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Disertační práce

**Word-class Flexibility in Classical
Chinese: Verbal and Adverbial Uses of
Nouns**

**Slovnědruhová pružnost v klasické
čínštině: slovesné a příslovečné užití
podstatných jmen**

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Prohlašuji, že jsem disertační práci vypracoval samostatně s využitím uvedených pramenů a literatury.

22.10.2009, Praha

Jan Fíq

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Motto:

[POUTNÍK] PŘIŠEL MEZI GRAMMATIKY. I vešli sme do auditorium jakéhosi, kdež, aj, plno s rafičkami, mladých i starých, malujících litery, čárky a puňktíky: a když jeden jinak než druhý napsal aneb vyslovil, jedná se sobě vysmívali, jedná vadili. Za tím rozvěšovali po stěnách slova a hádali se o ně, co které kterému přijde etc., a tu je skládali, rozkládali, přestavovali rozličně. Načež já nadívající se a nic mimo to nevida, řekl sem: „Toť jsou dětinské věci. Pod' me jinam.”

Jan Amos Komenský, *Labyrint světa a ráj srdce* (1631), kap. XI.

[THE PILGRIM] CAME AMONG THE GRAMMARIANS. We then entered a lecture room full of young and old, who, with pointers in their hands, were engaged in drawing letters, dashes, and dots; whenever any of them wrote or pronounced his formula differently from the rest, they either ridiculed or scolded him. Moreover, they hung some words on the wall and disputed as to what belonged to which; then they composed, separated, or transposed them variously. I looked at this for a while, but seeing nothing in it, I said: "These are but childish trivialities. Let us go elsewhere."

Comenius, *The Labyrinth of the World and the Paradise of the Heart* (1631), ch. XI. (after the version by Francis Lützow).



Deus voluptatem, ait idem Synesius, animae, fibulae instar inseruit, cujus beneficio diuturnam in corpore mansionem sustineret. Tale quidpiam est disciplinarum humaniorum venustas. Alibi finita pleraque et eadem recurrunt, quod semel scis, semper scis. Hic campus aperitur, quem visu terminare non possis, novi flores, nova nemora, silvae, nova flumina, maria, littora, novus orbis! Haec mihi visa est necessaria studiorum nostrorum defensio; dignitate, gloria aliis rebus fortasse vincimur: jucunditate non item.

Bohuslav Balbín, *Verisimilia humaniorum disciplinarum* (1666).

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List of abbreviations

CC	Classical Chinese
HY	<i>huóyòng</i>
IE	Indo-European
JL	<i>jiānlèi</i>
JLC	<i>jiānlèicí</i>
MCHY	<i>míngcí huóyòng</i>
MDC	<i>míngdòngcí</i>

I. Introduction

In its beginning, this research started as an attempt to elaborate the system of word-class transitions in Classical Chinese (CC) presented in the remarkable doctoral dissertation *Sintaksičeskij stroj drevnekitajskogo jazyka* [Syntactic Structure of Old Chinese] by Tamara N. Nikitina (1985), with a focus on what is usually described as verbal and adverbial usage of nouns. It may be more appropriate to speak of **object words** used to **denote a process, typically in the predicative propositional act function**, and to **modify a process** by a simple juxtaposition of an object word and a process word. I excluded adnominal functions of nouns from the object of my survey, because these represent another bottomless topic, centered around the concept of modification and having much in common with studies of genitive in languages that possess it, and also with description of complex expressions/compounds. It is true that nouns used adverbially pertain to the domain of modification too, but in CC it is a fairly well delimited and relatively rare construction, and hence it can be treated as a supplementary issue to the major problem of the N/V promiscuity. Before we look at the terminology in a closer detail and delineate the scope of the analysis with sufficient precision, we can freely use the readily intelligible conventional terms for convenience, however loose they may be in principle.

Originally I thought it would be possible to somehow avoid the ticklish problem of **word classes** in CC, which has been never solved in a satisfactory way and whose large-scale solution has been actually sought rather exceptionally in a handful of publications dedicated specially to it. This naïve approach had been very quickly proven to be completely unrealistic as a matter of fact. During the first phases of the research, it became evident that much of the shortcomings symptomatic for most of the former literature published on the phenomenon, which has been traditionally called *huóyòng* 活用 (HY),¹ were in fact due to the lack of a clear-cut theory of word classes in CC, or at least of the pressingly desirable reevaluation and reformulation of the received traditional Latin-based conception. As far as CC is concerned, this conception has been handed down since the appearance of the first Chinese grammar *Mǎshì wéntōng* 馬氏文通 in 1898 in the basically same shape with relatively minor changes – in contrast to the field of Modern Chinese word classes, where a lot of critical reflection and reasonable

¹ The present-day conception of *cílèi huóyòng* 詞類活用, which can be loosely translated as ‘word-class transitions’, has its source in Chén Chéngzé’s grammar *Guówénfǎ cǎochuàng* 國文法草創 of 1922, though it was called *zìlèi huóyòng* 字類活用 in accordance with convention of the time (for a concise history of the concept see chapter II, Historical background, and II.1). I use the abbreviation HY throughout my thesis for convenience, so that I need not repeat the formulation “using object words in order to denote a process or to modify an action.” The “HY” is thus to be taken merely as a conventional label; the more specific MCHY for *míngcí huóyòng* 名詞活用 ‘word-class transitions of nouns’ would be more precise, but it still would not express the confinement to process predication and modification action.

adaptation has been made. This is the reason I dedicated a considerable part of my dissertation to its reshaping with a special respect to the needs of HY analysis, relying mainly on some of the latest general models of language that best fitted my own independent observations. As a logical consequence of these and related changes in my approach it also became clear that Nikitina would be merely one of many items in the bibliography, though an interesting one: my understanding of the mechanisms of HY had departed too far from hers, making her mode of description unacceptable for me as a platform for my own research. After all it is no wonder, as there have appeared so many advanced and refined strategies suitable for interpreting the various facets of the HY phenomenon since 1980's, though never applied to CC.

While carrying out **excerption** of the language material from the primary sources, I worked on an almost pre-theoretical level, having no specific descriptive system in my mind. Of course I had to rely on elementary linguistic notions to be able to decide at least approximately which expressions are relevant to my research, but I was aware that even these rudiments are not theory-independent, having their origins basically in Saussure and Prague School structuralism I had been linguistically educated in. I tried to record possibly all the places in particular texts of 5th-3rd centuries BC that were potentially "suspicious" as far as the correlation of a word class and a syntactic and propositional function is concerned. I preferred to collect relatively richer data, though on quasi-intuitive grounds, and only then to observe, organize and sort it out to get the global view of the net of interrelated processes, to prefabricating a hypothetic system of my own or adopting one of the established models of language and filtering the sources through its grid. In that case I could have simply proved the hypothesis right or wrong on the basis of neatly pre-organized material, which is a quite common practice, but it was not my goal.

My hope is to interpret this in the view of classical European grammar apparently puzzling usage of CC words in a broader context than my predecessors did by combining strategies of all major disciplines related to HY into a kind of **interdisciplinary interpretative net**. In this endeavour I try to proceed with at least an elementary comparative perspective, which primarily means exploiting literature on English noun-verb conversion, which is a close counterpart of HY in CC. Besides this, I also found useful **contrasting its functional parallels** in inflected languages. Besides some examples from Latin, I refer occasionally also to Czech, which by virtue of being my mother-tongue is the inflected language I am especially familiar with. Moreover, denominal verbs and derived adverbs are abundant in Czech and theoretical description of these derivations has a long tradition. Those parallels are of course morphologically marked derivations, and it is the suffixation with the most general structural meaning of denominal verbalization (e.g. bare thematic vocals or the suffix *-ova-* in Czech) and adverbialization (*-ě,-y/-o* in Czech) that is of the major concern. This auxiliary

comparative practice supporting a sound internal analysis of the described language might seem trivial, but very little of it can be traced in the available literature on the topic. It may be because of the fear of unconsciously imposing the linguistic categories of European languages on CC. This problem has deservedly become a scare for Western sinologists on the basis of past experience, yet it should not deter us from a reasonable manner of comparison while keeping the dangers in mind. I have not consulted the frameworks elaborated for Modern Chinese, for inspite of a certain kind of distant descendency to CC the situation in that language is relatively different from CC and it represents a domain on its own that is too extensive to be simply and at the same time meaningfully adapted for the issue of CC word classes. It could serve again as a very close parallel for comparison, but I think the languages that I have talked of are enough to provide an instructive linguistic mirror.

As far as Chinese publications are concerned, I dare to say that the overwhelming majority hardly reflects any evolution of general linguistic discourse in the last decades and regularly does not even refer to any papers in other languages than Chinese. Except for Zhāng Wénguó (2005), the only real monograph on N-V promiscuity, they are represented by predominantly short articles which not exceptionally comprise a single observation, though sometimes a valuable one, and many of these tend to be repeated by other authors. My pervasive experience is that deeper theoretical reflection or grounding are relatively rare and interdisciplinary approach is virtually missing. Among the few Western works dealing with HY, which tend to be built on more solid grounds, Kennedy (1956), Cikoski (1970) and Nikitina (1985) can offer many interesting ideas, but they have become out-dated for some parts as they more or less reflect the stage of general linguistic science at the time they were written. Moreover, the overlaps with other disciplines than syntax, which are according to my view essential to an adequate description of HY, are scant. Harbsmeier (1998) is a very good introduction, which can however only serve as a departing point for a more comprehensive treatise; Bisang (2009) is very close to my approach, but again is merely a sketch.

Under these circumstances, my research is directed primarily towards an analysis inspired by general theories and experience obtained on the basis of English, a language typologically close to CC, applying them on the Pre-Qín Chinese while not ignoring the observations already made in the frame of sinological philology. Bringing the research on HY close to the general linguistic discourse of the day and liberating it from the limitations of the conservative CC studies in China can be considered the core strategy of my dissertation. In other words, it is an attempt to assemble the fragmentary and isolated observations of my own as well as of preceding authors into a **coherent global picture** of the mechanisms and factors involved in HY. At the same time, this picture or, better, fabric of relations is linked to and anchored in a particular model of language that fits best the structures emerging from the data, as far as I understand it,

which provides the system with a sense on a higher, more general cross-linguistic level, facilitates interpretation of its logic and on the ground of it enables some predictions that can be tested. On the other hand, my dissertation would hopefully present a source of data for general linguists who specialize in the field of word classes and who put an accent on the comparative or typological perspective, although I do not systematically provide expressions in CC with interlinear morpheme-to-morpheme transcriptions. My experience is that in this respect CC is a kind of language that serves very well as a touchstone of all of the "universal" theories that were usually developed on the patterns of English or/and several other best-known European languages; yet I found that even such typologically and cross-linguistically orientated models as that one by Croft (2001), which definitely does not suffer from a eurocentric bias, turned out not to be fully accommodated for CC. Despite of all the work already done, I think it is still necessary to repeatedly bring CC philology and Western linguistics together and prevent their divorcing they incline to.

As the above-mentioned examination of primary sources advanced, a **working hypothesis** regarding the nature of word classes in CC, the character of the HY phenomenon and the rules that govern it gradually emerged in my mind. Although I support the view that a strict adherence to any of the established models of language and their formalized methodologies is not really necessary in order to describe an aspect of a language in a revealing way, I did not want to reinvent the wheel. Therefore I focussed on the range of questions relevant for my topic (i.e. word classes, the relationship between syntax and semantics, lexical semantics, argument structure, innovation, conversion, word formation, pragmatics etc.) in the main theoretical branches of the day and looked for support for my theses. What a surprise it was for me, who had previously roamed mainly in the realm of the traditional description of CC based on Chinese grammars, worthy von Gabelentz or Nikitina I had been trained in, to discover that my system under construction is in an almost perfect accordance with Langacker's cognitive grammar and partially with its typologist twin, Croft's radical construction grammar. Moreover, I gradually realized that the group of authors I found useful for description of HY and illumination of my observations was interwoven with similar approaches to language, similar points of departure as well as particular solutions, manifested also by mutual references. Some of them were explicitly connected with cognitive linguistics (Lakoff, Johnson, Langacker, Croft, Tuggy, Wierzbicka), some pertained to its sources or inspirations (Rosch, Tversky, Fauconnier, Searle, Grice), older ones were characterized by word-based, usage-based and principally non-generative approach (Marchand, Dokulil, Štekauer, Lipka) or even by a kind of proto-cognitivist paradigm (Roschian theory of categorization, non-reductionist theory of meaning etc.) like Clark & Clark (1979). Besides this, Guō Rui (2004), presumably the most advanced study on word classes in Modern Chinese, heavily draws on cognitive

and construction grammar, and the latest paper on CC word classes in English that I know of, Bisang (2009), works predominantly with Croft.

For these reasons I have decided to choose **cognitive linguistics** as the model of language I linked to the picture of HY in the way I talked about above. I perceive it as a platform that lends the particular microsystem a deeper meaning, a solid theoretical anchoring and a broader context, yet does not enslave with a formalized machinery. It is important to keep this role of its in mind. I exploit the concepts included in cognitive linguistics to explain my observations, not to pre-format them. I find it useful as far as it helps to interpret the data, but I do not feel obliged to tenaciously stick to any prefabricated solutions. I am aware of the fact that one can consider this approach as a too vague because too unrestrained mode of linguistic argumentation, which is by the way one of the most common objections of researchers opposed to cognitive linguistics, but on the other hand, it can also be viewed as independency that enables a fresher and more flexible interdisciplinary treatment of the complicated matter of HY. Frankly speaking, I do not think any of the established rigid, usually syntactically orientated systems (not to mention specialized “modules”) can manage to describe it properly and in all its complexity on its own. The proponents of cognitive linguistics themselves admit that it is still to be taken rather as a certain noetic basis common to several differentiated currents. This could be an advantage in this field. In the end, the choice depends on preferences of particular linguists and is essentially influenced by their experience, and so is mine.

As far as the most general **theoretical platform** is concerned, I use *Cognitive Grammar* (1987, 1991) by Ronald W. Langacker and *Radical Construction Grammar* (2001) by William Croft as basic reference books throughout my dissertation. Besides them, another work I keep referring to systematically is the first real synthesis on the noun-verb HY in CC written by Zhāng Wénguó, *Gǔ Hànyǔ de míng-dòng cǐlèi zhuǎnbiàn jí qí fāzhǎn* 古汉语的名动词类转变及其发展 (2005).² I will come to this remarkable book in closer detail later (III.1.2), but suffice it to say for the moment that despite its indubitable value the mode of my communication with it is often polemic. In the sphere of interpretation of innovative denominal verbs, demonstrated on English but valid also for CC, I rely for a large part on the unsurpassed and very influential paper by Clark & Clark “When Nouns Surface as Verbs” published in *Language* (1979), and also on the most important and comprehensive publications of P. Štekauer (1996, 1998, 2005), who elaborated his own theory of English word-class conversion on the basis of

² There is an earlier monograph, Wáng Kèzhòng's *Gǔ Hànyǔ cǐlèi huóyòng* 古汉语词类活用 (1989), but it is in fact a collection of examples with an attempt at a simple categorization, lacking virtually any substantial theoretical reflection and elaboration.

Dokulil's theory of word-formation (monograph 1962)³ and who with R. Lieber co-edited *Handbook of Word-Formation* (2005). These authors represent the fundamental guidelines for the construction of my analytic net, supported by particular contributions of many others listed in the bibliography.

According to my view, it is self-evident that the research on HY requires a sound theory of meaning, despite the fact that the majority of Chinese authors talk about it as if were an almost uniquely syntactic matter, a mere temporary change of "grammatical" function in contrast to the normal functional paradigm of the word. The emphasis put on **semantics** is by the way in accordance with the more general tradition of simultaneous syntactic and semantic analysis in most of the non-formal branches of linguistics, and as far as the field of CC studies is concerned, it was programmatically applied by Nikitina (1982, 1985). I will not linger on it now, because the cognitivist conception of semantics will be one of the major topics throughout the dissertation and the most important tools for elucidating the HY mechanism.

Yet what is not that straightforward is the incorporation of theory of **word formation** into the account of HY. I see its role in the description of HY as over-important and at the same time exceedingly underestimated in previous research. My hope is that emphatically redrawing attention to the parallelism between HY and word formation, which has its source in their close affinity, could be one of my contributions to the debate. First, it does not mean the relevance of word-formation escaped notice completely, but except for the minority of words changing their pronunciation according to different syntactic functions (*pòdú* 破讀 in traditional Chinese philology; the most influential work on this topic in the West is Downer 1959), it has been mentioned only schematically and without detectable implications for description of the system. And second, the question whether HY is to be necessarily counted for a kind of word formation is less critical than it seems to be, although I would answer affirmatively with some reservations: the crucial point is that it involves basically the same processes and follows the same rules, and therefore can also be compared (or contrasted) with functionally equivalent types of derivation in morphologically richer languages. Once we are aware of this parallelism, new methodological sources originally unrelated to the HY research call for exploitation: theory of conversion in English, studies in language innovation including theory of interpretation of **novel expressions**, studies in cooperation in communication subsumed under **pragmatics**, studies in lexicalization and/or **institutionalization**, which involve **sociolinguistic and**

³ Dokulil's onomasiological model of word formation played a prominent role in the Central and Eastern Europe since 1960's similarly to Marchand's model in the Western Europe. Although outdated in some particular premises, its theoretical fundamentals are still worth consulting, and especially its not-so-common onomasiological approach, which offers many revealing insights into the processes involved in word-formation. Štekauer, his disciple, modernized his system during 1990's and 2000's, not departing from the onomasiological stance.

psycholinguistic perspectives, peripherally **stylistics** or terminography etc. It is symptomatic that although many of these particular fields of study (as well as theory of word formation itself) are usually – except for strongly generative models of language – justly subsumed under lexicology, Chinese lexicologists (Zhào Kèqín 1995, Zhāng Liánróng 2000, Jiǎng Shàoyú 2005) either do not deal with HY at all (the first one) or only briefly (the latter two ones), which is by the way very similar to the situation of word classes.

There is at least one field of sinological research related to HY in an important way on whose detailed investigation I consciously resign: **morphology** of Old Chinese (see chapter IV). I am aware of its potential value for my purposes and it is not possible to disregard it completely. I definitely had to take it into account when deliberating the nature of CC word classes and of the HY itself. It is after all supposed to be a kind of derivational morphology, and it thus belongs to the domain of word formation. Yet I do not think that the time for the difficult task of integration of morphological reconstructions into grammar of CC, and especially into the system of word classes, has come (besides the fact that its solution is far beyond the scope of my dissertation anyway).

There are several major reasons for the reserved stance that I take in accordance with many specialists on early morphology. I will inquire into them more carefully in a separate section, as the issue cannot be dismissed easily in a sketch in the introduction. It deserves a proper attention, because it could potentially play an important role in understanding not only of the HY but of the character of the language on the whole, were it not for some discomfoting facts about the extent of our knowledge about precise forms of words and their overt morphological behaviour in the spoken language of the classical period (350 ± 150 BC) that we could take for granted.

The objections concerning relevance of mediaeval sources on morphology for spoken CC and applicability of the reconstructions for description of HY might eventually turn out to be wrong, but there are at least two other points that relativize importance of the issue for this dissertation. First, even we accepted the opinions of the more optimistic researchers of variant readings recorded in rime-books from 7th century onwards and in the literature based on the *Jingdiǎn shìwén* (before 589) tradition, there does not seem to be any really productive system of morphology corresponding with syntactic functions in CC (“word-class morphology”) anyway, but rather dissipating remnants of heterogeneous morphological processes inherited from much earlier times at the best. And second, I aim to study primarily the conceptual foundations of HY, its pragmatic context and other functional aspects I mentioned above and the form is therefore not crucial for me, though it could possibly influence the conception of CC word classes to a considerable degree.

As already suggested, my aim is not to devise, run or test a set of rules at this stage, but to offer a range of reasonable and coherent explanations for structures of a certain kind found in ancient Chinese texts, however unformalized they may be. The first synthetic works on the topic have just begun to appear, and we are still only approaching to what was going on there and trying to grasp the overall regularities. I do not intend to treat the phenomenon in an exhaustive way, but to **reorientate** and **reformulate** the discourse that seemed to me to be trapped in the bounds of too conservative approaches, and to draw attention to new or alternative possibilities of interpretation.

There are some objective factors that make complete and perfect handling of noun-verb and noun-adverb HY difficult and in some aspects even impossible. The first one is crucial: CC is a dead language and its extant corpus is finite. Especially when we consider the relatively low frequency of occurrence of HY, it is not especially voluminous. It is true that the transmitted pieces of literature can be potentially supplemented by excavated texts on bamboo strips and silk, but these are a) for a larger part not or not easily accessible yet, b) often of a character not very suitable for HY research (administrative texts, lists etc.), c) a finite source too. The consequences are easy to predict. As far as word-class affiliation is concerned, we have to rely uniquely on distributional patterns due to the lack of any overt systematic marking and at the same time we cannot consult competent native speakers any more, and therefore we theoretically depend on **statistic data** on distribution more than is usual. But except for a smaller group of high-frequency lexemes, most of the rest of the words attested both in the function of reference to an object and predication of an action have such a low occurrence that the ratios cannot support any reasonable conclusions about their nature. The occurrence is moreover strongly influenced by thematic and stylistic heterogeneity and imbalance of the corpus. Under these circumstances it makes virtually no difference whether a word has the N : V usage ratio 8 : 2, 3 : 5 or 15 : 9, which means that a considerable number of particular items would be underspecified in an eventual system based on "exact" figures. For this reason I use statistics mainly to get an overall picture of the position of HY in the language, but I assume its rather auxiliary than decisive role for analysis of particular cases. For the same reason I avoid statements about which nouns are *incapable* of HY: the fact that HY of a certain word is not attested may be very well a matter of chance, and I am convinced it would be foolish to want to state what the old Chinese would never have said (while it may be sometimes useful to make hypotheses about what a certain word could have meant if used in a certain function).

The second major negative factor is in a sense related to the first one – it is the denied direct access to the **psycholinguistic reality** of speakers of CC. The whole theory of language that I work with and also the particular fields of study that I talked about, like language innovation and interpretation of novel expressions, lexicalization or institutionalization, draw on language psychology. Cognitive linguistics is based on

psychological theory of categorization (Rosch), it operates with conceptual models, mental spaces (Fauconnier) and conceptual imagery, and its non-reductionist semantics involves encyclopaedic knowledge and pragmatics – cognitivists after all assume that language is a part of human cognitive apparatus. Research on institutionalization of novel expressions must necessarily deal with degrees of conventionality, and these are dependent on the process of acceptance of the units by the community of speakers, which is a complex psycho-socio-linguistic issue. But psycholinguistic reality is notoriously uneasy accessed even for living languages with virtually unlimited possibility of testing hypotheses on native speakers, and research made for dead languages is of course incomparably more elusive. This is moreover complicated by the fact that for the classical period of Chinese we do not have many **language-reflective texts** available to us. Except of mere isolated remarks scattered throughout the whole corpus, there are present also brief excursions dedicated to language, like relevant passages in *Xúnzǐ* or in the Mohist canon (and in *Zhuāngzǐ*, in a special way), those nevertheless deal with theory of naming (confined essentially to nouns) or with philosophy of language and logic generally, and they are thus not concerned with any more specific problems which could relate to HY. The earliest extant relatively systematic reference book is *Ēryǎ* 爾雅 possibly from 3rd–1st century BC, which is often denoted as a dictionary but which is in fact rather a compilation of glosses on the canon, showing an elementary system of arrangement and including lemmas of an erratic value for a fine-grained semantic research. It is clear for these reasons that the analysis will not be always possible in absolute terms for each particular item. On the other hand, due to the prevailing historic-philosophic character of CC literature we dispose of quite enough material comprising **conceptual reflection**, and that is how we know that our reasoning about concepts and their behaviour exploited in order to explain the various aspects of HY – which is potentially endangered by an anachronistic bias – is not dramatically divorced from the reality of the old Chinese. I would say that we have a relatively good insight into the mental world of elite speakers of CC we deal primarily with, though naturally far from a perfect one, and there is no reason to believe that understanding (“logic”) of matters of every-day life, which is manifested in HY most frequently, differed in a substantial way from ours or more precisely is something we cannot follow on the basis of our contemporary knowledge and experience. It is possible to assume that in this sense it was *universally human*, though cautiousness is needed as far as more delicate details of spiritual life are concerned. On the same grounds we are also entitled to assume that the universals postulated by cognitive and construction grammarians are valid for CC as for any other human language – at least I have not come across any counter-evidence.

I would like to stress in conclusion that, as I see it, the above-mentioned obstacles to a full and perfect description of the various aspects of the linguistic structures of CC cannot be simply removed by choosing a methodology that avoids

problems of this kind (e.g. multifarious versions of formal linguistics) and pretending we can do without taking them into account. According to my view the solution does not consist in ignoring necessary components of language and mechanisms involved in human communication only because they are difficult and sometimes impossible to access due to limited material, due to a too broad time gap to our times that entails also the absence of native speakers, or due to the elusive (mainly psychic and social) nature of linguistic behaviour and cognition. I believe that an **overall notion of the principles** governing HY, often considerably specific in details, can be obtained, but on the other hand it is a matter of honesty to be prepared for the fact that in many particular cases we will have to simply conclude with *ignoramus et ignorabimus*: there is no way to look into the heads of ancient speakers, we can only infer all the processes involved in their speech from the small fragment of their final products that were recorded in the written form, and that have been polished, edited, copied and transmitted until these days.

Primary sources

I have decided to confine the material that I use for my research to the classical period, i.e. approximately 5th–3rd century BC and my concept of CC thus basically overlaps with what is often called pre-Qín Chinese. This means that, in contrast to Zhāng Wéngúo (2005), I do not include *Shījīng* in my working corpus. In my opinion, there are good reasons for this. First, its language evidently differs from that of the Warring States, which is natural as the book is supposed to have arisen between 11th and 6th century BC. The earlier parts therefore show clear features of the Early Zhōu language justly denoted as Preclassical Chinese, the later parts represent a transition between Preclassical and Classical Chinese during the Chūnqiū times. Because of this I do not consider the language of the *Book of Songs* as belonging to the same language state as the language of the Warring State literature. Second, I do not think that it would be reasonable to mix the predominant prosaic style of most of the Warring States texts with the highly poetic style of the *Shījīng*, typical for its conciseness, laconic mainly four-syllable metre and extensive rhyming, which all necessarily entails language deformations; I leave aside *Chūci* for this moment too for the same reason, although the style of some parts of the book are much more prosaic than *The Book of Odes* is. This does not mean that HY should not be studied for earlier stages of Chinese or in ancient poetry, on the contrary: it will be very instructive to look at it in “extreme” communicative conditions or in a diachronic perspective, and it can support several theses about HY related e.g. to neology (“poetic license”) and its pragmatic aspects. But at the given stage of research it is more convenient to deal with a single relatively well delineated stage and style of Chinese.

On the other side of the time span, now in accordance with Zhāng Wéngúo (2005), I include only these texts that may have been compiled at the Hàn court ca. after the year 200 BC but reflect the late Pre-Qín (or Qín) Chinese, e.g. the book of *Zhànguócè*. The language of Sīmǎ Qiān’s chronicle *Shǐjì* written around 120 BC is

viewed here already in a contrast with CC, being the prototype of the Western Hàn Chinese. In the context of HY, Zhāng Wéngúo (2005) convincingly showed that the system of Chinese word classes and the functional flexibility of words were undergoing observable changes during Hàn. On a more general level it has been becoming obvious that CC and the prototypical works associated with it, compiled around 300 ± 50 BC, should be separated from the Western Hàn Chinese with its prototypes dating back to ca. 100 BC for purposes of a diachronically more delicate grammatical analysis. It is symptomatic that *Zuǒzhuàn* and *Shǐjì* are often treated in a comparative way (cf. Hé Lèshì 2005 and Xǔ Guózhāng 2005). There is however no doubt that language states are idealized entities that are established partially on an extra-linguistic basis and have a character of a prototype (often associated with a particular work or group of works) with broad transition zones in time to its neighbours. It is thus clear that the language of the transition period of ca. 250–200 BC included in the sample shows close affinities to the language of *Shǐjì*. Moreover, Sīmǎ Qiān actually adopted many passages from the texts of the previous period in his work, which had been a common practice in ancient China. This is especially obvious when comparing *Shǐjì* and *Zhànguócè*, which share a considerable amount of formulations, and the boundary and the contrast become more fuzzy as a result.

I excerpted the primary language material basically from all major pieces of the Warring States prose, first working manually with the standard edition of the texts found in *Shísānjīng zhùshū* and (*Xīnbiān*) *Zhūzǐ jíchéng*. When necessary, I checked recent editions of the texts with modern commentaries included in series of various Chinese publishing houses (Zhōnghuá shūjú, Shāngwù yìnshūguǎn, Shànghǎi gǔjí chūbǎnshè, Guìzhōu rénmín chūbǎnshè etc.). Besides this, I also occasionally employed the electronic versions of the texts available at the Academia Sinica Computing Centre and in *Thesaurus Linguae Sericae* (see below), which are naturally based on paper editions of the texts. The core of my corpus – in that sense that I systematically scanned through it and tried to register all cases of HY – consists of the texts *Zuǒzhuàn*, *Lúnyǔ*, *Mèngzǐ*, *Zhuāngzǐ*, *Xúnzǐ*, *Hánfēizǐ*, *Yànzǐ chūnqiū*, *Lǚshì chūnqiū*, *Zhànguócè*, and *Mòzǐ*. The rest of the texts to which I refer when adducing examples of HY did not undergo this intensive process of excerption – it was for a part secondary literature that served as an access point to respective primary sources, Zhāng Wéngúo (2005) and the dictionary of Yáng Zhāowèi et al. (1991) in the first place, and a considerable amount of evidence has been collected on the basis of selective searches in electronic databases, motivated typically by progressing analysis of the data obtained from the core corpus. Such method suits well my purpose: I have intended to collect a representative sample of the phenomenon, not to exhaustively gather all occurrences of object words in the function of action words or of adverbial modifiers in all extant transmitted CC texts. Neither have I intended to rely on own statistics or to compile ideally complete lists and tables of uncommon uses of object words in CC. In spite of it, I dare to state with some

confidence that the sample is very robust and in fact covers the overwhelming majority of the relevant cases, of course, as a type, not token.

Among the many sources and reference books, I owe much to the remarkable electronic database *Thesaurus Linguae Sericae* – An Historical and Comparative Encyclopaedia of Chinese Conceptual Schemes edited by Christoph Harbsmeier. Not only because it is most extensive and definitely the most sophisticated interactive encyclopaedia of (primarily ancient and mediaeval) Chinese language and Chinese concepts at hand, which I have got chance to exploit since the time almost ten years ago when it was not even remotely accessible via internet. It has been very important to me to get the occasion of cooperation on this far-reaching project thanks to Christoph Harbsmeier's favour, and thereby to get into touch with paramount Chinese philology.

In most parts of my thesis, the analyzed examples serve primarily as an illustration of theoretical problems, on which I put emphasis. For this reason I have not seen useful or even necessary to pile up isolated examples attested in the corpus in those sections which would be merely repetitive and would not add any new quality or to draw attention to new aspects relative to examples already quoted. Of course, there are some theoretical points whose illustration relies on a broader perspective and does require quotation of a larger group of interrelated cases or their arrangement into structured lists – then I naturally do not hesitate to proceed in that way. In other words, extensive (or even systematic) demonstration of my working analyses of the excerpted material concerning various aspects of the linguistic phenomenon in question has not been my intention. For each point to be exemplified, I have selected only the most instructive ones among the many in my working materials in an amount that seemed adequate to me, trying both not leave the reader without concrete cases to rely on in the desert of abstract linguistic constructs, and not to flood the text with superfluous examples, making it thus difficult to read.

I refer to passages in which respective expressions occur by an abbreviation for the title of the book whose list is attached below and by numbering based primarily on *Thesaurus Linguae Sericae*, which however essentially respects traditional numbering of *juàn*s and chapters; Christoph Harbsmeier (as well as many other editors) often distinguishes lower levels of hierarchy as well, which I respect too as a standard, being aware of the fact that editors and translators differ between each other at this level. It may be necessary to point out that I have adopted the purely numeral format employed in TLS, and I therefore give a number instead of a postmortal title of respective dukes in *Zuǒzhuàn* and other books that are traditionally referred to in this way. In case that the text which I needed to refer to is not included in TLS, I employ the traditional format, usually that of *juàn* and chapter without further divisions. It is thus possible to search both effectively directly in TLS on the basis of a relatively fine-grained numbering and with all the advantages which TLS offers to its users, and in other databases or

electronic versions of the classical texts based on the basic numbering, which is however practically universal.

Abbreviations of book titles employed in the thesis (ordered alphabetically):

CC *Chǔcí*, GLZ *Gǔliángzhuàn*, GY *Guóyǔ*, GYZ *Gōngyángzhuàn*, GZ *Guǎnzǐ*, HF *Hánfēizǐ*, Lao *Lǎozǐ*, LJ *Lǐjì*, LS *Lǚshì chūnqiū*, LY *Lúnyǔ*, MD *Mòzǐ*, MZ *Mèngzǐ*, Shang *Shāngjūnshū*, SJ *Shǐjì*, SZ *Sūnzǐ*, XZ *Xúnzǐ*, YZ *Yànzǐ chūnqiū*, ZGC *Zhànguó cè*, Zh *Zhuāngzǐ*, ZL *Zhōulǐ*, ZZ *Zuǒzhuàn*.

II. Historical background

As mentioned in the introduction, the non-referential functions of nouns, or object words in the Croftian terms I prefer to use to avoid misunderstanding of nature of the category, have been mostly subsumed under the label *cilei huóyòng* 詞類活用 in 20th century Chinese linguistics (though we can occasionally encounter also more precise modern terms like *cilei zhuǎnbiàn* 詞類轉變, *cilei zhuǎnhuà* 詞類轉化, *cixìng biànhuàn* 詞性變換 etc.), and this designation for word-class promiscuity in Chinese in general is still in use today. Noun-verb transitions are on a regular basis considered to be the most prominent group of the processes in question, and they are often called more specifically *míng-dòng huóyòng* 名動活用 or *míng-dòng zhuǎnyòng* 名動轉用. Noun-adverb transitions are on the other hand a matter of system periphery and therefore were not provided with a special designation. As far as the *huóyòng* itself is concerned, unlike most of Chinese grammatical terminology, which was conceptually imported from the West around 1900, this expression was inherited from the indigenous traditional philology. The accounts of ‘dead characters’⁴ *sǐzì* 死字 being ‘used as live ones’ *huó yòng* 活用, respectively *shízi* 實字 ‘full characters’ being ‘used as empty ones’ *xū yòng* 虛用, which refer to our topic, have emerged around the Sòng times in a relatively simple form without much system and theory, mainly in books specialized in pronunciation of characters in the Confucian canon. In the subsequent centuries, they were elaborated with varying degrees of insight and perfection and eventually matured in the works of the golden age of the traditional linguistics in 18th century, for our purposes best represented by Yuán Rénlín’s 袁仁林 *Xūzì shuō* 虛字說 (1710). Except for this remarkable book containing several inspiring ideas presented relatively coherently in a form of a proto-theory, which is roughly valid until today and represents the roots of modern approaches to the topic, the rest of pre-modern sources have generally little value for the contemporary research based on modern theories of language and carried out on a complex interdisciplinary level.

For that reason, tracing the evolution of the concept and following the terminological intricacies and variation is rather a task for historians of linguistics in China and does not concern us here in principle. Presentation of a coherent story of studies in HY offering a historical perspective and primary orientation would be useful though, but I am not aware of any such comprehensive work. Zhāng Wéngúo (2005: 3–

⁴ For the pre-modern times, I translate the word *zì* 字 as ‘character’, although it was always in a complicated manner confused with what we call a word today, and in early modern Chinese linguistics, e.g. in *Mǎshì wéntōng* 1898, words were still denoted as *zì*. Precisely because of the absence of a clear-cut distinction between characters and words and even of the very concept of the word until the beginning of 20th century I do not try to project the contemporary interpretation back to the era of the traditional philology.

29) did the work of concisely summarizing the pre-modern research and terminology in the field, having dedicated a special chapter (pp.17–29) to the way the phenomenon is conceived in Mǎ Jiànzhōng's 馬建忠 *Mǎshì wéntōng*, the first Chinese grammar of Chinese (1898), *nota bene* basically of CC. This book marks off the beginning of modern linguistics in China, it nevertheless conserves some traditional concepts and misconcepts (the most serious problem being the absence of a clear distinction between characters and words) that preclude an appropriate mode of incorporation of HY relationships/processes into the grammatical system. Not all details and quotations need to be repeated here, especially as they do not contribute anything substantial to our understanding of the problem, however, some basic data and observations are worth mentioning for purpose of presenting a minimal historical background.

II.1 Philological tradition

The most important facts are easily expectable: the terminology was relatively vague in pre-modern philology, and this is the reason why we should be cautious about straightforward identification of its content with the content of the terms used in present-day studies in the field. As for the very expression *huóyòng* or its roughly synonymous counterparts and other terms employed in word-category analysis, various authors used the combinations *sǐzì* 死字 or *shízi* 實字 and *huózi* 活字 or *xūzi* 虛字, which most frequently denote words for things and actions respectively in older texts, in a quite different sense, depending on genre and personal preference. These expressions thus correspond to the contemporary notions of a noun and a verb only in a certain segment of the Míng and Qīng philological literature; Zhāng Wéngúo (2005: 7) quotes for instance two Qīng scholars, Yán Ruòqú 閻若璩 (1636–1740) and Huáng Běnjì 黃本驥 (1781–1856). Especially in the case of *shízi* and *xūzi* the almost unrelated meaning 'autosemantic words' and 'synsemantic words' prevailed and today the terms are with minor modifications used just in this way. If present, the correspondences are naturally only approximate, as the definitions of the terms – if any explicitly provided at all – are relatively imprecise, implying similarly imprecise applications. It should be also noted that the nature of the distinction between the categories are purely semantic, not really properly grammatical: their syntactic features are usually beyond the scope of traditional philologists, any more than syntax in general. Finally, we must not forget that the modern conceptions of HY are by far not homogeneous either (see Zhāng Wéngúo 2005: 30–47).

II.1.1 Yuán Rénlín

As an eminent representant of the Qīng philologists interested in the HY phenomenon, Yuán Rénlín [1710] (2004: 130–132) is worth quoting at length, also because his brief proto-theoretical outline can be translated here completely. The

passages are contained in the chapter *Xūzì zǒngshuō* 虛字總說, i.e. “General explanations to empty words,” in the *Xūzìshuō*.

When former scholars distinguish “dynamic” and “static” characters (*dòngzì* 動字 and *jìngzì* 靜字), they, I would say, approach them from the point of view of how they are semantically extended. If one and the same character is used to denote force and effort, it is considered dynamic, if the use relies on its natural presence, it is considered static. E.g. in all the expressions like *míng míng dé* 明明德 ‘to make bright virtue bright’, *zūn zūn* 尊尊 ‘to pay respect to the respectable ones’, *qīn qīn* 親親 ‘to treat parents properly as parents’, *lǎo lǎo* 老老 ‘to treat old ones properly as old ones’, *yòu yòu* 幼幼 ‘to treat young ones as young ones’, *xián xián* 賢賢 ‘to treat wise ones properly as wise ones’, *zhǎng zhǎng* 長長 ‘to treat elderly ones properly as elderly ones’, *gāo gāo* 高高 ‘to treat superior ones as superior ones’, *xià xià* 下下 ‘to treat inferior ones as inferior ones’, the first character is dynamic and the second is static. On the other hand, in the expressions like *jūn jūn* 君君 ‘the ruler acts like a proper ruler’, *chén chén* 臣臣 ‘minister acts like a proper minister’, *fù fù* 父父 ‘father acts like a proper father’, *zǐ zǐ* 子子 ‘son acts like a proper son’, *fū fū* 夫夫 ‘husband acts like a proper husband’, *fū fū* 婦婦 ‘wife acts like a proper wife’, the first character is static and the second one dynamic. The *zhǐ* 止 ‘to stop’ in *zhǐ zhì shàn* 止至善 ‘to stop at the perfect good’ is dynamic, the *zhǐ* in *zhī zhǐ* 知止 ‘to know where to stop’ is static. The *gé* 格 ‘to categorize’ in *gé wù* 格物 ‘to categorize phenomena’ is dynamic, the same *gé* in *wù gé* 物格 ‘phenomena have been categorized’ is static. The dynamic and static aspects rely on each other. If you are to point out an action which itself is limitless, you approach with the help of the basic [nominal] character and the meaning will be neither superfluous nor deficient. This is the charm of the extensions.

In all expressions of this kind, there is no change in pronunciation though there is a shift in the meaning. As far as those which exhibit a change in pronunciation are considered, like in *láo zhě lào zhī* 勞者勞之 ‘to make those to work hard to work hard’, *lái zhě lài zhī* 來者來之 ‘to make those to come to come’, although there is the difference between dynamic and static use, the sound of the ords after all changes accordingly and there is thus a clear boundary between them. The ways in which full characters are used as empty ones and dead characters as live ones cannot be fully explained even in dictionaries. For instance, in the phrases like *rén qí rén* 人其人 ‘to make ordinary people from those people [i.e. monks]’, *huǒ qí shū* 火其書 ‘to “fire” = burn the books’, *lú qí jū* 廬其居 ‘to make ordinary houses from their dwellings [i.e. temples]’, *xū qí guó* 墟其國 ‘to ruin his capital = state’, *cǎo qí cháo* 草其朝 ‘to cause that grass grows in the court’, *shēng sǐ ròu gǔ* 生死肉骨 ‘to make dead ones live and to make mere bones into flesh’, *tǔ guó chéng cáo* 土國城漕 ‘to build ramparts of clay around the capital and to wall Cáo’, the first character always belongs to dead characters, but once it is employed in this fashion, it suddenly becomes empty and live, and the semantic aftertaste becomes infinite in turn.

Generally speaking, when characters are extended by scholars, all full characters can be emptied, and all dead [characters] can be brought to life. There are merely situations when they are used in that way and when they are not. When they are according to their nature described from the static point of view of their substance, they function as full or dead characters. When they are on the basis of one’s intention expressed from the dynamic point of view of their usage, then they become empty or live ones. This is well one of the methods how to use characters innovatively and succinctly. But their empty or live use must

be recognized from the context. If they appear separately as single characters, there is no way to ascertain it.⁵

Ēr 耳 'ear' and mù 目 'eye' refer to substances, they are thus dead, full characters. *Shì* 視 'to look' and *tīng* 聽 'to listen' refer to functions, they are thus half-empty half-full characters. In the sentence *ěr ér mù zhī* 耳而目之 '[I in person] listened to them and looked at them', the characters [*ěr* and *mù*] are joined with the characters *ér* (predicative conjunction) and *zhī* (3p pronoun in object), and on this account the dead ones become live and full ones become empty. As soon as one has 'ear' and 'eye' in one's mouth, the meaning 'to look' and 'to listen' respectively is already in mind. Perhaps if one directly referred to looking and listening, the meaning would be exhausted with the words and there would remain no aftertaste. In this case in which the live [= flexible] usage of 'ear' and 'eye' was employed, both the substance and its function come up at the same time and the spirit gets flying. If you deduce from this analogically, then you will understand the subtleties of the empty and live usage.⁶

The live use of dead characters is nothing that stylists would strainedly make up. Perhaps what is empty [= actions] and what is full [= objects] always rely on each other in this world, and within perfect stillness there is the principle of perfect action present. All things are like this. Those among characters that are dead and full are also particular things, therefore they can naturally follow this logic, but as far as their original meaning is considered, it is somewhere between separation and approaching. Whenever later dictionaries recorded what men of preceding times used [in their writings], they attached all the explanations [of the uses they has observed] under the original character, whereby it entirely looks as if it had all these meanings since the very time it was created. Actually, *ěr* 'ears' and *mù* 'eyes' [meant] only ears and eyes and *shì* 'to look' and *tīng* 'to listen' [meant] only to look and to listen. At the time the characters were created, the substance and the function came up on their own separately and were not borrowed for each other. Only after having been used in a particular text they acquired the empty, live signification, but this is evident only on the basis of the context and cannot be ascertained in isolation. Thus we can see that at the time the characters were created they never contained this [live] signification in advance – it was merely the meaning that those who used the characters temporarily assigned to them on the basis of the inherent logic. If you carefully read through dictionaries, there will be most probably also cases that cannot not be commented exhaustively. The reason why I speak about it is to show that the meaning of a character naturally has its origin and its historical development, and it is necessary to treat them separately. And also to show that the extensions are based on the respective lexical

⁵ 先儒分別動靜字，蓋從人意驅使處分之也。同一字也，用為勉強著力者為動，因其自然現在者為靜。如明明德，尊尊，親親，老老，幼幼，賢賢，長長，高高，下下，俱是上動下靜。君君，臣臣，父父，子子，夫夫，婦婦之類，又是上靜下動。止至善之止為動，知止之止為靜。格物之格為動，物格之格為靜。動靜相因，舉無窮當盡之事，即以本字遺之，使意無餘欠，此驅使之妙也。凡此之類，意分而音不轉。若其轉音者，如勞者勞之，來者來之，雖分動靜，畢竟其音先轉，自有界限矣。實字虛用，死字活用，此等用法，雖字書亦不能徧釋。如人其人，火其書，廬其居，墟其國，草其朝，生死肉骨，土國城漕之類，上一字俱係死實字，一經如此用之，頓成虛活，而反覺意味無窮。大抵字經文士驅使，凡實皆可虛，凡死皆可活，但有用不用之時耳。從其體之靜者隨分寫之，則為實為死。從其用之動者，以意遺之，則為虛為活。用字之新奇簡煉，此亦一法。然其虛用活用必亦由上下文知之，若單字獨出，則無從見矣。

⁶ 耳目，體也，死實字也。視聽，用也，半虛半實字也。耳而目之句，配以而字之字，則死者活，實者虛矣。口中耳目而意已視聽矣。蓋直斥視聽者，意盡言中而索無餘味。活用耳目者，體用俱來而形神飛動。以此推之，知虛用活用之妙。

meaning which is extended due to one's intentions, and now that there is this live use which is definitely never done stiffly.⁷

There is not much to add to this exposition of Yuán's views, and I cannot but imitate Zhāng Wénguó (2005: 9) in summarizing his most important observations on the HY: 1) its universality, that is, any noun can be potentially used non-referentially like a verb; Zhāng Wénguó disagrees on this point, the non-universality of the N-V transitions is actually one of his major theses, whereas I consider it essentially right; 2) its contextuality, that is, outside of syntactic context HY is out of the question, because then the words have only their conventional lexical meanings; 3) its conceptual foundations, that is, it is not incidental or linguistically strained practice, but it is deeply rooted in human experience of the world that surrounds him – any object has its way of actual or potential usage, and this consciousness is projected into conceptual world and subsequently into linguistic semantics, which is built on its grounds; 4) (diachronic, but also conceptual) asymmetry of members of HY pair, that is, the “live use” was derived from the basic one later; in Yuán's terms it is combined with a palaeographic perspective, whereby he assumes that the original meaning attached to the character at the time of its creation is also the basic meaning in the HY pair; here we are on the verge of the dangers resulting from the confusion of characters and words 5) its prevalent stylistic markedness, that is, “live use” is typically a novel expression, and neologisms (being of various types) are always marked, until they, if they are allowed to, become lexicalized and worn; moreover, it typically involves also a metaphor or, more frequently, a metonymy.

Yuán Rénlín anticipates in his work issues that are of interest for researchers in the domain of HY until today.

II.2 Phonological tradition

On the other hand, much potentially relevant information is scattered throughout the literature under other labels, which refer to domains of linguistics related to HY only partially, or even incidentally. The most important of the traditional denotations that delimit such domain is possibly the *sìshēngbiéyì*⁸ 四聲別義 ‘four tones discriminating meanings’, or less frequently *yǐshēngbiéyì* 以聲別義 ‘discrimination of meaning with tones’. These expressions are conventional terms used mainly in later traditional

⁷ 虛用活用亦非修辭者勉強杜撰如此。蓋天地間虛實恒相倚，體用不分離，至靜之中而有至動之理，凡物皆然。彼字之死實者亦一物也，故其理自然可以如此，然於本義，則在離即之間矣。後世字書，每摭前人所用，注於本字之下，一似古來造字時，便有此義。究竟耳目只耳目，視聽只視聽，造字之始，自是體用各出而不相假。迨涉筆用之而始得其虛活處，然亦必籍上下文乃可照出，不能單行見意。此可知造字時未嘗先寓意如此，不過用之者因其自然之理而通其一時之意耳。細閱字書，蓋亦有不能盡注者。所以言此者，見字意自有源流，當分別觀之。又以見遺辭者因其義而以意遺之，又有此活法，固未嘗拘板為也。

⁸ I write all the syllables together in *pīnyīn*, taking the expression as a technical term, although it is of course originally a phrase consisting of four words.

As a matter of fact, *sishēngbiéyì* should be considered as a subgroup of the ‘split readings’, because these do not involve only variation in tone but also variation of other types, for example alternation between voiced and unvoiced initial consonants. Yet it is true that the discrimination of word classes is regularly associated with a tonal change, in which the *qùshēng* or ‘departing tone’ plays the central role. The most serious problem with *sishēngbiéyì* is that it operates on the surface of graphic representation and does not distinguish cases of mere homography or character borrowing (*jiǎjiè* 假借, *tōngjiǎ* 通假) from those that involve a true semantic derivation of a single original word. That is, if a character is used to write two or more absolutely unrelated words with a different pronunciation consisting in tone variation, it can be recognized as *sishēngbiéyì* too, and the same is valid for the *pòdú* on a more general level. The relevance of the *sishēngbiéyì* to the study of word-class flexibility is moreover restricted by the fact that the “discriminated meanings” need not necessarily belong to different word classes – derivation of any kind is theoretically possible, i.e. not only transposition but also mutation and modification in the terms of Dokulilian word formation studies.

Unfortunately, none of the pre-modern authors could have succeeded in an adequate description of the HY as a whole, since in China there was not known the **concept of a word**, which is central to the issue, until the first half of 20th century. It is absolutely indispensable in most domains of modern linguistics, but the confusion of characters with words in the theoretically ticklish field of the HY is an especially grave problem. It is a safe way to a complete chaos and severe misunderstanding of the rules that govern it.

As already mentioned, even Mǎ Jiànzhōng did not escape this danger, though his treatment of the problem is basically right, or more precisely his observations are insightful, and his material can be usefully exploited further with some reservations (see e.g. the example with *zhī* 之, in Zhāng Wénguó 2005: 21–22; cf. Mǎ Jiànzhōng 2000: 23–24). For this reason I will stop to outline his approach in *Mǎshì wéntōng* here at the end of the historical section in the true sense of the word and will pass to modern studies on the topic only thereafter, though in the textbooks modern Chinese grammar obligatorily but justly starts with this book. As a matter of fact, as far as studies in the field of HY are concerned, modern Chinese linguistics begins with Chén Chéngzé’s *Guówénfǎ cǎochuàng* 國文法草創 from 1922.

II.3 Mǎshì wéntōng

Mǎ Jiànzhōng did not use the word *huóyòng*, although he exploited the traditional terminology to a certain extent, but more importantly, he even did not have an independent concept of it. The account of the phenomena pertaining to its domain and relevant examples are thus separately dealt with in several sections. There are

basically two major labels under which we can encounter cases of word-class promiscuity described systematically: *jiǎjiè* 假借 and *biànyīn* 辨音.

II.3.1 Jiǎjiè

The first expression, having the meaning ‘to borrow, borrowing’, is somewhat misleading, because it is well entrenched in grammatology and paleography as a technical term for character borrowings; it is – though not quite appropriately – one of the classical six categories of characters. In *Mǎshì wéntōng* it has the sense of borrowings of words of one word class to another. In author’s imagery, e.g. nouns used as verbs are “borrowed” from their domestic category of nouns by the category of verbs, obtaining for the while all the characteristics typical for its members, and thereafter “returned” back to the original position in the lexical system. The author concentrated on the three most conspicuous types of word-class transition: 1.) non-nouns functioning as nouns: adjectives, verbs and adverbs (Mǎ Jiànzhōng 2000: 34); 2.) non-verbs functioning as verbs: both appellative and proper nouns, pronouns, adjectives and adverbs (ibid.: 191–192); 3.) non-adverbs used as adverbs: nouns, adjectives and verbs (ibid.: 229–230). Regarding the last group, it is worth noticing that the author pertinently draws attention to the relatively limited scope of genuine, “indigenous” adverbs, which is interrelated with the absence of any formal difference between adverbs and adjectives in the first place, both relation words (aditives) and with the non-adverbial, typically adjectival source of most adverbial modifiers (as a type, not token). See also chapter VII.

It is interesting that he did not postulate a separate subcategory of non-adjectives functioning as adjectives, or more precisely, he did not render it with the help of the specialized terminology. He only laconically states in the introductory passage of the chapter Adjectives: “Moreover, there are cases of general nouns, proper nouns pronouns, verbs or adverbs being used as adjectives. Characters well do not have fixed categories, and it is the thing the composer of texts exercises control of and that is all. ... If we read through all the ancient texts, we discover that all the other word classes functioning as adjectives are found everywhere. Therefore I only briefly mention several examples to show a clue (Mǎ Jiànzhōng 2000: 112).⁹” And later in the text, the author occasionally comments on these cases simply by the formulation ‘X is used as an adjective’ *yòng rú jìngzì* 用如靜字 etc. This is very probably due to the fact that adnominal modification, for a larger part unmarked in CC and expressed by mere juxtaposition, is so pervasive that it is justly felt as a standard construction and the semantic shift (and *eo ipso* character-class transition in Mǎ’s system; but cf. also Croft 2001: 73) under usual circumstances goes unnoticed, for it is not salient at all (cf. e.g. the N-N construction in English). This does not bear only on adnominal modification,

⁹ “更有以公名、本名、代字、動字、狀字用如靜字者。夫字無定類，是惟作文者有以驅遣之耳。... 遍閱古籍，其以他類之字用作靜字者所在皆有，故略舉一二以示隅耳。”

but on nominal predicates as well.¹⁰ Strictly speaking this is of course an inconsistency, but it is perfectly understandable, and it is not surprising at all as Mǎ's terminology is not applied always rigidly in general.

II.3.2 Biànyīn

The second expression is actually very close to the *pòdú* or 'split readings' which I speak of in a bit more detail in the chapter on reconstructions of early Chinese morphology and their potential influence on the theory of CC word classes (chapter IV). The term itself has its source in the sound-glossing tradition outlined above and is often found in titles of books dealing with issues of this kind, sometimes in the form *yīnbiàn* 音辨. In *Mǎshì wéntōng*, it – at the most simple level – refers more specifically to the “characters” with different meanings that came to be discriminated by a tonal change or another sound change typical for this kind of processes, usually the alternation in voicing of the initial consonant. These meanings are assumed to fall into different word categories, though not always the major word classes. Various subclasses are considered as well – it concerns mainly verbs in the section *dòngzì biànyīn* 動字辨音 (Mǎ Jiànzhōng 2000: 196, see 196–206): transitive vs. intransitive and active vs. passive ones. Besides the *dòngzì biànyīn* section, there is the section that is the equivalent of the *míngzì biànyīn* 名字辨音, though it does not bear this name (Mǎ Jiànzhōng 2000: 34–38; in the edition I use it is provided with the title *tóngzì yìyīn* 同字異音), dealing with nouns in contrast to other word classes.

The lack of a clear-cut difference between characters, words/morphemes, items of a polysemous word etc. become an especially ardent problem in this theoretically ticklish and delicate area. Homography, homonymy and polysemy are mixed together without any reasonable order in the passages or “entries” on single characters, and as a result, the body of examples tends to turn, linguistically speaking, to a chaos at many points in the text. This is much more severe in the *dòngzì biànyīn* section than in the *míngzì biànyīn*. The only criterion seems to be one and the same character having one or more readings. Such an item in the inventory of the examples is subsequently divided into subitems according to the pronunciation, and inside of these, various meanings are introduced regardless of mutual semantic relationships between them or to the words and meanings in the other subitems. These shortcomings are necessarily exacerbated when the net of the relationships hidden behind the graph is more complex. Under these circumstances, the genuine HY pairs can be found in the entries, but they must be first extracted on the basis of a closer examination. Actually, they can be often identified

¹⁰ It might seem surprising that Mǎ analyzes nouns in nominal predicates as being used like adjectives, *yòng ruò jìngzì rán* 用若靜字然 (2000: 127), but in fact he reveals the correlation between the relational nature of adjectives and of stative (identificatory or classificatory) predicates. The former ones have it encoded in their lexical semantics, the latter ones represent the stative relation on the level of propositional acts.

inside of the scope of the same pronunciation, falling thereby under the same subitem, and not across its boundaries. There is thus not a file of neat pairs of words pertaining to different word classes marked by a sound change in the book which would be prepared for our exploitation, but rather an inventory of cases suspect of it. They can nevertheless theoretically serve as an introductory material to start with.

It is a bit curious that the author himself did not recognize the authenticity of the variant readings, being a partisan of the “purists” or “skeptics” I speak of in the chapter on the reconstructions of early Chinese morphology and its importance for studies in word classes (chapter IV). He at least twice gives to understand that they are artificial fabrications of “later” scholars (*hòurú* 後儒, Mǎ Jiànzhōng 2000: 23¹¹), and the only reason he bothers to integrate them into his system is their indispensability in traditional phonology and especially in composition of regulated texts, i.e. in rhyming and parallel prose (*ibid.*: 35¹²).

As Zhāng Wénguó (2005: 9–10) points out, there is a qualitative difference between *jiǎjiè* and *biànyīn*. The word-class, or more precisely character-class borrowings are conceived of as temporary, occasional and ad hoc processes, whereas the split readings are presented rather as stabilized units that had been conventionalized. Generally speaking, the majority of stable conventional HY are left unmarked by any sound change and in the system of *Mǎshì wéntōng* they can be used mostly to prove the thesis that not all characters have one fixed category. But once the change happened, then it is clear that there was a strong feeling of independence of the both members of the HY pair and there was the necessity to establish them as two discriminate units also on the phonological level. This is naturally true only of those split readings that involve a genuine HY – as we know, far from all of them do.

¹¹ “As for characters, there are cases in which one character corresponds to one meaning, but there also cases in which one character has several meanings. When there were more meanings of one character, later scholars discriminated them with four tones. In the ancient times there was not anything like this. 字有一字一義者，亦有一字數義者。後儒以字義不一而別以四聲。古無是也。”

¹² “As far as the discrimination is considered that is made merely with four tones in case that certain characters are sometimes nouns and sometimes become characters of other classes, it is all strained fabrications of later men. If we examine this in ancient texts, we see that when the character was one and the same, even if there were various meanings, the sound differed not. None the less, the literature on phonology is now more detailed than it was in older times and it is something the scholar has definitely to get familiar with perfectly. The more so in phonologically regulated texts, which are concerned just with this. 至同一字而或為名字，或為別類之字，惟以四聲為區別者，皆後人強為之耳。稽之古籍，字同義異者，音不異也。雖然，音韻之書今詳於古，亦學者所當切究。而況聲律之文，惟此之務乎。”

II.3.3 Other

The two concepts that I have briefly introduced above do not by far exhaust the totality of Mǎ Jiànzhōng's concern with word-class promiscuity in CC. It is only a logical consequence of the fact that he did not operate with a single concept of it, and the result is that we must collect it from the scattered sections and isolated statements. In the body of the text of the grammar there are occasionally employed terms that are clearly related to the topic, like *jiǎwéi* 假為, *yòng rú* 用如, *yòngwéi* 用為 etc., which all express the transitory nature of the given use of the character and thus actually refer to character-class borrowings. Moreover, in Mǎ's terms also whole clauses may be "used like nouns," "used like adjectives" or "used like adverbs" (Mǎ Jiànzhōng 2000: 417, 420, 421). The latter two are highly controversial, but the first one is of our interest, for it bears on the ticklish issue of the status of embedded (or dependent, subordinate) clauses, or clauses with weakened predicativity, which is treated by virtually all grammarians of CC, and it is done in various ways. Mǎ Jiànzhōng's approach seems reasonable to me, definitely more reasonable than the approaches of the researchers who assume nominalization of whole predicative constructions: he shows that the particle *zhī* 之 inserted between the subject and predicate turns the sentence into a dependent clause (*dòu* 讀), but that this kind of marking of dependent clauses is not a rule (*ibid.*: 248). At the same time, he notes that they are used primarily non-predicatively, in this case referentially, and that in this sense they take on some features typical for nouns (cf. Croft's rule for semantic shifts, 2001: 73): when functioning as the subject or object, they are really used *like* nouns, *yòng rú míngzì* 用如名字, just like nouns in nominal predicates are used *like* adjectives, i.e. in the function of a relational predicate.

Importantly, there is a huge set of polycategorical words, i.e. words whose particular polysemous meanings pertain to different semantic and *eo ipso* word/character categories (called *jiānlèicí* 兼類詞 'words that share categories' in Chinese linguistics; see III.1.1 for the introduction of the concept), that reside almost invisibly in the system simply on the basis of author's assumption that characters do not have always one fixed meaning. It seems very probable, as Zhāng Wénguó (2005: 24, 28) argues, that the controversial formulation "*zì wú dìng lèi* 字無定類" (Mǎ Jiànzhōng 2000: 24; cf. 23–24) really does not mean 'characters do not have any fixed categories' but rather 'characters do not [always] have [one] fixed category'. In other words, the grammarian does not wish to say that Chinese "characters" are acategorical, but rather that they are polycategorical, yet it must be again pointed out that he also includes cases of homography within it.

I do not think it is necessary to dwell on the *Mǎshì wéntōng* any longer or deeper here in the introductory chapters. If there is an observation or an example worth noticing at least from the historical point of view, I quote it in the relevant passage in the usual way.

III. Modern approaches

I have divided this chapter into two basic sections, the first one dedicated to the approaches to the HY one can generally encounter in the mainstream of Chinese literature, and the other dealing with the views of particular Western scholars. This is not only a matter of convenience, but the organization is justified also by the fact that the two traditions of description of CC have not communicated too intensively, and to a certain extent they form scientific worlds on their own. It is especially true for Chinese scholars, whose papers have strikingly lacked practically any reference to any kind of Western scholarship, and what is more important, to general linguistic works, until recently. But neither Western researchers have drawn on Chinese secondary sources too eagerly, and it is actually not their merit that the mainstream theories of language have been elaborated in Europe and USA under the hegemony of English, so that they have been easily accessible to them and naturally formed their linguistic education. On the other hand, this cannot be an excuse for Chinese linguists for ignoring the global linguistic developments, however critical stance to it they could occupy. Fortunately, it seems that the two branches have been coming progressively closer in the last years, though it naturally depends on author and other circumstances.

III.1 China

In this section, I aim to summarize the typical conceptions of the HY as presented in Chinese literature on the topic. I do not intend to trace them chronologically and/or systematically. One of the reasons for this strategy is the fact that they have usually the form of rather brief and not infrequently simplistic excursions, sometimes aspiring almost to mere notes, in comprehensive grammars of CC, or exceptionally in books on CC lexicology. The rest is found in the form of separate articles that, I dare to say, very frequently lack a deeper and better theoretically grounded investigation, often being written in the style "a few remarks on HY," "several views of mine on the problem" etc. (cf. also Miáo Yǒngchuān 1997: 71 for the unsatisfactory state of the HY research). There is only one monograph deserving the name as far I as know, the Zhāng Wénguó 2005 which I constantly keep referring to, and a special dictionary, Yáng Zhāowèi 1991 et al. Besides this, many of the basic observations tend to be repeated since at least 1922 until today. That is also why I do not consider meaningful piling up quotations from the many grammars of CC that have been published in the last hundred years, and unlike in the case of Western sources which I introduce below, I do not proceed author by author but prefer a mostly anonymous epitome, which will be supplied by a detailed description of Zhāng Wénguó's framework (partially based on a synthesis of the mainstream tradition and partially extending beyond it). Eventually, the task of introducing the previous research

in modern times and the current theory of HY has been made by him and it would be superfluous to repeat it in here. This naturally does not mean that there are otherwise no valuable contributions to the discussion in Chinese. It is only that on the grounds of the literature available to me I was not able to constitute a meaningful succession, or at least a structured set, of single conspicuous authors like in the case of Western research.

As a matter of fact, the extent of the literature measured by number of articles is considerable, which also makes the method applied in the next section impossible. Moreover, as Zhāng Liánróng, an eminent Chinese lexicologist, repeatedly stresses (2000: 150, 1996: 359–360), the situation both in conception and in terminology is a true chaos and too many treatises give the impression of a theoretical nebula. I tried to extract a relatively coherent conceptual core that is seldom cast doubt upon, or more precisely that is treated as unproblematic or simply taken for granted, so that there seems to be a general agreement on appropriateness of the particular concept comprised in it, however inappropriate it may turn out to be in my framework. These, of course, tend to be repeated in most of the articles. In no case should be the picture I present here taken for an exhausting summary on Chinese literature on the topic, and it is needless to say that the concrete views that were either more specific or did not fit in this gross overview for any other reason are referred to or quoted at relevant points in my own exposition of the issues.

III.1.1 Chinese mainstream

First, the HY is typically characterized as a **temporary** process. It is presented simply as an unusual way of using a word, identifiable on the grounds of the context which is described mostly in syntactic terms. It is often defined as a purely **grammatical** phenomenon: the word stands in a slot reserved normally for words of other categories, assuming for the while their “grammatical functions” (*yǔfǎ gōngnéng* 語法功能). In such case, there is usually no mention of word-class transition from the semantic point of view, as if word classes were not related for a large part to categories of meaning and as if verbal use of nouns, for instance, did not involve any substantial shift in semantic interpretation of the expression. My experience is that although the HY is unconventional by definition, there is little discussion about the pragmatic mechanisms of computing its meaning on the basis of the underlying conventional lexical content of the word in combination with the information provided by the construction, if statements that it is recognized from the context are not to be counted as a discussion. But many authors have actually at least the most basic comments on semantics. It is quite clear that the shifts in meaning in the process of the HY are not haphazard at all but they have their source in the **semantic structure** of the original, conventional lexical unit, whose conceptual logic they follow. The original meaning is incorporated in the new one usually in a way that has not to be fully predictable but is easily explained, i.e. its motivation can be well understood, though of course precise

interpretation of particular cases relies on the context – novel expressions simply behave this way. The transcription formulae I speak about below are an attempt to schematically account for this logic, but without a deeper explanation of the reasons for such behaviour.

Already in *Mǎshì wéntōng*, the difference between the *běnyòng* 本用 ‘original, basic use’ and *huóyòng* 活用 ‘live, flexible use’, which is then explicitly defined and systematically applied in Chén Chéngzé, is anticipated, and it has become one of the basic assumptions about HY in the mainstream literature. This is only logical as one set of uses must be the conventional one and the other must represent the temporary, uncommon ones. It is of course appropriate – and apparently easy – for a great part of the cases, but there has been always the never satisfactorily solved problem how to determine which use is which and thus which is the maternal category of the word at issue and what is its HY as far as less straightforwardly analyzable pairs are considered. Thus, it is evident that in the pair *shǒu* 手 ‘hand’ and *shǒu* 手 ‘to take sth. in hand’, the first use is the basic one and the second one is the derived one: the noun belongs to the lexical core and the word is persistently used nominally, whereas the verbal function is very rare and clearly derivatory; for ‘taking in hand’ there are already specialized verbs that belong to the core as well (e.g. *chí* 持) and pre-empt the systemic position for the “verbal,” processual *shǒu*. But there are (typically abstract, but by far not always) pairs like *yì* 義 ‘to be, to behave according to the rules of appropriateness’ and *yì* 義 ‘(behaviour according to) rules of appropriateness’,¹³ in which both kind of use are relatively common – precise numbers are not important – and on the semantic/conceptual level it is impossible to discern any firm grounds for determining which one is primary and which one secondary. I will deal with this question later; suffice it to say at this point that linguistic intuition of a contemporary speaker or reference to “natural” categorial meaning of the word are frequently inconclusive, though they can play a certain role of varying importance in this enterprise. There is a relatively general agreement on the fact that the only really reliable rigid method of ascertaining the **direction** of the HY (primary-secondary use) should be **distributional tests**, but it is less frequently stressed that their value and reliability are limited by multifarious factors. As a matter of fact, these obstacles tend to be underestimated, which is by the way very probably related to the fact that a complex systematic survey of distributional patterns of the vocabulary of CC texts has been done only exceptionally (the situation is better as far as processing of single CC works is considered, cf. Zhāng Wéngúo 1998, Yīn Guógāng 2005 or Cuī Libīn 2004). No wonder as it is a demanding task with somewhat uncertain results.

It has been also observed that occurrence of HY of a certain type is not distributed haphazardly across the lexicon as an unordered set of isolated items, but that it tends to be organized into **lexical microsystems** of various sizes. Members of these

¹³ These terms are traditionally translated as ‘to be righteous’ and ‘righteousness’ respectively.

lexical (sub)-classes often show involvement in the same type of word-class transition and its semantic interpretation is fairly regular. E.g. nouns denoting social or bureaucratic functions like *xiàng* 相 ‘prime minister’, *jiàng* 將 ‘general’, *chén* 臣 ‘subject, serf’ are all easily used as verbs in the sense ‘to exercise the function of N’, and this verbal core may establish different valency patterns and actant configurations common in this group, though we do not necessarily find them realized in the corpus (cf. Nikitina 1985: 246, Dèng Míng 1995). This is true, but it must be constantly kept in mind it is merely a tendency, however strong. There are actually many individual pairs that are outside of the lexical microsystems, be it due to deficiency of the corpus or to the reality of the language, on one hand, and many inside of them that behave, on the other hand, irregularly. The **regularity** of the processes belongs to important issues, but there does not seem to be a clear-cut mainstream view of the matter; generally speaking, there is seldom talk about the possibility the HY could be described as a regular process.

In case that semantics is already elaborated on, we can sometimes encounter in literature outlines of patterns that underlie the semantic shift between the two kind of use, especially as far as of $N \leftrightarrow V$, but also in $N \rightarrow ADV$ transitions are considered. Not only are nouns in non-referential functions a major type of HY, but they are also relatively easily incorporated into **transcription formulae**, being non-relational entities and thus representing independent actants in the structure of the events described by the predicates. Concretely, if we use the example of the verbal use of the *shǒu* 手 ‘hand’ in *shǒu jiàn* 手劍 ‘to take a sword in hand’, the pattern of N functioning as the instrument is identified and it is sometimes translated into scholastic CC with the help of an explicit prepositional phrase like *yǐ shǒu V jiàn* 以手 V 劍 (the verb may be specified too). In other words, the pattern renders the shift from the conventional nominal meaning ‘hand’ to ‘[process] {in which instrument =} hand’, the underlying structure of the novel HY meaning ‘to do something that is typically done with hands to objects \rightarrow to take a thing in hand, to grasp a thing’. The processual nature enclosed in square brackets is established simply on the ground of the $N \rightarrow V$ conversion, which on the semantic level projects to the change object \rightarrow process. The part in curly brackets represents the way the object denoted by the original noun is incorporated into the actant structure of the process denoted by its processual use; it is derived from the semantics of the noun, but it is not fully predictable. Again, I take up this crucial issue later (see VI.2.2), but let us note here, that the **patterns** of the kind “N as instrument” are too schematic to say anything about the precise mechanisms of semantic interpretation of the expressions. They come from linguistic abstraction of the complex novel meanings established by the HY, which must be in the most concrete form inferred from the context on the basis of what the user of the language knows about the world; the semantics of the original word and of the construction it is involved in is of course the point of departure.

Above I have already mentioned the concept of *jiānlèi* 兼類 ‘shared [word]-classes, sharing of [word]-classes’. Words that “share word classes” are subsequently called *jiānlèicí* 兼類詞. It is a very important term. Although it is primarily related to

the domain of word-class promiscuity of CC words, it is on a certain level opposed to the HY. Both are assumed to show similar features as far as the grammatical and semantic relationships between the members of the pair (or a larger set) are considered, but there is a difference in their nature seen from the systemic point of view. They are opposed in frequency, conventionality and thus stability and independence of the particular form-meaning-function configurations: HY is described as a purely exceptional usage, being thus completely dependent on its context (“nonce-formations”) and newly interpreted by the listener/reader, whereas the *jiānlèi* (JL) is actually HY that has become conventionalized and lexicalized. That is, in the case of JL the configurations are conventional lexical items that merely belong to different word classes. I will later speak of it as of **polycategorical polysemy**, though it is definitely weird to talk about single polysemous *items* or *meanings* of one word belonging to different *word* classes. But first, this is a matter of terminology, and second, the European hierarchy and organization of the concepts cannot work in CC, where a word can be hardly defined as a “system of forms.” For discussion of the issue see VI.3. But if we put theoretical problems of this kind aside, there remains the not trivial question how to decide whether the concrete case is to be classified as HY or as JL, as any fixed **percentage boundary** is an artificial construct of researcher (cf. Shǐ Zhènǐ 1998: 318, Yīn Guóguāng 1998: 386). Because there were almost no systematic attempts to sort the relevant part of the vocabulary of CC with regard to its HY/JL classification, it has been seldom solved in any detail and the fact that it is rather a matter of degree than of exclusive strictly delimited sets has been usually, though not always, left unnoticed – or it was unacceptable theoretically in given models of language.

There is an interesting and important concept, which cannot be said to be used generally but which is relatively well known in Chinese linguistics and occasionally applied to CC word classes. It was elaborated by Zhū Déxī (1983) for Modern Chinese and subsequently modified by other eminent linguists of the Peking school: it is the pair of the mutually opposed terms *zìzhǐ* 自指 ‘self-reference’ and *zhuǎnzǐ* 轉指 ‘transferred reference’; the former one is sometimes called alternatively *zhǐchēnghuà* 指稱化 literally ‘self-denote-ization’ when applied to non-nouns (cf. Zhāng Liánróng 2000: 157). They are especially suited for a more refined analysis of the alleged nominalization of verbs and adjectives and phrases that include them as predicative nuclei in functions other than the main predicate, an issue that is pervasively problematic in Western literature on CC word classes or grammar in general (see below – Humboldt, Kennedy, Cikoski, but also Nikitina). In principle, the *zìzhǐ* denotes the process of mere transposition, in which the semantic basis remains practically the same, but it refers (and in this sense certainly becomes somewhat nouny) to itself as to a fact or abstract entity, and it is not considered a true word-class transition or HY (note that the distinction between transposition and other types of word-class transitions, mainly conversion, are common also in the traditional word-formation studies; cf. Dokulil 1968b: 233–234, 236–237). In other words, action-denoting and state/property-denoting

words are in these cases not predicated but referred to, typically in the syntactic positions of subject and object. E.g. if we take Cikoski's (1970: 77) example *néng wéi guǐ bù yì yí hū* 能為鬼不亦宜乎 (ZZ 10.9.9.9) 'Is it not well appropriate that he could become a ghost?', the predicative clause *néng wéi guǐ* 'to be able to become/be a ghost' is the topic/subject here, but in the terms of *zìzhǐ* or *zhǐchēnghuà* it does not become a nominal phrase, as Cikoski wants it, but it simply is a processual, "verbal" content that is being referred to, i.e. the expression refers the fact of itself and does not assert (*chénsù* 陳述) it. In an English translation it must formally expressed by an infinitive, participle, subordination or other means, whereas CC does not know this obligatory distinction. The *zhuǎnzhǐ*, on the other hand, involves an essential change in the semantic structure, usually its shrinking or expanding. E.g., *fù* 縛 'to tie up' is usually a verb, but it is occasionally used in the nominal sense 'a tie, a rope' (Zhāng Wénguó 2005: 229): the signification is limited to the instrument of the original structure of the event and it is thus a characteristic case of *zhuǎnzhǐ*; it should be clear now, that *zìzhǐ* of *fù* would be '(fact, act of) tying up' – the former one is to be counted as HY, whereas the latter one not, for it is considered one of the common functions of a CC verb.

III.1.2 Zhāng Wénguó

Zhāng Wénguó's doctoral thesis *Gǔ Hànyǔ de míng-dòng cilèi zhuǎnbiàn jí qí fāzhǎn* 古汉语的名动词类转变及其发展 published in 2005¹⁴ seems to be the most detailed and extensive work on the topic of noun-verb transitions on CC, and also on the HY in general, available in Chinese. It elaborates most of the points introduced in earlier literature, and this is done in a coherent theoretical framework and largely on the basis of statistic data of occurrence. As far as the linguistic background is considered, the author follows a rather conservative model, which is nevertheless not reflected explicitly on. Zhāng Wénguó basically stays in the discursive field delineated by his predecessors and by standard Chinese linguistics in the vein of Peking structuralism. However valuable in its actual final shape, his book would offer even much more interesting insights into the problem, if he did not practically ignore any related Western scholarship – in spite of the fact that there are articles on English conversion employing the latest theories present in the bibliography appended to the thesis. Under these circumstances, it can be viewed as a slightly innovative, but in any case a well-grounded and remarkable synthesis of the Chinese mainstream tradition.

The book is one of my main sources, as already noted earlier. Of course, it is not possible or useful to present it whole in all detail. I will try to present primarily the most noteworthy points of Zhāng's thesis, both strong and weak ones, with focus on those which are either innovative or appropriately accented and incorporated into the system, or eventually which we should be cautious about.

¹⁴ At the Institute of Languages of Chinese National Minorities of the Central People's University, under supervision of prof. Dài Qìngxià 戴庆厦.

From the global point of view, Zhāng's research is characterized by two features. First, it describes the phenomenon systematically in a **diachronic perspective** and even compares the pre-Hàn situation with the state of the Hàn period and post-Hàn *wényán* practice of emulating authors of antiquity by analogy. This comparative approach is something that is practically absent in the previous literature on HY, and many authors even deal with it in a panchronic way typical for the traditional line of research (cf. Zhāng Wénguó 2005: 45–47). What is understandable but inconvenient according to me is the inclusion of *Shījīng* into the corpus the work is based on. I explained this already in the introduction, but let it be repeated here that it is a text from the pre-classical period and moreover, representing archaic poetry, stylistically strongly marked. Importance of this fact is dependent on distribution of particular words in the pre-Qín texts: sometimes it does not matter much, for there are many occurrences in most of the other texts, but if a concrete use of the word is attested only in *Shījīng*, it becomes problematic.

Second, Zhāng Wénguó has a separate chapter dedicated to the verb-noun transitions of polysyllabic, or more precisely **polymorphemic compound words**, paying due attention to their peculiarities (Zhāng Wénguó 2005: 331–346). Among others, the author investigates their internal structure and pursues the behaviour of their components, and offers also a diachronic perspective for this subfield. This is a valuable contribution to the research, for it has been again an almost absolutely neglected domain in earlier discourse about HY.

Zhāng Wénguó recognizes that there is no “grammatical” word-class transition without semantic derivation, both being two sides of the same coin. He explains, quite superfluously, that not all derivation pertains to HY, but only that one that involves also change in “nature/category of the word” (*cìxìng* 詞性). This is what Nikitina calls “change of categorial meaning,” which is a more precise formulation. In any case, it is important that the derivational nature of HY is acknowledged and that the fact is seriously taken into account in the analysis of the phenomenon, as it is not commonplace in Chinese literature. However, there are also some problematic assumptions in the chapter dealing with the relationship to derivation (Zhāng Wénguó 2005: 98–115).

The author dismisses **metalinguistic** and “**historian**” use of words from the domain of HY. As a matter of fact, this rather peculiar practice is confined to the two later commentaries on *Annals*, *Gūliángzhuàn* and *Gōngyángzhuàn*, which are famous for it among grammarians. It involves:

a) Purely metalinguistic use of words typically denoting aristocratic titles and social roles, or words connotatively associated with specific social statuses like *bēng* 崩 ‘to die (of persons of high social status)’, but also many others which are focussed on in

a terminological manner. The terminological nature of this word usage is important to note (see VI.1.2). In the special commentarial function, words are used verbally in the sense ‘to use the term X (of something/someone)’, as the counterpart of concurrent parallel formulations *yuē* 曰 + X ‘to say X’ or *chēng* 稱 + X ‘to call as X’. For instance, *fú dàfū* 弗大夫 ‘not to call him *dàfū*, i.e. senior official’ (GLZ 1.9) or *rén Chǔzǐ* 人楚子 ‘to call the baron of Chǔ *rén*, i.e. man’ (GLZ 5.27); cf. Zhāng Wénguó 2005: 155. Zhāng assumes that in these cases, the words metalinguistically refer only to the linguistic form (*xíngshì* 形式) of themselves, not to the semantic content they normally refer to. He justly points out that this is common also in other languages and that any word can be used in this way.

b) Words denoting categories of data or events that are of interest to the historian: time, place, personal names, death, funeral etc. They are used in the above-mentioned commentaries like verbs with the meaning ‘to record X (of matter/person)’, e.g. *rì* 日 ‘day’ → ‘to record the day’ or *dì* 地 ‘place’ → ‘to record the place’, which is unique in the corpus of CC texts. According to the author, there is no relationship of derivation between the nominal and verbal meanings (Zhāng Wénguó 2005: 162), though unlike in the previous case the form itself of the word does not play any role and the conventional semantic content is preserved in the new meaning.

It is true that these kinds of word use are different from the typical HY and that the semantics of the processes involved in them may appear unusual at first glance. However, it is at issue whether these uses are to be excluded from the scope of our research. In the first case, I cannot see any reason why not to treat it as HY of a special subclass of object-denoting words (nouns). But first of all, Zhāng’s interpretation is imprecise. The situation is more complicated, and the assumption that the semantic content of the basic word is ruled out entirely is questionable. The form (syllable/graph) does not refer reflexively to a mere form itself but to the whole word, i.e. to the pairing of the form and the meaning(s) conventionally associated with it. Thus, the meaning of the original word is subsumed under the metalinguistic meaning: (the word) “*wáng*” = ‘the word [*wáng* : king]’. Moreover, it remains significant, because the quoted examples rely on the contrast between it and the meaning conveyed by the expected linguistic rendering of the state of affairs. Clearly, *rén zhūhóu* 人諸侯 (GLZ 3.5.7), precisely speaking, does not mean merely that a feudal lord is referred to by the syllable *rén* or the character 人 (giving the result of [*rén*/人 : ‘feudal lord’]), but that there is a discrepancy between the meaning of the actual term, i.e. ‘man’, and the meaning of the expected term, i.e. ‘feudal lord’, which is conceived of as the underlying reality. It can be paraphrased as ‘the word [*rén*/人 : ‘man’] is used instrumentally to title a ‘feudal lord’ (→ ensuing the conflict between the stated ‘man’ and the actually appropriate ‘feudal lord’)’. It is worth noticing that this use is close to the common putative use, having a somewhat different illocutional force. Besides/instead of considering someone as someone else, one (also) calls him by the corresponding word; of course, one can call

someone as someone else unsincerely, though usually the kind of denotation is derived from one's real attitude. Therefore the two uses are closely related, but far from identical. Simply, I prefer to consider this metalinguistic use of words as a special case of HY, in which on one side there is the object word that reflexively denotes itself as a pairing of a form and content, and the processual meaning 'to use N as instrument of denoting something/someone' on the other.

In the case of the "historian" use of words in (b), I do not think it is realistic to argue that there is no relationship of derivation present. The derivation may be not that straightforward as usual, but it certainly takes place and it is definitely based on the original meaning of the nouns denoting the categories of data. Otherwise it would not be understandable. Actually, I cannot see any essential difference in nature between the derivation involved in a) *dì* 地 'territory' → 'to occupy territory' and in b) *dì* 地 'territory' → 'to record the name of territory', though they may be seen as grounded in different items of the polysemous structure of the lexeme *dì*. Simply, territories may be occupied, but also historical events can take place in them, and since places have names, they can be referred to in order to record the place of the event. All this is conventional knowledge about territories and can be considered as semantics of the word entering the derivational process. Similarly, one of the basic functions of words like 'day' or 'month' is to count and record time; thus, it is no wonder that they occur in this "historian" kind of HY. On the contrary, this derivation is grounded in the very conceptual core of the respective words. Zhāng's reluctance to accept this use of nouns as HY is thus mainly due to his somewhat simplistic model of lexical semantics.

More serious is Zhāng's exclusion of derivation based on 'cultural features' (*wénhuà tèzhēng* 文化特徵). It seems to me absurd to reduce the HY exclusively to the domain of the "objective" features, i.e. conceptualized properties of the entities that are assumed to be inherent to the thing-in-itself (*běntǐ* 本體), while it is generally well-known, as far as I know, that the other features, which are attributed to the entity subjectively, socially or culturally, are integral elements of lexical meanings and that they may relatively often surpass the "objective" features in terms of salience and importance. What more, HY based on these conceptual/semantic elements is the most interesting one as a rule. It is curious that Zhāng gives the example of *bèi* 被 'quilt, cover' → 'to cover', arguing that the processual meaning is derived from a "cultural" feature of quilt, namely 'quilt is used to cover one's body' (Zhāng Wéngú 2005: 108), and at the same he proposes that only those nouns whose distinctive feature is functional (*yòng* 用) are able of HY (ibid.: 118–124). But is not the *bèi* then a perfect manifestation of this howsoever controversial rule? Briefly, I do not think this approach is tenable, though the "subjective" features do not fit into Zhāng's model: as he rightly notes, they tend to be idiosyncratic for individual words. As a result, they negatively affect the idea of regular transitions of whole subclasses of words that share a set of objective features, the idea that I polemicize with in this thesis.

On the other hand, the author is perfectly right that there cannot be talk of HY in the cases in which the semantic relationship between the noun and verb is indirect, i.e. mediated by another step in derivation. However, it may be sometimes problematic to decide the actual succession of derivation. This can be demonstrated by one of Zhāng's examples (Zhāng Wénguó 2005: 111): he asserts that the word *jìng* 鏡 'to draw lesson from' is derived from the original noun *jìng* 鏡 'mirror' only via the verbal use of it in the sense 'to mirror, reflect'. In this interpretation, the pair 'mirror' and 'to reflect' is HY and 'to reflect' and 'to draw lesson from, to use as reference' is a case of derivation from one verbal meaning to another. But how can he be sure that these are not in fact two HY pairs, 'mirror' → 'to reflect' and 'mirror' → 'to draw lesson from, to use as reference', the latter one being based on a metaphor?

In connection with the question what is to be included in HY, the author comes with interesting suggestions concerning two special constructions in CC. His point of departure, which he repeatedly stresses, is the quite justified conviction that many theoretical problems are caused by the expectance of full matching of word classes and syntactic functions, based on European linguistic experience (though the situation in IE languages is actually much more complicated than the traditional Graeco-Latin tradition suggests). In other words, some kinds of nouns can under certain circumstances regularly function as non-classificatory¹⁵ predicates under a certain fixed interpretation, and – what is significant – this behaviour does not impeach their nounhood, as this is a standard conventional construction of CC. This is an important observation (see Zhāng Wénguó 2005: 83, 96), it is only pity that Zhāng did not consult any general linguistic work elaborating on this point systematically and typologically and going deeper to the roots, the context and theoretical consequences of this phenomenon.

Zhāng defines two types of standard non-classificatory predicates formed of nouns: 1.) *xìngzhì shuōmíng wèiyǔ* 性質說明謂語 'qualitative expository predicate', referring to a quality of the subject, and 2.) *zhuàngtài shuōmíng wèiyǔ* 狀態說明謂語 'static expository predicate', referring a conditions of the subject.¹⁶ Both are excluded from the domain of HY.

The first one is the well known use of words denoting social roles as objectless predicates with the meaning 'to act properly as N', 'to be a true N' (cf. Western authors: III.2.4, p. 60; III.2.5, p. 65; III.2.6, p. 70), having its *locus classicus* in LY 12 (*fù fù, zǐ zǐ* 父父子子 etc.). In this construction, the predicate may be freely negated by the negative *bù* 不. The noun in the subject and the predicate are often identical, but they sometimes also may differ. Zhāng, unlike other authors, makes a detailed survey in distribution and collocability of nouns in this construction and arrives at many valuable observations

¹⁵ I.e. other than the identificatory/classificatory predicates $N_1 N_2$ (*yě* 也), found in most of not all languages either with or without a copula, which are traditionally called "nominal" according to the predominant situation in IE languages.

¹⁶ Zhāng Wénguó dedicate a separate article to this topic; see Zhāng Wénguó 2006.

(Zhāng Wénguó 2005: 70–84). He shows for instance that this kind of noun use is practically limited to certain syntactic and rhythmic patterns and the elements of the construction (subject N, [negative], predicate N) have little freedom of insertion and transformation; the frequency, variability of the patterns and thereby freedom of the elements increases only in the post-classical period. As far as semantics is considered, Zhāng very aptly analyzes the feature common to all these cases: all the words used in this construction have more or less salient “social semantic features” (*shèhuìxìng yǔyì tèzhēng* 社會性語義特徵) or “social cultural additional meanings” (*shèhuì wénhuà fùjiāyì* 社會文化附加義). These terms found in several unconvincing English translations in article abstracts on the Chinese internet simply mean that the words are partially or fully defined in terms of social roles, and they are, as the author notes, Confucian *termini technici*, which are subject to standardization (*zhèng* 正). The stronger the “social meaning” is, the more frequently the word occurs in the construction, and the nouns stand in it for the complex of properties and characteristics associated with the entities they denote. This is actually a typical noun-adjective derivation as already Chén Chéngzé realized (Chén Chéngzé [1922] 1982: 18).

The second type of predicate is relatively peculiar and it often goes unnoticed in grammars of CC (Nikitina however does pay attention to it; cf. III.2.5, p. 67). In its case, the nominal element in the predicate refers again to two kinds of conditions related to the subject: a) physical appearance (*tǐmào tèzhēng* 體貌特徵), and b) clothes, food, transportation and accommodation (*yī-shí-zhù-xíng* 衣食住行).

The predicative nouns in (a) quite naturally typically denote a part of the subject, which is a living creature. Monosyllabic unmodified words occur in this construction only seldom and always in coordination with another specification to the subject, e.g. *chì ér máo* 赤而毛 ‘to be red and hairs/be hairy’ (ZZ 9.26.8.1) or *xīng qiě jiǎo* 駢且角 ‘to be red-furred and horned’ (LY 6.6.1), where the *máo* ‘hair’ and *jiǎo* ‘horn’ co-occur with a preceding descriptive predicate, being coordinated by a conjunction (*ér* and *qiě*). The author points out, as Nikitina does (III.2.5, p. 67), that we could easily conceive of these expressions as if they contained an invisible *yǒu* 有 ‘to have’. And really, in some closely related formulations the *yǒu* or its negative is employed, e.g. *èr zú ér wú máo* 二足而無毛 ‘to have two legs but have no hairs’ (XZ 5.4.2); but also see my note in III.2.5. On the other hand, expressions composed of a modifier (be it adjectival, nominal or numeral) and the noun, both almost always monosyllabic, are wide-spread; they occur most frequently in pairs, being coordinated by the conjunction *ér* 而, e.g. *shēn mù ér jiā huì* 深目而豨喙 ‘to have deep-set eyes and boar’s snout’ (ZZ 10.4.8.2), but also by three, four or even five. See Zhāng Wénguó 2005: 85–90.

The overwhelming majority of the subclass (b) is represented by words denoting various components of garment, adornments or things that can be conceived as personal accessory like weapons, horse, carriage etc. Again, isolated monosyllabic words occur in this construction seldom and with strict formal limitations (pairing, parallelism). The words are usually modified by various kinds of modifiers and in various formal

dispositions, and the expression typically co-occurs in series similarly to the subclass (a). The most frequent lexical class in this function are definitely names of various kinds of cloths, hats and shoes. In fact, the examples for transportation and accommodation are not convincing. Either they can be better interpreted as description of accessories and equipment to be presented as a gift, not of means or manner of transportation – this involves all those kinds of horses and carriages. Or they have an alternative syntactic analysis, like in *cǎo shè* 草舍 (ZZ 9.28.8.10), which I interpret, by the way in accordance with TLS, as a denominal locative adverb modifying a verb, i.e. ‘to stay overnight in grass(land)’. Eventually, expressions like *bǐ tú wǒ chē* 彼徒我車 ‘those – on foot, we – (on) chariots’ (ZZ 1.9.6.1, 10.1.10.1) do not seem to necessarily fall under this category of descriptive predicates; see also footnote n. 40.

Generally speaking, the difference between (a) and (b) consists merely in inherence or transience of the attribute: in (a) the predicate predicates permanent, inherent properties to the subject, while (b) concerns temporary conditions. In spite of this, I think both could be viewed as descriptive predicates, referring to attributes of the subject in order to characterize it.

The chapter containing the most controversial point(s) is probably the one dedicated to semantic foundations of HY (Zhāng Wénguó 2005: 116–130). The very central thesis introduced in it is questionable: it reads that by far not all nouns are able to occur in HY, but exclusively those ones whose distinctive seme (*tèzhēngyì* 特徵義) refers to functional features (*yòng* 用) of the denoted entity. It is by the way in contradiction to what has been assumed at least since the times of Yuán Rénlín (see II.1.1).¹⁷ I wish to insist on validity of the traditional opinion, but I discuss this issue as one of major topics in the relevant chapter of my thesis (VI.1.2), and therefore I will not go into details here to avoid both oversimplification and repeating. But what I consider as highly problematic is Zhāng’s **method of semantic analysis**, carried out in the whole book in the same vein. He very extensively quotes glosses from ancient “dictionaries,” like *Ēryǎ* 爾雅, *Shuōwén jiězì* 說文解字, *Shì míng* 釋名, *Yùpiān* 玉篇 etc., and manipulates with them quite freely and uncritically to support his theory, as if they were unproblematic and straightforward records of how the ancient scholars understood the respective words, including details of their semantic structure. Zhāng Wénguó does admit that the entries in those reference books do not represent a scientific analysis, but he sees this actually as an advantage as he believes that they reflect genuine understanding of the meaning of the words that is the basis for the decision whether the given HY is possible or not. But this is a misconception. The glosses are anything else but an unbiased reflection of language intuition of the educated compilers. They are characteristic for often being results of learned philological fabrication, false etymology

¹⁷ It is laconically expressed in the title “特徵義決定了名詞有無動用的可能” (Zhāng Wénguó 2005: 118).

etc., but, above all, they are intensively influenced by the particular glossing strategy used in given book and by purposes of these books. Thus the graphemic analysis in *Shuōwén* requires a quite different approach from the one employed in *Shì míng* based on the so called *shēngxùn* 聲訓, i.e. on presumed semantic contiguity and etymological relatedness of words of the same or similar phonological shape. This method, frequently leading to strained and fanciful explanations, it is by the way used in philological texts in general, though it was *Shì míng* that relied on it exclusively and brought it *ad absurdum*. Zhāng uses *Shuōwén* as the main source of definitions of words in question, while he seems to wholly disregard the fact that it is far from being a dictionary in the modern sense and that the glosses explain primarily the graphemic structure of the characters, not the actual meaning of the actual words (cf. Bottéro and Harbsmeier 2008). Briefly, in my opinion Zhāng's attempt to substitute semantic analysis of whatever kind with the ancient glosses is infelicitous and cannot but fail as far as the interpretation of HY semantics is considered. In combination with the above-mentioned assumption about distinctive semes, it makes his contribution in this respect highly questionable.

Direction of derivation, i.e. whether it is $N \rightarrow V$ or $V \rightarrow N$ derivation and which side is thus the *huóyòng* and which the *běnyòng*, is approached in the standard way of patterns of distribution, including patterns of collocations and word formation. These methods are occasionally mentioned in the mainstream, yet what is noteworthy is the systematicity (see Zhāng Wéngúo 2005: 51–69). Zhāng is well aware of the problems associated with deciding the direction, or “order” (*shùnxù* 順序). He mentions the limits of frequency statistics, which are mainly due to the heterogeneity of the corpus of CC texts and the influence of stylistic factors. He draws attention to the case of *mén* 門 ‘gate’, which is used predicatively in the sense ‘to attack gate’ or, rarely, ‘to guard gate’ in *Zuǒzhuàn* in more than 20% of occurrence: given the fact it is the most extensive CC text, one could think this is a representative figure. But this predicative use is actually never found in any other text, and therefore it is a peculiar feature of ZZ, saying little about CC in general (see *ibid.*: 35). Besides this, concrete percentage boundaries are always arbitrary and subjective. Zhāng also critically evaluates the proposals to rely on “original meaning” or on whether for the relevant meaning there is a form that is specialized in referring to it and whether this one is used or another word is temporarily borrowed to express it. Sometimes this method may work, but generally it is not reliable and it often leads to the uncomfortable question whether egg or hen. In connection with this critical stance, we can refer e.g. to Štekauer (1996: 128), who comes to the conclusion that it is actually impossible to objectively specify the direction of English conversion pairs (cf. also Dokulil 1962: 108–109).

Zhāng Wéngúo (2005: 38) emphasizes one important idea that should be, in my opinion, constantly kept in mind: the syntactic context of a noun in a HY function and its valency structure observable on the surface are precisely speaking *not* the means by

which the HY is triggered, but on the contrary, they are a direct *consequence* of the fact that the HY happened to the word (cf. e.g. Kennedy's formal approach, III.2.3, p. 55). And this is, by the way, what Zhāng (2005: 38) and Štekauer (1996: 46) assume for English conversion. Of course, the elements associated prototypically with verbality in CC, like the pronominal object *zhī* 之, the preposed object-substitute relative pronoun *suǒ* 所, the conjunction for predicates *ér* 而, adverbs etc. can serve as symptoms for purposes of linguist's diagnosis carried out *post festum*, and they served as signals for the listener/reader. But the ontology of the HY is on the side of the speaker and his initial intention.

Let us only briefly stop at the issue of generalized semantic **patterns** of derivation and **lexical categories** whose members enter them. It is a part of the mainstream of Chinese linguistics, but again, it had not been elaborated this systematically before. I give their list here to provide the reader with an overall conception. I reserve a detailed discussion of this issue for a later occasion, as it belongs to the core of any theory of HY (see VI.2.2). Both the concepts are helpful, but in the form presented by Zhāng and some other authors of articles, which is similar to the one common in word-formation analysis (cf. Dokulil 1962: 29–43), it is only the first approximation to the semantics of HY and merely its relatively coarse-grained schematization. Zhāng introduces the following categories of two types:

a) Relations of the noun to the event structure of the derived verb: agent, patient, result, phenomenon,¹⁸ instrument, place, abstract relation¹⁹ (*xūti* 虛體 'empty substance').

b) Lexical categories: animate nouns, instruments, nature nouns,²⁰ body parts, garment and food, buildings, abstract nouns (with subcategories: fortune, illness, norms, law).

The close attention paid to the influence of **genre**, author's **style** and content of the text on the repertoire of words diagnosed as occurring in HY (Zhāng Wénguó 2005:

¹⁸ Includes mostly meteorological phenomena.

¹⁹ Zhāng Wénguó (2005: 142–143) asserts that this category, which he, *faute de mieux*, calls *xūti*, differs from the previous six types. According to him, in its case the HY does not rely on the "notional meaning" of the word, which is presumed to refer to the material entity itself, but on the semes referring to various characteristic features of the denoted entity: shape, position, material, function etc. For this reason it is heterogeneous, since its members need not belong to the same "natural" classes. But this is just another consequence of Zhāng's peculiar model of lexical semantics and the conception of HY based on it. Let us note that most of the examples involve figurative and derived abstract meanings.

²⁰ I.e. nouns denoting entities of nature. Usefulness of this category and even its right of existence are in fact highly questionable. It contains words referring to a large range of widely different things, from clouds, peaks, lakes, fogs to waves, fire, stones etc. etc., which have almost nothing in common and which may be subject to widely different conceptualizations leading to totally different semantic structures of the words that express them.

148–174), is to be appreciated as a valuable contribution to HY studies, although the stylistic markedness of HY (yet mostly of striking irregular cases which Zhāng deliberately neglects) had been noticed already before. The connection of the phenomenon with specialized terminology and, what is even more important, with formation of novel expressions is reflected as well. With regard to it, the author could have arrived at the contiguity of HY and word formation and exploit its theory – he however did not, and he likewise did not develop the idea that the mentioned features may be significant as symptoms of the character of HY.

Zhāng distinguishes influence of genre and of content, but these two are actually closely related. He points out that the ancient **poetry**, namely *Shījīng* and *fù* (賦) of the Hàn dynasty (Zhāng Wéngúo 2005: 149–154), contains many unusual word-class transitions, and he correctly ascribes this tendency to formal requirements – rhythm, rhyme – and to welcomed brevity, expressivity and freshness of neologisms coined in this fashion. The extraordinary nature of poetic language is also the reason why I do not excerpt material for my analysis from ancient poems at this stage; its peculiarities are better treated later as a supplement to the description of HY in prosaic texts. The second genre that Zhāng deals with is that of the commentaries *Gǔliángzhuàn* and *Gōngyángzhuàn* – see p. 70 for a closer view. This has much to do with terminologization of the novel expressions that arose in the process of HY: there were needed brief, one-word verbal terms that would appropriately express notions derived from denotations of certain entities, and the word-class transition was the most effective way; again we can see the contiguity with word formation (and similarity to English conversion, by the way).

In the books concentrated on ritual, *Zhōulǐ* and *Lǐjì*, there are some terms established on the basis HY, which are associated with the ritual domain. Zhāng quotes the (even relatively to the HY average) unusual example of *zhǎo zú* 爪足 ‘to cut nails on feet’ (LJ 22.1.31), where the verb is derived from *zhǎo* 爪 ‘claw; fingernail’ in a quite unexpected manner: the deprivative meaning is extremely rare. The “Three Commentaries” to *Chūnqiū*, and especially *Zuǒzhuàn*, contain several verbal military terms derived from nouns, like the already mentioned *mén* 門 ‘to attack/to guard gate’, for they deal with military affairs practically all the time. On the other hand, *Mòzǐ*, which includes large chapters on technology of war, uses words in HY to refer to specialized activities associated with production of weapons, like *rèn qí liǎng duān* 刃其兩端 ‘to provide both ends with a blade’ (MD 16.63), or *gōu qí liǎng duān* 鉤其兩端 ‘to provide both ends with a hook’ (MD 15.52).²¹ Besides this, this philosopher is known for preaching a utilitarian conception of the God and of ghosts. As an indirect but significant consequence, he coined a special intransitive verb *guǐ* 鬼 ‘to show belief in ghosts’, derived from the conventional meaning of the word ‘ghost’, e.g. in *Zhōushū dú guǐ* 《周書》獨鬼 ‘Alone the *Zhōu* documents show belief in ghosts’ and

²¹ Cf. ZGC 18.4.2: *rèn qí hàn* (or *wū*) 刃其捍(朽) ‘to provide a trowel with a knife-edge’.

Shàngshū bù guǐ 《尚書》不鬼 ‘*The Book of Documents* shows disbelief in ghosts’ (8.31), when he traces records or at least vestiges of belief in ghosts in eminent texts of his time. And finally, the author mentions the special style and content of the books traditionally labelled as taoist, *Lǎozǐ*, *Zhuāngzǐ*, *Lièzǐ*, which are abundant with innovative HY. His excursion touches upon the factitive use, i.e. ‘to make N be’, of a couple of words denoting mostly qualities: this verb-like use is attested e.g. for the nouns *xíng* 形 ‘shape’, *shēng* 聲 ‘sound’, *sè* 色 ‘colour’, *wèi* 味 ‘taste’ (Lie 1.2.8); the author quotes also *wù* 物 ‘phenomenon’ in Zh 11.5.3 and 20.1.5, but the factitive interpretation is dubious.²² See Zhāng Wénguó 2005: 165–172.

Zhāng keeps referring to the unsystematic and irregular character of these cases of HY, which of course do not fit into the neat pre-figured categories based on “natural” classes by their very nature; they are presented as temporary and idiosyncratic functions of the words forced by language-external factors (cf. Zhāng Wénguó 2005: 172–173).

But this is exactly one of the more problematic aspects of Zhāng’s monograph. The exaggerated emphasis put on systematic transitions of whole (sub)-classes of words, in which basic regularities can be analyzed, leads to the deliberate disregard of irregular cases. Yet these are not infrequent at all and represent the more interesting part of semantic derivations involved in word-class transition, and they are eventually significant for deciding the nature of HY from the perspective of the whole language system of CC, or in general.

The last point, a critical one, that I will draw attention to here, is the completely arbitrary interpretation of the simple statistics Zhāng offers. It is not only that he does not take account of any fixed numbers. It is actually true that researcher’s percentage criteria are always arbitrary to a certain extent. But Zhāng does not seem to follow any guiding lines, while he intends to keep the distinctions between the individual HY (*shící huóyòng* 實詞活用), the HY of classes (*cílèi huóyòng* 詞類活用) and the JL (*jiānlèicí* 兼類詞). He merely comments the tables in his book in an essayistic style, communicating his impressions on what is relatively frequent and common and what not. This might be acceptable, if he did not insist on these distinctions, considering them essential.

One brief note at the end: Zhāng Wénguó as a proponent of the Chinese tradition does not see nominalization in predicative clauses that function as an element in a superordinate predicative construction (matrix construction) and that are facultatively marked by the particle *zhī* 之 between the subject and predicate, or *qí* 其 in front of the predicate). This is clear also from his observation that word classes and syntactic functions are asymmetrical in CC, and that verbs can thus without a slightest problem,

²² The expressions based on the basic construction *wù wù* 物物 are usually interpreted attitudinally as ‘to treat things as things’, and the same meanings is found e.g. in XZ 21.6.5.

absolutely freely and conventionally be subjects and objects, and the same is valid for whole clauses. It is a strong point of the Chinese branch of research that it is on some parts resistant to Western misconceptions.

III.2 West

In Western literature, there is no real mainstream deserving the name as far as the phenomenon of HY is considered. Besides the fact that this traditional term and the concept it denotes is hardly ever employed in it, there are not many papers dedicated specially to it. As already explained in the introduction to this chapter, Western researchers dealing with word-class promiscuity generally drew seldom on Chinese literature in the past, and still much less they did on the pre-modern tradition and its repercussions in 20th century linguistics. The many inspirative observations and sound theoretical approaches are most often found in monographs or larger papers focussed on word classes in CC. Because I deal with the issue of word classes in a separate chapter, I will not go into details here for that part in order to avoid too extensive repeating, though the problems are closely interrelated and cannot be cut off each other. I extract the conceptions from the works of the authors that I consider comparably representative ones and that have played the most important role in my own reasoning. Again, this does not mean that others had not anything valuable to say, there are actually many observations scattered in various papers, dealing often with other topics than the HY, and in several grammars of CC, but I have chosen the authors I introduce as a kind of major constituents of the successive line of research in which characteristic issues were formulated and in which some typical solutions crystallized. I present them in a considerably closer detail than the Chinese scholarship, because, unlike it, as far as I know the various approaches of Western researches to HY have not been conveniently gathered and attracted into a kind of polylogue.

III.2.1 Humboldt

Although Humboldt 1827 is highly inspirative on the part of word classes and of the nature of the language in general, there is little discussion on word-class conversion present in his letter, at least in terms we are used to. That is, he is not that much concerned with the prototypical and the most striking case of object-denoting words being used to predicate a process and vice versa (though he notes that nominal, verbal and adjectival ideas denoted by the words may be transformed to each other, see Humboldt 1827: 6). But what he solves in a considerable detail and with an, I think, uncommon insight is the question of underspecification of CC verbal expressions with regard to not only usual grammatical categories of inflected finite verbs in classical languages but also to their predicativity in a sentence. He registers that a "verbal idea" does not always perform as the predicate (*ibid.*: 8) and that in CC it reminds of

infinitive, which bears some nominal features (ibid.: 19), especially when without a context: the title of the book *Zhōngyōng* 中庸, where the *yōng* that is interpreted as ‘to stay’, can be best, he says, translated as *medio constare*. It is clear only that the expression as a whole represents the idea of staying (in the middle), which is conceptually “verbal,” or more precisely processual, but CC as a rule does not distinguish any other nuances (the words are “in statu absoluto”); thus, it can be interpreted as *persévérant*, *perseverare*, *perseveratio*, or *perseverantia* (ibid.: 25). Humboldt thereby shows that the nominalization is not grammatical but merely conceptual, being not proper nominalization, as there is no systematic difference between a verb used predicatively and a verb used referentially in CC, which therefore has no substantial relevance in Chinese thinking. The latter one must be in most IE languages transformed to forms of classes or subclasses that have suspended predicativity: infinitives, participles, deverbal nouns, and this also the reason why it is so tempting for Western scholars to see a real word-class change in these cases.

In this vein Humboldt also describes the affinity of nominalization to subordination (see Croft 2001: 354–361), though he naturally does not formulate it in this way. He notes the formal identity of the patterns $N_1 + zhī$ 之 + N_2 and $S + zhī$ 之 + P (Humboldt 1827: 23): the first *zhī* marks adnominal modification and the second one marks dependent nature of a subject-predicate construction, turning it to a subordinate clause. Humboldt draws attention to the fact that the subject can be actually seen as modifier of its predicate, and the subordinate predicate as having nominal features, by referring to the parallelism of *nous mangeons* ‘we eat’ and *notre manger* ‘our eating’ (ibid.). This is well known e.g. also in English (as we see also in the translation of the French expressions) where it has been carefully investigated. Humboldt illustrates the affinity of the two processes by the Greek language, in which infinitives or infinitival phrases can be turned into nouns by taking the definite article; this would enable the Greek language to reconcile the tension between the Latin *addere* and *additio* in the Latin translation that reads *non cupio hominum addere (additionem) ad me* ‘I do not want people’s [to] add (addition) to me’, most probably of the sentence *wǒ bù yù rén zhī jiā zhū wǒ yě...* 我不欲人之加諸我也... ‘if I do not want other to do that to me, ...’ from *Lúnyǔ* (LY 5.12), and to get structurally close to the CC formulation (ibid.: 30).²³

Eventually, Humboldt knows of the role of *qùshēng*, but he comments on it: “But [unlike in English] in Chinese this change of pronunciation does not decide

²³ There is an example, in which Humboldt exploits this possibility, though the passage deals with a different topic, namely “empty words”, *yǐ* 以 in this case, and though there is a confusion regarding the precise function and meaning of the *yǐ* here: *zhī suǒ yǐ xiū shēn* 知所以脩身 (LJ, *Zhōngyōng*, 31.2.8) ‘to know how to cultivate one’s personality’ is translated as *cognoscit (scit id) quo (per quod) tractamus tō instaurare vel colere corpus* ‘he knows (that) through which we manage (the) to establish or cultivate the body’ (Humboldt 1827: 39).

anything in the grammatical sense. The word does not become a verb properly, but takes only a verbal meaning." (Humboldt 1827: 24).

III.2.2 Gabelentz

Chinesische Grammatik (1881) is a magnificent compendium of CC grammar by the eminent 19th century German general linguist Georg von der Gabelentz. This work as a whole has remained unsurpassed in many respects, and it is the most voluminous grammar of the language written in a Western language. Though it pervasively relies on the framework of Latin grammar, the observations obtained through its optics are relatively easily transferred into other systems, because they are not dependent on exceedingly specialized theoretical prerequisites. Traditional philology serves here primarily as a terminological means to render relatively precise and deep understanding of the CC language system. One of the major innovations is his systematic discrimination between word classes (*Wortkategorien*) and functions of words in sentence (*Redetheile* = 'parts of speech'), which naturally exerts an influence on the conception of HY.

A point of a special interest with regard to the content of this dissertation is Gabelentz's description of a noun and a verb in the construction of adverbial modification. He begins with a statement that disqualifies purely formal approaches: "Whether a noun, proper noun or pronoun that stands before a verb is its subject or merely its adverbial specification (*Nebenbestimmung*) can be decided only on the basis of logical relationship" (Gabelentz 1881: 149). He goes on to distinguish the major possibilities of semantic relationship of the noun to the verb; in the first group he deals with that of reason (ibid.: 150), instrument and relation (*Ursache, Werkzeug, Beziehung*), the second one is dedicated to similarity/analogy (*Aehnlichkeit*; ibid.: 151) related either to the subject or to the object of the sentence.

There is no example on typical instrumental relationship from the classical period, but there is the quite well known sentence *wǒ hé miàn mù jiàn zhī* 我何面目見之 literally 'with what face and eye shall I meet him?' from *Shǐjì* (7.214) quoted, where a slightly more abstract instrumental meaning is involved. A better instrumental example *shǒu gé měng shòu* 手撿猛獸 'to attack a fiery animal with (bare) hands' comes from *Tōngjiàn gāngmù* (12th c.), or *shǐ zhī lì yì xiāng zhù* 使之力役相助 'to cause them to help each other by service (*Dienstleistungen*)' from *Xīnglǐ jīngyì* (3.23a; originally in Zhū Xī's *Jīnsīlù* 9). There is one very interesting though unconvincing example of an adverbially used noun that allegedly expresses the agent of a passive verb: *rǔ shēn fēi rǔ yǒu yě* 汝身非汝有也 'you body is not your possession/possessed by you' (Lie 1.8.1).

In the passage on simile/analogy, classical examples are given: for the case in which the noun in the adverbial position is related through analogy to the subject of the verb, the expression *cán shí tiānxià* 蠶食天下 'to eat the world like a silk-worm' (SJ

112.52) is quoted besides other three ones, for the one in which the noun in the adverbial position relates to the object of the verb, the sentence *jīn zhī jūn zhī quǎn mǎ xù Jī* 今知君之犬馬畜偁 ‘now I know that you, ruler, feed me, Jí, like a dog or horse’ (MZ 5.2.6.5.) is quoted, together with the expression *fù (xiōng) shì zhī* 父(兄)事之 ‘to serve him as if he were one’s father (eldest brother)’ (LJ 1.2.6). It is noteworthy that precisely the same problem of “direction in which the denominal adverb semantically points” is dealt with in a special article by Tāng Jiànjūn in 1990, i.e. 109 years later, if not as a discovery, then as a matter usually unnoticed by researchers.

In the section on *genitivisches* 之 *zhī* (Gabelentz 1881:184–185), the author comes to the problematic issue of subordinate clauses which runs like a red line through Western literature. In a certain sense, Gabelentz can be considered a bridge between Humboldt and Kennedy in this respect, anticipating some approaches of the latter yet being more sober, and also more explicit, with regard to the real nature of the subordinating operation. However, it is somewhat difficult to confront Gabelentz with Kennedy because of the incompatibility of their concepts of nouns, nominality etc. Gabelentz in accordance with Kennedy, at least on a more superficial level, states: “This *genitivisches* 之 *cī* [= *zhī*] is important for specification of parts of speech (*Redetheile*, i.e. sentential functions), for the words surrounding it must just be *Substantiva*²⁴” (ibid.: 184),²⁵ and adds: “If the genitive 之 *cī* [= *zhī*] between the subject and the predicate – the so called subjective 之 *cī* [= *zhī*] – the sentence is transformed into a sentence-element (*Satztheil*) and it can be used syntactically on a par with a *Substantivum*. In translation, we must mostly make use of auxiliary words ‘that, wenn, as’” (ibid.: 185).²⁶ Among several examples, he quotes the sentence *fūzǐ zhī bù kě jí yě yóu tiān zhī bù kě jiē ér shēng yě* 夫子之不可及也猶天之不可階而升也 ‘that master cannot be reached is like that heaven cannot be ascended through a staircase’ (LY 19.25.1): what is strikingly familiar is the method of literal translation, which is close to Humboldt’s Latin-Greek counterparts (and also to some Kennedy’s translations) and which expresses some of the most typical features of originally predicative clauses with suspended predicativity: “Des Meisters Nicht-können-erreicht-werden” (a nominalized infinitive like in Greek!). Moreover, it is significant that again in accordance with Humboldt, Kennedy or Cikoski, the subject of the clause is presented as essentially an

²⁴ Gabelentz, being very modern in this, keeps apart the basically semantically defined word class of *Hauptwörter* and syntactically and the propositionally defined functional category of *Substantiva*. Under certain circumstances both terms could be translated as ‘nouns’, but it is important here not to confound them. Kennedy, on the other hand, uses the same label ‘noun’ for both things, which leads to misunderstanding, or at least to uncomfortable vagueness.

²⁵ Cf. also Gabelentz 1881: 329: “A word or a sentence-element (*Satztheil*) is nominal (*substantivisch*) if it is in genitive or is modified by a genitive. Here the importance of the grammatical words 之 *cī* [= *zhī*], §. 436, and 其 *k’i* [= *qi*], §. 563, becomes evident.”

²⁶ The cases with *qi* 其, in which the subject of the subordinate clause is pronominal, or “generalized” in Kennedy’s terms, are correspondingly introduced in the passages on *qi* (Gabelentz 1881: 234).

adnominal modifier, i.e. an attribute to the following, originally predicative, expression (it is in genitive in Gabelentz's terms – “des Meisters,” but also “master's not being able to be reached” in similarly awkward English). There is a slightly mutated formulation at a different point in the grammar: “Where we translate words of this category [= *Zeitwörter/Lebewörter*, i.e. action-denoting words, “verbs”] standing behind a genitive as abstract nouns, their usage agrees with that of infinitive, and the genitive is the genitive of subject” (ibid.: 340–341).

Gabelentz calls the semantically defined word class that I denote, following Croft, as object words (Bisang speaks more explicitly about object-denoting words), as *Hauptwörter* and notes that they are usually used as *Substantiva*, but that syntactically they can be contiguous with adjectives when in “genitive,” i.e. adnominally, with adverbs when in “adverbialis,” i.e. adverbially, and with neutral verbs (basically intransitive verbs) when used as predicates (Gabelentz 1881: 331). He describes also their use in the function of active verbs (basically transitive verbs), pointing out that it is most often in causative/factitive or putative sense (*Factiva oder Denominativa*), equally to the factitive/putative construction *yǐ A wéi B* 以 A 為 B ‘to make B of A/to consider A a B’, and adds that this kind of employment can be recognized on the basis of constructional context: when following the relative object-substituting pronoun *suǒ* 所, when preceding a pronominal object, typically *zhī* 之, or when preceding another noun that is its object (this must be ascertained from the overall sense of the sentence), and as such they can form the passive construction with the modal word *kě* 可 (ibid.: 332). The last observation on the verb-like use of (lexical) nouns touches upon the function of *Neutra transitiva*, which term is explained as “to be or to become an A in relationship to B,” and it is exemplified by a sentence containing the expression *fùmǔ tiānxià* 父母天下 ‘to be (like) father and mother of (in relationship to) the world’ (*Xīnglǐ jīngyì* 11.6b). This section we would be most interested in is unfortunately this brief, and the semantics of the processes is left unelaborated and is not especially systematic.

There is a part on adjectives, or more precisely property words: the term is actually a perfect English counterpart of Gabelentz's *Eigenschaftswörter*. I will not go into details here, as this is a category that is not of our main interest, but it can be noted *in margine* that the author, quite expectably, speaks of their functioning as *Substantiva* when they are used referentially, like in his examples *tiān dì zhī dà* 天地之大 ‘(being great >) greatness of Heaven and Earth’ (LJ 31.1.19)²⁷ or *xǐ yáng rén zhī měi* 喜揚人之美 ‘to have pleasure in promoting (what is nice in others >) the better aspects of others’ (SJ 67.7); he says: “Property words are always *Substantiva*, in case that they are

²⁷ This example is not ideal. Actually, the full sentence reads *tiān dì zhī dà yě, rén yóu yǒu suǒ hàn* 天地之大也，人猶有所憾，and the topic is more conveniently translated according to its nature in CC as a dependent clause; TLS significantly provides the following translation: “Great as heaven and earth are, men still find things in their action with which to be dissatisfied.”

preceded by a genitive [= a modifier] and no other *Substantivum* which they were an attribute of follows them" (Gabelentz 1881: 337). This is consistent with his views of the various functions of action-denoting verbs.

What I consider a precious achievement, especially at Gabelentz's times, is his introduction of a special word class, which he calls *Zustandshauptwörter*, something like 'static nouns, nouns of state'. This class is actually almost identical, as far as the basic concept is considered, with Cikoski's one hundred years younger abstract nouns. The extent of the section is very small and I quote in here almost the whole text of it:

"Actions, states and properties are due to their nature conceivable only as predicates or attributes, and action words and property words are treated according to this: should they be used *substantivisch*, one usually puts a genitive before them or 者 *čè* [= *zhě*] after them. [...] None the less, some of the concepts that belong to them were themselves very soon made into objects of thinking, and this had the consequence that the corresponding words can without anything else and in any case be used as abstract *Substantiva*. Among others, the following ones belong to them: 德 *tek* [= *dé*], virtue; 孝 *hiáo* [= *xiào*], piety; 禮 *lì* [= *lǐ*], good customs; 樂 *yok* [= *yuè*], music; 政 *čing* [= *zhèng*], government; 學 *hiok* [= *xué*], learning, study; 亂 *luén* [= *luàn*], uprising; 敬 *king* [= *jìng*], respect; 和 *huô* [= *hé*], harmony. The verbal and adjectival uses of such words, if they are common at all, follow their basic meanings" (Gabelentz 1881: 342).

According to me, this only proves Gabelentz's sensitivity to the language and its deep understanding on one hand and the capability of abstract and systematic evaluation of the data on the other hand. We will encounter words of this type under similar circumstances later, when I deal with CC word classes.

III.2.3 Kennedy

Although Kennedy [1956] 1964 is equipped with a rigid terminological and methodological apparatus, I dare to say that in comparison with Humboldt or with Gabelentz he shows a considerable amount of insensitivity to the organism of the language and to the complexities of the system. His survey in word classes consists primarily of mechanical manipulation with symbols in a purely formalist tradition, and whenever he comes across domains of semantics or lexicology, he, as a "true grammarian," almost crosses himself, speaking of meaning only when there is no other way out. His attempt to solve the problem of word classes is generally considered unsuccessful, telling more about shortcomings of his methods than about the word classes; I leave the details of the case for the discussion of word classes in CC later, and the task of evaluating his paper was taken up by Cikoski (1970, *passim*). Besides that, there are some factual mistakes present in it, from which unfortunately far-reaching theoretical consequences are drawn; it can be partially explained by the fact that the

author relied exclusively on *Mencius*. However, it must be stressed that it does not mean that Kennedy did not draw attention to many relevant questions.

As a matter of fact, it would be hardly possible to speak of a theory of word-class transitions in Kennedy's paper as he comes to the conclusion (which he anticipates in his introduction) that CC word classes cannot be defined and that they are of little theoretical grammatical importance: according to him, the concept can at best practically serve foreign students of the language to have something to begin with in their effort (cf. Kennedy 1964: 323, 386). In addition, it is evident from what has been said that we cannot expect any serious investigation of the semantic processes and the mechanisms involved in HY, which are central to an adequate description of it.

Kennedy starts with pointing out that the word *shì* 事 (he does not stop to ask whether the character does not record more than one word) is used 61 times verbally, 'to serve', and 53 times nominally, 'matter, work, service', in *Mencius* (Kennedy 1964: 323). This should mean that it is impossible to determine the function of the word in the particular expressions solely on the basis of the statistics; Kennedy says that e.g. *shì rén* 事人 may interpreted both as V-O construction and N-N construction, and he offers the explanation that the discrimination is enabled by a difference in the accent. He adds that there must simply be something through which it is possible to tell the difference between the two uses if we are able to produce statistics, without even considering for a while things like context, discourse analysis, specific constructions etc. He states: "If this assurance derives from some peculiarity in the meaning of *zìh* [= *shì* 事], then the criterion is lexical and the grammarian can forget about it" (ibid.: 324), and concludes that it is not inconceivable that right are the people who assume that in CC any word may be used in any function, which would only mean that there are no mutually exclusive word classes in CC (ibid.: 335).

As far as the phenomena related to HY are considered, Kennedy deals also with the important and possibly most salient construction, in which a noun is followed by the word *zhī* 之, generally treated as a pronominal object, when used as a verb. The author includes numerals into the scope of validity of the pattern on the basis of the not too felicitous example of *yī* 一 'one'. He wishes to insist on that this transformation takes place only if the noun is followed by the *zhī*, whereas if it is followed by a noun, then it must always be taken as Nj.N, i.e. as adnominal modification of noun. Paradoxically, the two nouns he quotes as examples, *chén* 臣 'minister, subject' and *jūn* 君 'ruler', are especially well attested verbally with other than pronominal objects (Kennedy 1964: 363; Cikoski 1970: 52-53 quotes counter-evidence from *Zuǒzhuàn*). Besides this, he disregards the pronominal function of the *zhī*, which has only exceptionally empty reference. Similarly, he assumes that whereas *yī zhī* 一之 always means 'unite',²⁸ *yī guó* 一國 must always mean 'one state'.

²⁸ It may be actually problematic to derive the use of *yī* with *zhī* in the sense 'to unite', or 'to make uniform', directly from the numeral. Depending on different points of view, *yī* can be taken as a

This is in spite of that: a) there are actually plenty of expressions that contradict this assumption; for instance, those containing *mín* 民 ‘people’ include *yī mín xīn* 一心 ‘to unite minds of people’ (GZ 30.43, HF 54.2.4), *yī mín* ‘to unite people’ (GZ 45.1.8, XZ 10.9.1), *yī mín lì* 一民力 ‘to unite people’s energy’ (XZ 25.46) or *yī mín zhī guǐ* 一民之軌 ‘to unite regulations for people’ (HF 6.5.7), and b) other numerals than ‘one’ are used with *zhī* extremely rarely and have various significations: as a matter of fact, I have found no *èr zhī* 二之 in TLS, *sān zhī* 三之 is attested only once, in the sense ‘to make them [the cases] to become three, to do it [a similar thing] for the third time’ (HF 10.8.4), and there is one essentially causative use ‘to make the price X, to give X as the price’ of *liù zhī* 六之 and of *shí zhī* 十之 in GZ 51.1.8, where we can by the way find also rather unique constructions with the numerals *zài* 再, *sān* 三, *sì* 四 and *wǔ* 五 used like transitive verbs with the nominal object *běn* 本 ‘capital’ in the sense ‘to make it X-iple, to multiply it by X’ (GZ 80.13.2). That is all.

Given these misunderstandings, Kennedy goes on to state: “Then *tyi* [= *zhī* 之] can take part in a derivational mechanism through which nouns, by the addition of *tyi*, become verbal in function,” (ibid.: 363–364), and: “The relation between *it* [= *yī* 一] ‘one’ and *it tyi* [= *yī zhī* 一之] ‘unite’ is identical with what is called inflection or derivation in European languages, and *tyi* may quite properly be called an inflectional or derivational suffix. A suffix then becomes defined as an element which affects the function of an expression which it *follows*, and the law can be rephrased to state that the function of a word may be changed by what precedes it, but never by what follows, unless that be a suffix” (ibid.: 366). Here Kennedy aptly draws attention to the parallel (not really identity) of what we traditionally call HY and derivation in IE languages, in spite of the confusion regarding the function of *zhī*.²⁹ He introduced symbols for similar cases that are employed occasionally until today, of the type N_V and V_N (ibid.: 367), where the capital letter represents the inherent class and the low index the function, which is contextual in nature.

Further, Kennedy touches the same issue as Humboldt, namely that of predicatives with suspended predicativity, or dependent, embedded or subordinate in other terms. However he does not speak of the systematic absence of discrimination between verbs and adjectives (which are subsumed under the so called “ambs” in his system) when used in their domestic functions and when in the referential function in CC, as Humboldt does, but he considers them directly as nouns, or at least nominal in

polysemous word including meanings like ‘one’, ‘to be the same, to be uniform’, ‘(adv.) all’ etc., or, and I think better, as a graph representing several cognate words, or a mix of both.

²⁹ The situation regarding the pronoun *zhī* is rather the other way round: it does not make a verb from a noun, but precisely because the noun is used by the speaker like a transitive verb, it can be, or must be followed by the pronoun. Cf. Štekauer (1996: 46). However it is true that it also serves as a signal, or more precisely a minimal context for the listener, the “scaffolding” for recognizing the semantic role of the word in the construction.

nature: "A verb or verb-object construction can also serve as head when conditioned by a preceding adjunct, giving us such formula as N_{ty} V_N or N_{ty} (V.N_O)_N.³⁰ In the latter case the verb-object expression as a whole is then functioning as a noun" (Kennedy 1964: 372–373). Moreover, it is clear from this formulation that he, basically in accordance with Humboldt, sees that the subject of the subordinate clause can be taken as a modifier of the embedded predicate, though in his perspective this is simply a case of one noun modifying another noun, irrespective of the fact that the second noun is only a contextual metamorphosis of an inherently verbal (or "ambal") expression. He quotes examples like *rén zhī bù shàn* 人之不善 '(as for) man being not good' *jūnzǐ zhī shì jūn yě* 君子之事君也 '(as for) gentleman serving ruler' or *jūn zhī yù jiàn zhī yě* 君之欲見之也 '(as for) ruler wanting to see him' (ibid.: 373; translations mine).

Another point that could be of our interest are Kennedy's assumptions about A-N constructions, in his terms, where the A stand for ambs, comprising mainly traditional adjectives and intransitive verbs (Kennedy 1964: 373–374). The category of ambs is actually heterogeneous, and I would insist on that it is misdefined, but this is not the right place for a discussion about word classes. The author uses primarily examples of what we could call adjectives. He says that the A-N combination is always to be taken as Aj.N, i.e. adjunct-head. But this is not right, although adnominal function is naturally the domestic function of adjectives, for in CC there is a completely common construction with causative or putative function of the "A," e.g. the well-known passage from Mencius (7.24.1), where we have *xiǎo Lǔ* 小魯 'to consider Lǔ small' and *xiǎo tiānxià* 小天下 'to consider the world small'. Further it is aptly noticed that *zhī* is seldom inserted between the A and N: this is expectable as it marks modification, which is inherent to adjectives and must not be stressed in their case, but the question of presence or absence of *zhī* is a complex issue and cannot be reliably predicted (cf. Mǎ Jiànzhōng 2000: 246–247). Kennedy tries to show that if it is inserted, then such expression has a different meaning from the version without it, a point that already Mǎ Jiànzhōng's evidence (2000: 247) proves to be wrong.³¹ Kennedy notes to his example *zhì zhī shì yě* 智之事也, that it "does not mean 'a wise work, a work of wisdom', but 'wisdom's work, the contribution that wisdom makes'" and that "in Chinese terms, it [*zhì* 智] has been nominalized by the suffix *ty* [= *zhī* 之]" (Kennedy 1964: 374). The first statement may be an acceptable interpretation of the expression in *Mencius*, but the example is not convincing as *zhì shì* 智事 for potential comparison is not attested, primarily because *zhì* is 'intelligent' almost always of persons, a lexical argument that Kennedy would hardly wish to accept.³² Actually, this lexical feature of *zhì* 智, which is

³⁰ Where *ty* = *zhī* 之.

³¹ It is in any case significant that all the examples are disyllabic adjectives: it has been evident at least since Mǎ's times that the presence of *zhī* is governed, besides other factors, by stress patterns and the related tendency to four-syllable collocations.

³² The syntactic patterns and meanings of *zhì* recorded in TLS are abundant, but there is only one item that could relate to adjectival modification of abstract nouns, *zhì móu* 智謀 'wise plan' (GZ 23.1). It is

basically incompatible with the modified word, might be the reason of using the *zhī* to show that the relationship is not as simple as in the usual adjective-noun construction. In any case, the precise meaning of the expression is not derived from any essential grammatical feature of the construction, but is inferred from the contextually dependent interpretation of the underspecified relationship between the meaning of the modifier and of the head, like in any other cases of adnominal modification. The second statement is doubtful as nominalizing function of *zhī* has not been otherwise observed by other authors interested in the grammar of CC I have ever come across, and it certainly is not suffix that is attached to the preceding element, but a particle or marker, or however we wish to call it, that is inserted between the two elements, being attached to neither in the structural sense (this was by the way clear already to Humboldt 1827: 31, based on Abel-Rémusat's *Elémens* from 1822, or Mǎ Jiànzhōng [1898] 2000: 246–254).³³ If anything, the *zhī* is only a signal that the *zhì* 智 is used differently from normal adjectival modification, be it quasi-nominally or not, but it definitely does not “cause” this.

Kennedy (1964: 376–377) briefly describes the change of meaning when an amb, which is an intransitive element, is used transitively with *zhī* 之 as a verb, i.e. as A_v. It has been already mentioned that he disregards the causative constructions in which the object is a noun, assuming that, unlike A-*zhī*, A-N is always adjunct-head. He notices that there are two basic meanings of such construction, the causative one and the one that is called usually putative in sinology, but he unites under one label, considering the putative meaning as causative in one's mind, not in reality.

The close parallelism of adnominal and adverbial modification by amb is commented upon and the two are discriminated as A_j vs. A_d for precision. Further, the constructions in which a noun modifies a predicative expression, i.e. N-A → Nd.A and N-V → Nd.V are registered (Kennedy 1964: 383), though they are in no way elaborated on, which especially with regard to their complex semantics is expectable in Kennedy's paper dealing primarily with basic distributional patterns (cf. Zádrapa 2007: 94 nn.).

III.2.4 Cikoski

Generally speaking, Cikoski's (1970) dissertation on word classes in CC is a great leap forward in comparison to Kennedy, whose mistakes Cikoski by the way

significant that it is, without any connection to our discussion, interpreted on the basis of the context as a coordinate expression ‘wisdom and plans’.

³³ Let us image an analysis of expressions of the type (V + *zhī*) + *zhī* + N, e.g. *wéi zhī zhī dào* 為之之道 ‘the method how to do that’ (GZ 2.159, 2.160), *zhǐ zhī zhī dào* 止之之道 ‘the way how to stop it’ (HF 8.10.4) etc., in which the modifier is a verb-object construction, according to Kennedy's theory: a) the second *zhī* as a suffix must be attached to a predicative clause, which is certainly not a standard operation, and b) the clause must be nominalized, as if any modifier followed by *zhī* would have to be a noun, which excludes modification of nouns by most of disyllabic adjectives and verbs from the language. This is not an appealing analysis.

systematically – though I would not say that deliberately – trace and rectifies. Word-class promiscuity is described in much more precise and reasonable framework, the typical N-V V-N transitions are nevertheless treated rather briefly, and again with little attention to their most complex features, i.e. semantics and pragmatics. From my point of view, the contribution by Cikoski that I regard as perhaps the most important one for the domain of HY is the introduction of a category called abstract nouns, which canalizes the great majority of the most promiscuous words. Something similar was in my plans before I consulted Cikoski, and I try to provide an explanation of the nature and behaviour of the category in cognitivist terms in V.2.2 and VI.2.1.

In the beginning, Cikoski (1970: 23) justly draws attention to the potential confusion that the use of the same label both for classes and functions could lead to. Therefore, he employs e.g. *factor* for the function of traditional transitive verb with objects or *nucleus* for essentially objectless predicates. It is then somewhat surprising that he keeps talking of *nominal* function (ibid.: 114), as *noun* is a class. In fact, like in the case of his predecessors, the question of “nominalization” connected with “nominal” functions of various word classes or whole phrases entails again considerable difficulties.

Already the statement (Cikoski 1970: 32) that “also, there is the question of a verb acting as object, a function most speakers of Indo-European languages would consider a nominal one” is problematic. Honestly, I do not understand its rationale. It is not clear at all what the “most speakers” means here, given the fact that most speakers have little apprehension of linguistic matters: I would expect that they consider only (morphological) nouns, no matter in which propositional act function they occur, as nouns, as the rudimentary school grammar says. Eventually, I am not quite sure about what “nominal function” denotes precisely, for the expression is hopelessly vague without an explicit definition provided. Verbs as objects in IE languages come typically after modal verbs, *verba intelligendi* etc., and are in various forms like infinitive, conjunctive, participle etc., which are generally considered verbal ones, and also in common subordinated clauses with *verbum finitum* without any marking of the dependent status except for the conjunction. Why should they be considered nominal expressions?

In connection with this issue, Cikoski (1970: 33) wishes to say that there is an essential difference between the double-verb constructions in which the two verbs have different subjects, like *Jì Píngzǐ yù qí sù chéng* 季平子欲其速成 (ZZ 10.9.7.1), which he translates as ‘Kiwead B’ieng-triug [= Jì Píngzǐ] wanted its swift completion’, but which is usually (and more adequately) translated as ‘Jì Píngzǐ wanted it to be swiftly accomplished’, and the constructions in which both the verbs have an identical subject, like *gōng yù fèi Zhì shì* 公欲廢知氏 ‘The Duke wanted to get rid of Tieg-Dqieg [= clan of Zhì]’ (ZZ 10.9.5.6). While the first one is always nominalized, the second one can be never nominalized according to him. It then seems that the criterion is purely formal: it is the presence or absence of the words *zhī* 之 and *qí* 其. But in principle, it is similar to

say that there is an essential difference between the English sentences “I want to come” and “I want you to come” as far as the character of the verb ‘to come’ is considered.

As for the conception of the N + *zhī* 之 + V (or S + *zhī* 之 + P) construction, unlike most Chinese linguists but in accordance with Kennedy, Cikoski speaks of nominalization virtually without any explanation of the reasons for it and of the role it plays in the overall plan of the language. Of course he does not consider the *zhī* a suffix, but it is a bit curious that while he ascribes to it a nominalizing function, he assumes that it points in the precisely opposite direction than Kennedy presumed for A-N constructions. Cikoski (1970: 77) analyzes it as a nominalizer of the following predicative construction: “... We choose to say that the nucleus is nominalized and becomes the head of an endocentric nominal phrase. This is because in such cases the adjunct portion may be deleted and the nominalized nucleus then remains nominal.” We can see again that the subject of a subordinate clause can be understood as an adjunct to the predicative core, and again we can see the very adjunct is taken as the means of nominalization of the future head, *nota bene* even if it is not present in the sentence (it is “deleted”): this is a peculiar trick of transformational grammarians I would not afford to play. Sentences with the preverbal *qí* 其, which can be taken practically for a functional counterpart of the hypothetical combination of non-existing 3p pronoun in the subject position and the *zhī* 之 PARTICLE, are naturally analyzed in the same way, and the *qí* is called, logically in Cikoski’s framework, an adjunct-substitute (ibid.: 85). It is interesting that Cikoski (ibid.: 85–86) quotes A. C. Graham at length, and this scholar clearly distinguishes the possessive function of *qí* and its function of pronominal “agent” in “subordinate clauses” – not a word about nominalization, notwithstanding that both are semantically closely related and therefore formally identical. Yet Cikoski did not reflect this particular fact in any way, be it a polemic one.

There is another “deletion trick” in Cikoski’s conception of CC grammar: where the great majority of Chinese grammarians – quite justly – see unmarked nominalization of adjectives in the sense ‘an entity having the property ADJ’, a systematic and very common feature of CC adjectives, Cikoski (1970: 84) analyzes such expressions like *xiǎo zhī néng dǐ dà* 小之能敵大 ‘(that) small ones are able to resist big ones’ (ZZ 2.6.2.5) as a case of a deleted “nominalizing head-substitute” *zhě* 者, here after *xiǎo* ‘small’ and *dà* ‘big’. It seems to me obvious that it is related to the fact that Cikoski does not have a special class of adjectives and that they are subsumed under the much broader and thereby also much more heterogeneous category of ergative verbs. Since other ergative verbs – those which do not denote a property and are traditionally called intransitive verbs – behave in this way very seldom, this systematic feature of CC adjectives cannot be postulated for the whole indiscriminated class, and therefore cannot be postulated at all in Cikoski’s framework.

One of the two most relevant chapters to us is called “Concrete Nouns as Nuclei and Factors” (Cikoski 1970: 108–111). It is remarkable that the phenomenon is described almost exclusively in morphosyntactic terms, practically without any reference to its semantics this dissertation deals primarily with, except for the very basic relationship of the nucleus to the subject which is needed in ascertaining ergativity in Cikoski’s system. The assumption of its essentially grammatical character gets close to the Chinese mainstream. But what is de facto unique, I would say, is that the type of HY is here treated as an inherent syntactic feature of certain subclasses of nouns: the author defines *indirect nouns*, *direct nouns*³⁴ and *ergative nouns*³⁵ according to their morphosyntactic traits when used as nuclei and factors. As the terminology suggests, criteria are the same as for verbs (for details see *ibid.*: 54). Under these circumstances, it is very difficult to transfer the results of Cikoski’s analysis to other systems or simply different modes of description, for they are largely dependent on the peculiarities of his approach. There are not many observations about word-class transitions on a more general level that could serve as platform of pre-theoretical compatibility. The solution is limited to the classification of nouns into the three groups, but this merely amounts to say that their members behave in factoral and nuclear functions in the same way as verbs of the corresponding subcategories in the most general terms. The immense complexities not only of the semantic and pragmatic but also lexicological context are omitted, the *raison d’être* of HY, its mechanisms and interpretation left aside, perhaps because they do not belong to grammar in the narrowest sense of the word.

Cikoski (1970: 108–109) quotes three examples of indirect nouns, i.e. nouns that can function only as nuclei with the meaning ‘act suitably as N’, like in *fù fù* 父父 ‘father acts properly as father’ (LY 12.1.1) and its negative counterpart *fù bù fù* 父不父 (LY 12.1.2). Importantly, he introduces the section by the statement that any noun can be used this way – Zhāng Wénguó (2005: 70–84) shows at length that the question is much more complicated. In any case, we are not really able to prove the potential universality of the construction and the evidence that is available to us is limited to a considerably small set of words. The great majority of them, quite logically, denote a social role, or a function in general like in the famous *gū bù gū* 觚不觚 ‘(what is called) the vessel *gū* is not as a proper vessel *gū* should be’ (LY 6.25.1; cf. Zhāng Wénguó 2005: 82; TLS has “beaker to be unbeakerly”) by Confucius, but then Cikoski’s gloss is not always appropriate, as evident: nouns as intransitive nuclei often simply mean ‘to have characteristics of N, to be N-ish, to be like N (in such-an-such respect)’; again, it would be advantageous to have the category of adjectives, or property words, for an adequate description of the phenomenon.

³⁴ The examples include: *zuǒ* 佐 ‘assistant’, *jūn* 軍 ‘army’, *yǒu* 友 ‘friend’, *fù* 傅 ‘preceptor’, *shī* 師 ‘teacher’, *dí* 敵 ‘enemy’, *xiàng* 相 ‘prime minister’, *gǔ* 鼓 ‘drum’.

³⁵ The examples include: *qiú* 囚 ‘prisoner’, *huǒ* 火 ‘fire’, *shǐ* 使 ‘envoy’, *chén* 臣 ‘minister, subject’, *fú* 俘 ‘captive’, *biān* 鞭 ‘whip’, *shū* 書 ‘written record’.

A relevant note regarding methodology is made with regard to distributional statistics (Cikoski 1970: 110–111). The problems connected with it are, of course in somewhat different terms, occasionally formulated also in Chinese literature on the topic, and I talked about them in the introduction. The corpus is for some purposes, including the detailed analysis of behaviour of each word of CC lexicon, not enough extensive, and moreover, it is not clear how to define the boundaries between word classes on the basis of quantitative criteria, for they are not objectively given. In accordance with some Chinese scholars, including Zhāng Wénguó (2005: 165–174), the author shows that the influence of style or a mere chance can skew the statistic data. He points out that e.g. the word *zhǎng* 掌, originally ‘palm’, is attested seven times in *Zuǒzhuàn*, and always in its factorial function, having the meaning ‘to handle, to control’, while in other texts it is common as a noun: if we tested its behaviour on the most voluminous CC text, we would come to completely misleading results.

The second most relevant chapter is about Cikoski’s abstract nouns (Cikoski 1970: 112–122). It is necessary to distinguish this category from the traditional abstract nouns, though both contain words of similar meanings. Actually, Cikoski’s abstract nouns are a modern and variously elaborated counterpart of Gabelentz’s *Zustandshauptwörter* (see above). These words have really abstract meanings in a great majority of cases, but what is more noteworthy from the point of view of a classical grammarian is their extremely promiscuous syntactic behaviour: the words denoting Confucian virtues, like *rén* 仁 ‘humanity’, *xiào* 孝 ‘filial piety’ or *yì* 義 ‘righteousness, sense of appropriateness’, are typical representatives of the class. They can be found practically in any function, and this is also the reason why they have always posed the greatest problem for Western students, who moreover used just their examples to demonstrate that CC has no word classes, and it is also the reason why the criterion of mapping must be preferably applied rather than that of behaviour (*ibid.*: 113). It might be interesting to note that Cikoski defines six of nineteen Kennedy’s “amb” as abstract nouns.

There is an observation regarding the status of the category that nicely fits into Croft’s (2001: 65–81) discussion about “splitters” and “lumpers”: Cikoski acknowledges that it is not clear at all whether this sort of words should not be considered a “totally distinct” word class, independent from both nouns and verbs as its words behave differently from both of them, and if not, whether it is more suitable to classify them rather as nouns or rather as verbs. He concludes: “These two questions simply cannot be decided in terms of behaviour, for abstract nouns are thoroughly promiscuous in the company they keep” (Cikoski 1970: 114). Although he chooses to treat the category as a subclass of nouns, this decision is actually arbitrary in principle – we will deal with this issue later (e.g. V.2, V.3).

According to Cikoski, whereas they may be used as factors, typically with *zhī* 之, in the “transformation” to the construction *yǒu/wú* 有/無 + X they do not map in the

same way as verbs do: in the case of verbs the construction is interpreted as *yǒu/wú* + deleted *suǒ* 所 + V, while in the case of abstract nouns, the word after *yǒu/wú* is taken simply as a nominal object (Cikoski 1970: 116–117). Abstract nouns also do not form the (quasi)-passive construction with the words *wéi* 為 and *jiàn* 見 (ibid.: 118), nor follow the verbs *dé* 得, *huò* 獲 and *qǔ* 取 in the sense ‘to get to X, to succeed in X + -ing’ (ibid.: 119). On the other hand, they are never counted with measure words like concrete nouns. They simply combine particular features of all the major word classes as defined by the author.

Again, this, or more precisely a similar, category of words will be discussed later (V.2.1). In principle, it is a good idea, but the restricted set of morphosyntactic criteria seems to produce a relatively heterogeneous class of words. For instance, abstract nouns comprise both the words *ān* 安 ‘peace(ful), safe(ty)’ or *shēng* 生 ‘to live, life’ and *lì* 力 ‘force’ or *fǎ* 法 ‘law’. They may happen to share mappings in the chosen functions as predefined by Cikoski, but according to me they can be hardly counted as words of the same class, any more than a subclass, having quite different conceptual basis (the former two ones being states and the latter two ones conceptualized as entities).³⁶ Some of them are usually treated as two or even more distinct homographic cognate words of different word classes; Cikoski deliberates the possibility, but he rejects it in the end. I do not think that it can be solved indiscriminately: the lexicological situation of particular words may be considerably complex and each of them, though built in the system, is an individual. After all, the question of unity of a word is one of the most complicated in lexicology of CC and lexicologists dedicate much effort to solve it (cf. Zhāng Liánróng 2001: 130–185).

III.2.5 Nikitina

According to my view, the most reasonable approach to grammar of CC and, most importantly, the most detailed and sensitive investigation of the question of word-class promiscuity is presented by Tamara N. Nikitina in her dissertation from 1985, though it is again rather still in the state of an outline to be developed. In very general terms, her word-class system is influenced by Gabelentz 1881 and his further elaboration in Mullie 1940 on the part of sinology and by Apresjan’s lexical semantics (1971) and by old-fashioned construction grammar on the part of general linguistics. What is typical for her method is the parallel analysis of both syntax and semantics, aspects of the language that cannot be torn apart in her system, and description of

³⁶ The examples of abstract nouns include (word class of the gloss is not significant here): *rén* 仁 ‘humane’, *xiào* 孝 ‘filial’, *shēng* 生 ‘to live’, *sǐ* 死 ‘to die’, *qīn* 親 ‘intimate’, *huò* 禍 ‘misfortune’, *luàn* 亂 ‘chaos’, *xìn* 信 ‘trustworthy’, *nán/nàn* 難 ‘difficult(y)’, *dù/duó* 度 ‘measure/to measure’, *chǒng* 寵 ‘to favor’, *fú* 福 ‘fortune’, *è* 惡 ‘evil’, *yín* 淫 ‘excessive, licentious’, *ān* 安 ‘peaceful’, *cháng* 常 ‘usual’, *xù* 序 ‘order’, *hài* 害 ‘to harm’, *xìng* 幸 ‘good fortune; to favorize’, *xíng* 刑 ‘to punish’, *jiù* 咎 ‘fault’, *huì* 惠 ‘kindness’, *lù* 賂 ‘present, bribe’, *lǐ* 禮 ‘ritual’, *lì* 力 ‘force, strength’, *fǎ* 法 ‘law’, *zhī* 知 ‘to know’(?)

particular constructions with multifarious configurations of elements and their meanings. As far as I can see, it is the only meaningful approach to CC grammar.

Nikitina's point of departure is the assumption, by the way usual in Chinese tradition, that any full word is able to fulfil any function in a sentence (Nikitina 1985: 198). Individual words behave, of course, differently in different functions, and this behaviour can be generalized, if we delimit not only the major word classes, but also numerous subclasses. These are primarily defined semantically but due to the particular semantic content they show a characteristic distribution in a set of constructions (about 30, according to the author) and their possible transformations (cf. *ibid.*: 201–202). This is actually very close to Cikoski and his behaviour and mappings. One of the fundamental concepts of Nikitina's theory of word classes and subsequently of HY is the *categorial meaning of word* (категориальное значение слова), which is virtually equivalent to Gabelentz's *Grundbedeutung* as the only criterion for classification of words in *Wortkategorien*, but which gets also close to the conceptual basis of particular word classes in cognitive grammar (see Langacker 1987: 183). Thus the categorial meaning of nouns is, expectedly, objecthood (предметность) – that is, in terms of other grammarians, it is a thing (*ibid.*), object word (Croft 2001: ch. 2) or object-denoting word (Bisang 2009, *passim*), though Nikitina admits that the issue is not always unproblematic, the categorial meaning sometimes mismatching lexical meaning or being ambiguous or simply non-delineable.

The author dedicates a whole chapter to word-class promiscuity (Nikitina 1985: 235–297), which offers a much closer focus on semantics of the phenomenon than any of her predecessors. She introduces the essential distinction – again common in Chinese tradition, though veiled in a different terminology – between common (обычные) and uncommon (необычные) functions of words. It is stated that the categorial meaning never changes in frequent functions of the respective words and that it can remain the same or change in those rare ones. This is the criterion for delineation of the common/uncommon functions: all the common functions are frequent functions, and among the rare functions those are common in which the categorial meaning does not change (*ibid.*: 211). As far as nouns are considered, Nikitina points out: “Noun has many meanings in the function of copula-less predicate. With regard to the set of meanings in the predicative function and quantity of such meanings, nouns differ from all other parts of speech” (*ibid.*: 212). In comparison with the preceding authors, the description of the uncommon functions is relatively extensive, and I therefore focus only on nouns, which are central to this thesis, although I have occasionally mentioned other word classes before too.

Nikitina opens the section with practically a tautology: the common functions of nouns are those nominal ones. But she adds a taxative list: subject, topic, object, nominal predicate, circumstance. More importantly, there are three uncommon

functions, involving the change in the categorial meanings, defined by Nikitina: 1) the predicate with or without an object, 2) modification of the predicate (i.e. adverbial modification), 3) modification of a nominal element (adnominal modification). The uncommonness of adnominal modification by nouns is at issue, I would say; Nikitina mentions the somewhat paradoxical situation – this function represents only 6% of all occurrences of nouns, but on the other hand, modification by noun is the most frequent type of adnominal modification. I put discussion about this aside at this point, as I analyze only the first two Nikitina's uncommon functions of nouns (their uncommonness is quite unquestionable), but it is certainly an interesting issue to be settled down. I will try to make my excursion as brief as possible, because there is not enough space to follow Nikitina's treatise in all details in this summary, and many of them would be moreover repeated in the following chapters.

1) Nouns as (non-classificatory) predicates. The meaning that the noun acquires in the predicative function is related to and determined by its basic lexical meaning (Nikitina 1985: 235) – this is known already to Yuán Rénlín and it is a common observation in the field. But Nikitina goes on to draw attention to the fact that the same noun can acquire different meanings according to constructions it is built in, and this meaning can be to large extent derived on the basis of the number and meanings of the elements in the construction, though there are also ambivalent constructions. She gets close to the Chinese mainstream (but also i.e. to Cikoski) with the assumption that it is possible to distinguish subclasses of a varying size, whose members show the same derivational patterns, which, on the other hand, characterize these categories of words as distinct lexical sets (ibid.: 236).

One of the largest subcategories consists of words denoting titles, ranks, occupations, kinship terms, or generally relationship between people: it is noted that words of this kind occur predicatively more often than other ones; the explanation of this situation is to be surmised implicitly, but it is not much reflected explicitly. There are together seven types of constructions with nouns used in the function of non-classificatory predicate (i.e. predication of action/process) in Nikitina (1985: 246; 236–246):

active:

1. *gōngzǐ jiàng* 公子將 'the prince became a general'
- 1b. *Guǎn Zhòng xiàng Huán gōng* 管仲相桓公 'Guǎn Zhòng was the prime minister to the Duke Huán'
- 1c. *Guǎn Zhòng xiàng yú Huán gōng* 管仲相於桓公 *idem*

causative/putative:

2. *wáng xiàng zhī* 王相之 'the king appointed him the prime minister'

2a. *wàng wǒ Hàn* 王我漢 ‘he made me the prince in Hàn’

2b. *wàng wǒ yú Hàn* 王我於漢 *idem*

passive:

3. *chén yú Qín* 臣於秦 ‘to be made a subject by Qín’

Interpretation of these expressions when used without an object is usually straightforward: to play or become the role denoted by the noun, like *jiàng* 將 ‘general, leader → to be/to become a general’, *chén* 臣 ‘subject, minister → to be/to become a subject, minister’, or *bà* 霸 ‘hegemon → to become the hegemon’.³⁷ It is very debatable whether it is appropriate to include in this group the example with an unclear inner structure (although perfectly comprehensible as a whole – this is quite common in CC) *fānglǐ ér jǐng* 方里而井 ‘one square mile gives one *jǐng*’ (MZ 3.1.3), but the expression *Chǔ bù guó* 楚不國 ‘Chǔ would not be a state’ (ZZ 12.16.5.24) can be surely counted as a special case within the category. Some sets of this subclass can also acquire the meaning ‘to act (properly) as’: we encountered this construction already in Cikoski, and it is one of the most often quoted special use of CC nouns, which is moreover beautifully illustrated in the sequence in LY 12.1 and LY 12.2. The active pattern can be expanded by a facultative object (see Nikitina 1985: 21–23), either with or without the preposition *yú* 於, introducing a) the person/object for whose benefit the function is executed, b) the place where the action takes place (1a, 1b). These two are sometimes difficult or impossible to distinguish, like in *Kǒngzǐ xiàng Lǚ* 孔子相魯 ‘Confucius was the prime minister in Lǚ’ (SJ 39.9), the state is the place but also the beneficiary, and it can moreover stand metonymically for [the ruler of] Lǚ.

In the causative construction, the object is obligatory. It can also have a putative sense, or, more frequently, a sense derived from it ‘to behave to someone denoted by the object as/like to a role/function denoted by the predicatively used noun’; these two closely related meanings concur quite often, since considering someone as someone usually, though not always, implies a corresponding behaviour towards him in the real world, cf. e.g. *shī zhī* 師之 ‘to consider him one’s teacher, to learn from him’ (SJ 82, but also MZ 5.2.3.3 and others). The basic causative construction can be expanded by introduction of another object, again either with or without the preposition *yú* 於 (2a, 2b); in that case it specifies the place. This construction with two objects can be seen as an analogon of 1a) and 1b), in which a new valency position is established by virtue of the causativity. Eventually, the causative construction can be transformed into passive,

³⁷ Nikitina aptly draws the parallel with Russian denominal verbs derived from words that denote social functions: *царь* ‘emperor, ruler’ → *царствовать* ‘to rule’, *князь* ‘duke’ → *княжить* ‘to rule (as a duke)’, *учитель* ‘teacher’ → *учительствовать* ‘to teach’, *друг* ‘friend’ → *дружить* ‘to be friend (to)’. The situation is similar in IE languages generally.

with the agent introduced by the preposition *yú* 於 (3), and naturally with the possibility of being marked by the preverbal passive marker *jiàn* 見.

It is evident that the listed constructions are ambiguous to certain extent. E.g. the passive construction (3) is homonymous with the active construction with a prepositional object (1b): thus *chén yú rén* 臣於人 can mean a) ‘to be made a minister/subject by others’, or b) ‘to be/to become a minister/subject to others’. This is also true of the active construction with a prepositionless object (1a) and the plain causative construction (2): thus *Kǒngzǐ xiàng Lǚ* 孔子相魯 ‘Confucius was the prime minister in Lǚ’ (SJ 39.9) and *wáng xiàng zhī* 王相之 ‘the king made him the prime minister’ (ZGC 14.6.5) are syntactically identical, though they are easily discriminated on the grounds of their minimal context. Of course, this is a global rule especially relevant in a language like CC – all the cases of construction homonymy must be disambiguated on the basis of semantics of the sentence and its elements, primarily of the subject and object, or on the basis of a broader context in general.

The largest, and also the most vague subcategory of nouns are words denoting “things” (предметные существительные). Nikitina admits: “Nouns denoting things, when being used as predicates, acquire various meanings, which cannot be always generalized” (Nikitina 1985: 247). However trivial this observation can seem, it is important in realizing that the processes involved in the uncommon functions are not regular *in sensu stricto*.

Nikitina (1985: 247–249) distinguishes three intersecting subsets of this nebulous subcategory members of which occur in different constructions. The first one is possibly the most typical: it is the instrumental set, i.e. nouns being used in the sense ‘make use of the thing denoted by the predicatively used noun to produce an effect on the entity denoted by the object’, e.g. *biān* 鞭 ‘whip’ → *biān zhī* 鞭之 ‘to whip him’. Cases without an object are extremely rare. The semantics is often less straightforward, for the concept of instrumentality is very broad and it sometimes blends with other conceptual categories, giving complex results (cf. also Zádrapa 2007: 94–95). Occasionally, the object is introduced by the preposition *yú* 於, like in *fūrén lì yú zhīrèn* 婦人力於織紵 ‘(if) women used their effort on weaving’ (HF 37.13.5; cf. *lì gōngnóng* 力工農 ‘to devote effort to agriculture and crafts’, SJ 6.37.7), and rarely one can also encounter a causative construction, like in *shǒu shí lì mín* 守時力民 ‘to cause people to employ their energy for maintaining the proper seasons’ (XZ 10.7.1).

Thing-denoting nouns of the second subset occur in the construction with an object with the meaning ‘to use the thing denoted by the object as (in the quality of) the thing denoted by the predicatively used noun’, e.g. *zhàng jiàn* 杖劍 ‘to use the sword as a walking stick, to lean on the sword’. Although Nikitina does not draw attention to the fact, this is actually very close to the factitive/putative construction *yǐ A wéi B*, 以 A 爲

B, which can quite regularly serve as an approximative gloss to it.³⁸ From the point of view semantics, Nikitina's characterization is very general, which leads to slight internal incoherences in her set of examples: for instance, the precise semantic relationship between the noun incorporated in the predicate and the noun in the object is not identical in *yì bó* 衣帛 'to dress in silk' and the phrase *zhàng jiàn*. In the former case, the 'silk' is precisely taken as the material the dress is made of, while the 'sword' in the latter one is really only 'used as a stick' – and the situation gets even more complicated with the expression *yì zī yī* 衣緇衣 'to wear dark clothes' and similar.

Members of the same subset can also function as predicates without an object. It is for example the construction with the meaning 'to use the thing denoted by the noun in the predicate', like in *yì* 衣 'to be dressed', *guàn* 冠 'to wear a cap', or *chéng* 乘 'to go by carriage', which is unproblematic. But there is another construction introduced by Nikitina, with the meaning 'to have the thing denoted by the noun in the predicate' in her interpretation, which is according to her analogous to the possessive construction with the verb *yǒu* 有 'to have; to exist': e.g. *chì ér máo* 赤而毛 'she was red and hairy/had hairs' (ZZ 9.26.8.1). Actually, what is important is not possession but characterization, the fact the author does not emphasize. As Nikitina notes, the attribute is sometimes temporary, but sometimes also constant and/or inseparable (неотчуждаемая принадлежность), and then the noun is typically further modified, like in *Yuèrén duǎn fà wén shēn* 越人短髮文身 'people of Yuè have [= are characteristic for] short hair and tattooed bodies' (Zh 1.2.10).³⁹ This type of construction is really peculiar from the point of view of a European observer. It is at issue whether it is to be grouped in the way Nikitina does or it is a separate and special construction fully on its own, with its own distributional patterns – this is precisely what Zhāng Wéngúo (2005: 85–97; see III.1.2) convincingly argues for. We must keep in mind that this kind of characterization needs not be conceived of as a kind of possession, although our linguistic intuition forces us into this, and although it can be seen from alternative formulations that the old Chinese were aware of the parallelism with the usual construction with *yǒu*.⁴⁰ See Nikitina 1985: 249–252.

³⁸ Most of Nikitina's examples (1985: 249–250) can be really glossed by this construction, and the cases that can not be actually problematic with regard to membership in the subset, or at least anomalous, like *chǔ běi* 處北 'to dwell in the north' or *chéng bì chē* 乘敝車 'to ride a tattered carriage'.

³⁹ There is an alternative reading of this passage *duàn fà wén shēn* 斷髮文身 '(they) cut their hair and tattoo their bodies'. Then it would be a completely different construction. The same four-character formulation is found in ZZ 12.7.3.8.

⁴⁰ I do not think it is reasonable to include such expressions like *bǐ tú wǒ chē* 彼徒我車 'those – on foot, we – on chariots' (ZZ 1.9.6.1, 10.1.10.1). Of course, logically one must have a carriage to fight on it, but this does not mean the sentence expresses this presupposition – there is actually no reason to consider the *chē* a non-nominal predicate with some special meaning of masked possessivity. Laconic formulations of this kind are quite common in CC and they are unproblematically explained as schematic topic-comment structures that just link two objects in a manner the speaker/listener has to supply on the basis of context, just as the English translation suggests.

Words of this subset can be also used in the causative construction with the meaning 'to cause that the person denoted by the object has in use the thing denoted by the noun in the predicate', i.e. 'to provide someone with something' (Nikitina 1985: 252–253). Usually ("almost always"), there is another object introduced into the construction by the preposition *yi* 以, or it remains prepositionless, giving a ditransitive construction as a result. Thus, we have the following sequence: *yì zhī* 衣之 'to provide them with clothes', *yì zhī yǐ xiù* 衣之以繡 'to dress him in embroidered silk', and *yì zhī wáng fú* 衣之王服 'to dress him in king's clothes'.

The third subset contains words occurring predicatively in the factitive construction with the meaning 'to produce, to build the thing denoted by the noun in the predicate', with various object configurations (a prepositionless object, an object with the preposition *yú* 於, two prepositionless objects) – the objectless version is very rare. Most of the words of the subset denote an item of architecture, and the object typically refers to the place where it is built or that is provided with it, like in the very common *chéng* 城 + city name 'to provide the city such-and-such with a city wall; to wall the city such-and-such'. See Nikitina 1985: 253–255.

The third subcategory of nouns is very limited, but very important. It contains words denoting natural phenomena, catastrophes and biological processes, which occur as predicates almost always without an object. Nikitina states that the construction generally denotes 'the typical state of the entity denoted by the noun in the predicate': of fire to burn, of wind to blow, of blossoms to bloom etc. (Nikitina 1985: 255). This is basically true, but it is not precise. Actually, this subcategory should be further divided, because the words denoting meteorological phenomena differ in some respects from those that denote catastrophes, though they may mutually intersect. Meteorological conditions are already ambiguous in nature in respect to categorial meaning of the words that denote them, for they are themselves processes that may be – and often are – only secondarily conceptualized as abstract entities, i.e. phenomena. Langacker (1991: 365–367) shows how differently are these phenomena conceptualized in different languages, with a corresponding divergence in the syntactic structure, and the situation in CC demonstrates this nicely (see VI.1.2). On the other hand, words like *huā* 華 'blossom' (→ 'to blossom') or *huáng* 蝗 'locust' (→ 'to happen locust infestation') do not have the primarily processual conceptual basis like meteorological terms, and the "catastrophic construction" is a special feature of CC grammar (see VI.2.2).

Nikitina (1985: 257–258) concludes the excursion into the uncommon functions of nouns with the observation that "some nouns in the predicative function have individual meanings that cannot be classified with the categories described above," and goes on to quote some examples; there is no need to deal with them here concretely. In fact, the number of such "individual" cases is not that low, but I leave this for later

discussion. It is in any case important to note, as she does, that many nouns can fall under several subcategories, but this issue will be reflected upon later.

2) Nouns as adverbial modifiers (Nikitina 1985: 259–260). This section is only brief and schematic. It comprises of several examples and few lines that introduce them, where Nikitina repeats (*ibid.*: 219) four basic meanings of nouns in this function: similarity/analogy, instrument, place and “concomitant factor” (сопутствующий фактор). Thus, as far as this microfield is considered, she does not get any further than her predecessors, maybe except for the concomitant factor, which is a special term in her dissertation for one kind of objects introduced by the preposition *yǐ* 以 (see *ibid.*).

Let us note in conclusion that Nikitina does not consider the often discussed construction with the particle *zhī* 之 between the subject and predicate a case of nominalization; according to her the particle is a marker of dependent predicative construction: such constructions have the internal structure of clauses but they cannot in principle function as independent sentences. They are intended to occur as elements in matrix predicative constructions, yet this does not make nominals of them (cf. Nikitina 1985: 113–114). This is also Chinese mainstream approach (see especially Hé Lèshì 1996).

III.2.6 Bisang

Recently, a new contribution to the discussion about CC word classes and the promiscuity of CC words has been made by Bisang 2009. His paper is innovative on the part of word classes, as he makes use of the latest theories of languages – cognitive and construction grammars – or exploits the potential of older but substantial articles dealing with analysis of CC (Late Archaic Chinese in the Dobsonian terms he uses), like Clark & Clark 1979. As far as the part on what is traditionally called HY is considered, there is basically not much new except for some details. In comparison for example with Nikitina, the survey is more schematic as it is not anchored in a solid framework of a specific grammatical theory of CC and ignores thus many details concerning different types of constructions. Under the circumstances, it is pity that Bisang does not employ the conceptual analysis in the Langackerian style to describe the precise mechanisms of the semantic derivation, though it is understandable as the paper is not dedicated primarily to the problem of HY. On the other hand, on the most general level he relates the situation in CC to the relevant parts of the above-mentioned general theories of language and deals with the basic underlying principles of interpretation of the expression, which is valuable (Bisang 2009: 1–19).

The author takes as the point of departure the following assumption: “Both argument structure constructions also [i.e. transitive and intransitive] take lexemes denoting object in their V-position. The meaning of these utterances can be derived

from combining the meaning of the cognitive subcategory to which the lexeme in the V-slot with the meaning contributed by the construction...” (Bisang 2009: 28). This is true only partially, and only in very general terms, but I deal with this later (mainly V.2). Nikitina seems to be close to this position, regarding the semantic derivation involved in HY as essentially regular (cf. Nikitina 1985: 31 nn., 236), but she actually relativizes the assumption not only by the attention paid to “individual” cases but also by allowing her subcategories to intersect and cross over, among others. It is necessary to emphasize that in Bisang’s perspective, two general semantic relationships, which are typical for grammar of CC, are over-important: causative and putative. According to him, also object-denoting words in the V-slot can be regularly interpreted on their basis.

Bisang (2009: 29) defines six “cognitive subcategories” of object-denoting words for the purpose:

1. lexemes denoting humans and relations among humans (family or official functions)
2. lexemes denoting instruments/man-made objects
3. lexemes denoting sense organs
4. lexemes denoting places and buildings
5. lexemes denoting first and second person
6. lexemes denoting numbers and measures

I ignore for the moment the last two subcategories, for they are usually – and quite appropriately – considered separate categories of words different from nouns, or object words. We can actually see that the list is almost identical with that by Nikitina, except for the sense organs which are included in instruments in her system, but Bisang himself notes that their usage is basically instrumental – it is quite expectable, since the organs generally tend to be conceptualized as a special kind of instruments. I will go through his list which is supplied with only brief comments, without stopping to quote all the examples: I think the previous sections contain enough of them.

1.

Intransitive construction:

- a) N=subject behaves like a (true) N=vs⁴¹
- b) N=subject becomes a (true) N=vs (i.e. inchoative)

Transitive construction:

- a) N=agent causes N=undergoer to behave/be like a (true) N=vs
- b) N=agent considers N=undergoer to behave/be a (true) N=vs

⁴¹ The object-denoting word in the V-slot.

Bisang aptly notes that whether the construction is to be interpreted causatively or putatively is influenced by the relationship between the subject and object: if the subject denotes a person of a higher social position than the object, the construction is usually causative, if on the contrary the subject is in a lower position, the construction is usually putative, or expresses an attitude, ‘to behave towards the higher position as N=vs’, ‘to serve to the higher position in the function of N=vs’. If the relation is symmetrical, the construction may be interpreted in both ways. See also the section on Nikitina.

2.

Intransitive construction:

N=subject is used as N=vs

Transitive construction:

a) N=actor causes N=undergoer to be used as N=vs, i.e. “to use something/someone in the function of N=vs”

b) N=actor applies N=vs on N=undergoer

Bisang stops to comment on words denoting garments, like *yī* 衣 or *guān* 冠 ‘hat, ceremonial cover of head’, and adds that except the causative meaning, i.e. ‘to use N=vs as a garment’ (cf. *yì bó* 衣帛 ‘to dress in silk’ above),⁴² “in a second interpretation, the lexeme denoting a garment is itself the undergoer of the action and we get the meaning of ‘to wear N’” (Bisang 2009: 37–39). However, he ignores other possible constructions with words of this kind, which are introduced in Nikitina 1985, and his view abstracts from many important features. Eventually, I do not think that it is advantageous to treat conceptually such different words as *biān* 鞭 ‘whip’ and *yī* 衣 ‘garment’ indiscriminately as members of one coherent category, but this is again the price paid for excessive generalization.

3.

Intransitive construction:

N=subject does the action associated with N=vs

Transitive construction:

N=actor applies the action associated with N=vs onto N=undergoer

⁴² Bisang’s example from MZ 3.1.4.5 is unfortunately not especially felicitous: *Xǔzǐ bì zhī bù ér hòu yì hū* 許子必織布而後衣乎, which is translated as ‘Xu Zi weaves [his own] cloth and wears it, doesn’t he?’ by Bisang, can be easily, and possibly also more conveniently, interpreted as a case of an intransitive usage (‘does mister Xǔ always first weave cloth to has something to put on?’).

The author comments: “Lexemes denoting sense organs in the V-slot are interpreted in the same way as instruments, although the overall range of their functions seems to be restricted. Given the body-part between the sense organ and the lexeme in the intransitive-argument slot (NP_S), the latter is more active” (Bisang 2009: 39). This gives the “applicative” meaning ‘N=subject does the action associated with N=vs’.

4.

Intransitive construction:

N=subject does what one stereotypically does at or to N=vs

Transitive construction:

N=actor causes N=vs to exist

The second construction can be again found in Nikitina; I called it factitive there. Bisang (2009: 41) draws attention to the notorious case of the word *mén* 門 ‘gate’, which is used predicatively either with the meaning ‘to attack a gate’ or, on the contrary, ‘to guard a gate’, showing that some objects may be stereotypically associated with more than one activity, but in fact there are many such lexemes of “particular interest” with more diverse ranges of possible uses. Moreover, the conceptual subcategory of places and buildings is too broad and thereby also inconveniently heterogeneous: the generalization is again an oversimplification of the linguistic data. For instance, words denoting buildings are used in the factitive construction only exceptionally (on the other hand, there are several possible constructions they can occur in which Bisang does not mention, like the causative *shè zhī yú X* 舍之於 X ‘to lodge him in/at the place X), whereas words denoting infrastructure in a broad sense typically occur precisely with the factitive meaning. That is, members of this subcategory are not all used equally often in both constructions the author presents to us, they actually form distinct sets with strong functional preferences which intersect only partially. I will not go into details here, but it is obvious that the situation is much more complicated than Bisang’s analysis suggests.

Generally speaking, Bisang’s approach to the problem is promising; it offers an alternative view on the basis of cognitive and construction grammar; in this respect it could hopefully overcome some limitations of the older works. However, the first approximation to the topic is very sketchy and suffers both from all-embracing generalizations and from not especially close reading of primary linguistic material. In other words, Bisang’s analysis is too coarse-grained: his solutions may be theoretically correct, but they say too little about precise functioning of the language. One can hardly get along with N-slot, V-slot, transitivity and intransitivity, causativity and putativity and few other concepts combined with four categories of nouns in appropriately describing such a complex matter as HY. Moreover, the lexicological level and internal

semantic structure of individual lexemes are almost ignored, though they are occasionally referred to: this is precisely the direction that has been long under-researched but that is necessary to incorporate into the theory, as I try to show in my thesis.

In any case, the attention paid to the pragmatic relation between lexicon and syntax is of our special interest, as Bisang touches upon the issue of stereotypical implicatures (Bisang 2009: 45–47). It is observed that some lexemes are more versatile than other ones (Kennedy's example with *shì* 事 is reminded), and an important, though apparently trivial assumption is stated: "Lexemes denoting concrete objects stereotypically imply the occurrence in an N-slot. Lexemes denoting abstract object are more or less versatile" (ibid.: 46). This is said to account, among others, also for the nominal use of words like *xìn* 信 'believe/belief' (rather 'trustworthiness', actually), *měi* 美 'beautiful, beauty', *zhǎng* 長 'old/age, seniority' (broader lexicological context is ignored here, i.e. other conventional meanings, or more precisely derived words, like 'senior, elders' or 'to grow'), *bái* 白 'white, whiteness', or *bìng* 病 'ill, illness'.

Eventually, in accordance with Chinese mainstream, the author also notes the rhetorical, or generally stylistic markedness of this use of words that disagrees with what is implied by its lexical content (ibid.: 55).

IV. Early Chinese morphology and HY

In this chapter I aim to summarize the reasons why I do not systematically operate with reconstructions of early Chinese morphology, the fact I anticipated in the introduction. They have been already discussed by the more skeptical researchers in the field, and there have been published several overviews of the state of affairs in it recently. An historical perspective on the problem is presented by Branner 2003, and many of them are mentioned in Branner 2002. Coblin 2003, though focussed primarily on the *Qièyùn*, also includes passages relevant to the topic. Among earlier publications, Méi Zǔlín 1980, critically examining the presuppositions that frame the pioneer paper of Downer from 1956 and of others who followed his path, can be in my opinion seen as a good point of departure in forming a relatively balanced picture of the matter.

Of course, reconstructions of early morphology essentially depend on reconstructions of Middle Chinese and Old Chinese phonology as we have no other possibility to approach the segmental shape of Chinese words written by characters of a basically syllabographic nature. The sound system of what is supposed to be the Middle Chinese (i.e. the *Qièyùn* system) is well explored and except for several notoriously problematic issues reconstructed in a more or less satisfactory way, although there are still many controversial points present, some of them being of fundamental importance (see Norman and Coblin 1995, Pulleyblank 1995 and Coblin 2003). On the other hand, the complex and principally much more difficult task of reconstruction of Old Chinese phonology is to be viewed as an unsettled matter, in spite of all the progress made and all the research carried out throughout 20th century. Moreover, it is highly probable that we will never get beyond anything more than “more or less well-informed guesses” (Bottéro and Harbsmeier 2008: p. 12 of draft), because we have virtually no explicit information on pronunciation of words available until 2nd century AD, let alone a systematic survey analogous to composition of the mediaeval rime-books – while we would need it for at least 3rd century BC. The research, *faute de mieux*, thus draws on the indirect evidence of a) analysis of the rhyming practice in *Shījīng* (ca. 10th–7th century BC) for study of the finals b) analysis of the so called *xiéshēng* series, i.e. series of characters sharing one and the same phonophoric element, which were created at widely different times from the late Shāng to the late Zhōu, for study of both initials and finals. In addition, comparison with other Sino-Tibetan languages serves as a source of supplementary material; it must be however kept in mind that the earliest attested languages of the Tibeto-Burman branch is the Written Tibetan of 7th century AD and the Written Burmese of 12th century AD. The data obtained in this way are confronted with and interpreted through the more than a thousand years later (relatively to the classical period) system of *Qièyùn*. This method is partially based on assumptions that are far from being undisputable, and although I am not entitled to pass judgments on the existing reconstructions, I dare to argue that it is self-evident that they are anything but

precise, reliable and unquestioned. This subsequently bears on the issue of reliability of morphological reconstructions.

Anyway, it is not much of our concern, because the reconstructions based on this type of evidence – the only one available for the relevant period of time – deal necessarily almost exclusively with the most ancient attested root derivations of multifarious kinds that are typically represented by etymological nests, lexical members of which were written by distinct and often completely unrelated characters (cf. Méi Zǔlín 1980: 429). Sagart's *Roots of Old Chinese* (1999) is the most comprehensive recent monograph on the topic. It is clear that this type of reconstructed morphology, which is by the way highly tentative and far from generally accepted,⁴³ has little in common with the HY as it is normally understood today. The most important for our purposes and at the same time best attested derivational process is the supposed *-s suffixation (the source of the *qùshēng*), which is assumed to have many different functions, one of them being nominalization of verbs. Sometimes it is accompanied also by other affixations. But even in the well-known case of *rùshēng-qùshēng* alternations, Méi Zǔlín (1980: *ibid.*) registers only about twenty pairs, most of them differentiated in the script in an early stage, nothing that could aspire to a real word-class morphology in an active productive state. The examples can be best viewed as traces of a much older system which had been dissipating and leaving gradually petrifying imprints in the lexicon.

The type of morphology potentially relevant for HY is represented by mediaeval *pòdú*, the concept and sources of which I introduced in the section on the historical background of the HY studies. Opinions on the authenticity and nature of the *pòdú* have always widely differed, having been a source of a long and far-reaching controversy – see Branner (2003) for a recent summary and evaluation of the roots of the basic competing views of the problem, which he calls “purist” and “reconstructionist” respectively. The most important passages from pre-modern literature related to the topic along with examples and counter-examples are conveniently gathered there, although author's interpretations do not always appeal to me. The situation in 20th century in this field of Chinese linguistics is chaotic; the whole range of variation between the two extremes (e.g. Sūn Yùwén 孙玉文 representing the “enthusiastic” pole and Lín Tāo 林焘 the “negativist” pole) was preserved, while new arguments, methods and a large amount of new material were introduced. Let us briefly recapitulate the major points at issue that invite to occupy a skeptical stance as far as the importance of the *pòdú* for Old Chinese morphology is concerned.

⁴³ One of the most serious problems is that the overwhelming majority of the presumed affixes is attested sporadically, their paradigms are scarce and the meanings ascribed to them often tenuous or/and widely diverging in the scope of the same derivational morpheme.

First, even if we left aside the question of the authenticity and pretended the variant readings recorded mainly in *Jingdiǎn shìwén* and the Sòng rime-books reflect a real trait of a spoken language of a single region and a single time, possibly the late Six Dynasties era (5th–6th c.), we have simply no substantial information on how it actually relates to the one thousand years older spoken language which the literary Chinese of the classical period was based on. There is a gap of approximately five – in the case of isolated sound-glosses of the Late Hàn – and ten and more centuries in the case of the systematic evidence for the *pòdú*, during which an immense change of all contexts of the extra-linguistic situation we can conceive of took place. This happened along with the complete reconstruction of social, political and cultural paradigms in the long transition between the Warring States and early Middle Ages and with geographic shifts of political and cultural centres dialects of which could serve and presumably served as an official standard. In addition, an unprecedented reshaping of phonological system is expected to have taken place during the Hàn dynasty, and the divorce between the spoken and written language gradually became serious, which eventually lead to a genuine diglossia. Except for clues allowing for various evidentially poorly supported hypotheses, there is not the slightest proof in the strict sense of continuity between the presumed Old Chinese and Middle Chinese, and there are hardly any guide-lines to follow when projecting the reconstructed systems both of approximately 10th c. BC and 7th c. AD to the classical period of 5th–3rd c. BC over the spans of several hundred years.

It is necessary to remind the reader at this point that there is no broader agreement even on the nature of the system represented by the *Qièyùn*, though it has been assumed to reflect with some reservations a *koinē* (be it based on the Cháng’ān, Luòyáng or other dialect) by the mainstream Karlgrenian school. Actually, there have been always doubts whether it really represents any living language at all or is rather a “profoundly conservative” compendium of the highly heterogeneous post-Hàn tradition of phonological glosses, and they have been never dispelled – on the contrary (see Norman and Coblin 1995 for a summary).

But most importantly, this is still more true of the *pòdú* and the philological tradition that recorded it, culminating in the first phase in the remarkable *Jingdiǎn shìwén*. This work subsequently served as a point of departure for the following systematizations another four or five centuries later, and most of the observations valid for it are thus valid – and even more so – for those too.

One of the crucial problems is that we do not know anything about how the variant readings relate to the living language of the day or to any spoken idiom at all. We are left with mere conjectures and the controversial argument on this issue seems to have no conclusive solution. The first discomfoting fact is that coherent systems of variant readings, any more than active intrasyllabic derivative morphology, do not survive in the contemporary vernaculars of China or apparently are later local developments. As Branner (2002: 708) points out, “many individual examples survive

in various forms of Chinese merely because they were entrenched, as solitary words, in canonical lexicographic sources.” Morphologically marked forms have been preserved “evidently only where lexicalized.” This is of true of *pǔtōnghuà* based on the Běijīng dialect as well. We have isolated traces of the *qùshēng* derivation grounded in the spoken language like *chuán* 傳 ‘to transmit’ and *zhuàn* 傳 ‘records, tradition’ or *shǔ* 數 ‘to count’ and *shù* 數 ‘number’. But these are relatively scarce and their amount decreases as pairs of less frequent cognate morphemes written by identical characters tend to be pronounced in a unified way. Besides them, there are “dictionary” pronunciations taught in schools and used for reciting or reading aloud texts written in CC or *wényán* that are not present in the spoken language, like *yì* 衣 ‘to dress’ in contrast to the now basic form *yī* 衣 ‘dress’ or *chí* 治 ‘to put in order’ in contrast to the now basic form *zhì* 治 ‘to be in order’. The number of these conservative readings still current in the practice of literate speakers diminishes too. They are now generally felt to be obsolete and are gradually falling into public oblivion along with vanishing of traditional philological education. They may have just dropped out of use – however, it would have to be before 17th or 18th century, as many scholars of that time could disagree on the issue of their authenticity, being evidently unable to find support for them in forms of the contemporaneous spoken language. But many of them if not the majority may also have always existed merely as an artificial reading convention in pre-modern schools, which I am inclined to believe. Some of them can be traced back to *Jīngdiǎn shìwén*, some to much later sources, usually the 11th century rime-books, *Guǎngyùn* and *Jiyùn*.

There is a significant testimony about the dubious linguistic status of the split readings that comes from the very time of an intensified activity in the studies of pronunciation of characters in the canon and in systematic phonology, when also *Jīngdiǎn shìwén* was compiled. The famous scholar Yán Zhītūi 顏之推 (531 – after 590), who according to the preface to *Jīngdiǎn shìwén* belonged to the circle of the slightly drunk disputers of orthoepic issues that gave Lù Fǎyán the impulse to take up his phonological enterprise, deals with the topic in the chapter Yīncí 音辭 of his masterpiece *Yánshì jiāxùn* 顏氏家訓, consisting of comments on pronunciation with a valuable regard to dialectal and diachronic variation. At the point he casts doubts on the authenticity of the distinction in voicing of the initial between the transitive and intransitive use of the word *bài* 敗 ‘to defeat’, Yán quite straightforwardly speaks of masters who ‘make up rules on their own’ (*zì wéi fánlì* 自為凡例) when reading the classics and who transmit them orally in their schools, and he considers most of their discriminations as willful fabrications (*cǐ wéi chuānzáo ěr* 此為穿鑿耳 ‘this is merely making up far-fetched interpretations’; Yán Zhītūi 1993: 331; Branner 2003: 54 has ‘hair-splitting’). However the adherents of the view that the *pòdú* represent authentic morphological phenomena productive in the living language of Middle Ages may try to explain this or to, somewhat curiously, prove Yán wrong, his words cannot be easily dismissed unless we accuse him of a blatant lie. We must keep in mind that he was a

manifestly self-confident philologist who would hardly wish to publish – though in the apparently private form of instructions to his sons – statements that could be immediately shown to be false by a trivial self-inspection.

Yán's objections were occasionally echoed later, especially in 17th and 18th century in the work of iconoclastic philologists and even in *Mǎshì wéntōng*, as mentioned earlier, but it does not need to concern us here in detail. As far as I am able to ascertain, most researchers agree with various reservations on the point that the readings of the *Jīngdiǎn shìwén* tradition and their eventual counterparts in *Qièyùn* (cf. Coblin 2003: 378) are grounded in the scholastic practice of chanting the canonical texts, not a reflection of a common language. Wàn Xiànchū (2004: 350), the author of a recent complex survey of *Jīngdiǎn shìwén*, speaks of *dúshūyīn* 讀書音 'pronunciation for reading texts', and indicates that Lù Démíng himself uses the expression *shūyīn* 書音 and its mutations. We simply do not know how these readings came into being, where and when their origin is. It is, for instance, symptomatic that Wàn Xiànchū (2004: 353–354) who basically defends their authenticity comes to strikingly different conclusions as far as their origin is considered, than e.g. the Old Chinese phonology reconstructionist Pān Wùyún 潘悟云 he quotes. Unlike Pān who wishes to see in most of the *pòdú* remnants of Old Chinese morphology, Wàn proposes a hypothesis that it is an innovation. According to him, it is a consequence of the phonetic impoverishment that occurred during the Hàn era and a compensation for it that enabled recent homophones to become discriminated again, now by the tone change, before the problem would be eventually solved by polysyllabization of Chinese words. It is clear only that Lù Démíng collected his material from more than 230 sources written by scholars speaking widely different dialects and living in different times between 2nd and 6th century, and moreover adherents of diverging schools. I am inclined to believe together with Méi Zǔlín and Branner's "purists" – though I do not by far deny existence of pre-historic morphology in Chinese – that they are for a larger part "learned analogies." I would also agree that this tradition preserves a small amount of the authentic forms that had been inherited from the ancient stages of the language too, usually the pairs attested for Old Chinese by other evidence, like *hǎo/hào* 好, *è/wù* 惡 etc.

Branner (2002: 717) pertinently draws attention to the absolute absence of any reflection on morphology in pre-imperial literature, though linguistic sensitivity is apparently not anything the old Chinese philosophers would lack. Of course, this is a very inconclusive argument *ex silentio*, but still the fact only supports the suspicions many scholars show regarding the possibility of existence of productive morphology in CC. It would be really curious if the Chinese, unlike the ancient Akkadians, Greeks and Romans, by some misfortune completely failed to realize that their language possesses such a conspicuous thing as morphological paradigms and classes of words with

characteristic endings. None the less, the possibility cannot be ruled out, and our assumptions will presumably remain purely tentative forever.

Be it as may, I think that one thing is clear from the issues discussed in this section: under these circumstances, it would be simply preposterous to try to integrate the present reconstructions of Old Chinese morphology into a working theory of word classes and into the explanations of the HY phenomenon, though it may be occasionally useful to refer to them for various reasons. Moreover, it does not seem much probable that it will be possible in the future due to the constraints posed by the nature of the available linguistic data.

v. Word classes in CC and CC noun

V.1 Theoretical prerequisites

In the history of linguistic sinology, word classes in CC used to be a truly turbulent issue. The opinions of distinguished scholars differed from each other in the full scope from one extreme to another, that is, from denying its very existence to unproblematically working with lexical categories and subcategories for analytical purposes. I refer the reader to Harbsmeier 1998 for a summary of the research and a reasonable outline of the situation in CC. Not only there is not enough space here for it, but it is also not the central topic of this thesis, and such an excursion is beyond its scope. It is however evident that the existence of word classes has been taken for granted since the second half of 20th century, although there are many various individual approaches to them. It is nonetheless also clear that CC word classes have been studied insufficiently, especially in comparison with the research that has been carried out for Modern Chinese. See Miáo Yǒngchuān 1997 for a relatively recent evaluation of the state of research in the field, unfortunately entirely disregarding non-Chinese authors.

It would be meaningless to repeat here the basic facts about the problems with definition of word classes in Chinese and in isolating languages generally – the lack of morphology in the European sense of the word, the inappropriateness of the traditional grammarian terminology developed in the Graeco-Latin cultural domain etc. We can encounter it almost in every paper on the topic and in every second introduction to the language. As I have already anticipated, I anchor my research in the cognitive model of word classes represented by Langacker's cognitive grammar (mainly for semantic aspects) and by Croft's radical construction grammar (mainly for syntactic aspects); I can refer now to Bisang's recent contribution to the discussion too, which is *via facti* an application of the Croftian theory on CC, naturally with some reservations, modifications and evolution. Though I am obviously not the first one to make that step, there is much to elaborate in this first sketch of how one can approach the issue in a new way. My exploitation of the theory for purpose of analysis of object-denoting words used to denote an action or to modify an action, which I have often called nouns used verbally or adverbially for convenience and compatibility, may be thus seen as a further elaboration of the conception. These theoretical foundations are also in accordance with Harbsmeier's concrete observations for CC, although I am pretty sure that he himself would hardly wish to convene with cognitive linguistics.

It seems that the scholars who rely, at least for a part, on Croft's *Radical Construction Grammar*, like Bisang for CC, are often convinced by much of his work but are reluctant to accept the main thesis, which is deservedly called radical. The assumption that constructions, not their elements, are the elementary, basic language

structures that determine all the other levels, including the level of words and word classes, simply goes too sharply against what has been considered an unproblematic norm in linguistic science. I believe that Croft might be right, but at this stage I do not feel prepared either to change my understanding of language with all consequences so radically as to conform to the most general framework established by him. Eventually, the supportive role of cognitive linguistics and its relatives in my thesis has been discussed in detail in the introduction.

V.1.1 Word classes as radial categories

Word classes are **categories** – this is a crucial fact in the context of this cognitively oriented thesis, because theory of categorization is at the very heart of the Lakoffian cognitive linguistics. The rejection of the Aristotelian model of categories, which are supposed to be defined on the basis of necessary and sufficient conditions of membership, has a fundamental influence on the conception of word classes in general, but it is especially important for CC in particular. The reason is obvious: CC word classes do not fit in the traditional model, and if they are despite of this expected to behave in that way, the results have to be negative, which Kennedy 1964 illustratively exemplified. On the other hand, there have been noticed many properties typical for them that are anticipated and systematically explained in cognitive theories of categorization, like fuzziness of boundaries, heterogeneity, graded membership, graded centrality of particular members, most of which yield relatively easily observable prototype effects on the syntactic level. A new theory of categorization of this kind is so much the more necessary that the amorphous character of CC words enhances the fuzziness of word classes. Purely distributional criteria cannot provide them with the sharpness of inflectional classes, which can be usually detected relatively unproblematically and which often allow an easy decision of ungraded membership except for a minority of words with defective paradigms and other irregularities.⁴⁴

On the basis of pervasive evidence drawn from the CC material for validity of the cognitivist model of categorization, I assume, in accordance with Croft (2001: 104), that word classes in CC are **radial categories** as presented by Lakoff 1987 (ch. 6). Categories of this type include a core or centre comprising of the most typical, i.e. central members. These members are identical with or very close to the prototype of the category, being the best examples of it and showing characteristic prototype effects with

⁴⁴ Although I refer primarily to literature associated with Lakoffian cognitive linguistics (“experiential realists”) and Radical Construction Grammar, it does not mean at all that similar approaches to word classes are unknown from other theoretical descriptions of language, often substantially earlier than the boom of cognitive linguistics. For example, Komárek ([1978] 2006, see especially pp. 17–29) proposed a model of autosemantic word classes for Czech which is nearly identical with Croft’s with regard to theoretical points of departure and to their presumed nature – suprisingly even in many details. The cognitivist models have, among others, the advantage of a broader and well elaborated theoretical grounding.

regard to cognitive processing and to various aspects of linguistic behaviour. Outside of the central part of the category there are extensions, which are conceptually and linguistically motivated but not necessarily predictable, and they thus must be established by convention. The extensions as the less central structures of the category contain members whose behaviour may differ from the behaviour of the prototypical members in a varying degree depending on their distance from the centre and the way in which the extensions are derived from it. The radial organization may also involve more complex structures like concatenations and branching of extensions or occasionally even intersections of the "rays." As already mentioned, boundaries of CC word classes are considered as essentially fuzzy, typically with broad transition zones in which unambiguous affiliation to one major word class becomes impossible and the traditional labels become ineffective.

V.1.2 Noun, verb, adjective as universal prototypes

One of potentially controversial points is the thesis that there are no **global word classes** in the traditional sense, like noun, verb or adjective, and this is supposed to be true not only cross-linguistically but also for single languages (Croft 2001: 83). As a matter of fact, it is a logical consequence of the radically constructionalist conception: the set of constructions is different for each language and so are the classes of elements occurring in them, because they are derived from them on the basis of distributional patterns combined with morphosyntactic criteria (ibid.: 85). It is true that some constructions are by nature central for defining certain classes of words, but they need not be sufficient or decisive. This concerns mainly the constructions that encode the basic propositional act functions – **reference, predication and modification**. These are called **structural coding constructions** for parts of speech. As far as semantic classes of language units which occur in them are considered, these constructions are universally and prototypically associated with object words, action words and property words respectively: objects are referred to, actions are predicated and properties modify objects. These combinations are typologically unmarked (ibid.: 89; see below). Other constructions also play important roles, but usually on lower levels of the taxonomy. They often represent the **behavioural potential** of given lexical stems, be it inflectional or distributional, but they also may encode some minor propositional act functions. Tests against them usually lead to further splitting of the major distributional classes. A characteristic example of a minor but important construction for CC can be the comparative construction (N1_S ADJ_{COMP} yú 於 N2_{prepO} 'N1 is ADJ-er than N2'): the possibility of occurrence in this pattern separates nuclear adjectives from the rest of "intransitive verbs," or "static verbs," "attributives" etc. – simply non-gradable words (gradability is a distinctive feature of the adjective prototype; see below); on the other hand, some non-adjectives, gradable verbs for instance, can be included too. On principle, no construction should be apriori excluded from the distributional tests,

although the relevance of particular constructions and their relationship to word-class definition is diverse. Such a distributional analysis “reveals a myriad of classes, and gives us no method for deciding between parts of speech and minor syntactic categories (...) Second, the systematic application of distributional analysis does not yield a small number of parts of speech with sharp boundaries (leaving aside fixes such as subclasses and multiple class membership, which must be motivated by other means)” (ibid.: 83). Fuzzy category behavioural at the boundaries of such classes is a rule rather than an exception. Relying on an arbitrarily chosen set of test constructions for establishing word classes, sometimes extremely limited, is a misleading though common practice, criticized as methodological opportunism by Croft. It gives distorted results and reveals more about the constructions themselves than about the word classes that they are presumed to define.

Croft (2001: 73) argues that distributional analysis must be carried out **relatively to meaning**. Generally speaking, this statement might seem trivial, and the parallel investigation of syntax and meaning is one of the methodological fundamentals of Nikitina 1985, but also of Cikoski 1970 and his “images” and “mappings” to them. Yet it is evident both from Croft’s discussion of related theories (see the whole argumentation, which cannot be reproduced here, in ibid.: 67–75) and from the history of research on word classes in CC that the fact must be emphasized again. Constructions are symbolic language units consisting of both form and meaning that are found in specific configurations on all levels of complexity, and they must be analyzed accordingly. All this is obvious not only from the experience with numerous surveys in word classes, but it is grounded already on the most general theoretical level of the model of linguistic description which I work with. The relationship between syntax and semantics and the role of semantics is eventually one of the cornerstones of any grammatical theory. However, this section cannot be in any way a substitute for a well-founded theoretical argumentation of the very fundamental concepts on which cognitive and construction grammar are built. Therefore, I will refer to it only as far as it is necessary for description of the phenomena that I am interested in; the relevant treatises can be found e.g. in Langacker 1987: 11–55 and 56–98, Tuggy 2005: 233–239, or Croft 2001: 63–107.

CC belongs to languages with a very poor inventory of grammatical forms, including construction patterns, which are often homonymous as a result, and formal analysis regardless of meanings of the constructions and their elements is therefore even more meaningless than for other languages. It is also the main reason why Kennedy (1964; see especially the conclusions) was basically unsuccessful (cf. Cikoski 1970: 12–14). It is necessary to know the meaning of construction elements and observe how it is integrated into the whole of the construction and how they contribute to the overall sense of the proposition. In fact, we are able to distinguish constructions often only after we identify the meaning of its elements and their mutual relationships; actually, it may

be impossible to even isolate a construction in the flow of characters/words without this. In terms of cognitive grammar, the language structure, i.e. the construction in question is sanctioned by a constructional schema (Langacker 1987: 66), and this schema is a symbolic unit consisting of a specific schematic pairing of form and meaning. But the relationship is actually dialectic: semantic roles of the elements of the constructions are determined also on the basis of the syntactic structure of the expression, in accordance with the scaffolding metaphor (Langacker 1987: 461). One of the most striking peculiarities of CC is that a parallel analysis both of syntax and semantics is necessary in order to interpret the language structures appropriately. One must constantly keep checking syntax against semantics and vice versa, and to be always prepared to adjust and readjust them mutually, both regressively and progressively – this all on the background of a broader context, which plays an over-important role in CC because of its extreme laconicity. This is actually what Harbsmeier (1998: 138) means when he says that “[...] in disambiguating sentences one proceeds from what, in view of the context, is the more natural and current to what is less current [...] the sense of what is natural and current is acquired only by extensive experience.” A meaningful survey in word classes should be therefore aimed at studying the interactions “between a family of constructions and a family of semantic classes of lexical items” (Croft 2001: 86), in CC even more necessarily than in other cases.

I subscribe under the hypothesis that noun, verb and other common word-class labels represent universal **typological prototypes** that constitute the central points in the actual word categories in particular languages rather than universal syntactic classes. In the radical construction grammar, the internal organization of the categories is supposed to be universal too, but I would expect a certain amount of cross-linguistic variation over a set of universal rules. The boundaries and concrete morphosyntactic behaviour of their members is in any case a matter of convention specific for each language. See Croft’s (2001: 103) hypothesis:

Grammatical Category Structure Hypothesis: the internal category structure of a grammatical category (e.g. a prototype point in conceptual space and links to its extensions) is provided by the universal theory of grammar, while its boundaries are provided by the particular language grammar.

Prototypical nouns, verbs and adjectives conform to the traditional notional definitions of the basic word classes: nouns denote things, verbs denote actions and adjectives denote properties. Semantically, nouns are characterized by non-relationality, stativity, permanence and non-gradability; verbs are relational, processual, transitory and non-gradable, and adjectives are relational, static, permanent and gradable (see the table 2.2 in Croft 2001: 87). Adjectives are supposed to occupy an intermediary position between nouns and verbs, sharing some features of both. For example, adjectives in

modification, which is their prototypical propositional act function, both enrich reference of the modified elements and secondarily assert a fact about it. From the conceptual point of view, properties have correspondingly some features common both with objects and actions: most importantly, they are relational like actions but static like objects (see Croft 2001: 96–97). A more detailed, Langacker-based description of the conceptual basis of mainly nouns, which are central to this thesis, but secondarily also of the other two major word classes along with its multifarious modifications can be found in the sections V.3 and VI.2. It is however necessary to keep in mind that the particular conceptual construals of phenomena of any kind may substantially rely on their real nature but that in the end they are subject to conventions of the given human speech community. In this respect, a scientific analysis of objective state of affairs and categorization based on its results are of a dubitable value.

The language-specific syntactic classes, obtained on the basis of distributional analysis carried out relatively to meaning, can be conveniently displayed as regions in language-specific **semantic maps** on the universal **conceptual space**, a structured representation of functional structures and their relationships to each other. This space has many dimensions, but for our present purposes, the dimensional space involving two relevant dimensions is sufficient: one dimension is represented by semantic classes, ranging from prototypical objects to prototypical actions, and the other one by propositional act functions, primarily reference, modification and predication.⁴⁵ The territories which the particular syntactic classes occupy are supposed to form connected regions (semantic map connectivity hypothesis; Croft 2001: 96). As already assumed, certain regions, i.e. combinations of semantic classes and their functions, are unmarked. This is what is meant when I sometimes speak of “domestic” functions of word categories. All the other combinations are typologically marked.

V.1.3 Typological markedness

Markedness is a very important concept. It derives from the assumption that some basic rules of the relationships between form and meaning are cross-linguistically valid universals (see Croft 2001: 89–92), and it is based on observations made on a vast sample of languages. These generalizations involve above all hypotheses about a connection between typological markedness and formal (morphological) markedness. As for structural coding constructions, the hypothesis predicts that the marked combinations – of semantic classes and propositional act functions in our case – are encoded by at least as many morphemes as the unmarked ones. Moreover, the unmarked combinations frequently exhibit **zero structural coding**: no additional morphemes are needed to express the function.

⁴⁵ Cf. also Komárek 2006: 31.

An analogical expectation concerns behavioural potential. Its concept has been introduced by Croft to capture primarily inflectional aspects of stems, from which follows that it is, at least generally speaking, important to word class analysis as well. Although inflectional constructions refer to conceptual dimensions of other kinds (involving usually the traditional grammatical categories of inflected words, like number, case, time etc.), they secondarily refer to the categories defined in the basic word-class space by semantic classes and propositional act functions as well. As for behavioural potential, the hypothesis reads that "if a construction encoding the behavioral potential of members of a grammatical category is found in that category, that it is found with at least the unmarked member of that category for that construction" (see Croft 2001: 90–91). In other words, the central members of categories tend to have a richer behavioural potential (inflection, distribution) than the peripheral members, which are frequently subject to behavioural deficiencies and irregularities as a result. This is also in accordance with cognitive theory of categorization (cf. V.1.1).

V.2 Situation in CC

V.2.1 CC semantic map and its effectivity

First of all, we must ask whether we, using the analytic tools which we are provided with by Croft, are able to draw a meaningful semantic map for CC on the universal conceptual space. This question arises immediately especially when we compare the exemplary cases of English and Lango (Croft 2001: 99 and 101), because we are aware of the absence of morphology in the traditional sense in this language. What more, virtually no formal marking of grammatical categories is obligatory, although there are of course grammatical words that can be employed to overtly express the meanings encoded in other languages by inflection. And what is still more discomfoting is the fact that there are no necessarily formally distinct constructions encoding the main propositional act functions. In spite of these problems, I think that with a certain amount of creative effort, the semantic map for CC can be, at least in a coarse-grained shape at this stage of research, produced and that it can quite meaningfully capture generalizations about the relationships between meaning, form and function. It also allows for a new and insightful interpretation of the phenomena related to HY, often with more or less surprising results.

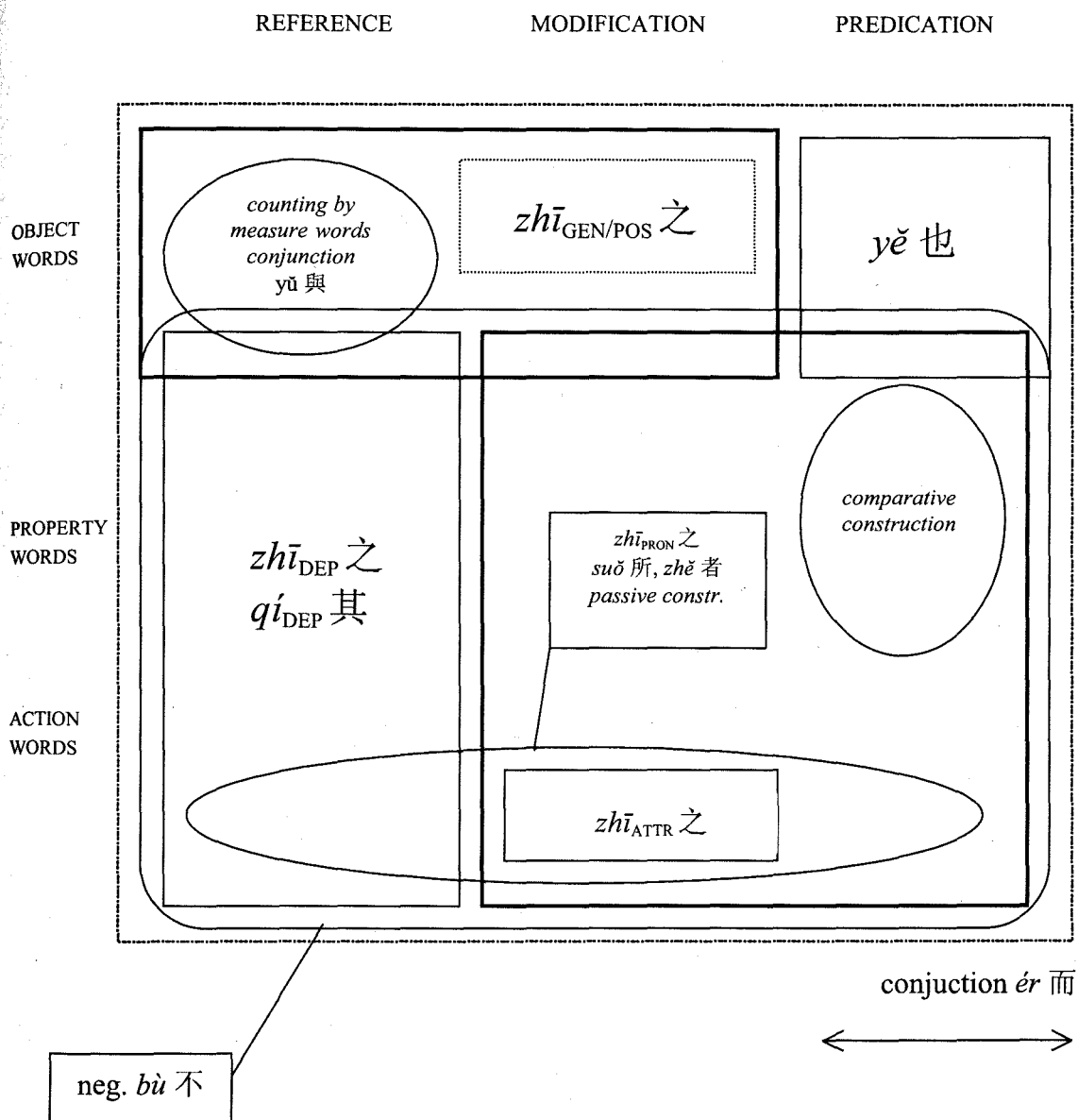
Structural coding

It is definitely true that in the original sense, there can be hardly any talk about real structural coding constructions in CC. As a consequence, zero structural coding cannot be systematically used as a formal symptom for typological unmarkedness of the combinations of semantic class and propositional act function.

But in fact, there are some scarce possibilities how to mark the respective functions, e.g. the marker of dependent predicative constructions *zhī*_{DEP} 之 may encode dependency of a predicative construction and transform it to a complex referring expression, the genitive particle *zhī*_{GEN} 之 may encode modification by object words, the attributive particle⁴⁶ *zhī*_{ATT} 之 is strongly preferred for encoding modification by action words and it is practically always required for encoding modification by “transitive verbs,” i.e. action words with two and more actants, or the modal particle *yě* 也 which occurs almost regularly in predication of object words. But they are facultative in principle and therefore they might be considered as auxiliary signals which stress the corresponding functions and relationships rather than a kind of usual encoding. The use of the attributive particle is moreover governed by other factors too, mainly by rythmical patterns (cf. p. 56 and fn. 31). However, if we make the semantic map on the above-mentioned conceptual space, referring to the handful of potential structural coding at least in terms of preference, frequency and expectations, we would find out that it agrees with the assumptions made in Croft’s grammar (see the table 1 on the next page). As we have nothing better to depend on, I accept these formal means to mark the typologically marked combinations as regular though specific structural coding, and I include them in the semantic map correspondingly.

⁴⁶ The graph *zhī* 之 is used to record a diverse group of morphemes. Besides 1. archaizing demonstrative pronoun, 2. universal third-person pronoun in object position and 3. the transitive verb ‘to go’, it is used to write a bundle of cognate particles of related functions. Although many scholars regard them as one and the same morpheme on the ground of their formal identity and functional relatedness, I disagree with this practice. At least the marker of dependent predicative constructions (subordinator) and modification particle are two distinct words with different functions, in spite of the fact that their formal identity is not incidental (for the relationship of subordination and nominalization, often attributed to the subordinative *zhī* [cf. III.2.2, III.2.3, III.2.4], see Croft 2001: 354–361; for rejection of the nominalization theory see Hé Lèshì 1996, and also V.2.2, p. 100). The distinction between the genitive and attributive *zhī* is an open issue.

Table 1.



Commentary to the table 1:

The dotted line encompassing the whole conceptual space represents the fact that in principle there is no overt structural coding necessary for encoding of any combination. The solid boxes represent either possible or more or less strongly preferred encoding. Reference to an object and predication of an action are unproblematic, they never require formal marking. In object predication, the particle *yě* 也 is so wide-spread that it has been occasionally understood as a copula. The region with the facultative marker of dependency $zhī_{DEP}$ 之 including both action words and

property words in the referential function and the region with zero coding for action words and property words without the preference for *yě* both suggest a close affinity of syntactic behaviour of the two semantic class, which *nota bene* blend in each other in the semantic dimension. Precisely for this reason they have been sometimes lumped together into one lexical category of verbs, property words having been assigned the label of intransitive or stative verbs: this is by the way a nice example of the lumping practice which is criticized by Croft (2001: 84) as methodological opportunism resulting from ignoring all other than structural coding constructions.

The middle section reserved for modification poses a problem. Transitive verbs (traditionally speaking) almost never modify object words because the head could be easily confounded with a syntactic object. If they do, it is usually with an object expressed by the 3p pronoun *zhī*_{PRON} 之 and then the attributive particle *zhī*_{ATT} 之 is obligatory, e.g. 止之之道 ‘the way how to stop it’ (HF 8.10.4). The unmarked combination is never overtly coded in accordance with our expectations under the normal circumstances, in which a monosyllabic word modifies another monosyllable. In case that the attributive particle occurs, it signifies a non-typical function and meaning of the modifier, like in Kennedy’s *zhì zhī shì* 智之事 (see p. 56).⁴⁷ It typically marks the modifier as an abstract object word, or more precisely an item of a systematically polysemous property word belonging to the semantic class of object words: see the section on systematic polysemy of property words on p. 102. However, the situation substantially changes if the modifier is polysyllabic (typically disyllabic) or if it is complex, often consisting of negated intransitive verbs, e.g. *bù sǐ zhī yào* 不死之藥 ‘[not-dying ATT drug >] drug of immortality’ (HF 22.17.1). Then the insertion of the *zhī*_{ATT} is a rule. In most cases, it can be interpreted as formal marking of typologically marked combination: except for the rare cases of disyllabic property words in the function of the modifier, where the reasons are rythmical, the complex modifying expressions depart from prototypical property words, though they may contain them. Yet it is worth registering that these expressions usually also disturb the rythmical ballance, like in the case of herb of immortality, and that insertion of the particle may thus be for rythmical reasons too.

As for modification, another region in which the particle *zhī* 之 can be employed is the intersection with the semantic class of object words. Again, in case that a monosyllabic object word modifies another object word, zero coding is most usual, though again, in other cases the particle is preferred to allow creation of a rythmically appropriate pattern (but see Mǎ Jiànzhōng 2000: 246–254 for details and exceptions). But the *zhī* is regularly inserted also between two monosyllabic words. Its function has been often descibed as genitive; possibly the most frequent function is that of possessive.

⁴⁷ There are however exceptions to this rule, cf. e.g. *sú zhī mín* 俗之民 ‘vulgar people’ (HF 20.36.8), where the attributive particle is inserted between a property word and an object word without an detectable change in the meaning of the phrase; the word *sú* has a nominal meaning ‘custom’, but it is obviously irrelevant here (note that *sú zhī mín* is the counterpart of *shèngrén* 聖人 ‘sage’ in this passage).

Although I have not made a deep detailed survey in this respect, I would generalize the meaning of this *zhī* as separative, quite in Humboldt's vein: I presume that it simply signifies that the modifier is not used like a qualitative property word and stresses that there are two distinct concepts for things which are only secondarily combined together in a more or less clear relationship, and thus that it involves a different imagery (cf. Langacker 1987: 110–113). The distinction between the complex nominals and genitive in English (*truck driver* vs. *the driver of the truck*, *John's driver*) is an almost perfect parallel. I assigned the index GEN for the abbreviation of genitive to the *zhī* with this function, but the exact term does not make difference now.

What is more important is its relation to the "attributive" particle. Are they distinct particles, or is it one particle? What more, what about the distribution of *zhī* 之 or *zhī*'s in the modification zone in the space? If they were the same particle, how to explain that they do not form a connected region according to the semantic map connectivity hypothesis, or at least that they have two centres of prominence (transitive verbs and "genitive" of object words) and the unmarked space is posited between them? Although this would be violation of the hypothetic rule, it conforms to the expectation that the typologically unmarked point includes zero marking, while the marked regions either allow or show preference for coding by a particle; the problem would be only that in the both unconnected regions the same grammatical morpheme is used. Is it unconceivable?

There are at least three possibilities of explanation: 1.) we have two distinct particles, and thus the connectivity rule does not apply; 2.) it is one and the same particle, but it does not represent genuine structural coding of modification, and thus the hypotheses do not apply to it either; 3.) the connectivity hypothesis is wrong, because it does not effectively predict the form-meaning relationship in CC and similar isolating languages. Frankly speaking, I do not know. A full-fledged research on this topic would be needed in order to give a well-grounded answer, and I definitely cannot solve problematic aspects of topography of conceptual space within the framework of theoretical prerequisites to the survey in HY. My suggestions about the semantic map of CC are only tentative and should be taken as an impulse for further investigation in this line of research. In any case, this issue has only a negligible impact on ascertaining word classes in CC. It nevertheless might be that Humboldt's (1827: 32) definition of *zhī* as a *particule séparative* is not far from its real function.

The **dimension of semantic classes** is of course grossly over-simplified. In the same way as word classes (i.e. distributional classes), semantic classes are radial categories of a complex structure organized around the central prototype of noun, verb, adjective etc. These categories have fuzzy boundaries too. In this two-dimensional overview, this complexity cannot be rendered, and it would obscure the main generalizations. Though semantic classes are not word classes, there is a relatively close relationship between both. Structuring and mapping of word classes is motivated by the

structures present in corresponding semantic classes. Both the structures and the relationships are not fully predictable, but there are regularities discernible which give a good sense in terms of cognitive processing (cf. Bisang 2009: 46–49 for pragmatically determined stereotypical inferences). What is both evident and important is the observation that peripheral members of semantic classes typically project to peripheral members of distributional classes, that is, they often show fuzzy syntactic behaviour. This is represented in the semantic map by an overlap of respective regions; in CC, it becomes more visible in the map of behavioural potential.

Behavioural potential

In an isolating language like CC there is naturally no inflectional behavioural potential either. However, there is a relatively limited set of non-inflectional constructions that have been traditionally used to recognize syntactic functions of given words or expressions in a sentence – for instance, coordination by the conjunctions *ér* 而 vs. *yǔ* 與, negation by the particles *bù* 不 vs. *wèi* 未 vs. *fēi* 非, counting by measure-words, the comparative construction (see above), passive constructions of several types, transitive and ditransitive constructions, relativization by the pronouns *zhě* 者 and *suǒ* 所, or preference of the modal particle *yě* 也 or *yǐ* 矣, although not all of them are absolutely reliable – see Harbsmeier (1985) and Harbsmeier (1998: 131) for further discussion. These are after all the only formal criteria that sinologists are provided with, and they have employed them in syntactic analysis as a result, given that they did not want to rely on semantics only – or, in extreme, at all.

The first problem is to decide whether these constructions, or at least some of them, can be counted as behavioural potential constructions, although they have little common with inflectional morphology or periphrastic constructions in the terms in which Croft 2001 introduced them. With a certain amount of reservations, I would answer that some of them can. Then they are not inflectional nor periphrastic but distributional, and this is actually what Bisang (2009: 16) points out. For CC, an analysis based practically exclusively on distributional patterns is eventually characteristic. Note that Cikoski (1970: 23) too redefines the traditional concept of morphosyntax and adds distributional behaviour combined with mapping from one image to another (see *ibid.*) to its scope for purposes of word class analysis in CC. I consider this approach as justified.

None the less, the second problem is that it must be made clear whether the particular behavioural potential construction is really defined over a certain well-delimited semantic class, or a certain propositional act or function, or cuts across them, and how the constructions that cannot be smoothly explained as constructions encoding behavioural potential in the conceptual space with the two dimensions should be incorporated into the system. What is striking in this context is the fact that they have

been usually used indiscriminately in this respect, which is after all no surprise as lexical and semantic classes have been often confounded with propositional act functions, and this is also reflected in the ambiguous terminology in some of the authors (cf. III.2.4, p. 58).

For example, the coordinative conjunctions *yǔ*_{CONJ} 與 and *ér* 而 operate contrastively in two regions delineated basically by propositional act functions: *yǔ*_{CONJ} coordinates two objects which are referred to and *ér* coordinates two predicative expressions. This is important, because these predicative expressions can be lexically object words or complex nominals, like in *shēn mù ér jiā huì* 深目而豨喙 'to have deep-set eyes and boar's snout' (ZZ 10.4.8.2), where both *shēn mù* 'deep-set eyes' and *jiā huì* 'boar's snout' are by nature predicative nominals occurring in the special construction described by Zhāng Wéngúo: see the section III.1.2., p. 42. Thus, this behavioural potential construction does not relate primarily to semantic classes, and cannot be used to discriminate them, as there is no contrast inside of the predicative region.

On the other hand, the possibility of co-occurrence with the object-substitute 3p pronoun *zhī*_{PRON} 之, possibility of passivization (and to by overtly marked by the facultative passive marker *jiàn*_{PAS} 見) or relativization by the pronoun *suǒ*_{PRON} 所 that substitutes an object in the original syntactic structure, is a typical trait of the semantic class of action words with at least two actant positions in their semantic structure, the second one (Langacker's *landmark* 1987: 231–236) being provided with the slot for a prepositionless object, i.e. traditional transitive verbs. Similarly, relativization by the pronoun *zhě*_{PRON} 者 which substitutes the subject is acceptable only for relational words having at least one actant position in their semantic structure, and it thus shows the behavioural potential of property words and action words. These types of constructions, as a result, relate (at least from the analytical point of view) primarily to semantic classes, not to propositional act functions.

As far as negation is considered, it is another complex issue which deserves a special treatise, and its description in the framework of radical construction grammar will be probably more convenient in a separate domain of the conceptual space. Moreover, the precise nature and function of the particular members of the set of negative particles has been discussed many times in sinology and there is no agreement about details and theoretical interpretation, although the overall picture is fairly clear. My working hypothesis for this moment is that *bù* 不 negates immediately the expression which it is preposed to, and this expression must be relational – that is, a property word or an action word (whereby the syntactic closeness of property words and action words becomes still more evident). *Fēi* 非 negates the whole predicate, the whole assertion, not a particular word, and therefore it is used always in nominal predicates, but of course, it can negate a however complex predicate of an arbitrary inner structure. This means that the word negated by *bù* is always construed as relational and in this

sense it is a hint for word class discrimination, while word-class affiliation of the expression negated by *fēi* does not make difference.

Counting constructions are also very important, for they represent the behavioural potential for typical concrete object words which can be counted by measure words, but also for mass and abstract object words, whose meaning becomes generic as a rule when modified by a numeral. See Harbsmeier (1998: 137).

At last, the comparative construction mentioned already earlier is equally of importance, because, logically, only gradable words can occur within it. And since gradability is a prototypical semantic feature of adjectives, it distinguishes genuine property words from the rest of relational words in CC. In this language, the comparative construction serves as one of few, if not the only one, distributional tests discriminating core property words from peripheral property words, "stative verbs" and core action words, otherwise they really seem to form one category. In this sense, CC does have adjectives, traditionally speaking, although they might be considered (if ever the possibility is contemplated) a subclass of intransitive verbs in lumping approaches.

Summary

It is evident that although it is necessary to overcome some difficulties caused by the isolating type of CC, a semantic map can be drawn on the conceptual space in one or in a limited number of domains of several dimensions, and that it is able to offer an insight into the relationships between semantics, syntax and propositional acts in this language from the point of view of typology and language universals. It is also clear that it basically conforms to the principles assumed by the radical construction grammar, although there remains a considerable amount of uncertainty about the details of topography of the conceptual space, the ways of integration of some syntactic constructions into the map or of accommodation of some of the formal symptoms (grammatical words) which have been traditionally used to ascertain parts of speech in CC. I think that Bisang's assumption that structural coding is of no relevance in CC is a bit too extreme, while there is no doubt that inflectional behavioural potential is irrelevant (Bisang 2009: 15–17); moreover, although he is aware of the distributional behaviour potential, he does not employ it in the discussion about pre-categoriality of CC lexemes.

At this stage, the very theoretical framework is still coarse-grained and is rather a sketch than an elaborated theory (see Croft 2001: 93, 97), and as far as I know, my excursion is the first attempt to at least consider the possibility of producing the semantic map for CC. Under these circumstances, I cannot offer more than suggestions about it, draw attention to several guide-lines for further research and point out the main problems. In spite of this, even this basic concept of a CC semantic map will be useful for explaining the phenomena associated with word-class flexibility in this language. I hope that it will be an impulse for a more detailed elaboration of the issue.

In the table, there are discernible overlaps of regions and overreaches of single lines but also of their bundles across the boundaries of semantic classes in the vertical dimension. The former one represents the expected fuzzy behaviour of lexemes which are semantically peripheral, inhabiting the relatively broad transition zones.

An excellent example of a distinct subclass of words that is semantically located in the transition zone between object words and property words is the one which is called *Zustandshauptwörter* by Gabelentz (1881: 342; cf. III.2.2, p. 53) and *abstract nouns* by Cikoski (1970: 112–122; cf. III.2.4, p. 61), and includes word like *yì* 義 ‘righteous, righteousness’, whose behaviour is absolutely promiscuous in respect to the syntactic differences between typical object words and typical property words. The chosen coding is however not arbitrary: it accentuates either the nominal or the adjectival aspect of the concept expressed by the word, which confirms the role of alternative imagery as presented by Langacker (1987: 110–113). Their promiscuity is enabled by the fact that the semantic difference between a virtue characterized by a certain relationship to a norm and being in the relationship to the norm does not consist in the semantic base but only in the type of profiling (corresponding to the major semantic classes), which may be relatively easily shifted, especially in CC where it lexically plays only a minor role (see V.2.2). The virtue is a hypostatized, reified property, and unlike usual properties, these properties were so culturally prominent that they were specially conceptualized as abstract entities (cf. also VI.2).

On the other hand, the map also shows the notorious absence of a clear-cut sharp boundary between property words and action words: in many respects, property words behave in the same way as action words, and there is virtually no difference between ungradable property words and inherently one-actant action words, which we may call stative verbs in accordance with tradition.

All the fuzziness of CC language categories is in addition complicated by relatively high word-class flexibility and extensive systematic polysemy (see V.2.2). It is expressed by Harbsmeier (1998: 138) in the following way; the opinion conforms by the way with cognitivists’ theses about the character of categories in general and of linguistic categories in particular:

When one sees a Classical Chinese word, this creates a spectrum or field of syntactic expectations, and these expectations can be stronger or weaker as the case may be. And these fields of syntactic expectation may vary individually and subtly for each word in the lexicon, so that one may end up with a tailor-made special word classes for each lexical item. The word will then be distributed in a categorial continuum of syntactic tendencies.

Now the question arises what happens if these expectations are violated. It is so the more interesting that this occurs strikingly often in CC in comparison with familiar IE languages, and especially with Greek and Latin, on which the traditional grammar is built. It is also associated with the absence of obligatory structural coding, because then

we must ask whether there are no symptoms of typologically marked combinations and what role this concept plays. For if there were really no symptoms for them, CC might seem an amorphous language without any distinct lexical and grammatical categories and restrictions on use of words as it has been sometimes asserted. I deal with this at the beginning of the next section.

V.2.2 Word-class flexibility and polysemy

Typological markedness in CC

Regardless of the uncertainties regarding the formal symptoms of typological markedness in CC, it is evident that there is a special kind of markedness present even if it is not overtly expressed and thereby easily captured. We certainly feel, if we have the experience, that some configurations of form, meaning and function are more usual than others and that the uncommon cases are special, often unexpected and thus marked in the broadest sense of the word. It is self-evident from the Chinese mainstream on HY too, which distinguishes between the *běnyòng* – the unmarked use of words – and the *huóyòng* – the marked combinations of lexemes and their roles in constructions (III.1.1). We can also see that there is something more or less substantial happening on the semantic level in the marked combinations and that there is a certain amount of additional intellectual effort needed for appropriate processing of such expressions.

Certainly, the concept of functional preference, which is employed by Harbsmeier, plays an important role in description of CC grammar. I find useful to quote the whole passage concerned with it (Harbsmeier 1998: 138):

Classical Chinese lexical items not only have rigid grammatical properties, as we have just seen, they also show clear ‘preferences’ for certain grammatical functions that in principle they could also perform. The notion of functional preference as applied to words is not easy. There is no suggestion that word have desires and preferences, rather that speakers who use words have structured expectations concerning the most likely functions a word will perform. We say a word in a language shows a preference for a grammatical function to the extent we feel we can attribute to the native speakers of that language an expectation the word, *ceteris paribus*, will have that function.

Functional preference is in a close relationship to what Bisang describes as pragmatic markedness, although it refers to language-specific word categories. Pragmatic markedness is “based on how object-denoting lexemes and action-denoting lexemes are stereotypically associated with nouns and verbs as represented by their syntactic positions” (Bisang 2009: 17–18); it is presumed to be a fundamental universal conceptual category. It captures in general terms the motivated relationship between the semantic content of a lexeme and its syntactic behaviour, which I speak of in the

subsection on the semantic class dimension of the semantic map (V.2.1, p. 90). Functional preference of particular words in CC is thus basically dependent on their semantic class membership, and observable effects of both Harbsmeier's preference and Bisang's pragmatic markedness are discernible as different patterns of distribution and frequency of occurrence in particular constructions. Cf. Bisang (2009: 19): "The occurrence of individual words in the V-slot and in the N-slot and the frequency with which this is attested in texts seem to be correlated with the degree of stereotypicality with which a word is associated with these slots." As a result, it is also evident that the possible markedness arises from a discrepancy between the meaning and the function. It could be thus acceptable to say that the markedness in CC has the form of semantic discrepancy.

This situation implies our strong dependence on statistics of occurrence which I draw attention in the introduction, because in CC these patterns of preference are the only reliable analytic tool we dispose of as there is no typical morphology present. Given the fact that the data are considerably limited by the extent and character of the corpus of extant texts, the objective impossibility of description of many less frequent lexemes is inevitable.

In fact, there are **two subtypes of markedness** and (at least apparent) semantic discrepancy, which must be distinguished. The first one involves basically only a horizontal move in our semantic map, that is, only a change in propositional act function with a constant semantic content of the lexical unit or complex expression. The second one involves either a purely vertical or diagonal move, that is, a change in the inner semantic structure of the lexeme itself with regard to or regardless of propositional act function. While the first one does not play an important role in CC, in which there is almost no structural coding for propositional act functions and lexemes are used quite freely in respect to them, the second one supposes a semantic derivation of a varying range and is felt as a pronounced shift in meaning and an unusual, unpreferred combination of a lexeme and its function. The asymmetry of the two subtypes is caused by the fact that CC systematically (the word-class flexibility does not in principle disturb this systematicity) distinguishes different semantic content by form (primarily by distinct lexical stems, but secondarily by constructions with nominalizing elements, e.g. the relative pronouns *zhě* and *suǒ*), while it systematically (except for the few preferred means of encoding in table 1) ignores different propositional act functions of one lexical stem. In highly inflected languages this is not the case and different functions require special forms, whereby the horizontal shifts become salient as well (see below). In this respect, I consider Chén Chéngzé's (1982: 66 nn.) distinction between the *běnyòng de huóyòng* 本用的活用 'live use [in the scope] of the original use' and the *fēiběnyòng huóyòng* 非本用活用 'live use outside [of the scope] of the original use' as a brilliant analysis, and though the passage in his grammar is taken as the first really modern conception of HY, this distinction has been regularly ignored in

much of later literature. Strictly speaking, Chén's *běnyòng de huóyòng* does not precisely correspond merely to changes in propositional act function but refers also to other minor shifts, e.g. intransitive use of transitive verbs. However, the boundary between the two kinds of HY leads between what is systematic and pervasive in the language and what is not and must be paid special attention in interpretation.

Zhāng Wénguó (2005: 12–13) criticizes the very concept of *běnyòng de huóyòng* as an unwelcome result of closely tying up lexical classes and grammatical functions. But it depends on the point of view and the whole context of the particular grammatical system. As far as the semantic level is considered, Chén was right that slight semantic shifts take place in the typologically marked point of the conceptual space even if they are not formally expressed in CC and are systematic and thus unmarked in the framework of the language. Already Mǎ Jiànzhōng in 1898 was aware of this: see II.3.1, p. 28, and also fn. 10, and it conforms to the universal which Croft (2001: 73) formulates in the following way: “If there is a semantic shift in zero coding of an occurrence of a word (i.e. flexibility) in a part-of-speech construction, even if it is sporadic and irregular, it is always towards the semantic class prototypically associated with the propositional act function [...]” He adds (*ibid.*: 74–75):

Even when there is no major semantic shift, there is usually a subtle semantic shift towards the semantic class prototypical for the propositional act function. For instance, predicate nominals do not denote an object in itself, but rather a relation [...] Object words as modifiers must also be construed as relational, and become less object-like the more modifier-like their syntax (...). Likewise, the more predicate-like the syntax of object words and property words in predication, the more transitory and less inherent is the property asserted (...).

I basically agree with this, only with that reservation that the shift in these cases actually comes from the meaning contributed by the concrete construction (cf. Bisang 2009: 2). The shift does not occur within the semantic structure of the lexical item but is added to it, and only the result of this addition as a compound whole gives the impression of the shift. In some languages the constructional meaning is embodied in overt morphology, which may be even a part of the internal morphological structure of an independent derived word, in CC it is not.

Systematic indifference to propositional act functions in CC

In inflected IE languages lexical meaning usually must overlap with constructional meaning, so that there arises no substantial discrepancy between the lexeme in a proper morphological shape, supplying a relatively precise pre-configuration of both the semantic base and the profiling, and the function and its semantic implications. As a result of this preconfigured correspondence, practically no effort is necessary for interpretation of the expressions. In traditional terms, there is a

relatively neat correspondence between word classes and syntactic functions. One of the most striking consequences is the extensive systematic derivation either across word-class boundaries, or within their confines (called inflectional morphology in that case): we have denominal adjectives, deadjectival nouns, adverbs derived regularly from adjectives, verbal nouns, but also participles, gerunds and infinitives. If there is involved only a shift in type of profiling while the rest of the semantic structure remains unaltered (or in other words, the morphology prepares the stem merely for a different propositional act function), the formation is more or less paradigmatic, and the less pronounced the shift is, the more paradigmatic the formation tends to be. Thus for example participles, which modify the meaning of the verbal stem only slightly, are paradigmatic and are considered a grammatical form of verb, though their intermediate position between verbs and nouns has been traditionally reflected. Derivation of adverbs from adjectives is usually regular and paradigmatic as well, because the difference between their general semantic structure is extremely small (see VII.1.1). In languages which lack gerunds or other similar verbal forms, plain deverbal nouns as functional substitutes for them are likewise derived relatively regularly.

In CC, on the other hand, the correspondence between the nature of the lexeme and propositional act function does not matter much. The constructions encoding the propositional act functions (though mostly by zero) are always prepared to provide the lexeme with the needed profiling regardless of its original semantic structure. As already said, except for the typologically unmarked regions in which the semantic structure of lexemes conforms to the semantic class prototypically associated with the given propositional act function, there is always a certain amount of discrepancy. This discrepancy is bridged by the meaning of the construction, and this meaning and the practice of integrating both meanings in one whole is established by convention.

This is a **systematic trait of CC**, and there can be therefore really no talk of uncommon functions or HY in these cases – I think that the term *běnyòng de huóyòng* is quite fitting. And although Humboldt was wrong in his opinion that CC has no grammatical categories or word classes (but we could agree that the categories have a considerably different character and manifestations from the ones common in European languages), he was certainly right in his observation that Chinese words are in a way similar to bare roots in IE languages (he speaks of Sanskrit) and that they are *in statu absoluto*, referring only to “ideas” (Humboldt 1827: 16–18; see also III.2.1). However, whether the more or less subtle distinctions like *perseverat* x *perseverare* x *perseverandum* x *perseverans* x *perseverativus* x *perseveratio* do not play any substantial role in Chinese thinking (more precisely, in conceptualization of reality) because they are not systematically distinguished by formal means of the language is an open issue.

A lexicological perspective offers a complementary view. The formal poverty of CC was the reason that the less prominent distinctions had not been systematically lexicalized as distinct words, and there are therefore no paradigmatically formed denominal adjectives, deadjectival adverbs etc. As already said, these components are conventionally provided by the particular constructions, or by systematic polysemy for some parts (see below). As a result, CC lacks an immense amount of lexemes current in most IE languages. There may be cases of derivation within the framework of the ancient morphology, but these are not paradigmatic and do not directly relate to the morphology associated with propositional act functions, or traditionally speaking, with syntax; this morphology did not trigger a shift in the type of profile but altered the constitutive semantic structure of the linguistic unit, typically including the semantic base as well.

Let us first look at the example of the Latin subregion [reference, modification] x [object words, property words]. Formation of denominal adjectives can be viewed either generatively, relatively to the nominal stem, like *urb-s* 'city' → *urb-an-us* 'urbane', in that sense that the suffix is added in the typologically marked point of the conceptual space, that is, when the noun *urbs* modifies another noun. In this case, the adjectival morphology accentuates the more property-like nature of the modification; the word *urbs* can naturally modify another noun also in an adnominal case, the genitive *urb-is* in Latin, and along with retaining nominal morphology it retains the more object-like nature too.⁴⁸ Or it can be viewed lexically, relatively to the adjectival stem *urban-us*, and then it exhibits zero structural coding in the modificatory function. In other words, the overt coding that enables the stems to occur in the typologically marked combinations may be at the same time derivational morphology which produces new stems, though compound ones. These new stems as distinct independent lexemes can again enter the morphological and functional cycle, but of course with a changed position in the dimension of semantic classes. Thus the property *urban-us*, new vertically at the level of property words in our semantic map, may be referred to by the deadjectival noun *urban-itas* 'urbanity'. And this word may be again seen from the two perspectives, and it can be recycled as a new nominal stem, a distinct and independent lexeme, and this new stem can be referred to, it can modify another noun or be nominally predicated. There are naturally restrictions for these derived lexemes which avoid an endless *circulus vitiosus* of recurrent derivation. Thus *urbanitas* can modify nouns only as a morphological noun by the genitive case *urbanitat-is*, and is not allowed normally to form the dadaistic "deadjectival denominal adjective" *urb-an-itat-an-us*. This is by the way in accordance with expected prototype effects: derived stems like *urbanitas* are less central both morphologically and semantically than underived stems and are therefore morphologically less potent and semantically less flexible.

⁴⁸ This is very similar to the difference between unmarked modification of object word by another object word and modification marked by the genitive particle *zhī*_{GEN} 之 in CC; see p. 89.

In CC, the possibility of such lexical recycling is limited to individual cases or relatively small lexical subclasses, but then it is a matter of purely lexical derivation (see below). The reason is that it has not the support in form and that, as has been said, the final meaning of a lexeme in a construction is the summary of the meanings of both. And this complex is transitory, because it is established on the syntactic basis. Unlike in Latin, a CC object word does not really become a property word in the modificatory function, and it thus cannot be secondarily referred to as to a property. We have *urbs* – *urbanus* – *urbanitas*, but only *mǎ* (+ REF) ‘horse; *equus*’ – [*mǎ* + MOD] ‘horse- (+ N), horsey; *equinus*’: the pattern of the type [[*mǎ* + MOD] + REF] ‘being horsey, horseyness; *esse equinus*, *equinitas*’ is extremely rare.⁴⁹ In other words, without the support of the morphological intermediary step the double move in the map is impossible, as it is not conceivable, except for some exceptions (see fn. 50), to combine two constructions encoding propositional act functions at the same time. As a result, CC exhibits remarkable lexical economy.

All the other shifts beyond the scope of difference in propositional act function have to be lexical in nature, with considerably limited systematicity and regularity typical for the domain of derivational word formation. These derivations are not results of additional meanings contributed by constructions, but occur within confines of lexemes. They very often modify not only the profile but also the semantic base of lexical meanings. In CC, some of the derivations occurred in very early times, and they had been therefore distinguished in writing: these are the etymological series of *tóngyuáncí* 同源詞. Except for them, lexical development in CC took the form of polysemy, either individual or systematic one. The derived meaning, if enough conceptually salient and frequent, becomes lexicalized as another item in the polysemous structure of the lexeme. These items of one single lexeme may belong to different major semantic classes in one possible perspective, but there is the possibility to consider this situation as unacceptable and take the items differing in this respect as distinct cognate words of the same form. I deal with this issue in the next section.

Remark on the so called “nominalization”:

In the light of what has been said in this section, the term “nominalization” for predicative expressions and whole clauses which are referred to either without any overt

⁴⁹ In different languages, paradigmatic formation of denominal adjectives is not equally common. In Slavic languages, which do not support pure analytic juxtaposition nor composition like e.g. German, this formation is extraordinarily extensive, and there are often various alternative suffixes with slight semantic nuances employable. The most general denominal adjectives are traditionally called “relation adjectives” (*vztahová adjektiva* in Czech), for the property which they denote is defined only relatively to the nominal root as ‘N-like’, ‘having a relation to N’. It is evident from the example with *mǎ* too: most of the counterparts to the property-like use of *mǎ* would be complex nominals in English, while in Czech there is the basic relation adjective *koň-ský* (derived from *kůň*) as the systematic counterpart, besides more specialized derivations like *koň-ovitý*, literally ‘hors-oid’.

marking or with marking by the particle of dependency *zhī*_{DEP} 之 between the subject and predicate is controversial. The expression in question might be theoretically considered as nominalized in that special sense that the act of reference itself triggers the slight semantic shift to the semantic class prototypically associated with it, i.e. object word. However, I have tried to argue that this shift is actually the contribution of the referring construction, which is added to the meaning of the lexeme, not inserted into it. Under these circumstances, the lexeme itself does not change and does not become an object word, or “noun.”⁵⁰

I suspect that the term and conception of “nominalization” is a consequence of the Western linguistic optics for larger part, for the act of reference typically requires the lexically pre-configured semantic structure of a noun or complex nominal in most European languages (see above). But do gerunds or that-complements represent nominalization? But what more, why do not the scholars who speak of nominalization in this case describe the opposite construction in the conceptual space, nominal predicate (*N₁ N₂ yě* 也) as adjectivization, as the noun apparently acquires a relational meaning (relation of classification or identity) associated prototypically with adjectives? I think that this again has something to do with the way nominal predicates are treated in IE languages: unlike morphological verbs and adjectives, whose morphology must undergo a change when they are referred to, morphological nouns usually do not change their shape when predicated. The function of nominal predicate is either overtly unexpressed like in CC and the relation is contributed by the bare syntactic construction, or a copula is needed but in that case it is something outside of the lexeme and its presence and function is easily neglected.

I think therefore that there are good reasons to reject the term. It obscures the nature of expressions of the kind in question rather than elucidating it and misleads desultory readers to unjustified expectations (see also the problem with recursive nominalization, p. 152).

⁵⁰ There is an interesting example, *yì zhī qí hēi niú ér yǐ bù guǒ qí jiǎo* 亦知其黑牛而以布裹其角 ‘he would also find out that it is a black bull and has his horn wrapped in a cloth’ (HF 20.8.2). The phrase contains a dependent predicative construction *qí hēi niú* 其黑牛 ‘that it is a black bull’ transformed from a nominal predicative clause *hēi niú (yě)* 黑牛(也) ‘(it) is a black bull’. The *qí*, as a substitute for zero 3p pronoun in the subject plus the particle *zhī* 之, turns the nominal predicative construction into reference to the fact that the thing is a black bull. But if we wished to interpret the *qí* as a usual possessive pronoun and the entire phrase as a complex nominal in the tradition of the theory of nominalization, we would have to consider *hēi niú* as a nominal produced by nominalization from another nominal, or from a nominal predicate. But the idea of nouns derived from nominal predicates appears dubious to me. Note the difference between $[[qí_{\text{DEP}} [hēi niú + \text{PRED}]] + \text{REF}]$ ‘that it is a black bull’ and $[qí_{\text{GEN}} hēi niú] (+ \text{REF})$ ‘his black bull’, where the *qí*_{DEP} is the structural coding for the propositional act function REF. This example also shows that a double move in the semantic map (without derivation) and cumulation of constructional meanings, reference to predication of object words in here, is occasionally possible.

Polysemy and word-class transitions

When I talked about changes in semantic profiling of expressions in the previous section, I constantly referred to minimal possible shifts in accordance with the requirements of the corresponding propositional acts. For object words in the typologically marked combinations it was the addition of the most general relation of modification and of classification and identification respectively. For relational classes of words, on the other hand, object-like profiling was added to the concepts, but what is important, it was done in the most simple manner. The stative profiling was established on the most abstract level in the domain either of facts or, somewhat more specifically, of properties viewed as relations. In these cases, the originally relational structure had been simply bounded as a region in respective abstract domains. This situation is appropriately rendered by the concept of *zìzhǐ* 'self-reference' used in Chinese linguistics (see III.1.1, p. 36).

In this section I comment on its opposite, the *zhuǎnzǐ* 'transferred reference', which is after all central to my dissertation. Semantic shifts of this broad kind involve either substantial changes in profiling or reorganization of semantic base, or simply other changes that are beyond the scope of the constructional meanings imposed on lexemes in particular propositional act functions. If we, for instance, return to the word *fù* 縛 'to tie up', we can clearly discriminate the two very different types of shift, which are nevertheless often both called nominalization (see above). First, it can be used systematically in the propositional act function of reference in which the object-like profiling is contributed by the construction on the most general level of facts, the expression acquiring the meaning 'tying up, to tie up (inf.), etc.'. Let us imagine a sentence like *qí fù zhī yě yí yī* 其縛之也宜矣 'it was only appropriate that he tied him up' (I have not found any actual example of this kind for *fù*). But second, it may be occasionally used as a true object-denoting word 'a tie, a rope', like in *Wǔwáng qīn shì qí fù* 武王親釋其縛 'the king Wǔ personally removed his fetters' (ZZ 5.6.4.2). In this case, the shift means focussing only on the instrument of the action denoted by the original action word and subsequent destruction of the relational, sequentially scanned semantic base of the process of tying up to the stative, non-relational and more or less independent object concept of fetters. This dramatic change is not driven by the construction, it is not a simple conventional addition of a function-specific profiling: it is a consequence of a derivational process which follows the rules of word formation and exhibits the limited regularity and predictability typical for word formation. It is self-evident that these two types of shifts, optically resulting in two types of markedness, should be kept principally distinct.

In the reality of CC, this distinction becomes more complicated than it could appear at first glance. It is relatively clear for what has been traditionally treated under the label of noun-verb HY, because the difference between an action and its actants, by which the nominal member of the HY can be almost always defined, poses no problem.

Nouns and verbs are after all the most mutually removed prototypes both semantically and functionally, being situated at the opposite poles of the semantic dimension and being diagonally opposed in our conceptual space in the functions prototypically associated with them. However, semantic differences between expressions mapping to contiguous regions in the map may turn out to be elusive, especially when they are not supported by any difference in the form. The most exposed subregion is that of reference. For example, there is certainly a difference between *being beautiful* and *beauty*, although both is a reference to a property in the broadest sense and both could be considered indiscriminately as the “self-reference,” as I did in previous sections. None the less, the first expression refers to the fact that somebody is beautiful, while the second one refers to the property viewed as an abstract thing, semantically very close to a mass noun. This view, because of its salience for speakers of English, has been conceptualized as a gestalt and lexicalized as a distinct word. The second expression thus represents an advanced degree of reification of the property. Yet CC disposes of only one form, the property word *měi* 美. Now the question arises in precisely which way it refers to the two meanings and other meanings with similar semantic nuances, because it is evident that it is able to do that: let us remind us e.g. of the *zhì* 智 ‘intelligent’ → *zhì* ‘intelligence, intellect’ in the *zhì zhī shì* 智之事 ‘matter of intelligence’ (see also p. 89), or *yòng lǎo mǎ zhī zhì* 用老馬之智 ‘to take advantage of intelligence of the old horse’⁵¹ (HF 22.16.1). In accordance with Croft (2001: 71–72) who introduces many good reasons for this, and also with the observations about well-delimitedness of CC lexemes summarized in Harbsmeier (1998: 138), I refuse the monosemy hypothesis which assumes vagueness of meaning of lexemes in respect to major semantic classes and absence of conventionally established lexical (sub)-items, presuming that lexemes can refer merely to a vaguely defined “something associated with the concept such-and-such.” Therefore, I prefer to explain it as a case of **polysemy**.

Polysemy is usually associated with individual lexical units and considered a result of various, often idiosyncratic derivational processes. Moreover, in languages with morphological word classes it is unconceivable that polysemous items of one lexeme could belong to different word classes and consequently to different major semantic classes, for words are typically defined as systems of forms. Even morphologically poor members of English conversion pairs are naturally not taken as items of one polysemous word but as two distinct cognate words.

However, the situation in CC is considerably different. Of course, polysemy in CC involves individual lexemes with idiosyncratic polysemous structure as well. But besides this, we can observe also an increased extent of **systematic polysemy** as a result of the formal poverty of CC and its lexical economy which I talked about above. This

⁵¹ The interpretation ‘to use old horse’s being intelligent’ does not seem to be plausible in this context which includes the instrumental action word *yòng*.

conception is based on the assumption that closely related meanings which are referred to by an identical language form but belong to different semantic classes represent items of one polysemous word, and not necessarily two or more distinct words, in spite of the fact that these items have a different behavioural potential and form different patterns, or systems, said together with Dokulil and others, of distribution (note that distribution is the systematic substitute for morphology in CC). However, this decision in fact does not have any substantial influence on description of the associated phenomena in itself but only on terminology employed for it. It simply depends on how we wish to define the concept of word. If we did not want to allow a lexeme to include items of different major semantic classes, then we would have to speak rather of systematic (zero) derivation of cognate words (see also Croft 2001: 73). There is nevertheless no essential difference between the two perspectives, and the decision is a matter of tradition and preference. I leave further discussion for the section on lexicology of “noun-verb” HY (VI.3).

Systematic polysemy means in the context of CC that entire large classes of words are able to shift their meaning in a conventionally predefined direction, and these derived meanings have a certain degree of independence, so that we can view them as separate semantic items in the polysemous structure of the words. In their status (but also in their function) on the edge of regular potentiality and lexical actuality they are similar to more or less paradigmatically derived words in IE languages. However, their true lexicalization with all the usual incidental effects like idiomatization or demotivation takes place only if they are enough frequent and conceptually salient (this process is described by Gabelentz for his *Zustandshauptwörter*; it is typical e.g. for the Confucian virtues, which were, because of their importance, hypostatized). The conventionality of the rules governing these processes is very important: the semantic shift is not arbitrary as has been sometimes argued for in CC. Systematic polysemy operates predominantly over the classes of words that must take over those denotatory functions that are performed by distinct words derived from the same stem in IE languages.

CC property words are a good example: not only they denote properties in their prototypical relational shape, but they must also take the burden of denoting properties conceptualized as abstract entities, as already noted in connection with *měi* and *zhì*. But what more, they systematically refer to contextually determined bearers of the properties, which is the so called “absolute use of adjectives” (Croft 2001: 69; cf. the example of Spanish [*esa*] *moderna*) and is anything but a rare phenomenon in world’s languages. In CC, this use of property words actually has an almost equal counterpart in the expressions with the subject-substitute relative pronoun *zhě* 者 ‘the one which is/-s’. That is, the property word *dà* 大 ‘big’ can stand also for ‘big one’, and this meaning is semantically almost equal to the more explicit relative construction *dà zhě* 大者 ‘the one that is big’. Because of systematic polysemy, the type of expression with the

relative pronoun is used relatively rarely for bearers of properties, and if it is, then it has usually a slightly different meaning than a plain property word, e.g. emphasis or topicalization: the more prolix form is marked in the broadest sense (a further specialized research should be carried out on this issue so that we could rely on statistic data and a fine-grained analysis). Under these circumstances, it is absolutely not necessary to interpret it as a case of a deleted *zhě*, as Cikoski (1970: 84; cf. also III.2.4) does.

It is worth registering that systematic polysemy applies, similarly to paradigmatic derivation, to lexical items that are easily computed and established with a minimal amount of ambiguity and interpretational effort. In the semantic map, this feature is reflected by contiguity or proximity of the regions in which the particular items are situated. For example in the absolute use of property words, the semantic base remains the same but the profiling moves from the relation between the trajector and the scale to the unelaborated trajector itself, elaboration of which is to be supplied by the context. This shift is a result of a trivial operation and the rule does not leave any space for alternative creations. In the semantic map, this shift is reflected as a diagonal move from the central region of modifying property words to the contiguous region of object words in reference; moreover, the resulting object word, e.g. 'big one' is peripheral in the semantic category of object words and is posited in the grey transition zone between object words and property words, whereby the conceptual proximity of the two items related by systematic polysemy is confirmed.

Note also that in the CC semantic map, the difference is correspondingly small between *měi* 美 a) purely in the propositional act function of reference with an object-like profiling contributed merely by the construction, i.e. [*měi*_{PROPERTY WORD} + REF] 'that (a thing/a person) is beautiful, being beautiful', and b) as a systematically derived item of a polysemous structure *měi*_{OBJECT WORD(+ REF)} 'beauty', which is able to occur also in other propositional act functions with certain limitations, e.g. the practically obligatory marking by the genitive *zhī*_{GEN} 之 in modification in order to distinguish it from the prototypical modification by the original property word. Both are found in the same region in the domain of reference, the first type of expression is only minimally vertically removed from the second one: property words in the referential function shift somewhat in the direction of object words according to the law of semantic shift (see p. 97), while abstract object words with a certain amount of relational conceptual content are, on the other hand, peripheral and incline in the direction of relational words, i.e. property words. Thus, there is a certain overlap between the two and this is also the reason why they are often treated indiscriminately. The most important functional difference is that *měi* as a systematically derived lexical item 'beauty' is more or less independent of the propositional act function and the construction which encodes it.

On the contrary, **unsystematic polysemy** or polysemy systematicity of which is considerably limited, usually to a small lexical micro-classes, is typical for items of

lexemes (or words, it depends – see above) which are opposed in the dimension of semantic classes, but secondarily also in the dimension of the propositional act functions prototypically associated with them. Nouns and verbs are exemplary in this regard. Nouns and verbs as prototypes of object words and action words respectively are perfect antipodes. It is precisely the domain of the so called **noun-verb HY**, which is central to my thesis. For this reason, I reserve detailed investigation of the processes involved in its formation for a special chapter (VI).

This type of polysemy arises as a result of derivation of lower regularity and predictability. This kind of derivation is the counterpart of relatively unparadigmatic (paradigmaticity being a matter of degree) word formation in IE languages; the difference consists in absence of differentiated sets of distinct affixes which usually provide new words in IE languages with at least some guidelines for interpretation, classifying them in more or less general categories according to the howsoever vague meaning of the affix.⁵² Thus, CC unsystematic derivation is quite similar to English conversion, which is sometimes conceived of as zero derivation. Of course, it does not give much sense to fabricate a zero suffix in a language in which morphology was most probably not productive any more, or was productive in an extremely limited extent (for detailed criticism of this concept even for English see e.g. Štekauer 1996: 23–43). As already said, in CC we can view this process as “item formation,” or word formation depending on our lexicological perspective: what is important is that the semantic, pragmatic and lexicological mechanisms which are involved in it are the same regardless of choice of our perspective. The relative unsystematicity and irregularity of this formation does not mean that it is arbitrary: it is governed by a set of universal rules and, as e.g. Štekauer (1996, 2005) proved in his studies on meaning predictability of English conversion and as is known about interpretation of novel expressions generally (Clark and Clark’s 1979 theory is possibly the best one that is at hand), there are mechanisms of interpretation present that reduce ambiguity in particular cases to a reasonable extent. Nevertheless, each of the formations is individual, although they tend to be organized in small lexical classes on low levels of lexicological taxonomy.

Unlike systematically established items, whose lexical existence is sweepingly guaranteed by their automatic and unambiguous computation on the basis of strict semantic rules, individually derived meanings cannot rely merely on paradigmatic potentiality as there is not one single conventionally preconfigured form-meaning constellation for them. Each such novel item of lexeme must be first actually coined in a particular “word-formation” or “item-establishing” act before it becomes real. Of course,

⁵² Especially Slavic languages exhibit extraordinarily extensive affixation by a rich repertoire of formants with often relatively delicate semantic nuances. The meaning of the affix combined with the meaning of the stem may therefore be sufficient for precise interpretation of the novel expression. There is a wide range of possible discrepancy between this “word-formational meaning” and the actual lexical meaning of the derived word, from a perfect correspondence to a motivation which is practically unperceived by common speakers (see also VI.3.1).

this coinage too must be always in accordance with the potentialities encoded in the particular language system in order to be comprehensible and perceived as well-formed. However, the coining act realizes one of many, or at least several possibilities established by the net of functional relationships in the system, and represents an individual creative and not completely predictable choice.

Generally speaking, the semantic shift that is involved in this type of derivation is typically much more pronounced than in that one in systematic polysemy. This correlation of regularity and semantic proximity and irregularity and semantic distance respectively is functionally conditioned. For example, in the case of derivation of action words from object words, which we are interested in most, essentially a non-relational object denoted by the source lexeme becomes just one of the elements in the relational and processual structure of an action. This verbal semantic structure, which may be very complex, must be erected over merely one foundation stone without any precise instructions how the final edifice should look like. It is done in the way called "creativity constrained by rules," in other words, the derivation supplying the rest of the structure follows certain general guidelines but otherwise is a matter of decision of the speaker.

V.3 Object words

As far as the conception of noun as the prototype of object words and the class of words organized around it is considered, I follow Langacker (1987, primarily pp. 183–213, 1991: ch. 1 and 2) without any objections or modifications. I refer the reader to his work for more detailed definitions and intensive discussion of the basic terms and position of the particular concepts in the whole grammatical system. It is important to understand the principles on which the category of object words is internally structured and to be aware of differences between the many subclasses, because they play a crucial role in the process of the HY. Of course, I apply the theory on CC lexical system throughout my thesis, trying by the way to confirm that it is a convenient and efficient tool for interpretation of the phenomena associated with HY. None the less, I do not make an attempt at a full-fledged description of the class of object words in CC and, apart of the necessary general introduction, I proceed in my analysis case by case as required by momentary needs in explaining semantic shifts involved in HY. Thereby I focus primarily on those subclasses that feature in my overview of characteristic features of this process and in the examples I adduce to demonstrate them, while an individualized description of the other subclasses is dismissed. A systematic application of the theory of word classes developed in the frameworks of cognitive and radical construction grammars, a truly formidable task, is a desideratum and waits for future occasions.

The essential semantic trait of a noun as the prototype for object words is that it profiles a stative entity, or, in other words, it designates a **region** (a set of interconnected entities) in a domain or regions in a matrix of domains. The profile is non-relational and the concept of the entity can thus be basically evoked without necessity to refer to other entities, though the concept might be defined by a relationship (for example a nephew is an autonomous entity which itself does not depend on any other entity, the concept of a nephew is however defined in terms of kinship relationships). By virtue of the quality of its profile, a noun is distinguished from an adjective, profile of which designates an atemporal stative relation and from a verb, profile of which is a dynamic transient relation evolving in time and scanned sequentially as a series of particular relational states. Both an adjective and a verb, being relational, are dependent on other entities between which the relations hold. One can, for example, hardly imagine the process of running without an object – typically a creature having legs – running. Any action must necessarily include some participants, howsoever schematic they may be, and in this sense it is conceptually dependent on them. Likewise, any property must be attached to an object, let a schematic one. An object, on the other hand, is conceptually autonomous (Langacker 1987: 215).

As already said, some object words are defined through a relationship, although they do not denote a relation in themselves. The relationship, representing a necessary component of their meaning, is thus included in their semantic base. Langacker (1987: 218) calls such words **relational nouns**. This concerns relational nouns based on relations scanned sequentially in time as well, which we, following the same logic, could call **processual nouns** (cf. e.g. the diagram in *ibid.*: 247). Especially these are, at least potentially, of our interest, for processual nouns are naturally converted to process words in a trivial way and typically exhibit tendency to do so. In fact, there are lexical microfields in CC that behave precisely according to these expectations, e.g. agent nouns denoting functionaries or simply certain social roles like *xiàng* 相 ‘prime minister’ or *shī* 師 ‘teacher’, which are both well established JLC (*jiānlèicí*, words of more than one “word classes”).

From this perspective, one of the basic parameters essential for an overall characterization of an object word in the system is its conceptual distance to the central prototypical members of the category. It can be hardly mathematically computed, especially in the case of more complex categories with other than linear organization, but it should be always possible to tell approximately whether, why and in which way the word is rather central or rather peripheral in the category and how its position influences its behaviour. In one extreme we have **prototypical object words** denoting canonical “things” (Langacker 1987: 189), which are well-delimited solid objects bounded in the domain of threedimensional space (which is their domain of instantiation) and their definitions are basically independent of any relationships to other objects. Such a word does not include any salient relations in its profile – as an object

word, it cannot include them anyway – but it does not include them in its base, whereby the concept can be easily defined and evoked without the necessity of reference to any relations (though some associative relations are typically evoked in spite of not being necessary). For example, *shí* 石 ‘stone’, *jiàn* 劍 ‘sword’ or *dǐng* 鼎 ‘tripod’ are relatively central members of the category of object words, being good examples of things. On the other extreme of the scale, we have **peripheral object words**, posited in the transition zones on the fuzzy boundaries between the major semantic classes of words. They typically denote highly abstract concepts, which are either not bounded in any domain at all or are bounded only in (usually multidimensional) abstract domains. Such concepts usually have a rich relational component in its base and form internally complex regions, often in a matrix comprising several domains. For example, *yì* 義 ‘righteousness’, *shì* 事 ‘matter, task, business’ or *yǔ* 雨 ‘rain’⁵³ are relatively peripheral members of the category of object words, and it is the reason why they exhibit distributional behaviour that differs significantly from that of prototypical object words. More concretely, they are more syntactically versatile (cf. Gabelentz’s *Zustandshauptwörter* or Cikoski’s *abstract nouns*).⁵⁴ As far as the HY is considered, there is a well observable tendency of the object words possessing a richer relational content in their base to be more easily and frequently derived to denote a process (see below). Of course, this process is closely related to the relations contained in the semantic base. By virtue of their semantic structure, they are predisposed to be involved in HY.

As already said, word classes are assumed to be radial categories structured accordingly (see V.1.1). The non-central subclasses or single lexical items are extensions from the prototype, which disagree with it in any aspect or their combination. Their number is truly immense in the scope of the whole category of object words, if we consider for instance how many ICMs there are and how inexhaustible the potential of metaphoric and metonymic derivation is. Moreover, particular subclasses are often in certain, usually quite complicated relationships to each other, representing different branches of the same trees and/or clusters of extensions branched off at different levels and at different points from the structures they were derived from. These structures remind of large genealogies, but the relationships between contiguous nodes are more diverse than those which are conceivable between members of a family.⁵⁵

⁵³ Langacker (1991: 365–367) shows how differently meteorologic phenomena like rain are conceptualized and coded in language in various speech communities, and how the fact relates to their elusive nature in the real world. I will come to this issue later in connection with the situation in CC.

⁵⁴ Cf. also Komárek 2006: 25 and 32, who points out the peripheral position of abstract nouns in Czech.

⁵⁵ The complexity of lexical system, though described in different terms in different theoretical frameworks, is eventually the reason why lexicology has dealt practically only with well delimited

In connection with semantics of object words, I wish again to emphasize the fact that the encyclopaedic model of semantics is indispensable for our purposes: the **generic knowledge** about the world referring to a net of multiple and complicated relationships between things, actions, properties and circumstances belongs to semantics as well; it is not excluded from the semantic plane of the language but on the contrary, it is integrated into it as its constitutive basis. The boundary between the knowledge which can be conceived of as belonging to the meaning of the word and between the knowledge which is assumed not to be directly associated with it is fuzzy and gradual as the strength of the respective associations is a matter of degree. Tuggy (2005: 239) employs the metaphor of a window (instead of the traditional container metaphor) to characterize the nature of meaning of words. Individual words can be also viewed as access nodes in the network of meanings correlating with the conceptual system structured and expressed by the language (cf. Langacker 1987: 163). This approach conforms to the emphasis put on network models of cognitive processing current in virtually all branches of cognitive linguistics.

Encyclopaedic semantics allows for analyzing absence or presence of salient **prototypical associations** of the object with processes or atemporal relations, and if they are present, their nature, structure and degree of salience, without excluding them from the scope of the meaning of the given object word. These associations, grounded in the ICMs against which the concept of the thing is construed, are of course not the part of the very semantic core of the word consisting of its semantic profile and its semantic base. They may however represent a significant part of the semantic content of the word and usually include information that is traditionally labeled as prototypical semes or predominant semantic features. Štekauer (cf. 1996: 45) uses these terms in his analysis of “logical spectrum” (a Dokulilian term) transposed to semantic spectrum of the words involved in English noun-verb conversion and proves that the knowledge about the reality relevant for the given speech community is crucial for interpretation of novel expressions (cf. Štekauer 2005: xxii, 194, 249). Clark and Clark (1979: 787–790) occupy a similar stance in their theory of interpretation based on English contextual nonce-formations, but they do not, at least explicitly, consider the knowledge about the denoted things to be an integral part of the meaning of the object words. Note however that already in traditional Chinese philology we can trace similar concepts applied on the very language which we deal with: see the section on Yuán Rénlín and his *Xūzishuō* from 1710, including the observations that every ‘entity’ (*tǐ* 體) has a ‘function’ (*yòng* 用) unseparably associated with it (see III.1.1).

For example words like *jiàn* 劍 ‘sword’ or *shǒu* 手 ‘hand’ refer to concepts whose construction is primarily non-relational and certainly non-processual. Both words

semantic fields or clusters of few of them when analyzing the subsystems in detail (especially if employing the method of distinctive semantic features).

denote concrete solid things bounded in space and their semantic cores do not contain any salient relations (the meronymic relation between the 'hand' as the profile and the arm and body as its base does not count). But beyond the core there are prototypical associations with actions in which the objects are typically involved, and these constitute a significant part of the meaning of the two words. The fact that swords are used for fighting in a distinct manner and what the function of the hand is is knowledge conventionally associated with the concepts and the semantic cores of the words and can be hardly separated from them, as has been done in reductionist models of linguistic meaning. Importantly, it is the part of the conventional meaning of the words that is typically exploited in the process of derivation across the boundaries of the major word classes.

If we take into consideration both the radial organization of the class of object words, including the complexity of the relationships between the various extensions, and the encyclopaedic nature of meaning, and moreover add the cognitivist theory of categorization, it becomes evident that a simple classification of object words for purposes for analysis of HY phenomena is always a gross oversimplification of the matter and cannot be adequate. It does not mean that it cannot serve as the first approximation. It should not however be, in my opinion, used as argumentation regarding explication of the processes associated with it and of the regularities observed across the lexical system. I will come to this issue later in the respective section.

Given the character of CC, there is no other way to ascertain whether a word is to be counted as an object word than distributional analysis carried out relatively to the meaning and supported by semantic heuristics. When working on topic related to word classes in CC, researchers usually rely on what Ch. Harbsmeier characterizes as "extensive experience." In fact, this experience is also a result of such an analysis, but it is built unsystematically and half-consciously and is embodied as linguistic intuition instead of statistic data. In my opinion, this linguistic intuition – when well grounded – can be more refined and sensitive than tables filled with percentage frequency of occurrence, it is however true that it is problematic to build arguments on something so subjective and elusive as intuition. We unfortunately dispose of no really complete and exhaustive distributional analysis of all words found let in the basic corpus of CC texts at the moment, and it will be a formidable task, if ever carried out in the scope required e.g. by radical construction grammar. It is definitely not anything which I could do as preparation for my thesis on the HY. Reliance on experience, hopefully enough extensive, thus cannot be avoided, but besides my own limited data on distribution of some lexemes I exploited the accessible statistic data listed in Cikoski (1970), Nikitina (1985), Zhāng Wénguó (2005), Yáng Zhāowèi et al. (1991) in the largest extent possible. I think that the combination of all the mentioned sources of information can yield a relatively (to the given circumstances) reliable basis to decide the position of

most CC words in the lexical system of the language. In case it can not, I do not hesitate to admit it and to leave the question open. Sometimes it is due to insufficient analysis, but sometimes it is due to the constraints posed by the extent and character of the corpus.

VI. Object words denoting processes

VI.1 General issues

VI.1.1 Delimitation of subject of analysis

After having proposed a relatively detailed theoretical account of how classes of words interact with propositional act function constructions in CC and how the two main kinds of polysemy relate to these interactions (in the chapter V), delineation of the linguistic phenomena with which I want to deal primarily in this thesis is easy. This is not matter-of-course, as the Chinese mainstream HY studies keep grappling with the issue of telling HY from non-HY. We are now free to get rid of all the formulations of the type “temporary change of grammatical function” which are potentially misleading and invite to the confusion of syntax, lexicon and propositional acts from the very beginning, besides the fact that they are usually too vague. Strictly speaking, I am not interested in any grammatical functions of object words at all, although it would be unreasonable to deliberately ignore them. Semantics and lexicology are the planes of language that are decisive. A word which conventionally denotes an object but is also used to denote a *related* process on particular occasions is of my interest irrespective of propositional act functions and other constructions it occurs in. Of course, these processes are usually predicated (as this combination is typologically unmarked), but they may be e.g. referred to as well in the same way as common “genuine” action words (see the note on “secondary nominalization” on p. 152). In the section on polysemy in V.2.2, I have explained that I consider derivation of this kind a case of unsystematic polysemy (the systematicity is nevertheless a matter of degree; in some lexical microfields the derivation may be quite systematic). I focus predominantly on those words whose processual use is rather occasional and unexpected, in other words, not institutionalized and lexicalized, though I do not follow Chinese researchers in trying to distinguish strictly the “real” HY from *jiānlèi*. I do not think it is possible, either do I think it is especially useful – the degree of lexicalization of an item in a given polysemous structure (which may be anything from zero to hundred percent) must be definitely taken into account, but the HY and the JL respectively are just two extremes of one continuum. It is also for this reason that there are the same semantic processes involved in both of them on the primary level (of course, it is true that lexicalization entails additional, often irregular semantic shifts related to gradual loss of motivation and thus dependence on the primary derivational operation). I do not exclude perfectly lexicalized polysemous structures from the description, but they are not central in it.

Unlike Zhāng Wénguó (2005: 32), I do include irregular derivations in my material, i.e. derivations that do not follow the common rules governing (a too strong expression) a particular lexical field (see also the section on regularity). I am interested in all cases of object words being used to denote a process attested in the corpus of CC

texts irrespective of their regularity. On the contrary, I find the irregular HY pairs the most interesting part of the issue which can prove some assumptions on regularity of occurrence and predictability of meaning to be imprecise or simply wrong. In Zhāng's terms, I deal primarily with *cíxìng huóyòng* 詞性活用, i.e. live use of particular words, treating the regular word-class flexibility of entire lexical microfields as an important and typical feature which nevertheless represents only one portion of all occurrences of the phenomenon, while Zhāng focusses programmatically only on *cílèi huóyòng* 詞類活用 or *cílèi zhuǎnbiàn* 詞類轉變, i.e. live use of entire classes of words (lexical fields) and dismisses the irregular cases as worthless (at most adducing some examples of them in footnotes). I really do not understand why the irregular portion of HY should be "worthless," *nota bene* when it is an integral part of the phenomenon and is closely related to the regular portion of HY, or more precisely, it is not separated from it at all. Without it, we do not get a sufficient systemic context of the word class flexibility in CC and we are hardly able to evaluate appropriately the position and character of the regular N-V transitions. According to me, there is no essential difference between the two groups delimited by Zhāng. Eventually, it is needless to say that the regularity is again a matter of degree as almost all, if not all, analytic scales applied on a language system.

Then, unlike Štekauer (1996, 2005) writing on English conversion yet in accordance with Clark and Clark (1979) dealing with English denominal verbs, I do not exclude contextually dependent conversions, which are sometimes called nonconformations in English, from the scope of my thesis. Not only is contextuality a matter of degree, but also the so called contextuels provide us with valuable information on mechanisms of meaning computation of innovative expressions and the role which context plays in HY and in word formation in general. It is interesting to observe context as an alternative source of information besides the conventional lexical and constructional meanings well established in the system and the ratio between the contributions of the two sources for interpretation of particular expressions. I either do not intend to oppose *langue* and *parole* so dramatically as Štekauer does. I do not think that individual context-bound formations, or, in different terms, irregular HY intelligible only in context, should be ignored as nearly non-existent or analytically worthless only because they do not fit well in the concept of language how it was construed a hundred years ago. I deal with contextuality of HY below.

Together with Zhāng Wénguó (2005), I exclude the constructions which he calls *static expository predicate* and *qualitative expository predicate* respectively (see the excursion beginning on p. 41, sec. III.1.2), as these construction types do not involve process predication but atemporal relation predication, in other words, the respective object words do not designate processes but rather properties (or states), though relatively peculiar ones in comparison with the situation of prototypical property words (nonetheless, the issue whether one or the other can or cannot be taken as a case of the

“real” HY is not that simple as the author suggests). However, qualitative predicates, i.e. expressions of the type *fù* 父 ‘father’ → ‘to be like a proper father, to behave like a proper father’, integrate in their semantic structure actions and properties associated with the object denoted by the original object word on the basis of the ICMs in which they feature (cf. Lackoff 1987: 74–76 for the many ICMs that are relevant for the American concept of ‘mother’; Confucian ‘father’ can be analyzed much in the same way), and they are thus close to our topic and share a portion of features with the phenomena analyzed here. They would deserve a closer attention, but I do not want to mix them with the genuine object-process derivations at this stage.

VI.1.2 Overview of approaches to elementary issues

This section is partly intended as a discussion, often a polemic one, of opinions suggested by some of my predecessors, mainly Zhāng Wéngúo (2005) as the author of the only comprehensive monograph on the topic supported by a special theoretical framework. It is more convenient to me to elucidate my own views against such background than to begin from scratch. It concerns mainly the more general issues whose view would get too fragmented if dealt with only in the relevant passages in the particular sections on semantics, lexicology of HY, word formation and others, with which it necessarily intersects. I try to keep the amount of information on the same topic contained in this more general section and that contained in the more special ones in a reasonable proportion; for this reason, a certain overlap and thereby repeating cannot be avoided. Some of my objections have been already raised in the overview of previous research. I do not repeat all particularities in here and I integrate only theoretically relevant observations into the argument.

Míngdòngcí and *jiānlèicí*, *cílèi zhuǎnbiàn* and *cíxìng huóyòng*

As already anticipated, I do not distinguish HY and JL as principally different phenomena and I definitely do not aim to dismiss one or the other from the material that serves as the basis for my description of word-class flexibility in CC. I assume that they are merely two prototypes at opposed extremes of one scale of degree of lexicalization. I will not repeat all the heuristic problems associated with the nature of the CC corpus and its limitations. One of their consequences is unreliability and constrained validity of possible judgements about whether a particular use of a word is to be counted rather as a HY or a JL, if we wished to do that. I agree that there are clear cases of the so called *míngdòngcí* 名動詞 (MDC), i.e. words that are freely used both to denote a thing and a process without an apparent preference for one or the other. Zhāng Wéngúo (2005: 354) considers them as *jiānlèi* brought into extreme: while *jiānlèicí* exhibit a clear hierarchy between the nominal and verbal uses respectively, *míngdòngcí* lack it. This however concerns a relatively limited set of highly frequent words, while the overwhelming majority of N-V flexibility attested both in my material and in Zhāng Wéngúo’s book

has such a low frequency of occurrence that it is practically impossible to determine the level of lexicalization with an acceptable precision. We can never be sure whether the fact that a word A is attested verbally in five cases in three ancient books and a word B in only one case in one book is purely due to chance or due to its actual pattern of distribution. My view is that except for the minority of high-frequency *míngdòngcí*, the rest is basically a matter of chance. Of course, there is also no substantiated criterion to decide where HY becomes JL, and I do not think the distinction is that important.

I do not think either that Zhāng's distinction between *cílèi zhuǎnbiàn* (flexibility of classes) and *cìxìng huóyòng* (flexibility of "nature of word" of isolated words) or more precisely *míngcí huóyòng* (flexibility of isolated nouns; see also above) should be introduced in the system so strictly and principally, although he spends large amounts of intellectual effort to succeed in it. It is an important observation that the flexibility tends to apply to entire lexical fields, and it should be certainly explained, but it is not much meaningful to dismiss all the other allegedly "isolated and irregular" cases from the system and pretend we describe word-class flexibility in CC *in toto*. All the material should be examined and, importantly, included in analysis of the various features of the phenomenon – its semantics, pragmatics, lexicology, syntax, for it constitutes a continuum varying along several parameters but following basically the same principles in these particular respects. In other words, the analysis must be based on material defined as broadly as possible and only in the retrospective *cílèi zhuǎnbiàn* may be pointed out and studied as a special (or typical) subtype of word-class flexibility in general. Without it, one's conclusions and generalizations about what is possible and what not with respect to the various dimensions would be severely biased. In my opinion, this is precisely what decreases the value of the otherwise instructive monograph by Zhāng. In fact, he systematically excludes cases of HY in the broad sense that would disqualify his conception.

It is inadequate to ostracize the cases that do not fit in the categories established by the researcher as "limited in number, unsystematic, without any rules to follow" (Zhāng Wéngúo (2005: 355) – a perfect counterpart of the *míngdòngcí* – and thus "worthless for research" (e.g. *ibid.*: 192, 228 fn.). That Zhāng was not able or willing to find a kind of systematicity and rules in what he calls *míngcí huóyòng* (MCHY) does not yet mean that there are not any. His strong words about the worthlessness of a large part of word-class transitions in CC for research are curious from the perspective of a holistic description. But his explanation of the origins of MCHY is simply bizarre (*ibid.*: 355–356): according to Zhāng, Chinese authors of the classical period did not know rules of their own language which they had inherited from remote antiquity and coined ill-formed lexical items that had no chance to become lexicalized. Speakers of CC "blindly imitated" the ancient *míngdòngcí* without recognizing the conditions that enabled them to become *míngdòngcí* (these semantic requirements have been recognized and defined by Zhāng Wéngúo):

When the Chinese language of remote antiquity evolved into the language of the Pre-Qín period, it had already undergone substantial changes, and people of the time did not understand too clearly the characteristic nature of the *míngdòngcí* any more, and they could not have had a sober consciousness concerning the difference between nouns and the *míngdòngcí* either. As a result, they mistakenly thought that any noun that falls into the same semantic category as the *míngdòngcí* can be changed into a verb on the basis of the derivational patterns of the *míngdòngcí*. In view of this assumption, some people converted nouns belonging to the same semantic class as *míngdòngcí* to verbs. But because these nouns did not meet the requirements for the *míngdòngcí*, their verbal use did not spread and become established, and that is why we can consider them merely *míngcí huóyòng*.

This unrealistic view of how language and lexical innovation work actually suggests that the long series of the “irregular” low-frequency HY, or cases of frequent and well-established HY that are however found only in certain pieces of literature like *mén* 門 ‘to attack a city gate’ in ZZ, are all just mistakes of the authors, who were unable to tell which formations are correct in their language and which not. They replenished their texts with communicatively inferior and defective uses of words – though most of them are perfectly intelligible until today and though they have even perfect counterparts in European languages. In other words, relying on their linguistic intuition and being led by analogy and other systemic relationships, the authors broke Zhāng Wénguó’s rules, miscoining hopeless new technical terms or rhetorically impressive expressions. Seen from this perspective, all the more than 1300 denominal verbs recorded by Clark and Clark would have to be simply a result of blind and mistaken imitation of the models of antiquity by modern speakers ignorant of the rules of their mother tongue.

Potentiality

In the section II.1.1 on Yuán Rénlín’s contribution to the research on the HY, I quoted at length his theses comprised in his *Xūzìshuō* (1710). Among others, this traditional philologist suggested that the potentiality of being used to denote a process is intrinsic universally to all object words, and vice versa, because substances and processes are inseparably associated in the real world and CC exploits its high word-class flexibility to designate the both aspects of the reality with the same linguistic form. I agree with him on this point. Zhāng Wénguó, on the other hand, rejects explicitly Yuán’s claim, holding the view that only those object words whose characteristic seme refers to a function can be used in this way (see Zhāng Wénguó 2005: 130), and he assumes that it is the semantic structure of words that is crucial for HY.

The discussion about is complicated by the fact that Zhāng defines the HY *in sensu stricto* somewhat differently and excludes uses of object words which both Yuán and me consider valid cases of the phenomenon in question. For example, he chooses not to count word-class transitions based on “cultural semes,” as mentioned earlier (III.1.2), but he puts aside also those uses of object words as action words that are not “frequent”

– Western lexicologists would call them e.g. occasionalisms. Because of this, however, his conclusions have only a considerably limited validity and fail to recognize some important generalizations. Zhāng comes close to Štekauer who investigates only context-free conversion pairs; too much context-bound nonce-formations have practically no chance to become accepted by the speech community and become lexicalized (cf. Honhenlaus: 365); according to Štekauer, such uses of words – being not predisposed by the fabrics of the relationships of the system but relying on external conditions – are a matter of speech, not the language, and Štekauer is interested exclusively in *langue*. Zhāng, in effect, does not analyze the potentiality of the noun-verb HY in general but intends to show merely which object words have the chance to be established in the function of process-denoting words as relatively stable lexical units (he actually speaks sometimes about impossibility of being used verbally in absolute terms and sometimes only about impossibility of being used verbally “often,” which is quite confusing).

Zhāng calls the object words dominated by a functional seme *yòngmíng* 用名 ‘function nouns’, in contrast to *xiàngmíng* 相名 ‘appearance nouns’, adopting the traditional Chinese triad of *tǐ* 體 ‘substance’ having a certain *xiàng* 相 ‘appearance’ and *yòng* 用 ‘use, function’ as a trivial philosophic basis. According to him, there is only one distinctive seme (*tèzhēngyì* 特徵義) for each word that is unique and distinguishes it from all other words of a similar meaning (see Zhāng Wéngúo 2005: 118–124).

He tries to prove the thesis about the limited potentiality of the type of the HY on a set of examples consisting of pairs or groups of words belonging to the same domains (ibid.: 124–130; the former words are not attested as HY, the words introduced by vs. are attested as HY): *fū* ‘(married) man; husband’ 夫 and *fū* 婦 ‘(married) woman’ vs. *qī* (*qì*) 妻 ‘wife’, *mín* 民 ‘people’ vs. *chén* 臣 ‘subject; minister’, *zú* 足 ‘foot’ vs. *shǒu* 手 ‘hand’, *mù* 木 ‘tree’ vs. *shù* 樹 ‘(what is planted >) plant’, *yún* 雲 ‘cloud’, *xuě* 雪 ‘snow’, *lín* 霖 ‘longlasting rain’ and *shuāng* 霜 ‘frost’ vs. *yǔ* 雨 ‘rain’, *qiú* 裘 ‘fur coat’ and *cháng* 裳 ‘skirt’ vs. *yī* (*yì*) 衣 ‘garment’, *gē* 戈 ‘halberd’ vs. *zhàng* 杖 ‘stick’, *fáng* 房 ‘back lateral buildings’ and *shì* 室 ‘back buildings’ vs. *zhái* 宅 ‘residence’ and *qǐn* 寢 ‘bedroom’.

Even if we put the aside the problem that Zhāng ignores the less frequent uses, most of his assumptions, approaches based on them and even the exemplification suffer from substantial problems. One of them is a gross oversimplification of linguistic semantics and the conceptualization of the surrounding reality (or irreality) that is symbolized by language units. While it is definitely true that the semantic structure of the underlying object word is crucial for HY, or for derivation into an action word in different terms, words have almost never such a neat simple semantic structure and the concepts which they express are always integrated into the complex network of the conceptual system. We need not work in the framework of cognitivist semantics to be aware of the fact that a lexical unit and the concept which it symbolizes is usually not

defined by a single distinctive seme, although this assumption is made in the classical semantic feature analysis of well-delimited lexical fields based on reductionist semantics. Just if we look at Štekauer's semantic analysis used for description of English conversion (but also word formation generally), we find that he employs the concept of logical spectrum consisting of logical predicates of various degrees of specificity and prominence which characterize a thing, and this logical spectrum turns to semantic spectrum on the level of language, constituting the meaning of the word that denotes the respective thing. Štekauer also shows that meanings of words are frequently made of more than one predominant feature, consequence of which is the existence of more than one easily acceptable interpretation in prediction of meaning of innovative conversions. As already mentioned, both – though examining a slightly different phenomenon – converge on the conclusion that communicants' knowledge about things is the decisive factor. It is easily accounted for in encyclopaedic semantics. But other branches of lexical semantics cannot make merely with a *genus proximum* and a *differentia specifica* today either: we are not seeking for the single *differentiam specificam* distinguishing humans from animals any more. Zhāng misses the point that things typically feature in several ICMs in various conventional roles and all this information, pertaining to the meaning of the words in the model of meaning I use, can serve as the basis for a HY process. And, more importantly, this information is necessary to satisfactorily define the meaning of the words, for one distinctive seme does not make it. What is called distinctive semes in traditional terms is usually the first choice but they do not exhaust by far the possibilities of HY.

The second problem is with his exemplification. I have already noted above that Zhāng's method is highly dubious in my opinion. Exploiting ancient "dictionaries," which are really no dictionaries in the modern sense of the word, as the most important and often the only way to determine the meaning of the relevant words, including such details as the precise construal of the designated concepts, is hardly acceptable. While it is certainly true that we should not impose modern scientific categorization and concepts on objects denoted by the CC words and assume that they constitute their meaning (Zhāng 2005: 123–124), it is entirely inappropriate to see a real semantic analysis as understood today in the glosses recorded in ancient philological works like *Ēryǎ* (possibly 3rd c. BC), *Shuōwén jiězhì* (2nd c.), *Shì míng* (3rd c.) or *Yùpiān* (6th c.), but also *Guāngyùn* (11th c.) or *Zhèngzìtōng* (17th c.). Different "dictionaries" had different glossing strategies and were substantially influenced both by linguistic and ideological preferences, e.g. *Shuōwén* focussing on graphemic analysis and subordinating the glosses to elucidation of the original structure of the graph while heavily influenced by the late Hàn conceptual and ideological system based on imperial Confucianism (see Bottéro and Harbsmeier 2009), or *Shì míng* employing homophonic or near-homophonic paronomasia for explanation of meanings of almost of all contained words and relying thus for larger part on scholarly folk etymology. But even today, in the age of modern

lexicography, it would be naive to accept entries in concise dictionaries as *the* definitions of the words disclosing, moreover, their single distinctive features.

Eventually, many old glosses of the words featuring in HY pairs which Zhāng himself quotes contradict his assumptions: how is it possible, for instance, that *rèn* 刃 ‘blade’ can be commonly used to denote the process of cutting, if it is glossed as *dāo jiān* 刀堅 ‘the firm [part] of a knife’ in *Shuōwén*?⁵⁶ Yet he avoids the possible criticism of this kind by suggesting that understanding of the things by later philologists might have been different from that of the coiner of the words and that the glosses are therefore inconclusive. According to him, it is possible to turn the argument the other way round and assume that a word attested frequently in HY is necessarily distinguished from the others by a functional distinctive seme. We relapse into a vicious circle. In addition, a similarly unacceptable approach is his method of determining whether the uses of the words are frequent or not – Zhāng decides it on the basis of modern dictionaries, more precisely absence or presence of the use as separate items in their microstructure. Dictionaries are always primarily practical reference books and their compilation is subject to numerous pragmatic concerns; the whole science of lexicography is about how to reconcile linguistic theory, ideal lexicography and actual lexicographic production. However useful, they cannot serve as substitutes for a genuine linguistic analysis. I do not know which dictionaries were used by the author, but e.g. the case of *shǒu* 手 ‘hand’, included among Zhāng’s examples, shows that the inclusion of only those object words that are frequently used verbally (*jīngcháng yòngzuò dòngcí* 經常用作動詞) is not based on any reliable criterion: according to Zhāng’s own statistics, the V : N use of *shǒu* is 4 : 113, if I do not count the *Book of Songs* (13 : 1), three of them being attested in the rather special GYZ: the only remaining occurrence is from MZ. In my opinion, the verbal use is definitely not a common use of the word *shǒu*. The whole conception and methods employed seem dubious to me.

The same is true of the concrete groups of words adduced as examples. I ignore for the moment that the *shù* 樹 is verbal in its origin – no wonder that it is attested in “N-V” HY – and that the *qǐn* 寢 means standardly also ‘to sleep’ and its processual meaning is very probable the original one. The first problem is the obscure relationship

⁵⁶ Zhāng Wénguo’s (2005: 223) explanation is symptomatic: “And the firm and sharp part of the knife is precisely the part that is used to kill people, it is thus evident that the characteristic feature of *rèn* ‘blade’ is ‘firm and sharp’ and ‘to kill people’, and these belong to processual features.” ‘To kill people’ is not mentioned in the gloss either in the 18th c. commentary and does not follow from the firmness of the part in question. If semantic analysis is based on such a free processing of old glosses, one is able to manipulate with distinctive features practically arbitrarily. But then we need not rely on the ancient reference books to mask our own opinions and pretend that they are objective and unquestionable because supported by the old authorities. Zhāng is definitely right in that killing people is a salient functional feature of blades and that this information belongs to the meaning of the word *rèn*, the operation by which he arrived at this conclusion is, however, by far not sound.

of these semantic categories (*yìlèi* 義類) to *genera* as treated by Zhāng in connection with definitions of concepts and distinctive semes of words which express them. According to the logic which he exposed in the introductory passages and the terms he uses, the two concepts should overlap: a category, *yìlèi* 義類, i.e. the *genus* of objects, should be based on a set of shared generic semes of a certain taxonomic level, called *lèishǔ yìsù* 類屬義素 by Zhāng (nota bene *lèiyì* 類義 if abbreviated). But they apparently do not conform to each other in Zhāng's exposition, even if we concede for the moment to his method of semantic analysis. For example, Zhāng follows verbatim *Shuōwén* in analyzing *yǔ* 雨 'rain' as water, which is supposed to be its generic seme, that falls from clouds, which is supposed to be its distinctive seme (*shuǐ cóng yún xià yě* 水從雲下也). But in his presentation of examples, it is categorized in the group of meteorologic conditions, or more precisely precipitation, not the category delineated by the genus 'water'. It is thus not clear how the two types of categorization are related, although one might be able to come up with some plausible conjectures.

Let us look for example on the meteorologic group (or more precisely the group of precipitation words), including the mentioned *yǔ* 雨 'rain'. First, I do not think it is reasonable to include *yún* 雲 'cloud' in the group as the nature of the phenomenon is quite different – clouds do not resemble rain or other forms of precipitation in any reasonable way. They are related to it as its source and they may be conceived of as occupying a position in the same ICM as rain. But to compare the two words directly as equal members of the same category would be misleading. (Note by the way also that the English noun *cloud* can be converted into the verb *to cloud*: it becomes evident that there is no principial semantic obstacle for *yún* 雲 to come to function to denote a process.) All the other terms denote various kinds of precipitation, so that clouds are miscategorized here and I dismiss the word from the further discussion.

Zhāng sticks to the glosses in ancient reference books to determine the semantic structure of the words. The gloss on 'rain' has been already quoted. For *xuě* 雪 'snow', he uses *Yùpiān* and its formulation *níng yǔ yě* 凝雨也 'it is congealed rain', and for *shuāng* 霜 'frost', he uses *Guāngyùn* (!) and its formulation *lù níng yě* 露凝也 'it is when dew gets frozen', concluding that their distinctive seme is *níng* 凝 'congealed'. For *lín* 霖 'longlasting rain', he refers to *Shuōwén* which glosses it as *yǔ sān rì yǐwǎng* 雨三日已往 'rain lasting three or more days' – the distinctive seme is '[to last] three or more days' according to Zhāng. Although included in one semantic field, the words are supposed to represent wildly different *genera* and *species* distinguished from other members of the *genera* by the single *differentia*. The author assumes that only 'rain' can be used verbally because it is a kind water which is distinguished from other kinds of water by the fact that it falls from the clouds. In fact, I have discovered the *shuāng* being used predicatively to denote the process of frost precipitation in GZ 40.1.9, which would disqualify Zhāng's argument on the elementary level if he did not exclude the rare cases (the same is true of *qiú* 裘 'fur coat' attested verbally in LJ 10.1.4.1 with the

meaning ‘to wear a fur coat’; note also that although *zú* ‘foot’ might not be attested verbally in the Pre-Qín Chinese, *zhí* 蹠/跖 ‘sole of the foot’, defined non-functionally *zú xià* 足下 ‘the lower part of foot’ in *Shuōwén*, can be found in ZGC 26.5.3; instead of *gē* ‘*gē* halberd’, we encounter e.g. *jǐ* 戟 ‘*jǐ* halberd’, glossed non-functionally *yǒu zhī bīng* 有枝兵 ‘a weapon with branching’, in ZZ 12.25.1.3 in the figurative sense ‘to imitate the shape of a *jǐ* halberd’).⁵⁷

That the words in the ancient reference books are glossed as special types of rain (or dew) – congealed in the case of snow and frost and lasting longer than three days in the case of *lín* – actually only shows that the most simple and effective way to briefly define the words was via the concept of rain as the basic term for precipitation (see below), but it does not tell anything about the precise semantic structure of the words or actual conceptualization of the phenomena by the ancient Chinese. It is evident practically from all the contexts the words occur in that they were well aware of the fact that they collectively represent various kinds of precipitation. It can be easily observed on the basis of their collocability as well, except for the rather rare *lín* (usually used as a modifier to *yǔ*, giving the expression *lín yǔ* 霖雨). In CC, all of them are attested to co-occur with the process words *xià* 下, *jiàng* 降 and *yǔn* 隕/貫 denoting a downward movement (‘to come down’, ‘to descend’, ‘to fall’), being either the syntactic subject or object of these process words (and logically either precipitating on their own or being sent down by an unknown entity or by the Heaven, *tiān* 天 – see also Langacker 1991: 365–367); it is true of *lù* 露 ‘dew’ comprised in the gloss for ‘frost’ as well.⁵⁸ The terms constitute the category – or *genus*, if we wish – of PRECIPITATION, defined as various forms of water falling from the sky, and the particular members are distinguished basically by the form of water in question.

Rain can be collocated with *xià* and *jiàng* as well in the classical period, but it is usually predicated as an action word. This is connected with the fact that *yǔ* can denote precipitation of basically any kind since the time of the oldest extant texts of 13th c. BC, and e.g. the V-O collocation *yǔ xuě* 雨雪 is common in CC (e.g. LS 21.1.2.1, YZ 1.20.1, ZGC 23.6.1, ZZ 1.9.1.1, ZZ 10.12.11.2), proving the underspecified nature of *yǔ* (in *Lùnhéng* of Eastern Hàn, we can find also *yǔ shuāng* 雨霜; Zhāng quotes *yǔ xīng* 雨星 ‘raining star’ or *yǔ zhōng* 雨蟲 ‘raining grasshoppers’). In this sense *yǔ* is the hyperonym of the rest of the words, though this relationship is not felt so strongly; *yǔ* typically

⁵⁷ On the other hand, Zhāng (2005: 242 fn.) quotes ancient glosses on *tíng* 霆 ‘strong thunderbolt’, *pī* 霹 ‘sudden thunderbolt’, *xiāo* 霄 ‘snow with rain; graupel’ and *wù* 霧 ‘fog’ in connection with “nature nouns”, suggesting that according to their definition in the books they should have had processual meanings although they are not attested anywhere in the texts, presumably because of overall low occurrence frequency.

⁵⁸ Cf. the possible collocations 1) for *shuāng*: e.g. CC 4.9.15, CC 1.5.7, CC 13.2.5, HF 30.3.2, HF 30.20.1, LJ 6.10.5, LS 14.3.3.4, XZ 27.43.1, Zh 28.12.5; 2) for *xuě*: e.g. CC 4.9.15, Zh 28.12.5, LJ 6.13.12, LS 21.1.2.1, YZ 1.20.1, ZGC 23.6.1, ZZ 1.9.1.1, ZZ 10.12.11.2; 3) for *lù*: e.g. CC 8.3.1, CC 8.6.1, GZ 8.5.2, GZ 20.1.115, GZ 41.1.25, Lao 32.1, LJ 6.8.2, LJ 6.13.11, LJ 24.1.2, LS 19.7.2.4, ZGC 18.9.2 and others.

denotes the default case of precipitation, which is raining water. The other uses of the word may be taken as metaphoric extensions from the precipitational prototype, i.e. the rain. It is then natural that the specific co-hyponyms are glossed as types of rain in the traditional works. The asymmetry between *yǔ* and the rest of the group as far as the verbal use is considered is partially due to the hierarchical relationship between them. The role of the generic level, typically associated with initial level of lexicalization (see Langacker 1987: 89) seem to be very important and should be carefully examined, while it is reduced to the issue of distinctive semes treated in a flawed framework in Zhāng's perspective.

Note also that e.g. 'snow' can be used as an action word in many languages, though I doubt that the experience of snowing differs that much for the ancient Chinese and for the other speech communities (e.g. speakers of Romance, Germanic or Slavic languages). As already stated, meteorologic conditions are expressed in many various ways in languages because of their elusive, half processual half material nature and without an apparent external agent in the real world.

Sometimes even the very conception of the respective group is questionable. I cannot see, for instance, any especially close relationship that would bring the words in one semantic category and that would prove that the difference consists only in the presence or absence of a functional distinctive seme between *mín* 民 'people' and *chén* 臣 'subject; minister' (I do not deny that *chén* does include a strongly relational base). Both refer to humans others than rulers in the end, but it does not mean that they can be simply matched, and they definitely do not constitute a single genus or synonymous group. Moreover, the former one is a mass noun (countable only generically) and the latter one is countable. Zhāng, following the palaeographic explanations of the ancient graph by Guō Mòruò and Duàn Yùcái, also very unconvincingly suggests that the distinctive seme of *mín* 'people' is something like 'to be ignorant' or 'to have the left eye blinded' (sic!), concluding that is an "appearance noun" – this again shows that his method of semantic analysis is seriously flawed. It is by the way interesting that the alleged impossibility of the HY for *mín* does not seem to be a universal intrinsic trait of the word: the English *people*, which is conceptually relatively close to the CC word (also in terms of countability), has its conversional counterpart *to people*. Likewise, I cannot see why *gē* 戈 'halberd' and *zhàng* 杖 'stick' should be compared in this context, except for they both are instruments and have a stick-like form.

In the previous paragraphs, I have tried to show that Zhāng's arguments are unconvincing even if we conceded to his conception, and that his method is obviously inconsistent. I wish, however, to suggest a conception which differs from the one he and most of his predecessors presented, or more precisely to supplement it with yet another perspective. My support of the thesis that the potentiality of using object words to denote processes is theoretically universal is based on the assumption that the HY

phenomenon represents basically a type of word formation, or at least its close analogon in the conditions of CC. Zhāng does not address this issue and it would not give sense to polemize with him from this standpoint. I agree on this point with Štekauer and his theory of English conversion: even the most ephemeral nonce-formations are viewed as novel expressions in the stage of birth, which may in theory gradually spread in the speech community and become institutionalized and lexicalized as a new word or a new meaning of a word; it does not matter now that most if not all nonce-formations dependent on context do not undergo this process (cf. Hohenlaus 2005). In traditional Chinese terms, an occasional HY may result in a JLC.

As mentioned earlier, I prefer onomasiologic approach to word formation, which was elaborated by M. Dokulil in 1960's. Of course, I try to transplant it into the framework of cognitive linguistics if necessary to solve problems rooted in the respective general theory of language, but a full systematic fusion of the onomasiological theory of word formation and cognitive grammar is far beyond the scope of this thesis. I deal with these aspects below in the section on word formation (VI.3.1) in a closer detail.

Any root can theoretically serve as the motivating element in formation of a new lexical unit. It is sufficient if it is enough clear to speakers of the language and acceptable as a well-formed expression. Rare innovations may gradually become current, context-dependent formations may gradually become decontextualized: this is nevertheless a different story. In principle, virtually all objects can play a role in an interaction and the object words that denote them include these items of information in their semantic structure, having various degrees of salience according to how typical the interaction is for the object. Clark and Clark (1979) described, in addition, what contribution may be made by the context which is sometimes able to override even the information provided by the conventional meaning. Importantly, it can compensate for insufficient conventional semantic input of lexical units. In traditional terms, theoretically any noun can be derived into a denominal verb: the diversity of denominal nouns across languages seems to prove this assumption. We have seen in the discussion about Zhāng Wénguó's proposal that it may be useful to adduce examples of analogous formations from other languages. Having collected a relatively voluminous material and examined each particular case of HY, however rare or context-dependent, I have no reason to believe that there are some language-specific constraints in CC that disable certain types of denominal formation and that are absent e.g. in English, Latin or Czech. Let us look just on Clark and Clark's collection to see that virtually any conceivable communicatively acceptable conversion is possible. But also there are innumerable verbs derived from nouns by unspecific denominal verbal affixes in Latin or Czech in various degrees of lexicalization, occurrence frequency and contextuality, and any noun can still be derived in this way in a new verb in case that it has not yet been done, and sometimes even in that case too. That not all formations are equally common is another

question, and it is really related to the semantic content of the motivating word to large extent, and it is heavily influenced by organization of the lexicon in the given language.

Whether the particular formation – or the case of HY in Chinese terms – occurs is decided by naming needs of the speech community: either a new naming unit is needed to symbolize a new concept or whatever element of actual or imaginative element of reality, either a new naming unit is needed to denote a designatum already known and conventionally named, and it happens then for various pragmatic purposes, usually stylistic ones (see below).

I have talked about the limitations posed by the nature of the CC corpus several times. Under the circumstances, it is not acceptable to determine which object words could have been used verbally and which not on the basis of whether the respective uses are attested in the corpus or not, for it might be simply a matter of chance. One may be thus able to tell what was possible to say in a dead language while one should be very careful about judgements about what was impossible, since it cannot be proven in any way and it is especially risky if formulated as generalizations.

Contextuality and conventionality

Both reliance of expressions on context for their correct interpretation and conventionality of linguistic units are a matter of degree. These two aspects are interrelated and typically interfere with each other. The less straightforwardly is the meaning of an expression computable from the particular meanings conventionally associated with the units that constitute them, the more it is dependent on the major supplementary source of information – context of a variable range. An appropriate context enables innovative uses of words which would be otherwise, that is in isolation, unconceivable: this concerns mainly those object-action derivations that are not based on the prototypical functional features of the objects. This happens usually when the conceptualization of the respective object does not include salient processual features, in other words, when the object is not more or less conventionally associated with a process as its participant in an ICM. *Rì* 日 ‘day’ can be an example of such word: outside of the peculiar context of the commentaries on *Chūnqiū* (GLZ and GYZ) and the concrete passages, one would not be able to think of the meaning ‘to record the date’. But the contextual information may occasionally also override the information provided by salient processual semantic features and the word in the innovative sense may acquire an unexpected meaning (cf. Clark and Clark 1979: 785–786, 794). For example, the above-mentioned *jǐ* 戟 ‘*jǐ* halberd’, being a kind of weapon, is an instrument of fighting – playing the instrumental role in the ICM of fight is one of its salient features and a piece of conventional knowledge associated with the object. We would expect that if used to denote a process, it would mean ‘to use *jǐ* halberd in fight in the manner halberds are generally employed’ – this instrumental interpretation would be natural and would also confirm to the verbal use of *bīng* 兵, the general term for weapons. But in ZZ 12.25.1.3, this potential meaning (*jǐ qí shǒu* 戟其手 ‘to apply the *jǐ* on his hand’) is

overridden by the contextual interpretation 'to make one's hand into a *jǐ*, to imitate the shape of a *jǐ* with one's hand'. Of course, context more frequently serves to disambiguate several possible interpretations based on prototypical features of the concepts or to confirm the most expectable one in the case of HY, and it standardly disambiguates the meanings of polysemous words and homonyms. We thus have a continuum of conventionality and contextual dependence between innovative expressions only marginally dependent on conventional semantics of the underlying words through innovative expressions based on conventional salient semantic features of the underlying words to purely conventional uses of words. I am interested in the whole spectrum of possibilities, for it is not reasonable to draw sharp boundaries where there are gradual transitions and to dismiss integral parts of the coherent spectrum from research, irrespective of how it relates to the traditional distinction between *langue* and *parole*. Also in this respect the approach conforms to the cognitivist paradigm, which is manifestly usage-based (Langacker 1987: 46).

We can conceive of the role of context in interpretation and disambiguation of expressions as of the informational background for erection of certain mental spaces and sequential evocation of certain ICMs or configurations of ICMs. In different contexts, there are activated different ICMs with various levels of prominence, and the elocutions are understood against these ICMs. As a result, the semantic substructures of linguistic units that are grounded in the same ICMs as those evoked by the context become most salient and are chosen by the listener for integration into a coherent picture of the event encoded by the linguistic structures. In case that a discrepancy between contextually evoked active ICMs and the conventional meanings or innovative meanings based on them arises, either a new ICM is chosen as the background, if possible at all, or the expressions in question are semantically accommodated in order to conform to the active contextual framework. In the cited example of *jǐ* 戟, the discrepancy between the active dominant ICM GESTURE evoked by the context and the basic ICM conventionally associated with *jǐ*, FIGHT, is resolved by accommodating the meaning of *jǐ* so that it can be intergrated in the domain of gestures. This accommodation, of course, requires another amount of intellectual effort, and this type of HY is therefore less current and often considered irregular, idiosyncratic, unsystematic etc. – not only a process has to be derived from an object, but it cannot be done solely on the basis of the salient preconfigured semantic features of the object word but also the accommodation to an essentially unrelated ICM is needed.

Once a word has been used innovatively, no matter how temporary the use might seem or how high its reliance on the context is, the novel configuration of form and meaning is at least theoretically susceptible to decontextualization and lexicalization, though it happens rather exceptionally. The only thing that is necessary is the acceptance of the form-meaning pairing for a conventional unit of the language by its speakers. This process of institutionalization is strongly influenced by various

sociologic factors, though in comparison with modern era the mechanisms of spreading novel formations were considerably limited in ancient times, depending on completely different modes of communication. We should take into account the relationship between the spoken language of the time and the written language of the elite literate culture; unfortunately we know very little about it and there is little chance that our understanding could be substantially improved in the future due to lack of resources.

It should be moreover noted that the conventionality and the interrelated dependence on context is also a matter of size and character of the reference community of speakers. In various idiolects, sociolects, dialects and other varieties of the language of different levels of generalization, some lexical items might be current and perfectly lexicalized although they are not established as conventional linguistic units in the language generally for all speakers. Do not these terms exist in the language only because of it? There is nothing strange or disqualifying about e.g. *mén* 門 'to attack a gate' occurring only in ZZ or *zǐ* 子 'to title one as zǐ' occurring only in GLZ and GYZ, in the same way as professional slangs and specialized terminologies are an integral part of respective languages. However, the question is not answered that easily with regard to idiolects, the lower limit in size of the community. Given the scarcity of evidence for CC, it is often difficult to decide whether an expression belongs rather to an idiolect or is accepted more generally but is not attested in other works because of its low frequency or different topic, style and other factors. On principle, I accept any use of any word to be a valid manifestation of the CC language as a system as far as it conforms to the rules observable from a similar type of expressions and is thus intelligible in the given context, no matter how limited the scope of texts it occurs in seems to be. The issue of lexicalization will be dealt in closer detail with in VI.3.1.

Regularity and predictability

The assumption of mine that the HY is a type of word formation, or at least it can be treated as its perfect analogon in the somewhat specific conditions of CC, implies my approach to the issue of regularity of HY. There definitely are regular derivational patterns discernible in the bulk of HY, the regularity is nevertheless that of word formation, not of e.g. inflectional morphology in IE languages. That is, it is not possible to unproblematically derive meanings of all particular HY from the original lexical meaning of the underlying words and a set of rules (as some scholars suggest), though this may work well for certain subtypes of HY. It is well-known that meanings of novel coinages need not be entirely predictable, i.e. deducible from the formants they consist of. They are typically not fully compositional but only motivated by the meanings of the components. In Dokulilian terms, there is a discrepancy between the "word-formational meaning" (*slovotvorný význam*) and the actual lexical meaning of the expression, which is usually more specific, but sometimes also quite unexpected (cf. Dokulil 1962: 97–98). Word formation is thus governed by regularity in a broader sense, which we can conceive of as creativity within rules (cf. Štekauer 2005: xvi, 246);

it may however happen, though only occasionally, that even a novel expression that breaks the rules may be accepted by the speech community and get perfectly lexicalized under certain circumstances: linguistic convention relies essentially on *usus tyrannus* (see below). As discussed in the previous section, context may play a substantial role in establishing the meaning of innovative expressions, or more precisely it makes the intended meaning intelligible and acceptable for the listener. Of course, the more is an innovation dependent on context in its initial phase of existence, the less it is predictable solely on the basis of information provided by the decontextualized conventional semantics of the motivating linguistic structures. See also VI.2.2, VI.3.1 and VI.4.

Besides this, the fact that the predictability of meaning of object words used to denote a process is limited is apparent for several other reasons. For instance, multiple derivations of the same object word to different action words are very common: consider e.g. the following examples (the order is arbitrary):

mén 門 'gate' → a) 'to attack a gate' (ZZ *passim*. e.g. 5.33.9.1), b) 'to guard a gate' (ZZ 6.15.4.7); *shuǐ* 水 'water' → a) 'to flood with water' (ZGC 18.1.1), b) 'to swim' (XZ 1.3.2), c) 'to be floods' (ZZ 10.19.10.1), d) 'to get flooded' (XZ 10.7.2), e) 'to soak with water' (ZL 6.66), f) 'to' (ZL 6.67); *yì* 邑 'town' → a) 'to be/become a town on its own' (ZZ 8.7.5.2), b) 'to build a town at' (MZ 1.2.15.4, ZZ 1.11.3.8), c) 'to give a town to' (ZZ 12.1.2.3); *shī* 師 'army' → a) 'to recruit people for army' (ZGC 29.8.13), b) 'to fight' (XZ 25.8); *shī* 尸 'corpse' → a) 'to look for and collect corpses after a battle' (ZZ 7.12.2.66), b) 'to expose a corpse after execution' (ZZ 11.14.2.3), c) 'to throw a corpse away' (ZZ 2.15.2.3); *wèi* 味 'taste' → a) 'to taste' (XZ 31.5.1), b) 'to consider tasteful' (HF 39.12.1), *rèn* 刃 'blade' → a) 'to kill with a blade' (ZGC 17.9.6, ZZ 9.25.2.11), b) 'to provide with a blade' (ZGC 18.4.2), c) fig. 'to cut each other, to clash' (Zh 2.2.6); *xuè* 血 'blood' → a) 'to bleed' (HF 22.29.1), b) 'to stain with blood' (XZ 15.2.4, LS 12.4.2.3); *shéng* 繩 'rope' → a) 'to continue like a rope' (LS 5.5.12.1), b) '[to cause someone to stay within a territory delimited by ropes >] to pacify' (GZ 52.1.1, SB 2.6), c) 'to measure and regulate' (LJ 19.2.13); *qiàn* 塹 'moat' → a) 'to build a moat' (ZZ 10.17.6.3), b) 'to fall into a moat' (ZZ 10.29.3.2); *miàn* 面 'face' → a) 'to meet' (ZZ 10.6.7.2), b) 'to manifest a feeling on one's face' (XZ 27.18.1); *biǎo* 表 'measure' → a) 'to measure' (XZ 27.12.1), b) 'to serve as a measure, as a model' (ZZ 9.29.13.6); *míng* 'name' → a) with the reading 名 *mìng* 'to name' (*passim*, e.g. ZZ 9.30.3.3), b) 'to call someone using his *míng*-name' (LJ 2.1.4, ZGC 24.4.1), c) 'to become famous' (MZ 2.2.13.2), d) 'to win fame by something' (HF 30.28.2); *shì* 市 'market' → a) 'to open markets' (ZZ 10.18.3.10), b) 'to sell' (XZ 2.5.2), and many others.

Occasionally, the particular meanings may be derived from each other and not from the original nominal meaning of the object word, but as we can see, it is usually not the case. The fact that there is typically one derived meaning (or two competing

ones) that is dominant and usually relatively easily predictable does not undermine the argument.

It can be also useful to compare the situation of HY in CC with its functional counterparts in other languages. Conclusions arrived at by Clark and Clark and Štekauer for English conversion are especially worth of our interest, optimally if combined together as the former focuses on contextuals while the latter is concerned only with basically context-free conversion. Quite expectedly, Clark and Clark (1979: 782) assume an infinite number of possible senses for contextuals. Štekauer tries to determine which conditions enable a reasonably good predictability and in doing this he points out also the circumstances that dramatically decrease it, like dependence on context and specific rather than generic knowledge, involvement of figurative meanings, derivation based on general rather than prototypical features (cf. 2005: 63, 66, 76). As far as relatively context-free and easily institutionalizable innovations are considered, both papers concur on that the predominant features of the source words and the generic knowledge associated with the concepts are crucial, but also – which is more important in this context – that there is often more than one predominant feature. This leads to competition between several (usually two) interpretations based on these feature and to ambiguity in respect to the meaning of the corresponding denominal verbs (Clark and Clark 1979: 793, Štekauer 1996: 104; 2005: xvi, xx, 90). This observation is universal, as it accounts not for language-specific forms but for communicative strategies and conceptual processes in general, and it applies to CC too. This is supported by abundant evidence for multiple HY derivations, a small portion of which I adduced in the previous paragraph.

It is thus obvious that the predictability of meaning of object words innovatively used to denote an action may substantially vary and interpretation of these uses is straightforward and unambiguously predictable only exceptionally if they are without context and relying solely on the information provided by conventional semantics. As a result, any rules established for semantics of the HY process have necessarily only a limited validity. Instead of rules, I prefer to speak of regularities and principles. In this somewhat broader sense, practically no HY is irregular, for it respects the general principles of formation of novel expressions and is therefore communicatively effective and vice versa (I have not included in my sample obscure and dubious cases whose interpretation has been traditionally at issue). Zhāng Wénguó associates regularity with word-class flexibility of entire lexical fields: if a verbal use of a particular word appears isolated in the microclass in which it is presumed to be categorized, i.e. it does not follow the same common patterns as its co-members, it is degraded to a “mere” MCHY and often removed to footnotes. It is true that such patterns are well observable, but I do not agree with their conception and their role as suggested by Zhāng. I will deal with them in the following section in more detail. They may be better explained as a result of analogy (which is naturally a kind of rule as well, but of limited effectivity and

regularity) operating predominantly on low-level schemas (cf. Langacker 1991: 46–50). This analogy is typically based on model cases belonging to basic-level (generic) concepts, which are largely defined by interactional properties (see Lakoff 1987: 51) –, and it extends the scope of HY to words denoting more specific concepts.

Figurative meanings, metaphor

There has been published an immense volume of research on conceptual metaphor both in general and with regard to subsystems of world's languages in recent years. Most of it draws in some way on the epochal book *Metaphors We Live By* by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) or *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things* by Lakoff (1987), and so do I in appreciating the role of metaphoric extension in language and thought. Howsoever reserved stance to cognitive linguistics one may occupy, I think there is little disagreement on its substantial contribution to rehabilitation of metaphor and elaboration of its theory, and its achievements seem to be widely accepted. I do not intend to go deeper in this issue on its own; if necessary, I refer to the mentioned basic comprehensive works. What is important is that at least one thing is apparent: it is not admissible any more to treat metaphor as a mere embellishment of language and oppose figurative meanings to literal meanings as two essentially different things. Metaphor is to be taken as an integral and typical element of conceptualization and of language.

Though involvement of metaphorical or other figurative meanings may reduce meaning predictability in word-class transitions, as Štekauer points out (2005: 63, note however that it concerns mainly context-free word formation; Štekauer moreover admits that this negative effect fades away along with lexicalization – “dying” – of the metaphor), it is very common – as is metaphor in language and mind generally. There has been felt nothing strange about words having figurative meanings, and there is no reason to see the HY that is based on these meanings as unusual or qualitatively different from those based on the so called literal meanings.⁵⁹

There are basically three different modes of involvement of metaphor in the derivation: a) the original object word is polysemous and the polysemous structure includes figurative meanings that are manifestly derived from the meaning generally understood as the basic and literal one, being prototypically mappings from concrete domains to more abstract domains; the semantic substructure on which the HY is based is one of them; b1) the original object word does not include a well-established meaning

⁵⁹ It is evident that though Zhāng Wénguó is reluctant to even consider figurative meanings to be an entirely common basis of HY – according to the omnipresent role of metaphor and metonymy in thought and language in general – he was not able to avoid inclusion of figurative derivation in his examples. Its cases partially constitute a somewhat curious category in his system: the pattern of derivation called *xū tǐ* 虛體 ‘empty substance’, in which, in his interpretation, it is not the things denoted by the object words that is important but only their properties (see Zhāng Wénguó 2005: 142–143). In my view, this incoherent solution only shows that there is no way to oppose literal and figurative meanings to each other in principle and to exclude the latter ones from the scope of the “true” HY.

of the type described in (a) (or this meaning is not involved in the HY), and the metaphoric extension is generated in the coinage act of the HY itself, resulting in an action word that is more abstract than the source concept; b2) the original object word does not include a well-established meaning of the type described in (a) (or this meaning is not involved in the HY), but there is a relatively well-established processual meaning derived non-metaphorically from the literal meaning which is only later further extended metaphorically, and as a result, the metaphoric extension in question is not involved in the HY process – neither in the source nor in the result – but it arised only later in the action-action derivation.

In the category (a), the source figurative nominal meaning is assumed to be fairly conventional, but both the degree of conventionality and of awareness of usual speakers regarding the derivational motivation (i.e. the mapping from the concrete source domain of the metaphor) may vary to some extent. The processual uses are usually relatively well established as well, but not necessarily.

The category (b2) does not, strictly speaking, directly relate to the phenomenon of word-class flexibility (on this point, Zhāng is right, see 2005: 109–110), and I try to avoid intermingling of its members with cases of the rest in my treatise. Unfortunately, it is not always possible to ascertain the actual succession of derivation due to low frequency of respective uses of the words (we are able to trace pre-Qín derivational history of a word or a family of related meanings in sufficient detail and chronological precision rather exceptionally): it is then unclear whether the metaphorical processual meaning is derived directly in the process of HY or indirectly from a literal processual meaning which is already a result of a HY.

Let us turn to some examples.

First, I adduce examples of what I consider to be category (b1), i.e. the metaphorical extension is presumed to have occurred only in the process of HY and the derived metaphorical processual meaning is thus not rooted in a well-established metaphorical nominal meaning – in other words, the source object words are not regularly used in the extended abstract sense. Cf.:

ní 泥 ‘mud’ → ‘to be stuck as if in mud, to be immersed’ (ZGC 19.4.28), *zhú* 燭 ‘candle’ → ‘to shine’ (HF 30.9.2), *zhù* 柱 ‘pillar’ → ‘to tower like a pillar’ (Zh 24.1.11), *píng/bǐng* 屏 ‘screen’ → ‘to block off’ (ZGC 5.9.2), *yì* 翼 ‘wing’ → ‘to protect’ (MZ 3.1.4.17, ZZ 12.16.5.9), *zhǒng* 踵 ‘heel’ → ‘to closely follow’ (ZZ 10.24.9.1), *jiē* 階 ‘staircase’ → ‘to prepare steps for, to provoke’ (ZZ 8.16.12.3), *zhǎng* 掌 ‘palm of hand’ → ‘to control’ (ZZ 9.29.7.1), *lǐ* 里 ‘village, neighborhood’ → ‘to dwell in’ (LY 4.1.1), *gǔgōng* 股肱 ‘legs and arms’ → ‘to support’ (ZZ 5.26.3.4), *yòu* 囿 ‘walled garden’ → ‘to constrain to certain limits’ (Zh 25.3.4), *wǎng* 罔 ‘net’ → ‘(to catch like fish with a net >) to ensnare’ (MZ 1.1.7.36, LY 6.1), *diào* 釣 ‘fishing angle’ → ‘to “fish” (profit, fame)’ (HF 2.5.1, HF 23.22.1), *ěr* 餌 ‘bait’ → ‘to lure’ (ZGC 4.8.1), *jīn* 襟 ‘front of garment, collar’ → ‘to shield oneself’ (ZGC 6.9.20).

The second group includes a handful of examples which are intermediate between the (a) and (b1) categories in that sense that the source object words for the HY are attested in the relevant metaphorical uses, the metaphor is nevertheless not yet fully conventional and the motivation for it (the link to the source domain) is still felt relatively intensively. Inclusion of the quoted examples in this group is rather a matter of a preliminary observation than of a systematic research:

dù 蠹 'vermin, moth' → 'to eat up like a moth' (HF 1.4.5), *jì* 跡 'footprint' → 'to follow in steps of' (MD 2.2), *bīn* 濱 'shore' → 'to be at brink of' (GY 3.1), *jī* 基 'foundations' → 'to begin, to found' (ZZ 9.29.13.3).

In the third group, which consists of words sorted out thematically, all being used to denote a concept of keeping or putting someone in limits or in order, most of the HYs belong to the category (a) except for a rather fresh metaphor of *fú* 幅 (and *yòu* 圍, which belongs to this group only loosely). This is not a mere coincidence: culturally salient abstract concepts, like order and the restraints that constitute it which have been always central to Chinese thinking, tend to be reflected in the language in a diversified way, and, importantly, once the lexical items which denote them were metaphorically derived from more concrete domains they got well established and the feeling of motivation quickly faded away due to high frequency and entrenchment of the derived form-meaning pairing. The frequency of the derived meaning often gradually becomes much higher than the frequency of the original literal meaning, and the new abstract meaning is gradually conventionalized and associated with the linguistic form directly, not via the original meaning. In other words, the cognitive routine becomes well entrenched. Of course, the original metaphor may be actualized e.g. for rhetoric purposes, but it may be practically unreflected in everyday language. Cf.:

guī 規 'compasses > rule' → 'to correct, to cause to be in order' (ZZ 10.4.3.6), *guǐ* 軌 'track' 軌 → 'to keep oneself in the appropriate track' (ZZ 4.1.1.2), *dù* 度 'gauge > rule' → 'to regulate' (ZZ 9.21.2.5), *fú* 幅 'width of cloth' → 'to keep in limits' (YZ 6.15.3), *shéng* 繩 'rope > limits' → 'to put in line, in limits' (GZ 52.1.1), *wéi* 維 'cord > line' → 'to restrain' (HF 54.2.2), *jīngwǎi* 經緯 'warp and weft > order' → 'to keep in order' (XZ 21.5.1), *yòu* 圍 'walled garden' → 'to constrain to certain limits' (Zh 25.3.4), (later in Hàn Chinese *jī* 羈 'bridle' → 'to restrain').

A similar group, consisting of words of the category (a) except for *shéng* 繩, is thematically defined by the concept of basing oneself on, drawing on, to follow a course:

běn 本 'trunk, root' → 'to base on' (very common; e.g. HF 20.10.3) (besides the use with the meaning 'to investigate, to trace the roots of'), *gēn* 根 'root' → 'to be rooted in' (MZ 7.1.21.2), *yuán* 原 'source' → 'to base on' (XZ 1.10.2) (besides the use with the meaning 'to trace the sources of'), *zǔ* 祖 'ancestor' → 'to follow the tradition of' (ZGC 12.1.13), *zōng* 宗 'ancestor' → 'to follow the tradition of' (ZGC 30.1.14, LJ

3.2.31), *shéng* 繩 ‘rope’ → ‘to continue in something like a rope which runs unbroken, to follow in steps of’ (LS 5.5.12.1) (besides the other meanings). *Ji* 跡 ‘to follow in someone’s steps’ (MD 2.2) included above might be considered a peripheral member of this category too.

The most conspicuous domains of structural metaphors (see Lakoff and Johnson 1980, ch. 13) in CC are traditionally terms concerning silk and cloth production or nets. Many of the terms underwent multiple derivations and possess rich polysemous structures interwoven by complex fabrics of mutual relationships, e.g. *jīng* 經 ‘warp’, *wěi* 緯 ‘weft’, *ji* 級 ‘order of silk threads’, *tǒng* 統 ‘main thread’, *jì* 紀 ‘thread’, *xù* 緒 ‘head of thread’, *gāng* 綱 ‘fishing net rope’, or *wéi* 維 ‘cord’ among object words.

Even from this small sample of HY influenced by metaphor, it is discernible that analogy operates very frequently within thematic groups. Words of similar meanings tend to be derived in a similar manner, both as far as semantic extension in general and HY is considered, irrespective of how differently they are glossed in old philological books. I deal with this phenomenon in following sections in connection with semantic and lexicological aspects of HY.

Pragmatic features

Except for *mingdòngcí*, which do not exhibit any substantial asymmetry in the distribution of the processual and nominal uses, processual use of object words – which is by far less common than their current nominal use, including both Zhāng Wénguó’s JL and HY – is pragmatically marked. I am concerned here with what is traditionally called pragmatic features, i.e. stylistic registers, sociolectic and dialectic registers, historic layers and others, though it is true that this kind of use is also marked pragmatically in the technical sense employed by Bisang to designate another type of typological markedness (see III.2.6).

It is needless to say that rarer HY or most *hapax legomena* had probably a strong feeling of freshness, being more or less recent innovations. Besides this, there are basically two distinct reasons for HY which influence pragmatic conditions: a) there existed a current action word (or e.g. a combination of an action word and a prepositional phrase) that could have been easily employed to precisely – though maybe in more general terms – express the action in question, but in spite of it the author chose to use an object word in HY; b) there was not an appropriate action word in the lexicon of CC to express the meaning that the author had in mind, and he therefore had to coin a new term and chose HY among other alternatives.

In the case of (a), the HY is typically employed for rhetorical purposes: the use is marked for expressivity and it usually also aims to manifest linguistic creativity and rhetorical skills of the author. As a rule, it is semantically richer and more concrete than the conventional alternative, for a relatively general processual meaning – which is conventionally expressed by a generic-level action word like ‘to affect’, ‘to put on’, ‘to

build' – and one of the event elements – which would have to be otherwise introduced e.g. by a prepositional phrase or as a syntactic object – are compressed in one single word, resulting in a somewhat more concrete concept like 'to affect with N', 'to put N on', 'to build N' (cf. *bīng* 兵 'weapon' → 'to attack with a weapon' (ZZ 11.10.2.2), *jiè* 介 'armour' → 'to put on armour' (ZZ 8.2.3.10), *liáng* 梁 'bridge' → 'to bridge [= to build a bridge over] a river' (ZZ 3.4.1.4)). The use is thus also noted for brevity and semantic density. Both because of formal brevity, expressivity and originality, HY is often found in poetry, as Zhāng Wénguó (2005: 149–154) shows for the preclassical *Book of Odes* and Hàn dynasty *fū*. For the classical period, *Chǔcí* 楚辭 from the late Warring States might be the best candidate for a further research in this direction. If we put aside the considerations regarding formal requirements of rhymed poetry, it is symptomatic that a relatively large amount of rarer HY is contained in *Zhuāngzǐ*, a text that is renowned for its poetic qualities and masterful linguistic playfulness (terminological aspects are however involved too; see below).

In the case of (b), the HY is typically employed for terminological purposes: the main goal is to coin a new univocal term so that one need not circumscribe the processual concept with a whole phrase; the expressivity does not play an important role here, unlike the brevity of one-word term. This is the genuine domain of usual word formation. We can encounter various *termini technici* formed on the basis of HY in texts involving various domains of specialization: e.g. in *Zuǒzhuàn* we find traces of military slang (cf. the notorious *mén* 門 'gate' → 'to attack a gate'); there are some terms referring to technologies in *Mòzǐ* (cf. *xué* 穴 'cavity' → 'to dig a tunnel' (MD 14.62), *gōu* 鉤 'hook' → 'to provide with a hook' (ibid.)) and to ritual in *Lǐjì* (cf. *zhǎo* 爪 'claw' → 'to cut off nails (on the feet of a dead person before burial)' (LJ 22.1.31)) that are action words derived by HY from an object word. But in general, any occasion on which there is a need to coin a term for a new processual concept, HY is one of ways to do it. Original philosophical reasoning often requires such new terms, and the more original it is, the more concepts are newly established, and these must be associated with a linguistic form for purposes of communication – either a novel one as a result of morphological derivation or root formation, or an already existing one on the principle of motivation. For this reason there are some peculiar word-class transitions in *Zhuāngzǐ*, and especially in its philosophically most sophisticated and abstract chapters (cf. the omnipresent *wù* 物 'entity, thing, phenomenon' and its various derivations with slight semantic nuances, but basically of the kind 'to treat as a thing', 'be enslaved by things', 'to create things'; see also Yáng Zhāowèi et. al. 1991: 282–283). See also Zhāng Wénguó (2005: 154–173), who quotes almost the same examples, as these are the most instructive ones. Clark and Clark (1979: 801–802) talk about practically the same observations regarding the pragmatic features of contextual nonce-formations in English (concretely they speak of a. economy of expression, b. precision, c. vividness, d. surprise, e. comic effect).

VI.2 Semantic issues

VI.2.1 Semantic foundations of the HY process

There has been already much said about particular aspects of HY semantics, especially in connection with CC word classes and polysemy in this language, both systematic and unsystematic. Here I will try to focus on the essential semantic issues underlying the use of object words in the function of action words in a somewhat closer detail. The main theme, which is abundantly though usually superficially touched upon in nearly all literature about the phenomenon, are patterns of derivation defined in terms of action elements: the criterion of classification consists in the role that the object denoted by the object word plays in the action which is newly designated by the word. I dedicate a separate section to these patterns, or more precisely, I discuss their nature and, above all, analytic relevance.

Conceptual asymmetry of noun and verb

The crucial factor that determines the semantic derivation involved in noun-verb HY is the conceptual asymmetry of words of the two major opposed word classes. Simply put, noun (the prototype of object words) is profiled as a stative non-relational region bounded in at least one domain, being conceptually autonomous, while verb (the prototype of action words) is profiled as a sequentially scanned transient relation evolving in time, and it is conceptually dependent in that sense that it can be itself hardly evoked without the entities between which the relation holds, i.e. without its participants, howsoever schematic they may be. A prototypical action word is, as a result, conceptually more complex than a prototypical object word.

This asymmetry is reflected in asymmetrical conditions for N-V and V-N derivations. The former is conceptually more demanding, requires more intellectual effort and presupposes more creativity, because the object denoted by the word becomes one of the elements of the action and the whole relational structure of the event has to be erected on the basis of information that is outside the scope of predication of the original object word. This semantic content is beyond the semantic core, though it may be closely associated with the nominal concept in the form of prototypical associations – modes of involvement in actions (interactional properties). It is thus less readily accessible, and the difficulty significantly increases in the case of contextuality, for then even extralinguistic information has to be sorted out and employed. The latter direction of derivation, on the other hand, is much easier: one of the elements that are already included in the structure of the event is simply picked out and the profile moves only to this area, the rest losing its prominence and sinking to the status of the base or background. Or, the action as a whole becomes profiled as a region in an abstract domain, i.e. it undergoes reification and the action word then turns into a corresponding “action noun” – this is the most simple and straightforward pattern of derivation. The speaker does not usually have to exploit information from beyond the scope of

predication, for everything necessary is already included in the entirely conventional semantic core of the action word. The profile expands in N-V derivation and shrinks in V-N derivation; only in the first case a conceptual gap arises which must be "fixed" with some amount of effort and creativity. See also Langacker 1991: 25.

And further, this asymmetry is also the reason why action words are unproblematically turned into abstract object words in CC, and why this kind of derivation is pervasive and entirely systematic, leading to systematic polysemy (see V.2.2, p. 102) – while object words do not exhibit this easy and systematic flexibility in the direction of action words. In IE languages, the same tendency can be observed: derivation of "action nouns" is usually paradigmatic to that extent that it can be considered a kind of inflectional morphology – if we wished to maintain this traditional dichotomy whose limitations become evident precisely in this grey zone between typical inflection and typical lexical derivation. On the contrary, action words are derived from object words in more cumbersome ways and the process, which is by far not paradigmatic, is structurally removed from the grey zone, representing typical, relatively complex and not easily predictable derivational word formation. However, it is true that genuine deverbal derivations are as unparadigmatic as denominal formations.

Semantic structure of object word as the main factor

Although I have rejected Zhang's thesis that there is one single distinctive feature that could decide whether a given object word can be used to denote an action or not, I agree with him that the process of HY is crucially determined by the semantic structure of the original object word. It is only that the semantic structure of the source expression does not enable or preclude the HY, but substantially influences probability of its occurrence, and under normal circumstances (i.e. if there is not strong dependence on the context) it also often determines the most probable patterns of derivation.

First of all, there is a relatively broad spectrum of what we called **relational nouns** in V.3, which are especially susceptible to HY, and many of them eventually either had been from the origin or gradually became *míngdòngcí*, or at least JL with only minor asymmetry in distribution of nominal and verbal uses. This concerns primarily various **social roles**, mainly political **ranks** and **professions**, but also certain classes of **abstract nouns** and e.g. **meteorologic conditions**, which we have already talked about above.

Look at the following words that are freely used to denote processes; some of them are MDC, some are JLC, the object often refers to the agent of the action, but there are also other patterns involved, and some of the words may be used in several different ways, e.g. causatively (derivation of non-agent action words is specified); moreover, some of the verbal uses are even morphologically marked by a tone change (in square brackets). Sometimes it is not clear which meaning was the original one and

which the one derived secondarily, none the less, I do not intend to delve into etymology here; synchronically, the words are JLC and many of them even MDC and the actual original direction of derivation and the issue of which of the uses is primary and which secondary (if there was initially such a distinction at all) is not important here. Cf. the following examples of word of this type; the object words in the end of the list (basically from *fú* on) are those ones which are obviously secondary uses of action words, though a sound etymological survey would reveal a much diverse situation in the diachronic perspective. I do not give any specific reference, since all the processual uses are common, the words being JLC or MDC:

wáng [wàng] 王 'king', *xiàng* 相 'prime minister', *jūn* 君 'ruler', *chén* 臣 'minister, subject', *bà* 霸 'hegemon', *dì* 帝 'emperor', *jiàng* 將 'general', *fū* 傅 'preceptor', *pú* 僕 'coachman', *zhǎng* 長 'chief', *méi* 媒 'matchmaker', *nǚ* 女 'woman (> wife)' → 'to get married', *qī* 妻 'wife' → [*qì*] 'to marry', *shì* 室 'wife' → 'to marry', *yìng* 媵 'maid who accompanies a bride', *shī* 師 'teacher' → 'to learn from, to have a p. for teacher', *zhù* 祝 'impersonator', *guān* 官 'official' → 'to employ as an official', *yǒu* 友 'friend', *fú* 俘 'captive', *dì* 敵 'rival', *chóu* 仇 'enemy', *qiú* 囚 'prisoner', *zhì* 質 'hostage', *dié* 諜 'spy', *yù* 馭/御 'driver', *shǐ* 使 'envoy', *dào* 盜 'thief', *kòu* 寇 'bandit', *zéi* 賊 'evil-doer'.

Among abstract words, there are many which have either a strongly relational base or, which is not the same, represent nominalizing derivations from action words that lead to partial systematic polysemy. Practically all the examples are MDC, and the direction of transition which was at the beginning of formation of these perfectly promiscuous words is for most of them impossible to ascertain, if there was any at all and the words simply did not arise already as polysemic categorially flexible words.

Whereas the vagueness hypothesis (see Croft 2001: 71–73) is not acceptable in the usual cases of relatively central members of the major word classes, *horse* denoting simply horse as an animal and not "something associated with horsiness" including riding a horse, and *to walk* denoting simply walking as a movement and not "something associated with walk" including a walking person, it might apply to these words that are manifestly peripheral with regard to word-class categorization. This however concerns only those words whose nominal and verbal meanings are semantically commensurable, that is, the difference consists in different types of profile while the scope of predication remains essentially the same, and the relationship between the nominal and processual use is quite well expressed by the term *zizhǐ* (see p. 36).

Also here, the commensurability of the scope of predication is relative. On one hand, there are object words whose semantic content consists in the action itself, so that there is actually little difference in the reality which is referred to: cf. *hūn* 婚 'wedding, to wed', *méng* 盟 'pact, to take part in a pact', *huì* 會 'meeting, to meet', *mèng* 夢 'dream, to dream'. Diseases, sacrifices and precipitation (for a cross-linguistic analysis of precipitation terms see Langacker 1991: 365–367) are conspicuous classes that

belong to these expressions in CC too. Whether these words are to be counted as HY is really at issue. The question is how important the differences in imagery (stative, objectified vs. processual understanding of the event) and in systemic relevance of the two semantic nuances, which are definitely present, are. I dare not to decide whether for the ancient Chinese 'a dream' was identical with 'dreaming' and 'a meeting' simply with 'meeting'; in the language, this distinction cannot be effectively reflected, but this need not mean that it did not exist in their minds conceptually. I do not know; further research of this problem would be very much needed, and words of this type are not of my primary interest in this thesis. In any case, if there is really a difference between the two uses, they belong in the scope of systematic polysemy of action words (i.e. systematic nominalization) and are not basically of my concern here.

Another class of words consists of the cases in which the two uses might have originally shared an identical or nearly identical scope of predication, the nominal one being a good example of *zizhǐ*, but had gradually divorced as the two perspectives were becoming basically independent and assumed further specialized meanings that were not shared by their counterparts (*nota bene*, this is a lexicological issue that will be dealt with in VI.3). They may have been, however, also distinct concepts from the very beginning. For these, it is not possible to assume conceptual integrity of both of the uses and they must be considered a HY in the broadest sense, typically in a late stage when the derived meanings are already fully lexicalized as conventional units with their own systemic life and history. As far as I am able to tell on the basis of my research, these words usually belong to V-N transitions (see also Zhāng Wénguó 2005), i.e. have their origin in nominalization of process words, not the other way round, e.g. *xíng* 刑 'punishment, type of punishment' ← 'to punish', *shì* 事 'business, task; official matter' ← 'to deal with, to serve', *yì* 役 'service, military service, compulsory labor' ← 'to serve; to be controlled, to be enslaved', *huì* 惠 'kindness' ← 'to show kindness, to act kindly on'. These words are not of my primary interest either, although they in principle involve the same mechanisms of derivation as the other kinds of HY.

On the other hand, we have abstract words that are MDC with a rich relational semantic structure as their base, but they are similar to usual HY in that the nominal uses do not denote any "action nouns," but, on the contrary, they are *zhuǎnzhǐ* (see p. 36). The processual meanings are however intrinsically bound to the nominal ones and vice versa. We can sometimes also find nominal uses denoting cognate objects of the processes denoted by the processual use, like *gē* 歌 'to sing' → 'song', *wǔ* 舞 'to dance' → 'dance'.

It is again sometimes difficult to tell which meaning can be considered the original one and what the direction of the derivation thus was. For *gē* and *wǔ*, and possibly also *fēng* 贈, *xì* 餽 and *lù* 賂 in my set of examples, the direction was most probably V-N (I come back to these words below). See Zhāng Wénguó (2005) for an

attempt to settle down this question within his framework. Let us look at a handful of examples (I do not give specific reference since all the uses are common):

liè 列 'row, rank' → 'to line up', *xù* 序 'order' → 'to arrange according to an appropriate order', *lù* 祿 'salary' → 'to give/get salary', *fú* 福 'fortune' → 'to bring fortune', *huò* 禍 'misfortune' → 'to bring misfortune', *fǎ* 法 'law' → 'to abide by', *zé* 則 'rule' → 'to adhere to something as to a rule', *dé* 德 'merit' → 'to oblige someone, to do someone a favour', *shuì* 稅 'tax' → 'to collect tax', *fèng* 贈 'funeral gift' ↔ 'to give a funeral gift', *xì* 餼 'present (food)' ↔ 'to give food as present', *lù* 賂 'gift' ↔ 'to offer a valuable gift'.

In all the cases that I have just mentioned above, either the entire semantic base of the given object word or at least its part is incorporated in the processual meaning. It is its scope of predication that is used as the information serving as the basis for the concept of the associated action. Precisely for this reason the words are current in both functions, and this promiscuity is felt as more or less natural according to character of the subclass to which they belong. Often only the easy operation of expanding semantic profile from one subregion of the base to others and some other minor adjustments are needed in order to turn the object word into a closely related action word. The profile expands from a stative element of the conceptual structure, which is related to other stative elements in the base in a certain fashion, to these mutual relations themselves, including the entities between which they hold, and a **temporal profile** is added as the constitutive feature of processes, for without it there would be no evolvment in time involved in the concept (cf. Langacker 1987: 244–248). The primary domain of instantiation also shifts from space to time (see Langacker 1991: 14). These semantic changes consist merely in changes in the **extent and type of profile** and in domain of instantiation, while the semantic base stays more or less constant and in any case it does not undergo any substantial additional expansion. The element that was originally profiled is naturally included in the new profile as well and it retains its salient position.

For example, the relational object word *jūn* 君 'ruler' denotes a person which is instantiated in the domain of space but is defined primarily in terms of relations, both atemporal and processual, to other elements in a matrix of other domains (or ICMs in Lakoffian terms). What makes a ruler is first of all the cluster of properties and activities associated with his social role, and this cluster is a gestalt, though we are able to analyze further the particular aspects of ruling or having the position of ruler; the character of the category RULER and thus the semantic structure of the word that denotes it is actually very similar to the category MOTHER which Lakoff (1987: 74–76) analyzes in detail as an example of cluster models.⁶⁰ As far as these relational contents are

⁶⁰ Note that in English, *to rule* is morphologically basic and *ruler* is derivative. It is possible that CC word *jūn* is an ancient derivation from a verbal root as well, but in the classical period the nominal use is clearly primary. Importantly, the action word from which it is supposed to have been derived, *yīn* 尹 'to administrate' (see Baxter and Sagart 1998: 59), was not, from all we know, considered a verbal

necessary to define the meaning of the word, they are taken to form the semantic base and to be thus within the scope of predication. The most prominent bundle of the interrelated activities which are constitutive of a ruler is conceptualized as the process of ruling and is cognitively represented by the ICM of ruling. Its detailed internal structure is not important now because in the CC HY it is again treated as a gestalt. In this process, the profile of *jūn* expands from the stative element, which is integrated in the fabrics of relations in the cluster model as the agent/modified object to which a property is ascribed (i.e. the trajector both in actions and properties), to the most salient bundle of processual relations, the concept of ruling. Ruling is represented on this level as a cognitively simple relation between the ruler and the entity which is governed by him (*rén* 人 'men, people', *guó* 國 'state', *mín* 民 'people', *tiānxià* 天下 'world' are all well attested as the syntactic object), and this relation is understood as evolving in time, though homogeneously, without any distinct initial or final state, as ruling in general is an imperfective process (Langacker 1991: 254–267). The result of the derivation is the imperfective process of ruling, the original profile sinks to a mere subpart of the new profile, though a prominent one, and a temporal profile is added to the source nominal semantic structure in order to transform a “thing” into an abstract energetic interaction between the ruler and the objects he controls.

The relational base of some relational nouns already includes a process characterized by a temporal extension, in other words, the particular states of the relation are understood as distributed through time, this extension is however deactivated, staying unprofiled (cf. Langacker 1987: 246–248). I have called this type of words as **processual nouns**. If such object word is derived to an action word in HY, the temporal extension is simply activated, i.e. included in the profile. This is e.g. the case of agent nouns, like social roles etc. But sometimes the base of a relational noun includes only an atemporal stative relation – then it is a relational noun in the narrower sense, an **atemporally relational noun**. If such object word is derived into a process word, the temporal profile cannot be merely activated but must be added to yield the concept of an imperfective process. For example, in CC we have the following similar HY pairs: *jì* 際 'boundary' → 'to be contiguous with, to border' (Zh 15.2.8, ZZ 11.10.7.1) (and further → 'to have intercourse with' (ZZ 10.4.8.8)), *jiè* 界 'border' → 'to adjoin, to have a border with' (XZ 16.5.3), *jìng* 境 'border' → 'to adjoin, to have a border with' (ZGC 22.11.2), *lín* 鄰 'neighbour(hood)' → 'to neighbour' (XZ 27.24.3); these words are actually analogous to the example of nominal, adjectival and verbal variants of PARALLEL analyzed in Langacker (1991: 20–21). The former three ones are,

counterpart of *jūn* at the time in question. It is evident that the archaic morphological derivation pertains to a different stratum of the language than the HY. While the motivating relationship between *jūn* and *yǐn* had faded away and meanings of both words had diverged, *yǐn* being in no way the processual counterpart of *jūn* in the classical period, the *jūn*, itself presumably a deverbal nominalization, had become a source of a denominal HY by which its real processual counterpart, i.e. the processual use of *jūn* 'to rule', was established.

in their basic nominal meaning, things – stripes of land – defined through the stative relation of contact of two territories (boundary is always between something and something!), a neighbour(hood), similarly through the atemporal relation of spatial contiguity of housing units. By the HY, the profile extends to these relational structures, but this would not be sufficient for it would result in adjectival meanings; a temporal profile is added to the profile relation to make the word to denote an imperfective process.

As can be seen from the examples, this derivation is fairly regular for social roles and it can be viewed as partially systematic, but it is far from paradigmatic and fully predictable. For example, there is theoretically no reason why *shī* 師 ‘teacher’ could not turn into the agent verb ‘to teach, to be teacher to a p.’ rather than in the actually common attitudinal process word ‘to learn from, to treat someone as a teacher’⁶¹ (on a more general level, both concepts are normally expressed by the core action words *jiāo* 教 ‘to teach, to instruct’, and *xué* 學 ‘to learn, to imitate’), or why *qī* 妻 could not mean ‘to be wife to a p.’ rather than ‘to marry a male p. to a wife [usually introduced prepositionally]’.

Especially the case of the *shī* is striking, for its semantic structure is analogous to that of high ranks in the social hierarchy and the person which it denotes nominally is likewise the agent of the action referred to in the HY. Moreover, there is the *fū* 傅 ‘preceptor’, a loose synonym of *shī*, which unlike it behaves like *jūn* and others. In fact, the process of the denominal derivation of *shī* is different only in that the original stative entity becomes the patient of the processual relation and its agent is elaborated by the syntactic subject in structurally unmarked clauses (active), while in all the more common cases the original stative entity keeps the status of the trajector/agent. In other words, the teacher – only apparently paradoxically – becomes the more passive participant, turning into the target of the attitude and of the actions resulting from the attitude: he is actively pursued by the agent, i.e. the student. One thing is evident – the derivation of *shī* involves additional semantic adjustments and is therefore less predictable and “regular,” if we employ this term for conformity to well-established dominant patterns.

The extension of the profile to the relational structures of the base and activation of the temporal profile is only the constitutive basis of the HY mechanism. Processual use of large subclasses of relational nouns is, as explained above, well established and current, and it represents an independent lexical item (such word is classified as MDC or at least JL in e.g. Zhāng’s framework). And this item may be subject to further diversification and modification of valence positions. If we look at the word *xiàng* 相 ‘prime minister’ (itself originally derived from the action word in a complicated

⁶¹ As a matter of fact, Yáng Zhāowèi et al. (1991: 250) register a HY with this meaning in a Míng dynasty work.

manner), it can be used processually in the following ways: 'to be/to become a prime minister', 'make a p. into a prime minister', 'to govern country/subjects', 'to make N1 the prime minister in N2'. As we can see, the simplest processual meaning 'to govern as a prime minister', either used intransitively with a suppressed landmark/patient or transitively with an explicitly expressed patient in the form of syntactic object, serves as the basis for additional transformations – most frequently causativization (resulting naturally in enlargement of the argument structure by one element and making the intransitives into transitives and transitives into ditransitives, and including possibility of passivization).

A somewhat different type of lexemes involved in HY are **concrete object words**, which are **intermediate** between prototypical relational nouns and prototypical non-relational nouns. Their meanings can be defined for a larger part without relations to other entities, but involvement of the denoted object in an action in a certain fashion is actually characteristic for this object. In fact, the necessity of the relational content for characterization of the concept is a matter of interpretation and is at issue. The best examples of this type of words are object words denoting instruments. For example, a very common CC instrument word attested verbally is *biān* 鞭 'whip'. A whip need not be defined relationally, for a specific shape and material are sufficient to describe such an object, and one could learn quite well what things are whips without knowing their function, while one would hardly learn what a whip is understanding only its function and ignoring its physical appearance and qualities. However, it is definitely true that the *raison d'être* of this thing is in its function, and the function is prototypically associated with the thing as a result: it is a piece of generic knowledge that whips are used for whipping and produced for this purpose (this has actually lead some scholars to reduce 'whip' – as well as all other instruments analogically – simply to "a thing used for whipping"). This information is conventionally associated with the thing and, as far as the semantic structure of the word which denotes the corresponding concept is considered, it can be seen as occupying a position on the fuzzy boundary between the semantic core and the semantic structures beyond it. I would argue that it is actually rather beyond the immediate scope of predication, but it is not decisive for anything as it depends on the analytic perspective (the scope of predication itself being relative – see Langacker 1987: 118). In the theoretical framework of encyclopaedic semantics, it does not matter for there is no principial difference between proper "notional meanings" and associated "conotative meanings" in absolute terms.

Words of this type are often used verbally without any substantial difficulties with regard to derivation/interpretation as well, because the relational semantic structures that are attached to the actually profiled stative element, a "thing," are trivially accessible to serve as the basis for derivation though they might not be included in the immediate scope of predication. The derivation occurs precisely in the same way as in the case of true relational nouns, by extension of the profile to the processual

conceptual structures, and the originally profiled stative object becomes a participant, or more generally an element in the process. Of course, a temporal profile is necessary. Cf. the following examples of typical instrument words used in HY, though occasionally with metaphoric meanings:⁶²

bīng 兵 ‘weapon’ (ZZ 11.10.2.2), *zhuī* 椎 ‘hammer’ (ZGC 13.8.4), *rèn* 刃 ‘blade’ (ZZ 9.25.2.11), *jù* 鋸 ‘saw’ (HF 10.7.4), *wǎng* 網 ‘net’ (LY 17.27.1), *yì* 弋 ‘stringed arrow’ (HF 33.21.2), *wū* 圬/朽 ‘trowel’ (LY 5.10.1), *cè* 策 ‘whip’ (LY 6.15.1), *biān* 鞭 ‘whip’ (ZZ 3.8.3.6), *rèn* 軛 ‘brake’ (ZGC 7.5.10), *diào* 釣 ‘rod and line’ (common, e.g. LS 14.3.1.2), *dī* 砥 ‘whetstone’ (ZGC 29.14.8), *lì* 礪 written sometimes 厲 ‘whetstone’ (ZZ), *dǐlì* 砥礪 written usually 砥厲 ‘whetstone’ (HF 41.1.5), *zhǎng* 杖 ‘walking stick’ (Zh 28.8.3), *záo* 鑿 ‘chisel’ (common, e.g. HF 19.1.1), *guǎnyuè* 管籥 ‘key’ (YZ 5.1.4), *lóng* 籠 ‘cage’ (Zh 23.11.1), *yīng* 纓 ‘tassel, ribbon’ (XZ 20.3.1), *zhì* 櫛 ‘comb’ (LJ 1.4.1), *gù* 梏 ‘shackles’ (ZZ 3.30.2.1), *zhìgù* 桎梏 ‘shackles’ (HF 36.7.2), *zhì* 質(=鑕) ‘chopping board’ (ZGC 20.1.3), *bèi* 被 ‘blanket; cover’ with the generalized processual meaning ‘to cover, to put on’ (*passim*), *jiāo* 膠 ‘glue’ (LS 24.2.2.3, Zh 1.1.4), *zhěn/zhèn* 枕 ‘pillow’ (ZZ 9.25.2.29), *náng* 囊 ‘sack’ (HF 35.17.2), *tuó* 橐 ‘bag’ (LS 16.4.2.6), *gāo* 橐 ‘container for storing weapons and armor’ (ZZ 10.1.7.3), *mò* 磨 ‘millstone’ (LJ 33.1.45), *qín* 琴 ‘cither’ (MZ 5.1.2.5), *yú* 輿 ‘carriage’ (YZ 2.3.2), *niǎn* 輦 ‘man-pulled carriage’ (ZZ 3.12.1.4), *gài* 概 ‘levelling stick (used for measuring volume of grain)’ (GZ 12.1.46), *yào* 葯 ‘drug, medicine’ (XZ 10.14.5).

Again, it does not mean that HY of e.g. instrument words is fully predictable, though there is a substantially regular pattern discernible for this lexical field. The easiest and most straightforward pattern of derivation naturally overwhelmingly prevails, but in special contexts the derivation can be based on other sources of information which are associated with the given object more loosely (e.g. *rèn* 刃 ‘blade’ → ‘to provide with a blade’). Then, the relational features are less typical for it and the association with the object is less conventional and sometimes even quite unexpected. Moreover, many objects denoted by words of the intermediate type are prototypically associated with more than action, although usually only one is crucial for their characterization and prominence of the others may be graded as well. HY of these words can exploit these salient though not constitutive semantic substructures, while

⁶² The “instrumentality” of object words is relative: some object words can be hardly imaginable without their instrumental purpose, while there is also a very wide range of object words that are strongly associated with an action as its instrument but whether they can be viewed as typical instrument words is at issue, for their instrumental aspect does not surpass in prominence other aspects in a pronounced way. This concerns e.g. body parts, or buildings, which are not typical instruments although their function is instrumental: we use them for dwelling and other activities. Various garments are not typical instruments either, although we use them to protect our bodies. It has much to do with the concept of a prototypical instrument which includes transmission of energy from the agent to the patient effecting a change of the patient’s state.

HY based on the most characteristic processual substructure need not be attested at all. As Clark and Clark (1979: 794–795) put it, the context is able to override the predominant features, since the salience of the necessary mutual knowledge may be only momentary, and though mostly generic knowledge, i.e. conventionally salient semantic structures of the word in the cognitivist framework, is exploited, some kind of situations are made salient through allusions to mutual knowledge of particulars. Salience must be considered a relative notion and is contextually dependent (see below). Also figurative extensions may be involved, and extraordinary unexpected patterns may occur too (see Štekauer 2005: 66). This is typical for word-formation patterns: they are limited in paradigmaticity and not all lexical items that could be systematically produced are actually coined, which depends on the needs of the given speech community and is influenced by organization of the lexicon of the language (see also VI.3).

Finally, the commonest type of object words are **non-relational nouns**, and this type is also central as non-relationality is a characteristic trait of prototypical object words. There is a large number of minor subclasses of non-relational nouns, and each of them is specific with regard to the semantic structure of its members. It is however this lexical level on which the patterns of HY are best discernible, because innovation and analogy, which plays an important role in it, operate primarily on low-level schemas (cf. Langacker 1991: 46–50).

The principle of derivation is the same as described above, but now the extension of profile has to reach out to conceptually more distant regions beyond the semantic core. The conceptual structures representing the processes that are exploited in the process of HY of these words are relatively removed from the access node (see Langacker 1987: 163), and if we employ the window metaphor of meaning, they are distant from the window and more or less out of the main view. Of course, the distance is a matter of degree and varies considerable from subclass to subclass and from word to word. Generally speaking, the number of structures in view grows with increasing distance from the reference point – the semantic core in this case – but their relatedness to it decreases as well as differences in prominence and salience of the structures in respect to the meaning of the word in question. On this account, predictability of the derived meaning diminishes as regular patterns associated with specific predominant semantic features of processual nature become worse identifiable (for concrete principles of interpretation see VI.4). At the same time, both the number of words belonging to the respective levels on this scale that are used in HY (type) and the frequency of their occurrence in a processual function (token) decreases dramatically, which is only a consequence of increasingly limited functionality. This is basically what Zhāng Wénguó observed, although it does not mean at all, as he suggests, that any level of the scale should be dismissed as unimportant, uninteresting or being a qualitatively different phenomenon. The mechanism of derivation is the same for all of them after all.

Most of the objects denoted by the corresponding non-relational words are prototypically associated with one or more actions as **potential roles** within them and with their own **ontogeny** (see Clark and Clark 1979: 789–790 for a detailed description of these associations), and this generic knowledge is usually unproblematically exploited in HY, though there may be competing semantic structures present. Moreover, the prototypicality – and thereby also the ease, feeling of naturalness and predictability of the derivation – is graded, as noted in the previous paragraph. Words of this type represent the majority of object words, and in this sense they are the default case. I therefore do not quote any examples here as it is the prevailing kind of HY I deal with further in my thesis. I offer a bit more insight into the concrete precise mechanism of selection of the processual conceptual structures beyond the semantic core and their incorporation into the new processual meaning of these words in the sections on patterns of derivation and – above all – on theory of interpretation (VI.2.2, VI.4).

Some words are low on the scale – the objects denoted by them are associated with actions only loosely and unspecifically. Only general features are present – e.g. any object can be manipulated, any artificial object must have been produced. As already mentioned, HY of these words is rarer both as type and token and the derivation tends to be badly predictable, relying for a large part on the context to be interpretable (they represent Zhāng's irregular individual MCHY) – only the context can make salient the information about the object which is not salient inherently and integrate it within the situation. The processual meaning is often quite special but based on the most general verbalizing semantic operations on the most general features of things (solid, transportable, artificially produced etc.): causative, factitive, putative, manipulative, for they can be applied practically to any nominal meaning in a semantically appropriate context;⁶³ equally often only these general operations (with minor modifications) are applied. Cf. the following words which I consider to occupy a relatively low position with regard to the presence of characteristic interactional properties and whose processual meaning would be practically impossible to estimate without the context they occur in (see also below in the section about less usual patterns of derivation):

sǎn 糝/糝 'rice grains' → 'to add rice grains (into soup)' (XZ 28.8.1), *zhī* 枝 'branch' → 'to have branches, to branch off' (ZZ 3.6.1.4), *dì* 地 'territory' → 'to get a territory under one's (real) control' (ZZ 9.13.2.1), *mín* 民 'to gain people's support, to win people's heart' (ZZ 5.9.6.2), *shēn* 身 'body; (own) person' → 'to embody' (MZ 7.1.30.1), *shī* 尸 'corpse' → 'to collect dead bodies (on battlefield)' (ZZ 7.12.2.66), or 'to display a dead body after execution' (ZZ 11.14.2.3), or 'to throw a dead body away' (ZZ 2.15.2.3), *jiǎo* 角 'horn' → 'to lay hold on horns' (ZZ 9.14.1.7), *wù* 物 'thing' → '(to treat [things] as things >) to control (> to enslave)' (Zh 20.1.5), *rì* 日 'day' → 'to

⁶³ Note that Štekauer 2005: 178 observes that the prevailing interpretation of the test conversion *to triangle*, a word without any substantial interactional properties, is factitive: 'to draw a triangle' or its variants of varying degree of specificity.

record the date' (GLZ 1.1.10), *ní* 泥 'mud' → 'to get stuck as if in mud (> to be confined)' (ZZ 19.4.28), *sù* 粟 'millet' → 'to feed (a horse) with millet' (HF 33.29.1), *dòu* 豆 'bowl' → 'to shuffle bowls' (LS 1.4.3.5), *zǔ* 祖 'ancestor' → 'to report to ancestors' (ZZ 1.8.4.1).

Other elements of HY constructions (surface arguments)

When an object word is used to denote a process, it is very often – one would say typically – accompanied also by other syntactic elements than those which represent the agent. Most frequently, object words are used transitively, i.e. they include another focal participant (the patient) in their semantic structure (transitivity being here understood semantically as there are prepositionless objects in CC that do not code patients or participants *in sensu stricto* at all), but it is not unusual to find HY of object words in which other elements of the process are introduced by prepositional phrases.

From the position of the speaker, it is entirely natural and expectable. Irrespective of its lexical background, once a word denotes an action, whatever conceptually coherent elements of the action (both typical core participants and elements like location which may be rather elements of setting depending on semantics of the predicate) can be introduced into the structure of the event, being syntactically coded in the conventional fashion. However, from the position of the listener, which is in an extended sense also our position, the situation is somewhat more complicated, because in case that the processual use is an innovation he has to interpret it. A full-fledged theory of interpretation is commented upon below, but we should mention some basic observations already in here in connection with semantic foundations of HY.

Most importantly, the set of elements that are recognized by the listener parallelly on syntactic and semantic grounds as satellites of the processual predicate often enables unequivocally the correct selection of the semantic structures to which the profile is extended among competing alternatives (if there are any) and may lead him to the appropriate interpretation in case that the word used in the function of the predicate is low on the scale of predictability (see Clark and Clark 1979: 803 who notice it for English contextuels). In addition to the broader context and sometimes more effectively than it, specification of other elements of the action contributes to evocation of the correct ICM which was intended by the speaker, and to a relatively easy integration of all the elements into a conceptually coherent whole. Under constant context, there is usually only one way to relate the object denoted by the object word used processually to the object(s) denoted by the other words (syntactic objects etc.) as elements of one and the same process so that it gives a good sense. Participants of certain type and above all possible relationships between them which are for a larger part implied by the scaffolding of syntax imply certain ICMs, and on their basis the listener is able to reconstruct the pattern of derivation which the speaker has/had employed. The subject and additional elements are thus explicit manifestations of the ICM, or of the conventional structured knowledge in general, that served as the background for the

profile extension. It is however to be emphasized that the context always plays a substantial role and often is critical for the correct interpretation anyway. It depends on several factors, including the extent to which the derived meaning is deducible from the meaning of the motivating object word, concrete semantic features of the predicate or its interference with its arguments. Occasionally, neither the context nor the valency are sufficient and we must rely on commentaries today as well as average readers had to rely on them since the time of their emergence – but of course, this is a later perspective on a use that could have been and actually should have been comprehensible at the time in question.

Let us first look at few examples of object words that are attested in different patterns of N-V HY and observe the effect of the event elements on the way the expressions are interpreted:

shéng 繩 ‘rope’:

yǐ shéng Wénwáng zhī dé 以繩文王之德 ‘and thus he continued the virtue of the king Wén’ (LS 5.5.12.1); the subject/agent is the duke Dàn of Zhōu, the object/patient is virtue;

yǐ shéng qī chén 以繩七臣 ‘to bring thereby seven types of ministers politically in line⁶⁴’ (GZ 52.1.1); the subject/agent is one of seven types of rulers, the object/patient are seven types of ministers.

rèn 刃 ‘blade’:

yù zì rèn yú miào 欲自刃於廟 ‘he wanted to kill himself with the blade in the ancestor temple’ (ZGC 17.9.6); the subject/agent is the duke Zhuāng of Qí, the object/patient is expressed by a reflexive pronoun coreferent with the duke;

rèn qí wū 刃其耜 ‘he sharpened the trowel so that it had a blade’ (ZGC 18.4.2); the subject/agent is Yù Ràng, the object/patient is a trowel, the context is that he does this in order to avenge the hegemon.

shuǐ 水 ‘water; (water in the form of) a river’:

wéi Jinyáng ér shuǐ zhī 圍晉陽而水之 ‘he enclosed Jinyáng and flooded it’ (ZGC 18.1.1); the subject/agent is the count of Zhì, the object/patient is expressed by the anaphoric 3p pronoun coreferent with the city of Jinyáng;

jiǎ zhōu jí zhě fēi néng shuǐ 假舟楫者非能水 ‘as for who relies on a boat and oars, it is not that he can (has become able to) swim’ (XZ 1.3.2); the subject/patient is a person relying on a boat and oars, and it is the only overtly expressed participant; the preceding context includes relying on horses and carriage in improving one’s mobility, the following context reads “but crosses big rivers”;

⁶⁴ The definition of the *shéng* as ‘to bring politically in line’ is taken from TLS.

gāo zhě bù hàn, xià zhě bù shuǐ 高者不旱，下者不水 ‘high places do not suffer from draught, low places do not suffer from flooding’ (XZ 10.7.2); the subject/location are low places, there is no other participant, the clause is agentless.

yì 邑 ‘city, capital city of state (> state as represented by its capital)’:

yì yú Qíshān zhī xià jū yān 邑于岐山之下居焉 ‘he established their (capital) city under the Qíshān mountains and resided there’ (MZ 1.2.15.4); the subject/agent is the king Tàì, the prepositional object (preposition *yú*) refers to the location under the Qíshān mountains;

yì zhū Lún 邑諸綸 ‘made him to reside (and collect taxes) > to enoff him in the city of Lún’ (ZZ 12.1.2.3); the subject is a certain Yú Sī, there are two objects: the direct object/patient is a 3p pronoun incorporated in the allegro fusion form *zhū* standing for *zhī* 之 and *yú* 於 (and its variants) and is coreferent with Yú Sī, the prepositional object/location is the city of Lún.

Cf. also:

cǐ Shēn Lǚ suǒ yǐ yì yě 此申呂所以邑也 ‘it was whereby Shēn and Lǚ became states with their capitals’ (ZZ 8.7.5.2); the subject/focal participant are the cities-states Shēn and Lǚ, the instrumental object/instrument introduced by the preposition *yǐ* is the object-substitute relative pronoun coreferent with ‘fields’.

Let us look at a handful of examples of object words that are attested in one pattern:

jiè 界 ‘border’:

sān guó yǔ Qín rǎng jiè 三國與秦壤界 ‘the three countries border on the territory of Qín’ (ZGC 10.12.2); the subject/first focal participant (trajector) are three states, the object/second focal participant (landmark) is introduced by the preposition *yǔ* ‘with, together with’ and refers to another territory, the land of Qín;

dōng zài Chǔ zhě nǎi jiè yú Qí 東在楚者乃界於齊 ‘The eastern territories in Chǔ border at Qí’ (XZ 16.5.3); the subject/trajector are the places to the east in Chǔ, the object/landmark is introduced by the preposition *yú* ‘to, in respect to’ and refers to the state of Qí.

» A border may be involved in an action in several ways: one may e.g. delimit borders between states, states may border on each other, one can move to the border, one can stay at the border. Here, both focal participants denote territories, whose spatial contiguity was part of generic knowledge; *jiè* is a relational noun (see above) and is defined by a relation between two schematic location. The relation is activated, being newly profiled, and a temporal profile is added, and the two participants are easily recognized as the elaboration of the two schematic elements already contained in the base of the object word *jiè*. In the former case,

the choice of the preposition *yǔ* emphasizes the basically equal status of the two participants and the mutuality, in the latter case the territory coded as the subject is construed as more prominent, being spatially contiguous in respect to the landmark coded as an indirect object.

Cf. *jiāng* 疆 ‘field boundaries, border’ in expressions like *Jínhóu jiāng Qī tián* 晉侯疆戚田 ‘the duke of Jin delimited the boundaries of the fields in Qī’ (ZZ 6.1.6.1) where the subject/agent is a person – the duke, the object/patient are the Qī fields’. The relationship between the human agent and the patient that belongs to typical objects on which boundaries are drawn in respect to the actions in which boundaries play a role unequivocally directs the reader to activation of the right ICM, though theoretically *jiāng* could be used in a way similar to *jiè* (and also *jì* 際).

yì 翼 ‘wing’:

zhūhóu qù Yīn sān yīn ér yì Wénwáng 諸侯去殷三淫而翼文王 ‘the feudal lords dismissed the three viciousnesses of the Yīn dynasty and protected and supported the king Wén’ (LS 5.5.12.1); the subject/agent are the feudal lords, the object/patient is the king Wén.

» Wings are primarily used for flying – in this respect the word is similar to all the terms for body parts understood also as instruments (hands, eyes, ears). This interpretation does not work for transitive actions in which a human affects another human. Of course, one could beat another as if with wings. However, the agent is socially and morally inferior to the patient, and the patient is a paragon of virtue; it is clear from the context that the agent is loyal to the patient. Under these circumstances, *yì* must be interpreted metaphorically, and the configuration of the participants fits in the ICM in which wings are used to protect someone. The feudal lords are imagined as providing the king with “protective wings” in their own persons, being situated on both his left and right side (*zuǒyòu* 左右 ‘[those to the right and the left (of the ruler) >] ministers, suite’!).

Cf. also *chì* 翅 ‘wing’, in the expression *sān nián bù chì* 三年不翅 ‘it has not flapped wings for three years’ (HF 21.19.1), where the subject/agent is a bird, and there is not other overtly expressed element of the action: only context can direct the reader to the intended interpretation, and still more a commentary.

jǐng 井 ‘well; well field’:

tǐng yuánfáng, jǐng yǎnwō 町原防, 井衍沃 ‘he parcelled plains by elevated paths, he divided wide fertile land into well fields’ (ZZ 9.25.11.2); the subject/agent is Wěi Yān, the object/patient is a piece of land with soil of a certain quality.

» The context aids the reader with lexical disambiguation, for *jǐng* has besides its basic meaning ‘water well’ also a well-established distant metaphoric extension, the meaning ‘water-well field’. Wěi Yān, a dignitary of Chū, is depicted in the passage as a descriptor (*shū tǔtián* 書土田) and cultivator of landscape, ascribing different techniques of cultivation to soil according to its qualities, and the clause immediately preceding the expression in question refers to parcellation of plains by elevated paths. It is thus expectable that the *jǐng* is employed analogically, especially when its object/patient is likewise land of a certain character. The ICMs of land cultivation and field parcellation are active throughout and lead to selection of the correct meaning in the polysemous structure of the object word *jǐng* on which the HY is based. The conceptual intergration of the second participant is simple, for well-field system is something imposed on a piece of land and the *yǎnwō* denotes land.

zǔ 俎 ‘cutting board for sacrificial meat’:

zǔ shēng yú 俎生魚 ‘he put a raw fish on the cutting board’ (XZ 19.2.2.1); the subject/agent is indeterminate, the object/patient is a raw fish, which is a kind of meat used for sacrifices.

» *Zǔ* belongs to sacrificial equipment, and one can imagine that the word could mean e.g. ‘to sacrifice to a p. (using the sacrificial cutting board on which sacrificial meat is offered to ancestors)’ in the processual use, if the syntactic object referred to an ancestor and would be introduced by the preposition *yú* 於. Here, the object is introduced prepositionlessly and codes the patient of the action, and it is moreover precisely the kind of thing that is prototypically associated with the object denoted by the object word in HY in a specific fashion. There is thus little ambiguity left in interpretation of the V-O expression. The ICM of meat sacrifice links the agent, the *zǔ* and the raw fish by the action of putting the fish on the board where is its appropriate place.

sù 粟 ‘millet’:

jū bù sù mǎ 居不粟馬 ‘at home he does not feed horses with millet’ (HF 33.29.1); the subject/agent is Yú Xiànbó, the prepositionless object/beneficiary are horses.

» Millet can be seeded, grown, mown, stored, used for cooking – and used for feeding animals. The last possibility is the correct choice where the agent is a human and the patient is a horse, especially when it is well known of horses that they can be fed with grain. The conceptual intergration is entirely unproblematic here, for there are not many reasonable actions in which millet is involved in man’s affecting of horses.

zhàng 杖 ‘walking stick’:

zhàng gē 杖戈 ‘he used the halberd as a walking stick’ (ZZ 12.27.3.4 – but also ZZ 12.5.5.4); the subject/agent is the viscount of Chéng, the object/patient is a halberd; we find the same configuration in *zhàng lí ér yìng mén* 杖藜而應門 ‘using lamb’s quarters as a walking stick, he answered the door’ (Zh 28.8.3).

» A walking stick can – and actually usually must – be made, it is prototypically used as a support for walking, but one might use it to beat someone or to apply it instrumentally in many other actions. Here, it is important that the patient, the halberd, exhibits substantial similarity to a walking stick, while it would not give a particularly good sense to apply instrumentally a stick on another stick-like thing without coercion of a specific context. One can thus easily identify the basically attitudinal pattern of derivation: a halberd is temporarily made into a somewhat untypical walking stick.⁶⁵

zhī 蹠 ‘sole of foot’:

zhí jìn nǚ 蹠勁弩 ‘to pull a strong crossbow taut against one’s soles of feet’ (ZGC 26.5.3); the subject/agent are Hán troops, the object/patient is a crossbow.

» Sole of the foot might be involved in an action in several ways as well. For example, it can be used for treading on something, for producing footsteps; it might be hurt. Here, a human agent affects a crossbow in an action in which soles of the foot play a role. After evocation of the ICM of crossbow, the pattern of derivation and intergration of the participants in the action is easy, for it was a common knowledge in the late Warring States period that crossbows were so strong that they had to be pulled taut by shooter’s stretching of legs while he was lying on the ground, and soles of the foot were the body part against which the weapon leaned.

shāng 觴 ‘wine cup, goblet’

wáng shāng jiàngjūn 王觴將軍 ‘the king honoured the general with a drink’ (ZGC 7.7.20); the subject/agent is the king, the direct object/patient is the general.

» A wine cup as an artefact must be produced, and its function may be understood from several perspectives: its purpose is to contain wine, and its size and shape is suited for people to drink from it. Of course, besides it, a cup can be used as any other solid thing of its kind in innumerable situations. Here, the patient is another human, not e.g. wine which could be poured into the cup. There are again few reasonable actions associated with a wine cup in which a man affects another man in an official situation, especially when it is common knowledge that offering wine is an integral part of decent banqueting. In the ICM of official banquets, a

⁶⁵ Zhāng Wénguó (2005: 135) has *zhàng* in this meaning unexpectedly as an example of the pattern PATIENT.

wine cup is evidently a container-instrument with which guests are honoured being offered wine.

Remark on “renominalization”:

This remark is closely related to that on the so called “nominalization” on p. 100. In fact, it merely extends validity of the first remark regarding object words used to denote an action. Generally speaking, any action, be it expressed by a genuine action word or by a derived object word (and simply by any linguistic form of any class in general), can be referred in to without really becoming a “noun” in the referential propositional act function. The transformation of an action into the abstract fact of the action happening is a matter of the referential construction, whose meaning is added to the meaning of the word in question, not of the word occurring in this function itself.

There are actually lexical processes that involve something similar to renominalization, consisting in circular, or more precisely helical derivation and alternating word-class affiliation of the successive nodes of the derivation chain, but they are a matter of lexicology and follow somewhat different rules.

VI.2.2 Patterns of derivation

Patterns of derivation – mainly those expressable in basic grammatical terms – have been always paid a special attention, as they have seemed the most effective way to approach the phenomenon and to account for its function in the language. For this reason, they seldom miss in more serious treatises on the topic of HY, though different authors offer patterns of different levels of specificity and precision (cf. also ch. III). My primary aim at present is not to devise another system of patterns and categories, but to discuss their theoretical background and particular observations associated with it, and with them. Some views of mine have been already anticipated in the section VI.1.2 on general approaches to several fundamental issues, and many are repeated in the next chapter on the adverbial use of object words, especially in the section VII.2.

The first question is, what is the status of the patterns and what do they represent. They arise as a result of linguistic analysis, and they are primarily an analytic tool with which scholars try to grasp the multitude of the multifarious semantic processes involved in HY and according which they organize the material. How general or specific, coarse-grained or fine-grained the system of the patterns is and how it is formally rendered depends on decision of the researcher and is determined by his goals and preferences (cf. also Štekauer 2005: 241). In this sense, the categories represented by the patterns particularly established by the linguist have principally no objective existence and relate only indirectly to actual *faits linguistiques*, i.e. actually existing schemas entrenched in speakers’ minds (see also Clark and Clark 1979: 769, and their “heuristic devices”). It is for this reason that they cannot be used straightforwardly for

predicting real behaviour of the linguistic units in question, and still the less for pre-formatting linguistic material or in projections of these categories back to the language in other than descriptive modes, though they can be instructively employed in its interpretation and generalization.

Not exceptionally, the categories are devised in very general terms, referring to the function of the nominal element denoted by the object word in the newly established process, like INSTRUMENT, RESULT, PATIENT etc. This conception is appropriate as far as the first approximation to the actual semantic processing of the expressions or theoretical generalizations are considered, but whether they represent speakers' knowledge of their language and the schemas they really employ in HY derivation is at issue. Some do, some do not. First, what Langacker (1991: 46–47, 48) points out for English word-formational patterns is true for CC as well: the system of schemas is organized according to the bottom-up principle. The schemas that are most readily activated in construction of novel expressions can be found on the level of lexical microfields (delimited typically on the basis of basic-level generic concepts), which are sufficiently entrenched and specific and above which analogy can easily operate. The extraction of higher-level schemas is a matter of further generalizations, which may but need not be necessary, and the lower-level schemas may be still needed to specify details that cannot be captured by the global generalizations. The primacy of the local **low-level schemas** can be perfectly observed in small sets of analogous cases of HY similar to the ones presented in the following example and in the list attached below (see also VI.3). Among Western researchers dealing with our topic in the past, Nikitina's (1985) treatment of the derivation patterns detectable in HY – though relatively brief – is implicitly conceived mostly in accordance with this principle, and it thus relatively well reflects the complex interrelatedness of syntax and semantics of CC constructions. But see also e.g. Dèng Míng (1995) who uses the concepts of lexical fields in HY too, though for purposes of telling a “true” HY from the rest.

One concrete example for illustration: the derivational subschema [A (TYPICALLY DEFENSIVE) ENCLOSING CONSTRUCTION → TO CONSTRUCT THE ENCLOSURE] and its version with a habitated place as another element introduced as the syntactic object [A (TYPICALLY DEFENSIVE) ENCLOSING CONSTRUCTION + PLACE → TO CONSTRUCT THE ENCLOSURE AROUND THE PLACE], instantiated e.g. in HY of object words like *chéng* 城 ‘city wall’ (common, e.g. ZZ 1.1.3), *guō* 郭 ‘outer city wall’ (ZZ 10.25.11.1), *yuán* 垣 ‘wall’ (LS 14.4.1.4), *dié* 堞 ‘battlements’ (ZZ 9.27.7.8), *gōu* 溝 ‘ditch’ (ZZ 10.23.9.4), *qiàn* 塹 ‘moat’ (ZZ 10.17.6.3), *jiàn* 柵 ‘fence’ (ZZ 12.8.5.1), *fān* 藩 ‘hedge’ (ZZ 12.12.4.4), are taken to be primary to the much more general and entirely abstract pattern [RESULT OF ACTIVITY → ACTIVITY]. The general pattern, employed e.g. by Zhāng Wéngúo (2005), is itself problematic: as we can see, the dependence relation in the pattern [RESULT OF ACTIVITY → ACTIVITY] is in fact inverted in terms of conceptual complexity, for it assumes conceptual dependence of the thing on the action, and not the other way round as the schema is actually employed. That the constructions are results

of the corresponding activity is a matter of an *ex post* logical analysis, and the fact that city wall is a thing that must be built is a feature prototypically associated with it but it is not in the semantic base of the word *chéng* which designates the concept, as it is not necessary for specification of the profile. Of course logically, [RESULT OF ACTIVITY → ACTIVITY] and the actual pattern extracted from the relevant instances, e.g. [ARTIFICIAL BUILDABLE OBJECT → TO BUILD THE OBJECT] to keep the level of schematicity commensurable, may be considered essentially compatible, but conceptually, these two schemas diverge from each other rather substantially. One simply does not approach the word *chéng* (and all the “buildables”) primarily as a denotation of a result of whatever action, and the *nota bene* too general schema [RESULT OF ACTIVITY → ACTIVITY] would be thus hardly activated under this circumstance; one might actually ask if such inverted schema is ever extracted and employed at all.

Besides enclosures, the following classes can be adduced as further examples. They are not by far intended as an exhaustive list or as an elaborated system. The examples are drawn on the groups of words that emerged from the patterns of HY in my material and they should serve only as an illustration (synonym groups of *Thesaurus Linguae Sericae* organized in a rich taxonomy might be a good start for future research, though they have their problems too). It is also important to keep in mind that the classes may and typically do overlap and intersect and are in complex mutual relationships at a different distance. Moreover, within the groups, particular words diverge as far as the N : V frequency ratio and the degree of institutionalization of the processual use or level of generality of meaning are considered. Cf.:

GARMENT *yī/yì* 衣 ‘garment’, *qiú* 裘 ‘fur coat’, *jīn* 襟 ‘front of garment’, *zhōng* 衷 ‘underwear’, *sù* 襖 ‘grave clothes’, *mò* 墨 ‘black garment’, *jiè* 介 ‘armour’, *dài* 帶 ‘belt’;

HEAD COVERS AND ACCESSORIES *guān/guàn* 冠 ‘cap’, *miǎn* 冕 ‘official cap’, *biàn* 弁 ‘a type of cap’, *zhòu* 冑 ‘helmet’, *jī* 笄 ‘hairpin’;

BAGS *tuó* 橐 ‘bag’, *náng* 囊 ‘sack’, *gāo* 橐 ‘bag for weapons and armour’, *zhǔ* 褚 ‘bag for garment’;

MATS *xí* 席 ‘mat (generic; spec. upper mat)’, *yán* 筵 ‘mat, spec. lower mat’;

UTENSILS FOR CATHICH ANIMALS *wǎng* 罔 ‘(fishing) net’, *wǎng* 網 ‘net’, *yì* 弋 ‘stringed arrow’; *diào* 釣 ‘angle’;

ORDER *xù* 序 ‘order’, *cì* 次 ‘rank, order’, *děng* 等 ‘grade, rank’, *liè* 列 ‘row, rank’, *lèi* 類 ‘rank, category’, (*bān* 班 ‘rank’);

DWELLINGS *zhái* 宅 ‘dwelling’, *shè* 舍 ‘dormitory, guesthouse’, *guǎn* 館 ‘high-class guesthouse’, *fáng* 房 ‘lateral wing of residence’, *lú* 廬 ‘hut’;

STOREHOUSES *fǔ* 府 ‘storehouse’, *lǐn* 廩 ‘granary’;

CAVITIES *kū* 窟 ‘cave, cavity’, *xué* 穴 ‘hole’, *sù* 隧 ‘tunnel’, *kǎn* 坎 ‘pit’;

DITCHES *qiàn* 塹 ‘moat’, *gōu* 溝 ‘defensive ditch’, *qú* 渠 ‘irrigation ditch’;

NORMS *zé* 則 'rule', *fǎ* 法 'law', *fǎzé* 法則 'rules', *pì* 辟 'law', *yí* 儀 'model', *lǜ* 律 'norm, rule';

FIBRES AND ROPES *jīng* 經 'warp', *wéi* 維 'fibre', *gāng* 綱 'fishing net rope', *shéng* 繩 'rope';

TAXES *fù* 賦, *shuì* 稅, *zū* 租, *yì* 役, *chán* 廛, *zhēng* 征, *chè* 徹, *jì* 籍, *liǎn* 斂, *gòng* 貢;

TERRITORY TYPES *jùn* 郡 'commandery', *xiàn* 縣 'district', *bǐ* 鄙 'borderland', *yě* 野 'open countryside, territory distant from the capital', *bāng* 邦 'state', *guó* 國 'state as represented by its capital';

COATINGS *tú* 塗 'mud', *qī* 漆 'lacquer', *è* 堊 'chalk'; *zhī* 脂 'oil, grease';

DYESTUFF *mò* 墨 'ink', *dān* 丹 'cinnabar';

FOODSTUFF AND BEVERAGES *zhōu* 粥 (written 鬻) 'gruel', *gǔ* 穀 'grain', *jiǔ* 酒 'alcohol';

PROCESSED MEAT *zū* 菹 'a kind of meat sauce', *hǎi* 醢 'a kind of meat sauce', *fū* 脯 'slices of dried meat', *là* 腊 'dried meat';

GROUP *qún* 群 'flock, herd, group', *chái* 儕 'peer, fellows', *zú* 族 'clan; group';

STAGES OF VEGETATION GROWTH *miáo* 苗 'sprout, young plant', *huā* 華 'blossom', *shí* 實 'fruit'; (*zhī* 枝 'branch');

SOCIAL ROLES of different types – see the examples of "agent nouns";

BODY PARTS mereonymically, functionally and positionally subclassified.

The issue of hierarchy and entrenchment of schemas of different levels of generality must be left open here, I nevertheless suggest that it is the direction which future research should follow. I suggest that the general patterns may be useful for capturing basic regularities and for organization of the language material by the linguist, but they cannot be taken as a realistic description of the patterns which the speakers of CC could have employed to derive and interpret processual meanings from the nominal meanings of the original object words. There arises also the question which schemas (of whatever level) could have been actually sufficiently well entrenched, and it is connected with evaluation of frequency and degree of conventionality of the HY phenomenon in the language in general. It seems however evident that we must start from the low-level schemas and primarily study small groups of synonyms, near-synonyms and thematic lexical fields, pursuing similarities and analogies between particular domains. Only after having established schemas on this basic level, we can go on to consider higher-level schemas as generalizations over these.

I wish to emphasize that this approach should be applied not only on the source domains of HY, i.e. groups of motivating object words and their nominal meanings, but also on the **target domains**, i.e. groups of closely related processual meanings derived possibly from words of different lexical fields. In other words, it is important to investigate not only the cases of multiple derivations from one object word to several processual meanings, but also derivations of one small group of synonymous or nearly synonymous processual meanings from several object words and their particular

nominal meanings. I used the latter perspective in constructing thematic groups when I dealt with figurative meanings in connection with general issues concerning N-V HY, sec. VI.1.2, p. 132. It is however necessary to study the issue systematically; in fact, this approach is analogous to the onomasiological approach to word formation, and if we admit that HY is a kind of word formation, as I do, then we can call this *desideratum* the onomasiological description of word formation involved in the HY. It will be then possible to integrate the knowledge into the onomasiological part of lexicology of CC.

Another thing I would like to emphasize is that isolated cases of HY that (at least apparently) happen not to fit in any known well-established pattern should not be in any way excluded and/or considered phenomena of essentially different character from the more regular rest – I have touched upon this problem already several times in previous sections. Regularity, paradigmaticity and systematicity are certainly important indicators of systemic relations and positions, but one does not exclude e.g. Latin irregular verbs from verbs just because they are irregular. It is necessary to know that isolated HYs are peripheral, but on the other hand to treat the periphery as an integral part of the whole (cf. also Dèng Míng 1995: 19). Except for not being sanctioned by an entrenched derivational schema and having no or almost no systemic neighbors, these uses of object words follow all the principles mentioned so far. They sometimes may go against general tendencies, but tendencies are just mere tendencies. We should also note that any of the groups of words exhibiting analogical HY, from which the entrenched schemas had been extracted, must have commenced as isolated HY that expanded analogically to other related words (provided that this HY was basically context-independent and did not contradict the general tendencies – Zhāng is right that homogeneous HY of whole groups of words, i.e. *cílèi zhuǎnbiàn*, really cannot be based on idiosyncracies).

In linguistic sinology, there are current two terms that usually refer to special types of transitive constructions: **causative** and **putative**. Any word can theoretically occur in these common predicative constructions, though the three major word classes – *nota bene* the traditional “full words” – i.e. property words, object words and action words are prevalent in the causative construction and property words and object words are prevalent in the putative construction, action words occurring in it extremely rarely. The combination of the constructional meanings and the meaning of the lexemes occurring in it give the composite processual meanings of the predicate as a whole: ‘to cause N (= syntactic object) to acquire the property X’, ‘to cause N to become X’, ‘to cause N to do X’, and ‘to consider N X’. For object words, the putative meaning is almost always transformed into the **attitudinal** one, the causative meaning is typically interrelated with the **factitive** one. Now, the causative and putative uses of object words intersect with HY of object words. By far not all HY of object words is causative or putative, but the cases that can be classified as causative and putative may be actually considered results of occurrence of the words in question in the more general and

entirely common conventional constructional outfit of CC, and thus not necessarily viewed as HY at all. This interpretation would be easily acceptable for example for causative expressions like *xiàn Shēn Xī* 縣申息 ‘to make a district of Shēn and Xī’ (ZZ 12.17.43), *jùn Jiāngdōng* 郡江東 ‘to turn Jiāngdōng into a commandery’ (ZGC 14.16.4) – or, in a different textual version *yě Jiāngdōng* 野江東 ‘to turn Jiāngdōng into a territory removed from the centre of the state’ –, *dōngfēng Zhèng* 東封鄭 ‘to turn the state of Zhèng into the eastern border territory’ (ZZ 5.30.3.8), or *bǐ yuǎn* 鄙我 ‘to turn us into border territories’ (ZZ 9.8.7.5). Or the small series of causative-factitive uses of object words denoting various forms of meat that refer to cruel punishments, like *zū* 菹 ‘a kind of meat sauce’ (HF 2.8.3), *hǎi* 醢 ‘a kind of meat sauce’ (HF 3.2.5), *fū* 脯 ‘slices of dried meat’ (LJ 14.1.6), and *là* 腊 ‘dried meat’ (HF 3.2.5). The problem is that the concrete uses of object words are seldom purely causative or putative, their meaning being hardly compositional of the lexical and constructional meanings. The meanings have often a causative or putative core, but there are usually substantial extensions from it. Especially putative meanings are problematic, since they practically never refer purely to mere considering A a B, and Shǐ Zhènǐ (1998) even argues that there is actually nothing like the putative use of nouns, by contrast to adjectives, and that it always involves an attitude and action. We can see it from the previously already quoted example of *shī zhī* 師之 ‘to follow him as a teacher, to act as his disciple’. There is naturally a putative core ‘to consider him the teacher’ in it, but this interpretation does not by far exhaust the meaning of the (relatively conventional) expression, which is an imperfective process and includes the whole cluster of activities of the ICM of ancient Chinese teacher-disciple relationship. The term *attitudinal* use is much more precise, but it does not fit the actual meaning either. Of course, this is a question of terminological preferences to large extent. I prefer to include these cases as a type of HY that happens to overlap to a considerable degree with the widely used constructions of CC; they represent the grey zone between syntax and word formation, which are after all not viewed as two “modules” of language but rather different levels of complexity within the confines of one continuum of symbolic units in cognitive grammar.

One of the most interesting aspects of patterns of derivation and semantics of HY in general is the **interplay between these patterns and lexical classes** whose members serve as their lexical input. On principle, the relationship between the two is free. As we have seen above, the HY is essentially based on semantics of the words in the question but there are many alternatives concerning the concrete ways of derivation they can occur in. There are often competing salient relational substructures and various ICMs in whose domain they are defined, there are more loosely associated relational features of the concepts that can be exploited under appropriate circumstances too, there are particular figurative meanings, structural metaphors and other semantic extensions involved. Moreover, individual words may have substantially divergent semantic structures beyond their semantic cores as well as a different metaphoric potential in

spite of apparently belonging to the same lexical class (see below), and we must not forget the role of context which can occasionally override the information contained in the conventional meaning of the words if the conditions of the communication allow and/or require it. If we traced the cases that Zhāng Wéngúo (2005 *passim*) labelled as irregular, unsystematic, context-dependent etc., we would see the abundance of alternative derivations which do not conform to the unsubstantiated expectations based on the neat rules and easy categorizations. Each word is thus an individuality that is not predetermined to be derived in one definite fashion dependent on the lexical class in which it is classified by the lexicologist (which is itself an issue at least in the context of HY).

In reality, however, the tendencies in the domain of semantics manifest themselves also in the domain of lexical classes as readily discernible regularities. As we have observed already in the case of instrument nouns, lexical classes of varying levels of generality, delimited primarily on the basis of similar structure of the scope of predication (base and profile) and conceptual categories to which the particular words refer, tend to correspond with specific manners of profile extension. Thus, members of the category INSTRUMENT are most frequently derived into action words denoting an action in which the object denoted by the object words plays the role of the instrument. This principle may appear simple, but the actual situation is essentially complicated by the complexities of human categorization. Categorization is the topic *par excellence* for cognitive linguists and the Lakoff (1987) with the subtitle "What Categories Reveal about the Mind" is mostly dedicated to it. The possibilities of application of the cognitive theory of categorization to the interplay of the patterns of HY and the categories represented by the lexical classes delimited by the linguist are unexhaustible, and I can only suggest some general principles here.

The major lexical categories as we encounter them in Zhāng Wéngúo (2005) – ANIMATES, UTENSILS, NATURE, BODY PARTS, GARMENT AND FOOD, BUILDINGS and ABSTRACT NOUNS with the subcategories "(mis)fortune," "illness," "criminal law" and "rules" – are again linguist's constructs and it must be reexamined whether and how they relate to cognitively real categories as established in minds of speakers of CC. They are useful for primary organization of the language material, but I doubt that they can be employed to elucidate the regularities and interferences with the derivational patterns in a satisfactory way if applied straightforwardly as well-delimited homogeneous sets based on objective criteria. If lexical classes are supposed to reflect the conceptual system of speakers of the language, they will be typically fuzzy, exhibit both graded membership and graded centrality, and they will be usually internally structured in a complex fashion, mostly radially, with the primacy of basic-level categories (see Lakoff 1987: 50–51, 68–117). In addition to it, the categories are not exclusive, on the contrary, they often intersect and constitute complicated hierarchies (cf. also VII.2). Clark and Clark (1979: 781) admit this fact for English contextu-als somewhat reluctantly, but in the light of cognitive linguistics it is expectable and

perfectly natural. From the perspective of analysis of HY, one word or its single meaning can be usually classified in multiple ways, and not only it can belong to several lexical classes but it also occupies different positions within them in terms of membership, centrality and relationships to other members and their subclasses (i.e. ecology; cf. Lakoff 1987: 464). This is closely related to the assumption that typically more than one category-constructive ICMs are involved in semantics of one lexical item. There is thus usually no single correct way to categorize a word in one lexical class, though particular categorizations may considerably differ in the degree of prototypicality and one of them may be the "best" one. See also Dèng Míng (1995: 19) who speaks of words belonging to more than one (sub)-systems of N-V derivation which are unequally common (e.g. *wǎng* 網 'net' → a) 'to catch with a net', b) → 'to weave'). With different event elements, i.e. participants and settings, and context, different ICMs are actualized and the corresponding alternatives of categorization become relevant, while others are suppressed for the moment. I have discussed these processes in connection with multiple derivations. It is thus misleading to speak of lexical classes as of something that is unequivocally and more or less objectively predetermined, especially as far as the very general major classes are concerned.

Of course, the alternatives of categorization are different for different types of words: e.g. the word *bīng* 兵 'weapon' cannot be compared to e.g. the notoriously ambiguous (and polysemous) word *shuǐ* 水 'water' (but also 'river'). While the former is justly and unproblematically classified as an instrument (and its superordinate and subordinate categories), the latter is somewhat amorphous; more precisely, it is conspicuously polycategorical. Zhāng Wénguó's (2005: 247) hesitation concerning the appropriate classification of the word (in the end, it features in more than one of his lexically sorted lists) is symptomatic. Depending on the perspective, it can be easily understood as simply a type of substance, natural element (and one of the five phases, *wǔxìng*), a type of ambient, a type of calamity (note that water categorized as a calamity is expressed in English by a special word, *flood*) and in the military domain even as an instrument (which may be associated also with the category of calamities), if we should take the attested patterns of HY as the point of departure. As we can see, it is not the word that is actually categorized in lexical classes, instead of it lexical classification relates to its particular meanings (however they may be theoretically conceived of in terms of extension, polysemy, figurative meanings etc.). It only proves how closely the categorization and the meaning are related, and it also conforms to the traditional lexicological knowledge that different meanings of polysemous words are integrated into different lexical subsystems. The consequence of the impossibility of unequivocal categorization of object words in lexical classes seems to be evident: if we wish to employ lexical classes in description of the regularities in the HY, the particular words will have to be contained in all classes that correspond to their actually attested categorization (which is however also dependent on researcher's interpretation to certain extent).

If we rebuild both the patterns of derivation and lexical classes according to the bottom-up principle and modify their conception in the fashion discussed above, the relationship between them become much closer and the analysis of their interference more meaningful, while nothing prevents us from higher-level generalizations. In fact, a low-level pattern of derivation will typically already include a relatively precise reference to the lexical microclass(es) to which it relates, which however still does not mean a) that all members of the given lexical class must be derived according to the pattern, b) that they cannot be derived according to other patterns. The higher level of schematicity is, the looser the correlation between both, and vice versa. Only lists of particular cases would be absolutely precise, for there are no strict rules involved. For example, the pattern [A (TYPICALLY DEFENSIVE) ENCLOSING CONSTRUCTION → TO CONSTRUCT THE ENCLOSURE] implies that it applies to the lexical class of object words denoting various kind of enclosure. None the less, this generalization is only approximate and it cannot be but approximate on principle: the pattern refers to a group of analogous cases which were created individually in particular coining acts (as is typical for word formation generally), and we simply perceive the analogy between them as a certain regularity, trying to render it by a generalized formulation. There are thus certainly words denoting enclosing constructions that are not attested in HY at all, and the less in this pattern alone, and on the other hand, we can find e.g. the word *qiàn* 塹 ‘moat’ in HY with the expectable meaning ‘to build a moat’ (ZZ 10.17.6.3), but also with the contextually dependent meaning ‘to fall into a moat’ (ZZ 10.29.3.2). If we decrease the level of schematicity to [CITY WALL → TO BUILD A CITY WALL] or [MOAT → TO BUILD A MOAT], we get a higher precision, for the few words denoting city walls or moats are all (or maybe except for some rare expressions) used in HY according to the pattern. The alternative derivation of *qiàn* remains present. On the other hand, if we increase the level of schematicity to [BUILDABLE OBJECT → TO BUILD THE OBJECT], we get a much more blurred picture. The category of words denoting buildable objects is itself more heterogeneous and has an articulated radial structure. Moreover, we will ordinarily find “word-formational gaps” on this relatively general level, i.e. members of the lexical class which are not attested in the respective pattern of derivation though it would be perfectly conceivable. Needless to say that the diversity of derivational alternatives attested for particular words of the class will substantially increase too. In this sense, the analytic and descriptive primacy of low-level schemas appears evident to me, but the focus will finally depends on the analyst’s purposes, for different levels of focus will most adequately show different aspects of the HY.

Clark and Clark 1979

The authors devised a system of patterns of derivation, and these patterns they sort the denominal verbs by lexical classes of considerably variable size – by contrast to Zhāng Wénguó (2005) who approaches the material first through the grid of often very general lexical classes, and within these classes the sets of items which are attested in

CLHY are arranged according to patterns of derivation. There is no need for a theoretical polemic with them, since they explicitly emphasize that the patterns and mainly the paraphrases on which they are based are merely heuristic devices for grouping verbs of similar origins (Clark and Clark 1979: 769). Clark and Clark (*ibid.*) also express their stance concerning paraphrases: "More importantly, these paraphrases are not intended to represent the sources from which the verbs are derived, either now or historically. Indeed, the theories that assume such derivation [i.e. syntactic in nature], we will argue, are inadequate to handle even the innovations among these verbs." As a matter of fact, I have taken this assumption for granted throughout my thesis (cf. also Zádrapa 2007: 91–92). Of course, the framework of cognitive grammar programmatically does not enable such generative derivation of words from underlying (para)-syntactic structures, but see also Štekauer (1996, 2005) for a more detailed discussion of the matter from another point of view.

Though, their structured list of denominal verbs along with the commentaries attached to it can be exploited to show some problematic aspects of categorization of HY on the basis of highly schematic patterns of derivation, even if we together with the authors admit that "most of the well-established verbs are specialized in ways not capturable in general paraphrases." For example, already the first list containing the so called LOCATUM VERBS, whose parent nouns are in the objective case in the paraphrastic clauses that describe the location of one thing with respect to another, may serve as a good example of the symptomatic unequivocality of the categorization. On the next level, Clark and Clark organize the list according to the English preposition that is expected to occur in the paraphrase; this might be acceptable for a paper dealing concretely with English, but it is important to notice that the distribution of prepositions is – and especially in more abstract domains – a language-specific convention in which languages notoriously mutually disagree. In some cases, the relationship of the object word and the derived action word need not be understood as locative in other languages and cultures at all, though it may work well for English. Thus the verbs *to name* or *to label* are comprised in the lexical class LABELS of the section of the preposition ON (*ibid.*: 770; I am not clear about why it is not in the section of TO, the paraphrase being rather 'to give a name to?'), though I doubt that the CC MDCs *míng/mìng* 名 'name/to name' or *tí* 題 'label/to label' would be ever associated with howsoever abstract locations and I cannot imagine a paraphrase for them that would include the locational preposition *yú* 於, let alone with the idea that the name is *on* a person (see Nikitina 1985: 93–109 for valency of these verbs). In CC people and other objects were simply named by a name, and they were never – as far as I can tell – given a name.

More importantly, if we examine the denominal verbs included in the same section and compare them, we can see that the similarity of their origin and their derivation is a relative notion and that is dubious to wish to capture it adequately with the help of the paraphrases, *nota bene* if there are no verbs or types of verbs are specified in them. The reason is that the fact that in all the cases the object denoted by

the noun is located somewhere does not by far guarantee a reasonable similarity of the very actions. Consider e.g. the locatum “on” verbs *to blanket the bed*, *to water the roses*, *to man the ship* and *to string the guitar*. Without an expert analysis based on the concept of deep-structure case roles, it is in my opinion very improbable that an average speaker of English would classify them as conceptually similar expressions. No wonder, for the actions as gestalts do not resemble each other, and they belong to completely unrelated ICMs. The flows of energy, their spatial distribution and configuration, the scales (energetic, spatial, temporal), purposes, conceptual ecology, all this differs significantly from verb to verb. If we assume that it is the mutual knowledge what is critical for the derivation (and according to cognitive linguistics, our knowledge is organized by idealized cognitive models as proposed in Lakoff 1987, ch. 4), it is quite expectable that paraphrases based on other criteria will not work for rendering semantic similarities. It gets better if we focus on the intersections of patterns of derivation and lexical classes, since moving similar things to a place tends to involve similar manners of movement, and the members of coherent lexical classes tend to be associated with similar groups of ICMs (which naturally depends also on the fashion in which we define the classes). But it is still at issue how close the V-O constructions like *to blanket the bed* and *to litter the highway*, or *to blood the huntsman* and *to water the roses* are perceived to be by average members of the speech community. Having no experimental evidence at hand, I must leave it open. In any case, if we wish to establish in the future a more adequate classification of V-N derivation, we will have to concentrate on this problem and try to build it rather from the bottom and base it primarily on concrete similarities (and generalizations over them) instead of the case roles.

Clark and Clark (1979: 778–779) have an interesting discussion on the relationship of instrument and locatum or location verbs, provoked by the observation that “locatum and location verbs often look very much like instrument verbs.” The same is true for CC and for the HY attested e.g. for the object words *wǎng* 網 ‘net’ (LY 17.27.1), *zhìgù* 桎梏 ‘shackles’ (HF 37.6.2), featuring as examples in Clark and Clark, and *tuó* 橐 ‘bag’ (ZGC 5.9.7), *náng* 囊 ‘sack’ (HF 35.17.2), *gāo* 橐 ‘bag’ (ZZ 10.11.7.3), *zhǔ* 褚 ‘bag for garment’ (ZZ 9.30.13.10), and others, e.g. containers of the vessel type similar to the English denominal verb *to bottle* – *dān* 簾 ‘basket’ (MZ 1.2.10.3) and *hú* 壺 ‘jar’ (ibid.).⁶⁶ The authors argue that there is a genuine distinction between instrument and locatum/location in most of these cases, and that the real status of the verb can be decided on the basis of at least three criteria. The third one is morphological and does not concern us in here; the remaining two criteria are: a) “locatum and location verbs have resultant states in which the parent noun plays an intrinsic role,” b) paraphrasability by ‘to do it with X’ vs. ‘to do[/move] it in/on/at X’.

⁶⁶ There is however an alternative interpretation of these expressions – they can be considered measure units; I follow Yáng Zhāowèi et al. (1991) in this case.

The expression *to bottle the beer* is well chosen; indeed, we can ask whether the bottle is the place where the beer is put or rather the instrument of containerizing. According to the criteria proposed by Clark and Clark, it is clearly a location verb. The paraphrastic criterion (b) could be of course modified for CC – one can look for instance for the contrast between the instrumental preposition *yǐ* 以 and the locational preposition *yú* 於. However, criteria based on paraphrases are seldom reliable, for paraphrases can be reformulated *ad infinitum* so that they accentuate selected facets of the situation (cf. Štekauer 1996: 128).

Most importantly, Clark and Clark admit that “some instrument verbs appear to work BY VIRTUE OF their being locata or locations,” quoting the examples of *to leash the dog* and *to net the fish*. But this is true practically of every instrument whose effect is intrinsically associated with a specific change of spatial relations – containers and container-like objects or rope-like instruments are conspicuous examples, though the ratio of salience and the precise relation between the instrumental and the locational aspect of the action may vary. It is important to realize that no matter which criteria we devise for assessing the derived denominal verbs/processual uses, the objects denoted by the parent object words are typically conceived of as instruments – vessels are utensils, ropes are utensils too. Of course the category of instruments is radially organized and its structure yields prototype effects, and there are consequently better and worse examples of an instrument. What for instance about dyestuffs, which must be transferred to the thing in the process of its application, and the denominal verbs derived from them are classified unproblematically as locatum verbs in Clark and Clark? It is definitely true that dyestuff is not a prototypical instrument, by contrast to the utensil sometimes employed to apply it on the thing that is being dyed. It is not a solid thing transferring energy from the agent to the patient, on the contrary, its application is sometimes (depending on the manner of dying) carried out by a utensil, and indeed it plays an intrinsic role in the resultant state. But on the other hand, its *raison d'être* is primarily instrumental: it is a kind of stuff with which things are dyed. The point is that the categories are actually not exclusive: various categorizations are relevant on different levels of conceptual organization. If we return to the authors' example *to bottle the beer*, it is not necessary to oppose the interpretation ‘to containerize the beer with/in bottles’ and ‘to put the beer in the bottles’ and to feel obliged to choose one of them as the only correct one. Containerizing may be done with various types of container, but to containerize means ‘to put into a container’. Thus, both categorizations of *to bottle* in this case are valid, simply being relevant in different contexts. Likewise, in terms of spatial relations, the dyestuff is transferred to the thing or the thing put in the dyestuff, since the transfer is itself an integral part of the definition of dying, and in more abstract terms of dying (on a higher level of conceptual organization), the concrete dyestuff is the instrument with which the thing is dyed. In other words, it depends on whether we ask ‘what is being done with the dyestuff’ or ‘what is the thing dyed with’, and both the questions and the corresponding answers are well acceptable. Eventually, consider some

of the few occurrences of *rǎn* 染 ‘to dye’, suggesting the both possible conceptions of the role of dyestuff: *mò rǎn qí wài* 墨染其外 ‘to dye its outer part with ink’ (HF 10.7.5), where I interpret the adverbial modifier *mò* ‘ink, black colour’ instrumentally; a clear case of instrumentality of dyestuff is unfortunately approximately one hundred years later than the terminus of around 200 BC (Western Hàn): *rǎn zhī yǐ niè* 染之以涅 ‘to dye it with alunite’ and *rǎn zhī yǐ dān* 染之以丹 ‘to dye it with cinnabar’ (HNZ 11.9.5); on the other hand, we have the locationally conceived *rǎn yú cāng zé cāng, rǎn yú huáng zé huáng* 染於蒼則蒼，染於黃則黃 ‘if it is dyed in blue colour, it will be blue, if it is dyed in yellow, it will be yellow’ (LS 2.4.1.1).

The last problematic aspect of the categorization based on the case-role paraphrases which I will mention are the GOAL VERBS (see Clark and Clark 1979: 774–775). The problem becomes much more pronounced in CC than in English. It is because goal verbs are in fact verbs with a causative-factitive foundation, and as we know, causative constructions are entirely common in CC and causativity has a special status in the language and its conceptual framework. Clark and Clark explicitly contrast agent verbs and goal verbs, noting that “for agent verbs, the parent nouns denote roles or professions that people take on deliberately,” and “for goal verbs, however, the parent nouns denote roles conferred on people by external forces, sometimes against their will.” But in CC, the “goal verbs” derived from agent nouns are simply causative versions of the corresponding “agent verbs” (see the example of *xiàng* 相 ‘prime minister’ on p. 141), since theoretically any full word can be used causatively in the language by convention. Now the tricky question arises whether the causative use is primarily related to the agent noun or to the derived intransitive agent verb. In my opinion, it cannot be decided on other than psycholinguistic grounds as both derivational paths are perfectly viable within the framework of linguistic convention of CC, and there is actually no reason why both analyses could not be valid simultaneously, especially when we can find systemic parallels for both of them. Causatives without intransitive counterparts (i.e. majority of CC causative-factitive HY, agent nouns/verbs being rather an exception) suggest that the causative use of the *xiàng* should be viewed as relating primarily to the object word (nota bene a MDC), but on the other hand the pervasive causative use of genuine action words in CC suggests that it should be viewed as relating primarily to the processual meanings of the MDC *xiàng*. The speakers of CC surely might have felt preference for one or the other interpretation, but we have no way to ascertain it.

On a closer look, the classification is not consistent either. For instance, I do not understand why enclosures are classified as locatum verbs by Clark and Clark, while they must be first construed and they are thus products of the activity, though the product encloses a place. Their building is quite unproblematically primary in the meaning of the verbs – *to fence* (CC *fān* 藩) being clearly ‘to construe a fence (around somewhere)’, not ‘to locate a fence somewhere’. In fact, we can again see a partial

category overlap in this case, since construction of enclosures is specifically oriented in space in respect to the place being enclosed and this orientation thus plays a role in the semantics of the corresponding verbs as well. Moreover, what has been said about similarity of the derivation above is valid here too. Consider for example the following goal verbs: *to outlaw the thief*, *to crook his finger*, *to gang up*, *to nest*, and *to blossom*. As a matter of fact, the only thing these words have in common is the causative-factitive semantic foundation, but this common feature is extremely abstract and can hardly play any substantial role in spontaneous categorization. Clark's category of goal verbs does not practically differ from Zhāng Wénguó's pattern RESULT OF ACTION in this respect.

What further contributes to the incoherence of the category is the inclusion of intransitive and *eo ipso* non-causative denominal verbs (often inherently non-causative verbs with no possibility of causativization) in the overwhelming majority of causative-factitive transitives (see *ibid.*: 774). The category thus dissipates into two relatively autonomous groups distinguished clearly by a conceptually salient criterion, whose members are however intermingled in the list. In spite of the fact that both involve factitivity in the broadest sense, causation primarily refers to a change of status or properties of an already existing patient, while non-causative goal verbs refer primarily to giving/coming of not yet existing entities into existence, or, in another semantic variant, simply to their presence. Not a logical analysis based on objective truth conditions but conceptualization, which is partially universal and partially culture-specific, is relevant. Clark and Clark compare *to powder the aspirin* with *the cow calved*, where the main difference is supposed to consist in the presence or absence of the source from which the goal is made. I consider this interpretation as counter-intuitive. Well, something new arises in both cases – powder and a calf. However, in the former it is a result of modification of the patient, while in the latter it is a result of creation as if *ex nihilo* (that the “source” is not expressed is conceptually significant and it is not incidental). It becomes clear when we compare e.g. *to orphan the children* and *to blossom*, or even more conveniently the CC *jùn Jiāngdōng* 郡江東 ‘to turn the Jiāngdōng into a commandery’ (ZGC 14.16.4), which has no verbal non-causative counterpart, and the predicatively used *huā* 華 ‘blossom’ → ‘to blossom’ or *shí* 實 ‘fruit’ → ‘to bear fruit’ (occurring cyclically in most chapters of LJ that deal with seasons, and their mirror in LS), which on the other hand have no reasonable (and attested) causative counterparts (though they are theoretically conceivable). The territory of the Jiāngdōng is already here and the action merely causes a change of its status. On the contrary, blossoms and fruit are something that newly arises or simply is present – the tree “is in blossom.” This is one of the reasons why without the expert logical analysis the *jùn* and *huā* would be hardly considered similar in any usual sense.

Calamities, diseases, sacrifices, taxes, presents

While excerpting linguistic material from CC texts and organizing it, several classes of phenomena have gradually become conspicuous concerning systematic

functional flexibility in comparison with e.g. English: a) calamities, b) diseases, c) sacrifices, d) taxes, e) presents. Words for entities of these kinds turned out to be used freely both to denote objects and processes (or states) and to be thus good candidates for either partial systematic polysemy or simply a well-delimited and practically paradigmatic case of *cílèi zhuǎnbiàn* (subsystematic MDC), which is the same in the long run. The interpretation of the flexibility of words for diseases and sacrifices is obvious: both diseases and sacrifices are relational concepts (dynamic or stative) irrespective of profiling alternatives. Precisely in the same way as words denoting e.g. emotions which I have spoken about above in connection with the semantic map in CC and systematic polysemy (see V.2.2), these words are susceptible to systematic polysemy, which is traditionally described as nominalization of the most trivial kind (reification).

Diseases are states that can be conceptualized as abstract entities (note that one can “have” an illness as well as “be” ill; cf. *guǎ yǒu jièsāo* 寡有疥騷 ‘seldom has scabies’ HF 32.16.1 and *Qihóu jiè* 齊侯疥 ‘the duke of Qí got scabies’ ZZ 10.20.6.1) by a trivial modification of imagery and then the relation(s) are profiled as a connected region, their domain of bounding being the type-of-disease space. Note that Zhāng Wénguo (2005: 320–321) arrived at the same conclusion. No wonder then that *disease words* are typical MDC, though there are again more process-like and more object-like diseases in the category. I tentatively suggest that it is a convention of the language – which might arise from a specific conceptualization of diseases generally by the ancient Chinese – that even such disease word like *jū* 疽 ‘ulcer’ which actually denotes an object can be used processually (e.g. ZZ 9.19.1.5). If a disease word is not attested processually, one could assume that it is an incidental lacuna in the corpus, but the evidence is too scarce to assess this possibility with a sufficient reliability.

Sacrifices are complex procedures and constitute complete scenarios, which represent well established distinct ICMs in cognitivist terms (see Lakoff 1987: 285–286). If I was urged to classify the flexibility of words denoting various kinds of sacrifices in terms of N-V HY vs. V-N HY, I would say that it is quite clearly the latter. Sacrifices can be secondarily conceptualized as distinct types of events through reification. In that case, the nominal uses of *sacrifice words* profile an abstract interconnected region, their primary domain of bounding being the type-of-sacrifice space, or, on a higher level of abstraction, the scenario space. The words then denote the corresponding events, which are referred to, or, if used generically, the very scenarios as unwritten or written scripts, i.e. certain conceptual structures perceived as abstract things (the actions involved in them are defocused from and the reference to them is only mediated). This word-class flexibility is abundantly attested already in the Shāng oracle bone inscriptions (13th–11th c. BC) and remains unchanged down to the classical period (*Lǐjì* is overfilled with evidence, at random see e.g. LJ 5.3.5. and LJ 5.3.7). A generic use of a sacrifice word *par excellence* is the current term *wǔsì* 五祀 ‘Five Sacrifices’ (e.g. GZ 41.1.24 or LJ 2.3.8).

Taxes are different in that respect that, unlike sacrifices or diseases, they are not just processes or states viewed either processually or nominally – they are participants in the procedure of taxation against which they are defined, being relational nouns in nature (it is naturally also the reason why *tax words* are JLC or MDC). Their role with regard to taxation may be conceived differently in different perspectives relevant in different contexts – it may be interpreted as a reason, result, patient, if we wish to employ these schematic terms. The concept of tax in general (which projects with modifications to special types of taxes) is grounded in the rather complex ICM of taxation and it cannot be easily identified with a single participant role in the process, since taxation is in fact a whole cluster of interrelated activities and processes and each of them relates to a particular facet of the nominal concept of tax in a different way. Of course, the most salient actions in which the tax play the main role is its collecting from someone or somewhere or its imposing on someone or on something, and so are the CC tax words used in their processual meaning.⁶⁷ It concerns lexical units like *fù* 賦, *shuì* 稅, *zū* 租, *yì* 役, *chán* 塵, *zhēng* 征, *chè* 徹, *ji* 籍, *liǎn* 斂, or *gòng* 貢.

Words denoting types of presents represent typical relational nouns, since they are always defined against scenario ICMs, being involved in them as the objects transferred from the agent to the beneficiary under various circumstances and seen from a certain perspective. For this reason they also often do not refer to any concrete thing but to a thing in general, or more precisely to a set of things that were conventionally acceptable as presents given on respective occasions. As already mentioned above, such words are usually MDC, since their nominal meaning and processual meaning are two sides of the same coin – one would be hardly able to imagine that the lexically extremely economic CC would have special distinct roots for them. The lexical microfield includes e.g. the present-denoting words *fèng* 贈, *huì* 賄, *lù* 賂, or *xì* 餽, or peripherally words denoting objects that can be secondarily considered presents like *huò* 貨 ‘goods’.

The class of calamities is yet another case. The reason is that there is no distinct lexical class of special calamity words, for which the meaning of calamity would be basic as their genus. In the style of historical records represented e.g. by *Zuǒzhuàn*, we encounter in this function usually words denoting elements, *huǒ* 火 ‘fire’ and *shuǐ* 水 ‘water’, or the word *huáng* 蝗 ‘locust’ for locust infestations, though there is also a word specially denoting disastrous floods and fires *zāi* 災, or drought *hàn* 旱. The subject of such sentences refers to the entity (often quasi-locational – “all under Heaven,” capitals/states, palaces) affected by the respective calamity. Calamities are thematically and on the linguistic level also constructionally close to meteorologic conditions, and especially to precipitation, with which they overlap, since for instance

⁶⁷ *Thesaurus Linguae Sericae* offers a relatively precise notional definition of taxes, which reads: MONEY CONFISCATED FROM CITIZENS by the OFFICIALS of the GOVERNMENT, CONFORMING to a LAW.

hails, long-lasting rains of dry spells are calamities on their own. They are obviously conceived of as events which happen, but the ‘there happened’ is not expressed by any word – one can actually hardly imagine how it could be expressed in CC at all, and I assume that it is the reason why the words for calamities are used processually no matter of what origin they are.⁶⁸ We can thus speak of a special calamity construction in which any word denoting a phenomenon perceived as a calamity can occur with the meaning ‘there happened the calamity such-and-such (somewhere)’ without any additional formal devices.

Besides these patterns of word-class flexibility, there is another interesting group of expressions associated with HY. It consists of object words originally designating natural products and animals that are employed for denotation of the process of collecting or hunting the thing. It is not clear whether they always really become verbal in nature – they often occur in the somewhat problematic construction with the functional word *zhě* 者, standardly a relative object-substitute pronoun, the whole construction meaning ‘pickers of N’ or ‘hunters of N’ (cf. p. 227; Zhāng Wéngú 2005 does not seem to register the constructions at all), like in *chú rǎo zhě* 芻蕘者 ‘those who cut grass for feed and pick firewood’ and *zhì tù zhě* 雉兔者 ‘hunters of pheasants and rabbits’ (MZ 1.2.2.4). The question is whether *zhě* in these cases necessarily signalizes verbality of the preceding elements of the construction. This is a complicated and controversial issue which cannot be neither briefly introduced nor solved here, I therefore leave it open here. However, what further complicates analysis of the quoted example from *Mencius* is the fact that the four words *chú*, *rǎo*, *zhì* and *tù* differ in the degree of word-class flexibility, at least as attested in the extant corpus. While *chú* can be considered as a double JLC or even MDC most probably with the derivation chain ‘to cut grass’ → ‘hay, fodder’ → ‘to feed animals (with hay)’, *rǎo* is basically a usual object word, the only example of processual use in Wáng Lì’s dictionary being the sentence from *Mencius*, and *zhì* and *tù* are likewise unattested processually except for tentatively in this construction. In spite of it, judging on the basis of other evidence, it is quite possible that the words were perceived as action words. Consider the phrase *wú mí wú luǎn* 無麋無卵 ‘do not hunt the *mí* deer, do not pick eggs’ (LS 11.5.1) without *zhě*, which proves that this kind of use of this class of words is conceivable. The evidence for animals and their hunting is scarce, but as far as grass and firewood is considered, there is another JLC, *qiáo* 樵 ‘firewood/to collect firewood’ (cf. 不樵樹 ‘not to pick plants’ or ‘not to cut trees for fuel’ in another interpretation (ZZ 10.6.7.3)), which suggests that *chú* and *qiáo* are used freely both nominally and processually and the *rǎo* is rather an occasional analogy to the established pattern of *qiáo*. *Zhì* ‘pheasant’ and *tù*

⁶⁸ I presume that the existential *yǒu* 有 ‘there is’ is not employed in this context because it refers to existence of an entity, not to happening of an event. The English counterpart, the *there*-construction, may be misleading as it can refer to happening of an event as well, which is not the case of the CC *yǒu*.

'rabbit' in the processual interpretation would be a rare case of a more distant analogy (*note bene* involved in parallelism).

Proper nouns

It is not by coincidence that both Clark and Clark (1979: 783–785) and Štekauer (1996: 118–124) paid a deserved attention to the issue of word-class conversion of proper nouns in English and both have proved beyond question precisely on this linguistic phenomenon that proper nouns do have their meanings in the usual sense of the word, and not only the reference as had been proposed several times before e.g. by Katz or Kripke. If proper nouns can be derived as any other English word through the same mechanisms, they must necessarily have a lexical meaning to serve as the source of the derivation. It is not surprising at all within the framework of cognitive grammar, for entities to which proper nouns refer have also characteristic properties and are usually prototypically associated with certain actions. The entities denoted by proper nouns are conceptualized irrespective of being individuals instead of classes of objects, and the information which becomes the conventional knowledge about the entities is *eo ipso* the meaning of the respective proper nouns in encyclopaedic semantics.

Of course, the genericness of this knowledge critically depends how culturally significant the entity is and how many people thus know it and have a notion about its characteristic features, but the same is actually true of common nouns, though types of things generally tend to be known to wider speech communities than particular individuals. We find both proper nouns referring to entities and their features familiar practically to everyone not only in the given speech community but even in the whole cultural domain or civilization on one hand and common nouns denoting things which are known and understood by a handful of specialists on the other, and there is a wide range of possible positions between the extremes. The degree of familiarity of an entity and its social context can tell us approximately how generally the derivation based on the corresponding proper noun would be intelligible and acceptable, and in how large and precisely in which speech (sub)-communities it would have chance to be institutionalized and lexicalized (for relativity of genericness and the issues of institutionalization and lexicalization see the section VI.3.1). Theoretically, I am interested communities of all sizes, that is for example in HY of proper nouns confined to a family (as I know from autopsy, derivation of denominal verbs from proper nouns referring to individuals practically unknown to wider society may be a common matter in linguistically creative speakers), but practically we have very little evidence for CC, and this evidence quite expectedly relates to generally well-known onymic objects. As a matter of fact, the only notoriously quoted example is the reknowned sentence *ěr yù Wúwáng wǒ hū* 爾欲吳王我乎 'Do you want to the-king-of-Wú [= murder] me?' (ZZ 11.10.5.3), in which, however, as Zhāng Wénguó (2005: 332) points out, *Wúwáng* is not a pure proper noun but a mixed, apparently indexical expression 'the king of Wú'. This HY is context-dependent: in the given context, the *Wúwáng* stands for a concrete person,

namely the king Liáo 僚 of Wú († 515 BC), and under this interpretation it acquires the meaning of the proper noun through the index and is derived and interpreted on its basis, 'to treat like the king of Wú [= Liáo]'. Under the given circumstances and in the given situation, the more or less generally spread knowledge about Liáo's death, which was evidently a characteristic feature of this ruler at least for the speakers involved in the dialogue, was uniquely salient for both of them (see VI.4).

I have come across another very interesting example in *Mencius*: *qiú qí Chǔ* 求其楚 'to want it to speak Chǔish' and *qiú qí Qí* 求其齊 'to want it to speak Qíish' (MZ 3.2.6.2). It is evident here that the names of the territories serve merely as a motivation in the formation of the new meaning 'to speak the language of N'. We could say that *Chǔ* and *Qí* stand here metonymically for the languages that are spoken in these states and that the derivation is based on this metonymy, giving the pattern [A LANGUAGE → TO SPEAK THE LANGUAGE]. But it is likewise possible to say that the basic pattern is the non-metonymic [A COUNTRY → TO BEHAVE IN THE WAY TYPICAL FOR THE COUNTRY] and the linguistic meaning is a semantic specialization representing the discrepancy between the word-formational meaning and the actual meaning which is typical for word formation. Both are conceivable analytically, but if we take into consideration the real coinage act, the former interpretation is more adequate: the coiner most probably had the precise meaning on his mind and only looked for a sufficiently well-suited motivating word. This kind of use resembles to certain extent the Greek *hellēnizein* 'to speak (good) Greek' or 'to behave as a true Greek'. *Hellēnizein* is however not derived from the name of the respective country but from the ethnonym *Hellēn* 'Greek' whose CC analogon would be *Qírén* 齊人. What is basic in CC is the name of the territory, not of its inhabitants as in the Greek case, where the name of the territory *Hellas* 'Greece' is conceived as *-ad-s* derivation from the ethnonym *Hellēn*. Be it as may, *hellēnizein* is a denominal verb based on a proper noun and is thus functionally very close to the expressions from *Mencius*. A comparison with analogous formations in other languages would surely show interesting parallels.

There can be found also expressions of the type nicely illustrated in *Xúnzǐ* (XZ 8.11.11) in the succession of the phrases *jū Yuè ér Yuè* 居越而越 'to live in Yuè and be Yuèish as a result', *jū Chǔ ér Chǔ* 居楚而楚 'to live in Chǔ and be Chǔish as a result', and *jū Xià ér Xià* 居夏而夏 'to live in China proper and be properly Chinese as a result' – none the less, the names of the states in these examples are more fittingly interpreted as property words of the same category as the predicates in *fù fù zǐ zǐ* 父父子子. I have excluded the uses of object words of this kind from the scope of my research, though I am well aware of the fact that it is possible to analyze them also as action nouns 'to act in such-and-such way (as such-and-such person is expected to act or as person from such-and-such place is expected to behave'. The boundary between this type of action words and property words is fuzzy in principle (the one who is Yuèish, i.e. has properties typical for people from Yuè, of course behaves as people normally behave in Yuè), and the decision is therefore rather for practical reasons.

Less usual patterns of derivation

Partially as a kind of counterpoint to Zhāng Wénguó's pronounced emphasis on the systematic and predictable patterns of word-class flexibility in CC, I would like to draw attention to less usual HY and emancipate a bit the cases which ended in his footnotes and add some more. Once registered and explained, the fact of agent nouns being used as agent verbs or instrument nouns being used as instrument verbs (in terms of Clark and Clark) lose much of their analytic appeal. These transitions are well expectable, predictable and readily computable, and they even might tempt one to think that all HY is practically regular and that one can derive the meaning of object word in HY relying on its dictionary nominal meaning and a limited set of rules, as Nikitina (1985) proposes. The "irregular" cases, whose amount is by far not negligible, best represent the word-formational, unparadigmatic aspect of HY, and they manifest the diversity of semantic derivation involved in the processes in question. Of course, they are also those ones that attract attention of the philologist, both modern and ancient, and which are symptomatically commented upon.

It might be interesting to compare Štekauer's testing expressions (2005: 161–183) with some HY attested for CC. He examined predictability of meaning in conversion of such English nouns like *to tulip*, *to morning*, *to triangle*, *to river*, and *to boy*, *to girl* or *to lion*. For *tulip*, we have the HY of *sāng* 桑 'mulberry tree' (LS 3.1.5.1), for *morning* there is the old derivation of *zhāo* 朝 'morning' and its innovative analogon *xī* 夕 'evening', *triangle* as a prototype of object without salient interactional properties can be compared e.g. to *yǐng* 影 'shadow', though these two words are not commensurable perfectly. *To river* has a good counterpart in *shuǐ* 水 'water; river'. The *boy*, *girl* and *lion* belong to the type of object words whose word-class flexibility has not been included in the scope of this work, since their counterparts occur in "qualitative expository predicate" when used predicatively (cf. III.1.2, VI.1.1); in TLS, these uses obtain the syntactic label *vi.act* (intransitive verbs, "act as").

The most frequently predicted meaning of the denominal verb *to tulip* was 'to grow tulips', based on the feature GROWABLE common to all flowers and plants in general. As for CC *sāng*, the cultural status of mulberry trees in old China is different from that of tulips in contemporaneous English-speaking countries, and the derivation is influenced according to it: the processual use means 'to pluck leaves from mulberry trees as forage for silkworms', i.e. to do the most typical action conventionally associated with mulberry trees, especially if the agent is female.

For the verb *to morning*, the suggested meanings included 'to get up early in the morning', 'to engage in the usual morning procedures' and 'to say good morning'. The CC *cháo* 朝 (derived from *zhāo* morphologically) 'to take part in the (morning) audience' and its innovative analogon *xī* 'to go to the evening audience' are close to the second meaning of *to morning*, but it is again accommodated for the reality of ancient

China and the official milieu. For an official, the most important action in which he engaged in the morning was the audience, not brushing teeth or drinking coffee. The analogy of the semantic foundation is evident here as well as the crucial role of the generic knowledge dependent on the social and cultural context.

Tentative proposals for the meaning of the word *to triangle* in isolation included mainly the factitive interpretation 'to make a triangle', or its more specific elaboration 'to draw a triangle'. The exceptional alternative 'to be a part of a love triangle' is not especially relevant for CC. As mentioned, the CC object word *yīng* 'shadow' is similar in that sense that it has no salient interactional properties and is not prototypically associated with any action, and still the less if the agent is human – but of course, a shadow is more concrete than a triangle and, unlike a triangle, it is after all at least partially associated with certain processes (movement, arising, vanishing). The processual meaning attested in its HY 'to produce shadows' nicely illustrates that the factitive interpretation is very often *faut de mieux*, and that is therefore typical for object words whose processual use is relatively unexpected.⁶⁹

The converted verb *to river* is very interesting for us, because the CC object word *shuǐ* is attested in several patterns of derivation, as we have seen above. The proposed meanings recorded by Štekauer include 'to swim/bathe in a river', 'to canoe on a river' and 'to direct a river to water/to flood a place'. Though it is not clear whether rather the sememe 'water or 'river' – or both intermingled – is relevant for the particular processual uses of *shuǐ*, the patterns of derivation for English conversion and CC remarkably resemble each other: we can find both the processual meaning 'to swim' and 'to direct a river to flood a place' in CC texts. Obviously, the knowledge about rivers and their roles in people's actions and thus the semantics of the corresponding words is close in both cultures. Of course, bathing for fun in rivers is out of the question in Warring States China (but in the severely polluted rivers of our times too).

I add a list of less usual derivations in CC HY which I have come across in my linguistic material. There are some features characteristic for them: dependency on context because of low level of predictability, reliance on metaphor and metonymy, substantial discrepancy between potential word-formational meanings (i.e the meanings based on salient processual content of the motivating object word readily accessible even in isolation) and the actual meaning arising usually from high specificity of the derived meaning, or, on the other hand, very general patterns like the factitive one 'to produce' but also 'to turn into', both being results of motivation by other than prototypical features – either too general or too specific. I admit that the set below is not homogeneous with respect to various criteria, but it serves mainly as an illustration of

⁶⁹ It is also symptomatic that another attested processual meaning of *yīng* (written 景) – though for the preclassical period – is irregular and unpredictable: in *Shījīng*, it is used to denote 'to check the shadow [in order to find the direction]' (cf. Zhang 2005: 150).

the point and invitation for further research of these cases. I also think that it is useful to have collected most of them and gathered at one place, although the list not conceived as exhaustive and the criteria for inclusion of HY in it are vague. It is however generally impossible to measure the degree of usualness in exact terms; at best, we can reasonably say what conforms to more general patterns of derivation and to expected behaviour of members of particular lexical classes. The list of examples is in an arbitrary order.

zhǎo 爪 ‘claw’ → ‘to cut nails (of a dead person)’ (LJ 22.1.31), *máo* 毛 ‘hairs, fur’ → ‘to select animals with the same colour of fur’ (ZL 3.67) and → ‘to remove hairs’ (ZL 2.99), *biǎolǐ* 表裏 ‘outside (of garment) and inside (of garment)’ → ‘to follow both sides (of a river)’ (ZGC 8.15.4), *dòu* 豆 ‘bowl’ → ‘to shuffle bowls’ (LS 1.4.3.5), *cán* 蠶 ‘silkworm’ → ‘to engage in sericulture’ (GLZ 2.14.9) or → ‘to use (mulberry trees) for silkworms’ (MZ 7.1.22.3), *shéng* 繩 ‘rope’ → ‘to make to continue like a rope’ (LS 5.5.12.1), *sǎn* 糗 ‘rice grains’ → ‘to add rice (into soup)’ (XZ 28.8.1), *chì* 翅 ‘wings’ → ‘to flap wings’ (HF 21.19.1), *huī* 灰 ‘dust’ → ‘to turn into dust’ (HF 22.29.1), *tǔ* 土 ‘soil’ → ‘to turn into soil’ (ibid.), *xuè* 血 ‘blood’ → ‘to bleed’ (ibid.), *zhù* 柱 ‘pillar’ → ‘to tower like a pillar’ (Zh 24.1.11), *bō* 波 ‘wave’ → ‘to go up and down like waves, to follow the flux of things’ (Zh 26.8.3), *zhǒng* 踵 ‘heel’ → ‘to closely follow’ (ZZ 10.24.9.1), *lóu* 蝻 ‘mole cricket’ → ‘to get infested by crickets’ (LS 3.2.3.1), *wángzhǎng* 王長 ‘king and chief’ → ‘to feel as if one was a king or chief and behave in that way (of apes)’ (Zh 20.6.3), *cái* 材 ‘wood as material’ → ‘to use as material for construction’ (ZZ 12.11.4.6), *rèn* 仞 ‘rèn, a measure unit’ → ‘to measure length’ (ZZ 10.32.3.9), *láo* 牢 ‘sacrificial animals’: → *bǎiláo* 百牢 ‘to offer one hundred sacrificial animals’ (ZZ 12.7.3.2), *shíyī láo* 十一牢 ‘eleven sacrificial animals’ → ‘to offer eleven sacrificial animals’ (ZZ 12.7.3.3), *qiàn* 塹 ‘moat’ → ‘to fall into a moat’ (ZZ 10.29.3.2), *jiē* 階 ‘staircase’ → ‘to prepare steps for (chaos)’ (ZZ 8.16.12.3), *pèi* 旆 ‘banner’ → ‘to hang out banners’ (ZZ 10.13.3.17), *niú* 牛 ‘ox’ → ‘to become a hurt ox’ (GLZ 12.13), *zhī* 枝 ‘branch’ → ‘to produce branches, to have branches’ (ZZ 3.6.1.4), *mào* 貌 ‘outer appearance’ → ‘to make overtly manifest’ (HF 20.5.1), *bǐ* 鄙 ‘border territory’ → ‘to move to border territories’ (ZZ 3.28.2.7),⁷⁰ *bāng* 邦 ‘state’ → ‘to found a state’ (MD 5.3), *nú* 孥 ‘wife and children’ → ‘to have executed whole family’ (MZ 1.2.5.2), *jì* 跡 ‘footstep’ → ‘to trace, to go in someone’s footsteps’ (MD 2.2), also ‘to produce a trace’ (Zh 14.7.3), *guǐ* 軌 ‘track’ → ‘to go in tracks’ (ZGC 8.16.5), *fēng* 風 ‘wind’ → ‘to expose oneself to the wind’ (LY 11.26.6, MZ 2.2.2.1), *róng* 容 ‘looks’ → ‘to make up’ (ZGC 18.4.1), *wèi* 味 ‘taste’ → ‘to consider tasty’ (HF 39.12.1), *dì* 地 ‘land’ → ‘to take control of a territory’ (ZZ 9.13.2.1), *shēn* 身 ‘one’s own person’ → ‘to do it in person’/‘to embody’ (MZ 7.1.3.1), *jiǎo* 角 ‘horn’ → ‘to take hold of horns’ (ZZ 9.14.1.7), *shī* 尸 ‘corpse’ → ‘to collect dead bodies after battle’ (ZZ

⁷⁰ Yáng Zhāowèi et al. (1991: 18) interpret the expression more specifically as ‘to be enfeoffed in border territories’.

7.12.6.66) and → ‘to display a dead body after execution’ (ZZ 11.14.2.3) and → ‘to throw a dead body away’ (ZZ 2.15.2.3), *zǔ* 祖 ‘ancestor’ → ‘to report to ancestors’ (ZZ 1.8.4.1), and → ‘to sacrifice before a journey’ (ZGC 31.5.33), *yuán* 原 ‘source’ → ‘to seek the origins of’ (Zh 25.11.3), *xìng* 性 ‘nature’ → ‘to follow by nature, to have in one’s nature’ (MZ 7.1.3.1), *nián* 年 ‘years, age’ → ‘to tell one’s age’ (ZZ 9.30.3.1), *jué* 爝 ‘torch’ → ‘to light the exorcising fire/torch’ (LS 14.2.4.1), *zú* 卒 ‘infantry’ → ‘to get off horses and chariots and become infantry’ (ZZ 10.1.10.1), *gǔ* 穀 ‘grain’ → ‘to eat grain (intended as supplies for an army)’ (ZZ 9.12.5.1), *zǔdòu* 俎豆 ‘sacrificial vessels’ → ‘to worship’ (Zh 23.1.4).

CC counterparts of Clark and Clark’s denominal verbs

I consider comparison of the denominal verbs listed and classified by Clark and Clark (1979: 769–780) with CC word-class flexibility of object words potentially inspiring. It at least shows how much the English conversion and CC HY have in common and that the mechanism of the derivation is based on universally valid principles. Of course, there is a pronounced cultural gap between the two speech communities in question, resulting for example in a notable lexical asymmetry – the reality reflected by modern English and by CC is very different. There are thus no reasonably close CC counterparts to denominal verbs like *to van* or *to 747*, while many CC HY cannot be adduced because there are no counterparts in the list by Clark and Clark, since they refer to the ancient Chinese reality. In spite of this impoverishment, I still think it is useful to point out the correspondences. I include them only in case that the meaning of the words is more or less identical and that they are involved basically in the same pattern of derivation. These are introduced by the symbol “~” and the semantic gloss is omitted. Of course, the correspondence is typically only partial, and the systemic position of the derivations often differs for English and CC. I do not distinguish transitive and intransitive uses either. In the cases when I feel that it is worth listing functionally analogous expressions of CC though they are not at least approximate counterparts of the given English denominal verb, I introduce them by the symbol “≈” and add the respective semantic gloss. I occasionally include also essentially V-N derivations or expressions attested in e.g. *Chǔcí*, which I have otherwise excluded from my corpus.

1.) LOCATUM VERBS.

On. PERMANENT: *lime the wall* ≈ è 堊 ‘chalk’. VISCOUS: *grease the pan* ~ zhī 脂, *ink the nib* ~ mò 墨, *blood the huntsman* ~ xuè 血, *water the roses* ~ shuǐ 水. INDIVIDUAL OBJECTS: DRESS: *dress the boy* ~ yī/yì 衣 ~ fú 服, *belt his pants* ~ dài 帶, *crown the king* ≈ miǎn 冕 ‘crown, official cap’, *cap the child* ~ guān/guàn 冠. SYMBOLS: *brand the cattle* ≈ mò 墨 ‘black brand’ ~ qíng 黥. LABELS: *name the dog* ~ míng/mìng 名 ≈ tí 題 ‘title’. DECORATIONS: *pattern the plate* ~ wén 文 ‘pattern’. MISCELLANEOUS: *lid the jar* ~ gài 蓋.

Not-on. COVERINGS: skin the rabbit ~ pí 皮, scalp the settler ~ guó 馘 'left ear of enemy' (V-N)

In. CLOTHING PARTS: hem the garment ~ yuán 緣. MISCELLANEOUS: dam the river ~ fáng 防

At, to: gift the city ~ lù 賂, fodder the sheep ~ chú 芻

Around: fence the yard ~ fān 藩, wall (in) the garden ~ yuán 垣 ≈ chéng 城 'inner city wall' ≈ guō 郭 'outer city wall' ≈ dié 堞 'ramparts'

Over: bridge the stream ~ liáng 梁

Through: tunnel the mountain ~ suì 隧⁷¹ ≈ xué 穴 'hole, cavity'

2.) LOCATION VERBS.

On. STRINGS: leash the dog ~ gāng 綱 'fishing net rope; rope'

In. HABITAT: lodge the guests ~ shè 舍 ≈ guǎn 館 'guesthouse', field the candidates ≈ bǐ 鄙 'border territories', cage the tigers ~ lóng 籠 ~ xiá 柙,⁷² nest ~ cháo 巢, camp ~ cì 次 (V-N). STORAGE PLACES: silo the corn ≈ fǔ 府 'storehouse' ≈ lǐn 廩 'granary'. CONTAINERS: bag the potatoes ~ tuó 橐 ~ náng 囊 ≈ gāo 橐 'bag for weapons and armour' ≈ zhǔ 褚 'bag for garment', bottle the wine ≈ hú 壺 'jar', casket the jewels ≈ dān 簞 'basket', box the apples ~ dú 櫝, coffin the body ~ guān 棺. MISCELLANEOUS: bed the child ~ chuáng 牀, palm the card ≈ zhǎng 掌,⁷³ air the clothes ≈ fēng 風 'wind'

3.) DURATION VERBS.

(≈ xī 夕 'evening')

4.) AGENT VERBS.

OCCUPATIONS: tutor the boys ~ fù 傅, doctor the victim ~ yī 醫 (rare), carpenter ~ jiàng 匠 (only Chǔcí), general the army ~ jiàng 將 ≈ xiàng 相 'prime minister', soldier ≈ zú 卒 'infantry'. SPECIAL ROLES: champion the cause ~ xióng 雄, lord it over people ~ jūn 君 ≈ wáng/wàng 王 'king' ≈ dì 帝 'emperor' ≈ bà 霸 'hegemon' (etc.), rival his cousins ~ dì 敵 (V-N), neighbor on ~ lín 鄰

5.) EXPERIENCER VERBS.

⁷¹ If we interpret the *suì* in *suì ér xiāng jiàn* 隧而相見 (ZZ 1.1.4.16) verbally and not adverbially, which is also possible. See VII.2, where I state my preference for the adverbial analysis, yet I admit that the construction is essentially ambivalent (the commentarial tradition suggesting the verbal interpretation). There is also a clear case of processually employed *suì*, which has however a specialized meaning 'to dig an underground corridor in order to bury one through it' (ZZ 5.25.2.6).

⁷² If we interpret the *xiá* in *xiá ér cáng zhī* 柙而藏之 (Zh 15.2.8) verbally and not adverbially, which is also possible. See VII.2, where I state my preference for the adverbial analysis, yet I admit that the construction is essentially ambivalent (the commentarial tradition preferring the verbal interpretation).

⁷³ CC *zhǎng* is usually used in the metaphoric meaning 'to have in one's hands, to control'.

boycott the store ≈ *Wúwáng* 吳王, and generally all attitudinal constructions

6.) GOAL VERBS.

HUMAN ROLES: causative use of agent nouns. GROUPS: *group the actors*, *group together* ~ *qún* 群, *array the jewelry* ~ *liè* 列, *sequence the lessons* ~ *cì* 次, *order the data* ~ *xù* 序, *club together*, *gang up* ~ *dǎng* 黨. SHAPES: *coil the rope* ~ *juǎn* 卷, *crook his finger* ~ *gōu* 鉤 (medium voice), *form the circle* ~ *xíng* 形. PRODUCTS: *nest* ~ *cháo* 巢, *branch* ~ *zhī* 枝, *bloom*, *blossom* ~ *huā* 華 ≈ *shí* 實 'fruit'. MISCELLANEOUS: *ruin the building* ~ *xū* 虛 (=墟), *treasure the necklace* ~ *bǎo* 寶, *tower over the child* ≈ *zhù* 柱 'pillar'

7.) SOURCE VERBS.

vacant

8.) INSTRUMENT VERBS.

Go: *cart* ≈ *chéng/shèng* 乘 'carriage drawn by four horses', *pushcart* ≈ *niǎn* 輦 'man-pulled carriage'.⁷⁴

Fasten: GLUES: *glue* ~ *jiāo* 膠. RESTRAINERS: *shackle* ~ *zhìgù* 桎梏, *cord* ≈ *gāng* 綱 'rope'

Hit: *hammer the nail into the board* ~ *zhuī* 椎, *whip the prisoner* ~ *biān* 鞭 ~ *cè* 策

Cut, stab: *knife the man* ≈ *rèn* 刃 'blade', *saw the plank* ~ *jù* 鋸.

Catch: *net the fish* ~ *wǎng* 網/罔, *snare the rabbit* ~ *ěr* 餌, *hook the fish* ≈ *diào* 釣 'hook and line' (V-N)

Block: *screen the people from view* ~ *píng* 屏

Follow: *trail the deer* ~ *jì* 跡

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS: *guitar* ≈ *qín* 琴 'cither'. BODY PARTS: *eye the guard-dog* ~ *mù* 目, *hand the spoon* ~ *shǒu* 手, *elbow someone aside* ~ *zhǒu* 肘. SIMPLE TOOLS: *chisel the groove* ~ *záo* 鑿, *comb her hair* ~ *zhì* 櫛. COMPLEX TOOLS: *brake the car* ~ *rèn* 軛, *mill the grain* ~ *mò* 磨

9.) MISCELLANEOUS VERBS.

CROPS: *hay the top field*: *chú* 芻, *log the west slopes* ≈ *qiáo* 樵 'firewood' ≈ *ráo* 橈 'firewood', *mouse* ≈ *zhì* 雉 'pheasant' ≈ *tù* 兔 'rabbit' ≈ *mí* 麋 'mí deer'.

ELEMENTS: *rain* ~ *yǔ* 雨

⁷⁴ For *oar* and *boat*, there are counterparts available only from *Shījīng*.

VI.3 Lexicological issues

The relatively high rate of word-class flexibility, more or less systematic and unsystematic polysemy and the extraordinary lexical economy and absence of inflectional morphology make some aspects of CC lexicology unexpectedly difficult. There has always been and will be the practically unsolvable problem of conception and definition of word and its practical delineation, and the HY phenomenon seriously exacerbates it. The discussion about integrity of word – which meanings and uses belong to it and which already represent another word –, about boundaries between extension, polysemy and homonymy seem to be infinite and the resulting solutions must be taken especially in this case as individually diverging descriptions designed by particular scholars from different perspectives so that they meet given analytic needs (cf. Zhāng Liánróng 2001: 130–185, including many quotations from older literature).

The lexicological status of HY in general and of particular cases has been therefore unclear and each author chooses a somewhat different solution, if he addresses lexicological aspects at all. The endless debates about which occurrence is the “true” HY and which JL or an other more systematic item (e.g. MDC) touch upon this issue for larger part, though they may be formulated in quite different terms. More precisely, they relate to the issue of what is to be considered conventionalized and lexicalized, since if we stick to the etymology of the term *huóyòng* and to its definition as “unusual use” of given words, then we must of course first know what is usual and unusual, conventional and unconventional. As I have stated, I use the term HY merely as a convenient label for a bundle of phenomena that share the same principial basis (word-class flexibility) but differ considerably with regard to various parameters – regularity, predictability, systematicity, conventionality etc. For this reason, the delimitation of HY, JLC or MDC is not crucial for me. After all, it is always artificial and subjective to considerable extent. None the less, it does not mean that I am not interested in degree of conventionality or that I do not discriminate words both systematically and individually with regard to it – it only does not have any substantial impact on the semantic processes involved in HY, which are central to me in this dissertation. Generally speaking, a genuine lexicological analysis of HY mechanisms is absent in Western literature on the topic, including such essential aspects like e.g. polysemous structure of the source object words; the main reason is most probably the primarily syntactic perspective of most of the major works that deal with the phenomenon.

I prefer to conceive of HY – and I have kept speaking in this vein about it – as of derivation of another lexical item in the polysemous structure of the word in question. That it is a kind of semantic derivation is hardly questionable. Whether the new meaning has – irrespective of the actual degree of entrenchment – rather the status of another lexical item of the original “object” word or that of a novel independent word,

is a matter of analyst's decision.⁷⁵ I have anticipated this question earlier, but it is pertinent to state here again that it depends for larger part on whether we accept polysemy across major semantic classes that standardly correspond to the notion of major word classes, or not. Is it plausible for particular meanings, lexical items, of one word to belong to different "word" classes? Or is it not acceptable and we must consider them independent though closely related words? Some scholars on whose works I draw suggest that it is plausible – e.g. Croft (2001: 73), Zhāng Liánróng (2001: 155, 159–160) or Jiǎng Shàoyú (2005: 227). In my opinion, the decision is a matter of personal preferences and principally cannot be settled down on the basis of objective argumentation, though we may critically assess more or less appropriate and/or advantageous conceptions. One of the main reasons for choosing the polysemy approach is that the opposite is basically counter-intuitive in the indigeneous language-reflective tradition (cf. e.g. the pre-modern focus on the *zì*, but also the modern conception of *jiānlèicí* or *míngdòngcí*). The most important reason is however my intention to make the interpretation of the phenomenon as compatible with Croft's radical construction grammar as possible and to keep consistent the account of systematic and unsystematic polysemy as the difference between the two kinds is only relative. It is after all primarily a matter of terminology, especially when the concept of word is extraneous and has no tradition in China nor any firm position in non-specialist intuitive reflection of the language. As a result, it does not fit the reality of CC too well and has to be adapted in one or another fashion. But I do not categorically insist on this solution and I am prepared to accept the other approach if there are enough convincing arguments provided for it. Until that time, we can in general speak of processual meanings in that sense that such and such *meaning* of the word (which happens to be processual in the case of the HY) can be used syntactically in such and such way in such and such constructions under such and such interpretation.

Of course, any polysemy may dissipate into homonymy at a certain stage of alienation of the items of the polysemous structure and of sense of their independence in minds of the speakers. Determination of the point is tentative even for lexical structures of living languages and it typically varies from speaker to speaker according to their education and/or linguistic feeling. For this reason, I would not dare to try to specify it in CC except for clear cases. One simply has practically no way (except for

⁷⁵ Zhāng Liánróng (2001: 150–163) does deal with the issue of unity of word with regard to HY and the so called "split readings" in his book on semantics of CC, but he practically only proves that there is no agreement on these matters and that the situation is very complicated. He usually merely points out the problems which arise in this field, quoting extensively various Chinese scholars, and typically concludes that the respective solution is something that must be arrived at in the future after further research, though he occasionally also suggests his own opinions. Generally speaking, he basically follows Zhū Déxī's approach and considers HY in which a change of "categorical meaning" occurs (which involves the N-V HY in my terms) as a distinct word, or more precisely, the two uses are analyzed as two distinct words and *not* HY of one word (cf. *ibid.*: 154–155).

arguments *ex etymologia* in philosophy, but then we cannot be sure whether the motivating relationship is not established artificially) to ascertain whether or to what extent there was felt the relation of motivation between two expressions at the time in question, though I suspect that in literate classes the influence of the writing may have been very strong and contributed to notion of relatedness between language units that would be otherwise (in spoken language) considered practically independent. We can see this well from the example of the glossing practice in ancient “etymological dictionaries.”

Minimally one thing may be perceived as disturbing as far as the polysemy approach is considered: the *pòdú* or split readings. Irrespective of their authenticity, or more precisely number and identification of authentic pre-Qín split readings, they are a clear sign that at least some uses were so well entrenched that there was felt the necessity to formally mark their independence by the remnants of derivational morphology – I assume that first occasionally in the spoken language of the classical period and later in the post-Hàn scholarship as an attempt at a systematization based on analogy. Harbsmeier (1998: 126) compares it quite fittingly to the accent change in English conversion, admitting that in vast majority of cases there was no morphological process involved.

Zhāng Liánróng (2001: 159) as well as Jiǎng Shàoyú (2005: 227) assume that the change in pronunciation need not be always considered a signal of coinage of a new word. Both prefer semantics as the decisive factor, and they have very good reasons for that. Most importantly, there are many alternative readings recorded in the mediaeval tradition relating to uses of words that could be hardly counted as distinct words – whereas most MDC which could be unproblematically considered distinct words do not show any changes according to the respective uses. That is, the sources of the glossing tradition suggest alternative readings distinguishing e.g. intransitive functions from transitive/causative ones, active uses from passive ones, or predicative functions of relational words from their referential functions, all distinctions that lexicologists refuse to accept as lexical ones. This fact of course notably devalues the *pòdú* as a reliable signal of existence of a distinct word in spite of the traditional role of “pronunciation” in delineation of lexical units, and it is actually another reason for not including reconstructions of morphology into this thesis. As to the type of derivation which we are dealing with, which does not belong to the domain of syntax but to the proper domain of lexicology according to the both lexicologists, Zhāng Liánróng (2001: 155–163) suggests that it is possible to consider a split reading as a marker either of a distinct novel meaning, i.e. a new item of a polysemous word, or of a distinct new word. In other words, according to him it would be theoretically plausible to maintain the polysemy approach even in the case of derivations marked by *pòdú* (though he basically prefers a different solution). Jiǎng Shàoyú (2005: 227) speaks on the other hand directly of formation of a new word, but only if semantics supports this interpretation (i.e., excluding the presumably “syntactic” *pòdú*). We can see that the issue is really complex

and there is no agreement about it. Though I feel that it is somewhat against sinological tradition (whereas I am of course convinced that it fits well in the linguistic context of CC and the dynamics of all the related phenomena in question), in order to keep my account as consistent as possible I assume that *pòdú* may mark a distinct item of a polysemous word and not always a distinct word.

My position is that it is conceivable that at a certain stage of lexicalization and entrenchment, polysemous items might in principle break off with their maternal word and become established as independent though closely related words, *irrespective* of presence or absence of *pòdú*. Of course, then the same problem as with HY vs. JL vs. MDC arises: the boundary between polysemy and two related words is extremely difficult to define, and its delineation will be always considerably arbitrary in principle, besides the fact that we often do not have enough evidence to be able to rely on meaningful statistic data. The decision of the contemporary analyst to split the two meanings, i.e. the nominal and processual one, into two words is actually well-grounded and reasonable only with regard to the most evident and best attested word-class flexibility of words with high occurrence frequency (if we consider them two words, we can of course hardly speak of any word-class flexibility, but I use this formulation as a kind of shorthand) – if he does not count any N-V HY as a new distinct word. I confess that I really do not know how the speakers of CC could have felt about this issue – if it was possible at all in their own terms (which is sincerely speaking very dubitable), since there was of course not a single trace of the concept of word or of polysemy in the Warring States China.

Immediate lexicological context of the source of derivation

It is not surprising that in the overwhelming majority of cases (and in the HY of whole lexical subclasses always) an innovative use with an innovative meaning is based on a conventional lexicalized meaning, since a double innovation, in which the second innovation is based on the first one and is simultaneous with it could be relatively difficult for the listener to interpret – see e.g. Dèng Míng 1995. We however know that an additional figurative extension is sometimes involved in the process of HY (see p. 130 nn., especially the category (b1) of figurative extension), which is a kind of innovation too. The fact that this type of HY is rather rare and attracts attention of both ancient commentators and contemporary researches is in accordance with the observed tendency. It is also formulated in somewhat different terms by Štekauer (2005: 63), who concludes on the basis of his own experiments that a fresh metaphor significantly decreases predictability rates of particular interpretations of isolated innovative denominal verbs, whereas “lexicalized metaphor” quite expectedly does not have this adverse affect.

It is important to be well aware of that the relationship of semantic derivation in HY (but also generally) is essentially not a matter of whole words but only of single meanings (or their clusters) – in this respect, HY is systemically analogous to other

lexical relationships, synonymy and antonymy, which also hold only between particular items in the polysemous structures of words in question and which are actually employed to test and to demonstrate their polysemy. In other words, we must be always clear about which lexical item serves as the source of N-V HY, and this requirement becomes especially urgent in CC with regard to the complex relationships between the language and the writing system. It is necessary to keep these two levels as distinct as possible and to be cautious of characters used to record a) several meanings of a polysemous word, b) several etymologically related words, c) several etymologically unrelated words, all this in various combinations. Thus, if we want to describe HY properly in all its systemic context and to contrast the adequate pair of meanings, a detailed analysis of the polysemous structure of the word involved in it and of semantically related words written by the same character is indispensable, since otherwise the explanations of the semantic processes may be flawed, or at least considerably misleading. It naturally concerns mainly words with rich polysemy or with complex word-formational, homographic and homonymous relationships, which are especially susceptible to such misinterpretation. Consider for example the following scheme, rendering the lexicological context of the lexical items centered around the word *cháng* 長 with the basic meaning 'long' (which features among the examples quoted by Bisang 2009; the HY in question is marked and typed in bold letters):

cháng 長 'long' → *cháng* 長 'long-lasting' → *cháng* 長 adv. 'constantly'
 ↳ *cháng* 長 '(to be) good at' → *cháng* 長 'strong point'
 ↳ *zhǎng* 長 'to grow' → *zhǎng* 長 'elder' → *zhǎng* 長 'chief' → **HY** → *zhǎng* 長 'to do the chief'
 ↳ HY(att.) → *zhǎng* 長 'to treat properly as an elder'

It is not always clear where polysemy ends and another word begins – it is notoriously known in lexicology that such delineation is arbitrary to considerable extent, and the absence of morphology in CC except for the *pòdù* makes decision of this kind still much more difficult. I propose that the complex of the meanings 'long', 'long-lasting' and 'constantly' should be considered one word and the meanings '(to be) good at' and its nominalizing derivation 'strong point' another word in a clearly distinct semantic field. 'Elder' and 'chief' may be taken as items of one polysemous word – though it would not be unconceivable to split them into two words – , the processual use ("agent verb") being based in the meaning 'chief' (note that the attitudinal HY based on the meaning 'elder' is attested to). Further, I prefer to analyze the chain 'long', 'to grow' and 'elder' as three words related by derivation, which is also morphologically marked in the step between 'long' and 'to grow'. All these derivations are early, they had been long lexicalized with considerably different and specialized meanings and they would not belong to the classical HY as usually understood. This is actually one of the cases in which items of a polysemous word break off the maternal word and become distinct

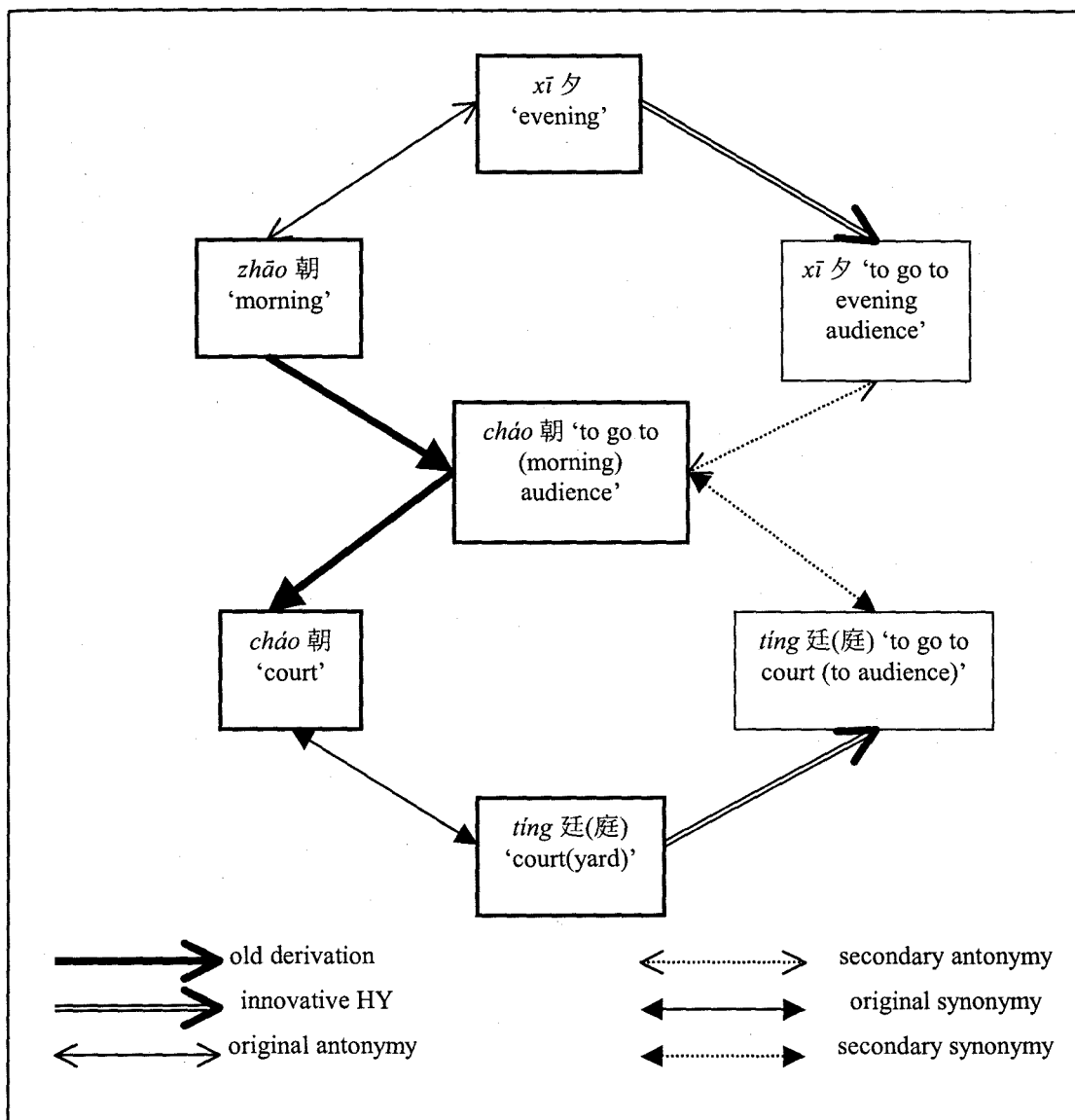
though closely related words. We can modify the scheme according to my suggestions in the following way:

[*cháng* 長 'long' → *cháng* 長 'long-lasting' → *cháng* 長 adv. 'constantly']
 ↳ [*cháng* 長 '(to be) good at' → *cháng* 長 'strong point']
 ↳ [*zhǎng* 長 'to grow'] → [*zhǎng* 長 'elder' → *zhǎng* 長 'chief' → **HY** → *zhǎng* 長 'to do the chief']
 ↳ HY(att.) → *zhǎng* 長 'to treat properly as an elder'

What is important is that if we speak of HY with the meaning 'to do the chief', we must be well aware of the fact that it relates directly to one single lexical item in the relatively rich set of linguistic units recorded by the character 長 in writing, which are in complex mutual relationships.

Systemic lexicological relations as basis of analogy

As has been many times noted, HY is often attested for word of similar meanings. The innovations are analogically modelled after processual uses of words of the same lexical microfields which are already known to the speaker – only in this sense it is useful to speak of rules or patterns. The analogy may be theoretically based on several possible lexical relationships, but by far the commonest ones are synonymy and antonymy (which is an opposition of two similar lexical units belonging to the same subsystem). It would be preferable to study HY in this broader lexical context, though very little has been done in this field (cf. Dèng Míng 1995). After settling the more essential issues – word classes and interaction of syntax and lexicon in CC, the semantic foundations of HY etc., this would be another step in research of this phenomenon. To investigate lexicology of HY in full is truly a formidable task and I cannot but to draw attention to its importance in here, so that the overall picture is as complete as possible. See the following schema as an example of an interesting lexical context of several derivations and two typical cases of HY centered around the word *cháo* 朝 'go to audience' (in bold frames are enclosed lexical units that are well established and conventional, in contrast to the two processual uses considered to be typical HY):



The systemic basis for the two HY, *xī* 夕 'evening' → *xī* 夕 'to go to evening audience' (ZZ 10.12.11.3) and *tíng* 廷(庭) 'court(yard)' → *tíng* 廷(庭) 'to go to court to audience' (e.g. ZZ 8.12.2.3), consists in the first and the last parts of an old derivational chain *zhāo* 'morning' → *cháo* '[what an official typically does in the morning >] to go to (morning) audience' → *cháo* '[the place where morning audiences are held >] court', all written by the character 朝 (there are further derivations from this base, but they are not relevant here). The derivation of the processual expression *xī* 夕 'to go to evening audience' relies on the antonymy between *zhāo* 'morning' and *xī* 'evening' and the parallelism yields a new systemic relationship between *cháo* 'go to (morning = default) audience' and *xī* 'to go to evening audience', which can be considered synonymy or antonymy according to the respective perspective. The derivation of the processual

expression *tíng* 廷(庭) 'to go to court to audience', on the other hand, relies on (of course imperfect) synonymy of *cháo* 'court' and *tíng* 'court', which have different etymologies. Again, the parallelism, or more precisely antithetic parallelism in this case (the direction of derivation is opposite here) yields a new systemic relationship – the imperfect synonymy between *cháo* 'go to (morning = default) audience' and *tíng* 'to go to court (typically in order to take part in) to audience'.

Lexical pre-emption

The principle of pre-emption by synonymy proposed by Clark and Clark (1979: 798–799) is a valuable observation: "If a potential innovative denominal verb would be precisely synonymous with a well-established verb, the innovative verb is normally pre-empted by the well-established verb, and is therefore considered unacceptable." Clark and Clark propose three main kinds of pre-emption by synonymy: suppletion, entrenchment, and ancestry.

The only type which is generally applicable to CC HY is the first one. The rule says that if the innovative expression is perfectly synonymous with a well-established word formed on a different lexical stem (which can be in a certain perspective considered a suppletive version of the denominal verb), it is pre-empted. For example, Clark and Clark have not come across the denominal verbs *to car* or *to airplane*, since the respective processual meaning 'to go by car' and 'to go by airplane' are exactly expressed by the "suppletive forms"⁷⁶ *to drive* and *to fly* – whereas such conversion pairs like *bicycle/to bicycle* are unproblematic. The authors quote other examples, which are more useful for us for comparison, namely the words for body parts, among others *finger*, *eye*, *palm*, *elbow* whose CC counterparts *zhǐ* 指, *mù* 目, *zhǎng* 掌 and *zhǒu* 肘 are attested in HY; on the other hand, we can encounter HY of CC words *ěr* 耳 'ear', *zhǐ* 蹠 'sole of the foot' or *shǒu* 手 'hand', *hàn* 頷 'chin' or *yāo* 要 'waist', whose English counterparts are not listed in Clark and Clark. In CC too the rule is valid – and it is completely natural and predictable from what we know about lexical semantics and synonymy in particular cross-linguistically. If there exists a "suppletive" action word, for example *shì* 視 'to look' or *jiàn* 見 'to see' for HY of *mù* 目 'eye', or *tīng* 聽 'to listen' or *wén* 聞 'to hear' for HY of *ěr* 耳 'ear' (cf. also Yuán Rénlín's example with *ěr* and *mù*, ch. II.1.1), the innovative HY is *never* truly synonymous with it. If the two linguistic units do not differ in anything else, they always differ at least as far as their stylistic register is considered (expressivity, humour etc.).⁷⁷ Likewise, the processual

⁷⁶ I accept the term "suppletion" employed by Clark and Clark, but it is of course problematic to call the verbs *to drive* and *to fly* suppletive forms for *to car* and *to airplane*; the term is actually used and useful mainly for anomalies in inflectional paradigms, whereas paradigmaticity of word formation or the concept of "lexical suppletion" (by contrast to grammatical suppletion) is a separate and considerably different issue.

⁷⁷ In Czech, there is a verb *z-oč-i-t*, which is derived from the noun *ok-o* 'eye' (*z-* is an inchoative prefix, *-i-* is the thematic vocal, *-t* is infinitive; the *k* is palatalized to *č* before the *i*) and means 'to see, to catch

use of *shǒu* 'hand' is not simply equivalent with *chí* 持 'to hold, to grasp', it means rather 'to grasp with the hand [expressively, vividly, creatively]'; the processual use of *zhǎng* 'palm of hand' does not mean simply 'to hold' but it standardly expresses figuratively the meaning '(to have in one's hands >) to be in charge of, to control'; the processual use of *zhí* 'sole of the foot' does not mean 'to tread on' but 'to stretch (a crossbow) with legs' – and so on *ad infinitum*. Let me however point out for sure that of course if there is no "suppletive" verb present, a processual use of an object word may become a standard expression and fill in the imaginary "gap." For example, there is no special verbal stem to express the meaning 'to point (with finger)': the CC word *zhǐ* 指 denoting the body part 'finger' is also the basic term for pointing with one's finger (and for more abstract meanings derived from this concrete source domain).

Clark and Clark (1979: 800) conclude that the principle of pre-emption prevent true synonyms, stating that this "prevents the speaker from creating new expressions that are completely synonymous with old ones; and it forces him to add distinctions whenever he uses one of two expressions that would otherwise be completely synonymous." This is of course basically right, none the less, the formulation goes against the actual psychology of word formation: in fact, the speaker creates innovative denominal verbs precisely *because* he wishes to add some distinctions, or more generally to express a whatever new meaning – including pragmatic features – that cannot be satisfactorily expressed by any already existing conventional lexical unit. The principle of pre-emption does not force him to this, it is merely a generalized statement of the observed processes and the tendencies which they show.

Synonymy with another entrenched denominal verb derived in a morphologically different way, i.e. by an affix (e.g. **to hospital* in the sense 'to hospitalize' x *to hospitalize*), or synonymy with a verb on which the respective noun is formed by word-formational morphology (e.g. *to bake* – *baker* x **to baker* in the sense 'to bake'), as well as pre-emption by homonymy (e.g. **to spring and fall* in the sense 'to spend spring and autumn (somewhere)' x *to spring* and *to fall* in the basic verbal meaning) are all types of pre-emption that are not suited for analysis of HY in CC, at least in the present terms, since they are to large extent associated with productive morphology and address problems intrinsically related to it. Moreover, the issue of CC homonymy is very different from that of Modern English homonymy and the principle of pre-emption by homonymy does not seem to be valid for CC (homonymy being very common in CC), the matter is however again complicated by the relationship of the language and the writing and by the absence of direct access to the phonological shape of given words.

sight of'. This meaning is usually expressed by the common verbs ("suppletive forms") *uvidět* or *spatřit* (in written language). In accordance with the principle of suppletive pre-emption by synonymy, the verb *zočít* is in the archaic, pathetic register.

VI.3.1 Word formation and lexicalization

Irrespective of how we wish to conceive of the status of N-V HY in terms of lexicology, i.e. primarily how we decide between the polysemy approach and independent word approach, the process itself can and must be considered an analogon of word formation in all its aspects except for inflectional morphology which is not present in CC. If we realize this apparently trivial fact, a huge bulk of literature on word formation previously unexploited to co-interpret the HY phenomenon suddenly becomes relevant. It is a task for future research, for as far as I know HY has never been treated from the perspective of word formation systematically so far, though it is sometimes conceded that it is actually a way of coining of new words (or coining of new meanings of polysemous words).

It is advantageous that we have a relatively good counterpart in the currently best described language of the world also as far as the formal aspect is considered – the English noun-verb conversions. If English lost the remnants of its inflectional morphology, conversion would not differ from HY at all. That is why it is so easy and natural to apply the approaches of Clark and Clark (1979) and Štekauer (1996, 2005) on the material of CC. But if we do not insist on formal commensurability and focus on the functional aspects of HY, we can look for inspiration in treatises on word formation, concretely on formation of denominal verbs in other languages too, be they inflectional as most IE languages or not. Of course, we must constantly keep in mind that the form has also an influence on the function and that it is interrelated with it relatively closely in some cases, e.g. lexical ecology of HY, or the process of institutionalization of the novel meanings. The form is eventually one of the main factors involved in the problems with word integrity and delimitation of a word, and consequently of lexical status of the meanings established in HY (see the previous section). The word is simply a concept that has been from the very beginning related to formal characteristics of language units in IE languages and it therefore becomes problematic where there is no form to rely on. Still I think that the semantics of the processes is commensurable and that the way in which speakers deal with innovations in language is principally identical for HY and morphological word formation in IE languages. It is interesting that we can actually discover traces of morphological word formation in CC – there is the howsoever problematic *pòdú*, which only proves that HY should be considered a type of word formation, or more precisely lexical unit formation (if we accept the polysemy approach), though without morphological changes in the majority of cases. The vast field of theory of word formation thus waits for exploitation by scholars specialized in CC HY.

The commensurability and analogy are of course only partial: if we focus on the aspect of word formation and interpretation of novel expressions, the only patterns truly analogous to HY are those of formation of what I call plain denominal verbs. The derivational morphology involved in this kind of word formation marks only the change of word class but essentially does not specify any additional semantic content. In IE

languages, it concerns mainly verbs formed from nouns simply by attaching a thematic vocal and an appropriate inflectional ending, so that the elementary morphological requirements for verbality are fulfilled, or verbs formed from nouns by usually one general suffix for denominal verbs. For example Slavic languages possess a large variety of affixes that serve for derivation of verbs from nouns, but these affixes are more specific than just marking the transposition from one word class to another; denominal verbs very often take on prefixes that further modify the meaning of the word in respect to verbal aspect and direction of the action. Such denominal verbs are naturally less precise analogs of processual uses of object words in CC HY. A systematic contrastive research of what is traditionally called denominal verbs bringing together material from several different languages would be extremely interesting and would reveal the parallels in all its systemic context if done in a sufficient detail and if based on a solid unified methodology – it is a future task for a team of scholars specialized in philology of respective languages.

Onomasiological approach to word formation

According to Štekauer's (2005: 49) interpretation of onomasiology, it "deals with various types of conceptual structures resulting from a generalized reflection of objective reality in human consciousness and its processing in accordance with the naming needs available in a particular language." The onomasiological approach to word formation puts emphasis on its extra-linguistic aspects, which constitute the very basis of the process, its sources and conditions. From the onomasiological perspective, HY as well as "conversion" or any other type of formation of novel linguistic units is a means to satisfy the naming needs of the given speech community. It is a way to name a new concept, typically associated with new reality, or to name an old one in a new fashion (cf. Dokulil 1962: 19). The new naming unit represented by a form-meaning pairing arises as a result of a unique coinage act by an individual speaker. This view, which I consider the most adequate because most realistic one, is implicitly present in all my previous discussions of related issues. All the rules, patterns and regularities of HY observable in the linguistic material are a consequence of individual coining acts of speakers more or less intuitively relying on their linguistic competence, which is led for a large part by the principle of analogy. Only their experience with the language can tell them what is acceptable, and the acceptability is tested by the respective speech community in the process of institutionalization, which is however affected also by various other factors (see below).

In a language with rich productive morphology there are available usually several and often even abundant options of expressing an intended semantic content by various combinations of roots and affixes. Integration of the systemic values of these elements in accordance with rules valid for word formation in the language yields a meaning, which we can call "word-formational meaning" (Dokulil's *slovotvorný význam*). It is the meaning that can be computed on the basis of the inner form of a

derived word. I have already mentioned several times that there is usually a discrepancy of varying degree between this word-formational meaning and the actual lexical meaning of the linguistic unit that the form is conventionally associated with. Typically, the word-formational meaning is more general than the actual meaning, which is not surprising: semantics of the affixes is principally schematic, while the concepts denoted by the respective words are usually, though not always, very specific, especially concrete concepts which relate to specific concrete phenomena of the reality. Comparatively rarely the lexical meaning is more abstract than the word-formational, and sometimes both meanings clash with a varying degree of intensity (see Dokulil 1962: 98). What more, in our framework characterized among others by the encyclopaedic model of meaning this discrepancy is practically unavoidable. The structure of a derived word can hardly ever exhaust the multilayered field of the knowledge associated with a given concept with essentially fuzzy boundaries. Even the idea of a *ruler* is much more complex and more concrete than that of an agent of ruling, though the word-formational meaning and the lexical meaning are very close, which is characteristic for "agent nouns" in general.

As far as the derivation of semantically related words of different word classes is considered, CC is special in that respect that there are not many alternatives to "conversion," or formally unmarked "transposition," i.e. simply to HY, since if there really was word-formational morphology present in the language in the period in question, its productivity was low and it was formally very poor, offering no well-established paradigms with clear morphosemantic rules. CC HY is thus characteristic by the absence of any additional semantic specification provided otherwise by the morphological structure, i.e. the "inner form," of a derived word. There remains only the motivating relationship between the motivating meaning of the founding words, the nominal one in our case, and the motivated meaning, the processual one in our case, and the very presence of this relationship is left formally unexpressed in the majority of cases represented by non-*pòdú* HY. Of course, the distinction between the two units is manifested functionally in utterances and generally in linguistic structures of higher levels of complexity. The change of paradigm typical for the word-formative type of conversion occurs, but since in CC word-class paradigms are merely of distributional nature, the change is naturally manifest only in distribution. As a consequence, the range of possible meanings derived in HY is not restricted to any specific class; on one hand, such type of derivation is more flexible than normal word formation in most IE languages, on the other hand the interpretation of the novel expression coined in this way is more difficult. As mentioned above, such derivations without specific semantic information except for the marking of transposition to another major semantic class are not unknown in IE languages. Denominal verbs are not rarely formed by an affix which either bears the general meaning of turning an object word into a process word or is simply necessary with regard to the formal demands of the inflectional paradigms of morphological verbs in the particular language. In spite of presence of a change in the

form of the word, these derivations are functionally closest to CC HY, and their semantics is equally indeterminate.

For example, in Czech there is a nice counterpart to the well-known and often quoted CC HY of the object word *biān* 鞭 'whip' with the readily predicted meaning 'to whip': the noun *bič* 'whip' and the denominal verb *bič-ova-t* 'to whip', where the suffix *-ova-* merely marks the transition of the word to one of the standard inflectional classes of verbs (*-t* being the infinitive ending). It is worth noticing that the very word *bič* is an old agentive *-č* derivative from *bi-t* 'to beat', but the motivation and the inner structure of *bič* is practically completely opaque for contemporary Czech speakers. By the way, the situation is similar e.g. to that of CC *jūn* 君 'ruler' and its HY counterpart 'to rule, to act as a proper ruler', where the very *jūn* is presumably an old deverbal derivation from *yīn* 尹 'to administer'; of course, there can be assumed nothing with certainty about how and to what degree the etymological relationship between *jūn* and *yīn* was perceived by speakers of CC in the Warring States period.⁷⁸ Such word-formative parallels are plentiful, and it would be interesting to observe the differences in precise semantics and above all argument structure and valency of the parallelly derived words, but such a comparative study goes beyond this thesis (see also above).

HY as innovative expressions

Most of rarer HY can be considered innovative expressions for practical reasons, though specification of the degree of institutionalization of concrete cases is very problematic (see the next section). Also more common HY must have been innovations at the time of their first appearance and initial stages of their linguistic life, only in an earlier stage of the language (cf. the approach of Clark and Clark 1979: 769) – unfortunately, such fine-grained diachronic structuring of CC is not possible, at least systematically. As to by far the largest part of the expressions, we have too little evidence to trace their evolution and changes of their status in terms of their freshness vs. conventionalization and lexicalization. We can judge only on the basis of the scarce and fragmentary material represented by the extant text corpus of which is not sufficiently rich to be able to provide us with more or less complete picture of the language in this respect. In the case of more current expressions we can tentatively tell on the basis of frequency statistics and concrete contexts of occurrence what is usual and what seems to be an innovative use, trying to support our conjectures with other auxiliary arguments, e.g. the commentarial tradition. But with regard to rarer object words, we have practically no way to ascertain whether a given *hapax legomenon* processual use (or a use confined to his work) is author's innovation or an older

⁷⁸ Diachronic layering of old Chinese lexicon with regard to various types of word formation and their mutual relationships is another disturbingly complex issue that would deserve a systematic survey. We would in any case disclose many processes that we are familiar with in IE languages: demotivation, morphological perintegration, remotivation, etc. As a matter of fact, only then the discussion about the relationship between the ancient (reconstructed) morphology and HY can be meaningful.

innovation current in the spoken language of whatever degree of institutionalization which incidentally happened to be recorded in the extant text of the respective writer. Innovativeness of many HY thus will have to remain a conjecture, though often a very probable one.

It is thus true that we can be seldom sure about newness of a concrete HY, but I think that general observations about innovative expressions can be helpful in interpretation of some features of HY generally and in looking for universal patterns anyway. For example, it is no coincidence that we encounter the less common HY very frequently in contexts typical for innovative expressions in general – poetry, specialized terminology, rhetorically impressive speech, all situations inviting and even requiring word-formational creativity, and that they are likewise stylistically marked as far as we are able to tell (I have touched upon this issue in connection with the stylistic features of HY in VI.1.2). Or, it is not incidental either that many HY are conspicuously dependent on the context as many innovative not yet fully lexicalized coinages are generally. These conditions are eventually the clues that entitle us to presume that the HY in question is a relatively fresh innovation.

There is actually no essential difference between e.g. *hapax legomena*, or the so called nonce-formations, and partially or fully lexicalized novel expression that would set them apart as phenomena of a different order. In literature on word formation, nonce-formations are justly viewed as the first stage of life of a potential neologism, which can further develop into an entirely unmarked lexeme. They are sometimes called occasionalisms and their basic characteristics is their psychological newness, while the neologism is a more advanced stage of life of a lexical unit which has developed from a nonce-formation; it is characterized as a “young listeme” (see Hohenlaus 2005: 363–364, but cf. also Štekauer 1996: 98). Hohenlaus (ibid.) draws attention to an interesting fact that the evidence does not seem to prove the generally accepted assumption that any coinage is potentially lexicalizable: of 600 of the nonce-formations which he tested in this respect, none has become a current lexeme. I would still insist on that theoretically any new linguistic unit is lexicalizable under favourable sociolinguistic conditions – social convention is after all the last authority. However, be it as may, it is obvious that the vast majority of nonce-formations die off as occasional *ad hoc* expressions.

Institutionalization of novel expressions

It is not easy to investigate the process of institutionalization of novel language units generally, but for CC and concretely for HY it is practically impossible. We have simply not enough evidence to trace spreading of a particular use of a CC word in the speech community in a realistic temporal and social framework. Let us remind of the fact that it is usually problematic to ascertain the degree of entrenchment of concrete HY uses in the classical period. Then, it is evident that it is hardly conceivable to wish to capture their life from the moment of their coinage and to follow their

institutionalization from an individual, to small speech communities of various types – local, social, professional etc. – finally to majority of the speakers of CC. Institutionalization is a psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic issue *par excellence*, but we could rely only on psycholinguistic evidence from contemporary languages if there were any conclusive results at hand, and our knowledge of sociolinguistics of CC is extremely scarce. For example, except for a handful of striking cases, we are not able to tell whether a certain HY, let us say *gōu* 鉤 ‘hook’ → ‘to provide with a hook’, is a *hapax legomenon*, a completely new and so far isolated use, or whether it cannot have been established in a given community, like that of producers of weapons or army, for as a matter of fact, we do not know anything about professional slangs or social strata of the language and we know only little about genuine dialectal variation.

In fact, the issue of institutionalization is interrelated with a problem that is seldom mentioned in this context: the concept of the language, e.g. *the* Classical Chinese, relative to which the institutionalization is usually judged, is an idealized construct based on abstraction from actually existing idiolects, sociolects and dialects, and the same is true of the idealized speaker and speech community. As Hohenlaus (2005: 361) points out, the degree of institutionalization depends, besides others, also on the type of institution in question, this being of a sociolinguistic character. This means that institutionalization has to be evaluated relatively to different reference speech communities within the totality of speakers of the language (note however that delineation of a language and consequently of the set of its speakers is generally a notoriously problematic task). I propose that we should be on principle interested in this stratification of the language rather than construing a necessarily lexically impoverished standard “common” CC. More concretely, whatever is attested in the language should be viewed as a part of the language, though it may be confined to certain contexts and limited in respect to many aspects. Of course, these limitations have to be seriously taken into consideration and intergrated into linguistic description and systemic evaluation of the expression, but they should be never employed to disqualify it as non-existing in the language. Thus, for example, if there has been a word formed according to the rules of the given language and become institutionalized within the confines of a certain family but does not expand to wider communities, it is still to be taken as a valid expression of the language, and as institutionalized in the speech micro-community of the family but not institutionalized in higher-level communities. It is only confined to its (very special) variety, and this limitation belongs to its essential characteristics. In principle, it does not differ from special expressions current in dialects, sociolects, slangs, terminologies etc. – it is only the size and nature of the community that make the linguist helpless and it is the reason why linguistic research practically ignores these strata of language. The idealization is for a larger part practical simplification of linguists’ task – it is necessary, but I think that it should not be made into a virtue. I approach the issue of institutionalization of the HY in CC from this perspective, though

it is usually practically impossible to judge HY in this respect and all this remains a mere theory.

Among others, two factors are crucial for successful communication, including coinage and interpretation of novel expressions, irrespective of how large or of what type the given community is: a) shared lexicon, b) shared knowledge. In the case of innovative expressions, the role of shared knowledge becomes especially important – this is one of the main conclusions at which both Clark and Clark (1979: 787–789) and Štekauer (2005: 60, 249) arrived. Now, different groups of people share different portions of lexicon and knowledge. The larger the community is, the more general the shared lexicon and knowledge, and vice versa, but the amount of shared knowledge varies and particular items of information can expand to wider communities or on the contrary sink to lower levels of generality. In this light, the same that has been said about the sociolinguistic relativity of the degree of institutionalization is also true of genericness. We have come across this term, mostly in the expression *generic knowledge*, several times; besides others, it substantially influences the probability of institutionalization of an expression (Clark and Clark 1979: 793, Hohenlaus 2005: 362). Clark and Clark (1979: 787–788) divide world knowledge into two types: generic and particular. In fact, these are two extremes between which there is a continuum of knowledge of different levels of genericness shared by differently large communities in complex mutual relationships (cf. Langacker 1987: 160). If we want to judge the probability that an innovative expression will be accepted by the whole speech community, we must naturally take genericness in absolute terms. None the less, there is no reason why we should dismiss investigation of the process of institutionalization in the smallest communities, and then we will have to employ both the concept of genericness from the perspective of the whole speech community and of genericness relative to the small community, which will yield respectively diverging predictions and/or explanations regarding coinage, interpretation and institutionalization of particular language units. For example, in small communities, like partner pairs, highly idiosyncratic and originally completely context-dependent coinages may arise and even jocular “rule-changing” formations may become entrenched as linguistic units and become a usual tool of communication in the intimate community, be it a pair, a family, or a relatively small collective (Hohenlaus 2005: 361). It should be noted here that this is not only a matter of shared lexicon and knowledge, but also of specific conditions of communicative cooperation and social interaction of members of respective communities.

It is noteworthy that Hohenlaus's (2005: 367–369) conception of the psycholinguistic aspect of institutionalization of language units perfectly agrees with cognitivist views. He introduces various theories but concludes that psycholinguistically most real is a gradual process of listing of given unit in mental dictionary, during which particular occurrences of the unit in communication leave mental traces in speaker's

mind, these traces getting progressively intensive. It is virtually identical with the cognitivist concept of entrenchment (see Langacker 1987: 59). Moreover, he suggests that in that case there must be necessarily something like graded listedness, referring also to Jackendoff's scale of accessibility of the units stored in memory, but this again conforms precisely to Langacker's views of the matter (*ibid.*: 59–86). And eventually, he argues that although psycholinguistic experiments have not always been unambiguous, they best supported minimalist generative theories, while they most supported network models – and the network model is what is preferred by cognitive grammarians as the most realistic model of linguistic categories – cf. Langacker (1987: 161–166, 1991: 2–3). These circumstances as a consequence grant more credibility to the combination of the particular theories which I have chosen to intergrate into a coherent interpretative net for HY and which should provide the basic framework for its description.

VI.4 Comments on theory of interpretation

I do not think that I could offer a better full-fledged theory of interpretation of innovative expressions than Clark and Clark in their renowned paper from 1979 (mainly 786 nn.). Practically all important observations which I consider crucial have been mentioned there and organized into a sophisticated and descriptively effective system. Instead of trying to imperfectly and fragmentarily summarize the internally coherent and highly consistent article, I refer the reader directly to it. Štekauer's works on English conversion in the framework of standard onomasiological theory of word formation in the structuralist vein contain many good points, which however basically agree with that of Clark and Clark, being merely vested in a somewhat different terminology and viewed from a somewhat different perspective. Moreover, although Clark and Clark (1979) deal primarily with English contextuels, the theory of interpretation of innovative expressions which they devised is conceived universally. What is interesting, and I would say even symptomatic, is that it is in fact very close to cognitive linguistics and that it could be incorporated into it without much difficulties. A majority of observations concerning the principles of interpretation of the HY and factors that influence it have been discussed or at least briefly mentioned throughout the previous chapters. Here I therefore aim to highlight the points which I consider to be of special relevance or few issues deserving a comment.

The cornerstone of the theory of interpretation is a general cooperative principle modelled after Grice, which is worth quoting in full (*ibid.*: 787):

“The innovative denominal verb convention. In using an innovative denominal verb sincerely, the speaker means to denote:

- (a) the kind of situation

- (b) that he has good reason to believe
- (c) that on this occasion the listener can readily compute
- (d) uniquely
- (e) on the basis of their mutual knowledge
- (f) in such a way that the parent noun denotes one role in the situation, and the remaining surface arguments of the denominal verb denote other roles in the situation.”

The whole theory is concentrated around the crucial factor, **mutual knowledge**, and how it is influenced by the circumstances – concrete occasions and listeners. One thing that is worth drawing attention to is the fact that the formulations employed to describe the process of derivation, like that a given object is manipulated with in “the usual manner” or “to do with the thing what one expects to be usually done with it” are indexical in nature and their content may shift with both the linguistic and extralinguistic context. Clark and Clark (*ibid.*: 801) aptly note that “the ordinary manner is the most salient unless there is good reason to think otherwise.” The salience of various kind of situations potentially denoted by the denominal verb (and its arguments) is thus usually based on generic knowledge, but it is also influenced by the topic of the conversation and simply broader context which affects the accessibility of various types and particular items of information (*ibid.*: 788, 801). This is what I had on my mind when I was speaking of the possibility that the context can override the expectations based on salient semantic structures of the object word in HY.

As mentioned several times, the extent to which the new meaning is context-dependent is critical for the chance of institutionalization. It is not surprising that Clark and Clark (in accordance with Štekauer 1996, 2005, but also Hohenlaus 2005 on a more general level) note the same tendencies for English denominal verbs, stating that the commonest denominal verbs, both idiomatic and innovative, depend mainly on generic knowledge about concrete objects (*ibid.*: 789, 792). It is interesting that Zhāng Wénguó (2005 *passim*) arrived at similar conclusions, but conceives of them quite differently in general terms. While Clark and Clark are explicit about making not principial difference between those that are based on generic knowledge and those which are based on context or particular knowledge for larger part, Zhāng systematically filters out the latter ones from his treatise as disturbing irregularities which are after all rather rare and unrepresentative (see above). Because of this, however, he fails to recognize the important role of context in language innovation and especially in the N-V HY. It leads to analytic impoverishment of his work even if we admit that he is primarily interested in word-class flexibility of whole lexical classes, for the *cílèi huóyòng* cannot be separated from the *míngcí huóyòng* – basically, it is merely its more regular and lexically organized variety.

Mutual world knowledge is divided into generic and particular knowledge in Clark and Clark (1979). Though I have pointed out that it is an oversimplification and

that the terms are relative as well, it is true that most innovative expressions are based on knowledge that is accessible to most members of the speech community independently of the context. The authors elaborate the concept of **generic theories** about objects, which include such essential notions as prototypicality and centrality of features, their basic types (properties, ontogeny, potential roles), their hierarchy topped by predominant features, but – which is even more important in our context – the possible ambiguity ensuing from presence of more than one predominant features and disambiguation for which mostly a mere direct object is sufficient (see *ibid.*: 790–793; this precisely conforms to Štekauer's findings about competing predominant features in context-less interpretation of conversion). It is this core part of the theory that waits for incorporation into cognitive grammar with minor accommodation. The pivot is the encyclopaedic model of linguistic meaning combined with semantics based on the cognitivist theory of categorization, which I have employed throughout the thesis. From that perspective, generic theories about objects are simply the fundamental constituents of the lexical meaning of the respective object words, instead of being something external to the language.⁷⁹ The predominant features of objects transsubstantiate into predominant semantic features of object words. We can compare this with Štekauer's (1996: 45) reflection of logical spectrum ("set of logical predicates"), which arises as conceptualization of objective reality in people's minds, in semantic spectrum of the word at the linguistic level. Generic theories about objects denoted by nouns are nothing else than ICMs and its clusters against which the meaning of the words is defined.

The last comment of mine is on the brief account of idiomatization by Clark and Clark (1979: 804–805) in the end of their paper. The authors propose there six stages of the presumed process of idiomatization of novel expressions, from complete innovations to opaque idioms. In fact, it is evident from their conception of the stages that they suggest there is a correlation between newness, i.e. degree of institutionalization and lexicalization, on one hand, and transparency, i.e. degree of motivation perceived by speakers, on the other. However, this is a gross oversimplification. Clark and Clark do relativize their successive list, claiming that "not all denominal verbs will pass through the stages in this order, or even complete the series" (*ibid.*: 805), but they are far from adequately capturing the lexicological processes involved in word formation and the multifarious aspects of word-formational transparency even on a minimal level of complexity necessary for a realistic description. The relationship between the "word-formational meaning" and the actual intended meaning of the novel expression and its further evolution must be kept separate from the gradual process of institutionalization, which does not primarily relate to semantics

⁷⁹ One theoretically interesting assumption results from what has been said about genericness and shared knowledge: lexical meaning is relative to the speech community in question. It is not the right place to pursue the theoretical consequences which this assumption may have for semantics in general, but it is certainly worth mentioning; it actually fits well into the framework of cognitive linguistics and is expectable within it, be it explicitly formulated or not.

at all. It is true that institutionalization and loss of motivation connected with establishment of a direct relationship between the word and the concept (Lipka's *hypostatization* – see Hohenlaus 2005: 356) without the necessity of reference to the “word-formational meaning” are interrelated to certain extent. It is however no easy correlation, and it is definitely not merely a matter of temporal progression. The motivation between the source object word and its target processual meaning in HY is typically only partial and the novel expression may be therefore more or less idiomatic at the very time of its creation. How high this opacity can be depends ultimately on psycholinguistically and sociolinguistically determined acceptability of the innovation by the relevant speech community. On the other hand, institutionalization may enable or even trigger a substantial decrease of motivation and finally practical demotivation of the expression, or at least further extension unrelated to the original motivation, but it does not necessarily lead to it. Well-established linguistic units can thus be perfectly transparent, for perceived as fully motivated. See VI.3.1.

VII. Object words as modifiers of action words

Although the fact that, in traditional terms, prepositionless nouns can modify verbs and adjectives as if they were adverbs has been known and recorded in grammars of CC with a handful of examples at least since 19th century, only little attention has been paid to a detailed and systematic survey of this phenomenon. As far as I know, only several papers have been dedicated specially to adverbially used nouns. There is an article by Wáng Kèzhòng (1988), however, it is rather an informative introduction to the topic without a substantial theoretical grounding and without much analytic and interpretational ambition. Another paper, Wú Héngtài (1992), is a dubious contribution to the research, for it simply presents a series of roughly sorted examples dating indiscriminately from 4th century BC to 17th century AD. The comparison of adverbially used nouns in *Zuǒzhuàn* and *Shǐjì* by Hé Lèshì (2005) is of much greater interest to us, not only because of the contrastive perspective but also because it contains a basic classification of the major subtypes of this construction with regard to its semantics. Tāng Jiànjūn (1990) focussed on the issue of 'semantic direction', *yǔyì zhǐxiàng* 語義指向, of the adverbial modifier, i.e. whether it relates primarily to the subject or the object of the predicate. This is of course a valid observation, but it is merely another small stone in the mosaic. There may be other articles which might have escaped my attention, but otherwise the rest of information on this phenomenon is found fragmentarily in more general reference books on CC typically in the most rudimentary form. Relatively representative examples of such excursions in Western literature are presented in the overview of Western research on HY in the section III.2; I will occasionally return to those authors and their solutions below. Besides this, I tried to summarize previous research and formulate some new approaches in a broader theoretical context in *Zádrapa* (2007).

It is not difficult to see the reason for such a state of affairs. Adverbial modification by prepositionless object-denoting words is a construction which is peripheral even in the framework of the not especially flourishing HY studies to which it traditionally belongs. No wonder, for the frequency of its occurrence in the texts is very low and it moreover concerns only a small amount of object words. We have no systematically tagged corpus of CC language material which would allow us to produce exhaustive global statistics, but there are some partial sets of statistic data at hand that we can exploit to obtain at least an approximate idea of the situation. For example, Yīn Guóguāng (1998: 390) in his research on nouns in *Lǚshì chūnqū* registers only 82 cases of nouns (place words and time words excluded) functioning as adverbial modifiers (0.3 % of all cases of adverbial modification), involving 43 nouns (1.3 % of all nouns found in the text). In the whole *Zuǒzhuàn*, the longest text of the classical period, Hé Lèshì (2005: 317) counted only 31 cases. Popularity of the construction increased in the

late Warring States (many of my examples come from *Zhànguó cè*) and in the early post-classical *Shǐjì*, already 608 occurrences was found by Hé Lèshì. Still, it is very little in a text of more than half a million characters. Under these circumstances, it is pointless to search for precise numbers, which may vary depending on text, lexical criteria (e.g. the exclusion of locatives and time words) and employed methodology by several percents, with all probability somewhere in the range between 0–3 %, and for typical object words around 1 %. It is obvious that the construction is really marginal. In spite of it, this kind of modificatory construction, which has been often labeled as N_{ADV} , is an interesting grammatical phenomenon, and it is worth of a deeper investigation as a contribution to our understanding of the organism of CC in its entirety.

VII.1 Anatomy of the N_{ADV} construction

First of all, it is necessary to situate the construction in the semantic map of CC to see how it relates to other constructions and to the whole system of the language, and to determine which expectations about the behaviour of lexemes of various categories within it can be made. At the same time, we should elucidate the issue of the semantic structure of prototypical adverbs and their position in the lexicon in order to be able to compare object words with them.

Generally speaking, adverbs and adverbial modification do not belong to the trinity of the most eminent word classes, i.e. object words with the prototype of noun, property words with the prototype of adjective and action words with the prototype of verb, and of the major propositional actions, i.e. reference, (object) modification and predication. Unlike these, which are constantly focussed on, adverbs together with their prototypical function are usually treated only marginally. Langacker (1987: 42–43 and 242–243) offers a concise elementary description of the main traits of adverbs in the cognitivist framework. Croft (2001) does not include adverbs, which we can define as the prototype of **circumstance words**,⁸⁰ in his treatise about semantic maps and the conceptual space for word classes. Given this state of affairs, I am forced to propose my own solution of integration of adverbial modification into the topography of conceptual space, a step I would rather commit to general linguists.

VII.1.1 Parallelism of adnominal and adverbial modification

The crucial though relatively apparent fact regarding the topography of adverbial modification is its functional proximity to adnominal modification and the close relationship of adverb and adjective. Both adjective and adverb are prototypes semantically characterized by reference to a static relation, which may be gradable (gradability is however a feature typical primarily for adjectives, while adverbs often

⁸⁰ Cf. also Komárek (2006: 30), who proposes the term *circumstative* instead of the traditional *adverb*.

exhibit a lower degree of gradability). The participants between which the relation is constituted are not completely symmetrical in terms of prominence: the trajector as the figure is more prominent than the landmark, defined as another salient element in the structure (see Langacker 1987: 217). In the case of lexical adverbs, the landmark is lexically fixed and is represented by a scale, object, word or another entity which relates to the trajector, both enriching its reference and making a secondary assertion about it (cf. Croft 2001: 96–97, and also p. 85). The trajector is a highly schematic elaboration site which is ready for elaboration by the head. On the basis of a correspondence link to the trajector in the semantic structure of the modifying word, the modified word, i.e. the head, gets integrated into the semantic whole of the modificatory construction.

The only difference between adjective and adverb on this general level is that the trajector is a schematized thing in adjective and a schematized relational concept, i.e. action or property, in adverb. In more traditional terms, the free slot in the structure of adjective is prepared for a nominal head while the free slot in the structure of adverb is prepared for a verbal or adjectival head. This is a relatively fine semantic distinction and for this reason it is very often presented as merely a syntactic one.

The same is valid for the semantic nature of adnominal and adverbial modification respectively. Then we just do not refer to the content of the two classes of lexemes but to the schematic structure of the two constructions. Parallely to the relationship between adjective (as the prototype of property words) and adnominal modification, the structures of adverb (as the prototype of circumstance words) and of adverbial modification overlap perfectly, which means, quite expectably, that the prototypical and therefore typologically unmarked function of adverb is adverbial modification and that relational expressions are prototypically modified by adverbs. In other words, adverb or, concretely, circumstance words identical or close to its ideal are perfectly adapted for modification of relational expressions in the same way as property words are adapted for modification of non-relational expressions, typically object words.

However, in spite of this parallelism, there is a remarkable asymmetry between property words and circumstance words that is observable generally, if not universally. Whereas the class of words organized around the prototype of adjective is quite deservedly considered one of the three major word classes which is found in most languages, circumstance words and especially their subclass **manner words** may be missing or represent an extremely limited set of lexemes in many languages. Moreover, if the both classes coexist in a language, manner words are typically derived from property words, not the other way round. In IE languages, there are common cases of paradigmatically derived deadjectival adverbs, like suffixation of adjectives by *-e*

and *-iter* in Latin, by *-ě*, *-y* and *-o* in Czech⁸¹ and in Slavic generally, by *-ment(e)* in Romance languages, or by *-ly* in English, but not the opposite.

Although I would rather leave the explanation of this state of affairs to typologists and general linguistics, I suppose that it is probably due to the fact that properties of things are cognitively much more prominent than manners of actions and property words and modification of objects words by property words (as projections of their conceptualizations into language) are therefore universally much more important, frequent, better entrenched and functionally prominent. This topic would nevertheless deserve a complex cross-linguistic survey.

In CC, both the parallelism and the asymmetry are manifested by presence of only one large group of stative relational words for both kinds of modification, which is nevertheless constructed primarily as a class of property words. Their basis status of property words is not assumed only on the basis of theoretical typology, but it can be inferred also from their distributional behaviour (overwhelming majority of them both as type and token modify object words) and from their semantic content referring typically to properties of things – size, colour, elasticity and other physical traits of things perceivable by human senses. Besides this, there is a very small set of core adverbs which are never used in any other function than predicate modification, referring to the basic predicate-modificatory concepts that cannot be derived from property words (some aspectual adverbs are however derived from action words, e.g. ‘to end’ → ‘already’) like negation, restriction, interrogative and deictic adverbs regarding manner, place etc., but in CC also e.g. aspect and other temporal relations, e.g. *bù* 不 ‘not’ *jiē* 皆 ‘all’, *yì* 亦 ‘also, too’, *yǐ* 已 ‘already’, *dàn* 但 ‘only’, *yān* 焉 ‘how (rh.), where’, *ān* 安 ‘how (rh.), where’, *hé* 何 ‘why’, *héyǐ* 何以 ‘how’ and others. Note that these words are all circumstance words but not manner words: only those concepts that are found in this disjunction cannot be effectively supplied by property words, while manner words are easily systematically adapted from property words because of the only negligible difference in semantics.

The absence of formally and lexically distinct manner words, which would be the counterpart of deadjectival adverbs in IE languages, is also an expected consequence of lexical economy of CC. It is for the same reason for which there are no special independent stems for denominal adjectives (see V.2.1). Because of the formal poverty of CC and the ensuing lexical economy, too fine-grained semantic distinctions are lexically ignored and are contributed by the particular constructions. Simply put, CC cannot afford a distinct class of manner words for it does not dispose of the morphological outfit necessary for their paradigmatic derivation.⁸² Logically, the

⁸¹ Komárek (2006: 40nn.) symptomatically considers the traditional “deadjectival adverbs” to be just an incongruent form of adjectives.

⁸² I do not deliberate here the curious possibility that all the single manner words could be expressed by distinct roots. I doubt that any language could support such an uneconomical solution.

semantically closest word category is used as the lexical material most frequently employed if specification of manner of an action is needed – manner can be, after all, viewed as a property of action. Under these circumstances, it is also not surprising that object words in the function of action modification are accommodated in the same way as object words in the function of object modification. The relational profile between the object denoted by the modifier and the action denoted by the head is additionally established by the construction, being of course external to the semantic structure of the modifying lexeme. Similarly to [*mǎ* + MOD] ‘horsey; *equinus*; *koňský*’, where modification was in fact only object modification (we could use the symbol MOD_{ADN}), CC allows the construction [*mǎ* + MOD_{ADV}] ‘horsily, in horse’s manner; *equine*; *koňsky*’ as well, and again, the compound adverbial meaning as a temporal combination of the meaning of the lexeme and the meaning contributed by the construction is transitory and dependent on syntax.

VII.1.2 Adverbial modification in the semantic map

Now the question arises what position in the topography of conceptual space adverb and adverbial modification occupy. I suggest that adverbial modification is an extension of object modification and is represented in the conceptual space as a digression from the region of modification into another dimension. The region of adverbial modification thus runs parallel to object modification in the basic plane as it was introduced in the section V.2.1. The third dimension is naturally relevant only in the modificatory zone: modification in general is simply split into object modification and action/property modification, and the former seems to be of a greater importance cross-linguistically. Adverb as the prototype of words denoting a circumstance and/or manner is intermediary between object words as non-relational concepts and action words as processual concepts like adjective is, and it differs from adjective only in the dimension representing adnominality vs. adverbiality. According to this topography, the unmarked region is posited in the middle of the zone in the dimension of semantic classes, exactly parallelly to the unmarked region of object modification by property words. The third dimension is actually only auxiliary; it does not by far have a status of the same prominence as the basic semantic classes (or, more precisely, the dimension of relationality and associated semantic features) or the major propositional act functions. It serves only to render the relatively minute conceptual difference in the nature of the schematic trajector of the relation, and it is introduced in order to map the extension from prototypical atemporally relational words in the conceptual space.

In my opinion, this topography captures quite instructively the relationships between adjective and adverb and adnominal modification and adverbial modification respectively. Moreover, also the metrics of the space is appropriate in principle. We can see for example that property words are the closest of all classes to circumstance words and it is this proximity that enables the paradigmatic derivation in many IE languages I

have talked about in the previous section. It is also possible to explain why the majority of manner words referring to a manner through a thing (i.e., having a thing as the landmark) are not derived directly from object words but rather via “denominal adjectives” in many languages. Thus, e.g. the Latin adverb for ‘in the manner characterized by a relationship to a city’ is paradigmatically derived from a denominal adjective: *urb-* → *urb-an-* → *urb-an-e*. The same is true of Slavic languages; e.g. the same adverb in Czech is derived via “broadly relational adjective” (*široce vztahové adjektivum*): *měst-* → *měst-sk-* → *měst-sk-y*. It does not mean that denominal adverbialization is impossible; it is nevertheless much more limited in extent and universality.

This could be interpreted as a consequence of the fact that it is not economic for a language to possess two distinct paradigms both of which directly derive two classes of atemporally relational words differing from each other only minimally. It is more effective to derive only one of them and to regularly (due to their minimal distance) adapt it by an easy morphological operation for the other one. It is not surprising that the class of atemporally relational words which is usually derived directly from object words are property words, or, traditionally speaking, denominal adjectives, while manner words are derived from these in a trivial way. It means, in the dimension of semantic classes, that object words are (figuratively) first dragged along the basic axis of relationality in the basic plane in the direction of typical relational words, i.e. property words (morphological adjectives), taking on denominal adjectival morphology in this process. Only after that they can move further along the auxiliary two-valued axis to the parallel plane of adverbiality, which is of course associated with turning morphologically a property word (morphological adjective) into a manner word (morphological adverb).

VII.1.3 CC object words and adverbial modification

Object words in the function of adverbial modification, i.e. modification of a relational expression, are a typologically marked combination. Moreover, this use of object words (without any other measures taken, e.g. incorporation into a prepositional phrase) for specification of a manner is quite unusual from the perspective of a speaker of a typical European language. But if we consider what is the **functional counterpart** of the CC N_{ADV} construction, the logic of this kind of use of object words becomes transparent. Analogically to the functional near-equation of denominal adjectives (or an adnominal case) with CC object words in the (adnominally) modificatory construction, there is an approximate equation of adverbs derived from denominal adjectives with CC object words in the adverbially modificatory construction.⁸³ For example, like we have

⁸³ In Latin, for example, there is a special adverb-like use of nouns of the type *Caesar imperator iussit* ‘Caesar, as the emperor, ordered’ (I am indebted to Christoph Harbsmeier for drawing my attention to it). It is true that it is both the formal and functional counterpart of the CC N_{ADV} construction at the same

Lat-in-us ‘that of Latium, characteristic for Latium’ roughly equal to [*Chǔ* + MOD_{ADN}] ‘Chǔish, characteristic for the region of Chǔ (like in *Chǔ rén* 楚人 ‘Chǔish people, people of Chǔ’), we have also the functionally near-equal pair *Lat-in-e* ‘in the Latin manner’ (like in *Latine loqui* ‘to speak Latin’) and [*Chǔ* + MOD_{ADV}] ‘in the Chǔish manner’ (like in *Chǔ yán* 楚言 ‘to speak Chǔish’).

There is hardly necessary to add anything substantial to the excursion into adnominal modification in order to describe the mechanisms and status of adverbial modification by object words, for they are practically identical except for the minor semantic difference dealt with in the section VII.1.1. In a word, the meanings of the object word and of the action word are integrated in the construction in that way that the object denoted by the object word becomes the landmark of the relation and the action denoted by the action word becomes the trajector. The relation itself is established by the construction as its semantic contribution; it is entirely abstract and does not specify any details of the concrete conceptual intergration (i.e. in which way the object relates to the action). This contribution of the construction is of course again extrinsic to the semantic content of the nominal lexeme and the relation established on the basis of syntactic structure therefore lasts only with the existence of this structure.

By virtue of the parallelism between adjective and adverb, it would be also superfluous to treat in detail the reasons why there is no major class of derived manner words and why plain prepositionless object words in combination with the constructional meaning (which imposes the adverbial interpretation on the compound whole) may be used instead of them (lexical economy etc.; see V.2).

However, the situation is different in that respect that there are good alternatives to the basic modificatory construction in the case of adverbial modification – that is why I say “may be used” instead of “are used.” Adverbial modification may well be more explicitly expressed by prepositional phrases or similar constructions (e.g. by the in nature predicative word *rú* 如 ‘(to be) like’). It is noteworthy that descriptive manner words may be occasionally derived from object words morphologically in CC as well, which is of course a relatively rare phenomenon in this language. This kind of word formation consists in attachment of the syllabic suffixes *rán* 然, *ěr* 爾, *ruò* 若, *ér* 而, *yān* 焉 or *hū* 乎 (cf. Mǎ Jiànzhōng 2000: 231–232) to the root object word (but more frequently to words of other classes, most often property words) in the most simple version. At least the first four ones seem to be a grammaticalized function of the lexemes with the meaning ‘(to be) like this/that, (to be) so’. These suffixes remind a bit

time. There can be however no talk of functional equivalence of the constructions in the two languages (the Latin construction constitutes only a very small subset of the set of linguistic means functionally equivalent to the CC construction in question; as already said, by far the largest set is represented by morphological adverbs), and it is practically meaningless to employ formal criteria in languages that are opposed in formal typology (highly isolating vs. highly inflectional).

of the German adverbial suffix *-weise*. This case, howsoever interesting, does not concern us here on principle.

Given the fact that there are **alternative ways** to express the adverbial modification that are more explicit and the constructions are actually much better accommodated for this purpose than a prepositionless object word simply juxtaposed with an action word, one must ask why the second possibility is ever employed and what the difference between the two then is.⁸⁴ It is so the more important that the convention of CC enables object words to modify actions words in a very extensive range of specific relationships between the object and the action. Because of no additional overt coding which would specify them, be it at least very generally, these have to be entirely figured out by the listener on the basis of the context without any hints in the linguistic structure itself. It is thus more convenient to express them by the more explicit ways under normal conditions, which can save the effort for the listener and facilitate the communication.

I distinguish basically **four situations** in which N_{ADV} occurs:

1.) There is practically no really effective way to code the intended meaning by another construction. Either there is no other possibility of expressing it at all or the formulation would be unnatural, and/or verbose, and/or ineffective. It happens primarily in case that the relationship between the object and the action is so complex and mediated that simple employment of a preposition or similar word, like the mentioned *rú* 如 and its synonyms, is insufficient (since prepositions usually express relatively simple relationships and their metaphorical extensions into other domains). In my opinion, good examples of this kind of adverbial modification may be object words denoting a region specifying the language (= the manner) which is spoken, e.g. *Qí yǔ* 齊語 'to speak in the Qíish manner, to speak Qíish' (MZ 3.2.6.1), *Chǔ yán* 楚言 'to speak Chǔish' (ZZ 3.28.3.3), *Wú yín* 吳吟 'to moan in Wúish' (ZGC 4.2.3). The region characterizes the manner of the locutional activity in the most general way and it cannot be straightforwardly related to any of the participants of the event; prepositional phrases, on the contrary, typically introduce a participant. The relation of a region to speaking is indirect, although it is trivial for a listener to figure it out on the basis of his encyclopaedic knowledge of the world. That is, he knows that speech of people qualitatively varies according to the region where they live, so that regions have their ways of speaking in a figurative sense and that the ways of speaking (dialect or even separate languages) can thus be characterized by their domestic regions. He is therefore able to interpret *Qí yǔ* 齊語 as 'to speak [in the way people in] Qí [commonly speak]'

⁸⁴ Let us remind us of the difference e.g. between *truck driver*, *driver of trucks* and *the driver of the truck* (p. 90).

The relation between the object and the action is similarly mediated also in *miàn cì* 面刺 ‘to criticize face to face’ (ZGC 8.12.5) or *miàn shǔ* 面數 ‘to blame face to face’ (ZGC 18.4.7), or *qún shēng* 群生 ‘to be born collectively (forming flocks)’ (Zh 9.1.6) and *qún jū* 群居 ‘to dwell collectively (forming flocks)’ (XZ 10.1.4), where *qún* means ‘group, crowd, flock’. Another such expression is e.g. *shuǐ gōng* 水攻 ‘to attack on water’ (ZGC 30.1.6). Here the relationship is relatively straightforward, none the less, the ‘water’ does not relate to any of the participants and the relationship is therefore hardly expressible by a prepositional phrase. It actually denotes neither the instrument nor the place of the action, i.e. of attacking, but its ambient and (primarily) the manner of the attack associated with it. I do not think that the preposition *yú* 於 or *yǐ* 以 could be used in this case.

Of course, effectivity and naturalness is rather matter of degree and implausibility of alternative formulations cannot be always assumed with a sufficient certainty. The fact that they are not found in the corpus need not be conclusive, for it often involves relatively rare expressions. On the other hand, it might be significant when there are more instances of the same overall meaning being always coded by the same construction (N_{ADV}). But it might be often explained also by taking over formulations from one text into another by the authors; it depends on situation. Consider for example the constructions *bù xīn fú* 不心服 ‘not to submit in one’s heart (but only superficially)’ (MZ 4.2.16.1), *yì bù shí* 義不食 ‘not to eat (one’s food) from/because of principle’ (LS 12.3.2.2), *tāi shēng* 胎生 ‘to be born from embryo’ (Zh 22.5.3). Is it inconceivable that the N_{ADV}’s could be transformed into prepositional phrases? I do not think the alternative formulations would be natural and that they would be produced by CC speakers, but this assumption of mine cannot be proved as we really do not know what they would never say.

There is a special subclass of the N_{ADV} constructions that must be included in this group. It consists of time object-words, e.g. *nián* 年 ‘year’, *yuè* 月 ‘month’ or *rì* 日 ‘day’ in the extended construction {EACH N}_{ADV} (see VII.2) and it specifies temporal periodicity of the action denoted by the action word. Unlike ordinary information about the point or period in time during which the action takes place, providing the event with temporal grounding, the time object-word cannot be moved to the topic in this case.

In addition, I include the conventional parallelly contrastive two-predicate formulas like *míng* 名 (or *shēng* 聲) ~ *shí* 實 ‘nominally A but factually B’, *yīn* 陰 ~ *yáng* 陽 ‘covertly A but overtly B’ etc. into this category as well, except for those idioms that do not contain object words but words of other classes, of course. They do not allow alternative reformulations not only because of their semantic qualities but also by their very nature of petrified idiomatic patterns. See also Hé Lèshì (2005: 319).

2.) There is a plausible alternative, but N_{ADV} is a standard way to express the intended meaning. In introduce this group mainly because of time object-words specifying the point or period in time during which the action occurred, takes or will

take place. It is actually almost the same case as the first category with that difference that such a specification can be moved to the topic at the head of the sentence. The possibility of introducing time adverb in the topic is a characteristic trait of CC and Modern Chinese. Of course, the information about time gets topicalized by this operation – it would be therefore misleading to view the two possible positions as absolutely synonymous and functionally equivalent.

3.) There is a concurrent prepositional construction which allows to express the relationship between the thing and the action more explicitly, but the alternative formulation by means of the N_{ADV} construction is given preference in that particular case. This category is the most common one. Especially here the question arises why the less explicit and principally non-standard construction was chosen.

My hypothesis, which is central to my approach to the N_{ADV} construction, is that the choice represents a different **imagery** (see Langacker 1987: 39, 110) of the event denoted by the processual predicate as a whole, in which the object denoted by the object word (either as a plain adverbial modifier or as an element of a prepositional phrase) plays quite a different role. The modificatory construction puts emphasis on the manner of the action, in which the object itself is only of minor importance as it just enriches the predication in a certain aspect in an attribute-like way. In a certain sense, it does not much matter to which participant it relates, if to any at all, or precisely, it is secondary. On the contrary, prepositional phrases typically introduce process participants which are salient individualized entities in the event and, though in a varying degree, they are focussed on and they are in direct and relatively straightforward relationships to the process and to each other.

For example, one of the most common functions, if not the most common one, of object words in the N_{ADV} construction is to describe a manner of the action via the instrument. Instrument as an eminent participant role in what is traditionally called transitive verbs is quite naturally coded by a special preposition, *yǐ* 以 in CC – either preverbally or postverbally. Prepositional phrases with *yǐ* are thus the unmarked, standard way to introduce an instrument into the structure of the event expressed by the processual predicate. Under these circumstances, if the instrumental N_{ADV} construction is used, the quality of the action is what is important, not the instrument itself. In the phrase *chén bù xīn jìng ér lì zhēng* 臣不心競而力爭 (ZZ 9.26.1.5), which might be translated as ‘ministers do not compete by means of mind but vie by means of strength’ but which is in fact better rendered as ‘ministers do not compete mentally but vie physically (by force)’. We have two adverbially modificatory pairs, *xīn jìng* ‘mind/heart’ + MOD_{ADV} + ‘to compete’, and *lì zhēng* ‘(typically physical) strength’ + MOD_{ADV} + ‘to vie’. The mind and strength are not presented here as distinct participants but they only specify the nature of the competition in that sense that using a particular instrument entails a particular manner of engaging in it. Their roles are suppressed for the while.

Another good example could be the expression *jiāo sì* 郊祀 ‘to perform the suburban sacrifice’ (ZZ 9.7.2.2). Here the place object-word *jiāo* ‘suburb; the area beyond city walls’ attributively modifies the action word *sì* ‘to sacrifice’, but the place is from the conceptual point of view only secondary: the circumstances of this sacrifice carried out in suburbs are more important. In fact, the expression got lexicalized and denotes a distinct type of sacrifice. The type, which is focussed on, is derived from the place, which serves only as the most effective means to characterize it. The attributive and characterizing force of the adverbial modifier is typical. Moreover, it is significant that the negative particle *bù* 不 is ordinarily put in front of the object word, whereby we can see that the compound unit of the modifier and the head is relatively cohesive and frequently really taken almost as one complex word, or at least a collocation expressing one distinct concept. It is also related to the fact that, according to Hé Lèshì (2005: 322), nearly 99 % of all object words attested in the adverbial construction in her research denote concrete material things with often salient physical characteristics and by virtue of it with a rich attributive descriptive potential.

4.) It is quite possible that the construction may be occasionally given preference merely for purely **stylistic reasons**. I leave this issue open, but I would expect that even in this case the particular modificatory imagery influences understanding of the expression by listeners, definitely for structural reasons and very probably by virtue of analogy.

Paraphrases instead of transformations

Although it should be clear that transformations of a deep-level structure are entirely implausible as a possible explanation of any linguistic phenomenon in the framework of cognitive linguistics which I basically accept as realistic in this dissertation, I feel it is necessary to add a brief commentary.

Especially Chinese authors like to render the meaning of the particular N_{ADV} construction by means of a more explicit paraphrase based most often on a prepositional phrase or the word *rú* 如 (see Wáng Li 1999: 350). This practice may be all right as far as it is clearly stated that they are not meant as the sources of transformation to the less explicit prepositionless adverbial modification. They can be certainly used to draw attention to parallels and analogies between the two constructions, but as has just been said in the four points in the previous section, they should be actually rather opposed and studied in a contrastive functional comparison. The paraphrases are of little value beyond the scope of this comparison and may on the contrary invite misunderstanding of the precise nature, function and purpose of the N_{ADV} construction. What more, I have already explained that there are cases in which this construction is employed simply because there is no effective alternative in the form of a prepositional phrase (i.e., when the prepositional outfit of CC is not well accommodated to express the intended meaning). Under these circumstances it would not give sense to wish to provide each

instance of N_{ADV} with a paraphrase, or even a “source” of transformation. It is also the reason, in my opinion, why they should not be used as labels for subclasses of this type of adverbial modification. The unfortunate role of paraphrases perceived as renderings of the “real,” “underlying” meaning can be seen from Wáng Kèzhòng’s (1988: 219–220) statement that the noun in N_{ADV} “is either a prepositional phrase or a verb-object phrase or a reduplicated noun in the semantic structure,” which is a serious flaw of confusing the semantic and syntactic levels of linguistic description.

It is thus problematic if the paraphrase does not serve the comparison but is intended merely as an extraction of the concise expression into a more verbose version. I think that it is pointless for the analyst to do that for I cannot agree that translating CC texts into apparently more transparent CC is linguist’s task.

The little which has been said about the anatomy of the construction we are dealing with is enough, in my view, to explain the problems which Cikoski had with finding the relevant source sentences for his transformations. He mentions the construction extremely briefly in the chapter on adjuncts (see Cikoski 1970: 76–77). Only two examples are included, constituting the section F-Miscellaneous. As he tries to explain any adjunct as a result of a transformation of an underlying phrase, he wishes to discover the underlying phrases for adverbial modification by nouns too. It is symptomatic that he himself admits that he is unable to find them. What he tentatively offers as possible sources (“... seems to have come from something like...”) are merely clumsy attempts at the paraphrases I have just talked about.

Structural ambiguity

It is sometimes difficult or even principally impossible to decide whether the given expression is sanctioned by the N_{ADV} construction or by another construction because of structural ambiguity. This can happen of course only when the basic interpretation of the overall phrase remains the same, whereby the contextual clues do not help. It is usually in those cases in which the element which could be potentially analyzed as an object word in the function of adverbial modification is separated from the predicative core by the conjunction *ér* 而. This conjunction is most frequently used to join two predicates but it occurs between an adverb and the modified predicate as well.⁸⁵ Moreover, if it joins two predicates, the first one is very often understood as subordinated to the second one (this asymmetry based on the linear order of elements is one of general traits of both CC and Modern Chinese; but it is by the way related to the universal principles of functional sentence perspective and the scale of thematicity/rhematicity between the topic and the comment).

⁸⁵ Already Mǎ Jiànzhōng [1898] (2000: 286–297) noticed that the conjunction *ér* standardly conjoins also an adverbial modifier of practically any nature with the modified predicate. It has been generally and unproblematically accepted since then. See also Wáng Kèzhòng (1988: 223).

Let us consider e.g. the common phrases that include the word *fú* 服 ‘to dress’ but also ‘dress, vestment’. In *Chǔ fú ér jiàn* 楚服而見 (ZGC 7.5.9), it is quite unproblematic that one goes to the audience endowed with a dress typically worn in Chǔ. But is the structure of the phrase (N_{ADV} + V) conj V, i.e. ‘to dress in the Chǔish manner and go to the audience; to go to the audience having dressed in the Chǔish manner’, or (N + N)_{ADV} conj V, i.e. ‘to go to the audience with a Chǔish dress on’? It cannot be decided solely on the basis of this one isolated example, but it is difficult even if we consult a more extensive sample, since the fact that the construction *Chǔ fú* or similar one is attested as the main predicate does not mean that it must have the same character in this complex phrase as well.⁸⁶ The same is true of *yì-guān* (or *yī-guān*) *ér jiàn zhī* 衣冠而見之 ‘to put on clothes and hat and go to see him’ vs. ‘to see him in clothes and hat’ (ZGC 11.1.5.1) or *gāo zhèn* (or *zhěn*) *ér wǒ* 高枕而臥 ‘to lie having “pillowed” high’ vs. ‘to lie on a high pillow’ (ZGC 22.11.7). The ambiguity actually arises from the word-class flexibility of CC which allows a processual interpretation of words that are standardly object words, it is thus not clear whether the word modifies the main predicate as an object word or as an action word.⁸⁷

Another typical subclass of structurally undespecified expressions involves cases of the type *qiān lǐ ér jiàn wáng* 千里而見王 ‘to pay visit to the king in spite of the distance of thousand miles’ (MZ 2.2.12.2), in which the first part consists of a numeral and the counted unit. According to my view, one cannot be sure regarding the precise character of *qiān lǐ*. We could ascribe nominal predicativity to it and treat the whole phrase as a complex sentence, i.e. ‘it is one thousand miles away but you have still come to see the king (= me)’. The same is true of *bǎi bù ér hòu zhǐ* 百步而後止 ‘to stop only after one hundred steps’ (MZ 1.1.3.4), where the precise status of *bǎi bù* is even less clear.

The next dubious case that I will mention here are the expressions with the subject-substitute relative pronoun *zhě* 者. For example in *qiáo cǎi zhě* 樵採者 ‘[the one who picks firewood >] firewood picker’ (ZGC 11.5.3), the *qiáo* ‘firewood’ does not actually specify a manner of the action, i.e. of *cǎi* ‘picking’. It is the patient of picking. It seems improbable to me that a manner of picking should be specified on the basis of the fact that it is firewood that is picked. Its adverbiality is therefore highly problematic.

⁸⁶ Yáng Zhāowèi et al. (1991) analyzes expressions of this type as processual uses of nominal phrases consisting of a modifier and a head, for example *rú fú* ‘Confucian garment’ → ‘to wear Confucian garment’, i.e. (N + N)_V conj V – see e.g. p. 33, 233, or 267. It is the third theoretically plausible alternative, though I do not think that it is adequate.

⁸⁷ Very frequent collocations of the kind (*nán*) *miàn* (南)面 ‘to direct [one’s face >] oneself to the (south)’ exhibit this ambiguity in a condensed form: how can we know whether it is V_{caus} + N ‘to make one’s face to be directed to the south’ or rather ADV + V ‘to (turn) one’s face southwards’ (*miàn* ‘face’ being used for denotation of the action of ‘facing’)?

I have no good explanation for it, except for the observation that the *zhě*-final phrases denoting specialized occupation or a sort of people tend to be problematic with regard to analysis of their inner structure. It may be that irregular processes of word formation and lexicalization are involved here. See also the expressions of the type *cǎo shí zhī shòu* 草食之獸 '[animals feeding on herbs >] herbivorous animals' in VII.2.2, p. 227).

There are even cases in which it is difficult to distinguish between the subject and the adverbial modifier. For example in *Yīn-fǎ xíng qì huī* 殷法刑棄灰 (HF 30.3.2): is the *Yīn-fǎ* 'the Yīn law, the laws of the Yīn dynasty' a figurative subject-agent who *xíng* 'punishes' *qì huī* 'throwing out ashes (on the road)', or is it an adverbial modifier with the meaning 'according to the Yīn law' while the subject-agent is left unspecified? Both options make sense and are almost identical in the end as far as the overall sense is considered.

In case it is really impossible to decide the character and structure of the given construction and no substantial arguments can be adduced at least to support the hypothesis that it is an instance of adverbial modification, I do not include the expression in my description of the categories of possible relationships between the object and the action in the N_{ADV} constructions.

VII.2 Types of circumstance expressed by N_{ADV}

As anticipated above, the range of possible relationships of the object word to the action in the studied construction is wide. The largest subcategory of circumstances is the manner, which I will therefore focus on, but it is necessary to mention at least one important subcategory practically unrelated to manner as usually understood: time. It must be kept in mind that the relationships are not encoded in the linguistic structure itself and that they must be figured out by the listener on the basis of the clues he is provided with by the context and the encyclopaedic knowledge of the matters denoted by the lexemes he possesses. If we employ the scaffolding metaphor (Langacker 1987: 461), the combination of object word as the modifier and the action word as the head represents a scaffolding sufficient for establishing the relevant meanings but it by far does not supply all the needed information in detail. This is in accordance with the prevalent underspecification of linguistic structures in general (see *ibid.*: 66). In other words, the construction and its elements represent a sufficiently well motivated expression relatively to the particular context so that the overall meaning can be inferred from other domains of cognitive system (on the problem of (non)-compositionality see *ibid.*: 452–457). See also VII.3.

Thus, when we categorize the precise relationships of the object to the action and *eo ipso* the precise semantic function of the object word in the construction, we categorize the ways of conceptual intergration of the elements of the construction,

which is not a part of the construction *per se*. The categories are a product of our analysis and the analysis may vary according to respective degrees of refinement. There are however levels of refinement and categories which are more salient than others: we can consider them the basic level categories that overlap with the basic concepts derived from everyday human experience generally, like INSTRUMENT (the same concepts naturally tend, by the way, to be expressed by prepositions). When we speak of categories, it is necessary to remind us of the theory of categorization accepted by cognitive linguistics and taken over from E. Rosch (cf. V.1.1): categories are usually not simple Aristotelian sets but have a specific internal structure and not unfrequently also fuzzy boundaries. This is true of our classes of possible interpretations of the N_{ADV} construction as well.

It is essential to realize in this context that the basic conceptual categories are **not mutually exclusive** at all. They may overlap and cross over each other in various ways as identical phenomena of the real world may be – and typically are – viewed from various angles and conceptualized through many different imageries. What more, the real phenomena are almost always objectively interrelated in highly complex multiple nets of relationships of different orders: physical, social and other ones (cf. Dokulil 1962: 39–43). For example, if we return to the *shuǐ gōng* 水攻 ‘to attack on water’ (ZGC 30.1.6), the AMBIENT of the attack inevitably substantially influences its MANNER, including the technique, which can be seen as a specific subclass of manner (we could unproblematically introduce the category TECHNIQUE, if we wished or thought it would be advantageous for our analysis). Consequently, the technique involves employment of special INSTRUMENTS. Likewise, the *jiē* 階 ‘staircase’ in *jiē ér shēng* 階而升 ‘to ascend through a staircase’ (LY 19.25.1)⁸⁸ is actually a certain PLACE through which one passes but also the INSTRUMENT of ascending (though an untypical instrument in the category of instruments in general), use of which involves a specific MANNER of the movement, this all at the same time. We could extend such strings and nets of relations further and further virtually in each case. It is self-evident but not always reflected that the categories must necessarily constitute a hierarchy if we aim at a more fine-grained analysis. I emphasize it because it sometimes happens that two categories are treated as if they were two distinct and independent classes although they represent different levels of the same branch in the taxonomy.

⁸⁸ Older commentaries traditionally explained this expression as two verbs joined by the conjunction *ér*, ascribing to the *jiē* a processual interpretation ‘staircase’ → ‘ascend (as if) through staircase’. I disagree on this point, seeing no point in the use of two nearly synonymous action words while the manner = instrument, which is *nota bene* emphasized here contextually, would be ruled out. Yáng Zhāowèi et al. (1991: 149) conform to the tradition.

VII.2.1 Time: a special case

Adverbial modification by object words denoting units of time is a special case for that reason that a) it is a standard way in which members of this subclass of object words are used, without any feeling of markedness, peculiarity or interpretational effort, b) it does not essentially refer to a manner of the action and in this respect it is similar to the core adverbial modification which specifies a circumstance or generally any secondary aspect of the action in the broadest sense, but not the manner.

Words like *zhāo* 朝 'dawn, morning', *mù* 暮 'dusk, evening', *yè* 夜 'night' or *sìyuè* 四月 'the fourth month' denote objects, although relatively unprototypical abstract ones. The basic domains against which these concepts are defined are "devised to track and calibrate the passage of time" (Langacker 1987: 192). However, in these abstract domains they represent bounded "things," which can be after all also counted though counting is not equally common in particular cases. We can explain their special behaviour in the N_{ADV} construction as symptomatic for their unprototypicality in the major class of object words on the most general level. If we focus in, we will realize that the very *raison d'être* of such time object-words is to denote certain points or periods in the flow of time conceptually structured in various ways by humans. It is thus one of their most natural and one would say basic functions to ground an event, or more specifically an action, in time, for events simply must happen at a certain time or in a certain span of time. This function of time objects-words is so common and frequent that we could expect that the temporal relation to the event which is profiled by the adverbial construction was conventionalized and lexicalized in a separate item of their polysemous structure. Thus the word *yè* could have contained at least two items, one nouny 'night' and one adverbial 'in the night'. In my opinion, it is very probable but it cannot be of course decided because we have no competent speakers of CC that could prove this hypothesis.

Time object-words occur also in the more special construction $\{EACH N\}_{ADV}$. The symbol N represents any object word and there are actually not few cases of other object words used in this construction, but time object-words are typical for it. The words like *rì* 日, *yuè* 月 as adverbial modifiers with the meaning 'every day, day by day', 'every month, month by month' are pervasive in CC texts.

Note: Time object-words are able to serve as the lexical source of more adverb-like time words, which are not used but as adverbial modifiers and cannot be counted, e.g. *zhāoxī* 朝夕 'for the whole day [$<$ from the morning to the evening $<$ the morning the evening]'. Their conventional lexical meaning therefore most probably includes also the relation to the trajector represented by a schematic event.

VII.2.2 Basic categories of N_{ADV}

MANNER (COMPLEX)

As already said, the object word in the construction usually emphasizes a distinct manner of the action although it can relate in a straightforward way to particular participants or settings (PLACE) and be categorized according to it. There are exceptions that seem to defy this interpretation, but I think that in spite of it it can be assumed that the manner is generally the **super-ordinate** category for all the subsequent subcategories. In other words, it is the manner which is typically specified by reference to one of the participants or to causally interrelated aspects of the action. For purpose of my categorization, which is a bit more refined than those of e.g. Hé Lèshì (2005) or Wáng Kèzhòng (1988), I have established the class of MANNER in a narrower sense: it includes those cases that cannot be easily classified with one of the basic conceptual categories representing event participants or settings because the relationship between the object and the action is more complicated. See the situation (1) in which the construction is used, VII.1.3, p. 204, with the examples. The members of this category may be of course moved out to other categories as far as one is able and willing to devise a more specific category that would appropriately capture the relationship.

This category contains for example (including the cases adduced in the paragraph on the situation (1)):

Qí yǔ 齊語 ‘to speak in the Qíish manner, to speak Qíish’ (MZ 3.2.6.1),⁸⁹ *Chǔ yán* 楚言 ‘to speak Chǔish’ (ZZ 3.28.3.3), *Wú yín* 吳吟 ‘to moan in Wúish’ (ZGC 4.2.3);

(*miàn* 面)_{ADV} ‘face to face’ (occasionally also ‘on surface’): in *miàn cì guǎ rén zhī guò* 面刺寡人之過 ‘to openly criticize the mistakes of my majesty’ (ZGC 8.12.5), *miàn shǔ Yùràng* 面數豫讓 ‘to blame Yùràng face to face’ (ZGC 18.4.7); the interpretation of the idiom *miàn fù* 面縛 ‘to tie up hands on one’s back (?)’ (ZZ 5.6.4.1) is unsure;

qún shēng 群生 ‘to be born in flocks, collectively’ (Zh 9.1.6), *qún jū* 群居 ‘to dwell collectively’ (XZ 1.5.3), *chóu shēng* 疇生 ‘to be born by kinds, as distinct kinds’ (XZ 1.5.3); note however that the flock and kind can be taken possibly also as UNIT-NORM;

⁸⁹ Yáng Zhāowèi et al. (1991: 214) have a very unprobable analysis, especially in the context of the other similar expressions quoted in the list: the dictionary explicitly considers the *Qí yǔ* a nominal phrase ‘the Qí language’ used processually as a whole, i.e. (N + N)_V. Symptomatically, it does not include the phrase *wú yín* – the authors would have to analyze as a complex nominal ‘Wúish moan’ used processually, which does not seem to be much convincing to me.

huán ér qiàn zhī 環而塹之 ‘to dig a moat around it’ (ZZ 10.17.6.3), *huán ér qì zhī* 環而泣之 ‘to weep for her in a circle around her’ (Zh 6.5.7); in the second example, the *huán* ‘ring; circle’ might be taken as an action word, ‘to encircle’, but I interpret it in accordance with the first case where a verbal meaning would be strained;

míng 名 (or *shēng* 聲) ~ *shí* 實 ‘nominally A but factually B’, *yīn* 陰 ~ *yáng* 陽 ‘covertly A but overtly B’.

Note: these adverbial modifiers cannot be expressed by the single object word introduced by a preposition.

PLACE

This category is relatively unproblematic. I include in it also AMBIENT although the two concepts can be usually easily distinguished. This is only a matter of convenience for they are related to each other. They are often treated indiscriminately without any reflection of this fact, but I think the difference is worth of registering and further elaboration. AMBIENT never refers to a well-limited region viewed as the location where the action takes place; at most it determines a set of possible locations. A nice example of AMBIENT is the modifier *yǔ* 雨 ‘rain’ in the expression *yǔ xíng* 雨行 ‘to walk in rain’ (ZZ 9.22.1.1) The constructions containing the adverbial modifier *shuǐ* 水 ‘water’ and *lù* 陸 ‘solid land’ are other typical examples. The distinction is however sometimes blurred, as in the more specific *hǎi yóu* 海游 ‘to swim in the sea’ (HF 40.7.2), where the ‘sea’ may be explained both as a location and ambient.

The place object-word typically specifies the locational aspect of the settings of the event, quite in the same way as time object-words ground it at a certain moment or in a certain period of time. However, the locative relationship is occasionally different from the simple static locative. We have for example a rare case of ablative in *shì lái* 市來 ‘to come back from the market’ (HF 32.57.1).⁹⁰ But also in *xiá ér cáng zhī* 柙而藏之 ‘to store it in a casket’ (Zh 15.2.8), the *xiá* ‘casket’ does not actually specify the location of the action of storing the thing (the agent does not seem to be in the casket), it refers to the target location for the thing being stored.⁹¹ A similar case is *yāo jué tiānxià* 要絕天下 ‘to cut the all-under-heaven apart in its waist, in the middle’ (ZGC 6.9.21), in which the *yāo* ‘waist’ does not specify the setting of the action but refers to the part of the patient that the action is aimed at. It cannot be thus counted as a typical PLACE. Further, we cannot be sure whether the adverbial modifier in the expressions *dào bì* 道敝 ‘to get tired on the way’ (ZZ 9.11.3.4), *dào kě* 道渴 ‘to get thirsty on the way’ (ZZ 12.11.2.2) or *dào ér jī kě* 道而飢渴 ‘to get hungry and thirsty on the way’ (HF 12.33.1)

⁹⁰ Note that this use of place words is still current in Modern Chinese, e.g. *Běijīng lái* 北京來 ‘to come from Běijīng’ (but also ‘to come to Běijīng’!).

⁹¹ The *xiá* is sometimes also interpreted as an action word with the meaning ‘to put in a casket’. Of course, it cannot be ruled out, and Yáng Zhāowèi et al. (1991: 287) prefer the verbal analysis as always.

refers purely to the PLACE where the event happened or it denotes INSTRUMENT or CAUSE as well. It is quite probable as the categories naturally blend and intersect in layers, as shown above.

I would like to remind again of the fact that a place usually involves also a specific manner of the action and that the manner is emphasized in the modificatory construction. It often happens that due to the attributive strength of the modifier the whole construction tends to petrify into a composite lexeme with a certain amount of idiomaticity. From a different, onomasiological perspective, special actions whose most characteristic feature is the place where they take place are most effectively denoted by the more general action word and the relevant place-word attribute. Such expressions therefore often refer through the place to a distinct type of action. The place is not central in the semantics of these expression but serves only as one part that **motivates** (i.e. the whole is not fully compositional) the meaning of the complex structure. If possible (and I admit that it does not seem to be always possible), I always try to interpret the adverbial construction in accordance with this assumption, i.e. to emphasize the more generally characterizing force of the place word.

Examples of words denoting a location (or ambient) commonly found in combination with some action words:

dào 道 ‘road, way’: *wén* 聞 ‘to hear’ (ZGC 4.13.1), *tīng* 聽 ‘to listen’ (LY 17.14.1), *nì* 逆 ‘to go against, to go to meet’ (ZZ 9.26.2.12), *bù shí* 不拾 ‘not to pick up’ (HF 10.31.1), *qì* 泣 ‘to weep’ (HF 12.33.1), *qǐ* 乞 ‘to beg’ (HF 1.3.5);
yě 野 ‘open field, country’: *chǔ* 處 ‘to be at a place’ (YZ 7.19.3), *xiǎng* 享 ‘to banquet’ (ZZ 9.26.8.3), *cì* 賜 ‘to give a present’ (ZZ 10.1.14), *hé* 合 ‘to gather, to have a meeting’ (ZZ 11.10.2.6);
jiāo 郊 ‘suburban area’: *sì* 祀 ‘to sacrifice’ (ZZ 9.7.2.2), *yíng* 迎 ‘to go to meet, to welcome’ (GZ 20.1.135), *cì* 次 ‘to camp’ (ZZ 5.33.3.11);
shuǐ 水 ‘water’: *shēng* 生 ‘to live’ (Zh 21.4.10), *xíng* 行 ‘to walk’ (HF 14.7.13), *gōng* 攻 ‘to attack’ (ZGC 30.1.6), *zhàn* 戰 ‘to fight’ (Zh 1.3.4), *jī* 擊 ‘to attack’ (HF 50.5.4);
lù 陸 ‘highland, plain; solid land (by contrast to water)’: *jū* 居 ‘to dwell’ (LS 14.5.2.4), *xíng* 行 ‘to walk’ (HF 20.31.8), *gōng* 攻 ‘to attack’ (ZGC 30.1.6), *chén* 沉 ‘to go down, to drown’ (Zh 25.5.2), *duàn* 斷 ‘to cut’ (HF 50.5.4);
tíng 庭 ‘court(yard)’: *jiāo* 教 ‘to educate, to instruct’ (ZGC 3.2.4), *yíng* 迎 ‘to welcome’ (ZGC 5.9.1), *shuō* 說 ‘to talk, to give explanations’ (ZGC 3.2.20);
miào 廟 ‘ancestor temple’: *cí* 祠 ‘to sacrifice (to ancestors)’ (HF 10.10.4), *lǐ* 禮 ‘to engage in a ritual ceremony (> spec. to sanction ceremonially establishment of the heir apparent)’ (HF 38.0.0).

Examples of the most frequent “dwelling” words in combination with the modifier:

jū 居 ‘to dwell’: *gōng* 宮 ‘palace’ (ZGC 19.3.9), *jiàn* 薦 ‘grass’ (ZZ 9.4.7.12), *lù* 陸 ‘highland’ (LS 14.5.2.4), *yán* 岩 ‘rock, cliff, cavern’ (HF 45.5.2), *cháo* 巢 ‘nest’ (Zh 29.1.22), *shān* 山 ‘mountain’ (HF 49.3.4), *zé* 澤 ‘marshes’ (HF 49.3.4), *jiā* 家 ‘home’ (HF 10.9.2);

chǔ 處 ‘to be at a place’: *yě* 野 ‘open field, country’ (YZ 7.19.3), *mù* 木 ‘tree’ (Zh 2.6.4), *dàn* 窟 ‘cavern, hole’ (HF 45.6.1).

Some other, less common examples:

hǎi yóu 海游 ‘to swim in the sea’ (HF 40.7.2), *lù wèn* 路問 ‘to ask on the road’ (MZ 2.2.13.1), *cǎo shè* 草舍 ‘to sleep overnight in the grassland’ (ZZ 9.28.8.10), *tú shuō* 塗說 ‘to talk on the road’ (LY 17.14.1), *gǔ jí* 谷汲 ‘to draw water in/from the valley’ (HF 49.3.4), *xiàng chū* 巷出 ‘to range in the streets’ (ZZ 7.12.1.1), *wēi rù* 隈入 ‘to enter [a state] at the bend [of the river]’ (ZZ 5.25.3.2), *dào tú sǐ* 道途死 ‘to die on the road’ (YZ 1.9.4), *xiá ér cáng* 柙而藏 ‘to store in a casket’ (Zh 15.2.8),⁹² *xīn cáng* 心藏 ‘to conceal in one’s heart’ (HF 5.16.2), *tóng xué ér cún* 同穴而存 ‘to stay in the same cave’ (YZ 6.3.2), *sui ér xiāng jiàn* 隧而相見 ‘to see each other in a tunnel’ (ZZ 1.1.4.16),⁹³ *guǎng tíng yán jū* 廣庭嚴居 ‘to dwell in a large court in an imposing style’ (HF 38.17.1), *yàn shì dú chǔ* 晏室獨處 ‘to stay alone in private houses’ (ibid.).

Note: Under normal circumstances, PLACE is syntactically expressed as a prepositionless locative object or locative object introduced by the preposition *yú* 于, *yú* 於 or *hū* 乎 (almost always postverbally).

INSTRUMENT

Together with ANALOGY and PLACE, INSTRUMENT is one of the most common categories of the factual relationship between the object and the action. In most cases, it is again unproblematic, but it is occasionally difficult to decide whether the given construction should really belong to this category for instrumentality may be also quite a delicate concept in abstract domains and can overlap with other categories. I do not include the unclear constructions in the following list; some of them are discussed at the end of the section.

I will not repeat any more the assumptions about the function of the adverbial modifier in the compound expression which I have dealt with in the introduction to the chapter and in both of the previous sections on the categories of *N_{ADV}*.

Examples of typical adverbial modifiers related to the instrument of the action:

⁹² The verbal interpretation of *xiá* is common, none the less, I prefer the adverbial one.

⁹³ The *sui* is sometimes interpreted as the factitive action word derived from the object word ‘tunnel’.

jǐ gōu 戟拘(=鉤) ‘to hook by a halberd’ (YZ 5.3.2), *jiàn chéng* 劍承 ‘to hold with a sword’ (ibid.), *gǔ jī* 轂擊 ‘to attack with the hub’ (YZ 6.2.1), *chē liè* 車裂 ‘to tear apart by carriages’ (e.g. HF 13.3.4), *shuǐ tōng* 水通 ‘to carry out traffic by water’ (ZGC 18.11.10), *chē tōng* 車通 ‘to carry out traffic by carriages’ (ZGC 4.1.6), *tuó zài* 橐載 ‘to load in a sack’ (ZGC 5.9.7), *lì zhēng* 力爭 ‘to vie by physical strength’ (ZZ 9.26.1.5), *lì ér jū* 力而拘 ‘to detain by force’ (ZZ 5.33.3.8), *lì xíng* 力行 ‘to carry out with effort’ (MZ 3.1.3.10), *lì zuò* 力作 ‘to farm with effort’ (HF 46.1.4), *niú bǔ* 牛卜 ‘to divine with bovine [bones]’ (ZZ 5.31.3.2), *qiǎng fù* 襁負 ‘to carry in a swathe’ (LY 13.4.3), *cè mìng* 策命 ‘to order by a decree’ (ZZ 5.28.3.40), *bīng zhēng* 兵爭 ‘to fight with weapons’ (ZZ 7.11.1.1), *zhōu zhàn* 舟戰 ‘to fight with ships’ (MD 13.1), *jīn zòu* 金奏 ‘to perform music with bells’ (ZZ 9.4.3.1), *má yuē* 麻約 ‘to tie with hemp’ (ZZ 11.9.3.6), *mò rǎn* 墨染 ‘to dye with ink’ (HF 3.10.5), *wéi guǒ* 帷裹 ‘to wrap in a curtain’ (ZZ 10.29.3.2), *wén xiù bèi* 文繡被 ‘to cover with embroidered cloth’ (YZ 7.8.1), *sāng tàn zhì* 桑炭炙 ‘to roast on mulberry charcoal’ (HF 31.37.5), *shū sù sì* 菽粟食 ‘to feed with beans and grain’ (YZ 7.8.1), *zhí cí jìn* 直辭禁 ‘to forbid using direct formulations’ (YZ 5.11.5).

The modifying object word relatively often denotes a body part. Hé Lèshì (2005: 309–310, 314) even defines a separate category BODY PART, assuming that the object words characterize “physical-psychical conditions” of the agent. I do not think that this an appropriate solution, at least if such a category is listed indiscriminately with the major categories like INSTRUMENT. First of all, BODY PART is a lexical category which principally cuts across the categories defined on the basis of the function of the modifier in respect to the structure of the event. Body parts can, at least theoretically, be used as adverbial modifiers being in any kind of the relationships categorized here into several classes, although it is rather rare. I can imagine that the N_{ADV} construction including a word denoting a body part and relating to the instrument of the action may have been relatively well entrenched, and an independent scheme may thus have been extracted and a distinct subcategory established. Be it as may, such a subcategory must be correspondingly intergrated into the hierarchy as a more specific, essentially a mixed lexical-conceptual-syntactic category defined as *adverbial modification by a word denoting a body part which refers to the instrument of the action*, and cannot be treated in an asystemic vacuum.

Examples of some more frequent modifiers denoting a body part:

shǒu 手 ‘hand’: *shòu* 受 ‘to receive’ (ZGC 25.24.5), *yuán* 援 ‘to support’ (MZ 4.1.17.3), *jiǎo* 絞 ‘to strangle’ (HF 38.12.1); *liè* 裂 ‘to tear apart’ (YZ 1.1.4);
kǒu 口 ‘mouth’: *láo* 勞 ‘to console’ (ZGC 13.4.7), *shòu* 受 (=授) ‘to give’ (ZGC 30.9.12), *dào* 道 ‘to tell’ (ZGC 18.8.1), *jiāo* 教 ‘to instruct’ (HF 4.14.3);

mù 目 ‘eyes’: *nì* 逆 ‘to welcome’ (ZZ 2.1.5), *sòng* 送 ‘to see off’ (ibid.), *jī* 擊 ‘to strike’ (LS 18.3.3.1), *suǒ* 索 ‘to search, to ask for’ (HF 4.14.3), *jiàn* 見 ‘to see’ (HF 3.10.1);

zuǒshǒu 左手 ‘left hand’: *yōng* 擁 ‘to embrace, hold’ (YZ 2.20.2), (*wèi Cóng*) *tóu* (為叢) 投 ‘to throw [the dice] (for Cóng)’ (ZGC 5.11.3), *chí* 持 ‘to grasp’ (ZGC 9.4.3), *bǎ* 把 ‘to grasp’ (ZGC 31.3);

yòushǒu 右手 ‘right hand’: *kǔn* 捆 (or 捆) ‘to beat’ (YZ 2.20.2), (*zì wèi*) *tóu* (自為) 投 ‘to throw [the dice] (for oneself)’ (ZGC 5.11.2), *huà* 畫 ‘to draw’ (HF 28.2.7), *zhèn* 搥 ‘to stab’ (ZGC 31.3).

Examples of other modifiers denoting a body part:

xīn jìng 心競 ‘to compete mentally’ (ZZ 9.26.1.5), *bèi fù* 背負 ‘to carry on one’s back’ (Zh 1.1.4), *xī xíng* 膝行 ‘to walk on one’s knees’ (Zh 11.3.4), *chǐ jué* 齒決 ‘to chew up with teeth’ (LJ 1.3.29), *chóng jié ér shì* 重睫而視 ‘to look with double eyelash’ (HF 31.37.6).

There is a relatively well known passage in *Zuǒzhuàn* (10.17.3), in which we can find a series of N_{ADV} constructions consisting constantly of the action word *mìng* 名 ‘give a name’ and the following object words used as adverbial modifiers: *niǎo* 鳥 ‘birds’, *yún* 雲 ‘clouds’, *huǒ* 火 ‘fire’, *shuǐ* 水 ‘water’, *lóng* 龍 ‘dragon’. As far as the adverbial modifiers are considered, it is not their basic meaning, i.e. the concept of an object of nature, which is activated here. They delimit “natural” classes of words whose members are instruments of naming individuals of the dynastic clan. In other words, the *niǎo* does not refer to ‘bird’ here but to ‘words denoting birds’. At the same time, a word does not represent a prototypical instrument and naming is not a prototypical instrumental action in which the agent affects physically the patient with a solid instrument using a certain amount of energy (cf. e.g. Langacker 1991: 333). The instrumentality is transposed to an abstract domain. This is a nice example showing that the instrumental relationship may be quite abstract and also that it can be based e.g. on a metonymy.

Note: In my opinion, the expressions *niǎn cóng* 輦從 ‘to follow in a carriage pulled by men’ (ZGC 17.4.1) and *niǎn ér rú* 輦而如 ‘to go to in a carriage pulled by men’ (ZZ 11.6.2.2) could be included in this category too, but especially in the latter case one cannot be sure whether the *niǎn* is not the action word ‘to get on a carriage pulled by men’ or ‘to travel in a carriage pulled by men’. It is explained in this way in some commentaries. However, this use of object words denoting means of transportation is rare, though not unattested, and the former example seems to be clearly a N_{ADV} construction. I prefer therefore the adverbial analysis for both expressions. As far as the phrase *jiē ér shēng* 階而升 ‘to ascend through a staircase’ (LY 19.25.1) is considered, I

dealt with it already in VII.2 in the introductory passages; again, I prefer the adverbial interpretation.⁹⁴

A different question arises in the case of *sù fú* 素服 ‘to dress in white silk’ (LJ 8.2). Is plain white silk or, metonymically, a vestment made of it, the instrument of dressing oneself? Hypothetically, it is not unconceivable. What makes me hesitate is the fact that we have regularly expressions of the type $fú_V \{NP_{ADN} fú_N\}_{OBJ}$ ‘to take on a such-and-such dress’, in which the dress is viewed as the patient. On the other hand, we find the action word *yì* 衣 ‘to take, to wear’, which is the basic word for wearing a dress, both with the objective rection, e.g. *yì bó* 衣帛 ‘to wear silk’ (MZ 1.1.3.8), and the instrumental rection, e.g. *yì yǐ qí yī* 衣以其衣 ‘to take on his clothes’ (ZGC 7.8.2), which is nevertheless a rare phenomenon.

Note: Under normal circumstances, instrument is expressed as a prepositional object introduced by the preposition *yǐ* 以 either preverbally or postverbally (depending on the functional sentence perspective).

ANALOGY

As already mentioned, ANALOGY⁹⁵ is one of the three largest classes. In this type of adverbial modification by an object word, the manner of the action is characterized by an analogy between the object denoted by the modifier and one of the participants: it is thus usually either AGENT or PATIENT; Tāng Jiànjūn (1990) dedicated a special article to this topic. I have found one tentative instance of (analogy with) INSTRUMENT, *yì ér jī* 翼而擊 ‘to attack as if with wings, i.e. from two sides’ (HF 10.6.38), which is parallel to *yǐ shēn yì bì Pèigōng* 以身翼蔽沛公 ‘to cover the duke of Pèi with own body like with wings’ from *Shǐjì* (SJ 7.95), but it can be analyzed in a different way as well. Even if we wished to classify it as a N_{ADV} construction, it would represent an absolutely rare exception.

Although instructive, the term *analogy* does not express the modificatory mechanism precisely. The relationship of analogy is established only after having contrasted the object (prototypically animate for agents and inanimate for patients) denoted by the modifier and the actual corresponding participant of the action. According to my view, the modification is structurally prior to specification of any of the participants. First of all, the quality of the action is characterized by the modifier as a distinct type, and thereafter the composite structure $[N_{ADV} + V]$ enters the net of the syntactic relations that supply the action with specific participants (these are represented

⁹⁴ Note that LJ 4.2.28 has the quasi-prepositional construction *lì jiē ér shēng* 歷階而升 ‘to ascend through a staircase’.

⁹⁵ I adopted the term from TLS. I called it “model” in my previous paper (Zádrapa 2007).

by highly schematic elaboration sites in the semantic structure of the predicate until this happens), i.e. are provided with a subject and various objects. This conforms to the traditional IC analysis. Viewed from this perspective, the analogy arises secondarily, but of course this does not disqualify it as unsubstantial. *In sensu stricto* I cannot agree with Tāng Jiànjūn's (1990: 76) formulation that the modifier "describes the subject of the sentence," even if we leave aside the fact that subject is a syntactic role which can be hardly described by the modifier (according to my experience, the confusion of syntactic and semantic roles is pervasive in Chinese literature).

The attributive strength of the modifier and its characterizing function are best manifested in this category. We can see that the object word playing the role of the modifier typically denotes an animal, a thing or, occasionally, a person, with salient physical features. Such words thereby have a rich descriptive potential and are able to effectively characterize both objects and actions. As the examples suggest, words denoting animals occur in the construction most frequently. This fact might be of interest also for a survey in Chinese conceptual history, though it is quite expectable and most probably has parallels in many if not all conceptual worlds of ancient societies and their reflection in language.

If the object word is supposed to characterize the action through its patient, the action word must naturally have a patient, which is always manifested as a syntactic object. If the action word does not have a syntactic object in the particular N_{ADV} construction (usually expressed pronominally by *zhī* 之), the modifier relates to the agent practically without exceptions. If there is a direct object present in the construction, the modifier often relates to the patient, but it can also relate to the agent. The listener must decide on the basis of the meanings of the words and context so that the result of the conceptual integration is meaningful and conforms to his experience of the real world. For example, in the famous formulation *cán shí zhūhóu* 蠶食諸侯 'to eat (the states of) the feudal lords like a silkworm' (specifically with the object *zhūhóu* only later in SJ 6.56.2), the experience tells us that silkworms rather eat than are eaten, that the silkworm eats mulberry leaves in a specific way and the manner can be thus characterized by it, while eating silkworms does not seem to imply a special manner of eating; on a higher level, the analogy between a silkworm eating mulberry leaves and the state of Qín consuming the Chinese world is apparent.

Chinese authors usually do not create a label analogous to ANALOGY which would unite both (or all three, respectively) subcategories on the more general level in the hierarchy. They speak of *bīyù* 比喻 'simile, metaphor, analogy' where an analogy with the agent is involved and of *duìdài* 對待 'treatment' where analogy with the patient (cf. Tāng Jiànjūn 1990). But as we can see, the "treatment" is a kind of analogy in this context as well, only that it relates to a different action participant.

There are rare examples of modifiers referring to the actual status of the agent, like *kūndì bó* 昆弟博 ‘to play a board game as brothers’ (HF 12.34.1) or *Huán dì shì xiōng* 桓弟弑兄 ‘Huán, being the younger brother, murdered his elder brother’ (GLZ 3). If this interpretation is right, then there can be hardly any talk of ANALOGY, but either MANNER does not seem to play any role here, and the expressions belong to a different type of adverbial constructions in the most general sense.

AGENT

Some examples:

hè yuè 鹤躍 ‘to leap like a crane’ (YZ 2.24.6), *què yuè* 雀躍 ‘to leap like a sparrow’ (Zh 11.4.1), *bīn fú* 賓服 ‘to submit like a guest’ (GZ 20.1.107, lexicalized with the meaning ‘to submit’), *zhàngfū shì* 丈夫飾 ‘to make up like a mature man’ (YZ 6.1.1), *nánzǐ shì* 男子飾 ‘to make up like a young boy’ (ibid.), *shé xíng* 蛇行 ‘to move like a snake’ (ZGC 3.2.21), *niǎo xíng* 鳥行 ‘to walk like a bird’ (Zh 12.6.6), *yàn xíng* 雁行 ‘to go like geese in one row’ (LJ 5.5.14), *Yǔ xíng* 禹行 ‘to walk like Yǔ’ (XZ 6.13.5), *yún xiáng* 雲翔 ‘to circle like clouds’ (ZGC 6.9.4), *shānlíng bēng* 山陵崩 ‘to collapse like a mountain’ (ZGC 7.5.5), *láng gù* 狼顧 ‘to look after like a wolf’ (ZGC 8.16.5), *fú còu* 輻湊 ‘to come together like spokes’ (HF 8.6.2; actually an idiom), *cán shí* 蠶食 ‘to eat like a silkworm’ (ZGC 18.11.9), *hú fú* 胡服 ‘to dress like a barbarian’ (ZGC 19.4.3), *rú fú* 儒服 ‘to dress like a scholar’ (HF 41.1.8), *róng fú* 戎服 ‘to dress like a soldier’ (ZZ 9.25.10.6), *rén lì* 人立 ‘to stand like a man’ (ZZ 3.8.3.5), *chái lì* 柴立 ‘to stand like firewood’ (Zh 19.5.8), *huǒ chí* 火馳 ‘to gallop like fire’ (Zh 26.8.2), *qiáo qǐ* 橋起 ‘to rise like a bridge’ (Zh 25.11.2), *hǔ láng tān* 虎狼貪 ‘to be greedy like tigers and wolves’ (XZ 18.7.5), *shòu chǔ* 獸處 ‘to dwell as a beast’ (GZ 64), *chún jū* 鶉居 ‘to dwell like a quail’ (Zh 12.6.6), *shī jū* 尸居 ‘to stay at home like a corpse’ (Zh 11.1.12), *lóng xiàn* 龍見 ‘to appear like a dragon’ (ibid.), *yuān mò* 淵默 ‘to be silent like an abyss’ (ibid.), *léi shēng* 雷聲 ‘to sound like a thunder’ (ibid.), *kòu shí* 穀食 ‘to eat like a fledgling’ (Zh 12.6.6), *xióng jīng* 熊經 ‘to hang like a bear’ (Zh 15.1.4), *niǎo shēn* 鳥申(=伸) ‘to stretch like a bird’ (ibid.), *Shùn qù* 舜趨 ‘to trot like Shùn’ (XZ 6.13.5), *fēng qǐ* 鋒(=蜂)起 ‘to rise like bees’ (XZ 9.2.4), *lù sàn* 鹿散 ‘to scatter like deer’ (HF 30.6.1), *mù kū* 木枯 ‘to be withered like a tree’ (HF 47.3.2), *tù qǐ* 兔起 ‘to jump up like a rabbit’ (LS 8.2.5.1), *yì fù* 蟻附 ‘to stick to like an ant’ (MD 14.1), *qīng zhé* 磬折 ‘to be bent like a lithophone’ (Zh 31.2.15), *rú zǐ qì* 孺子泣 ‘to weep like a child’ (LJ 59), *gǔ lì* 賈利 ‘to profit like a merchant > commercially’ (ZGC 11.1.5.3), *kǔ rén qǐ* 苦人乞 ‘to beg like a beggar’ (MD 9.7), *xiǎnshǔ cáng* [兼+鼠]鼠藏 ‘to store up like a wild mouse’ (ibid.), *dīyáng shì* 羝羊視 ‘to look around like a buck’ (ibid.), *bēn zhì qǐ* 賁彘起 ‘to prance about like a castrated pig’ (ibid.).

PATIENT

Note that the action words that occur in this construction are typically words denoting treatment, like *shì* 事 ‘to serve’, *xù* 畜 ‘to raise’, or *shǐ* 使 ‘to employ, to treat’. These

are the most frequent ones, but *jiāo* 交 ‘to transact’, *yù* 遇 ‘to treat’ or *bào* 報 ‘to reply; to requite’ belong to this lexical subcategory as well:

shī shì 師事 ‘to serve one the way teachers are served’ (ZZ 10.7.12.6), *bīn shì* 賓事 ‘to serve one the way guests are served’ (GZ 33.1.18), *xiōng shì* 兄事 ‘to serve one the way elder brothers are served’ (LJ 6), *zhòng rén shì* 衆人事 ‘to “serve” one the way vulgar men are “served”’ (LS 12.5.3.2), *guó shì shì* 國士事 ‘to serve one the way scholars are served’ (LS 12.5.3.3);

liè xiàn xù 列縣畜 ‘to “raise” like a usual district’ (ZGC 14.19.2), *wù xù* 物畜 ‘to raise like an animal’ (XZ 17.10.1), *quǎn mǎ xù* 犬馬畜 ‘to “raise” like a dog or horse’ (MZ 5.2.6.5), *shòu xù* 獸畜 ‘to raise like a beast’ (MZ 7.1.37.1), *zhòng rén xù* 衆人畜 ‘to “raise” like an ordinary man’ (LS 12.5.3.2), *guó shì xù* 國士畜 ‘to “raise” like a scholar’ (LS 12.5.3.3);

chù shǐ 畜使 ‘to treat like a domestic animal’ (XZ 9.14.1), *qiè shǐ* 妾使 ‘to treat like a concubine’ (9.14.4.13), *lǚ shǐ* 虜使 ‘to treat like a captive’ (ZGC 20.13.9);

shǐ jiāo 豕交 ‘to deal like with a pig’ (MZ 7.1.37.1), *guā fēn* 瓜分 ‘to divide like a gourd’ (ZGC 20.10.20), *xí juǎn* 席卷 ‘to roll up like a mat’ (ZGC 14.8.2), *zhòng rén bào* 衆人報 ‘to reply like to a vulgar man’ (ZGC 18.4.8), *zhòng rén yù* 衆人遇 ‘to treat like a vulgar man’ (ibid.).

Note: Analogy can be expressed also by constructions with the words *rú* 如, *ruò* 若 and *yóu* 猶, all having – among others – the meaning ‘to be like’.

PATTERN OF DISTRIBUTION: ORDER AND UNIT

There is a minor subclass of ORDER, attested e.g. in the phrase *xù dāng qí yè* 序當其夜 ‘to watch the night according to the given order’ (ZZ 7.12.2.30; there are also other interpretations of the passage – see TLS after B. Watson). The adverbial modifier *xù* ‘order’ refers to the key according which the action is distributed, and it relates to the agents in this particular expression. The key implicitly consists of an ordered set of individual members. I call the key a pattern of distribution. The action is distributed to all soldiers in question due to a succession that we do not know anything about. Our experience tells us that the abstract order of the set is projected into the real spatio-temporal domain as a succession in time. In other words, the action is not only distributed regarding various agents but also temporally.

The rest of this category is basically represented by the special subtype of adverbial modification by object words which I refer to by the formula {EACH N}_{ADV} (cf.

also Wáng Kèzhòng 1988: 221). Unlike in the case of ORDER, the set is principally unordered, or more precisely, it is ordered in an arbitrary way. It is defined by the adverbial modifier, which does not refer to a particular object but to a class of objects. The class includes all the objects that can be classified as an instance of the given general category in the reference domain. Each operator ALL has a reference domain which is either explicitly expressed or is – more frequently – understood from the context. The category delimited by the modifier is usually construed as Aristotelian one in accordance with common everyday understanding of categories. The action is then distributed to all members of the set. Now what is very interesting, especially in connection with the similar situation in the category of ANALOGY, is that the members relate usually either to the agents or to the patients of the actions, and only exceptionally to other participants or elements of the events. Typically, the concept denoted by the modifier belongs to the same taxonomic branch of concepts as the actual agents or the patients (though often explicitly unexpressed and merely inferred from the context), and it may be posited either on the same level as them or at a higher level. Under these circumstances, the concept denoted by the modifier becomes practically a **measure unit** for the agents or the patients (and rarely other elements of the event): the action is distributed either to all of them (if the concepts denoted by the modifier and the relevant participant are on the same level, which is usually the lowest one in the hierarchy) or merely to units that are super-ordinate. For example, in *lǐ mǎi niú ér jiā wèi wáng dǎo* 里買牛而家為王禱 ‘[as far as the people of the state such-and-such are considered] in each village they bought a buffalo and in each household they prayed for the king’ (HF 35.7.1), the *lǐ* ‘village’ is a super-ordinate concept for particular people of the state which are the actual agents. What is important is the fact that the action is actually not distributed to all the agents. It is distributed to the super-ordinate units, villages, whose complete set in the given domain (the state) constitutes the pattern of distribution, and therefore only the groups of individuals representing people of one village bought a buffalo, not each person on its own. The order in which it is done, which projects to a succession in time in the temporal domain, is obviously arbitrary. On the other hand, the modifier *hù* ‘door, household’, standing metonymically for a household, in *hù fū* 戶撫 ‘to comfort household by household’ (ZGC 28.5.6), relates to the patients. The agent is an individual that comforts people of his state, but he distributes his comforting not to each person but only to whole households containing many people. The order and temporal succession are arbitrary again, but unlike in the cases where the agents are collective and are able to execute the actions simultaneously, the instances of the action must be distributed successively in time, for one agent can hardly comfort all households at the same time.

Note that the general concept of pattern of distribution is associated with temporal periodicity in temporal adverbial modification which I dealt with in VII.2.1 (‘every month’, ‘day by day’ etc.). The temporal periodicity is a more specific case of

pattern of distribution: the pattern refers to distribution in time here, not to agents or patients as in the above-mentioned examples. The measure unit is a time interval here, since e.g. the set of all days of the reference domain (i.e. a period of time) projected onto the constant but cyclic flow of time structured through a calendar entails the effect of periodicity. A salient difference is the fact that the pattern is inevitably ordered in this case because of the very nature of the domain it is established in. In other words, the days do not come haphazardly in time but one after another.

Examples of adverbial modifiers specifying a pattern of distribution:

hù fū 戶撫 ‘to comfort household by household’ (ZGC 28.5.6), *wǔ liè* 伍列 ‘to line up by groups of five’ (ZZ 10.18.3.9), (*yì qiě*) *cùn duàn* (亦且) 寸斷 ‘(and will) cut inch by inch’ (ZGC 31.2.2), *méi bǔ* 枚卜 ‘to divine item by item’ (ZZ 12.7.4.6), *rén fá èr jiǎ* 人罰二甲 ‘to fine each person two armours’ (HF 35.7.2), (*bù néng*) *rén dé yī shēng sù* (不能) 人得一升粟 ‘(not to be able) to obtain a single *shēng* of grain from each person’ (Shang 17.7), *hù shuō* 戶說 ‘to explain household by household’ (HF 40.6.4), *rén biàn* 人辨 ‘to argue person by person’ (ibid.); *guān zhì* 官置 ‘to install in each office’ (HF 8.7.3).

Minor categories:

Beside the types of adverbial modification by object words that have been described above and that represent the overwhelming majority of the instances of the construction in CC texts, there are some minor categories whose members do not fit (at least unproblematically) in the major ones. Their occurrence is very low and it was not an exception when I was able to register only a single instance of the category, or more precisely, that I have to delineate a category for a single expression. These types of adverbial modification have usually a more or less strong taste of curiosity and it often happens that there are uncertainties about their concrete interpretation among both premodern and modern scholars. As I emphasized earlier, the categories and their refinement are a matter of analytic convenience. The relevance of my classification depends therefore on whether other linguists find it instructive and useful.

CAUSE

This class contains few absolutely unambiguous cases. First, I have registered two expressions which might be quite easily classified as CAUSE under the given interpretation: *zhǔ yuàn* 主怨 ‘to be frustrated because of the ruler’ (ZGC 12.1.1), *pèi jīng* 轡驚 ‘to startle because of the bridle’ (HF 35.19.2). None the less, besides the fact that the former expression has also an alternative interpretation⁹⁶ and the latter one is textually problematic (the alternative reading of the passage – *xián wù* 咸驚 ‘all race

⁹⁶ The phrase *xǐ zhǔ yuàn zhě* 喜主怨者 can be also interpreted as ‘to like to rule over the frustrated ones’. See TLS.

forward' (cf. TLS) – does not include either of the words), it is not the only way to render the role of the object denoted by the modifier. For example, from a different perspective the *pèi* 'bridle' might be considered the AGENT of the transitive causative variant of the action word: but then the word *jīng* would have to be taken as the passive from the causative. It is not unceivable, but I prefer the easier solution. Eventually, AGENT is in fact a CAUSE on a more abstract level – if the term cause is general to the extent that it includes also causers – since it *causes* the *causative* action to happen, but such all-encompassing definition of CAUSE is meaningless in the context of this classification and I do not support it. The same might be said of *zhǔ* 'ruler', but it might be moreover interpreted as the TARGET of the emotion. In fact, emotion words (on the boundary between property and action words) can standardly have a syntactic object which refers to this TARGET, and the object is either prepositionless or introduced by the preposition *yú* 於 and its variants. Whereas I would insist on the category CAUSE for *pèi jīng*, I list the *zhǔ yuàn* in here with the full awareness of the alternative solution.

There is a small group of relatively unusual expressions, *bù fū náo* 不膚撓 'not to flinch because of/with skin' (MZ 2.1.2.3), *bù mù táo* 不目逃 'not to escape because of/with eyes' (ibid.), *bù sè náo* 不色撓 'not to flinch because of/with face' (HF 50.2.3), attested only in *Mèngzǐ* and *Hánfēizǐ* according to my material. It seems that the construction is not taken from Mencius' book by Hān Fēizǐ for it differs in the lexical plane, though the word *sè* belongs to the same lexical field as *mù* (i.e. the field of human face), and also as *fū* on a different level of the hierarchy (both are body parts). It is very probable that the expressions were partial idioms. However, it is not clear whether the particular adverbial modifiers refer rather to CAUSE or only define the relevant body part of the agent that is affected by the action. Of course, the fact of removing the given body part but not necessarily the whole body from the source of danger ensues in the reality from flinching and fleeing because of fear for the respective body parts. We simply do not dispose of an unanimous precise interpretation. I list the expression here, though I do not exclude the second possibility at all.

Another special group of expressions is represented by the constructions that include the adverbial modifier *yì* 義 '(sense of) social and ritual appropriateness (traditionally "righteousness")', e.g. *yì suí* 義隨 'to follow due to sense of appropriateness' (HF 27.4.2), *yì bù shí* 義不食 'not to eat due to sense of appropriateness' (LS 12.3.2.2), *yì bù chén hū* 義不臣乎 'not to serve to due to sense of appropriateness' (LS 12.5.4.5). The classification as CAUSE poses no substantial problem and it is the simplest solution without creating a new category. One could of course speculate, whether e.g. the category BASIS would not be more appropriate. It might be the case but I prefer not to split the classification redundantly.

Under normal circumstances, CAUSE may be introduced prepositionally by the preposition *yǐ* 以.

BENEFICIARY

I have registered merely one isolated instance of this category: *jūn tú* 君圖 ‘to plan for the ruler’ (ZZ 10.12.10.7). Under normal circumstances, BENEFICIARY is introduced preverbally by the preposition *wèi* 為.

TARGET

Because of lacking of a more appropriate term, I have created this label for a single parallel pair of expressions: *ròu shì* 肉試 ‘to test against flesh’ (ZGC 20.1.3), *jīn shì* 金試 ‘to test against metal’ (ibid.). However, it is not unconceivable to consider the ‘flesh’ and ‘metal’ as (though very abstract) INSTRUMENTS of testing.

Under normal circumstances, I would expect this type of event element to be introduced postverbally by the preposition *yú* 於 and its variants, but *yǐ* 以 is conceivable too.

AGENT

The category is again introduced because of a single instance: *wèi wáng mìng* 未王命 ‘there has not been given order by the king’ (ZZ 1.1.2). The action of giving orders is characterized here by its agent. As I understand it, the author tells us that the commanding, which has not been yet carried out, is king’s commanding – other type of orders might have been already issued by various other agents. It is interesting that the agent, which is the king here anyway, is left unexpressed.

CONCOMITANT FACTOR

I use the term concomitant factor⁹⁷ to refer to the type of adverbial modifier found in expressions like *duānwěi lì yú* 端委立 ‘to stand in audience dress’ (ZZ 10.10.2.4), *wà ér dēng* 鞮而登 ‘to ascend in socks’ (ZZ 12.25.1.1), *cūdié ér shòu* 縗經而受 ‘to receive in mourning clothes’ (LJ 31), or *fūhuī lì* 副禕立 ‘to stand in ceremonial dress’ (LJ 14). It is very interesting that the modifying object word usually denotes a kind of vestment. The expression *zhìgù sǐ* 桎梏死 ‘to die in shackles, with shackles on one’s hands’ (YZ 3.11.4) might be classified also in this category: at least I am not aware of any more suitable solution. Under normal circumstances, CONCOMITANT FACTOR is introduced by the preposition *yǐ* 以, usually preverbally. See also Nikitina 1985: 108–109.

PATIENT

This category involves one specific class of expressions which all include the words *shí* 食 ‘to eat’ and (occasionally) *yǐn* 飲 ‘to drink’, and the adverbial modifier relates to the foodstuff or liquid that is primarily consumed. Look at the following examples:

⁹⁷ I owe this term (сопутствующий фактор) to T. N. Nikitina.

lì shí zhī mǐn 粒食之民 ‘people feeding on grain’ (YZ 3.11.4), *cǎo shí zhī shòu* 草食之獸 ‘herbivorous animals’ (Zh 21.4.10) (vs. *shuǐ shēng zhī chóng* 水生之蟲 ‘animals living in water’ (ibid.)), *ròu shí zhě* 肉食者 ‘those feeding on meat (= officials)’ (ZZ 3.10.1.1), *cǎo shí zhě* 草食者 ‘those feeding on herbs’ (LS 14.2.4.2), *bù xuè shí* 不血食 ‘not to feed on blood’ (ZZ 3.6.3.3), *bù huǒ shí* 不火食 ‘not to feed on food processed on fire’ (XZ 28.8.1); *shuǐ yǐn* 水飲 ‘not to drink water’ (Zh 19.5.6).

In my own article on the topic (Zádrapa 2007: 96), I tried to interpret all the adverbial modifiers in the quoted cases as abstract INSTRUMENTS of making oneself satiated, and to express the instrumentality by a translation avoiding the use of a direct object. The action verbs *shí* and *yǐn* are used generically and habitually in these expressions. They do not refer to particular concrete actions of eating and drinking. The various species of food might be then considered as instruments of eating food or drinking liquids. This approach was only tentative and somewhat strained, but it tried to emphasize the difference between this kind of adverbial modification and the usual transitive constructions *shí* + O_{FOOD}. Now I prefer to classify them as PATIENT, because in my present conception the manner of the action can be specified by reference to any of the elements of the event, including the agent and patient. The difference does not consist in different participants involved but merely in different roles of the PATIENT. In the N_{ADV} construction, it does not represent an independent semantic role but is used only to characterize the type of the action.

The characterizing force of the adverbial modifier is surprisingly well manifested by the fact that many of the constructions of this class occur in quasi-terminological expressions denoting special kinds of animals or people, like the first four examples (the second one being *nota bene* parallel with another type of animals; by the way, the kind of animals living in water is expressed by the N_{ADV} construction (PLACE-AMBIENT) *shuǐ shēng zhī chóng* 水生之蟲 (Zh 21.4.10) as well).

The instrumental interpretation of the adverbial modifier, however tentative, is eventually untenable for *ròu huò zhě* 肉獲者 ‘those catching flesh’ (LS 14.2.4.2). This may be the proof that the previous analogically formed constructions should be really classified as PATIENT. We get via this instance close to expressions of the type *qiáo cǎi zhě* 樵採者 ‘those picking firewood, firewood pickers’ (ZGC 11.5.3), which have an irregular internal structure and seem to be idiomatic (see p. 209). According to my experience, terms for various special groups of people (occupation, status) formed by the functional word *zhě* 者 (I do not think it must be necessarily interpreted as a nominalizing object-substitute relative pronoun) tend to be internally irregular and unclear with regard to the presumed syntactic structure of the phrase enclosed by the *zhě*.

DEGREE

Once again, I establish this category to capture a single case: *ròu tǎn* 肉袒 ‘to open one’s shirt so that the skin is visible’ (ZZ 7.12.1.3). This expression is somewhat puzzling: it is an apparent pleonasm at the first sight, for *tǎn* already has the meaning ‘to bare the upper body, to take off one’s shirt and expose one’s chest’ and there should be therefore no need to specify the degree by the *ròu*, i.e. ‘to flesh > to bare skin’. I try to make sense of it by assuming that one can also debutton one’s shirt so that the skin is not visible, or take off his shirt while having another piece of clothes under it. The *ròu* emphasized then the fact that it is really the bare skin which is exposed. Note that Hé Lèshì (2005) classifies this case as BODY PART, which might be right but it tells absolutely nothing about the relationship of it to the action denoted by the action word it modifies. It actually tells us merely the trivial fact that the word *ròu* belongs to lexemes denoting body parts.

SOURCE

The category has been created mainly because of two parallel expressions, *tāi shēng* 胎生 ‘to be born from embryo’ (LJ 19.3.4, Zh 22.5.3) and *luǎn shēng* 卵生 ‘to be born from egg’ (ibid.). The question arises whether the modifiers could be conceived as related primarily to other concepts, mainly INSTRUMENT or STATUS. But embryo and egg can be understood as instruments of being born only on a very abstract level. *Tāi* may occasionally also mean ‘baby’ and then the STATUS, or maybe the more precise FORM, could be the solution. If we insisted on the basic meaning of the word, then SOURCE would be possibly the best classification. The construction *jǐng yǐn* 井飲 ‘(to take the water) to drink from a well’ (Zh 32.2.3) fits in this category well too.

Under normal circumstances, SOURCE is introduced postverbally by the preposition *yú* 於 and its variants (cf. expressions with *shēng yú* 生於).

Special constructions and structural grey zone

There are certain types of adverbial modification which I felt necessary to treat separately. I assume that they represent more or less idiomatic formulations with an entrenchment high enough to constitute a distinct schema. They usually do not fit well in the categories described above, but they can be often related to some of them on the principle of partial schematicity. Besides them, there is also a grey transition zone in which the modificatory function of the object word is not that clear and the word may be functionally reinterpreted in another way, or where its function is simply ambiguous and structurally underspecified (see also the introduction).

For example, there is the construction with the adverbial modifier *zhōng-xīn* 中心 ‘deep in one’s heart’ (understood traditionally as a conventional inversion of the practically unused though regularly expected *xīn-zhōng* 心中), found in combination e.g. with the predicates *ānrén* 安仁 ‘to be peaceful and humane’ (LJ 20), *xīnrán ài* 欣然

愛 'to warmly take loving care of' (HF 6.20.1), or *bù dìng* 不定 'to be unsettled' (XZ 21.8.1). The modifier can be hardly said to refer to PLACE in the classical sense, i.e. as a setting in which the whole event is situated, including typically the agent. Its qualifying function is indubitable: the emotion is characterized as real, not superficial (this attribute is usually expressed by an adverbial modifier too, e.g. *miàn* 面 or *mào* 貌). After a closer examination, we find that the *zhōng-xīn* does specify a certain kind of location; but this location is a BODY PART of the agent which is primarily involved in the event; it is the "organ" of the emotion. In a certain sense, the organ is the INSTRUMENT but also the SOURCE of the emotion, and these aspects are intervoven in a complex way, so that categorization into one of the relatively well-delimited classes would be misleading. I think the best solution is to treat the constructions of this type separately as a special kind.

The same is basically true of the simple *xīn* 心 'heart-mind', cf.: *xīn wèikǒng* 心畏恐 'to be terrified in one's heart' (HF 6.20.1), *xīn fú* 心服 'to surrender in one's heart' (MZ 2.1.3.2), *xīn wù wàng* 心勿忘 'do not forget in one's heart' (MZ 2.1.2.15), *bù xīn fú* 不心服 'not to submit in one's heart (but only superficially)' (MZ 4.2.16.1). A very similar construction is *zhōng-dào ér luàn* 中道而亂 'to rebel on the way, lit. halfway' (HF 9.30.1).

Already on p. 209 I discussed the unclear status of expressions containing measure words like *qiān lǐ ér jiàn wáng* 千里而見王 'to pay visit to the king in spite of the distance of thousand miles' (MZ 2.2.12.2). There are many similar instances in CC texts, among others *qiān lǐ kuì liáng* 千里饋糧 'to present grain as a gift over the distance of one thousand miles' (SZ 2.1.1), *kuǐbù ér fú gǎn wàng xiào* 踴步而弗敢忘孝 'not to dare to forget filial piety for a single step' (LJ 37), *lǐ ér zāi* 里而栽 'to erect planking in the distance of a mile' (ZZ 12.1.1.1), or *fānglǐ ér jǐng* 方里而井 'to establish one well-field unit per one square mile' (MZ 3.1.3.15). Their lexical and constructional structure is analogous, but they are not all absolutely identical as far as the precise relationship of the modifier to the action is considered, though they usually differ only in minor nuances. I suggest that such a type of adverbial modification could be labeled as RANGE defining the spatial scope of the action analogically to various kinds of time words delimiting the temporal range in which the action takes place. At this stage of research, however, this solution is only tentative. A further much more extensive and detailed survey into this type of constructions is needed in the future.

Eventually, we encounter not rarely phrases containing an expression that might appear as an adverbial modifier at first glance, but which is better analysed for example as the topic after a closer investigation. Especially if they are too much removed from the action word they are presumed to modify, and at the same time stand at the beginning, it is very probable that they are not adverbial modifiers, at least not in the

sense I define it for purposes of this thesis. E.g. in *jūnlǚ bù gǎn cí nán* 軍旅不敢辭難 ‘in army he dares not to refuse troublesome tasks’ (HF 2.6.1), *chàotíng bù gǎn cí jiàn* 朝廷不敢辭賤 ‘at court he dares not to refuse humble positions’ (ibid.), it is not clear at all whether *jūnlǚ* ‘army’ and *chàotíng* ‘court’ are adverbial modifiers moved out from the core position in front of the action word *cí* ‘to refuse’ merely because of the contrast or whether they are not rather (secondary) topics. I do not think there is a really principled way to decide this, but I prefer the latter analysis: the initial position preceding the entire rest of the phrase including the negation and modal verb can be taken as a symptom of non-adverbiality.

VII.3 Interpretation

If the precise relationship between the object denoted by the adverbial modifier and the action denoted by the modifier action word is not encoded in the linguistic structure itself and must be established by the listener using a certain amount of intellectual effort, the question arises how this happens and how it is possible that the expressions are interpreted in the way intended by the speaker. The N_{ADV} construction is by far not an exception: its stative parallel, modification of object words by other object words, behaves in the same way. It is a considerable advantage that we dispose of the results of the research on meaning predictability of English complex nominals by Štekauer (2005), though he justly treats them as a kind of word formation (in CC, the status of the N_{ADV} construction is not that clear, although it certainly exhibits tendencies to serve as a means of word formation and the expressions can be usually seen as intermediary between syntax and novel formations of lexical nature). There is however a problem posed by the fact that Štekauer is interested only in context-free interpretation of novel coinages – he actually seems to be quite hostile to context generally – , which does not suit our purposes too well. In spite of this, his study contains many valuable observations, as we have seen already in ch. VI. On the general level, everything what has been said in connection with the theory of interpretation for object words used to denote processes (VI.4) holds for adverbial modifiers as well, including the framework elaborated by Clark and Clark (1979). It would be unreasonable to repeat all the facts again in here; I will therefore confine myself to a rather brief commentary.

First, the two words in the construction must be conceptually integrated into a meaningful compound unit. But second, the unit must conform to all the layers of the context, so that the construction itself is conceptually integrated into units of a higher order: the sentence, the exposition of argument and other multifarious elements of the text, the entire text. It is important to note that lexically one and the same construction may have more than one plausible interpretation and that it is the context which serves as the basis of disambiguation.

In conceptual integration, listener's knowledge of the world is crucial. Of course, not all knowledge is concerned in particular cases but only that part of it concentrated around the core semantic structures of the respective words. Let us remind of the fact that according to the encyclopaedic model of meaning, semantics of a word is not confined merely to its base, but extends far beyond it in the form of further knowledge about the phenomenon and its modes of existence in the world. It is usually impossible to decide where the boundary between the so called "associative meanings" of the word and knowledge that already does not belong to its scope is posited, for the transition between both is gradual and the boundary fuzzy. The knowledge concentrated around the central concept is, as any other knowledge, organized in structures described by Lakoff (1987, ch. 4) as idealized conceptual models (ICM) or suggested by Langacker (1987: 150) as abstract domains. These structures practically always include cluster models, metonymic models and radial categories and therefore yield more or less strong prototype effects. Projected into traditional semantics, the prototypes rooted in the structures of those kinds metamorph to the so called prototypical semes, salient semantic features etc. Thus in conceptual integration, the knowledge about prototypical properties and modes of existence of the phenomena denoted by the words plays the main role.

In looking for possible integrating correspondence links, the listener looks for possible overlaps between the conceptual complexes usually on the level of particular domains, and he begins and typically also ends, as Štekauer (2005) has shown, almost always with several central salient characteristic features. Only if these semantic structures do not work, the listener moves to more distant, i.e. conceptually more loosely associated structures, but should the integration be based on them, it becomes more demanding.

Of course, different conceptual structures are relevant for the modifier and for the head in the N_{ADV} construction. In the case of modifier, we examine the actions which are (prototypically) associated with the object denoted by it and its role in the action: this is our knowledge about the possible roles of the object in an action and thereby about the possibilities of the ways in which it could characterize the action denoted by the modified head. On the other hand, in the case of the modified action, we examine its more or less potentially present stative elements to which the object could relate. There is a well observable asymmetry between the modifier and the modified head in that sense that it is usually the modifier which determines the way of integration. The reason is that whereas objects are usually associated with only one, two or several more actions in a quite specific way, average action words may include many stative elements between which there is no substantial difference in salience.

For example, let us imagine that we try to integrate the modifier *shǒu* 手 'hand' and the head *yuán* 援 'to support'. The action word 'to support', i.e. the head of the construction, can be theoretically modified in many ways by an object word – almost all

of those described in the list of categories in VII.2.2. On the contrary, the concept of the 'hand' has a very concrete relationship to actions in general. Though it is primarily defined as a certain BODY PART, its prototypical and one of the most salient features is its FUNCTION: this is by the way true of all functional body parts, i.e. primarily organs and members (actually a special kind of organs). We have seen the close relationship between objects and their *yòng* 用 'usage, function', in traditional Chinese terms, in ch. VI. There are many processual domains (ICMs) in which the hand can play a prominent role, most of which could be roofed by the general term MANIPULATION. And in all MANIPULATION, the hand serves as the INSTRUMENT. Now if we try to integrate the concept of the 'hand' and of 'supporting', it is a relatively straightforward operation, if we consider that 'to support' is a kind of manipulation and that it is a transitive action word in which the instrument is prototypically the hand. From a certain perspective, the 'hand' only confirms that the 'supporting' is really carried out prototypically with the hand. Note eventually that the prototypical function of the hand in actions is in the cognitivist model of semantics unproblematically viewed as an integral part of the meaning of the word *shǒu*, not as some vague "association" expatriated from the proper "notional" meaning. Under these circumstances, all the operations are carried out on the basis of semantics of the two words and the construction, though it naturally includes the "encyclopaedic" knowledge of the word. It is unavoidable provided that the system of language is considered a part of cognition as in cognitive linguistics. In my opinion, the processes involved in conceptual integration in particular constructions of CC confirm this assumption in the fullest scope.

Of course, it is not only FUNCTION that is important; as mentioned, all potentially relevant, but primarily the actions prototypically associated with the object are concerned as well as various roles which the object can play within them. For example one of the major categories, ANALOGY, cannot be described in terms of function. When intergrating *hè* 鶴 'crane' and *yuè* 躍 'to leap', the listener employs his knowledge associated prototypically with the crane and tries to relate it to leaping. In isolation, the crane is characteristic for its physical shape and behaviour, including movements. This holds for the most of other animals and for this reason animals are the most common modifiers in this category; we must also realize the fact that in the pre-industrial era the natural world was relatively most easily accessible source of qualifiers (providing people with a great richness of patterns). Unlike other animals, the crane does not seem to be treated by humans in a characteristic way, and unlike e.g. cormorant, I do not know of it being used as the INSTRUMENT of catching fish. But even if it were, this ICM would not reasonably relate to the ICM of leaping. Under these circumstances, the integration is again quite straightforward.

It is necessary to be aware of the fact that this integration serves only to characterize the action by a certain kind of agent. This agent is not the actual agent of the action. On the level of sentence, the elaboration site for the agent of leaping is naturally left unspecified and waits for being supplied by the syntactic subject (in the

active voice) or object (in the passive voice). The different levels of integration are easily rendered by the traditional immediate-constituent analysis. In the conceptual integration of the modifier and the action, some of the details of the action are configured according to what the listener knows about the agent, so that they conform to the type of action prototypically associated with the object. But then, at the higher level, only the preconfigured, more closely specified action without its participants is exploited as the basis and its conceptual structure is integrated with the actual agent and other participants and elements (including setting). As already noted, the analogy arises secondarily and indirectly between the two agents belonging to the different levels of conceptual organization. The category of ANALOGY differs in this trait from all other categories, including the subclass of STATUS, in whose case there is no discrepancy between the pseudoparticipant and the participant (the pseudoparticipant typically specifying aspect/role of the participant involved in the action).

Some of the minor categories are not especially well derivable from the very semantic structures, and for this reason they are much more dependent on context, in which the listener must have good orientation. Therefore they require a considerably more intensive effort in the process of interpretation and sometimes are ambiguous, vague or obscure at least for the contemporary philologist, who disposes of merely a fragment of the context. It is symptomatic that it concerns primarily the least common categories. E.g. the function of BENEFICIARY does not follow from any prototypical features of the object, for objects are generally rarely prototypically associated with actions as their beneficiaries. This observation also closely correlates with the fact that BENEFICIARY is a highly facultative event element (facultativeness being a matter of degree – cf. Nikitina 1985: 21) and has a relatively low salience among other event participants.⁹⁸ The link between the action and the object as its beneficiary is thus established incidentally, or more precisely without any special predispositions of the two members of the construction, and it is grounded contextually, not structurally.

It is worth of noting that the asymmetrical influence of the two words for determining the way of conceptual integration is also well manifested in place words and time words in the function of adverbial modifier: it does not virtually depend at all on the action word and its semantics, for all actions are supposed to be grounded spatio-temporally in our world. Time words are designed to measure time and they always refer to a stative positioning of the event on the time axis when used preverbally. Other types of adverbial modification in their case are not unconceivable, but they would be rarities. Almost the same is true of place words, but the intergration is not absolutely

⁹⁸ As already noted, BENEFICIARY is introduced preverbally by the preposition *wèi* 為. The frequency of occurrence of this preposition seems to be relatively low when compared to other prepositions. However, this statement is based merely on my own experience and the matter would require a systematic survey providing us with precise statistical data.

independent of the nature of the action and the context. As we have seen, although place words refer to the place (as a part of the setting) where the action takes place in the overwhelming majority of cases, they can occasionally refer also to the place from which or to which a movement proceeds. Of course, this use is limited only to action words that denote a MOVEMENT and DISPLACEMENT.⁹⁹

⁹⁹ Note that Nikitina (1985) separates words denoting movement and displacement as a distinct lexical class which interferes with syntactic constructions in a distinct way. It is evident that such an approach is descriptively apt.

VIII. Conclusion

In my thesis, I have primarily tried to integrate the studies in word-class flexibility of CC object words in a coherent system grounded in the theoretical substrate of cognitive linguistics, namely cognitive grammar and radical construction grammar. I had to deal with all important aspects of the linguistic phenomenon. In building the edifice of the system, or the interpretative net as I called it in the introduction, I was not able to avoid taking up some issues of general theory of language, concretely anatomy and ecology of adverbial modification in the cognitive and radically constructional perspective, or of theory of CC grammar in particular, concretely the semantic map of this language and the extremely complex problem of word classes and mutual relationships between syntax and lexicon in it. Although these issues are not the main topic of the thesis, I still consider them overimportant parts of it and I believe that the chapters contain reasonably well structured thoughts of sometimes relatively far-reaching general theoretical relevance. Those parts are not just a methodological introduction, as I see it – I consider them an intergral part of the core of my thesis. It has become evident that the concept of semantic map and a certain specific version of it can be instructively applied on CC, on the other hand the task of modifying and supplementing the present version based for larger part on morphology has emerged, since the situation of CC has revealed its weak points in this respect. Attempts at its full-fledged solution wait for theoreticians both of language in general and of CC in particular. Likewise, I have proposed a topography of the conceptual space which is intended to incorporate also adverbial modification and adverbs and to enlarge the semantic map by another dimension. It has turned out to be useful for my purposes and I think that the relationship of adverbial modification to other regions of the conceptual space has been relatively successfully captured, none the less, theoretical linguistics is not the field of my expertise and those who work in it, more precisely in the framework of radical construction grammar and related branches, will have to assess whether my solution is plausible in more general terms.

It has become obvious that – as anticipated – the HY phenomenon must be analyzed against the background of an adequate theory of word classes, both in general and in particular for CC. In order to delimit linguistic processes of distinct kinds and to confine the so called HY to its genuine domain on the basis of these distinctions, one must pay attention to the difference between occurrence of a lexeme in different propositional act functions that essentially does not involve semantic-lexical derivation, the constructional meaning being added to the lexical meaning of the respective word, and derivation basically internal to the semantic structure of the lexemes themselves, which is at least of two kinds: systematic derivation resulting in systematic polysemy, and unsystematic derivation resulting in unsystematic polysemy of a single lexeme or a

nest of more or less independent lexemes related to each other genetically and semantically. The HY as understood in my thesis belongs to the last type of linguistic processes, though the boundaries between the types are not always clear-cut and sometimes overlap, the systematic derivation representing an intermediate region between the syntactic (propositional act functions) and lexical (word formation proper) poles. However, the various subtypes of HY differ in this respect too – while the N-V HY is characteristic for the lexical type of semantic derivation, the adverbial use of object words is closer to the syntactical type of flexibility. Note that it is also in accordance with the organization of the conceptual space, where object words and action words are maximally opposed while object words and property/circumstance words are contiguous.

It has been shown that it is possible to unite many particular observations regarding noun-verb transitions in CC as well as in other languages – morphologically poor and linguistically well described English in the first place – with some adjustments and modifications and that it is viable even to devise a cross-linguistically valid framework for description of denominal verbs and their formation. This naturally concerns only literature of similar theoretical orientation, characteristic for essentially non-generative functional approaches with an emphasis on semantics and lexicology and for integrating language into a broader context of human cognitive abilities. A comparative research of derivation of action words from object words at all planes of language is a challenge worth considering. It would be groundless to repeat here all the conclusions at which I arrived throughout the thesis or all my approaches and the reasons for them. In very general terms, the so called HY in the broad sense of the word represent basically a process functionally identical or at least analogous to word formation, namely derivation of novel “denominal verbs.” From this point of view, any object word can potentially occur in HY, although its semantic structure, conceived encyclopaedically, heavily influences the probability of this happening and regularity and predictability of the derivation. There are however also other factors involved, among which context is the most important one. Both the conventional meaning and contextual information are centered around the crucial point – mutual knowledge of the speakers participating in the communication, and its conceptual organization. The interplay of various sources of information determines the properties of a particular HY, including e.g. its chance for institutionalization and lexicalization and its position in the lexical system of the language. Word formation and novel expressions that result from it also relate in a specific way to psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic domains or to stylistic registers. In this respect, HY does not differ cross-linguistically from other innovations.

I am well aware of the fact that I probably open more questions than I solve in my thesis, and that many sections are rather an invitation to further research in a certain

direction and from a certain perspective which might have been ignored before than an exhaustive analysis of the respective phenomena. Given the overall conception, it is expectable and practically unavoidable, and it has been actually one of my aims. As I have anticipated already in the introduction, the thesis is intended to reorientate the discourse on HY, to draw attention to alternative views and modes of description in a much broader context than the issue has been usually treated. In spite of it, I have tried to be as concrete as possible and not to fail to support my statements and observations with adequate evidence. The two main chapters focussing on two unusual or uncommon (as traditionally called) functions of CC object words are conceived as relatively detailed treatises, but especially in the case of object words used to denote processes it was not possible to deal with every single facet in all depth and breadth, for many if not all of them would deserve a special extensive study. The chapter on adverbial modification by object words is different in this respect as the topic is much more limited in extent and it thus allows a much closer and more complete view. As a result, my thesis might seem in a retrospective to suffer from the same problem which I criticized with regard to most of previous literature on the topic – sketchiness. None the less, I dare to say with a certain confidence that my treatise of CC HY of object words is sketchy only on a considerably different level of complexity and systematicity. I have endeavoured not to omit any of important aspects of the phenomenon and to integrate them and put them into adequate mutual relationships, and in this sense I have attempted to devise as complete multidisciplinary system as possible; in this respect I hope not to be sketchy at all. As already said, to treat each of the aspects exhaustively and in all detail is simply impossible in a single dissertation, and I could not but suggest which directions of research may be promising or even necessary to follow.

In my humble opinion, the recapitulation of previous research is also of some worth, bringing together authors of different times, places and traditions. The overview is by far not complete, but it is definitely representative. It also serves as a special kind of polemic introduction and anticipation of some problems. Besides it, it offers an elementary insight into works which are rarely or never mentioned in recent literature published almost exclusively in English or Chinese and almost exclusively referring back to another English or Chinese papers – contributions to the discussion which are remote in time, like Humboldt's letter, or written for instance in Russian, like Nikitina's dissertation.

My hope is that scholars interested in word classes in CC and related problems will find my attempt inspiring and will continue in the suggested line of research and elaborate the points which I could not but merely outline – there are many like this. Besides this, there are certainly concrete solutions that will appear either controversial or imprecise, or however problematic to them. I would be pleased if discussion about them develops resulting in better understanding of the issues in question and generally

of the language we are specialized in. One thing is anyhow clear: any systematic linguistic description of a language or a particular phenomenon is merely a model, an analytic grid through which we try to observe the object of our research so that it gives sense to us while it does not contradict the linguistic evidence. Its devise may be more or less sophisticated, multifaceted, instructive or inspiring, and this can be assessed, though hardly measured. Moreover, in the case of long dead languages there will be always things that we will never know simply because of the scarcity of evidence and impossibility to consult a single native speaker. It is for this reason that the standard statistical methods of corpus linguistics or simply of distributional analysis are only of limited applicability in CC. We are thus left with more or less well-grounded conjectures in many cases.

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Abstrakt

Ústředním tématem disertační práce je slovesné a příslovečné použití podstatných jmen v klasické čínštině (5.–3. st. př. n. l.), spadající v tradiční čínské filologii pod pojem *huóyòng* čili “živé” užití slova. Její neoddělitelnou součástí je však i shrnutí předchozího výzkumu v čínštině i v západních jazycích a především teoretický úvod do problematiky slovních druhů v tomto izolujícím jazyce. Cílem přitom není vyčerpávající pojednání o příslušném jazykovém jevu, nýbrž nový pohled na něj, přeformulování otázek s ním spojených a pokus o využití netradičního teoretického rámce – jmenovitě kognitivní lingvistiky – pro jeho popis. Na jeho základě se snažím sjednotit vlastní postřehy získané z jazykového materiálu i postřehy předešlých autorů, nejsou-li přespráviš zatíženy zvláštnostmi teorií, o něž se opírali, a vytěžit v nejvyšší možné míře poznatky všech disciplín, které se sledovaným jevem souvisejí. Necháme-li stranou zastřešující obory, jako je syntax, sémantika a lexikologie, jedná se o vzájemně provázaný multidisciplinární komplex zahrnující např. teorii slovtvorby, teorii interpretace neologizmů, terminografii, pragmatiku, stylistiku, sociolingvistiku či psycholingvistiku. Mimo to je možno čerpat zvláště z studií o anglické slovnědruhové konverzi, která má k čínskému *huóyòngu* velice blízko funkčně i formálně. Rozbor je založen na excerpci z reprezentativního souboru textů, čítajícího většinu důležitých děl čínské literatury období Válčících států.

Summary

The central topic of this thesis is the verbal and the adverbial use of nouns in Classical Chinese (5th–3rd c. BC), which is labelled as *huóyòng* in the traditional Chinese philology. However, a summary of previous research on the phenomenon both in Chinese and in Western languages and above all a theoretical introduction to the issues of word classes in this isolating language represent an integral part of the thesis. Importantly, its aim is not to present an exhaustive treatise about the phenomenon, but to offer a new perspective, to reformulate the questions related to it and to exploit a recent generally linguistic theoretical framework – namely cognitive linguistics – for its description. On its basis, I endeavour to integrate my own observations obtained from the linguistic material and those of my predecessors, provided they are not too much biased by special features of the theories they employed, and to make use of the know-how of the disciplines associated with *huóyòng*. If we put aside the most general ones, like syntax, semantics and lexicology, it concerns mainly an interrelated multidisciplinary net including e.g. theory of word formation, theory of interpretation of novel expressions, terminography, pragmatics, stylistics, sociolinguistics, or psycholinguistics. Besides this, it is possible to draw especially on the studies in the English word-class conversion, which is both functionally and formally very close to the Chinese *huóyòng*. The analysis is based on excerption from a representative corpus of texts including most of the important works of the Warring States period.

theoretical literature, but the cases that can be classified as *sishēngbiéyì* were treated under a large range of different technical terms or were identified merely by means of distinctive formulae in mediaeval and early modern reference books (e.g. *biànyīn* 辨音 ‘discriminating pronunciation’).

Indubitably the central concept in this area is the *pòdú* 破讀 ‘split readings’, sometimes also called *dúpò* 讀破 ‘reading split’. Due to its pervasive presence especially in rime-books and its ensuing significance for reconstruction of Middle Chinese phonology and subsequently for research of early morphology, at least theoretically, there is a considerable amount of literature on this topic. The term denotes variant readings of characters that were assumed by mediaeval philologists to discriminate their various meanings, i.e. ‘meanings of the character’ *zìyì* 字義, although we are aware of the fact that characters themselves have no meanings in the true sense of the word. It emerged as early as 2nd century AD, and like most linguistic enterprise in old China in general, it was initially associated with exegesis of the Confucian canon. At the beginning, it took the form of sporadic sound-glosses in early intermittent commentaries typically represented by the works of the most famous Eastern-Hàn exegete Zhèng Xuán 鄭玄 (127–200), and it became relatively common during the following era of the Six Dynasties. But the eminent source of variant readings is the well-known *Jīngdiǎn shìwén* 經典釋文 (ca. 583–589) composed by Lù Déming 陸德明 (ca. 550–630), a compendium of **sound-glosses** on the canon collected from a huge amount of commentaries (more than 230 sources) from 2nd–6th century. The tradition it founded was continually fostered with rather minor modifications until the Qīng dynasty. Zhāng Wénguo (2005: 3) mentions several more or less mature works among many that deal with sound-meaning correlations in ancient texts, like Jiǎ Chāngcháo’s 賈昌朝 (998–1065) *Qúnjīng yīnbìàn* 群經音辨 (written 1017–1021, printed 1039), Liú Jiàn’s 劉鑿 (fl. 14th century) *Jīngshǐ dòng-jìng zì yīn* 經史動靜字音 or Yuán Zǐràng’s 袁子讓 (fl. around 1600) *Zìxué yuányuán* 字學元元 (1603). The first one is known for giving a basic interpretation of the data contained in *Jīngdiǎn shìwén* (cf. Branner 2003: 48; for more details see Behr 2003), the second one for introducing the distinction between *dòngzì* 動字 ‘active characters’ (principally verbs) and *jìngzì* 靜字 ‘passive characters’ (principally nouns and adjectives) and applying it on variant readings.

Reflection of this phenomenon was for a large part also boosted by the rapid advancement of phonological studies at least since the end of 6th century and came to be built in the **rime-books** and rime-tables based on the system of the *Qièyùn* 切韻 (601) by Lù Fǎyán 陸法言, which is no longer extant except for fragments excavated in Dūnhuáng. Most of the scholars dealing with the complex of interrelated problems of earlier Chinese phonology and morphology have traditionally relied on the works from 11th century, the *Guǎngyùn* 廣韻 (1008), which incorporated the *Qièyùn*, *Jìyùn* 集韻 (1039), and *Yùnjìng* 韻鏡, written perhaps in the second half of 10th century or somewhat earlier.