that the link between *WANG*-PATH adverbials and the original PP as the syntactic combination of preposition *WANG* and a nominal locative free morpheme (stage 1), that was still recoverable for *WANG*-LOC adverbials (STAGE 2b), has been cut off for *WANG*-DIR adverbials (stage 3).

4. *WANG*-LOC and *WANG*-DIR adverbials in Northern Mandarin

4.1 Literary corpora reflecting post-war Standard Mandarin and pre-war Beijing colloquial

We mentioned in §3.4 that only texts reflecting northern Mandarin used *WANG*-DIR adverbials. In this section we compare the use of *WANG*-LOC and *WANG*-DIR adverbials in two literary corpora, one representative of prewar Beijing Mandarin (hereafter BM), Lao She’s novels,⁹ the other of the emerging Standard Mandarin of the fifties (hereafter SM), and show that both use *WANG*-LOC adverbials (with a higher frequency in the former), while *WANG*-DIR adverbials are limited to the Beijing Mandarin corpus; the only item appearing in both corpora is 往回 *wǎnghuí* ‘back (to the place of origin)’. Table 4 gives the number of tokens for each type of *WANG*-PATH compound in these two corpora of equivalent length. For the sake of simplicity, only the types of *WANG*-LOC compounds directly relevant to the discussion are taken into account, i.e. those likely to express a path meaning similar to that expressed by directional verbs. Thus *wǎngqián* ‘ahead’, *wǎnghòu* ‘back₁’, *wǎngdōng* ‘eastward’ etc., listed in Table 2, have been omitted in Table 4. Localizers ‘top’ and ‘bottom’ and directional verbs ‘ascend’ and ‘descend’ are homomorphic (*shàng* and *xià*).

⁹ To get a Northern Mandarin corpus of about the same length as the novel chosen for the Standard Mandarin corpus, 青春之歌 *Qīngchūn zhī gē* (*The Song of Youth*) (written in by Yang Mo, 370,000 characters), we added to Lao She’s novel 駱駝祥子 *Luótuó Xiángzi* (*Rickshaw*, 134,000 characters) the first part (chapters 1-34) of another of his novels, 四世同堂 *Sìshì tóngtáng* (*Four generations under one roof*). The representativity of the Standard Mandarin corpus chosen here was controlled with several other texts written in the 1980’s and the 1990’s by various authors. The English translations used here are *Rickshaw*, translated by J. M. James, (University of Hawai‘i Press 1979) and *The Song of the Youth*, translated by Nan Ying (Beijing: Foreign Language Press 1964).

Table 4: Frequency of occurrence of *WANG-LOC* and *WANG-DIR* compounds in two types of Mandarin

	in	out		up ₁	up ₂	down	back ₂	over	Total
+ Localizer	<i>lǐ</i>	<i>wài</i>	/	<i>shàng</i>	/	<i>xià</i>	/	/	
+ Directional verb	/	/	<i>chū</i>		<i>qǐ</i>		<i>huí</i>	---	
Beijing Man. corpus	11	75	2	11	21	33	7	---	160
Standard Man. corpus	2	8	---	1	---	2	2	---	15

The variety of the verbs combining with these adverbials is of course much higher in the BM corpus, for instance, *wàngwài* ‘out’ appears only with three verbs (‘walk’, ‘run’ and ‘pull’) in the SM corpus, whereas in the BM corpus it combines with about 30 different verbs. *WANG-DIR* compounds are also very versatile in BM, for instance 往起 *wàngqǐ* ‘up₂’ (source-oriented motion) combines with 11 types of verbs, such as 長 *zhǎng* ‘grow’, 跳 *tiào* ‘jump’, 立 *lì* ‘rise’, 攙 *chān* ‘help by the arm’, 拿 *ná* ‘take’, 裹 *guǒ* ‘tie up’, 收拾 *shōushi* ‘tidy up’ etc., whereas it does not appear in the SM corpus at all. The following examples (3) and (4) are taken respectively from the *Song of Youth* (SM) and *Rickshaw* (BM corpus) and show that *WANG-LOC* adverbials are often translated by verbs particles in English. In ex. (3), students who took part in a demonstration were beaten and ‘dragged away’. In ex. (4), Xiangzi is questioned by the police and does not want to let the detective ‘in’ the house of his master.

- (3) [許多學生頭上流了血，]也有的被警察綁架著往外拉。
yě yǒu de bèi jǐngchá bǎngjià-zhe wǎng-wài lā
 also have NOM PAS police tie.up-DUR toward-out drag
 ‘[Many students were bruised and bleeding from wounds on the head,] some were being tied up and dragged away’. (*Song of Youth* 1 part 1, chap 15, translation p.142)
- (4) 躲他還不行呢，怎能往裡請呢！
duǒ tā hái bù xíng ne, zěn néng wàng-lǐ qǐng ne!
 avoid 3SG yet NEG go PRT how can toward-inside ask PRT
 ‘I can’t slip away from him but how can I ask him in!’ (*Rickshaw* chap. 11, translation p.103)

4.2 *WANG-DIR* adverbials in Northwest Mandarin dialects: a complete repertory

Let’s now look at the repertory of *WANG-D* adverbials found in the 岐山 Qishan dialect of Shaanxi (west of Xi’an, Guanzhong subgroup of Mandarin dialects, field data

collected by the author in March 2008). We found there the unusual 往過 *wàngguò* ‘over, across’,¹⁰ and the deictic adverbs 往去 *wàngqù* ‘thither’ and 往來 *wànglái* ‘hither’ that we had not seen mentioned before in the literature. Previous studies on northwest Mandarin mentioned 往進 *wàngjìn* and 往出 *wàngchū* (Sun 2007:178), and *wàngguò*, *wàngqǐ*, *wàngchū*, *wàngjìn*, *wànghuí* (Mo 2004). These items also appear on the internet with a huge variety of verbs. In the case of the most conspicuously non-standard items such as *WANG-guò*, *WANG-lái*, *WANG-qù*, *WANG-chū* and *-jìn*, the geographical origin of the internet sources (blogs, local newspapers, novels, or others) when they could be identified were most often located in Shaanxi, Shanxi, Gansu, Inner Mongolia, i.e. in northwestern China.¹¹ We provide below a few examples of frequent collocations for these non-standard *WANG-DIR* adverbials.

- 往過 *WANG-guò* ‘across, over’: 走 *zǒu* ‘walk’, 跑 *pǎo* ‘run’, 開(車) *kāi* ‘drive, move (for a car)’, 拉 *lā* ‘pull’, 推 *tuī* ‘push’, 飛 *fēi* ‘fly’ etc.
- 往起 *WANG-qǐ* ‘up’: 撿 *jiǎn* ‘pick up’, 拿 *ná* ‘take’, 飄 *piāo* ‘float in the air’, 站 *zhàn* ‘stand’, 背 *bēi* ‘carry on one’s back’, 拽 *zhuài* ‘pull, drag’, 翹 *qiào* ‘raise, lift up’, 提 *tí* ‘lift’, 爬 *pá* ‘climb’
- 往進 *WANG-jìn* ‘in’: 衝 *chōng* ‘rush’, 充值 *chōngzhí* ‘charge (a cellular phone)’, 走 *zǒu* ‘walk’, 跟 *gēn* ‘follow’, 拉人 *lā rén* ‘pull someone’, 擠 *jǐ* ‘squeeze’, 吸 *xī* ‘inspire’, 闖 *chuǎng* ‘rush’, 插 *chā* ‘insert’, 爬 *pá* ‘climb’ etc.
- 往出 *WANG-chū* ‘out’: 跑 *pǎo* ‘run’, 倒 *dào* ‘throw away’, 逃 *táo* ‘run away’ etc.

Note that these verbs also frequently combine with the homomorphic directionals. Table 5 shows how these *WANG-DIR* compounds contributed to fill the gaps of the repertory of the path-expressing items for *WANG-LOC* adverbials. The repertory of core path meanings now includes two deictic items for which only demonstratives *zhèr* ‘here’ and *nàr* ‘there’ were available.

¹⁰ *WANG-guò* ‘over’, a *WANG-D* item which does not appear in Lao She’s texts used here as a corpus, is not necessarily an original feature of western Mandarin: several fellow researchers who grew up in Beijing confirm it is used in the Beijing colloquial too (I thank here Fang Mei and Zhao Liyan for their enlightening remarks) We found on the internet site Baidu the following question: “Who could tell me where you go when you 往過走 *wǎng guò zǒu*?” One of the answers provided said: “This is an expression used in Chengde dialect, and means ‘go ahead’” (cf. <http://zhidao.baidu.com/question/74162307.html>). Chengde and Beijing belong to the same dialect subgroup. The term is probably not understood everywhere, even in Beijing (another colleague brought up in Beijing, Prof. Lu Jian, said she did not know its meaning).

¹¹ Another preposition of similar meaning, 朝 *cháo* ‘toward’ forms the same compounds as *WANG* with directional verbs in Xi’an dialect (this information was provided by Prof. Lan Binhan from Shaanxi Normal University, PC, 2007).

Table 5: *WANG*-PATH adverbials in the Qishan dialect of Shaanxi, and on the internet

	in	out	up ₁	up ₂	down	back ₂	over	hither	thither
+ Demonstratives 'here/there'	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	<i>zhèr</i>	<i>nàr</i>
+ Localizer (<i>WANG</i> -LOC)	<i>lǐ</i>	<i>wài</i>	<i>shàng</i>	---	<i>xià</i>	---	---	---	---
+ Directional (<i>WANG</i> -DIR)	<i>jìn</i>	<i>chū</i>		<i>qǐ</i>		<i>huí</i>	<i>guò</i>	<i>lái</i>	<i>qù</i>
<i>WANG</i> -DIR internet examples	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

4.3 Two types of adverbial marking of the path of motion

We saw that *WANG*-LOC compounds were often translated by English verb particles (ex. (3) and (4)). Similarly, we found in our corpus '[tears] streamed down [his cheeks]' for 往下流 *wǎngxià liú* (SY), and 'turn back' for 往回跑 *wǎnghuí pǎo* (SY). One consequence of the semantic overlapping of *WANG*-PATH adverbials and directional complements we observed above in §2.4. (Table 2), is that both are rendered by English verb particles 'up', 'down', 'out' etc. For instance the *New Age Chinese-English Dictionary* (新時代漢英大辭典, Commercial Press, 2005) translates 往外走 *wǎngwài zǒu* as 'go out' (p.1589) and 往出走 *wǎngchū zǒu* as 'come out' (p.219), mentioning that the latter is dialectal, and 走出 *zǒuchū* is translated as 'come out' (p.219). To illustrate this similitude in the temporal domain, both 往下說 *wǎngxià shuō* and 說下去 *shuōxiàqù* are translated as 'go on talking/speaking' (p.1589 & 1661, see also §4). More equivalents are given below in (5).

(5)

<i>WANG</i> -LOC compounds +V	VERB-DIRECTIONAL compounds	<i>WANG</i> -DIR compounds
往裡擠 <i>wǎnglǐ jǐ</i>	擠進去 <i>jǐjìnqu</i> 'squeeze in'	
往外租 <i>wǎngwài zū</i>	租出去 <i>zūchuqu</i> 'rent out'	往出租 <i>wǎngchū zū</i>
往上爬 <i>wǎngshàng pá</i>	爬上去 <i>páshangqu</i> 'climb up'	
往下流 <i>wǎngxià liú</i>	流下去 <i>liúxiaqu</i> 'flow down'	
	撿起來 <i>jiǎnqilai</i> 'pick up'	往起撿 <i>wǎngqǐ jiǎn</i>
	走回去 <i>zǒuhuiqu</i> 'walk back'	往回走 <i>wǎnghuí zǒu</i>

WANG-LOC adverbials positioned at the left of the verb function in a mirror image of directional complements, positioned at the right of the verb. In the case of *WANG*-DIR compounds, this mirror image gets even closer, since the path-expressing elements

are taken from the same repertory of directional verbs. However, this similarity is deceiving: *WANG*-PATH adverbials function like PPs, they are adjuncts without any influence on the aspectual features of the VP, whereas directional complements tend to function in northern Mandarin like result complements, and to have a perfectivizing effect on the verb they compound with. Jaxontov (1958:90) noted that Chinese directional complements, like Russian preverbal suffixes, are not aspect markers *per se*, they have an autonomous and concrete (often spatial) meaning, but they also have a perfectivizing effect. Chinese VERB-DIRECTIONAL compounds are not compatible with imperfective suffix *ZHE*, and rarely co-occur with progressive suffix *zài* (see Lamarre 2007a). *WANG*-PATH compounds, like the PPs they evolved from, are adjuncts and do not modify the aspectual features of the clause. They can co-occur with progressive marker *zài* (in Standard Chinese, *zài* is not originally a northern Mandarin marker), as well as with durative verbal suffix *zhe*, for instance in (6) and (7).

- (6) …把頭髮使勁往上梳著，梳著…
 ... *bǎ tóufa shǐjìn wǎngshàng shū-zhe, shū-zhe...*
 ...OM hair vigorously toward-top com-DUR comb-DUR
 ‘Then she vigorously combed up her hair.’ (*The Song of Youth*, part 1 chap. 29, translation p.247)
- (7) 老車夫的頭慢慢的往下低，低著低著，全身都出溜下去。
 [*Rickshaw* chap. 10]
lǎo chēfū de tóu mǎnmǎn-de wàng-xià dī,
 old rickshaw NOM head slow-ly toward-bottom droop
dī-zhe dī-zhe, quánshēn dōu chūliū-xià-qù.
 droop-DUR droop-DUR whole-body all slide-descend-go
 ‘[Before the tea was ready] the old man’s head sank slowly down and down until he slid onto the floor.’ (*The Song of Youth*, translation p.91)

5. Where lexicalization meets grammaticalization

According to the criteria proposed by Brinton & Traugott (2005:97), *WANG*-PATH adverbials only reflect the first stage L1 on their three-stage cline of lexicality: their meaning is compositional and thus predictable (at least in the case of those *WANG*-PATH compounds which express the path of motion), the morpheme boundaries are still clear, and the compounding process is productive. This is also the case for VERB-DIRECTIONAL compounds which keep their spatial meaning.

On the other hand, as the localizers composing *WANG*-LOC adverbials, as well as the subset of directional verbs used to form *WANG*-DIR compound are closed-class

categories, *WANG-DIR* compounds form a closed-class category too. The development of a closed-class category is a matter of grammaticalization. What was the motivation for the lexicalization of these compounds and the formation of this category of adverbials expressing various directions of the motion?

In §3.1, we noted that only prepositions expressing the direction of the motion, not the source, may occur with monosyllabic localizers. This suggests other factors involved for the lexicalization of *WANG-PATH* compounds than mere prosodic factors: in this case why should a colloquial preposition such as *cóng* ‘from’ be excluded from this process? Why should the *direction* of the motion be the key to this process? The answer is that path-expressing elements in *WANG-PATH* adverbials and directional complements form two closed-class categories with a partly overlapping repertory of path meanings, which contrast by their syntactic position. Thanks to this grammaticalization process, two complete sets of the core schema of motion path ‘in/out/up/up₂/down/back₂/over’ are now available for an adverbial encoding (i.e. without an overt reference NP) at the left and right of the verb.

The repertory of paths meanings expressed by *WANG-LOC* adverbials showed some gaps: direction ‘back (to one’s original position)’, direction ‘upward’ but in a source-oriented motion, direction ‘across’ or ‘over’, due to the fact that localizers originally encode the location, not the path in a motion (see the grayed part in Table 2 above). The scenario we suggest is that directional verbs, and specifically the set of directional verbs which form *VERB-DIRECTIONAL* compounds, provided the lexical (or morphological) material for *WANG-DIR* adverbials, and eventually filled these gaps.

From a pan-Sinitic point of view, the correlation between the postverbal position and the perfectivizing function of the resultative predication tends to be more clear-cut in northern dialects (Lamarre 2007a and Tang & Lamarre 2007 show that postverbal locative NPs are restricted to goal NPs in northern dialects), this may explain why *WANG-DIR* adverbials expressing direction (a unbounded path) mainly developed in northern dialects. After the first items developed (probably *wànghuì* ‘back’ then *wàngqǐ* ‘up’ if our preliminary sample survey is accurate), the two sets of path-expressing elements, localizers and directional verbs, were reanalyzed as being available to encode path after *WANG*, and analogy probably accounts for the further development in some Mandarin dialects of *wàngguò* ‘over’, *wàngjìn* ‘in’, *wàngchū* ‘out’, which show some degree of redundancy with *wànglǐ* and *wàngwài*, and of the deictic *wànglái* ‘hither’ and *wàngqù* ‘thither’, which correspond to Standard Mandarin *wàngzhèr* ‘toward here’, and *wàngnàr* ‘toward there’.

6. Conclusion: typological perspectives

To conclude this short study, it is worth noting that Chinese would not be the only satellite-framed language having two symmetrical sets of path-encoding elements, one perfectivizing, the other not. Several studies of Slavic verbal prefixes show how prepositions and prefixes are often related etymologically but opposed aspectually (see for instance Daynovska & Desclés 2004 on Bulgarian; or Dąbrowska 1996 on Polish). To come back to the case of Hungarian, a typical satellite-framed language (but not an Indo-European language), verb prefixes presented in Table 1 have a perfectivizing function besides their specific path meaning, as is shown in example (8) for the preverb *át* ‘across’. When they are moved to a postverbal position, they keep their path meaning but lose their perfectivizing function, and the clause becomes imperfective, as in (9) (examples are taken from Knittel et al. 2002:71):

- (8) Péter át-men-t-ø a híd-on
 Peter across-go-PAST-3S the bridge-SUPERESSIVE
 ‘Peter crossed the bridge’ [Fr. *a traversé*]
- (9) Péter men-t-ø át a híd-on
 Peter go-past-3S across the bridge-SUPERESSIVE
 ‘Peter was crossing the bridge’ [Fr. *traversait*]

From this point of view, the motivation for the lexicalization/grammaticalization process discussed is probably not restricted to Chinese. We are also convinced that a systematic comparison of Chinese *WANG*-PATH adverbials and directional complements will contribute to our understanding of the respective role of satellites and prepositions in satellite-framed languages, and to the clarification of the highly controversial category of ‘satellite’. *WANG*-PATH adverbials are not PPs — since they do not include any nominal element — and hold a ‘sister relation to the verb’ — which means that they fall under Talmy’s definition of path satellites (2000:101). We argue here against their treatment as satellites.

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