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Linlin Sun

FLEXIBILITY IN THE PARTS-OF-SPEECH SYSTEM OF CLASSICAL CHINESE

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List of abbreviations

Linguistics

1st	first person
2nd	second person
Adj	adjectival
Adv	adverbial
ANAPH	anaphoric
AP	adjective phrase
ART	article
ATTR	attributive
AUX	auxiliary
CL	numeral classifier
con	control
CONJ	conjunction
DEM	demonstrative
DEP	dependence marker
EQ	equational marker / affirmative copula
DIR	directive
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
GENR	general tense-aspect-mood particle
HON	honorific
intr	intransitive
LOC	locative
MAdv	manner adverb
MODEST	modest mood
MV	middle voice
N	nominal
NEG	negation
NML	nominalization
NP	nominal phrase
NP$_A$	actor argument of transitive verbs
NP$_S$	actor/doer/undergoer argument of intransitive verbs
NP$_U$	undergoer argument of transitive verbs

O	object
OBJ	object
PASS	passive
PF	perfect
PFV	perfective
POSS	possessive
PP	prepositional phrase
PRED	predicate
PREP	preposition
PRON	pronominal
PST	past
PTCL	particle
Q	question mark
RECIPR	reciprocal
REFL	reflexive
S	subject
SG	singular
SVO	subject-verb-object
TAM	tense-aspect-mood
TOP	topic marker
tr	transitive
V	verbal
VP	verbal phrase

Chinese terms

DMT	以聲別義 *yǐ shēng bié yì* or 四聲別義 *sì shēng bié yì* 'Distinguishing meanings by means of (four) tones'
HY	活用 *huóyòng* [live–use] 'live use'
JL	兼類 *jiānlèi* [hold concurrently–categories] 'the status of holding concurrently more than one word category'
JL words	兼類詞 *jiānlèicí* [hold concurrently–categories–word] 'words that concurrently belong to more than one word category'
Nominal-verbal words	名動詞 *míngdòngcí* [nominal-verbal-word] 'words that can be used as semantically related items of either nominal or verbal category'

1 Introduction

Languages across the world differ from each other in a number of respects, and one such difference is in terms of how their lexicons are categorized. Compared to many European languages with distinct, functionally dedicated word classes in the traditional sense, quite a few languages are observed to possess lexical items that can fulfil the functions typically associated with more than one traditional word class such as 'nouns' and 'verbs' (e.g., Kinkade 1976; Dixon 1980; Broschart 1991, 1997; Himmelmann 1991; Mosel and Hovdhaugen 1992; Hengeveld 1992a, 1992b, 2013; Gil 1995, 2013; Peterson 2005, 2006, 2013; Don and van Lier 2013; Nordhoff 2013; McGregor 2013). According to Rijkhoff and van Lier (2013), these lexemes exhibit what is called 'flexibility'.

Over the last decade, typological discussions on parts of speech and cross-linguistic variation with respect to flexibility (e.g., Hengeveld and Rijkhoff 2005; Evans and Osada 2005; Bisang 2011; Hengeveld 2013; van Lier and Rijkhoff 2013) have had an impact on the discussion of the parts-of-speech system of Classical Chinese (from around the fifth century BC to the second century AD).[1] The reason is obvious: Classical Chinese is observed to feature word-class flexibility, in the sense that there are lexemes that can be used to serve the functions of two or more traditional word classes, without these uses being distinguished by any derivational markedness. Consider, for example, the word 大 *dà* BIG which can function as a verb meaning 'be big, be great [intr.]' or 'consider big, consider great [tr.]', as a noun meaning 'great size', as an adjective meaning 'big, great', or as an adverb meaning 'greatly' (Harbsmeier 1998: 137). Similarly, a human-denoting lexeme such as 友 *yǒu* FRIEND cannot only mean 'a friend' but also 'be a friend, behave friendly [intr.]', 'make friends with [tr.]' or 'consider as a friend [tr.]'. An instrument word such as 鞭 *biān* WHIP cannot only mean 'a (leather-thronged) whip' but also 'hit with a whip, to whip'. A building-denoting lexeme such as 城 *chéng* CITY WALL cannot only mean 'city walls' but also 'build city walls'. A body part-denoting lexeme such as 手 *shǒu* HAND cannot only mean 'a hand' but also occasionally 'take or hold something in one's hand'. Harbsmeier (1998: 138) made the following insightful observation:

> 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

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1 The term 'Classical Chinese' is generally used to refer to the written language of the period from the end of the Spring and Autumn Era (ca. the fifth century BC) to the Han dynasty (206 BC–220 AD) (Norman 1988). This study adopts this definition.

> 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 class for each lexical item. The words will then be distributed in a categorical continuum of syntactic tendencies.
>
> (Harbsmeier 1998: 138)

This situation is also often thought to be related to the fact that Classical Chinese does not have any kind of productive morphology in the traditional sense. This is reflected in the lack of markedness distinctions across Croft's (2000, 2001, 2003) conceptual space for parts of speech. In this language, as observed by Pulleyblank (1995: 12), words are not formally marked for grammatical function, but instead they fall into distinct categories that correspond to traditional word classes according to their syntactic behaviour.

The phenomenon of word-class flexibility in Classical Chinese is typologically remarkable and has long been of interest to researchers in both China and the West. In China, as observed by Chi (2009: 141), almost every book on Chinese grammar contains a separate chapter or section devoted to this topic. Nevertheless, Zádrapa (2011: 32) notices that many of these observations in Chinese literature tend to have been repeated since 1922 (the year when Chen Chengze's *huóyòng* theory was proposed, see below), and that they are usually in the form of brief summaries, lacking a theoretically well-founded investigation. In the West, this phenomenon began to attract attention as early as 1827, when Humboldt (1827: 6) noted that nominal, verbal, and adjectival ideas denoted by Classical Chinese words could be transformed into each other (cf. Zádrapa 2011: 48). Over the centuries, a variety of scholars have addressed this phenomenon and expressed their views (e.g., Yuan 1710; Humboldt 1827; Gabelentz 1881; Ma 1898; Chen 1922; Kennedy 1964; Cikoski 1970; Guo 1981, 1998; Nikitina 1985; Yang 1987; Wang 1989; Cui 1998, 2004; Zhang 2005; Bisang 2008a, 2008b; Chi 2009; Zádrapa 2011).

One of the most systematic accounts of word-class flexibility in Classical Chinese is presented in Bisang (2008a, 2008b), which serves as an important theoretical reference point for this study. In Bisang's view, the high flexibility of parts of speech in Late Archaic Chinese (referring to the written language of the period between the fifth and third centuries BC) is due to precategoriality. Precategoriality can roughly be defined as the absence of the noun-verb distinction in the lexicon such that the nominal or verbal status of a lexical item can only be seen from its syntactic function in a given word-class indicating construction (i.e. in an N-slot or a V-slot). According to Bisang, lexemes in a precategorial language such as Late Archaic Chinese are not preclassified into parts of speech in the lexicon; rather, the linking of individual words to the syntactic function of N or V as

well as their text frequency in these positions are subject to stereotypical implicatures (Levinson 2000).

Bisang's (2008a, 2008b) account is comparable to the theory of the Chinese philologist Yuan Renlin (1710). According to Yuan, flexibility of parts of speech in ancient Chinese[2] in general is not something which occurs arbitrarily or haphazardly, but something that has its conceptual foundation deeply rooted in the key concept of the Unity of *tǐ* 'Substance' (體) and *yòng* 'Function/use' (用). Specifically, expressions in language that are considered *dòng* 'dynamic' (動) or *huó* 'live' (活) (used primarily to denote actions, events or processes) and those considered *jìng* 'static' (靜) or *sǐ* 'dead' (死) (used primarily to denote objects, people or things) are created based on two different descriptive perspectives: (i) the function and usage of an object, and (ii) its form and existence. While the former perspective concerns the notion of Function/Use (*yòng*), the latter pertains to Substance (*tǐ*). As a matter of fact, everything in the world inherently has both 'dynamic' (*dòng*) and 'static' (*jìng*) aspects. The two aspects are mutually dependent and may be transformed into each other. For certain purposes and under certain conditions, all 'static' lexemes can be used as 'dynamic' ones, thus denoting actions, events or processes.

However, Yuan's (1710) theory has not been adopted by the mainstream of modern Chinese linguistics, which is rather opposed to precategoriality. The era of modern Chinese linguistics is generally considered to be marked by Ma Jianzhong's *Mashi Wentong* 'Ma's grammar' (馬氏文通), published in 1898. In that work, Ma argues for the comparability of the Chinese system with the European linguistic tradition of grammar, including the question of categoriality in the parts-of-speech system. Generally, most contemporary Chinese linguists consider that Chinese lexical items (in both ancient Chinese and Modern Chinese) basically fall into fixed, functionally dedicated word categories. If a given lexical item is used to serve functions of other word categories, this is considered a secondary phenomenon, pertaining to word-class transition. This phenomenon is usually referred to as *huóyòng* 'live use' (活用), following Chen Chengze (1922). Specifically, this Chinese term, abbreviated as HY in this study, is intended to refer to the process or mechanism by which a lexical item of a certain word category – thus with a particular *běnyì* [basic/original–meaning] 'basic, original meaning' (本義) or *běnyòng* [basic/original–use] 'basic, original use' (本用) – is used on particular occasions to serve as a semantically related item of another

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2 The term 'ancient Chinese' (古代漢語 *gǔdài hànyǔ* or sometimes 古漢語 *gǔ hànyǔ*) is used in this study to refer to the language form in general use before the late nineteenth or early twentieth century (compared to 现代漢語 *xiàndài hànyǔ* 'Modern Chinese'). It covers Classical Chinese.

word category. At first glance, the term HY seems to be directly comparable to 'conversion' in English word-formation theory. However, it is interesting to note that unlike those in conversion, the source meaning (i.e. *běnyì* 'basic, original meaning') and the target meaning (HY meaning) of any such HY process are normally identified as belonging to a single lexical item, rather than two separate lexemes (e.g., an N and a V) that are homonyms (cf. e.g., Wang 1989: 1–6; Xing 1995: 311; Zhang 2005: 13–16, 30–47; Chi 2009: 142).

As regards HY, contemporary Chinese linguistics makes a basic distinction between two types of lexemes in Chinese, both of which are in my view subject to flexibility, though to different degrees. One type is the so-called 'HY words' (or 'words of HY'), namely the words that are temporarily or occasionally subject to HY and are used to serve functions of other word categories. Meanwhile, such cross-category usage does not necessarily result in any change or innovation in the lexicon (since it takes place only temporarily or occasionally). The other type refers to the words that concurrently belong to more than one word category and can thus be used freely to serve the functions of these different word categories. The latter type of lexemes is given the name *jiānlèicí* [hold concurrently–categories–word] 'words that concurrently belong to more than one word category' (兼類詞), which will henceforth be abbreviated as 'JL words' in this study. An important type of the JL words is the so-called *míngdòngcí* [nominal–verbal–word] 'nominal-verbal words' (名動詞), referring to those JL words with both nominal and verbal statuses (which can be used as either a noun or a verb).

The two types of lexemes mentioned above differ from each other: in contrast to the HY words (the former type), JL words are conceived as having a polycategorial status which is defined as being neither temporary nor occasional, but well-established and present in the lexicon. On the other hand, however, they are also connected with each other. In particular, the HY words are related to JL words in that they are often regarded as potential sources of new JL words. It is widely believed that a HY word can potentially become a JL word through frequent use until its newly derived meaning (HY meaning) becomes conventional and lexicalized.

Regarding the phenomenon of flexibility in the parts-of-speech system of Classical Chinese, this study regards precategoriality and categoriality as two different analysis perspectives. Considered from this point of view, the two types of lexemes distinguished in contemporary Chinese linguistics, i.e. HY words and JL words, are notions defined from the perspective of categoriality – a way of considering that the entire lexicon is generally preclassified into functionally distinct parts of speech. From this perspective, the lexemes of Classical Chinese that can occur in a variety of syntactic positions/functions (thus being related to more

than one word-class specification such as N and V) are construed as being poly-functional or polycategorial in nature. They are either grouped into the class of lexemes that can only occasionally be used to serve functions of other word categories (i.e. HY words) or into the class of lexemes that is believed to possess stable polycategorial status in the lexicon (i.e. JL words). From the perspective of precategoriality, on the other hand, the lexemes discussed, primarily the class of JL words, are precategorial items. They are regarded as being precategorial in the lexicon, in the sense that they are not necessarily preclassified for assignment to a certain syntactic role such as N or V. As a result, the exact categorization of any such lexeme with respect to word class (e.g., being an N or being a V) is determined at the syntactic level, according to its position/function in a given word-class indicating construction (e.g., in an N-slot or a V-slot).

Moreover, from a diachronic viewpoint, this study assumes that both precategoriality and categoriality of individual lexical items are potentialities and tendencies that are subject to change over time. Specifically, they constitute a continuum in the lexicon of Chinese throughout its history, ranging from (full) precategoriality at one end to (full) categoriality at the other. In any given historical period, lexical items of the language are distributed between the two extremes on the continuum, according to the intensity of the association between their lexical meaning and the syntactic function of for example N or V. Generally speaking, along the continuum at a given historical stage, lexemes with a strong association between meaning and function (in other words, lexemes that are normally associated only with one word-class specification for a particular syntactic role) are assumed to be located close to the extreme of (full) categoriality. In contrast, lexemes that are not necessarily related to one specific association between meaning and function, but can potentially occur in a variety of such associations, are assumed to be placed farther away from the extreme of (full) categoriality, but closer to (full) precategoriality instead. Roughly speaking, the group of lexemes that is located towards (full) precategoriality are flexible lexemes, though with varying degrees of flexibility, whose semantics licenses a syntactic variety and can thus be linked to more than one word-class specification through syntactic specification, a syntactically specified process of category assignment.

Based on these considerations, the present study aims to present the results of a corpus-based investigation into flexibility of parts of speech in Classical Chinese. The research focuses on two types of syntactic specifications of flexible lexemes in this language, namely, those using object-denoting lexemes in verbal function (termed as the N→V type), and those using action-denoting lexemes in nominal function (the V→N type). The identification and selection of the flexible lexemes under scrutiny are based on three works (on HY, HY words and JL

words): Zhang (2005), Wang (1989) and Chi (2009). The two types of syntactic specifications mentioned were investigated for this study in the following five Classical Chinese texts:

– 《左傳》 *Zuozhuan* 'Commentary of Zuo' (most accepted publishing date: during the fourth century BC). This work reviews the historical events that happened in different vassal states during the period from ca. 722 to 468 BC. In this study, my translations and interpretations refer mainly to Yang's (1990) annotated edition of *Zuozhuan*.

– 《孟子》 *Mengzi* 'Mencius' (most accepted completion date: during the third century BC). This work is a collection of anecdotes, stories and wisdoms of Mencius (ca. 372–289 BC), a Chinese philosopher. In this study, my translations and interpretations refer mainly to Yang (2005).

– 《國語》 *Guoyu* 'Discourses of the States' (most accepted completion date: during the fourth century BC). This work is a collection of the historical records of various vassal states from the West Zhou period (1046–771 BC) to 453 BC. In this study, my translations and interpretations refer mainly to Wu, Hu, and Li (1994).

– 《墨子》 *Mozi* (most accepted completion date: between the fourth and second centuries BC). This work deals with Mohism founded by Mo Di (ca. 470–391 BC), a Chinese philosopher. In this study, my translations and interpretations refer mainly to Liang (2014).

– 《戰國策》 *Zhanguo Ce* 'Strategies of the Warring State' (most accepted completion date: between the fourth and first centuries BC). This work mainly reports the strategies and political stances of the School of Diplomacy (a political and diplomatic clique) during the period from 476 BC to 220 BC. In this study, my translations and interpretations refer mainly to Wang et al. (1992).

These five classical texts are widely regarded as having been published or largely compiled before the Qin dynasty (221–206 BC). The pre-Qin historical period is characterized by rich documentation and substantial achievements in literature, which do not only serve as models for literary Chinese, but also as an important repository for studying traditional Chinese culture and society. Another crucial reason for investigating the language of this historical period is the fact, observed by Chen Chengze ([1922] 1957: 11), that, though the phenomenon of flexibility of parts of speech has been observed to be widespread in each historical period of ancient Chinese, the development of flexibility reached its peak in the language system during the period of the dynastic change from Zhou (1046–256 BC) to Qin (221–206 BC).

Based on the empirical facts gained from the five classical texts, this study will provide a detailed illustration of lexical flexibility in Classical Chinese, reveal its fundamental characteristics and regularities, and discuss the mechanisms developed to account for the data. Compared to most previous studies of word-class flexibility in ancient Chinese, this study distinguishes itself by a detailed description of this phenomenon from different angles and within different theoretical frameworks, including the framework of cognitive semantics (e.g., Lakoff 1987; Radden and Kövecses 1999; Kövecses 2000) and the framework of construction-based pragmatic implicatures (e.g., Bisang 2008a, 2008b). All these observations and considerations will be presented in the subsequent chapters:

Chapter 2 aims to provide a theoretical basis for the present study by reviewing a variety of studies and stances on, or relating to, word-class flexibility both from linguistic typology in general and from Chinese linguistics. The discussion includes, firstly, a general introduction to the notion of flexibility in linguistic typology; secondly, the analysis of the most influential criteria proposed so far for establishing lexical flexibility; thirdly, a variety of approaches and methods developed to account for word-class distinctions or flexibility of parts of speech both from China and from the West; fourthly, that in relation to the concepts and solutions outlined previously, I explicate my own assumptions and perceptions of flexibility in the context of Classical Chinese; and fifthly, a preliminary outline of the present study with respect to methodology, scope and definitions, materials and the aims pursued.

Chapter 3 presents observations on the syntactic aspects of flexibility of parts of speech in Classical Chinese. The discussion focuses on the most important syntactic configurations for the use of flexible lexemes and their relations to the basic word order of this language. It will show what tendencies and features of word order in Classical Chinese are typical or atypical, predominant or non-predominant. These tendencies and features will then be considered in the frame of the two types of syntactic specifications of flexible lexemes, i.e. in the V→N type (with an action-denoting lexeme in the syntactic position of an argument) and in the N→V type (with an object-denoting lexeme in the V-position of an argument structure construction). A detailed syntactic characterization of the use of flexible lexemes in a given language is vital in improving our understanding of the nature of flexibility in the language, which most previous studies appear to have overlooked.

Chapter 4 concentrates on the essential cognitive-semantic foundation underlying flexibility of parts of speech in Classical Chinese. This chapter aims to explore the most important and basic patterns of semantic type shifts of flexible lexemes in the two types of syntactic specifications mentioned. I will show that it

is metonymy (e.g., Kövecses and Radden 1998; Radden and Kövecses 1999; Schönefeld 2005) that constitutes the cognitive-semantic foundation of the derivations. In a metonymic mapping of either the V→N or the N→V type, the original semantics of a lexical item (which may typically be associated with a certain syntactic role of N or V) is used as a reference point to provide mental access to the newly derived meaning of the item in another syntactic function. Given the typologically salient characteristics of Classical Chinese discussed in this study (such as the lack of obligatory markedness distinctions for grammatical relationships, the existence of precategoriality in the lexicon, as well as many structural features of this language that are associated with pragmatic inference), the argument is that the flexible use of an existing word form as a metonymically related, but syntactically distinct item is one of the most economic ways in this language to name a new concept or a newly construed situation in discourse.

Chapter 5 discusses flexibility of parts of speech in Classical Chinese at the level of argument structure constructions. The discussion focuses on the N→V type of derivation of flexible lexemes within either an intransitive or a transitive argument structure construction on the basis of two mechanisms: rule-based and metaphorical. More specifically, this chapter addresses the question of how various metonymic relationships as the cognitive-semantic foundation of the use of flexible lexemes (chapter 4) interact with a given argument structure construction (which carries its own meaning within itself), and how these are further concretized into rule-based or metaphorically motivated pragmatic implicatures. A closer examination of an argument structure construction with an object word in the V-position reveals that there are two underlying frameworks for deriving the concrete meaning of that construction: In the rule-based framework, the verbal function of a given object word can basically be derived through a grammatical analysis of the whole construction (Bisang 2008a, 2008b). In the metaphorical framework, the composed semantics of the construction (based on the meaning of the components of the construction) actively interacts with the "outside world" (sociocultural background) in our conceptual system, where metaphor (Lakoff 1987, 1993; Kövecses 2010) serves as an essential cognitive principle in establishing and (re)interpreting relations in the construction. Based on these considerations, the two mechanisms, rule-based and metaphorical, are developed for deriving the concrete meaning of a given argument structure construction formed with an object word in the V-position in Classical Chinese. In this chapter, I will also discuss possible correlations between the two mechanisms, with respect to the questions of where concepts of metaphor are located and integrated into the derivations of object words, and what the relationship is between the rule-based

interpretation and the metaphorically motivated interpretation that an object word in verbal function may have.

The final chapter summarizes the main research findings reported in the previous chapters. It concludes with a brief discussion of possible further research on flexibility both in Classical Chinese and in linguistic typology in general. This study argues that flexibility in a parts-of-speech system can only be fully understood by integrating a wide range of aspects. The components that are needed to account for it include constructions (form-meaning pairings), semantics (Croft's 2000, 2001, 2003 conceptual space for parts of speech), metonymies, metaphors, pragmatic implicatures, as well as culture specific contexts and world knowledge shared by the members of a given speech community.

2 Background for studying flexibility in parts-of-speech systems

This chapter provides some theoretical background information for the present study. It is structured as follows: Section 2.1 presents a general overview of the notion of flexibility and discusses the most influential criteria for establishing flexibility in a parts-of-speech system. Section 2.2 offers an overview of theories and studies on or relating to word-class flexibility in the context of Chinese linguistics, with the overall research on this topic divided into three historical stages: pre-modern times, modern times, and recent times. Section 2.3 provides a summary and general discussion, where in relation to the concepts and solutions outlined previously I will explicate my own assumptions and perceptions of flexibility of parts of speech in the context of Classical Chinese. Section 2.4 provides a preliminary outline of the present corpus-based study, and describes the methodology, the definitions, the materials and the aims pursued.

2.1 Flexibility in parts-of-speech systems

The following section 2.1.1 contains a brief presentation of what constitutes the notion of flexibility in linguistic typology. Sections 2.1.2 and 2.1.3 focus on key issues in the discussion on flexibility of parts of speech in the literature, including a sketch of main approaches to the issues and the most influential criteria proposed for establishing lexical flexibility.

2.1.1 Flexible languages: Some examples

Based on decades of typological investigation into parts-of-speech systems, there are at least six groups of languages that have been claimed to have flexible lexemes, known as flexible languages. These include Malayo-Polynesian languages, Salishan languages, Nootka and other languages of the Wakashan family, languages of the Munda family, Turkic languages, and languages spoken on the Australian continent. The reader is referred to van Lier and Rijkhoff (2013: 7) for details and further references.

    According to Peterson (e.g., 2005, 2006, 2013), Kharia (Munda; India) is a flexible language that does not have the traditional major word classes such as nouns, verbs or adjectives, but distinguishes between the word categories of contentive morphemes and functional morphemes in the lexicon. Briefly, contentive

morphemes are defined as those which can occur in any one of the referential, predicative, and attributive functions without taking any derivational markedness for the functional change, while functional morphemes are limited to their respective grammatical functions (Peterson 2013: 131). The class of contentive morphemes in Kharia is regarded as a flexible word class, whose members are capable of occurring in either of the syntactic functions of predicate (V) and argument (N), without the functional change being overtly marked. This can be illustrated with the flexible word *lebu* in the examples in (1) below: *lebu* (highlighted in bold) occurs in (1a) in the syntactic position of subject and serves as a noun meaning 'the/a man', while in (1b) it takes the predicate position and functions as a verb attached by a TAM suffix *=ki*. This TAM suffix adds a middle voice (MV) and past tense (PST) reading to the verbal function of *lebu* 'become a man', in the same way as it does to the verb *ḍel* 'come'.

(1) Kharia (Peterson 2013: 132)
    a.   **lebu**   *ḍel=ki*
         man   come=MV.PST
         'The/a man came.'

    b.   *bhagwan* **lebu**=*ki*   *ro*   *ḍel=ki*
         God   man=MV.PST   and   come=MV.PST
         'God became man (=Jesus) and came (to earth).'

Moreover, it has been observed that flexibility is not confined to any one language type. The above examples of Kharia are from an agglutinating language, while the examples in (2) illustrate flexibility in Samoan (Oceanic; Samoa), an isolating language. According to Mosel and Hovdhaugen (1992), the noun-verb distinction in Samoan can only be seen at the syntactic level, depending on the occurrence of the lexeme in question in a particular syntactic slot, i.e. in an N-slot or a V-slot. As shown by the following examples, the flexible word *alu* (in bold) occurs in (2a) in the V-slot preceded by the general TAM particle *e*, where it serves as a verb meaning 'go', while in (2b) it serves as a noun with the meaning 'going' and combines with the determiner particle *le*. In other words, the word-class specification of *alu* manifests itself at the syntactic level: it is a verb in (2a) and a noun in (2b).

(2) Samoan (Mosel and Hovdhaugen 1992: 77; Don and van Lier 2013: 77)

    a.   *e*   ***alu***   *le*   *pasi*   *i*   *Apia*
        GENR go   ART   bus   DIR   Apia
        'The bus goes to Apia.'

    b.   *le*   ***alu***   *o*   *le*   *pasi*   *i*   *Apia*
        ART   go   POSS ART   bus   DIR   Apia
        'the going of the bus to Apia'

Further, it has also been observed that flexible words and the words conforming to the definition of certain word classes in the traditional sense can co-exist in a single language. As pointed out by Hockett (1958: 225) and later by van Lier and Rijkhoff (2013: 6): "Some languages train only specialists, while others have 'all-round players'. A combination of these two types in a single language is also possible, 'producing some specialists but also good numbers of double-threat and triple-threat men'." Turkish is regarded as one such language, which distinguishes between traditional verbs and a class of flexible lexemes. The flexible word class in Turkish is called 'non-verbs' by Hengeveld (e.g., 1992a, 1992b, 2013). As the name suggests, the non-verbs do not fulfil the function of traditional verbs, but cover the functions of other traditional word classes such as nouns, adjectives, and manner adverbs (Hengeveld 2013: 34). The examples in (3) below illustrate the use of the non-verb *güzel* in three different syntactic functions in (3a), (3b) and (3c), respectively. These three functions correspond to the English noun 'beauty', the adjective 'beautiful', and the adverb 'beautifully' or 'well', respectively.

(3) Turkish (Hengeveld 2013: 33; Göksel and Kerslake 2005: 49)

    a. ***güzel****-im*   b. ***güzel*** *bir* *köpek*   c. ***güzel*** *konuş-tu-Ø*
       beauty-1.POSS   ART   bus DIR   beauty speak-PST-3SG
       'my beauty'   'a beautiful dog'   'S/he spoke well.'

Although there is a lot of evidence from typological studies of parts-of-speech systems, the status of flexibility remains a contentious issue. According to van Lier and Rijkhoff (2013: 7–23), the debate on this topic generally revolves around two main themes. The first theme calls the fundamental existence of flexibility into question, asking whether flexible word classes (or flexible languages) really exist or not. This issue becomes highly controversial, especially when it comes to the absence of a strict noun-verb distinction in a parts-of-speech system. Generally, approaches to this issue differ from each other in terms of their starting

points as to how the parts-of-speech system of a language is defined, at which level the word classes or parts of speech are distinguished (e.g., lexical, syntactic or morphological), and what criteria are applied to determine flexibility in concrete linguistic analyses. Built on the premise of flexibility, the second theme in particular concerns the unmarked functional change (zero-marked semantic type shift) that a flexible word undergoes when it is used in different syntactic positions. This raises the question of whether or not the zero-marked derivation of flexible lexemes contains any word-class specification, or in other words, whether this process is taken as evidence for categorization through syntax, or as a mere shift in meaning (i.e. without involving any word-class specification). On this issue, the literature likewise displays a wide variety of opinions. Taking up the suggestions by van Lier and Rijkhoff (2013: 7–23), the following sections 2.1.2 and 2.1.3 will consider the two main themes more closely.

2.1.2 On the existence of flexibility: Arguments and stances

Supporters of flexibility of parts of speech are, first and foremost, typologists. Hengeveld (e.g., 1992a, 1992b, 2005, 2013) is one of them, and the earliest application of the notion of 'flexibility' of parts of speech goes back to his work. The point of departure of Hengeveld's theory is that basic and derived lexemes can be classified in terms of their distribution across four typical functional slots (V, N, A, MAdv) in the following way:

> A verb (V) is a lexeme that can be used as the head of a predicate phrase only; a noun (N) is a lexeme that can be used as the head of a referential phrase; an adjective (A) is a lexeme that can be used as a modifier within a referential phrase; a manner adverb (MAdv) is a lexeme that can be used as a modifier within a predicate phrase.
>
> (Hengeveld 2013: 33)

As defined above, verbs (V), nouns (N), adjectives (A) and manner adverbs (MAdv) are four distinct lexeme classes in Hengeveld's theory. The four lexeme classes are associated with four particular functions respectively, i.e. (i) Head of a predicate phrase, (ii) Head of a referential phrase, (iii) Modifier of the head of a referential phrase, and (iv) Modifier of the head of a predicate phrase, as shown in Table 1. In doing so, Hengeveld distinguishes four major lexical word classes in terms of function. A lexical item is said to be *flexible* if it simultaneously meets two or more of the above definitions for lexeme classes.

Tab. 1: Hengeveld's lexeme classes and their respective functions (Hengeveld 2013: 32)

	HEAD	MODIFIER
PREDICATE PHRASE	Verb	manner adverb
REFERENTIAL PHRASE	Noun	adjective

From a typological perspective, Hengeveld distinguishes three basic types of languages by looking at their differences in parts-of-speech systems, namely, differentiated languages, flexible languages, and rigid languages. The differentiated type, represented by the better-known European languages, displays a one-to-one relationship between the four major lexeme classes and the four functions as defined above, and each of the four lexeme classes has available an overtly expressed distinctive morphosyntax. By contrast, the flexible type and the rigid type do not feature such a one-to-one relation between function and lexeme class. In flexible languages, a single class of lexemes is used for two or more of the four functions without requiring any markedness of lexical or syntactic derivation. The rigid languages resemble the differentiated ones insofar as they both contain specialized classes of lexemes (i.e. each of the lexeme classes is dedicated to a particular function). However, the rigid type is characterized by the fact that it lacks one to three of the four major lexeme classes defined, but may only use a hierarchically ordered subset of the four lexeme classes: In Hengeveld's (2013: 35–36) view, the more to the left a lexeme class is on the hierarchy "verb > noun > adjective > manner adverb", the more likely it is that a rigid language possesses it. In order to serve other functions, the class of lexemes that is tied to a single particular function in a rigid language requires some lexical or syntactic derivation. According to Hengeveld (2013), Turkish is representative of flexible languages and Krongo (a Kadu language; Kurdufan) of rigid languages. Turkish features a class of flexible lexemes called 'non-verbs', illustrated by *güzel* in (3), which can be used indiscriminately to serve as the head of a referential phrase (3a), as a modifier within a referential phrase (3b), and as a modifier within a predicate phrase (3c). In contrast, Krongo has the basic classes of verbs and nouns but lacks adjectives and manner adverbs. This language generally uses relative clauses to fulfil the function of a modifier within a referential phrase and the function of a modifier within a predicate phrase (for Krongo examples, see Hengeveld 2013: 34).

Croft (2000) argues for a universal-typological theory of parts of speech. In his view, approaches to parts of speech that argue for universality of the lack of

certain major word classes – "lumping" approaches[3] – subsume words under one 'flexible word class' by looking solely at the presence/absence of overt function-indicating morphosyntax used for determining certain word classes. Such approaches ignore, however, the differences in semantics between various pragmatic functions of specific expressions (Croft 2000: 84, 96), which are necessarily accompanied by parts-of-speech changes of these expressions. Section 2.1.3 will discuss the issue of unmarked semantic shifts in more detail.

In Croft's (2001) Radical Construction Grammar, parts-of-speech systems are defined as being *radial*, with reference to Lakoff (1987). Specifically, in his view, word classes are construction-defined,[4] radially organized grammatical categories with prototype effects, "with regard to cognitive processing and to various aspects of linguistic behaviour" (Croft 2001: 104). By definition, a radially organized category contains, on the one hand, prototypical members in the central part of the category, and on the other hand, non-central members whose properties may differ from those of the prototypical members to varying degrees. At the same time, on a general level, Croft assumes that the internal structure of a grammatical category is provided by the universal theory of grammar, whereas its boundaries are determined by the grammar peculiar to a particular language (Croft 2000: 91; 2001: 103). In this scenario, compared to the approach of Hengeveld (1992a, 1992b, 2013), which treats parts of speech as language-specific categories, Croft considers the three traditional major word classes of nouns, verbs, and adjectives as universal-typological prototypes of parts of speech. They should constitute the central members of word categories in any given language. On the other hand, however, there may be non-central members of word categories in given languages, which are language-particular facts and are thus subject to language-specific aspects of grammar. In any case, all human languages are expected to have universal-typological prototypes of parts of speech, which should be called 'nouns', 'verbs', and 'adjectives' (Croft 2000: 65).

The contrast between universal-typological prototypes of parts of speech and language-particular members of parts of speech manifests itself through markedness distinctions across Croft's (2000, 2001, 2003) conceptual space for parts of speech. In his conceptual space, parts of speech are organized through an overt morphosyntax encoding the combinations of two dimensions: semantic classes

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3 The other extreme is that of "splitting" approaches, arguing for the presence of many minor parts of speech alongside major word classes (Croft 2000: 76–79).

4 Croft (2001) claims that the primitive elements of syntactic representation are constructions, which determine all the other levels of a language.

and pragmatic functions. As shown in Table 2, the top-down dimension of semantic classes ranges from OBJECT words, through PROPERTY words, to ACTION words; the dimension of pragmatic functions involves, from left to right, the functions of REFERENCE, MODIFICATION, and PREDICATION.

Tab. 2: Croft's conceptual space for the parts of speech (Croft 2000: 89)

	REFERENCE	**MODIFICATION**	**PREDICATION**
OBJECTS	**unmarked nouns**	genitive, adjectivalizations, PPs on nouns	predicate nominals, copulas
PROPERTIES	deadjective nouns	**unmarked adjectives**	predicate adjectives, copulas
ACTIONS	action nominals, complements, infinitives, gerunds	participles, relative clauses	**unmarked verbs**

Of all possible combinations of semantic class and pragmatic function in Croft's conceptual space, the combinations of OBJECT–REFERENCE (i.e. reference to an object; cf. Croft 2000: 88), PROPERTY–MODIFICATION (modification by a property) and ACTION–PREDICATION (predication of an action) are defined as three unmarked universal syntactic classes. They are given the name 'unmarked nouns', 'unmarked adjectives' and 'unmarked verbs', respectively (highlighted in bold in Table 2). By contrast, any other potential combinations of semantic meaning and pragmatic function such as OBJECT–PREDICATION or ACTION–REFERENCE are construed as grammatical categories that are typologically marked in terms of two criteria: structural coding criterion and behavioural potential criterion. The two criteria indicate that a typologically marked member of a grammatical category in any language is always coded by at least as many morphemes as a typologically unmarked member of that category (never by fewer morphemes), and that a typologically marked member of a grammatical category never displays a richer range of grammatical behaviour (inflection, distribution) than a typologically unmarked member of that category (Croft 2000: 89–91; Croft 2003: 95–96). As a logical consequence of this, flexibility would be, in Croft's framework, nothing but non-prototypical categoriality; the purportedly flexible lexemes would merely be non-central members of universal-typological parts of speech, or more specifically, they are marked combinations of semantic meaning and pragmatic function relative to typological markedness patterns (cf. van Lier and Rijkhoff 2013: 11).

Around a decade ago, Evans and Osada (2005) furthered the discussion on parts of speech by proposing three criteria for establishing lexical flexibility. Their discussion starts questioning the statement that Mundari (a Munda language) has a flexible parts-of-speech system, where the noun-verb distinction is not lexicalized as in English, but can only be analysed as being functional at the syntactic level (Hengeveld 1992a, 1992b; Bhat 1997; Hengeveld and Rijkhoff 2005). Evans and Osada take the opposite view, namely that Mundari has distinct word classes of nouns and verbs in the traditional sense. However, the wide use of conversion as a word-formation process creates the false impression that there are 'monocategorial' lexemes in this language, which can occur in the syntactic function of either N or V in an unmarked manner. According to Evans and Osada (2005: 366), a language must meet all the three criteria – compositionality, bidirectionality, and exhaustiveness, before it can be claimed to be monocategorial. The three criteria by Evans and Osada have been widely discussed in the literature on flexibility. Below is a brief outline of the criteria accompanied by some remarks and comments:

The criterion of compositionality proposed by Evans and Osada (2005) requires the semantic differences of a truly flexible lexeme in different syntactic positions to be fully attributable to these positions. In other words, the composed meaning of a given word in a flexible language must be fully predictable from the meaning of the word plus the meaning contributed by its functional slot, except for minor semantic interactions attributable to some aspectual inflections (Evans and Osada 2005: 367). According to Evans and Osada, a compositional relation holds between the members of a pair, if their semantic difference optimally conforms to the pattern of X (representing object-denoting semantics) → be X (e.g., *teacher* → *be/become a teacher* or *work as a teacher*) or the pattern of Y (representing action-denoting semantics) → the action of Y-ing or the name of Y (e.g., *to work* → *working*). To illustrate the opposite side of compositionality (i.e. the cases where the semantic distinction between syntactic positions exceeds what can be attributed to these positions), Evans and Osada (2005: 373) use the Mundari lexical form *buru* in two syntactic functions as an example. In one of the sentences given, *buru* occurs in the syntactic position of an argument, with the nominal meaning 'mountain', while in the other sentence, *buru* occurs in the predicate position with the verbal meaning 'heap up'. Evans and Osada argue that the semantic difference between the two uses of *buru* in the examples given (i.e. between 'mountain' and 'heap up') is non-compositional and thus unpredictable, as compared to the compositional relation that is expected to hold between 'mountain' and 'be/become a mountain', which is fully predictable. Therefore,

buru 'mountain' and *buru* 'heap up' in Mundari should be identified as two distinct, homophonous lexemes; and they belong to the traditional word classes of nouns and verbs, respectively.

Evans and Osada's (2005) analysis of semantic compositionality has been challenged by Hengeveld and Rijkhoff (2005). From their viewpoint, it is fully acceptable for a flexible lexeme like *buru* to display such different meanings in different environments. In fact, a typical characteristic of flexible lexemes is that they have vague meanings, in the sense that both compositional and non-compositional, both predictable and unpredictable interpretations, and even some idiosyncratic readings, are routinely found with flexible lexemes in different contexts. Specifically, the actual use of flexible lexemes in a certain discourse function will determine which part or subset of their meaning components (which are all stored in their semantic structures) is to be highlighted for the current discourse function.

Similarly, in the framework of Bisang (2008a, 2008b) (section 2.2.3.2), a flexible lexeme is allowed to exhibit "larger" semantic differences in different syntactic functions than what the patterns of compositionality as defined by Evans and Osada (2005) require. According to Bisang, the high flexibility of parts of speech in Late Archaic Chinese (between the fifth and third centuries BC) is due to precategoriality. One essential consequence of precategoriality is that the verbal function of any object-denoting lexeme in a given intransitive or transitive argument structure construction can regularly be derived through stereotypical implicatures that depend on the semantic class of objects that lexeme belongs to and the construction as a whole. This can be illustrated by the verbal interpretation of the human-denoting lexeme *Wú wáng* 'King Wu' (吳王) in the following transitive construction:

(4) 公若曰:"爾欲**吳王**我乎?" (*Zuozhuan*, *Dinggong* 10)

Gōngruò	*yuē:*	*ěr*	*yù*	***Wú wáng***	*wǒ*	*hu?*
Gongruo Miao	say:	2nd.PRON	want	King Wu	I	Q

'Gongruo Miao said: "Do you want to make me King Wu?"'
[Context: King Wu was murdered. Thus, the sentence above implies 'Do you want to kill me?']

In (4) above, the proper name *Wú wáng* 'King Wu' serves as a verb meaning 'make (someone) King Wu' (or alternatively, meaning 'treat (someone) as King Wu'). This interpretation is obtained through the stereotypical implicature 'NP$_A$ CAUSE NP$_U$ to be N' (or alternatively, through the stereotypical implicature 'NP$_A$ CONSIDER NP$_U$ to be N'), which is one of the principles of interpretation applicable

for the verbal function of the semantic class of lexemes denoting persons or human functions (N) in Late Archaic Chinese (Bisang 2008b: 29; cf. also (8) in section 2.2.3.2).

In a recent discussion on flexibility of parts of speech in Gooniyandi (non-Pama-Nyungan; Western Australia), McGregor (2013) expresses similar views. He observes that both coded and non-coded interpretations are needed for getting the concrete meaning of an utterance formed with a flexible lexeme in Gooniyandi. While the coded interpretation is analogous to the basic semantics of that flexible lexeme (lexically stored) and thus expected to be recurrent in every different use of that lexeme, the non-coded interpretation is not lexically stored, but results from additional contextual-pragmatic implicatures. In this connection, the semantic differences between different syntactic uses of any flexible lexeme would no longer always need to satisfy the criterion of compositionality defined by Evans and Osada (2005).

Furthermore, the analysis of semantic compositionality by Evans and Osada (2005) requires that a truly flexible lexeme denoting an object (X) must combine with a copula in meaning when placed in a predicate position (i.e. X → be X), and that a truly flexible action-denoting lexeme (Y) must mean the name of the action when placed in a referential position (i.e. Y → the name of Y). These seem to imply that the copular use and the referential meaning 'the name of the action' are two fundamental cognitive units for the pragmatic functions of predication and reference, respectively. However, a number of empirical studies of flexible languages suggest that either the copular use or the above referential meaning is far from being a standard or an unmarked use for predication or reference (cf. e.g., van Lier and Rijkhoff 2013: 16–18; Peterson 2005: 396; Rau 2013). Similarly, the present study on flexibility in Classical Chinese does not lend support to these, either. It is observed that the referential meaning 'the name of the action' is rather restricted to a small subset of action-denoting lexemes in certain contexts, as compared to other referential meanings of (those or other) action-denoting lexemes. This meaning is available, usually when an action word is used in a terminological way or in an anaphoric way, i.e. as a term referring back to the action or event mentioned in the context (cf. section 4.1.6 of chapter 4). As for the copular meaning 'be/become' related to an object word in verbal function, firstly, it is noted that this meaning is generally regarded as an inherent function of nouns, noun phrases, and even clauses in Classical Chinese (where any referential expression could well serve as the predicate of an equative construction without being connected with the subject by any linking word in the sense of copula), while the Chinese common copula 是 *shì* was a product of grammaticalization and came into use around the first century AD (Wang 1958: 347; Li and Thompson

1977; Yen 1986; cf. the discussion in section 3.1 of chapter 3); secondly, the copular meaning sometimes needs to be interpreted in a metaphorical manner, and the literal meaning of 'be/become X' is excluded (cf. section 5.2 of chapter 5).

Evans and Osada's (2005: 375) second criterion 'bidirectionality' (also known as 'bidirectional equivalence') requires that the functional use of a truly flexible lexeme must also work in the opposite direction. In other words, members of two lexical classes such as object-denoting lexemes and action-denoting lexemes in a flexible language must be equally acceptable in both of the syntactic positions of argument and predicate. Similar to compositionality, this criterion has been considered controversial. In particular, van Lier and Rijkhoff (2013: 16) observe that the notion 'bidirectional equivalence' remains vague: if it is equal to the concept of a same frequency of occurrence of different functions in discourses, then, no language of the world would meet this criterion, as it is natural that certain meanings tend to be more strongly associated with a particular function (defined for a certain word class) than other meanings. In this sense, one would normally expect that object-denoting semantics is more strongly associated with the referential function and thus appears more frequently in the position of an argument, while action-denoting semantics has a preference for the predicate function, but are fully grammatical in the referential function in a flexible language. In Bisang's (2008a: 17–19) discussion, the linking of precategorial/flexible lexemes to a certain syntactic slot such as N or V as well as their text frequency in these positions are correlated with the stereotypical implicatures (including the degree of stereotypicality) available in the language. According to Harbsmeier (1998: 138), the functional preference of a given lexeme is the observable effect of the clear preference of the speakers who use the lexeme for a certain grammatical function.

It is also worth mentioning that in a recent discussion on flexibility of parts of speech in Lushootseed (Coast Salish; North America). Beck (2013) puts forward the notion of 'unidirectionality'. This notion suggests that in a flexible language, the noun-verb distinction can be neutralized only in the syntactic position of a predicate, while it is still relevant for the syntactic position of an argument. Lushootseed displays one such unidirectional flexibility, where object-denoting lexemes can be used freely and unmarkedly as verbs (denoting actions, events or processes), but not vice versa: in order to get an object-denoting meaning, action words in Lushootseed must use some syntactic strategies in a marked manner. More specifically, when used in this way, the action words have to turn into nonfinite argument phrases with some morphological properties of nouns, or to be contained within headless relative clauses (for examples, see Beck 2013: 201–211).

Evans and Osada's (2005: 378) third criterion, 'exhaustiveness', requires flexibility (attested on the basis of the former two criteria) to hold for all relevant words in the lexicon that are claimed to be in the same class, while it is not sufficient to find only a few lexical items that imply the lack of certain word-class distinction. This criterion might also be too strictly formulated. One problem that may be associated with this criterion is the distinction between word classes and subclasses in a parts-of-speech system. As pointed out by van Lier and Rijkhkoff (2013: 19–20), the statement of flexibility is adequate as long as the group of words which turns out to be flexible is labelled as a word class, but not a subclass under a single major word class. However, it is sometimes questionable whether a distinguished open class of words in a language should be identified as a major word class or just a subclass (cf. also Schachter and Shopen 2007: 4). From my point of view, the requirement of exhaustiveness appears more like a theoretical idealization than a measurable reality. Practically, it is not feasible to check the entire lexicon of a language (especially when this is an ancient language spoken in a particular historical period). However, what exhaustiveness argues can be understood as potentiality, in the sense that flexibility tends to apply to all relevant words in the lexicon that are claimed to be in the same class, though to varying degrees. This potentiality can be demonstrated by productivity, regularity and predictability in the flexible uses of words.

Typological discussions on parts of speech presented so far in the literature also suggest that for establishing flexibility, it is necessary to take into account the grammatical level at which the analysis of word-class distinction is conducted (e.g., lexicon, syntax, or morphology). As pointed out by Bisang (2011), all approaches to parts of speech should have a theoretical basis for describing the interaction between lexicon and syntax, as the lack of a one-to-one correlation between lexical categories and syntactic categories may be one of the most fundamental facts that make flexible languages differ from the languages governed by categoriality in their parts-of-speech systems. This observation is confirmed by Don and van Lier (2013). In their study, semantic type shifts of various kinds (either overtly marked or zero-marked) are examined in three flexible languages with the lack of noun-verb distinction in their lexicons (i.e. Kharia, Tagalog, Samoan). These semantic type shifts are then compared with those in Dutch, a differentiated language with distinct word classes of nouns and verbs. The conclusion is that the difference between flexible and differentiated languages lies in the fact that in languages of the latter type, lexical categorization and syntactic categorization merge as a combined operation, whereas they are separated operations in a flexible language. In particular, while the whole of a semantic type shift (including both the source and the target item) in a differentiated language

is accompanied by word-class specification, uncategorialized lexical roots in flexible languages can undergo derivation with or without category assignment.

Besides the opinion of Don and van Lier (2013), there are some other explanations of semantic type shifts of, or associated with, flexible lexemes, which will be discussed in the next subsection.

2.1.3 Zero-marked semantic type shift

The second most prominent topic of discussion about flexibility hinges on the kind of semantic type shifts of flexible lexemes without any overt markedness of lexical or syntactic derivation, known as 'zero-marked semantic type shift'. Opinions on the zero-marked semantic type shift differ from each other in terms of two main aspects: (i) the role of semantic compositionality, and (ii) the involvement of word-class specification in the process. There are basically five points of view presented so far in the literature, as shown below (cf. van Lier and Rijkhoff 2013: 22).

– From the first point of view, a semantic type shift represents a relation between distinct lexical items from different word classes; a zero-marked semantic type shift is a process of lexical conversion (e.g., Croft 2000, 2001, 2005).
– The second view is that only compositional zero-marked semantic type shifts are of relevance to flexibility, which is a syntactic derivation resulting in categorization of flexible lexemes with respect to word classes (Evans and Osada 2005).
– The third view is that both compositional and non-compositional zero-marked semantic type shifts may be of relevance to flexibility: the former is a syntactic derivation, while the latter is a lexical derivation without category assignment for flexible lexemes (Don and van Lier 2013).
– The fourth view is that regardless of compositionality, flexible lexemes can receive a word-class specification for a certain syntactic role through the zero-marked semantic type shift as a syntactic specification (Bisang 2008a, 2008b; the present study).
– The fifth view is that semantic type shifts in flexible languages do not involve any category assignment at all (e.g., Hengeveld and Rijkhoff 2005; Gil 2013; Peterson 2013).

The first view above, advocated by Croft (2000, 2001, 2005), is opposed to lexical flexibility. Croft's universal conceptual space for parts of speech, shown in Table

2, allows two kinds of semantic shifts: the first kind (a horizontal move) refers to a shift within the confines of the one-dimensional pragmatic functions (e.g., using an object word such as *bike* in an object-modifier construction like *of a bike*); the second kind (a vertical or diagonal move) refers to a semantic type shift without confining itself to a particular pragmatic function (e.g., using the object word *bike* to denote the action *to bike*). Croft (2000: 96; 2001: 74) claims that even if the meaning shift is a very slight one and does not involve any structural coding for the use of the word in a part-of-speech construction, it always goes in the direction of the semantic class that is prototypically associated with the relevant function. Moreover, in Croft's view, a lexical item always has its parts-of-speech specification (defined for a particular syntactic role) together with its lexical meaning encoded in the mental lexicon. This is because parts of speech are defined in Croft's model as an inseparable combination of semantic meaning and pragmatic function. In this way, a semantic type shift – regardless of whether it is overtly marked or zero-marked – must be stored in the mental lexicon and accompanied by a change in parts of speech. In other words, a zero-marked semantic type shift is treated by Croft as a process of lexical conversion, which connects a pair of distinct, but formally identical lexical items belonging to different word classes.

Evans and Osada (2005) hold the second point of view listed above, under the heading of 'compositionality'. As discussed, compositionality is defined by Evans and Osada as one of the necessary conditions for establishing lexical flexibility. Accordingly, only compositional zero-marked semantic type shifts are of relevance to flexible word class, and this process is analysed as a syntactic derivation resulting in categorization of flexible lexemes with respect to word classes. That is, a pair of words being compared in two different syntactic positions of N and V can be identified as distributional instances of a single flexible lexeme, if and only if their semantic difference holds a compositional relation. Otherwise, the two meanings would correspond to two distinct lexical items, i.e. a noun and a verb, respectively.

The point of departure of both the third view and the fourth view listed above, represented by Don and van Lier (2013) and Bisang (2008a, 2008b), respectively, is that denotational semantics encoded in the lexicon and syntactically defined categoriality or word-class specification are two separate dimensions of analysis.

As briefly discussed in the introduction (chapter 1) and in the previous section 2.1.2, Bisang's precategoriality approach to flexibility does not set up prerequisite for semantic compositionality (in the sense of Evans and Osada 2005). The same holds true for the present study assuming that precategoriality and categoriality co-exist in the lexicon of Classical Chinese (cf. section 2.4). The zero-

marked semantic type shift of flexible lexemes can thus be construed as a syntactic specification, through which precategorial/flexible lexical items (which are not preclassified into parts of speech in the lexicon) obtain the word-class specification for a particular syntactic role such as N or V.

There are both similarities and differences between Don and van Lier's (2013) approach (the third view above) and Evans and Osada's (2005). Unlike the latter, Don and van Lier take it that both compositional and non-compositional semantic type shifts are of relevance to flexible lexemes. Specifically, the compositional zero-marked semantic type shift is a syntactic derivation, through which an 'uncategorized lexical root' (i.e. an item that inherently has conceptual semantics but is category-neutral with respect to word classes in the traditional sense) acquires a later word-class specification. In contrast, the non-compositional semantic type shift of flexible lexemes – either overtly marked or zero-marked – is construed as a lexical derivation. Through this, an uncategorized lexical root or root phrase is derived to a different, but still uncategorized lexical item, and this newly derived form can further participate in derivations – either syntactic or lexical.

Regarding what is called 'compositional' (vs. non-compositional), Don and van Lier (2013) modified the patterns of compositionality by Evans and Osada (2005) by adding transitive meanings of object words. For the three flexible languages (Kharia, Samoan, and Tagalog) investigated in their study, the following semantic relations are considered compositional:

– Given an object-denoting lexical root X, the compositional semantics of X used in verbal function is 'be/become X', or in a transitive sense 'turn something into X' or 'make X out of something'.
– Given an action-denoting lexical root Y, the compositional semantics of Y used in nominal function is '(the act of) Y-ing'.

Don and van Lier (2013) treat non-compositional semantic type shifts in flexible languages as lexical derivations that produce non-compositionality and semantic unpredictability. In the three flexible languages mentioned above, lexical derivations (i.e. non-compositional semantic type shifts) are attested in two of them as being either overtly marked or zero-marked, while Kharia only has overtly marked lexical derivations. In cases of overtly marked lexical derivations, one can easily link the semantic unpredictability to the overt markedness by derivational morphemes (such as -na- in the lexical derivation of Kharia *rab* 'bury' → *ra-na-b* 'burial ground') (Don and van Lier 2013: 63). However, to figure out the semantic unpredictability or irregularity produced by a zero-marked lexical derivation, one needs to understand the authors' term of zero-morphemes, as they

(2013: 60) put it, "in the case of lexical derivations, we assume zero-marking only when there is evidence, in the form of semantic shift, showing that a particular form has undergone some derivational process." Don and van Lier's (2013: 69–71) analysis of a Tagalog example (below) may illustrate what constitutes, in their view, a zero-marked lexical derivation by adding zero-morpheme(s):
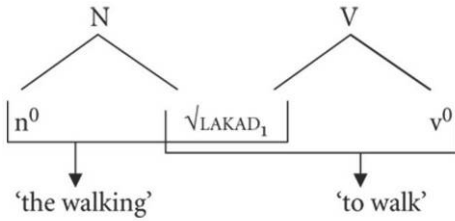
Fig. 1: Syntactic derivation of √LAKAD₁ (Don and van Lier 2013: 71)
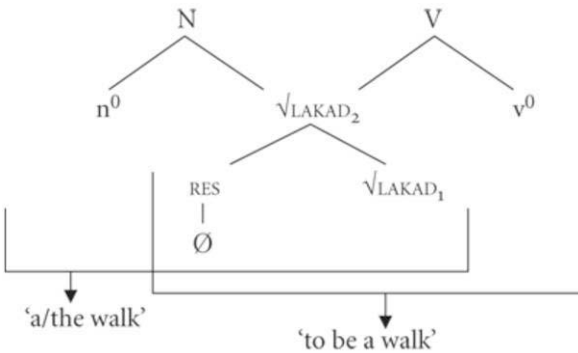
Fig. 2: Lexical derivation of √LAKAD₂ from √LAKAD₁ and syntactic derivation of √LAKAD₂ (Don and van Lier 2013: 71)

In Tagalog, the action-denoting lexical root √LAKAD 'to walk' in nominal function may receive at least one of the following two readings: (i) the name of the action, i.e. 'walking'; (ii) the result or the typical cognate object of the action, i.e. 'a/the walk' (Himmelmann 2008: 276). According to Don and van Lier, the former interpretation 'walking' follows the pattern of compositionality, and is thus the product of syntactic derivation of the lexical root √LAKAD 'to walk' mentioned above. By contrast, the latter interpretation 'a/the walk' is non-compositional, and therefore has to be a result of lexical derivation. Under this circumstance,

Don and van Lier consider that there must be two different, but formally identical lexical roots in Tagalog, i.e. the action-denoting √LAKAD$_1$ and the object-denoting √LAKAD$_2$. As illustrated in Figure 1, through syntactic derivation, the root √LAKAD$_1$ means 'to walk [V]' when used as a verb (by combining with a verbal functional head v^0), and 'walking [N]' when used as a noun (by combining with a nominal functional head n^0). As for the root √LAKAD$_2$, as illustrated in Figure 2, it is considered, first of all, a product of a zero-marked lexical derivation from √LAKAD$_1$ (i.e. √LAKAD$_1$ + Ø (zero-morpheme) → √LAKAD$_2$), with the meaning 'a walk'. Further, it can undergo syntactic derivations and mean 'to be a walk [V]' when used as a verb (by combining with a v^0), and 'a/the walk [N]' when used as a noun (by combining with an n^0).

The fifth viewpoint listed above stands in contrast to the other four. Supporters of this viewpoint, such as Hengeveld and Rijkhoff (2005), Gil (2013), Peterson (2013), do not consider any zero-marked semantic type shift in a flexible language as evidence for categorization, regardless of whether they are compositional or not. As discussed, Hengeveld and Rijkhoff (2005) assume that flexible lexemes are monosemous, with vague meanings. The actual use of a flexible lexeme in a certain context will profile or highlight certain parts of its vague meaning, and this brings about different readings of the lexeme in different contexts but without word-class specification.

After having studied various types of semantic shifts in Riau Indonesian (a variety of Malay/Indonesian), a flexible language lacking noun-verb distinction, Gil (2013) observes that the zero-marked semantic type shifts in Riau Indonesian work in a very different way than the noun-to-verb conversion in English. The differences are that, firstly, the lexical information involved in a zero-marked semantic type shift in Riau Indonesian has nothing to do with syntactic categories; secondly, that while conversion in English is not applicable to the entire lexicon, all lexical items and larger expressions in Riau Indonesian can potentially undergo a zero-marked semantic derivation from their primary semantic category to any other category, without any arbitrary semantic constraints on the resulting interpretation. These distinctive characteristics of Riau Indonesian are assumed to preclude it from having the noun-verb distinction at all levels.

2.1.4 Interim summary

In general, the views that argue against lexical flexibility consider a zero-marked semantic type shift as a connection (lexical conversion) between two separate

lexical items, each having its own semantic denotation and word-class specification (defined for a particular syntactic role such as N or V) stored in the lexicon. In contrast, the views that support lexical flexibility make a distinction between lexical-semantic categories and syntactic categories. They regard the semantics of denoting an object or an action as a lexical phenomenon, while the status of being an N or a V is a syntactic potential. Based on this, the zero-marked semantic type shift of flexible lexemes is about distributional usage of a single lexeme. In one such shift, the word-class specification is either taken as a categorization through syntax (Bisang 2008a, 2008b; Don and van Lier 2013), or alternatively, it is assumed to be non-existent in a flexible language at all (e.g., Hengeveld and Rijkhoff 2005).

After the introduction to the notion of flexibility in linguistic typology in general, the subsequent section 2.2 focuses on flexibility of parts of speech in the context of Chinese linguistics and aims at providing background information for the present study from a historical perspective.

2.2 Flexibility of parts of speech in Chinese context

This section aims to provide an outline of previous studies and theories on flexibility of parts of speech and discusses the most representative terms used in this field. In general, the overall research can be divided into the following three historical phases:

– The first phase covers the research on this phenomenon in pre-modern times in China, i.e. in the time period from the Han dynasty (206 BC–220 AD) to the beginning of the era of modern Chinese linguistics marked by Ma Jianzhong's *Mashi Wentong* 'Ma's grammar' (1898). The outline of the research activities during this phase in section 2.2.1 mainly refers to Wang (1989: 17–29) and Zhang (2005: 3–48).

– The second phase covers the research on this topic in modern times in China, i.e. from 1898 onwards. During this phase, many seminal concepts were developed by combining both the insights gained from the research of pre-modern times and modern theories of language from the West. The research findings of this phase, outlined in section 2.2.2, continue to be valuable and useful for guiding the subsequent research activities up the present day.

– The third phase contains the research on this topic in more recent times. There are several works published during this phase, including Zhang (2005), Bisang (2008a, 2008b) and Zádrapa (2011), who have developed the most systematic approaches to flexibility of parts of speech from different

perspectives. They all serve as important points of reference for the present study and will be discussed in section 2.2.3.

2.2.1 Review of studies in pre-modern times in China

As a general observation, the phenomenon of flexibility of parts of speech was explained in a phonological way at the beginning of the research in pre-modern times in China, then the method switched to an explanation within the framework of semantics.

The existing literature shows that as early as in the Han dynasty (202 BC–220 AD), scholars began with an attempt to organize lexemes into word categories in terms of word meanings. The widespread phenomenon of using words flexibly across word categories in texts was naturally noticed and taken into consideration. At an early stage of research, before the Song dynasty (960–1279), the most representative theory developed to address this phenomenon is known as 'Distinguishing meanings by means of (four) tones' (以聲別義 *yǐshēngbiéyì* or 四聲別義 *sìshēngbiéyì*), abbreviated as DMT in the following (for the literature on DMT, see Wang 1989: 22–23, 28 and Zhang 2005: 3). The four tones (or tone classes) attested in Middle Chinese are named, respectively, *píng* 'even' (平), known also as 'the level tone', which is related to the first tone [ˉ] and the second tone [´] in Modern Standard Chinese, *shǎng* 'rising' (上) which is related mainly to the third tone [ˇ] in Modern Standard Chinese, *qù* 'departing' (去), known also as 'the going tone', which is related to the fourth tone [ˋ] in Modern Standard Chinese, and *rù* 'entering' (入) which began to disappear during the Tang (618–906) and Song (960–1279) dynasties, therefore there is no equivalent for it in Modern Standard Chinese. In brief, the DMT theory assumes that varying tones of words can be used to discriminate their various meanings, and that meanings indicate their membership to word categories. In this way, the flexible use of words across word categories is related to tonal changes of words, and words are thought to be derivable by tonal change. The most clearly documented cases of tonal changes involve the departing tone (*qù*) (Wang 1958; Downer 1959; Norman 1988 and many others). It has been observed to take effect in at least four types of semantic transitions of words (Zhang 2005: 5–6): Type (i) the transition from object-denoting semantics to action-denoting semantics (e.g., 衣 *yī* 'clothing, clothes, garments' → *yì* 'wear, dress, put on'), Type (ii) the transition from property-denoting semantics to action-denoting semantics (e.g., 好 *hǎo* 'good, great' → *hào* 'like, favour'), Type (iii) the transition from action-denoting semantics to object-denoting semantics (e.g., 思 *sī* 'miss, think' → *sì* 'thoughts, ideas'), and Type (iv) the

transition from intransitive verb-like semantics to transitive or causative seman-tics (e.g., 語 *yǔ* 'say [intr.]' → *yù* 'tell [tr.]'; 食 *shí* 'eat [intr.]' → *sì* 'cause to eat, feed'). As shown by these examples, the departing tone is involved not only in word-class transition, but also in the transition between word subclasses.

However, the DMT theory, as well as other similar sound-glossing ap-proaches developed in the early stages of research, could only partially account for the phenomenon of flexibility. In fact, in most cases, the semantic type shift of a converted word is not accompanied by tonal change, for example, 水 *shuǐ* 'water, flood' → *shuǐ* 'fill with water, to flood, etc.', or 戍 *shù* 'guard the frontier' → *shù* 'people who guard the frontier'. In addition, some scholars are of the opin-ion that using varied pronunciations of a word to distinguish its various mean-ings was probably not an inherent part of the phenomenon itself since the ap-pearance of writing, but a working method developed by annotators or commentators in later times (Wang 1989: 28). Zhang (2005: 6) considers that the sound-glossing approaches such as the DMT are subject to the vocabulary realm, which have nothing to do with word-class flexibility in the realm of grammar. Further, as illustrated by the examples above, the sound-glossing approaches de-veloped at that time did not indicate whether the distinguished meanings of a word or word form correspond to different word classes in the traditional sense.

It is also worth mentioning that Middle Chinese (from the third to the thirteen century AD) experienced some phonetic changes leading to the modern Chinese varieties. One of the changes pertains to the decrease in tonal distinctions of words: with voiced initial consonants, the rising tone (*shǎng*) merged with the departing tone (*qù*), and the entering tone (*rù*) had gradually faded away (though it has been preserved in some dialects and Mandarin varieties) – known as the *zhuóshǎngbiànqù* (濁上變去) process in Chinese phonology. Of course, this pro-cess can be attributed to many factors. The question nevertheless arises as to whether the tonal distinctions would have disappeared, if they, as structural means of word-class distinctions and/or word formation, were fully integrated and fully functional in the language.

From the Song dynasty (960–1279) onwards, a different model of explanation for the flexible use of words across word categories developed. Typically, a few pairs of notions such as *sǐ* 'dead' (死) and *huó* 'live' (活), *jìng* 'static' (靜) and *dòng* 'dynamic' (動), and occasionally also *shí* 'solid (or full)' (實) and *xū* 'empty' (虛)[5]

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5 Notice that the term pair of 'solid (or full)' (實 *shí*) and 'empty' (虛 *xū*) was originally proposed in the Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279) for distinguishing between 'content words' and 'func-tion words'. However, as observed by Zhang (2005: 6), in the literature of old times, the two terms

were used to deal with this phenomenon. Meanwhile, a set of conceptions that take the idea of *yòng* 'Function/Use' (用) as their points of departure were developed, such as *sǐzì huóyòng* 'using dead words as live ones' (死字活用) or *jìngzì dòngyòng* 'using static words as dynamic ones' (靜字動用). In these conceptions, the notion of 'dead' (or 'static', 'solid' or the like) lexemes – which primarily denote objects, people, or things – were defined with respect to the concept of *tǐ* 'Substance' (體), while the notion of 'live' (or 'dynamic', 'empty' or the like) lexemes – which primarily denote actions, events, or processes – were defined with respect to the concept of *yòng* 'Function/Use' (用). Consider, for example, the converted word 水 *shuǐ* ('water, flood' → 'fill with water, flood, etc.'): scholars would call it, for example, 'using the dead *shuǐ* as a live one' (Wang 1989: 25). According to the understanding of mainstream contemporary Chinese linguistics (with a large part of grammatical terminology having been imported from the West since the beginning of the twentieth century), the traditional terms of 'dead' and 'live' lexemes, or 'static' and 'dynamic' lexemes correspond basically to the two major word classes of nouns and verbs, respectively. Under this circumstance, the conception of 'using dead words as live ones' or 'using static words as dynamic ones' is regarded as being synonymous with the idea of using nouns as verbs, noun-verb transition, or the like (Zhang 2005: 7).

Valuable concepts for studying flexibility of parts of speech, especially with a view to exploring its internal patterns and laws, were concentrated during the time span of the Qing dynasty (1644–1912). In particular, Yuan Renlin (袁仁林) expressed a view on this topic in his *Xuzi Shuo* (虛字說) (1710: 82–88). For the most frequently quoted passages of Yuan (1710) and their translations, the reader is referred to Zádrapa (2011: 23–25). I will here only quote a part from Zádrapa (2011):

> 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. [...] 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

were also sometimes used for distinguishing between object-denoting meanings and action-denoting meanings, in a similar way to 'dead' (死 *sǐ*) and 'live' (活 *huó*) (see also He 1998).

use must be recognized from the context. If they appear separately as single characters, there is no way to ascertain it.[6]

The basic idea of Yuan (1710) is summarized by Wang (1989: 27), Zhang (2005: 9) as well as Zádrapa (2011: 25) in sets of key words, which mostly include the following:

- *Universality*: All 'dead' lexemes can potentially be used as 'live' ones.[7]
- *Contextuality*: Using 'dead' lexemes as 'live' ones is a phenomenon of pragmatics and must be contextually recognized. Lexemes in the absence of context have only their basic, original lexical meanings.
- *Rhetorical function*: Using 'dead' lexemes as 'live' ones can serve a rhetorical purpose.
- *Conceptual foundation*: Using 'dead' lexemes as 'live' ones is not something that occurs arbitrarily or haphazardly, but something that is deeply rooted in human experience and conforms to the law of mutual transformation between Substance and Function/Use.

Before the research on this topic in modern times can be discussed, a brief remark on the notion of word categories developed in pre-modern times in China is necessary. As suggested by the label pair of 'dead' and 'live' or 'static' and 'dynamic', the word categories distinguished in the pre-modern times are basically based on word meanings. However, it is justified to say that for any given lexical item, its lexical meaning is not isolated from but always associated with a certain range of syntactic properties. In other words, though the lexical-semantic categories and syntactic categories are presented at two different levels of analysis, they are correlated with each other in any given flexible language. For that reason, it would be inappropriate to define that the criterion for differentiating word categories made in the pre-modern times was "purely semantic", as mentioned by Zádrapa (2011: 22), though it is true that the word categories distinguished at that time are different from word classes or parts of speech as defined in the grammatical theories of Western linguistics.

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6 The passage by Yuan Renlin (1710) in the Chinese original is as follows: "先儒分別動靜字，蓋從人意驅使處分之也。[...] 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，以意遣之，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。"

7 Notice that the rule of universality (Yuan 1710) does not contain the opposite of that claim, namely that all 'live' lexemes can potentially be used as 'dead' ones.

2.2.2 Review of studies in modern times in China

It is widely considered that the book *Mashi Wentong* 'Ma's grammar' (馬氏文通) by Ma Jianzhong (馬建忠), published in 1898, marked the beginning of the modern epoch of Chinese linguistics. In that book, the Chinese system was for the first time analysed as having close similarities to grammars in the European linguistic tradition (Peyraube 2001; Bai 2011: 3–7). Concerning word classification, Ma ([1898] 1983: 11) divided *zì* 'lexemes, words' (字)[8] into the *shí* 'solid (or full)' (實) category and the *xū* 'empty' (虛) category. Further, *shízì* 'solid words' (實字) are classified into the following five word categories:

- *míngzì* (名字 [name–word]) denoting things;
- *dàizì* (代字 [substitute–word]) serving as substitutes for *míngzì*;
- *dòngzì* (動字 [dynamic–word]) denoting actions or events;
- *jìngzì* (靜字 [static–word]) denoting properties or attributes;
- *zhuàngzì* (狀字 [state–word]) denoting appearances or looks of actions or events.

On the other hand, *xūzì* 'empty words' (虛字) are classified into the following four word categories:

- *jièzì* (介字 [interpose–word]) used to express relations;
- *liánzì* (連字 [connect–word]) used to connect words, clauses, or sentences;
- *tànzì* (歎字 [sigh–word]) used to indicate moods;
- *zhùzì* (助字 [auxiliary–word]) used in a similar way to particles.

As can be seen above, Ma's (1898) word classification of Chinese lexemes is built on the concept of word classes or parts of speech in Western grammar, with the first eight word categories corresponding in turn to the parts of speech of nouns,

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8 Ma (1898) distinguished between the notions of *zì* (字) and *cí* (詞). The classification of words into word categories pertains to the notion of *zì*, while the notion of *cí* is relevant to sentence-building units. According to their function or position in a given sentence, the sentence-building units (*cí*) can be divided into various groups, such as *qǐcí* (起詞) corresponding to the syntactic subject, *zhǐcí* (止詞) the syntactic object, *yǔcí* (語詞) the predicate, etc. In the literature, in order to avoid confusion, the term 'character' is often used when referring to Ma's concept of *zì*, while the term 'word' for *cí*. In the present study on flexibility of parts of speech in Classical Chinese, Ma's concept of *cí* is not a key point of discussion and thus occurs nowhere else, nor would the distinction between *zì* and *cí* contribute much to the understanding of flexibility. Therefore, I would like to use the term 'lexeme' or 'word' for Ma's concept of *zì*.

pronouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions and interjections, respectively. The last word category, *zhùzì*, is unique to Chinese, according to Ma.

Moreover, Ma ([1898] 1983: 23–24) claims that a Chinese lexeme does not necessarily belong to a single, fixed word category, but can potentially have more than one categorial meanings and thus belong simultaneously to different word categories. In other words, if a word only has one meaning, it belongs to a single word category; if it has more than one categorial meaning, it can accordingly be assigned to more than one word category. One of Ma's examples illustrating the concurrent polycategoriality of words is 止 *zhǐ*, which is the lexical item belonging to three different word categories in the sentence in (5):

(5) 人莫鑒於流水而鑒於**止**水, 唯**止**能**止**眾**止** 。 (*Zhuangzi, Deyunfu*)
    rén   mò   jiàn   yú   liú   shuǐ ér   jiàn   yú
    people NEG   mirror PREP flowing water CONJ mirror PREP
    zhǐ   shuǐ,   wéi   zhǐ   néng zhǐ   zhòng zhǐ.
    still   water,   only stillness can   cause to stop all   stillness
    [Literal translation:] 'People cannot use flowing water as a mirror, but can use still water as a mirror. Only stillness (of water) can cause the stillness of all things [i.e. cause all things to become mirror images].'

In (5), 止 *zhǐ* occurs four times (in bold). Its first occurrence serves as a *jìngzì* meaning 'still [Adj]'; both the second and fourth occurrences of *zhǐ* serve as a *Míngzi* meaning 'stillness [N]'; the third *zhǐ* serves as a *dòngzì* meaning 'cause to stop, cause stillness [V]'. In this way, a single word *zhǐ* manifests itself through a polycategorial state in the sentence. This example also indicates that, as pointed out by Zhang (2005: 22, 24) and Bai (2011: 12), in Ma's (1898) system, the context, or more precisely, the word-class indicating construction can reveal the polycategorial state of a given expression. This status of polycategoriality is named *jiānlèi* [hold concurrently–categories] 'the status of holding concurrently more than one word category' (兼類), abbreviated as JL in this study.

Based on empirical findings, Ma (1898) identified two types of JL with respect to whether they are marked by some phonological changes or not, i.e. (i) the status of JL accompanied by phonological alterations (usually tonal changes, or occasionally, the alteration in voicing of the initial consonant); (ii) the status of JL that is not accompanied by any phonological alteration. In the former type of JL, varied pronunciations of a word are supposed to indicate the affiliation of the word to different word categories. For example, the word 雨 *yu* has a JL status:

míngzì 雨 *yǔ* (with the third tone) is an object-denoting item meaning 'rain (natural phenomenon)', while *dòngzì* 雨 *yù* (with the fourth tone, a result derived through *qùshēng* 'departing tone') is an action-denoting item meaning 'to rain (it rains)' or 'to fall (as if rain drops)'. This sound-glossing idea of Ma can be traced back to the DMT theory discussed previously (Zhang 2005: 22). In order to account for the two types of JL cases, Ma (1898) further developed two mechanisms: *biànyīn* 'Distinguishing by pronunciation' (辨音) and *jiǎjiè* 'Borrowing for the moment' (假借). For a detailed discussion of the two mechanisms, the reader is referred to Zhang (2005: 17–29) and Zádrapa (2011: 27–30). As their names suggest, the latter mechanism 'Borrowing for the moment' applies in particular when the status of JL only exists temporarily, i.e. when the newly derived categorial meaning of a word is only available in the current context, and as such the current cross-categorial usage neither changes nor adds anything new into the lexicon. In general, the latter mechanism by Ma deals with the words with temporary, context-dependent polycategoriality, whereas his former mechanism (i.e. *biànyīn* 'Distinguishing by pronunciation') deals with the words with well-established, lexicalized polycategorial status. In this connection, however, it is important to note that this does not imply that all of the words with lexicalized polycategoriality need necessarily be marked phonologically for their different categorial meanings. As a matter of fact, the vast majority of the words with lexicalized polycategoriality are free from any phonological markedness.

In his *Guowenfa Caochuang* (國文法草創) published in 1922, Chen Chengze (陳承澤) supported Ma's (1898) word classification (where Chinese lexemes are classified into different word categories, as discussed), but disapproved of his idea that a lexical item can belong concurrently to more than one word category, referred to as JL. On the one hand, Chen ([1922] 1957: 18–21) classified lexemes into various major word categories in a very similar way to the classification made by Ma. Their differences lie mainly in the naming of some word categories (cf. Table 3). For example, Chen used the term *xiàngzì* (象字 [appearance–word]) in place of Ma's *jìngzì*, the term *fùzì* (副字 [assistant–word]) in place of Ma's *zhuàngzì*, and *gǎnzì* (感字 [sigh–word]) in place of Ma's *tànzì*. On the other hand, however, Chen ([1922] 1957: 21–25) rejected Ma's concept of JL, and proposed the notion of HY (活用 *huóyòng* 'live use') to describe the flexible use of words across categories or subcategories in discourse.

In Chen's ([1922] 1957: 21) opinion, every lexical item should belong to a single, fixed word category according to its *běnyì* 'basic, original meaning' (本義), which is the meaning attached to the item at the time of its creation. Only when a lexical item is used in this sense is the use of the item called its *běnyòng* 'basic, original use' (本用). In contrast, as long as the item is used to serve functions of

other word categories or subcategories (than its 'basic, original use'), it is subject to HY, and the newly derived meanings are called HY meanings.

The example of 止 *zhǐ* given by Ma ([1898] 1983), illustrated in (5), where *zhǐ* is assigned to a polycategorial status of *jìngzì* (meaning 'still [Adj]'), *míngzì* ('still-ness [N]') and *dòngzì* ('cause to stop, cause stillness [tr. V]'), is now, in Chen's view, just a matter of HY. According to him, the basic, original meaning of *zhǐ* is the intransitive reading 'stop, halt [intr.]', according to which *zhǐ* belongs to a fixed word subcategory under the class of *dòngzì*, namely, *zì-dòngzì* (自動字, often referred to as 'intransitive verbs') (Chen [1922] 1957: 22). Hence, only the use of *zhǐ* in this sense is its basic, original use (*běnyòng*), whereas all of the three uses of *zhǐ* in (5) are subject to HY, i.e. used flexibly as a *xiàngzì* (corresponding to Ma's *jìngzì*), as a *míngzì*, and as a *zhì-dòngzì* (致動字, often referred to as 'caus-ative verbs'). In particular, Chen terms the use of *zhǐ* 'stop, halt [intr.]' in the func-tion of a causative verb meaning 'cause to stop' as a case of *běnyòng de huóyòng* 'HY within the scope of the basic, original use' (本用的活用), while the use of *zhǐ* 'stop, halt [intr.]' across word categories, i.e. as a *xiàngzì* meaning 'still' or as a *míngzì* meaning 'stillness' is called *fēi běnyòng de huóyòng* 'HY outside the scope of the basic, original use' (非本用活用). These are two types of HY according to Chen ([1922] 1957: 83–91).

The following quotations can help to illustrate more clearly Chen's concep-tion of HY:

> HY experienced its peak of development during the period of the dynastic change from Zhou to Qin. At the very beginning, the application of HY seemed completely arbitrary. Speakers had unrestricted access to it, as long as it would not cause any misunderstandings in dis-course. Any component element of the original meaning of a word could in principle trigger one such derivational process of that word. [9]
>
> (Chen [1922] 1957: 11)

> The respective natures of *míngzì*, *dòngzì*, *xiàngzì* and *fùzì* differ from each other, as they all have their own specific syntactic functions and positions in discourse (for example, a *míngzì* takes the syntactic position of a subject, an object, a modifier, or the centre word; a *xiàngzì* takes the position of a modifier or a predicate; a *zì-dòngzì* or *tā-dòngzì* [corresponding to an intransitive verb and a transitive verb, respectively. LS.] takes the position of a predicate; a *fùzì* takes the position of an adjunct). These differences are also reflected in their different manners of HY. For example, *míngzì* are words denoting things. All things have their own forms of existence. What is described by a *xiàngzì* is, however, often only a part of the form of existence of a thing; in order to describe the form of existence of the thing in general or

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9 The passage by Chen ([1922] 1957: 11) in the Chinese original is as follows: "活用引伸時期，以周秦之交為最盛。 其始為隨意的，凡自上下文關係，可以不生誤會者，隨意活用。凡原義上所含之分子，任取其一，隨意引伸焉。"All translations are mine.

to take it as a whole, the relevant *míngzì* is required to perform the task of a *xiàngzì*. This can be seen in the example of 君君 *jūn jūn* 'A ruler acts (properly) as a ruler' or 臣臣 *chén chén* 'A minister acts (properly) as a minister', in which the second occurrence of the *míngzì jūn* 'ruler' or *chén* 'minister, subordinate, male slave' is used as a *xiàngzì* to describe, very generally, how a ruler or a minister behaves in a conventional or socially expected way. In addition to the form of existence, things also have dynamic aspects. What is described by a *dòngzì* is, however, often only a part of a thing's dynamic aspect; in order to express the dynamic aspect of a thing in general or in a particular sense, the relevant *míngzì* is required to perform the task of a *dòngzì*. This can be illustrated by the use of the *míngzì* 雨 *yǔ* 'rain' as a *zì-dòngzì* pronounced *yù* meaning '(it) rains' in the construction 天雨 *tiān yù* [heaven–rain:V] 'It rains'. This intransitive use of *yù* can also be made a transitive one, as illustrated by the verbal *yù* 'fall on' in a sentence such as 夏雨雨人 *xià yǔ yù rén* [summer–rain–rain:V–people] 'The rain of summer falls on people.'[10]

(Chen [1922] 1957: 22)

Closer examination reveals that Chen's (1922) HY approach starts out from a dynamic, diachronic viewpoint and construes the flexible use of words across word categories as a derivational process of a given word from its basic, original meaning/use (*běnyì* or *běnyòng*) to its HY meaning/use. In contrast, Ma's (1898) concept of JL addresses the flexible use from a context-dependent viewpoint, similar to Yuan (1710), from which an immediate polycategorial state of a given word is identified contextually (cf. Bai 2011: 12). It is on this very basis that in Ma's theory, a word is allowed to have an affiliation to more than one word category, while in Chen's view, a word is only allowed to belong to one fixed word category according to its basic, original meaning, but possibly have more than one categorial usage (HY meanings/uses).

Over the next decades, the idea that Chinese lexemes (in both ancient Chinese and Modern Chinese) can basically be classified into distinct word categories has been widely accepted (Zhang 2005: 13–14). Also, as observed by Bai (2011: 216), the common way of word classification has not changed much from that of Ma (1898) or Chen (1922), except for renaming and adding a few parts of speech into the system (e.g., new parts of speech 數詞 *shùcí* 'numerals', 副名词 *fùmíngcí*

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10 The passage by Chen ([1922] 1957: 22) in the Chinese original is as follows: "名、動、象、副等之質各異，因在文章上，各取得其特定之文位 (如名字居主位、目的位、領位、被領位，象字居冠位、說明位，自動字，他動字居說明位，副字居副位等是也)。又以該性質之異，而活用方法亦不同。如名字，主要為表物之字。然物大抵有其象，而象字所形容者，往往不過其一部分；欲形容其全相象或渾漠之象，必即以該名字為象，用如 [君君] [臣臣]第二之 [君]字 [臣]字，指具有君或臣所應具之德言，即象用也。物又有其動（最廣義），而動字所表出，往往不過其一部分；欲表出其全動或其特有之動，必即以該名字為動用，如 [天雨]之[雨]，即自動用也。此全部分之動或其特有之動，其本身及物時，或人假之以及物時，則為他動用，如[夏雨雨人]之第二[雨]字。"All translations are mine.

'classifiers'). Table 3 compares the word classification systems provided, respectively, by Zhang et al. (2002), Zhang (1980), Lü and Zhu (1951), Chen (1922) and Ma (1898). These are all counted as influential approaches to parts of speech in Chinese. For a better comparison, the last column in Table 3 shows the corresponding parts of speech in the European linguistic tradition.

Tab. 3: Chinese word classification systems since Ma (1898) (cf. Bai 2011: 216)

Zhang et al. (2002)	Zhang (1980)	Lü and Zhu (1951)	Chen (1922)	Ma (1898)	Parts of speech
名词	名词	名詞	名字	名字	
míngcí	*míngcí*	*míngcí*	*míngzì*	*míngzì*	Noun
代词	代词	代詞	代名字	代字	
dàicí	*dàicí*	*dàicí*	*dàimíngzì*	*dàizì*	Pronoun
动词	动词	動詞	動字	動字	
dòngcí	*dòngcí*	*dòngcí*	*dòngzì*	*dòngzì*	Verb
形容词	形容词	形容詞	象字	靜字	
xíngróngcí	*xíngróngcí*	*xíngróngcí*	*xiàngzì*	*jìngzì*	Adjective
副词	副词	副詞	副字	狀字	
fùcí	*fùcí*	*fùcí*	*fùzì*	*zhuàngzì*	Adverb
介词	介词	副動詞	介字	介字	
jiècí	*jiècí*	*fùdòngcí*	*jièzì*	*jièzì*	Preposition
连词	连词	連結詞	連字	連字	
liáncí	*liáncí*	*liánjiécí*	*liánzì*	*liánzì*	Conjunction
语气词	叹词	語氣詞	感字	嘆字	
yǔqìcí	*tàncí*	*yǔqìcí*	*gǎnzì*	*tànzì*	Interjection
助词	助词	象聲詞[11]	助字	助字	
zhùcí	*zhùcí*	*xiàngshēngcí*	*zhùzì*	*zhùzì*	Auxiliary
数词	数量词	數詞			
shùcí	*shùliàngcí*	*shùcí*			Numeral
		副名詞			
		fùmíngcí			Classifier

To account for the phenomenon of flexibility, both of the terms HY and JL are adopted and widely used nowadays. In contrast to the notion of 'basic, original use' (*běnyòng*) proposed by Chen (1922), the term HY is generally used when referring to an unconventional, context-dependent flexible use of words across word categories. Typically, such flexible use does not necessarily result in any

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11 The term "象聲詞 *xiàngshēngcí*" in Table 3 refers to onomatopoetic words.

change or innovation in the lexicon. This can be illustrated by the following example from Zhang (1984: 450): "For instance, the lexeme 手 *shǒu* 'hand' is a noun and normally performs the function of a subject, an object, or an attributive noun in a sentence. However, in the sentence 曹子手劍而從之 *Cáozǐ shǒu jiàn ér cóng zhī* [Caopan–hand:V–sword–CONJ–follow–PRON] 'Caopan held a sword in his hand and followed him.' (*Gongyang Zhuan*, chapter *Zhuang*) (a Classical Chinese text), *shǒu* was used predicatively as a transitive verb [meaning 'hold something in one's hand' or 'take something in one's hand'. LS]. This kind of tentative, flexible use of words across word categories is referred to as HY."[12]

The above example given by Zhang (1984: 450) demonstrates at least two things. The first is to illustrates how a Chinese scholar usually draws word-class distinctions and identifies HY, given that this language lacks any kind of productive morphology in the traditional sense, which is immediately reflected in the lack of markedness distinctions across Croft's (2000, 2001) conceptual space for parts of speech. That is, they rely on syntactic criteria (position, distribution) for determining word-class alterations of given expressions. In this connection, attention should be paid to the fact that even under the premise of entire categoriality in the lexicon of Chinese, the way categoriality manifests itself in this language is different from the manifestation of word-class distinctions in differentiated, European languages such as English. In the latter, one of the most important criteria for determining word-class distinctions is formal evidence, which requires that each word class has its own unique morphosyntactic paradigm. Consider, for example, that English nouns are modified by articles and inflected for number, while verbs need to agree with their arguments and are inflected for tense, aspect, and mood. In contrast, these are not available for 'nouns' and 'verbs' in Chinese. In other words, the semantic type shift of flexible lexemes in Chinese (or say, HY) appears merely as a matter of position shift at the syntactic level, while one such unmarked semantic type shift in English (conversion) is not only accompanied by position change but also by a change in morphosyntactic paradigms differentiating word classes. Unlike the above example with *shǒu*, the conversion from the nominal 'hand' to verbal 'hand' in English includes a change from the paradigm of 'hand [N]' (*a/the hand*, *hands*) to the paradigm of 'hand [V]' (e.g., *I hand*, *he hands*, *they hand*, or *handed*, *be handing*, etc.).

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12 The passage by Zhang (1984: 450) in the Chinese original is "如‘手’是名詞，通常做句子的主語，賓語和定語，但在‘曹子手劍而從之’（《公羊傳·莊公十三年》）這一特定的語言結構裏，‘手’卻帶上賓語，充當了句子的謂語，具有動詞的一般特點，執行了動詞的職能。詞的這種臨時的靈活的運用，叫做詞類活用。" All translations are mine.

The second thing that the above example by Zhang (1984) demonstrates is that the newly derived meaning of the word concerned, i.e. 'hold or take something in one's hand' is related to the original semantics of that word (i.e. 'hand') in such a way that the two meanings are unlikely to be recognized as corresponding to two different but formally identical words (say, homonyms *shǒu*₁ and *shǒu*₂). To put it another way, the notion of HY has an underlying requirement for semantic relatedness in the categorial shift. In fact, this manner of semantic relatedness was recognized as far back as 1922 by Chen ([1922] 1957: 11), as he put it: "any component element of the original meaning of the converted word could in principle trigger one such derivational process of that word." That is, the original semantics of the word that undergoes HY is incorporated in the newly derived meaning of that word, which ensures that HY is a process of meaning generation of a single lexical item, but not word formation. This view is held by the mainstream of modern Chinese linguistics.

Compared to the concept of HY, the notion of JL requires that all of the categorial readings or uses of the word concerned should be neither temporary nor occasional, but well-established and present in the lexicon. In actual use, the term JL usually occurs in the notion of *jiānlèicí* 'JL words' (兼類詞), referring to the lexical items that can conventionally be used to serve as semantically related items of more than one word category (regardless of whether or not there is a distributional hierarchy of different categorial uses in terms of frequency of occurrence). An important type of the JL words is the so-called *míngdòngcí* 'nominal-verbal words' (名動詞). As the name suggests, the nominal-verbal words refer to those JL words which can be used as semantically related items of either nominal or verbal category. This lexeme class involves initially the JL words that denote abstract concepts or conceptual domains (e.g., 夢 *mèng* 'dream [N] [V]' or 耻 *chǐ* 'shame [N] [V]' in ancient Chinese; 研究 *yánjiū* 'research [N] [V]' or 学习 *xuéxí* 'learn, learning, study [N] [V]' in Modern Chinese).

The stable polycategorial status of JL words can (but need not) be reflected at the phonological level. What is intimately related to this is the aforementioned DMT theory or Ma's (1898) mechanism of 'Distinguishing by pronunciation' (辨音 *biànyīn*). In contemporary Chinese linguistics, the sound-glossing ideas that link varied pronunciations of a word to its various categorial meanings is often referred to as *pòdú* 'split readings' (破讀, sometimes also 讀破 *dúpò*). This concept serves as a mechanism for two tasks. Firstly, it can be used to determine whether a concrete instance should be identified as being subject to temporary HY or well-established JL, since a temporarily flexible use of words across word categories would normally not result in any change or innovation at the phonological level, although not every case of JL is obligatorily marked phonologically.

Secondly, the mechanism of split readings can, alongside semantics, serve to determine whether a given meaning/form is subject to a single JL word or to one of two different lexical items that are homonyms, as suggested by Chi (2009: 142), "if the two categorial meanings represented by two split readings are semantically related to each other, they should be analysed as two senses of a single JL word. If there is no relation between them, they should rather be considered as corresponding to two separate lexical items."[13]

Despite the differences in their terminological uses as outlined above, JL and HY are not two notions generated according to opposite principles. They are potentially related to each other. In this regard, Lü (1979: 46–47) points out: "if the semantic type shift of a word is very special and only takes place occasionally, but not regularly, it should be regarded as a temporary HY case, rather than the permanent word-class transition. However, if a HY use becomes a frequent phenomenon, it is turned into word-class transition".[14] Lü's observation suggests that the formation of new (JL) words can be due to the accumulative effect of sufficiently frequent occurrences of HY – as long as the HY meaning concerned occurs frequently enough, it will become conventional and lexicalized. On the other hand, however, it must also be noted that this does not mean that every HY word will have the chance of becoming a JL word (i.e. the chance for a HY meaning to get established and become a meaning subsumed under a JL word); neither can every JL word keep its status of polycategoriality unchanged through history. On the contrary, only parts of HY cases are able to become JL, and the JL status of words may change over time. These can be illustrated by the following two concrete instances:

(i) The lexeme 牛 *niú* 'ox, cattle' (which is generally identified as a noun in modern Chinese linguistics) is observed to serve once as a verb meaning 'be/become an injured ox' in the Classical Chinese text *Guliang Zhuan* (穀梁傳).[15]

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13 The passage by Chi (2009: 142) in the Chinese original is as follows "如果破读的两个音所表示的意义有联系，它们应被视为兼类词 [...]。如果意义之间没有联系，还是将它们看做不同的词更好。" All translations are mine.

14 The passage by Lü Shuxiang (1979: 46–47) in the Chinese original is as follows "语义的变化比较特殊，只是偶尔这样用，没有经常化，这算是临时'活用'，不同于永久性的词类转变 [...] 这种活用如果经常化了，就成了词类转变了。" All translations are mine.

15 The original Chinese sentence with 牛 *niú* 'ox, cattle' being interpreted as 'be/become an injured ox' is as follows: 牛傷，不言傷之者，傷自牛作也 [...]。已牛也，其尚卜免之何也? *niú shāng, bù yán shāng zhī zhě, shāng zì niú zuò yě. Yǐ niú yě, qí shàng bǔ miǎn zhī hé yě?* [ox–be injured, NEG–say–injury–PRON–PRON, injury–from–ox–make–PTCL. already–ox:V, why should it be–still–divine–omit–PRON–Q.what–PTCL '(If) the ox (used for sacrificing) were injured, (while the recording scripts) did not mention who injured it, (the reason is that) the injury

Despite the fact that this newly derived HY meaning of *niú* still involves its basic, original semantics ('ox, cattle'), this meaning is strongly context-dependent, as the semantic unit 'being injured' is the information added by the context. It is probably for this reason that the HY meaning of *niú* mentioned ('be/become an injured cattle') has never been conventionalized or lexicalized in the history of Chinese.

(ii) The lexeme 目 *mù* can serve as an example illustrating the variation that a JL word may have over time. It is observed that before the Qin dynasty (221–206 BC), *mù* was conventionally used as a noun denoting the body part 'eyes', performing the syntactic function of subject or object. Only rarely did it occur as a verb with the meaning 'watch, look (at)' (in the present study, there are 144 instances of *mù* serving as a noun, and only two instances of *mù* as a verb meaning 'watch, look'). Under these circumstances, *mù* is commonly identified as being subject to HY in pre-Qin Chinese. However, as observed by Deng (2010), the word *mù* was accepted later in the Han dynasty (206 BC–220 AD) as a JL word with both the nominal reading 'eyes' and the verbal reading 'watch, look (at), wink'. Afterwards, *mù* gradually lost its verbal meanings nevertheless. Up till today *mù* has generally been regarded as a lexical item of a single word category, i.e. as a noun meaning 'eyes' (the use of which is restricted to certain compounds or constructions, while the meaning of 'eyes' is generally expressed by the item 眼 *yǎn* or the bisyllabic 眼睛 *yǎnjīng* in Modern Chinese).

The example of *mù* above suggests that there could be considerable variation over time in the relation between HY and JL. Apart from other factors, it is probably for this reason that there have hardly been any attempts to sort out in a panchronic way what are HY words and what are JL words in Chinese vocabulary. As a matter of fact, there were many JL words in the history, which, despite their high degree of conventionalization, only existed in a particular time range and then (gradually) lost their polycategoriality. These have in particular been accompanied by many structural changes of the Chinese language through history at a larger scale. One of the most important structural changes attested is the bisyllabification process of words (a shift from monosyllabic to bisyllabic words). Modern Chinese is considered a bisyllabic language – most words are two syllables. However, at the earliest stage of the Chinese language for which there is a written

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was caused by the ox itself. (As) the ox is already injured, why should a divination still be practiced to see if the sacrifice can be carried out without ox?' (*Guliang Zhuan*).

record, words were mostly monosyllabic, with each syllable generally corresponding to one character (Wang 1958; Norman 1988; Packard 2011 and many others). The bisyllabification process is thought to have systematically started at an early stage of the Han dynasty (206 BC–220 AD). Some researchers claim that it already begun in the early time of the Zhou dynasty (1046–256 BC), around 1000–700 BC (Cheng 1981; Boltz 1994; Feng 2011; Packard 2011). During this process, not only many originally monosyllabic words (including flexible lexemes), but also many word strings or constructions (composed of either lexical or grammatical words), had been replaced by bisyllabic units with their components strictly being kept within particular syntactic (word-order) constraints (see Dong 2012). For example, in addition to a few other bisyllabic items, the compound 使 者 *shǐzhě* 'diplomatic envoy', which is composed of the lexical *shǐ* (classified as a verb in Modern Chinese) and the functional *zhě* (often analysed as a nominalisation marker or a subject-substitute relative pronoun) had replaced the monosyllabic 使 *shǐ*, which could serve either as a verb (meaning 'send, order to go to') or a noun ('people who are sent out for a particular task', 'diplomatic envoy') in Classical Chinese, illustrated in (53).

In order to determine what is the HY meaning of a given word, and on the other hand, what is its 'basic, original use or meaning' (*běnyòng* or *běnyì*) as suggested by Chen (1922), Chinese scholars usually rely on classical dictionaries and encyclopaedias. Nevertheless, there are still cases where a clear distinction between the two meanings (related to the directionality of the process of HY) is not easy to make. For this reason, a few working methods have been developed, of which the comparison of frequency distributions is by far the most used one (cf. e.g., Cui 1998, 2004). For example, in Zhang's (2005) investigation into the frequency distributions of given words in both nominal and verbal functions in thirteen classical texts, the occurrence frequencies of words in the two syntactic functions (N and V) can, in most cases, indicate the direction of the HY derivation a word undergoes (i.e. either N→V or V→N). On the other hand, however, one must be aware that every method may have its limitations. As observed by Zhang (2005: 35–36, 172–173), the frequency distributions could sometimes be influenced by the stylistic factors of the texts under investigation and thus be misleading. To illustrate this issue, he mentions the word 門 *mén* in Classical Chinese. The statistic results show that there are similar large percentages of *mén* occurring as a noun meaning 'gate' and as a verb meaning 'attack the gate', 'protect the gate' or 'guard the gate' in *Zuozhuan*. This seems to suggest that *mén* was a JL word in Classical Chinese. Zhang (2005: 36, 173) points out, however, that the large percentage of *mén* as a verb is only typical of two individual classical texts (including *Zuozhuan*) due to their plentiful descriptions of wars and battles (thus

involving many descriptions of attacking or guarding city gates), whereas *mén* persistently serves as a noun in many other Classical Chinese texts. Based on this, *mén* should not be identified as a JL word in Classical Chinese, but a word with the basic, original meaning 'gate' and the HY meaning 'attack the gate', 'protect the gate' or 'guard the gate'. On this issue, Chi (2009: 148) makes a similar observation and suggests that what frequency distributions can show should not be taken for granted as the sole criterion for distinguishing between the HY and the basic, original use of given words, or between HY words and JL words.

As for Yuan's (1710) statement of the universality of HY (more specifically, all 'dead' lexeme can potentially be used as 'live' ones), most Chinese linguists hold the opposite view. For example, Wang (1999: 343) claims: "in ancient Chinese, the affiliation of words to certain word categories is relatively fixed, and each word category has its own specific function in a sentence. The phenomenon of HY had occurred much more often in Old Chinese[16] than the Chinese form in modern times, where some words could be used flexibly across word categories according to certain rules in language usage conventions. The reason that the phenomenon of HY also frequently occurred in the texts of later generations is due to the imitation of the models of antiquity."[17] Similarly, Zhang (2005) claims that HY applies only to a part of the lexicon in ancient Chinese. He (2005: 357) holds the view that before the Han dynasty (206 BC–220 AD), HY served merely as an emergency backup to compensate for the lack of relevant vocabulary entries. It was only after the Han time, i.e. from Early Middle Chinese onwards, that the rhetorical function of HY was developed.

In contrast to Zhang's (2005) view that the rhetorical use of HY did not exist before the Han dynasty, some studies, such as Wang (2005) and Chi (2009), provide evidence for the fact that HY could serve rhetorical and figurative purposes already in Classical Chinese.

In Chi's (2009) discussion on the flexible use of nouns in *Zuozhuan*, there are three types of semantic relatedness identified as being essential for the HY cases

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16 The term 'Old Chinese' (上古漢語 *gǔdài hànyǔ*), also known as 'Archaic Chinese', is used generally to refer to the written language of the period from the twelfth century BC (the era of Shang dynasty) to the third century BC (the era of Qin dynasty). It is widely accepted that the Chinese logographic writing system was invented around the twelfth century BC (Boltz 1994; Packard 2011).

17 The passage by Wang Li (1999: 343) in the Chinese original is as follows "在古代漢語裏，某 詞屬於某一詞類還是比較固定的，各類詞在句中的職務也有一定的分工。 [...] 在上古漢語裏， 詞類活用的現象比現代漢語更多一些，有些詞可以按照一定的語言習慣而靈活應用。[...] 由於 仿古的關係，在後世古文家的作品裏，還常常可以見到這類活用的情況。" All translations are mine.

under investigation, namely, *pàishēng* 'derivative relatedness' (派生), *jièdài* 'metonymic relatedness' (借代) and *bǐyù* 'metaphorical relatedness' (比喻). According to Chi's (2009: 146–147) definition, the type of derivative relatedness predicates that a noun denoting a thing or phenomenon can be used to designate some activity which is related to that thing or phenomenon. For example, the flexible use of the noun 军 *jūn* 'army' as a verb with the meaning 'to fight' (where the action of fighting is related to army) is regarded by Chi as being subject to the type of derivative relatedness. The type of metonymic relatedness predicates that a noun denoting a thing or phenomenon can have a verbal meaning, with an inherent part of the meaning being related to that thing or phenomenon. For example, the flexible use of the noun 兵 *bīng* 'weapon' as a verb meaning 'to fight with weapons' (where the action of fighting with weapons contains weapons as tools) is regarded by Chi (2009: 146) as being subject to the metonymic relatedness. To illustrate the metaphorical relatedness in HY, Chi (2009: 147) mentions, for example, 吴王 *Wú wáng* 'King Wu' (cf. example (4)), 階 *jiē* 'stairs', 枝 *zhī* 'branches', 鄙 *bǐ* 'peripheral area', 疵瑕 *cīxiá* 'blemishes on jade' and 表裡 *biǎolǐ* 'the surface and lining of clothes'. However, probably for reasons of space, he does not provide detailed information about how these words mentioned are metaphorically interpreted in their respective processes of HY. As for the question of why Classical Chinese allows HY in its system, Chi considers the reason to be the fact that this language lacks morphology, in the sense that the extreme shortage of morphological markedness for word-class distinctions provides the most convenient conditions for the occurrences of HY.

2.2.3 Review of studies in recent times

In more recent years, flexibility of parts of speech in Classical Chinese has been considered in several works. These include Zhang Wenguo's (张文国) *Gu Hanyu de Ming Dong Cilei Zhuanbian ji qi Fazhan* (古汉语的名动词类转变及其发展) (2005), Walter Bisang's "Precategoriality and syntax-based parts of speech: the case of Late Archaic Chinese" (2008a) and "Precategoriality and argument structure in Late Archaic Chinese" (2008b), and Lukáš Zádrapa's "Word-class Flexibility in Classical Chinese: Verbal and Adverbial Uses of Nouns" (2011). They all provide significant guidance to the present study and will be discussed in this section.

2.2.3.1 Zhang (2005)

Zhang (2005) is one of the most comprehensive and up-to-date works devoted to the phenomenon of word-class flexibility in ancient Chinese. As the name of his work suggests (translation: "Word-class transition between nouns and verbs in Old Chinese and their further developments"), Zhang applies the framework of categoriality and modern terminology to the phenomenon of flexibility of parts of speech. In doing so, the class of lexemes denoting objects, people, or things (referred to by the traditional terms such as *jìng* 'static', *sǐ* 'dead' or the like) is called nouns; the class of lexemes denoting actions, events, or processes (referred to by the traditional terms such as *dòng* 'dynamic', *huó* 'live' or the like) is called verbs; the bidirectional transition between the two lexeme classes is called 'word-class transition between nouns and verbs' or 'noun-verb transition'. In the main part of his work, based on large amounts of empirical data from thirteen texts (most of which are Classical Chinese texts, while *Shijing* (詩經) is a poetry collection of Old Chinese; see Table 4), Zhang provides a solution to the semantic interpretation of the noun-verb transitions in the language form of the pre-Qin period (before the second century BC), and discusses their further developments till the post-Han period (i.e. the second century AD). Zádrapa (2011) writes about it:

> [It] seems to be the most detailed and extensive work on the topic of noun-verb transitions on CC [i.e. Classical Chinese. LS.], 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.
>
> (Zádrapa 2011: 37)

Zhang's investigation on HY aims at the cases of *cílèi huóyòng* 'HY of word (sub)categories' (词类活用), but not at those of *shící huóyòng* 'HY of individual words' (实词活用). His term 'HY of word (sub)categories' concerns the kind of systematically organized flexible use of a category or group of words. In these cases, the semantic type shifts are routinely predictable and follow the rules that tend to apply to an entire lexical-semantic class. By contrast, his term 'HY of individual words' refers to the flexible use of some randomly scattered words across word categories, where the semantic type shifts do not conform with regularity or predictability, but rather unexpected, context-dependent, and sometimes even idiosyncratically.

Consistent with the view held by the mainstream of modern Chinese linguistics, Zhang defines HY as a type of derivational process resulting in a change in the word category of a single word, but not as word formation that produces new lexical items. Meanwhile, a true HY process must meet a semantic prerequisite, namely, the newly derived meaning of a given word must be *directly* related to the basic, original meaning of that word. If the semantic relation between the two meanings is indirect, in the sense that an intermediate step is presumably involved in the derivation, the process is not a matter of HY (Zhang 2005: 109–112). One of Zhang's examples illustrating the direct vs. indirect semantic relations is the lexeme 鏡 *jìng* 'mirror'. In Classical Chinese, *jìng* can serve as a verb with the meaning of either V_1 'use as mirror, look into the mirror' or V_2 'use as reference, draw lessons (from)', as illustrated by the two occurrences of *jìng* in (6), respectively. In Zhang's (2005: 111) view, the second verbal meaning of *jìng* in (6), i.e. V_2 'use as reference, draw lessons (from)' must have been derived indirectly from its basic, original meaning 'mirror' via its first verbal meaning V_1 'use as mirror, look into the mirror'. In other words, Zhang believes that there is a derivational chain of *jìng*: 'mirror [N]' $\rightarrow V_1 \rightarrow V_2$. In this chain, the set of N and V_1 is a HY pair, while the set of N and V_2 not.

(6) 鏡於水，見面之容，鏡於人，則知吉與凶。 (*Mozi*, *Feigong*)

jìng	*yú*	*shuǐ,*	*jiàn*	*miàn*	*zhī*	*róng,*
mirror:V	PREP	water	see	face	GEN	appearance

jìng	*yú*	*rén,*	*zé*	*zhī*	*jí*	*yǔ*	*xiōng.*
mirror:V	PREP	people	then	know	good luck	and	bad luck

'Using water as mirror, (one) sees facial appearance; using people as reference, (one) then knows (what are) good and bad things in life.'

Zhang also expressed his views on what else should be left out of the scope of HY. Regarding the derivation from nouns to verbs (N→V), he excludes two main cases from the scope of HY, namely (i) using nouns as 'expository predicates' (说明谓语 *shuōmíng wèiyǔ*) (Zhang 2005: 70–97), and (ii) using nouns as predicates in a certain terminological manner in particular texts (Zhang 2005: 154–164). In what follows I would like to briefly outline the two main cases discussed by Zhang, since they are important for understanding "nouns" in Classical Chinese.

The first main case (above (i) using nouns as expository predicates) is excluded from the scope of HY, as it, in Zhang's view, rather represents a standard conventional function of nouns in Classical Chinese. This case further involves two subcases: (i-a) using nouns as predicates describing qualities of the subject,

and (i-b) using nouns as predicates describing conditions of the subject. The former subcase (i-a) can be seen in many well-known SV [subject-verb] constructions with the same word in a sequence, such as 君君 *jūn jūn* in which the word 君 *jūn* 'ruler' first serves as the syntactic subject, then as the predicate meaning 'be/behave like a (true) ruler' or 'act (properly) as a ruler'. In such SV constructions, the semantic interpretation of the noun (N) in the predicate position normally always follows the pattern of 'N → be/behave like a (true) N' or 'act (properly) as an N'. In this connection, it is noted that, contrary to Zhang, many Chinese linguists such as Chen ([1922] 1957: 22) or Wang (1989: 8) consider this kind of predicative use of nouns as a prototypical case of HY (cf. also Yuan 1710: 82–88). It is also interesting to note that in these SV constructions with converted words, the zero-marked semantic type shift of the word conforms to the pattern of semantic compositionality as proposed by Evans and Osada (2005: 367) for establishing lexical flexibility. However, Zhang's (2005) exclusion of this case from the scope of HY is probably (partially) due to the very factor of compositionality, as he (2005: 70–84) puts it: Firstly, these SV constructions are restricted to the semantic class of lexemes denoting some human roles that are expected to meet certain socially or culturally determined criteria, usually in line with Confucian ideology. Secondly, these SV constructions are restricted with respect to syntactic composition, in that they have little freedom of transformation: their only permitted converting form is the negation by inserting 不 *bù* (e.g., 君不君 *jūn bù jūn* [ruler–NEG–ruler:V] 'A ruler doesn't act (properly) as a ruler.').

The latter subcase (i-b) excluded from the scope of HY pertains to the predicative use of nouns to describe conditions of the subject. According to Zhang (2005: 85–97), this predicative use of nouns is routinely restricted to the expressions that designate physical characteristics of animals or plants, or some basic necessities or activities of humans. The predicative use of nouns designating physical characteristics can be seen in the example 犁牛之子骍且角 *líniú zhī zǐ xīng qiě jiǎo* [farm cattle–GEN–child–red:V–CONJ–horn:V] 'Newborn calves are (usually) in red fur and have horns.' (*Lunyu*, chapter *Yongye*). Here, both *xīng* 'red' and *jiǎo* 'horn' are used as predicates, meaning 'have red fur, be in red fur' and 'have horns, be with horns', respectively. The predicative use of nouns designating basic necessities or activities of humans can be illustrated by the word 車 *chē* 'chariot' in the example 彼徒我車 *pǐ tú wǒ chē* [those (people)–go on foot, we–chariot:V] 'those (people) walk, (while) we ride chariot.' (*Zuozhuan*, chapter *Zhaogong* 1). In the constructions under discussion, the nominal expression (N) in predicate function normally complies with the pattern of semantic interpretation 'N → to have/use/be in/be with N'.

The second main case that is excluded by Zhang (2005) from the scope of HY (i.e. using nouns as predicates in a certain terminological manner in particular texts) is said to be confined to two Classical Chinese commentary books: *Gong-yang Zhuan* (公羊傳) and *Guliang Zhuan* (穀梁傳). This case can also be divided into two subcases: (ii-a) the use of nouns denoting human roles or social status (N) as a predicate in the sense of 'term as N' (e.g., 婦 *fù* 'married woman' → 'to term as a married woman'); (ii-b) the use of nouns denoting some participant items of an event as a predicate for the purpose of recording historical events (e.g., 日 *rì* 'day' → 'to record the day', 地 *dì* 'place' → 'to record the place'). According to Zhang (2005: 156–164), in the former subcase of terminological usage (ii-a), only the word form of the noun (but not its meaning) is involved in the derivation; in the latter subcase (ii-b), there is no relation in the sense of derivation between the nominal and verbal meanings at all. For these reasons, they should be distinguished from the real HY cases.

Based on these considerations, Zhang (2005: 116–130) raises an objection to Yuan (1710)'s claim about the universality of HY. He argues that HY has never applied to the entire lexicon of Chinese in any historical period. The reasons why there were nouns in ancient Chinese that could function as verbs through HY are ascribed by Zhang (2005: 148–174) to many factors such as the content of text, the formal requirements of text (e.g., rhyme, parallelism, antithesis), the influence of genre or style of writing, or some individual purposes of the author (e.g., the expectation of the effects of brevity, expressivity or vividness). The most significant factor, however, is the presence of *dòngtài tèzhēng yì* 'dynamic distinctive semes' (动态特征义) which are encoded in the semantic structure of the noun that will likely serve as a verb (Zhang 2005: 118–130). Roughly speaking, the dynamic distinctive semes of a noun refer mainly to the semantic features that exhibit the typical act, use or function (*yòng*) of the object denoted by the noun. To explain how the dynamic distinctive semes work, Zhang compared a number of pairs of words, such as 民 *mín* 'folk' vs. 臣 *chén* 'subordinate, minister (under the king), male slave'; 足 *zú* 'foot' vs. 手 *shǒu* 'hand'; 木 *mù* 'tree' vs. 樹 *shù* 'tree, plant'; 云 *yún* 'cloud' vs. 雨 *yǔ* 'rain' etc. Each of these pairs contains items belonging to the same semantic domain, but they distinguish themselves by having or not having dynamic distinctive semes. This distinction determines whether they can serve as verbs or not. In each of the pairs above, the second word has dynamic distinctive semes and thus can be used as verbs through HY, whereas the first word not (for his detailed analyses of these word pairs, see Zhang 2005: 124-130).

Given the directionality of HY (i.e. the process starts from the basic, original meaning of given items), Zhang distinguishes between the type of noun-to-verb

HY (N→V: using nouns as verbs) and the type of verb-to-noun HY (V→N: using verbs as nouns). The two types of word-class transitions are discussed in the context of seven semantic classes of nouns (see below), where the noun (N) occurs either as the input or the output of the transition. For the nouns from each of the semantic classes discussed, Zhang provides statistics on their frequency distributions in both of the N- and V-functions in thirteen classical texts. For an illustration of his statistics, Table 4 presents the occurrence frequencies of nine words (including eight human-denoting nouns and an animal term) in both the N-function and V-function in the thirteen texts.[18]

Tab. 4: Examples of occurrence frequencies of nouns in both N- and V-functions in thirteen classical texts (Zhang 2005: 182; *pīnyīn* glosses added)

	王 *wáng*		君 *jūn*		宰 *zǎi*		祝 *zhù*		医 *yī*		主 *zhǔ*		霸 *bà*		侯 *hóu*		蠹 *dù*	
	N	V *wàng*	N	V	N	V	N	V	N	V	N	V	N	V	N	V	N	V
诗经 *Shijing*	102	1	10	1	2		1				2	1			1	2		
左传 *Zuozhuan*	552	2	548	8	22	1	8	4	7		80	34	6	12	16		2	
谷梁 *Guliang*	13		112	4	2						21	11						
公羊 *Gong-yang*	14		126	8	5					1	22	22			5			1
论语 *Lunyu*	3		48		7						1	4		1				
孟子 *Mengzi*	52	24	164	1	1					1	2	13	8	7	2			
墨子 *Mozi*	43	8	122	1	7		9	3	10	1	18	16	1	2	1			1
荀子 *Xunzi*	59	36	170	21	1				1	1	61	7	4	34	5		1	
老子			6					1			4				5			

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18 It is necessary to note that Zhang's (2005) statistic assessment of what is the N/V-function is based on his exclusion of the two main cases of using nouns as verbs from the scope of HY as discussed above.

	王 wáng		君 jūn		宰 zǎi		祝 zhù		医 yī		主 zhǔ		霸 bà		侯 hóu		蠹 dù	
	N	V wàng	N	V	N	V	N	V	N	V	N	V	N	V	N	V	N	V
Laozi																		
庄子 *Zhuangzi*	52	4	70	2	1	2	1	1	2		11	7	1		3			1
国语 *Guoyu*	522	13	483	2	4		7	2	5	1	44	17	2	4	16			
国策 *Guoce*	497	21	447				6	1			147	13	14	14	4	1	1	2
韩非 *Hanfei*	244	26	325	23	4	1	4	1	9		338	11	2	19			1	1
Total	2150	138	2631	71	56	4	30	19	36	2	751	156	38	93	58	3	5	6

Undoubtedly, Zhang's statistical analysis as such is highly valuable for the research on flexibility of parts of speech in Chinese in general. As far as I know, his statistics are the most comprehensive and extensive empirical analysis of this topic available in Chinese. My only comment in this respect is that, although the syntactic N- and V-positions can be determined in most common intransitive or transitive argument structure constructions in Classical Chinese, there are still cases containing ambiguous syntactic positions, where alternative analyses can be carried out and multiple interpretations are possible (see section 3.1 of chapter 3). For that reason, the statistical calculation of text frequency of flexible lexemes in the N- and V-positions, as conducted by Zhang (2005) for example, should be regarded as representing the spread pattern of flexible lexemes in a general sense.

For the seven semantic classes of nouns investigated (see below), Zhang identifies a set of semantic roles (e.g., AGENT, PATIENT, INSTRUMENT, PLACE), which the noun plays within the event structure of the verb (EVENT).[19] According to the semantic class of the noun, the following semantic relations between N and V are recognized (Zhang 2005: 177–326):

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19 The symbol EVENT is mine. Zhang (2005) uses the syntactic symbol VP to stand for the event structure, for example, "AGENT → VP" (Zhang 2005: 179).

(I) Nouns denoting humans and animals

    N → V: AGENT → EVENT; PATIENT → EVENT; INSTRUMENT → EVENT
    V → N: EVENT → AGENT; EVENT → PATIENT

(II) Nouns denoting instruments

    N → V: INSTRUMENT → EVENT
    V → N: EVENT → INSTRUMENT

(III) Nouns denoting natural phenomena

    N → V: PHENOMENON → EVENT; INSTRUMENT → EVENT

(IV) Nouns denoting body parts

    N → V: MEANS → EVENT
    V → N: EVENT → RESULT

(V) Nouns denoting garments and food

    N → V: PATIENT → EVENT; RESULT → EVENT
    V → N: EVENT → PATIENT; EVENT → RESULT

(VI) Nouns denoting buildings

    N → V: PLACE → EVENT; RESULT → EVENT
    V → N: EVENT → PLACE

(VII) Abstract nouns (subcategories: *fortune, illness, norms, law*)

    Fortune: RESULT → EVENT
    Illness: PHENOMENON → EVENT
    Norms: N → to conform to N
    Law: N → to consider to be N, to conform to N

The seven semantic roles taken by the noun within an event structure of the verb, shown above, i.e. AGENT, PATIEN, INSTRUMENT, MEANS, PLACE, RESULT and PHENOMENON, are all defined as referring to the object itself denoted by the

noun (N) in a HY process (either N→V or V→N). In addition, Zhang (2005: 142–143) identifies EMPTY SUBSTANCE (虚体 *xūtǐ*) as a semantic role, and correspondingly the derivational pattern of EMPTY SUBSTANCE → EVENT (notice that there is no mention of the counter-pattern: EVENT → EMPTY SUBSTANCE). According to Zhang, the notion of EMPTY SUBSTANCE does not designate the object (denoted by the noun), but merely some attribute(s) of that object, such as its form, location, material, or function. One of Zhang's examples illustrating the semantic type shift of EMPTY SUBSTANCE → EVENT is the verbal use of the lexeme 背 *bèi* denoting the body part 'back'. For example, *bèi* serves as a verb in the sentence 宋人背北杏之會 *Sòng rén bèi Běixìng zhī huì* [Song state–people–back:V–Beixing–GEN–covenant] 'The people of the Song state went against Beixing covenant' (*Zuozhuan*, chapter *Zhuanggong* 13). In Zhang's (2005: 143) opinion, the verbal interpretation of *bèi* in this sentence, i.e. 'turn against' or 'go against', is not derived from the object 'back', but from one of its attributes, namely, its posterior location.

The above example of *bèi* may remind us of the previous discussion on 鏡 *jìng*. As stated, Zhang treats the verbal meaning of *jìng* 'use as mirror, look into the mirror' (cf. example (6)) as a HY meaning, whereas its other verbal meaning 'use as reference' is treated as an indirect derivation from the basic, original semantics 'mirror', thus being excluded from the scope of HY. On closer examination, however, the two cases of *bèi* and *jìng* resemble each other. As a matter of fact, the latter verbal meaning of *jìng* 'use as reference' can be interpreted in a similar manner as being derived from some attributes of the object 'mirror', such as its function of *reflecting* or *causing reflection*. These two distinct, but somehow contradictory ways of handling verbal meanings of nouns by Zhang (2005) need to be recognized and explored further.

2.2.3.2 Bisang (2008a, 2008b)

According to Bisang, the high flexibility of parts of speech in Late Archaic Chinese (between the fifth and third centuries BC) is due to precategoriality. Precategoriality is defined as follows: "A language is precategorial if its lexical items are not determined in the lexicon with regard to the occurrence within a particular slot of a word-class indicating construction" (Bisang 2008b: 8). The emergence of precategoriality in Late Archaic Chinese is ascribed by Bisang (2008a: 583–585) to the loss of word-class indicating morphology in the preclassical period between the eleventh and sixth centuries BC (i.e. the Old Chinese period that immediately precedes Late Archaic Chinese).

The point of departure of Bisang's approach is Sasse's (1993b) suggestion that lexicon and syntax should be treated as two separate levels of analysis of

parts-of-speech systems. This suggestion represents the fourth prerequisite proposed by Sasse (1993b: 196–201) for distinguishing parts of speech. The other three prerequisites are semantic criteria, pragmatic criteria (criteria of discourse function) and formal criteria (morphology, phonology, syntactic distribution). Bisang (2008a: 571–572; 2011: 2–9) observes that the prerequisite of distinguishing between lexical and syntactic levels of analysis has been overlooked by many theories developed for defining word classes (e.g., Croft 2000, 2001), and that these theories either take it for granted that there is a strict one-to-one correlation between lexical categories (lexicon) and syntactic categories (syntax), or they assume that the assignment of any given word to a certain syntactic category must be licensed by the lexical preclassification.

Bisang (2008a, 2008b) claims that in a precategorial language the semantic meanings encoded in the lexicon and the syntactic specification of parts of speech are principally independent of each other. Late Archaic Chinese is regarded as one such precategorial language whose lexical items are not preclassified in the lexicon for the syntactic categories of N and V. Rather, the noun-verb distinction in this language can only be determined at the syntactic level. The specification of N or V of a lexical item is defined by its position/function in a given word-class indicating construction, i.e. depending on whether the item concerned occurs in the syntactic N-slot or V-slot.

Precategoriality allows lexical items to occur in both the V-position and the N-position without any difference in marking, and the syntactic positions of N and V will *coerce* the lexical items into a particular semantic interpretation as an object, a property, or an action (Bisang 2008a: 570). As for the linking of lexical items (lexicon) to the syntactic position of N or V (syntax) in a precategorial language, Bisang assigns it to pragmatics. To be more precise, it is stereotypical implicatures (Levinson 2000) including the degree of stereotypicality available in the language that determine the occurrence of individual words in the N- or V-slot as well as their text frequency in these positions. Thus, it is observed that some words occur in both slots of N and V with similar frequencies, while others show strong preferences for a certain slot. The role of stereotypical implicatures for linking from the lexicon to syntax is discussed by Bisang (2008a: 573) on the basis of the following hierarchies (where '>' means 'implies stronger N-preference'):

CONCRETE OBJECTS > ABSTRACT OBJECTS
1ST/2ND PERSON > PROPER NAMES > HUMAN > NONHUMAN > ABSTRACTS

In the above hierarchies, the higher the position of a given lexeme, the more likely the stereotypical implicature is that the lexeme belongs to the cognitive category of object and has to fit into the syntactic N-slot. By corollary, the hierarchies indicate an increasing probability from left to right for the occurrence of object words in the syntactic V-slot in which they function as verbs.

Referring to Goldberg's (1995, 2005) Construction Grammar, Bisang also shows that in the case of intransitive or transitive argument structure constructions in Late Archaic Chinese, the verbal function of object words can be derived regularly through the stereotypical implicatures that depend on the semantic class of objects to which the word concerned belongs plus the meaning contributed by the whole construction. His discussion of deriving the verbal function of object-denoting lexemes is carried out with regard to the following six semantic classes:

– Lexemes denoting humans and relations among humans (family or official function)
– Lexemes denoting instruments/man-made objects
– Lexemes denoting sense organs
– Lexemes denoting places and buildings
– Lexemes denoting first and second person
– Lexemes denoting numbers and measures

According to Bisang, the construction formed with an object word in the V-slot can be regularly interpreted either *causatively* or *putatively*. By definition, a causative form indicates that the subject causes someone or something to be/become or to do something; the putative interpretation applies to lexical items whose verbal function can be interpreted in terms of the pattern 'X considers/treats Y as someone or something'. The causative and putative meanings are two representative types of semantic relationships in ancient Chinese.

To derive the causative and putative meanings of given constructions, two types of intransitive verbs are distinguished: (i) verbs with an argument that has control over the predicate (intr[+con]), and (ii) verbs with an argument that has not (intr[-con]). It is claimed that verbs of the second type ($V_{intr[-con]}$) can be interpreted either causatively or putatively, while verbs of the first type ($V_{intr[+con]}$) can only be interpreted causatively (for examples of $V_{intr[-con]}$ with either causative or putative interpretation and examples of $V_{intr[+con]}$ with causative interpretation, see Bisang 2008a: 576–577, 2008b: 25–28). The causative and putative interpretations as well as their correlations with the above intr[-con] and intr[+con] verb types, respectively, are summarized in (7) below.

(7) a. Causative interpretation (Bisang 2008a: 576, 2008b: 25)

$V_{intr[-con]}$ (NP$_S$) → NP$_A$ [CAUSE [BECOME $V_{intr[-con]}$ (NP$_{U(S)}$)]]]

$V_{intr[+con]}$ (NP$_S$) → NP$_A$ [CAUSE $V_{intr[+con]}$ (NP$_{U(S)}$)]

b. Putative interpretation (Bisang 2008a: 576, 2008b: 25)

$V_{intr[-con]}$ (NP$_S$) → NP$_A$ [CONSIDER/TREAT AS $V_{intr[-con]}$ (NP$_{U(S)}$)]

The verbal function of the six semantic classes of object-denoting lexemes in either an intransitive or a transitive argument structure construction follows the principles outlined in (7) above. The details, according to the semantic class of objects to which the lexeme (N) in the V-slot belongs, are summarized in (8).

(8) Verbal interpretations of six semantic classes of object-denoting lexemes (Bisang 2008b: 29, 35–36, 39, 40, 42, 44)

(i) N: person/function
INT: a. NP$_S$ behaves like a (true) N, NP$_S$ is a (true) N
      b. NP$_S$ becomes a (true) N
TR: a. NP$_A$ CAUSE NP$_{U[S]}$ to V_{intr} (be/behave like a [true] N)
      b. NP$_A$ CONSIDER NP$_{U[S]}$ to V_{intr} (be/behave like a [true] N)

(ii) N: instrument
INT: NP$_S$ is N/ is used as N
TR: a. NP$_A$ CAUSE NP$_{U[S]}$ to V_{intr} (be N): to use something/someone in the function of N
      b. NP$_A$ APPLY N on NP$_{U[S]}$: to use the instrument on something/someone

(iii) N: sense organs
INT: NP$_S$ DOES the action associated with N
TR: NP$_A$ APPLIES the action associated with N onto NP$_U$

(iv) N: place/building
INT: NP$_S$ DOES what one stereotypically does at or to N
TR: NP$_A$ CAUSE N to exist: to make N

(v) N: first/second person
TR: a. NP$_A$ CONSIDER NP$_{U[S]}$ to be N
      b. NP$_A$ ADDRESS NP$_U$ with the degree of politeness marked by N

(vi) N: number/measure

INT: NP$_S$ is N: to equal the quantity expressed by the numeral

TR: a. make something n-times as much

b. provide someone with a given quantity

For the semantic class of lexemes denoting humans and relations among humans, Bisang (2008b: 29–34) discussed the verbal function of four lexemes in certain texts, i.e. 王 *wáng* 'king' in *Lüshi Chunqiu* (吕氏春秋), 君 *jūn* 'ruler' in *Lunyu* (論語), 臣 *chén* 'male slave, subordinate, minister (under the king)' in *Zuozhuan*, and 友 *yǒu* 'friend' in *Mengzi*. Regarding the difference between the causative and putative meanings of these lexemes in verbal function, shown with the principles TR(a) and TR(b) in (8i) respectively, Bisang observes that the choice of whether a given transitive construction is interpreted causatively or putatively may depend on the relationship between NP$_A$ and NP$_U$: if NP$_A$ denotes a person who is socially lower than NP$_U$, the construction requires a putative reading (i.e. following the principle TR(b)); if NP$_A$ denotes a person who is socially higher than NP$_U$, the construction is usually causative (i.e. following TR(a)); if both items are of equal rank, the construction may be interpreted either putatively or causatively (cf. section 5.1.1 of chapter 5). Similarly, Zádrapa (2011: 136) observes that the human-denoting lexemes inherently occupy relationships in their semantic bases. Depending on the context, they can be interpreted in different ways, as their internal relational structure interacts with the argument structure construction in which they occur.

According to Bisang (2008b: 35–38), the principles of interpretation given in (8ii) for the semantic class of lexemes denoting instruments or man-made objects (cf. the implicatures in (106) discussed in section 5.1.2 of chapter 5 and their metaphorical interpretations discussed in section 5.2.3.1.3) cannot only apply to the lexemes that really denote instruments or tools such as 器 *qì* 'instrument, vessel', 枕 *zhěn* 'pillow' or 鞭 *biān* 'whip', but also to the lexemes denoting garments such as 衣 *yī* 'garment' or 冠 *guān* 'hat'. This is because the garment words can be interpreted similarly to those instrument words in the causative sense of 'use NP$_U$ as a garment' (NP$_A$ CAUSE NP$_{U[S]}$ to be N), and in a second interpretation, the lexeme denoting a garment is itself the Undergoer of the action, thus yielding the meaning of 'wear N'. Although Bisang's principles of interpretation for either of the semantic classes mentioned do not cover their whole range of verbal functions in Late Archaic Chinese, his observation correctly indicates that there are some common semantic features shared by the two groups of lexemes, and that

there are general rules and regularities for interpreting object words in the V-slot of this language.

As for the semantic class of lexemes denoting places and buildings, Bisang (2008b: 40–42) observes that there are two types of interpretations available for their verbal function in Late Archaic Chinese (cf. the implicatures in (111) discussed in section 5.1.3 of chapter 5 and their metaphorical interpretations presented in section 5.2.3.1.5). The first type of interpretation indicates that a lexeme denoting a place or building in the V-slot can be used to designate some human activities that stereotypically take place in one such place or building (i.e. following the principle INT in (8iv) above). The second type indicates that the lexeme concerned can also express the human or animal activities that bring one such place or building as a product into being (i.e. following the principle TR in (8iv)). The first type of interpretation can be illustrated by the verbal function of the lexeme 館 *guǎn* 'guesthouse, accommodation for guests, inn' in the construction 館於上宮 *guǎn yú shànggōng* [guesthouse:V–LOC–upper floor of a building/house] '(He) lodged in the upper floor of the guesthouse' (*Mengzi*, chapter *Jinxin*), in which *guǎn* as an intransitive verb means 'to lodge, to stay temporarily'. The second type of interpretation can be illustrated by the verbal function of 巢 *cháo* 'nest' in the construction 巢於深林 *cháo yú shēn lín* [nest:V–LOC–deep–forest] '(It) built its nest in the deep forest' (*Zhuangzi*), in which *cháo* as an intransitive verb means 'to build a nest'.

2.2.3.3 Zádrapa (2011)

Zádrapa's (2011) investigation into the verbal and adverbial uses of nouns in Classical Chinese is anchored in Langacker's (1987, 1990, 1991) cognitive model of word classes and Croft's (2001) Radical Construction Grammar. Regarding the nature of the flexible use of nouns as verbs or adverbs in Classical Chinese, Zádrapa construes the process of HY as an analogue of word formation, with reference to Clark and Clark's (1979) approach to denominal verbs in English and Štekauer's (1996, 2005) onomasiological theory of English word formation.

Essentially, word categories in Classical Chinese are regarded by Zádrapa (2011) as being *radial* in light of Croft (2001). As discussed previously (section 2.1), Croft considers parts of speech as radially organized grammatical categories with prototype effects. On the one hand, a radial category contains a central part of the category made up of prototypical members, while on the other hand, the category has a non-central part composed of non-prototypical members whose properties may differ from those of the prototypical members to varying degrees (according to their distance from the centre and the way they are derived from the centre). While the central part of the category is defined as being provided by the

universal theory of grammar, its boundaries are determined by language-specific grammar. Based on this view, Zádrapa (2011: 82) assumes that word classes such as nouns or verbs as defined according to Western linguistic tradition (which correspond to the universal-typological prototypes of parts of speech in Croft's model) constitute the central members of word categories in Classical Chinese. On the other hand, however, the presence of broad transition zones across word categories in this language as well as their fuzzy boundaries result in the fact that an unambiguous affiliation of words to one major word category is often difficult or even impossible.

The central members of word categories in Classical Chinese correspond to the description of word classes by Langacker (1987, 1990, 1991), where nouns, verbs, and adjectives are construed as prototypes of object words, process words, and property words, respectively. According to Langacker (1991: 13–22), entities that are referred to as the grammatical classes like nouns, verbs, etc. are symbolic units, each with a semantic pole and a phonological pole, while the semantic pole determines their categorization. The essential semantic trait of a noun is that it profiles a region in some sort of domain. A region is defined as a set of interconnected entities, which designates a thing. By contrast, verbs are a special kind of relational predications. They are characterized by an internal organization of a sequential scanning of relational states that are distributed continuously through time. Moreover, a noun is considered conceptually autonomous, while verbs are conceptually dependent, as they inherently incorporate a series of temporal relations and the existence of a relation must make reference to its participants, between which the relation holds.

The process of HY is construed by Zádrapa within Croft's (2000, 2001) universal conceptual space for parts of speech (cf. Table 2). As discussed previously, Croft's conceptual space allows two kinds of semantic shifts: shifts within the confines of the one-dimensional pragmatic functions, and shifts beyond the confines of the dimension of pragmatic functions. In an analogical manner, Zádrapa (2011: 97–100) distinguishes two types of HY in Classical Chinese. The first type of HY, corresponding to the first kind of semantic shift in Croft's conceptual space (cf. Chen's *běnyòng de huóyòng* 'HY within the scope of the basic, original use', discussed in section 2.2.2) concerns the semantic shift that does not take place in the inner semantic structure of the lexeme concerned, but is syntactic in nature and fully attributable to the syntactic position in which that lexeme occurs (cf. compositionality as discussed in section 2.1). The second type of HY, corresponding to the second kind of semantic shift in Croft's conceptual space (cf. Chen's *fēi běnyòng de huóyòng* 'HY outside the scope of the basic, original use') is the semantic type shift that takes place in the inner semantic structure of the lexeme

concerned. In Zádrapa's view, the second type of HY is subject to word formation, as it results in the formation of new items of related meanings from different word categories.

Further, Zádrapa suggests accounting for the second type of HY by means of polysemy, so that the verbal and adverbial uses of nouns in Classical Chinese (on which his research focuses) are construed as two polysemy types, namely, polysemy resulted from the noun-to-verb HY (i.e. using nouns to denote processes) (Zádrapa 2011: 113–196), and polysemy resulted from the noun-to-adverb HY (i.e. using nouns as modifiers of action words) (Zádrapa 2011: 197–234). In particular, the type of polysemy from the noun-to-verb HY is regarded by Zádrapa as the Chinese counterpart of the unparadigmatic noun-to-verb word formation in Indo-European languages. The difference consists merely in the absence of differentiated sets of affixes that usually provide new words in Indo-European languages with some guidelines for interpretation. Elsewhere in his thesis, Zádrapa draws an analogy between HY and conversion with the following words: "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" (Zádrapa 2011: 186).

Zádrapa (2011: 48–69) provides a review of studies on parts of speech in ancient Chinese by Western linguists, including Humboldt (1827), Gabelentz ([1881] 1953), Kennedy ([1955] 1964b), Cikoski (1970), Nikitina (1985), and Bisang (2008a, 2008b). All these studies made valuable observations on the phenomenon of flexible use of words across word categories in ancient Chinese. In particular, many of Nikitina's (1985: 236–249) observations and her generalized semantic patterns for deriving the concrete verbal meaning of nouns in different construction types (cf. Zádrapa 2011: 64–67) are supported by the present study. Generally speaking, when dealing with flexibility of parts of speech in ancient Chinese, Western researchers tend to pay more attention to the typical constructional patterns of some grammatical or function words (e.g., 之 *zhī*, 者 *zhě*, 所 *suǒ*, 其 *qí*) and use them as indicators for the syntactic function of the elements that occur around them. As an example, consider the word 之 *zhī*: As far back as Humboldt (1827: 23) attention was directed towards the various marking functions of *zhī* in Classical Chinese. It has been observed that *zhī* can, among other functions, serve to mark adnominal modification (as a marker inserted between the head noun and its modifier), as illustrated by *zhī* (ATTR) in example (9a) and *zhī* (GEN/POSS) in (9b). Moreover, *zhī* can also serve as a dependence marker in the constructions of the pattern 'SUBJECT + *zhī* (DEP) + VP', turning the construction into a referential subordinate clause, illustrated in (10). Further, Gabelentz ([1881] 1953) discussed the use of *zhī* as a pronominal object of transitive verbs, as illustrated in (11).

(9) a. 不死**之**藥 (*Zhanguo Ce*, *Chu Ce*)
     bù   sǐ   **zhī**   yào
     NEG   die   ATTR   drug
     'drugs against death (i.e. drugs that make people live forever)'

   b. 北杏**之**會 (*Zuozhuan*, *Zhuanggong* 13)
     Běixìng   **zhī**   huì
     Beixing   GEN/POSS   covenant
     'Beixing covenant'

(10) 我不欲[人**之**加諸我]也。 (*Lunyu*, *Gongyechang*)
     wǒ   bù   yù   [rén   **zhī**   jiā zhū   wǒ]
     I   NEG want other people DEP   impose something on   me
     yě.
     PTCL
     'I do not want others to impose that on me.'

(11) 我何面目[見**之**]? (*Shiji*)
     wǒ   hé   miàn-mù   [jiàn   **zhī**]?
     I   Q.what face-eye (i.e. face)   see   PRON_OBJ
     'With what face shall I meet him?'

Based on the most typical patterns of function words, Zádrapa develops a semantic map in order to provide structural markedness for word-class flexibility in Classical Chinese, since in this language "zero structural coding cannot be systematically used as a formal symptom for typological unmarkedness of the combinations of semantic class and propositional act function" (Zádrapa 2011: 86). In his semantic map, as in Figure 3, several selected construction types and constructional patterns of function words are organized according to the two-dimensional structural principles suggested by Croft (2001). The construction types presented in his semantic map include (i) the counting construction (expected to represent the behavioural potential of reference for object words counted by measure words), (ii) the comparative construction (expected to represent the behavioural potential of predication for property words), and (iii) the passive voice construction (expected to represent the behavioural potential for action words). The function words selected to serve as basic modules of constructions in the map mainly include 之 *zhī*_ATTR (as an attributive marker for encoding the modification function by action words, illustrated in example (9a)), 之 *zhī*_GEN/POSS (as a genitive

or possessive marker for encoding the modification function by object words, cf. (9b)), 之 *zhī*_{DEP} and 其 *qí*_{DEP} (both as a dependence marker for encoding the referential act function of either an action word or a property word, cf. (10)), 之 *zhī*_{PRON} (as a pronominal object of an action word, cf. (11)), 所 *suǒ*_{PRON} (as a proposed object-substitute relative pronoun followed by an action word, e.g., 所思 *suǒ sī* [PRON–think] 'what one thinks'), 也 *yě* (as a modal particle for encoding the predication function of object words, cf. *yě* preceded by the nominalised construction in (10)), 者 *zhě*_{PRON} (as a subject-substitute relative pronoun preceded by an action word or a property word, see below), and 不 *bù* (used to negate property words or action words, cf. (9a)).

The aforementioned constructions and constructional patterns of function words are characteristic of Classical Chinese in general. In many cases, they can serve well as kinds of structural markedness for indicating the syntactic functions of given words or expressions around them. However, the question that remains unanswered is to what extent the structural patterns presented in Zádrapa's semantic map can work as a formal means of determining parts of speech and word-class distinctions in Classical Chinese, and most importantly, as far as flexible lexemes are concerned. On this issue, I would like to make two remarks:

Firstly, I refer to the observation made by Broschart (1997: 150) on Croft (1991): it is the whole paradigm of constructions that provides a sufficient criterion for distinguishing between parts of speech and for defining the word classes concerned, not individual ones, or ones that occur optionally. As was also pointed out by Zádrapa (2011: 87), there is basically no overt structural coding or markedness obligatory for encoding combinations of semantic class and pragmatic function in Classical Chinese. In other words, the use of the constructions or function words presented in the map is optional in this language. Rather than serving as a kind of usual encoding, they work as an auxiliary means for possible, or sometimes preferred, functions and relationships. To illustrate this, consider the following examples: Zádrapa (2011: 104) correctly observes that in Classical Chinese, the use of a property word as a contextually determined bearer of the property has an almost equal counterpart in the expression with the subject-substitute relative pronoun 者 *zhě*_{PRON}. For example, the property word 大 *dà* 'big' can be used alone for the meaning of 'big one (person, thing)' as the construction 大者 *dà zhě* [big–*zhě*_{PRON}] does. Moreover, regarding the dependence marker 之 *zhī*_{DEP} (inserted between the subject and the predicate), Ma ([1898] 1983) observes that this kind of marking of dependent clauses is far from being the general rule in ancient Chinese. Further, as for the attributive 之 *zhī*_{ATTR} (expected to serve as a marker for encoding the function of modification by action words), it is actually often governed by the rhythmical pattern of given constructions (cf. Zádrapa

2011: 89). In fact, the expression 不死之藥 *bù sǐ zhī yào* [NEG–die–ATTR–drug] in
(9a) occurs in parallel with its counterpart 死藥 *sǐ yào* [die–drug] 'drugs that
cause death' in the same paragraph in *Zhanguo Ce* (chapter *Chu Ce*). In the former
construction, the insertion of *zhī*ATTR appears to be due to the negation of 不 *bù*
that results in the formation of a polysyllabic modifier of *yào* 'drug', as compared
with the unmarked monosyllabic modifier in the latter construction.
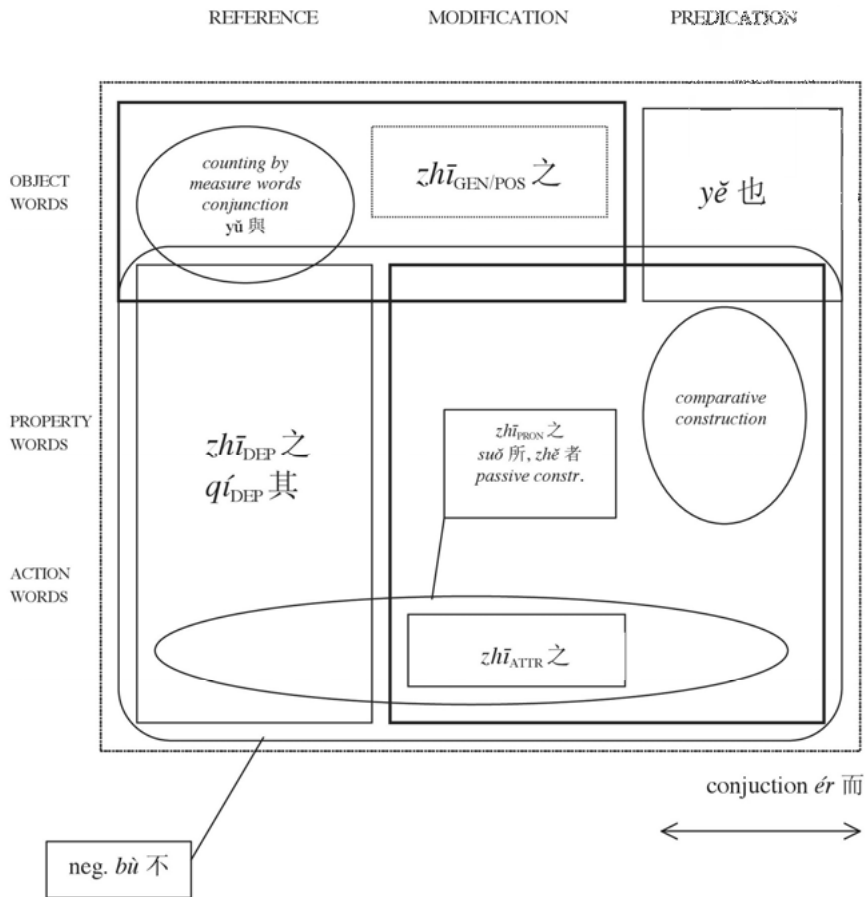
Fig. 3: Zádrapa's semantic map (Zádrapa 2011: 88)

Secondly, it is noted that the constructional patterns of the markers presented in
the map do not cover their whole range of functions or uses in Classical Chinese,
but only a part of them that fits into the author's account. Again, let's take 之 *zhī*

as an example. This character is related firstly to a polysemantic action-denoting lexeme with the meanings of 'give birth to, bring, cause' (e.g., 權險之平 *quán xiǎn zhī píng* [deal with–crisis–give birth to–peace] 'The dealing with crisis brings peace.' (*Xunzi*, chapter 13)) or 'go to' (e.g., 孟子之滕 *Mèngzǐ zhī Téng* [Mencius–go to–Teng state] 'Mencius went to the Teng state.' (*Mengzi*, chapter *Jinxin*)). In addition to its various uses illustrated above (i.e. as a particle or function word in (9a), (9b) and (10), and as a pronoun in (11)), the word form 之 *zhī* also serves as an auxiliary inserted between an object word and a preposition in a construction resembling a topic-comment information structure, for example, 口之於味 *kǒu zhī yú wèi* [mouth–AUX–PREP–taste] 'mouth, for the taste' (*Mengzi*, chapter *Gaozi*). The overall versatility of 之 *zhī* is, however, not displayed on that semantic map. Taking into consideration that this map is intended to provide a formal means for word-class specification in Classical Chinese, logically the question then arises as to whether or not the syntactic function of the element such as 之 *zhī* in a given construction needs to be determined first in order to do so. This relates to what Zádrapa (2011: 83–84) observes when he writes: "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."

On the question of whether HY is universal or not (i.e. whether it applies to the entire lexicon of Classical Chinese), Zádrapa (2011) supports Yuan's (1710) view that any dead word can potentially be used as a live one, contrary to the point of view held by Zhang (2005) as well as many other contemporary Chinese linguists who believe that HY is relevant only to a part of the lexicon of Classical Chinese (cf. section 2.2.2). In line with this, Zádrapa has a more liberal attitude towards the two main cases excluded by Zhang (2005) from the scope of HY discussed previously: as for the case of using nouns as expository predicates, Zádrapa (2011: 41–42), concurring with Chen ([1922] 1957: 22), Wang (1989: 8) as well as many others, identifies it as being subject to HY. As for the second main case excluded by Zhang from the scope of HY in which nouns are used as verbs in a certain terminological manner (N → to term N, or to record N), Zádrapa (2011: 39–40) holds the view that, although this case is different from the typical HY instances and the way how the semantics is incorporated into the derivation may appear unusual, it is based on the same mechanism as other cases of HY and thus should not be left out from the domain of HY. The present study supports Zádrapa's (2011) analyses of the two cases discussed above and identifies them as cases of the flexible use of object words as verbs.

As stated before, Zádrapa draws an analogy between HY and the relatively unparadigmatic word formation (conversion) in Indo-European languages. Regarding the meaning generation in the noun-to-verb HY type, Zádrapa (2011: 136–152) agrees with Bisang (2008a, 2008b) that the concrete verbal meaning of a given object word is crucially determined by both the original object-denoting semantics of that word and the whole construction as the scaffolding of syntax. He claims that any object word, once it participates in HY, can potentially occur in a great variety of derivational patterns and thus be related to actions in multiple ways, and that sometimes the way is even completely unexpected and idiosyncratic. Under these circumstances, Zádrapa (2011: 152–160) considers that Zhang's (2005) analyses of HY in terms of highly generalized patterns for interpreting semantic relatedness in the processes merely stay at the level of regular derivations. Those generalized patterns are rather linguists' constructs based on the considerations of regularities and traditional lexicological knowledge, but far from a realistic description of the patterns that the speakers at that time employed to derive new meanings of words.[20]

Zádrapa's (2011: 130–133) observation on the involvement of metaphor in the HY derivation is of great value to the present study. He heuristically points out that, although the involvement of metaphor or other figurative meanings may reduce the predictability of meaning in the derivation, metaphor as an integral element of language and mind is very common, and any process of HY based on these meanings are just as usual as those based on literal or non-figurative meanings. As for the aforementioned example of 鏡 *jìng* 'mirror' where it can be interpreted either as V_1 'use as mirror, look into the mirror' or as V_2 'use as reference, draw lessons (from)', Zádrapa disagrees with Zhang's (2005: 111) assumption that the set of 'mirror [N]' and V_1 is a HY pair, whereas the set of 'mirror [N]' and V_2 is not, since the V_2 meaning must be a derivational output from V_1 (i.e. 'mirror [N]'→V_1→V_2). He (2011: 41) suggests that there can actually be two HY pairs, namely both 'mirror [N]'→V_1 and 'mirror [N]'→V_2, while the derivation of the latter pair is based on a metaphor. Obviously, in contrast to Zádrapa, Zhang (2005) considers that the metaphorical interpretation of a word cannot emerge directly from the basic semantics of that word, but only possible via the derivation of some

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20 Notice that, despite his emphasis on the high versatility in the interpretation of HY, Zádrapa (2011: 160–165, 174–176) organized the semantic relatedness in the noun-to-verb HY in Classical Chinese with reference to Clark and Clark's (1979: 769–780) system of denominal verbs in English. In this way, the converted action words in Classical Chinese are classified into the general groups of LOCATUM VERBS, LOCATION VERBS, DURATION VERBS, AGENT VERBS, EXPERIENCER VERBS, GOAL VERBS, INSTRUMENT VERBS and MISCELLANEOUS VERBS.

literal interpretation as an intermediate stage. Zhang's opinion is in line with the theories of metaphor that take it for granted that metaphorical expressions are special uses of language and must be built upon literal or non-metaphorical meanings.

Regarding the involvement of metaphor in the derivation of nouns and its relation to HY, Zádrapa (2011: 130) proposes the following three possible configurations. In the first configuration, the original object word has a polysemous structure that already includes a well-established metaphorical nominal meaning, from which the metaphorical verbal meaning is derived. In the second configuration, the original object word does not have a source metaphorical nominal meaning as in the first case, while the metaphorical extension just takes place in the process of HY and results in an action word with a metaphorical verbal meaning. In the third configuration, the metaphorical extension is not generated in the process of HY, but after it, i.e. the metaphorical verbal meaning is derived from an existing non-metaphorical verbal meaning which is already an output result of HY. The three configurations proposed by Zádrapa will be taken into account in section 5.3 (chapter 5) in answering the question of what is the relationship between the rule-based interpretation and the metaphorically motivated interpretation that an object word in verbal function may have.

Zádrapa suggests further research on word-class flexibility in Classical Chinese to examine all material of different types of HY (both regular and irregular, both literal and nonliteral) and to include all various possible features of this phenomenon (e.g., semantics, pragmatics, syntax) in the analysis, as these features may constitute a continuous phenomenon that is subject to different parameters but follows basically the same principles of flexibility. At the end of his thesis, Zádrapa (2011: 238) writes the following inspiring words, which merit quotation in full:

> 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.
>
> (Zádrapa 2011: 238)

A number of theoretical and observational considerations on flexibility of parts of speech are outlined in the previous sections. The following section 2.3 provides

a brief summary and general discussion of the most important parts of the previous outline. Based on this, section 2.4 provides a preliminary outline of the present study, which should include the working definitions applied, the methodology, the materials, and the aims of the investigation.

2.3 Summary and general discussion

In contemporary Chinese linguistics, it is widely accepted that the classification of Chinese words into different word categories generally resembles the concept of word classes in traditional Western grammar. According to this tradition, each lexeme should have its word-class specification for a particular syntactic role together with its lexical meaning encoded in the lexicon. It is based on this idea that many theories of, or relevant to, word-class flexibility in Classical Chinese have been developed in modern times, including the most important terms such as HY and JL, in which the notion of word category or categoriality (類 *lèi*) is integrated.

Under these circumstances, a distinction is made between HY words and JL words in the literature on Chinese. The notion of HY words refers to the lexical items that are only temporarily or occasionally subject to HY. That is, they belong to a certain word category but are nevertheless used on particular occasions or for certain purposes to serve as a semantically related item of another word category, and this temporary cross-categorial usage they have does normally not result in any change or innovation in the lexicon. In contrast, the term of JL words refers to the lexical items that have lexicalized meanings of different word categories and thus can be used freely to serve the functions of these word categories. Compared to the HY words with a temporary and context-dependent polycategoriality, the polycategorial status of a JL word is defined as being well established and present in the lexicon. The polycategorial status of JL words, however, does not presuppose that there is no preference for certain categorial meanings/uses with respect to distribution or frequency of occurrence in particular constructions in discourse. In fact, most JL words exhibit a hierarchy of functional preference between their meanings/uses, with certain functions more often appearing than others do. Moreover, it is also true that the polycategorial status of JL words is only sometimes marked in a phonological manner in which their various meanings are distinguished from each other by means of a tonal change (from a non-departing tone to the departing tone) or other sound alterations.

In light of what Lü (1979: 46–47) observes, the differentiation between the JL words and HY words is primarily a synchronic analysis, in which they are sepa-

rate labels indicating two kinds of polycategorial status of lexical items with respect to their degrees of lexicalization at a given time. Diachronically, as suggested by Zádrapa (2011: 114–116), the JL words and the HY words can be characterized as different stages of lexicalization or conventionalization on a continuous scale. Theoretically, any HY word can be a potential JL word. On the one hand, a HY word may become a JL word through frequent use until its newly derived meaning becomes conventional; on the other hand, however, it is also possible that a HY meaning formed on one occasion has never gotten a chance of being widely spread, but died off instead. The question of what constitutes the conditions and requirements that enable a HY word to be frequently used and become a JL word needs to be paid more attention and systematically addressed in future research.

For both HY words and JL words, it is important to observe that first, the process of HY (mechanism) applies in such a way that it brings forth HY words, and in turn, these HY words are potential sources of new JL words. Second, all of their meanings/uses are semantically related to each other, and these mutually related meanings correspond to different word categories. Third, the polycategorial status of either a JL word or a HY word does not result in the formation of new lexemes; that is, their various categorial meanings/uses are not associated with distinct, homonymous words, but allocated to a single lexeme. The third observation indicates that the HY process is different from conversion. While the latter is traditionally defined as a word-formation process that produces new lexical items of certain word classes without overt derivational markedness, the former is construed in contemporary Chinese linguistics as a kind of zero-marked semantic type shift that links semantically related but word-categorially distinct uses of a single lexeme.

Within the framework of flexibility in terms of Rijkhoff and van Lier (2013), the class of flexible words covers both of the JL words and HY words, which fall outside the boundaries of traditional word classes or parts of speech such as nouns or verbs. In the literature, depending on the target language and the researcher's theoretical background, flexible lexemes are given different names (e.g., Yuan 1710; Hengeveld 1992a, 1992b, 2013; Peterson 2005, 2006, 2013; Bisang 2008a, 2008b; Don and van Lier 2013). In Yuan's (1710) terminology, flexible lexemes are, for example, those 'static' (*jìng*) words that are used as 'dynamic' (*dòng*) ones, or those dynamic words that are used as static ones. Seen from the viewpoint of precategoriality (Bisang 2008a, 2008b), the flexible lexemes in Classical Chinese – primarily the class of JL words as defined within the framework of categoriality in modern Chinese linguistics – are precategorial in nature, i.e. without

word-class specification for a particular syntactic role such as N or V being encoded in the lexicon. From this perspective, the zero-marked semantic type shift that a flexible lexeme undergoes can be construed as a syntactic specification, through which the lexeme acquires a word-class specification according to its position.

Bisang's (2008a, 2008b) approach to some extent resembles Don and van Lier's (2013) construct of compositional zero-marked semantic type shifts in flexible languages. The difference could ultimately be attributed to their distinct views on the role semantic compositionality plays. As discussed, in Don and van Lier's system, a distinction is drawn between compositional and non-compositional semantic type shifts. The compositional zero-marked semantic type shift is construed as a syntactic derivation, while the non-compositional semantic type shifts, be they zero-marked or overtly marked, are defined as lexical derivations for producing new, but still uncategorized expressions. However, as far as Chinese languages are concerned, a strict distinction between the syntactic and lexical zero-marked derivations based on compositionality as defined by Don and van Lier (2013) is difficult to justify, as can be seen from the following example:

In Classical Chinese, various semantic classes of lexemes denoting either concrete, physical objects or abstract concepts can occur as verbs (cf. subsequent chapters). Take the group of lexemes denoting human roles as an example. Serving as verbs, they can generally always be interpreted according to a set of principles of interpretation (see (100) in section 5.1.1 of chapter 5). Consider, for instance, the lexeme 君 *jūn* 'ruler'. Just like other lexemes of this group, it can serve as a verb with at least one of the following meanings of V_1 'be/become an (true) N, act (properly) as an N', V_2 'do what an N normally does to someone or something', V_3 'treat someone as an N', and V_4 'make someone an N'. According to Don and van Lier's (2013) patterns of compositionality, only the derivation from N to V_1 and probably also the one from N to V_4 are syntactic derivations of *jūn* as a single flexible lexeme ($jūn_1$), whereas the other two verbal meanings above, i.e. V_2 and V_3, would be regarded as two additional lexical items $jūn_2$ and $jūn_3$ respectively. As a result of this assumption, only regarding the word form 君 *jūn* of this group of lexemes, there would be at least three distinct, but formally identical lexemes. Such an analysis appears uneconomical and counterintuitive to Chinese speakers (cf. also the definition of HY).

A comparison of Bisang's (2008a, 2008b) precategoriality account and the understanding of HY by the mainstream of contemporary Chinese linguistics (under the premise of categoriality) suggests that their differences can be reduced to two aspects that are mutually dependent. The first aspect is about whether the

word-class specification of any given word is a late-acquired status through syntax or an inherent characteristic of the lexicon. The second aspect is about whether flexibility (in the sense of either precategoriality or HY as a mechanism) applies to the entire lexicon or only a part of it. The research findings of Zhang (2005) that not all words in Classical Chinese are subject to HY supports the existence of categoriality in the lexicon, so that the word-class flexibility would only pertain to a part of the vocabulary of the language. Along the same line, many other scholars such as Chen ([1922] 1957: 11) and Wang (1999: 343) observe that HY is a particular historical phenomenon of Chinese, which especially often occurred in the language form during the period of the dynastic change from Zhou (1046–256 BC) to Qin (221–206 BC) as compared to Chinese in other times.

In my view, both precategoriality and categoriality exist in Classical Chinese. Diachronically, they co-exist in the lexicon of Chinese through its history. For individual words, precategoriality and categoriality, rather like potentialities and tendencies that may change over time, constitute a continuum ranging from (full) precategoriality at one end to (full) categoriality at the other. In any given historical period, lexical items of the language are distributed between the two extremes on the continuum according to the intensity of the association between their lexical meaning and the syntactic position/function such as N or V. Generally speaking, along the continuum at a given historical stage, lexemes with a strong association between meaning and function (in other words, lexemes that are normally associated only with one word-class specification for a particular syntactic role) tend to be distributed towards the extreme of (full) categoriality. This group of lexemes contains the words that according to Zhang (2005) belong to a single, fixed word category and can never be subject to HY. In contrast, the lexemes that exhibit a considerable degree of syntactic variety and are compatible with more than one syntactic position/function such as both N and V are expected to locate far away from the extreme of (full) categoriality, but closer to (full) precategoriality. This group of lexemes is subject to word-class flexibility, though with varying degrees of flexibility, and constitutes what are termed as JL words and HY words in modern Chinese linguistics. From the perspective of precategoriality, the flexible lexemes are not preclassified in the lexicon for the assignment to a particular syntactic role like N or V such that they are not necessarily related to one specific association between meaning and function but can occur in a variety of such associations. For that reason, their word-class specification can only be analysed as being functional at the syntactic level. From the perspective of categoriality, on the other hand, the flexible lexemes rather constitute a class of polyfunctional or polycategorial words (JL words and HY words). Under these circumstances, it is appropriate to assume that lexemes distributed

between the two extremes on the continuum in Classical Chinese can undergo a category assignment (zero-marked semantic type shift) through either syntactic specification (in the sense of categorization) or recategorization, depending on their degree of precategoriality/categoriality on this continuum.

This study suggests regarding precategorality and categorality as dynamic potentialities and tendencies that are subject to change over time. The reason lies in the fact that considered diachronically, the proportion of items in the roughly grouped lexemes on the continuum between (full) precategoriality and (full) categoriality may be variable and changes over time. As pointed out by Nordhoff (2013: 266–267), parts-of-speech systems are not static, similar to the fact that languages change their word order, their morphological type, alignment type, or stress system. In a parts-of-speech system, words can potentially undergo historical changes of losing or gaining some discourse functions such as reference or predication, thus having lost or gained their flexibility. Likewise, in the case of the diachronic developments of Chinese parts-of-speech system, on the one hand, there are precategorial lexemes that moved in the direction of categoriality on the continuum and became items specially coded for some particular syntactic role. For example, lexemes that are typically used to denote objects, people, or things lost their ability to serve as verbs and were grouped into the class of nouns, or lexemes that are typically used to denote actions, events, or processes lost their ability to serve as nouns and were grouped into the class of verbs (Nordhoff 2013: 271). On the other hand, there are also lexemes that were functionally specified for a single syntactic role moved however in the opposite direction, thus becoming generalized items available for more than one syntactic function without taking any markedness. The word-class specification of these generalized items must then be syntactically measured, depending on the basic word order of the syntactic constituents of a given language. In this regard, flexibility is a potential that does not only affect the lexicon but also correlates with the syntax of a given language including its word order.

2.4 Preliminary outline of the present study

This study aims to provide a detailed explanation of flexibility of parts of speech in Classical Chinese. The investigation focuses on two types of zero-marked semantic type shifts of flexible lexemes in this language, namely, using action-denoting lexemes in nominal function (the V→N type), and using object-denoting lexemes in verbal function (the N→V type). Regarding the motivational factors of using flexible lexemes in these ways, I fully agree with Yuan (1710) that the flexible use of words has pragmatic power and can produce rhetorical effects. I also

agree with Chi (2009) that the extreme shortage of morphological markedness for word-class distinctions provides convenient conditions and opportunities for the flexible use of words in Classical Chinese. In addition, I also agree with Zhang (2005) and Zádrapa (2011) that the motivation of word-class flexibility (in the authors' words: the emergence of HY) can be attributed to many factors, both linguistic and non-linguistic. The factors include formal requirements of the text, terminological requirements, economy of expression, the author's flavour, writing time, social and regional circumstances and so on, irrespective of whether or not there already existed a ready-made unit in the lexicon to express what the author intended.

Depending on the way how the derivative is related to the source, the two types of zero-marked semantic type shifts (V→N and N→V) can be described as either regular or irregular derivations. In this study, I term as regular derivations the cases in which the semantic link between the source and the derivative conforms to certain universal cognitive patterns, and the newly derived meaning is in this sense routinely predictable. The presence of regularity and predictability in the flexible uses of words has been demonstrated by the studies of Zhang (2005), Bisang (2008a, 2008b), Zádrapa (2011) as well as Chi (2009) on object-action derivations in Classical Chinese, though the authors pursue different approaches to show it. The present investigation of regular derivations would serve as a complement to these studies mentioned. Compared to the regular processes mentioned above, irregular derivations are representative of the unparadigmatic aspect of flexibility in a parts-of-speech system. In the irregular cases, the newly derived meaning of a given lexeme is often strongly dependent on the context and contains some novel semantic units added by the context, as previously illustrated by the example of 牛 *niú* 'ox, cattle' (→ 'become an injured ox'). Although the discrimination between the regular and irregular derivations should not be considered an absolute criterion for determining whether the newly derived meaning of a flexible lexeme will become conventional or not, it seems uncontroversial to state that most of the lexicalized meanings of flexible lexemes are results of regular derivations. Regular derivations lead to the fact that the derived meanings spread more quickly and widely, and get lexicalized more easily. By contrast, semantic unpredictability or irregularity will arguably make a newly derived meaning difficult to spread to other contexts. Despite these facts, it should also be noted that a single flexible lexeme can sometimes undergo both regular and irregular derivations. An example illustrating this is the lexeme 城 *chéng* denoting 'city walls' or 'capital city', which can serve either as a noun or a

verb in Classical Chinese.[21] Serving as a verb, *chéng* normally denotes the human activities of 'build city walls' or 'build a capital city'. This verbal function of *chéng* follows one of the principles of interpretation that tend to apply to the entire semantic class of lexemes denoting various places and buildings in Classical Chinese (cf. section 5.1.3 of chapter 5). In addition, it is observed that *chéng* can also occur as a verb with a strongly context-dependent meaning such as 'attack the capital city' (found in *Zuozhuan*, chapter *Dinggong* 10 in the present study), which ensues from an irregular derivation.

In sum, the present study focuses on illustrating flexibility in Classical Chinese at the level of regular derivations. In this sense, the semantic type shift that a flexible lexeme undergoes is a rule-governed operation. Based on the empirical evidence from five classical texts, the next three chapters will explore and illustrate the common rules and basic principles, according to which the word-class flexibility in Classical Chinese is organized at the levels of syntax, cognitive semantics, and pragmatics.

In this study, I speak of *using* object-denoting lexemes in verbal function or *using* them predicatively as verbs (or the case of action-denoting lexemes). By this, I do not however intend to imply that a separate lexical entry for the derived predicative (or referential) meaning of one such lexeme may not necessarily have existed in the lexicon at that time for the lexeme. As already stated, a flexible lexeme may undergo either regular or irregular derivations, through which a newly derived meaning could either exist temporarily or become conventional and established in the lexicon. In this study, my analysis is neither intended to fix the position of a given item on the continuum assumed between precategoriality and categoriality with respect to word-class specification for a particular syntactic role, nor to show the lexical structure of that item at that time. I would rather focus on what is the cognitive-semantic relatedness between different type meanings conveyed by one and the same flexible lexeme, regardless of whether its newly derived meaning (through the syntactical specification of either V→N or N→V) was well-established in the lexicon at that time or not.

There are two technical methods used in this study for revealing the regularities underlying the two types of zero-marked semantic type shifts mentioned. One of them takes up the suggestion made by Zádrapa (2011) that the system of the derivations of flexible lexemes is supposed to be organized in a bottom-up manner (Langacker 1991: 46–48). In this way, the schemas in the construction of

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21 Within the framework of categoriality in contemporary Chinese linguistics, 城 *chéng* is generally identified as a JL word in Classical Chinese.

novel expressions are basically founded at the level of the lexicon, where concepts are delimited according to the lexical-semantic fields to which they generally belong. Above these basic-level schemas, linguistic analysis of concrete data as well as linguistic generalizations are rendered on a higher level. This bottom-up model is also presented in the works of Zhang (2005) and Bisang (2008a, 2008b). They tackle, at first, the empirical data at the level of lexical input of derivations by sorting them into different semantic classes (e.g., animates, body parts, man-made tools), and then, within each semantic class, a set of patterns of derivation are deduced by means of general thematic roles (e.g., AGENT, PATIENT, INSTRUMENT) or in terms of stereotypical implicatures. Compared to the bottom-up model discussed, the other method used in this study firstly addresses the empirical data at the level of lexical output of derivations, and then arranges them into a schematic system of general patterns of derivation. Afterwards, the general patterns of derivation are examined and illustrated through the lexical inputs of derivation in different lexical-semantic domains. The latter method uses the working model suggested by many cognitive semanticists such as Kövecses and Radden (1998), Dirven (1999) and Schönefeld (2005). In their discussion of English conversion, the derivational processes of converted words are construed as being motivated by various types of metonymic patterns such as INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION, AGENT FOR ACTION, or ACTION FOR AGENT. In fact, both of the methods discussed above suggest that there is a systematic interplay between the lexicon (as either input or output of the derivation) and the patterns of derivation.

Similar to Zádrapa (2011), the definition of the two categories of lexemes under investigation, i.e. object-denoting lexemes and action-denoting lexemes is in line with the descriptions provided by Langacker (1991) and Croft (2001), where the grammar-derived labels of nouns and verbs correspond to two semantically definable notions for the categories of object words and action words, respectively. The two categories of lexemes are associated with two major pragmatic functions: object-denoting lexemes typically correlate with the function of reference, and action-denoting lexemes typically correlate with predication (Sasse 1993a, 1993b). Further, given that word categories are radially organized structures, the words that denote concrete, physical objects are considered prototypical for the category of object-denoting lexemes, while the words denoting volitional interactions are considered prototypical for the category of action-denoting lexemes. By definition, a physical object is characterized as being discrete and conceptually autonomous, as it incorporates a restricted quantity of material substance and has a limited three-dimensional spatial expanse. On the contrary, volitional interactions are maximally opposed to physical objects with respect to their non-material substance, absence of physical space as well as their

conceptual dependence on other objects or their participants. On the other hand, however, there exist object words that designate non-physical objects, which are regarded as non-prototypical or peripheral object words (Zádrapa 2011). These initially involve a large group of lexemes denoting abstract concepts or conceptual domains such as 病 *bìng* '(serious) illness', 災 *zāi* 'disaster', 榮 *róng* 'glory, honour', 法 *fǎ* 'law, rule, statute' (cf. (13) below: especially the last three categories VIII, IX and X). These words are comparable to the 'abstracts' in Bisang's (2008a: 573) hierarchy illustrating increasing probabilities from left to right for the occurrence of object words in the V-slot in Late Archaic Chinese. According to Zádrapa (2011: 109), the peripheral object words exhibit a more versatile syntactic behaviour than the prototypical object words in Classical Chinese, but they are principally subject to the same mechanisms of derivation as the other kinds of flexible lexemes do. In the present study, the abstract words serve both the purpose of being compared with the lexemes denoting concrete, physical objects and the purpose of being encoded in the statistical analysis displaying the most important syntactic configurations of the use of flexible lexemes.

Based on Zhang (2005), Wang (1989) as well as Chi (2009), the flexible lexemes under scrutiny here include the following action-denoting items (12) and object-denoting items (13):

(12) Action-denoting lexemes under investigation

御 *yù* 'drive (a carriage)'; 戍 *shù* 'guard (frontier)'; 賈 *gǔ* 'trade, purchase, sell, buy, do business, etc.'; 傅 *fù* 'give guidance, assist'; 尹 *yǐn* 'administer, govern'; 相 *xiàng* 'assist (the king)'; 佐 *zuǒ* 'assist (people of higher status)'; 候 *hòu* 'reconnoitre, scout'; 伏 *fú* 'hide, lurk'; 賊 *zéi* 'harm, hurt, cause bodily injuries or damage'; 諜 *dié* 'spy, engage in espionage'; 盜 *dào* 'steal, rob'; 寇 *kòu* 'invade'; 敵 *dí* 'match, parallel, contrast (with)'; 嬖 *bì* 'favour, dote on'; 囚 *qiú* 'imprison, keep closed in a place'; 圉 *yǔ* 'keep horses' or 'keep closed in a place'; 使 *shǐ* 'send, order (to go to)'; 質 *zhì* 'pawn, take hostage'; 親 *qīn* 'be close (to), come close (to)'; 牽 *qiān* 'pull, lead'; 騎 *qí* 'ride'; 鑿 *záo* 'cut, chisel'; 縛 *fù* 'tie up, bind'; 縶 *zhí* 'tie up, imprison'; 係 *xì* 'tie up, fasten'; 約 *yuē* 'bundle up'; 縋 *zhuì* 'let down (with a rope)'; 杖 *zhàng* 'hold (a stick) in the hand, grasp'; 履 *lǚ* 'tread'; 皮 *pí* 'remove the skin of something, peel'; 馘 *guó* 'cut off left ears'; 膳 *shàn* 'prepare food, present food'; 飯 *fàn* 'eat'; 飲 *yǐn* 'drink (alcohol)'; 餼 *xì* 'donate grains'; 羞 *xiū* 'offer (fine food to people of higher social status)'; 餉 *xiǎng* 'carry meal (to the field), supply provisions'; 賂 *lù* 'send gifts'; 祀 *sì* 'worship (heaven), offer sacrifice to'; 襚 *suì* 'dress a dead person, put on shroud for a dead person'; 制 *zhì* 'cut out

garments, make (garments)'; 任 *rèn* 'carry, bear'; 芻 *chú* 'mow grass, feed animals with grass'; 棲 *qī* 'perch, stay, rest'; 牧 *mù* 'herd, pasture'; 次 *cì* 'stop, pause'; 居 *jū* 'live, reside'.

(13) Object-denoting lexemes under investigation

(I) Lexemes denoting human roles
王 *wáng* 'king, monarch'; 君 *jūn* 'ruler'; 霸 *bà* 'chief of feudal princes, chief of vassal states'; 伯 *bà* 'chief of vassal states'; 帝 *dì* 'emperor, the supreme being'; 侯 *hóu* 'duke, marquis, prince (under the emperor)'; 主 *zhǔ* 'host, chief';臣 *chén* 'subordinate, male slave, minister (under the king)'; 官 *guān* 'officer, official'; 友 *yǒu* 'friend'; 子 *zǐ* 'child, son'; 祖 *zǔ* 'ancestor', 'ancestral temple'; 師 *shī* 'teacher, fine example'; 師 *shī* 'army, troop'; 醫 *yī* 'doctor'; 黨 *dǎng* 'clique, faction, kinsfolk, relatives'; 軍 *jūn* 'troops'; 俘 *fú* 'captive, prisoner of war'; 仇 *chóu* 'enemy'; 僕 *pú* 'servant', 'cart-driver'; 賓 *bīn* 'guest'; 客 *kè* 'guest'; 妾 *qiè* 'female slave'; 女 *nǚ* 'maid'; 女 *nǚ* 'daughter'; 妻 *qī* 'wife'; 室 *shǐ* 'wife'; 夫 *fū* 'husband', 'married man'; 婦 *fù* 'married woman'.

(II) Lexemes denoting instruments
鞭 *biān* '(leather-thronged) whip'; 策 *cè* 'whip'; 策 *cè* 'bamboo or wooden slips (used for writing)'; 枕 *zhěn* 'pillow'; 厲 *lì* 'grindstone, pumice stone'; 麾 *huī* 'standard of commander'; 旌 *jīng* 'banner, flag'; 旗 *qí* 'flag'; 斾 *pèi* 'banner'; 觴 *shāng* 'drinking vessels'; 權 *quán* 'scale'; 繩 *shéng* 'rope, cord, string', 'ink line'; 綏 *suí* 'ropes used to stabilize the body when someone is getting in a carriage'; 輔 *fǔ* 'side poles of a cart used for helping cart-driving'; 椎 *chuí* 'mallet, wooden hammer'; 席 *xí* 'mat'; 鏡 *jìng* 'mirror, looking glass'; 鑒 *jiàn* '(bronze) mirror'; 帷 *wéi* 'curtain'; 幕 *mù* 'covering cloth'; 屏 *píng* 'screen (used for protecting or blocking)'; 階 *jiē* 'stairs'; 栫 *jiàn* 'fence'; 梏 *gù* 'wooden hand-shackles'; 燭 *zhú* 'torch, candle'; 鉤 *gōu* 'hook'; 櫜 *gāo* 'vessels for storing armour, bows and arrows etc.'; 鼓 *gǔ* 'drum'; 兵 *bīng* 'weapon'; 棺 *guān* 'coffin';刃 *rèn* '(sharp) blade of a knife'; 戟 *jǐ* 'halberd'; 羅 *luó* 'net for catching birds'; 壺 *hú* 'bottle, kettle, container (for liquid)'; 簞 *dān* 'bamboo basket, bamboo utensil (for holding food)'; 輦 *niǎn* 'man-drawn carriage'; 罇 *zūn* 'wine goblet'; 燧 *suì* 'flint'; 櫝 *dú* 'box, casket, coffin'; 丹 *dān* 'cinnabar'; 墨 *mò* 'ink, black dyestuff'; 朱 *zhū* 'the tree with red core, red (dyestuff)'; 彤 *tóng* 'red dyestuff'; 毒 *dú* 'poison'.

(III) Lexemes denoting places and/or buildings
館 *guǎn* 'accommodation for guests, guesthouse, inn'; 舍 *shè* 'tent, inn, house, hut'; 城 *chéng* 'city wall, capital city'; 市 *shì* 'market'; 廬 *lú* 'hut, cottage'; 倉 *cāng*

'granary, barn'; 社 *shè* 'the site of sacrificing to the God of the land'; 廷 *tíng* 'court of a king, 'imperial court'; 田 *tián* 'cropland, farmland, field'; 門 *mén* 'gate'; 巢 *cháo* 'nest'; 宮 *gōng* 'house or palace built with walls'; 堞 *dié* 'battlements'; 墙 *qiáng* 'wall'; 郭 *guō* 'outer city wall'; 宇 *yǔ* 'roof eaves'; 藩 *fān* 'hedge, fence'; 溝 *gōu* 'ditch'; 塹 *qiàn* 'moat'; 隧 *suì* 'aisle or tunnel (leading to the coffin chamber of an ancient tomb)'; 穴 *xué* 'hole'; 坎 *kǎn* 'pit, hole'; 梁 *liáng* 'bridge'; 道 *dào* 'road, way, path'; 國 *guó* 'country'; 疆 *jiāng* 'field border, territory'; 鄙 *bǐ* 'periphery'; 邑 *yì* 'city'; 井 *jǐng* 'square-fields'; 町 *tīng* 'an area named Ting, a measure unit of area'; 縣 *xiàn* 'county'.

(IV) Lexemes denoting garments

服 *fú* 'clothes, clothing, garment'; 衣 *yī* 'clothes, clothing, garment'; 幅 *fú* '(width of) cloth'; 絻 *wèn* 'mourning dress'; 縗絰 *cuīdié* 'mourning apparel'; 襟 *jīn* 'collar, front of a garment'; 胄 *zhòu* 'helmet'; 介 *jiè* 'armour'; 冠 *guān* 'hat'; 弁 *biàn* 'hat of officials'; 冕 *miǎn* 'hat of kings or higher officials, especially worn in full dress ceremony'; 襪 *wà* 'socks'; 佩 *pèi* 'ornament worn as pendant at the waist'.

(V) Lexemes denoting foodstuff

食 *shí* 'food, meal, (cooked) rice'; 飧 *sūn* 'evening meal, dinner, (cooked) food'; 餌 *ěr* 'cake, pastry, cake, bait, food'; 酒 *jiǔ* 'alcohol'; 膏 *gāo* 'fat, grease, oil'; 脂 *zhǐ* 'fat, grease'; 醢 *hǎi* 'minced and hashed meat sauce'; 脯 *fǔ* 'dried meat'; 穀 *gǔ* 'grain, corn, cereal'; 麥 *mài* 'wheat'; 果 *guǒ* 'fruits'.

(VI) Lexemes denoting body parts

肘 *zhǒu* 'elbow'; 目 *mù* 'eye'; 指 *zhǐ* 'finger(s)'; 牙 *yá* 'teeth, molar'; 齒 *chǐ* 'teeth'; 背 *bèi* 'back'; 翼 *yì* 'wings'; 角 *jiǎo* 'horns'; 踵 *zhǒng* 'heel'; 懷 *huái* 'chest, bosom'; 面 *miàn* 'face'; 首 *shǒu* 'head'; 顛 *diān* 'top of the head'; 肉 *ròu* 'flesh'; 股肱 *gǔgōng* 'legs and arms'.

(VII) Lexemes denoting animals

蠹 *dù* 'wood-boring beetles or insects'; 禽 *qín* 'beasts and birds'; 畜 *chù* 'domesticated livestock'; 鳩 *jiū* 'dove, pigeon'; 魚 *yú* 'fish'; 蚕 *cán* 'silkworms'; 驂 *cān* '(three) horses that pull a single-shaft carriage'; 駟 *sì* 'a team of four horses that pull a single-shaft carriage'.

(VIII) Lexemes denoting illnesses

疥 *jiè* 'tertian malaria'; 痁 *shān* 'chronic malaria'; 疽 *jū* 'carbuncle, abscess'; 瘧 *nüè* 'intermittent fever, malaria'; 疾 *jí* 'illness'; 病 *bìng* '(serious) illness'; 疾病 *jíbìng* '(serious) illness'.

(IX) Lexemes denoting (super)natural events or elements

雨 *yŭ* 'rain'; 風 *fēng* 'wind'; 水 *shuĭ* 'water'; 火 *huŏ* 'fire'; 土 *tŭ* 'soil'; 福 *fú* 'blessing, good fortune'; 禍 *huò* 'calamity, misfortune, disaster'; 祚 *zuò* 'blessing, happiness'; 殃 *yāng* 'misfortune, disaster'; 祉 *zhĭ* 'good luck, blessing'; 災 *zāi* '(natural) disaster'.

(X) Lexemes denoting laws, rules, regulations, codes of conduct, etc.

班 *bān* 'order, rank'; 序 *xù* 'order, sequence, rank'; 次 *cì* 'order, sequence'; 法 *fă* 'law, rule'; 刑 *xíng* 'penal law'; 禮 *lĭ* 'courtesy, convention, rites, regulations'; 德 *dé* 'virtue, moral, kindness, favour'; 道 *dào* 'morals, law, standard for behaviour'; 本 *bĕn* 'basics, basic rules, principle'; 榮 *róng* 'glory, honour'; 義 *yì* 'justice, righteousness'; 仁 *rén* 'benevolence, humanity'; 恥 *chĭ* 'shame'; 尤 *yóu* 'mistake'; 過 *guò* 'mistake, fault'; 疵瑕 *cīxiá* 'blemishes on jade'; 禮貌 *lĭmào* 'etiquette, politeness, good manners'.

All descriptions in the subsequent chapters are based on empirical evidence from the five Classical Chinese texts under investigation (*Zuozhuan*, *Mengzi*, *Zhanguo Ce*, *Guoyu*, and *Mozi*). There are around 3,600 instances of argument structure constructions collected from the five texts, including about 1,000 constructions formed with the above-listed action-denoting lexemes in nominal function (V→N), and about 2,600 constructions with the above-listed object-denoting lexemes in verbal function (N→V) (cf. the Appendices for an overview of their distribution in the five classical texts). Note also that a certain number of instances of constructions with the above-listed flexible lexemes were not included in the statistical calculation. This is because in these instances, the syntactic position under analysis is neither clearly nominal nor definitely verbal; in other words, both of the interpretations (positionally nominal or positionally verbal) are theoretically possible for alternative syntactic analyses. The present study mainly makes use of the most common (intransitive or transitive) argument structure constructions with ascertainable N- and V-positions. Chapter 3 will clarify this point by providing detailed observations on the syntax and the argument structure constructions in Classical Chinese.

3 Syntactic observations on flexibility in Classical Chinese

This chapter aims to provide a characterization of the syntactic aspects of flexibility of parts of speech in Classical Chinese. As discussed previously, the zero-marked semantic type shift that a flexible lexeme undergoes can be construed as a syntactically specified process of category assignment, in which the word-class specification of the lexeme concerned is determined by its position/function in a given word-class indicating construction. Specifically, this category specification depends on the arrangement of syntactic constituents (e.g., verb, Actor, Undergoer) of given constructions. On a higher level, this depends on the basic word order of a given language. The objective of this chapter is to describe this syntactically specified category assignment of flexible lexemes in Classical Chinese, with flexibility being observed in two positions of an argument structure construction: the V-position and the syntactic position of an argument (N-position).

This chapter is organized as follows: Section 3.1 provides an overview of the argument structure constructions in Classical Chinese in general. The most typical syntactic structures of this language are discussed in two subsections: section 3.1.1 presents the most common intransitive and transitive argument structure constructions with ascertainable N- and V-positions; section 3.1.2 addresses the constructions containing ambiguous N- or V-positions in this language, where alternative syntactic analyses may be carried out. The subsequent sections will then illustrate in detail the syntactic structures of the two types of zero-marked semantic type shifts of flexible lexemes (i.e. the V→N type and the N→V type): section 3.2 discusses the syntactic position corresponding to an argument and its interaction with action-denoting lexemes (the V→N type); section 3.3 discusses the occurrence of object-denoting lexemes in the V-position of different types of constructions (the N→V type). Finally, section 3.4 summarizes the result findings and concludes this chapter.

3.1 Argument structure constructions in Classical Chinese in general

Different sentence types, such as imperatives, interrogatives, or exclamatives, can generally be formed in Classical Chinese on the basis of declarative sentences by adding, changing or removing some auxiliaries or particles, while the basic order of the syntactic constituents in the sentence remains unchanged. For this

reason, the following discussion takes the declarative sentence type as a starting point.

3.1.1 The intransitive and transitive argument structure constructions

According to Wang (1958: 347), the Chinese copula 是 *shì* started being used in the middle of the Han dynasty period (around the 1st century AD) and came into common use during the period of the Six dynasties (220–589) (cf. also Ota [1958] 2003; Feng 1984). Actually, the linguistic sign 是 *shì* already existed in Old Chinese (between the twelfth and third centuries BC), but at that time it served either as a demonstrative pronoun 'this/that, these/those' (cf. example (22)) or as a verb meaning 'be right, be correct [intr.]' or 'follow, conform to, comply with [tr.]'. These were also the main functions of 是 *shì* in Classical Chinese. In (14) below, an example from *Xunzi* (the third century BC), the verbal *shì*, parallel to 法 *fǎ* 'law, rule' in verbal function (see section 5.1.11), means 'follow'.

(14) 不法先王，不是禮義 ... (*Xunzi, Feishierzi*)
      bù   fǎ   xiān wáng,
      NEG   law:V (i.e. follow, take as law)   emperors in ancient times
      bù   shì   lǐ yí.
      NEG   follow   rites and moral laws
      '(If one) does not follow the emperors in ancient times, (if one) does not follow the rites and moral laws…'

Later, in some texts written during the Han dynasty such as *Lunheng* (論衡), 是 *shì* as a copula appeared, but remained optional in the early stages (Feng 1984). The development of *shì* into a copula has been widely regarded as a grammaticalization phenomenon, and its diachronic source has been variously described as the demonstrative *shì*, the verbal *shì* (paired with 非 *fēi* as an antonym, which was used as either a verb or a negative particle in Classical Chinese), or both (cf. e.g., Wang 1958; Li and Thompson 1977; Ao 1985; Yen 1986; Feng 1993; Chang 2006; Sun & Bisang, forthcoming). Katz (1996: 83–84) states that the rise of *shì* as a copula was part of a language-level regrouping of nominals and verbal forces, and this had been entailed in a reanalysis of clause boundaries in Chinese, leading from an essentially intransitive view of the equative construction according to the SV template to a transitive view of the assertion in terms of clause cohesion according to the SVO template, with a central verb and nominals preceding and following it as in Modern Chinese.

As for the period of Classical Chinese, one can safely say that there were no copulas in the traditional sense. Any referential expression (X) – regardless of whether it is a word, a phrase or a clause – could well serve as the predicate of an equative construction, with the meaning of 'be X', without being connected with the subject by any linking element (Wang 1999: 244). In other words, the equative construction could be formed by the unmarked juxtaposition of a subject NP and a predicate NP. In this sense, the criterion of compositionality proposed by Evans and Osada (2005: 367) for establishing lexical flexibility can be said to be satisfied, as the semantic difference between the uses of any given object word in the syntactic positions of argument and predicate optimally conforms to the pattern of N → to be N. In (15) below, either of the sentences from *Zhanguo Ce* can illustrate an equative construction in Classical Chinese:

(15) a. 虎者戾蟲，人者甘餌也。 (*Zhanguo Ce*, *Qin Ce*)
        hǔ   *zhě*   *lì chóng,*   *rén*   *zhě*   *gān ěr*   *yě.*
        tiger   TOP   cruel animal   people   TOP   delicious food   PTCL
        'Tigers are cruel animals; people are (their) delicious food.'

    b. 韓天下之咽喉。 (*Zhanguo Ce, Qin Ce*)
        Hán   *tiānxià*   *zhī*   *yānhóu*
        Han state   land under heaven   GEN   throat
        'The Han state is the throat of the world.'
        [i.e. The Han state is a strategically important place in the world.]

In (15a), both of the expressions 戾蟲 *lì chóng* 'cruel animal' and 甘餌 *gān ěr* 'delicious food' serve as the predicates of the clauses, with the meaning 'be a cruel animal' and 'be delicious food', respectively. Similarly, in (15b) the expression 天下之咽喉 *tiānxià zhī yānhóu* 'the throat of the world' also functions as the predicate of the sentence, with the metaphorical meaning 'be a strategically important place in the world (i.e. as important as the throat to people or animals)'. Notice that in (15a), the topic marker 者 *zhě* (TOP) (which can alternatively be analysed as a nominalization marker or a subject-substitute relative pronoun preceded by a V-slot. cf. section 3.1.2) and the sentence-final particle 也 *yě* (PTCL) are used in the equative construction, while the equative construction in (15b) is not marked by any particles or function words. Therefore, the argument made by some researchers that the marker 者 *zhě* or 也 *yě* took the role of copula in the language stage before the Han dynasty does not seem convincing. In my view, such markers might often occur in equative constructions where they mark the boundaries

of a topic, a subject, or the predicate, but they are different from a copula in the traditional sense.

Further, it is also true that Classical Chinese neutralized the predication of actions and the predication of properties. There was no formal distinction between a verbal predicate and an adjectival predicate, which correspond respectively to ACTION–PREDICATION (unmarked verbs) and PROPERTY–PREDICATION (predicate adjectives, copulas), the combinations of semantic class and pragmatic function in Croft's (2000, 2001, 2003) conceptual space for parts of speech (cf. Table 2).

In Classical Chinese, in a manner of speaking, there are two main sentence types which can be described as follows. Type (i): A sentence with a copulative predicate requires only one syntactic argument position (subject), in which the predicate states what the subject is (or in the sense of what the subject is like), as illustrated in (15) above. Type (ii): A sentence with a non-copulative predicate consists of one or more syntactic arguments, in which the predicate states what the subject does, what the subject experiences, or what the subject does to the object, depending on whether the predicate is used intransitively or transitively. Subsuming constructions with only one syntactic argument position under the category of intransitive argument structure constructions, and constructions with more than one syntactic argument under the category of transitive argument structure constructions, the following summary provides a brief overview of the argument structure constructions of Classical Chinese in general:

– In an intransitive argument structure construction, the syntactic subject (S) usually precedes the verb, which is consistent with SV word order. Depending on the semantics of the verb, the subject may be either the Actor/Doer argument (NP_A) of the action expressed by the verb, or the Undergoer (NP_U) of the action. In the former case (when S=NP_A), the verb is unergative ($V_{unergative}$); in the latter case (when S=NP_U), the verb is unaccusative ($V_{unaccusative}$). Classical Chinese also has intransitive constructions of VS word order, but they are rather restricted to a limited set of predicates which primarily includes the existential verb 有 *yǒu* 'there be, exist' with an indefinite S argument (e.g. 有螽 *yǒu fěi* [there.be–grasshopper] 'There were grasshoppers'). Note that 有 *yǒu* can also serve as a possessive predicate meaning 'have' in Classical Chinese, occurring in a transitive argument structure construction of SVO word order (see below).

– In a transitive argument structure construction, there are typically two syntactic argument positions: subject (S) and object (O). Normally, the subject takes the semantic role of Actor (NP_A) of the action expressed by the verb, while the object takes the role of Undergoer (NP_U) of that action. In a given

transitive argument structure construction, if both NP_A and NP_U are overt, NP_A precedes the verb and NP_U usually follows it; if NP_A is not overtly expressed (usually when it is the discourse topic and/or easily retrievable from the context), an overt NP_U usually follows the verb, which is consistent with SVO word order. This also holds true for the abovementioned 有 *yǒu* as a transitive verb with the possessive meaning 'have'. On the other hand, however, there are also cases where neither NP_A nor NP_U is overt: they are only available through pragmatic inference (cf. section 3.1.2).

– When a transitive argument structure construction is passivized, the syntactic subject (S), which is now the only argument position of the transformed passive construction, normally precedes the verb and takes the semantic role of the Undergoer (NP_U) of the action, while the Actor argument (NP_A) of the action can be either absent or additionally introduced by a preposition meaning 'by' (often 為 *wéi*, occasionally 与 *yú*). This prepositional phrase often occurs immediately in front of the verb. In any case, there is no verb morphology for the distinction between active and passive voice readings.

The basic patterns of the intransitive and transitive argument structure constructions described above are outlined in Table 5 below:

Tab. 5: Most common intransitive and transitive argument structure constructions in Classical Chinese

Intransitive: SV	NP_A	$V_{unergative}$	
	NP_U	$V_{unaccusative}$	
Transitive: SVO	NP_A	$V_{tr.}$	NP_U
→ Passive: SV	NP_U	([PP]) $V_{passive}$	

The patterns of intransitive and transitive argument structure constructions shown in Table 5 can be illustrated by the following examples: In (16), examples from *Mengzi* illustrate two intransitive argument structure constructions with the unergative verb 笑 *xiào* 'laugh' (16a) and the unaccusative verb 來 *lái* 'come' (16b), respectively. In (17), examples from *Zuozhuan* illustrate two transitive argument structure constructions formed with the verb 勝 *shèng* 'defeat, win against' (17a) and again the verb 笑 *xiào* 'laugh at' (17b), respectively.

(16) a. [王笑]_{SV} 而不言。 (*Mengzi, Lianghuiwang*)

      *[wáng   xiào]*_{SV}   *ér*   *bù*   *yán.*

      king   laugh   CONJ   NEG   say

      'The king laughed and said nothing.'

    b. 王使人問疾，[醫來]_{SV}。 (*Mengzi, Lilou*)

      *wáng   shǐ   rén   wèn jí   [yī   lái]*_{SV}.

      king   send   people ask   illness doctor come

      'The king sent people to ask about (his) illness; a doctor came along.'

(17) a. 曰：[小勝大]_{SVO}，禍也。 (*Zuozhuan, Aigong* 11)

      *yuē: [xiǎo   shèng dà]*_{SVO},   *huò   yě.*

      say   small country defeat big country misfortune PTCL

      '(Jisun) said: "a small country defeated a big country, (this) is a misfortune (for the big country)."'

    b. [翟人笑之]_{SVO}。 (*Zuozhuan, Zhaogong* 1)

      *[Dí   rén   xiào   zhī]*_{SVO}.

      Di (nation) people laugh at PRON

      'The people of Di laughed at them.'

Compare the examples in (17a) and (17b) above with the following two examples in (18): the sentence (18a) is also constructed with the verb 勝 *shèng*, but this time *shèng* expresses a passive voice reading, i.e. 'be defeated'; the sentence (18b) is constructed with the verb 笑 *xiào* mentioned above, but this time *xiào* also expresses a passive voice reading, with the Actor argument (楚 *Chǔ* 'Chu state') being introduced by the preposition 為 *wéi* 'by'.

(18) a. 國勝君亡，非禍而何？ (*Zuozhuan, Aigong* 1)

      guó   shèng   jūn   wáng, fēi   huò   ér

      state   defeat.PASS ruler flee   NEG misfortune CONJ

      hé?

      Q.what

      'The state was defeated and the ruler fled, (if this) is not a misfortune then what (is it)?'

b. 智為楚笑。 (*Zhanguo Ce*, *Han Ce*)

zhì   wéi   Chŭ   xiào.

wisdom   by   Chu state   laugh at.PASS

'The (so-called) wisdom (of the Han state) was laughed at by the Chu state.'

A comparison of the examples given above reflects the fact that verbs in Classical Chinese are *ambitransitive*, in the sense that a single verb can function either intransitively or transitively, and relatedly, that one and the same verb can be used either in an active voice or in a passive voice, without these differences being marked by any morphological means. Needless to say, in order to get the exact reading of given verbs – either intransitive or transitive, either active or passive, the construction and context (pragmatic inference) play an important role.

Reasons for ambitransitivity as well as those for the lack of word-class distinguishing morphology in Classical Chinese have often been related to the loss of a former word-formation morphology assumed in early phases of Old Chinese (Old Chinese is assumed to have retained significant portions of a Proto-Chinese sub-syllabic affixal system). Reconstruction of Old Chinese morphology has been carried out in several series of seminal works (e.g. Sagart 1999; Baxter and Sagart 2011; Sagart and Baxter 2012; Mei 1989, 2008, 2012). The basic idea underlying the reconstruction is that, at the earliest stage of the Chinese language, words (mostly monosyllabic words) were derivable by either affixation or morphophonological alternation (Packard 2011: 2-5). Based on this, a number of sub-syllabic affixes – referred to as Old Chinese prefixes, suffixes, and infixes – have been reconstructed for the purpose of word formation in the language at that time. The meanings of the base word and the derived word could be related to different parts of speech. However, in any case, this early, derivational morphology in Old Chinese should not be regarded as an obligatory or a functionally dedicated means for differentiating between parts of speech, where individual markers (prefixes, suffixes or infixes) are often multifunctional (in the sense of bearing a variety of functional and semantic values) and, as far as word-class distinction is concerned, they are arguably not solely associated with any particular word class (see also Zádrapa 2011; Bisang 2008a). This can be illustrated by looking at one of the most discussed derivational affixes, the prefix *s-. As demonstrated by the examples in Table 6 and Table 7, *s- cannot only be used for deriving causative or transitive verbs from intransitive ones (Table 6), but it can also serve as a marker (Table 7) for deriving object words from action-denoting lexemes (nominalizing) or deriving action words from object-denoting lexemes (verbalizing). In this way, *s- is associated with a few interpretations: the differentiation between

intransitive and causative verbs, the active-passive voice distinction, as well as the differentiation between parts of speech.

Tab. 6: Morphological differentiation between intransitive and causative (transitive) verbs through **s-* in Old Chinese (examples from Mei 2012: 12; cf. Sagart and Baxter 2012)

	INTRANSITIVE	CAUSATIVE (TRANSITIVE)
敗	**brads > bwai* 'be ruined, be defeated'	**s-b- > *prads > pwai* 'ruin, defeat'
別	**brjads > bjät* 'be different, leave'	**s-b- > *prjat > pjät* 'divide, separate'
斷	**duans > duan* 'be severed'	**s-d- > *tuans > tuan* 'cut off'
折	**djat > źjat* 'be broken'	**s-d- > *tjat > tsjat* 'break, bend'
屬	**djuk > źjwok* 'be conjoined, be connected'	**s-d- > *tjuk > tśjwok* 'connect, join
長	**drjang > ḍjang* 'be long, be tall'	**s-drj- > *trjangx > ṭjang* 'increase'

Tab. 7: Morphological differentiation between parts of speech through **s-* in Old Chinese and Middle Chinese (examples from Sagart and Baxter 2012: 41 and Sagart 1999: 63)

		OLD CHINESE	MIDDLE CHINESE	MEANING
扯	*yè*	*lat	> *yet*	'to pull'
緤	*xiè*	*s-lat	> *sjet*	'leading-string'
曳	*yè*	*lat-s	> *yetH*	'to drag, to pull'
紲	*xiè*	*s-lat	> *sjet*	'leading-string, rope, fetters'
帚	*zhǒu*	*[b]tuʔ	> *tsyuwX*	'a broom'
掃	*sǎo*	*[a]s-tuʔ	> *sawX*	'to broom'
爪	*zhuǎ*	*[a]tsruʔ	> *tsræwX*	'claw'
搔	*sāo*	*[a]s-tsu	> *saw*	'to scratch'

Even though Old Chinese morphology is sensitive to word-class distinctions in certain cases, it does not preclude the existence of flexibility of parts of speech in Classical Chinese. According to Packard (2011: 4), if Old Chinese really possessed sub-syllabic affixes for derivation, such affixes would still have existed at the time when the Chinese logographic writing system was invented and during its early stages of development from around the 12th to the 5th century BC (i.e. the period of the Zhou dynasty, directly before Classical Chinese, during which HY was developed and expanded according to Chen [1922] 1957 and many others). Under such conditions, Packard points out that there were various ways that the

characters could have been used to represent a derived word (meaning) that had been generated from a base word using an affix. One way was simply to use a different character (vs. the base character) for the newly derived meaning. This would result in the formation of two separate words for the base and derived meanings, respectively. A second way was to use two characters to represent the newly derived meaning (where one character represents or spells only the derivational affix, and the other character represents the pronunciation of the base word, as discussed by Boodberg [1937] 1979), which would likewise result in the formation of two separate words (i.e. a monosyllabic base word and a two-character combination) for the base and derived meanings, respectively. A third way was to use the same character for both the base and derived word meanings. In this situation, as discussed previously (section 2.2.1 of chapter 2), a single character may or may not have different pronunciations corresponding to the different meanings. The third way of using characters for base and derived meanings concurs with the flexible use of words across word categories.

Further, according to Xu (2006), Old Chinese permits both of the word orders VO and OV, though VO is much more frequent. On the other hand, as illustrated above, one and the same verb can be used to express either an active or a passive voice reading in an unmarked manner. Under these circumstances, a construction of the form of [NP$_U$ V] could logically be linked to either a passive SV construction (in which the preverbal NP$_U$ serves as the syntactic subject and the verb expresses a passive voice reading) or, in some special cases discussed below, a construction consistent with OV word order, in which the preverbal NP$_U$ takes the syntactic role of object of the verb.

In Chinese literature, the phenomena associated with OV word order are usually referred to as *bīnyǔ qiánzhì* 'forward movement of the object' or 'moving the object forward' (賓語前置), or sometimes as *dàozhuāng* 'inversion' (倒裝, cf. e.g., Yu 1981). According to many linguists such as Guo (1981) or Zhou (1990), the forward movement of the object takes place within either a prepositional phrase (PP) or a verbal phrase (VP). Within a PP, it pertains to the cases in which the object argument of a preposition is moved forward to the position preceding that preposition, which is carried out primarily for the purpose of highlighting (i.e. the author would like to emphasize the object argument in given circumstances).[22] In

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22 Chinese mostly uses prepositional phrases in the function of adjuncts through its history. The widely accepted postpositions in Chinese include a group of relational nouns used for anchoring objects in space and in time (Li and Thompson 1981) such as 上 *shàng* 'upper side, on' (e.g. *shān shàng* [mountain–on] 'on the mountain'), 下 *xià* 'under', 前 *qián* 'in front of' or 后 *hòu* 'behind'. For a comprehensive list of Chinese postpositions, see e.g., Paul (2015: 95–97). Note

Classical Chinese, the forward movement of the object within a PP often appears in interrogative sentences, especially when 以 *yǐ* 'by means of, with, etc.' is the preposition. To illustrate, in (19) below, compared to (19a) under normal circumstances with the object argument of *yǐ* (i.e. 羊 *yáng* 'sheep') postposed, *yǐ* has a preceded object argument in (19b), i.e. the interrogative pronoun 何 *hé* 'what'.

(19) a. 故[以羊]~PP~易之也。(*Mengzi, Lianghuiwang*)
      gù   [yǐ   yáng]~PP~ yì   zhī   yě.
      therefore with sheep   replace PRON PTCL
      'Therefore (I) replaced it with a sheep.'

   b. [何以]~PP~守國? (*Zuozhuan, Xigong* 14)
      [hé   yǐ]~PP~   shǒu   guó?
      Q.what   by means of defend country
      'How do (we) defend the country?'

The forward movement of the object within a VP leads to constructions that are more or less consistent with OV word order. Except for some pragmatically motivated cases (where the author intended to emphasize the object by moving it to a preverbal or topic position, or the forward placement of the object may contribute to rhythmic or melodic optimization of the sentence), the forward movement of the object within a VP is generally observed in the following grammatical environments in Classical Chinese (cf. Chappell, Li, and Peyraube 2007: 190):

(i) First, when the object is an interrogative pronoun such as 谁 *shuí* 'who', 孰 *shú* 'which (one), who', 奚 *xī* 'what', 曷 *hé* 'what', 胡 *hú* 'how, why', 何 *hé* 'what', 安 *ān* 'who, how, what', etc. This can be illustrated with (20), in which the interrogative pronoun 谁 *shuí* 'who', serving as the object of the verb 恃 *shì* 'rely on', occurs directly before *shì*. The construction 谁恃 *shuí shì* [who–rely on] thus conforms to OV word order.

(20) 秦伯謂郤芮曰：" 公子[谁恃]~OV~? " (*Zuozhuan, Xigong* 9)
      Qínbó   wèi Xìruì yuē: "gōngzǐ   [shuí   shì]~OV~?"
      Duke Mu of Qin tell Xirui say   you.HON   Q.who   rely on
      'Duke Mu of Qin asked Xirui: "Who would you rely on?"'

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also that some of them, though called relational nouns, originated as verbs and have retained their verbal function till today (e.g. *shàng shān* [ascend–mountain] 'go up the mountain').

(ii) Second, when the object is a personal pronoun in a negated sentence. Compared to the first case, the rule of this case was not rigorously followed, and it even began to fade out from the Han dynasty onwards. In Classical Chinese, the most common negation words used with verbs include 不 *bù*, 未 *wèi*, 無 *wú*, and 莫 *mò*. To give an example: in (21), the first-person pronoun 吾 *wú* occurs twice. The first time it serves as the subject of the verb 愛 *ài* 'like, love', while the second time it serves as the object of the verb 叛 *pàn* 'betray'. In contrast to the SVO construction 吾愛之 *wú ài zhī* [I–like–PRON], the construction 吾叛 *wú pàn* [me–betray] negated by 不 *bù* conforms to the OV word order.

(21) 子皮曰："願，吾愛之，不[吾叛]ᴏᴠ也。" (*Zuozhuan*, *Xianggong* 31)

    Zīpí   yuē: "yuàn,   wú   ài   zhī,
    Zipi   say   honest and sincere   I   like   PRON
    bù   [wú   pàn]ᴏᴠ   yě."
    NEG   me   betray   PTCL
    'Zipi said: "(He) is honest and sincere, I like him, (he) never betrays me."'

(iii) Third, the forward movement of the object is also observed in the SHI- or ZHI-construction where the demonstrative pronoun 是 *shì* or 之 *zhī* 'this/that, these/those' occurs directly before the verb. This case can further be divided into two subcases: the first subcase has the form of [SHI/ZHI + V]ᴏᴠ with the demonstrative SHI/ZHI itself serving as the object of the verb, which can be illustrated with the OV-construction *shì wèn* [DEM–ask] in (22a) below. The second subcase has the form of [O + SHI/ZHI + V]ᴏᴠ, in which the true object of the verb is placed in front of SHI/ZHI (or in other words, SHI/ZHI is inserted between the verb and the object preceded). Compared to the former subcase, the object preceded in the latter subcase often takes the form of a lexical NP, as shown in (22b), in which the preceded object of the verb 惡 *wù* 'hate' is the lexical NP 其君 *qí jūn* 'their ruler'. Also note that the latter subcase is sometimes marked by 唯/惟 *wéi* 'only' (often analysed as a focus marker) placed at the beginning of the whole construction.

(22) a. 寡人[是問]ᴏᴠ。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Xigong* 4)
        guǎrén   [shì   wèn]ᴏᴠ.
        I.MODEST(king)   DEM   ask
        'I have questions about this.'

b. 寡人[其君是惡] ᴏᴠ。 (*Guoyu*, *Jinyu*)
   *guǎrén   [qí   jūn   shì   wù]*ᴏᴠ.
   I.MODEST(king) PRON ruler   DEM   hate
   'I hate their ruler.'

The appearances of pronominal direct objects in preverbal position as discussed above lead to the question of whether OV word order in Classical Chinese is the residue of a more ancient SOV word order. As observed by Chappell, Li, and Peyraube (2007: 189–191), there are differing opinions on this question: Some researchers like Yu (1981) and Liu (2004) assume a word order change from SOV to SVO in early stages of Old Chinese (or in an even more ancient period) and regard the constructions with the atypical OV order in Classical Chinese as later reflections of the earlier SOV word order, as it is commonly reconstructed for Proto-Sino-Tibetan, while others do not (e.g., Dryer 2003; Djamouri 2001). According to the latter view, Chinese might have always been an SVO language in terms of its predominant word order at all stages of history, even though Proto-Sino-Tibetan was OV.

3.1.2 Ambiguous cases: alternative syntactic analyses of the V- or N-positions

While section 3.1.1 above presents the most common intransitive and transitive argument structure constructions in Classical Chinese, where the N- and V-positions are determined primarily through overtly expressed syntactic arguments with respect to SVO word order, this subsection addresses the cases with ambiguous N- or V-positions, where alternative syntactic analyses and different interpretations are possible. The two aspects of syntactic structure co-exist in the language system of Classical Chinese. They are not only correlated with flexibility of parts of speech, but also with some other remarkable characteristics of this language such as ambitransitivity of verbs, omission of arguments (cf. 'argument dropping' below), multifunctionality of items, as well as lack of obligatory markedness distinctions for grammatical relationships. This is also the reason why, as mentioned previously, some instances constructed with the flexible lexemes listed in (12) and (13) were not included in the statistical analysis (i.e. the 1,000 constructions with action-denoting lexemes in the N-position and about 2,600 constructions with object-denoting lexemes in the V-position).

One of the typologically salient features of Chinese languages is 'argument dropping', where the syntactic arguments such as subject, object, or both (in the

form of either a pronoun or a lexical NP) can be omitted when they are pragmatically inferable (Li and Thompson 1981: 85–171, 656–675). Actually, as discussed by Lu, Zhang, and Bisang (2015) as well as Chappell and Creissels (2019), the lack of argument flagging and indexing, and extensive use of the ellipsis of NPs whose referent can be retrieved from the discourse context is an area-specific feature shared by East and Southeast Asian languages. The feature of argument dropping in Modern Chinese has been taken into account under the heading of 'lack of obligatoriness': Chinese is a language in which the marking of grammatical categories or relationships is not obligatory (Bisang 2004, 2012).

Indeed, the phenomenon of argument dropping in Modern Chinese goes back all the way to Classical Chinese. As shown by example (23) below (from *Zhuangzi*, a Classical Chinese text, published during the third century BC), only the first clause has overtly expressed subject argument (i.e. Yan Hui) and object argument (i.e. Confucius) of the verb *jiàn* 'see, go to visit', while the subject and object slots in all of the remaining clauses are left empty. In the ongoing discourse, the missing noun phrases (glossed as Ø) may refer either to the subject (i.e. $Ø_1$ = Yan Hui) or to the object (i.e. $Ø_2$ = Confucius) of the first clause. In order to understand the whole discourse and all of the anaphoric relationships included, one must rely on pragmatic inference.

(23) Classical Chinese: Lack of overt arguments (adopted from Bisang 2012)
颜回見仲尼，請行。曰奚之？曰將之衛。曰奚為焉？ (*Zhuangzi*, 4.1)

Yán Huí$_1$ *jiàn* *Zhòng Ní*$_2$, $Ø_1$ *qǐng* $Ø_1$ *xíng*. $Ø_2$ *Yuē:*
Yan Hui see Confucius   ask   leave   say

$Ø_1$ *xī* *zhī?* $Ø_1$ *Yuē:* $Ø_1$ *jiāng* *zhī* *Wèi.*
    where go   say   FUT   go   Wei

$Ø_2$ *Yuē:* $Ø_1$ *xǐ* *wéi* *yān?*
   say   what   do   there

'Yan Hui saw Confucius and asked (him for the permission to) leave. (Confucius) said: "Where do (you) go?" (Hui) replied: "(I) will go to Wei". (Confucius) asked: "What do (you) do there?"'

The fact that Classical Chinese allows full or partial omission of syntactic arguments in sentences must be understood in the context of ambitransitivity of verbs, in the sense that a construction with no overtly expressed core arguments could be construed as being potentially either intransitive or transitive, and that a construction in which one of the core arguments of a potentially transitive verb is left unexpressed need not necessarily be analysed as a transitive construction

with a missing subject or object, but can alternatively be regarded as an intransitive construction with the remaining argument in subject function.

With the argument(s) completely being omitted, the sentence may only have a verb, or a string of verbs, left, among other forms with an adjunct function. At the same time, it is important to note that, in Classical Chinese, a single verb (V) can be used additionally to express several meanings: first, it can be used to express an unmarked headless relative clause; second, a complement clause with missing arguments; third, an adverbial clause with missing arguments. Although there are overt structural or lexical means to distinguish each of the above interpretations in Classical Chinese, their use is not obligatory. The situation becomes even more complicated when flexible lexemes are taken into consideration. The following example constructed by Bisang (2008a: 580) may illustrate this issue:

(24) 病不幸
    bìng   *bù*   *xìng.*
    ill   neg   be.fortunate
    a. 'Illness is unfortunate'
    b. 'The one who is ill is unfortunate.'
    c. 'That s/he is ill is unfortunate.'
    d. 'If s/he is ill this is unfortunate.'
    (Bisang 2008a: 580)

Example (24) illustrates that the flexible word 病 *bìng* can be analysed differently, depending on whether it is assigned a nominal or a verbal status. In the analysis of (24a), *bìng* serves as a noun meaning '(serious) illness'; in (24b) it is the verb of an unmarked headless relative clause, with the meaning ' be (seriously) ill'; in (24c) it is the verb of a complement clause whose subject is omitted; in (24d) it is the verb of a conditional subordinate clause. All of the four interpretive possibilities are permitted for *bìng* in Classical Chinese, where different syntactic analyses allow a flexible word such as *bìng* to be associated with distinct word-class specifications. Although in most cases, the context provides sufficient information about the meaning of a given sentence or construction with omitted arguments or other markers, there are still cases with ambiguous word-class specification for flexible words.

With the arguments in a sentence only partially being omitted, the issue associated with the use of flexible lexemes arises from the ambiguity between the syntactic N–V and V–N configurations in Classical Chinese. This primarily involves the differentiation between the SV [subject–verb] construction and the VO [verb–object] construction (notice that the SV construction does not necessarily represent an intransitive argument structure construction, but can also stand for

a transitive argument structure construction with the object omitted).[23] Given that a flexible lexeme can occur unmarkedly either in the N-position or in the V-position, it is not always possible to make a choice between the two syntactic configurations in a language that lacks grammatical specificity. As a matter of fact, the syntactic paraphrase of the semantic Actor–Undergoer relationship in Classical Chinese is sometimes dependent on the context. Of particular interest are the instances constructed with the same flexible lexeme in a sequence. To give a brief example: Classical Chinese has, on the one hand, the SV constructions (i.e. in an N–V collocation) with a single flexible lexeme appearing in succession such as 君君 *jūn jūn* 'A ruler acts (properly) as a ruler' (e.g., in *Guoyu*, chapter *Jinyu*), in which the flexible word *jūn* in its first occurrence serves as the syntactic subject meaning 'ruler', and in its second occurrence as the predicate meaning 'act (properly) as a ruler' or 'be/behave like a (true) ruler'. On the other hand, there are also VO constructions (i.e. in a V–N collocation) with one and the same flexible lexeme in succession such as 君君 *jūn jūn* meaning '[He] treats the ruler (properly) as a ruler' (e.g., in *Zuozhuan*, chapter *Zhaogong* 17), in which *jūn* in its first occurrence serves as the predicate meaning 'treat someone (properly) as a ruler', and in its second occurrence, *jūn* is the syntactic object of the verb, meaning 'ruler'.

As stated before, Classical Chinese has overt structural means for distinguishing different syntactic interpretations, but their use is optional. Basically, there is no overt structural coding or markedness obligatory for encoding any combination of semantic class and pragmatic function (Zádrapa 2011: 87). Even though the overt structural means are taken into account for choosing between alternative analyses, ambiguity resulting from the distinction between the N- and V-positions could still not be avoided. Consider, for instance, the function word 者 *zhě*: It is treated as an overt marker for the behavioural potential of predication in Zádrapa's (2011) semantic map (Figure 3), as it can be used as "a subject-substitute relative pronoun" following an action word or a property word (cf. Zádrapa 2011: 104). On the other hand, however, the 者 *zhě* construction can sometimes be ambiguous, as the syntactic position in front of *zhě* is not necessarily a V-slot taken or expected to be taken by an action word or a property word, but potentially an N-slot taken by an object word. The reason for this lies in the fact that in Classical Chinese, *zhě* as a multifunctional word can also serve as a topic marker, as shown in (15a), in addition to the analysis as a marker of nominalization, or as

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23 The possibility of analysing the N–V configuration as a construction with OV word order is excluded here, since, as discussed in the previous subsection, OV pronominal order was restricted mostly to three grammatical environments in Classical Chinese.

a subject-substitute relative pronoun meaning 'the one/person who …'. If *zhě* is a topic marker, one would normally expect the syntactic slot preceding it to be nominal. The situation is even more ambiguous when the position preceding *zhě* is taken by a flexible word or a string of flexible words. Take the aforementioned lexeme 君 *jūn* 'ruler' for example, the expression 君者 *jūn zhě* (notice that this kind of construction with a lexeme denoting an official in front of *zhě* is often seen in Classical Chinese discourse) can thus be analysed either as 'the ruler' [ruler:N–zhě.TOP] (in which *jūn* serves as a noun), or alternatively, as 'the one who is or acts (properly) as a ruler' [ruler:V–zhě.NML] (in which *jūn* serves as a verb). In the former analysis, *zhě* functions as a topic marker (TOP); in the latter analysis, *zhě* functions as a nominalization marker (NML) or a subject-substitute relative pronoun. Consequently, it is sometimes questionable whether the flexible lexeme *jūn* in the expression above has a nominal or a verbal status, as both of the interpretations are acceptable in Classical Chinese.

Finally, there is an interesting example from *Zhuangzi*, shown in (25), with the same word 病 *bìng* occurring in a sequence in the 者 *zhě* construction. In this sentence, the first occurrence of *bìng* takes a V-position meaning 'consider as an (serious) illness', the second *bìng* occurs as its object-Undergoer argument, with the meaning '(serious) illness', and *zhě* can be analysed as a nominalization marker (NML).[24]

(25) 然其病病者猶未病也。 (*Zhuangzi, Gengsangchu*)
　　rán　qí　bìng　bìng　zhě　yóu　wèi　bìng
　　CONJ PRON illness:V illness NML be like not yet illness:V
　　yě.
　　PTCL
　　'However, those who consider their illness as an (serious) illness are not yet (seriously) ill.'

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24 The interpretation in (25) is the most common analysis of this sentence from *Zhuangzi*. Alternatively, it has also been occasionally annotated with a comma inserted between the first *bìng* and the second *bìng*, i.e. *rán qí **bìng**, **bìng** zhě yóu wèi bìng yě* [CONJ–PRON–illness:V, illness:V–NML–be like–still not–illness:V–PTCL]. According to the latter analysis, though the first *bìng* still takes a V-position, it obtains the intransitive meaning 'be (seriously) ill'. The second *bìng* is still analysed as an intransitive verb meaning 'be (seriously) ill', followed by *zhě* as a nominalization marker. Relating to alternative analyses of flexible lexemes, the lack of punctuation marks in classical texts may sometimes have an impact on the interpretation of given expressions.

Following this general overview of argument structure constructions in Classical Chinese, the subsequent sections illustrate, firstly, the constructions with action-denoting lexemes in the syntactic position of an argument (section 3.2), and secondly, the constructions with object-denoting lexemes in the V-position (section 3.3).

3.2 Action-denoting lexemes in the syntactic position of an argument

Action-denoting lexemes, which typically correlate with the discourse function of predication (Sasse 1993a, 1993b; Croft 2001), are normally expected to serve as verbs. When an action word nevertheless occurs in the syntactic position of an argument, it is used referentially as a noun denoting an entity of some sort (e.g., concrete or abstract, countable or uncountable).

Empirical evidence suggests that in Classical Chinese, the argument structure construction with an action-denoting lexeme in the syntactic position of an argument can be either intransitive or transitive. In an intransitive argument structure construction, the action-denoting lexeme concerned occurs in the only argument position of the construction. In a transitive argument structure construction, the action-denoting lexeme may occur in the function of either subject or object. It is only in very rare cases that an action-denoting lexeme occurs in the position of an argument within a prepositional phrase. Regarding the basic order of syntactic constituents in an argument structure construction, empirical data show that the basic patterns of the most common argument structure constructions as outlined in Table 5 continue to be true for the use of action-denoting lexemes in nominal function. That is, in an intransitive construction, the position of the only argument (NP_A or NP_U) normally precedes the verb; in a transitive construction, NP_A precedes the verb and NP_U follows it. These structures are consistent with SVO word order.

Generally, when an action-denoting lexeme occurs in the position of an argument, it may show the following two major characteristics that are typical of syntactic behaviour of common nouns in Classical Chinese: firstly, it can be modified by preceding attributives; secondly, it can be modified by postpositional numerals or quantifiers.

The first characteristic mentioned above can be illustrated with example (26). In this example, the action-denoting lexeme 戍 *shù* 'guard (the frontier)' occurs twice. The first occurrence of *shù* serves as a verb designating the activity of guarding the frontier, which is preceded by the lexeme 晉 *Jìn* 'the Jin state' in the subject position, and the expression following *shù*, 茅氏 *Máoshì* 'Maoshi (place

name)', takes the object position. The SVO construction 晉戍茅氏 *Jìn shù Máoshì* thus means 'The Jin state guarded Maoshi'. The second 戍 *shù*, however, serves as the object of the transitive verb 殺 *shā* 'kill', referring to 'the people who guarded the frontier', i.e. 'garrison soldiers (who guarded Maoshi)' in that context, while the preceding lexeme 晉 *Jìn* serves this time as an attributive meaning 'of the Jin state' and modifies the nominal *shù*. Thus, the construction 晉戍 *Jìn shù* is now an NP referring to 'garrison soldiers of the Jin state'.

As can also be observed in (26), the second 戍 *shù* as a noun (referring to 'garrison soldiers' in that context) is not only modified by the preceding attributive 晉 *Jìn* 'of the Jin state', but also by the postpositional numeral 三百人 *sān bǎi rén* [three–hundred–CL.people], which is the second characteristic mentioned above.

(26) 晉**戍**茅氏。殖綽伐茅氏，殺晉**戍**三百人。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Xianggong* 26)

    Jìn   **shù**   *Máoshì.*
    Jin state   guard (the frontier)   Maoshi (Place)

    Zhíchuò   *fá*   *Máoshì,*
    Zhichuo (General)   attack   Maoshi

    shā   *Jìn*   **shù**   *sān*   *bǎi*   *rén.*
    kill   Jin state   guard (the frontier):N   three   hundred   CL.people
    'The Jin state guarded Maoshi. Zhichuo (leading troops) attacked
    Maoshi and killed three hundred garrison soldiers of the Jin state.'

The modification by a postpositional numeral or quantifier can also be seen in the following example (27), in which the action word 騎 *qí* 'ride' is used as a noun and modified by the numeral expression 萬匹 *wàn pǐ* [ten thousand–CL.horse]. In this example, the word 騎 *qí* as a noun can actually be interpreted either as meaning 'battle steeds', as in the translation now, or as 'mounted soldiers, mounted troops', i.e. combinations of cavalrymen and battle steeds (possibly pronounced *jì*). Both of these interpretations are possible nominal meanings of *qí* in Classical Chinese. In addition, *qí* in nominal function can also have a third meaning, 'cavalryman, rider' (possibly pronounced *jì*), in Classical Chinese (cf. chapter 4). This third nominal meaning of *qí* could be excluded from the current sentence, as one might argue that here the classifier 匹 *pǐ* 'CL.horse' specifies that the referential reading of *qí* primarily concerns horses in that sentence.

(27) 趙地方二千里, 帶甲數十萬, 車千乘, **騎萬匹**, 粟支數十年。
(*Zhanguo Ce, Zhao Ce*)

Zhào	*dì fāng*	*èrqiān lǐ,*		*dài jiǎ*
Zhao state	area	a circumference of 2000 li		soilders cased in steel

shù	*shí wàn,*		*chē*	*qiān*	*chèng,*
several	a hundred thousand		chariot	thousand	CL.vehicle

qí	*wàn*	*pǐ,*	*lì*		*zhī*
ride:N	ten thousand	CL.horse	army provision		support

shù	*shí nián.*
several	ten years

'The Zhao state has a circumference of 1,000 kilometers, hundreds of thousands of elite troops, one thousand chariots, ten thousand battle steeds, (and) enough army provision reserves for several decades.'

Moreover, given the fact that in Classical Chinese any referential expression (X) could serve as the predicate in an equative construction, meaning 'be X', without being connected to the subject by a copula or any linking word (section 3.1.1), the numeral expression 萬匹 *wàn pǐ* [ten thousand–CL.horse] (preceded by 騎 *qí*) in (27) can, besides the above analysis as a postpositional numeral modifier, also be construed as the predicate of *qí* in the function of subject, with the meaning 'be ten thousands'. In this way, the construction 騎萬匹 *qí wàn pǐ* presents an equative construction meaning 'there are ten thousand battle steeds' or the like. This reanalysis also applies to the other parallel constructions in (27) above.

3.3 Object-denoting lexemes in the V-position

Ambitransitivity is also clearly manifested when the verbal function is performed by object-denoting lexemes. Consider the following examples in (28) (both form *Mengzi*): the word 馆 *guǎn* 'accommodation for guests, guesthouse' occurs in (28a) in the V-position of an intransitive argument structure construction, with the meaning 'lodge (in a guesthouse)', while it occurs in (28b) in the V-position of a transitive construction, meaning 'cause someone to lodge (somewhere)'.

(28) a. 孟子之滕，**館**於上宮。 (*Mengzi, Jinxin*)

Mèngzǐ	*zhī*	*Téng,*	***guǎn***	*yú*	*shànggōng.*
Mencius	go	Teng	guesthouse:V	LOC	upper floor of a house

'Mencius went to the Teng state and lodged in the upper floor of the guesthouse.'

b. 帝**館**甥於貳室。 (*Mengzi, Wanzhang*)

dì	***guǎn***	*shēng*	*yú*	*èrshì.*
emperor	guesthouse:V	son-in-law	LOC	deputy house of palace

'The emperor let (his) son-in-law lodge in a deputy house of the palace.'

Regarding the basic order of syntactic constituents in an argument structure construction, the basic patterns of the most common intransitive and transitive argument structure constructions outlined in Table 5 hold true for the vast majority of the instances with object-denoting lexemes in verbal function in this study. Nevertheless, there are some exceptions where an overt Undergoer precedes the verb (i.e. [NP$_U$ V]). These cases will be discussed in the following subsections.

Empirical findings suggest that there are basically three types of constructional environments for the V-position taken by an object-denoting lexeme, namely, Type (i) Transitive argument structure constructions of the SVO pattern; Type (ii) Intransitive argument structure constructions of the SV pattern; Type (iii) Constructions of the NP$_U$V pattern (see below). Of the 2,600 instances with object-denoting lexemes in the V-position in the present study, the first Type (i) amounts to about 51.4 percent, and Type (ii) to 46.1 percent. A few examples of the three types of constructions are given below (in which the object word in the V-position is highlighted in bold):

Type (i): Transitive argument structure constructions of the SVO pattern
This pattern has the form of NP$_A$ V NP$_U$, with NP$_U$ probably taking one of the following three forms:
– NP$_U$ = lexical NP. This case can be seen in example (28b) above, where the object word 馆 *guǎn* serves as a transitive verb, taking 甥 *shēng* 'son-in-law' as NP$_U$ in the object function.
– NP$_U$ = 之 *zhī* 'PRON' (when serving as an NP$_U$, *zhī* is widely analysed as a pronominal object marker or a third-person pronoun). As illustrated in (29) below, the object word 畜 *chù* denoting 'domesticated livestock' serves as a transitive verb, taking the pronominal 之 *zhī* as NP$_U$ in the object function. In that context, the anaphoric pronoun *zhī* refers to the live fish that Zichan received.

(29) 子產使校人畜之池。 (*Mengzi*, *Wanzhang*)

Zǐchǎn   shǐ   jiàorén
Zichan   send   people who are in charge of ponds

chù   *zhī   chí*.
domesticated livestock:V   PRON   pond

'Zichan asked (his) servants who are in charge of ponds to keep them in ponds.'

- NP$_U$ = the object marker 諸 *zhū* 'ZHU'. Note that the word 諸 *zhū* has been variously analysed in the literature. As far as the construction [V + *zhū* + NP] (here NP is usually a location noun or noun phrase) is concerned, *zhū* is often considered as a fusion word, a type of complex monosyllabic word resulted from the contraction of two syllables (see Kennedy [1940] 1964a: 62-77; Packard 2011: 5). More specifically, it represents the contracted form of two monosyllabic words, the pronominal object marker 之 *zhī* 'PRON' mentioned above and the preposition 於 *yú* 'LOC/PREP' (i.e. *zhī–yú* > *zhū* 'PRON–LOC/PREP'). This case can be illustrated with example (30), in which the aforementioned object word 馆 *guǎn* serves as a transitive verb and takes 諸 *zhū* as its NP$_U$ in the object function. In this sentence, the subject of the verbal *guǎn* is omitted but contextually available (i.e. the Jin people).

(30) 叔孫旦而立，期焉。乃**館**諸箕。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Zhaogong* 23)

Shūsūn   dàn   ér   lì,   qī   yān.
Shusun Chuo   early morning   CONJ   stand   expect   there/PTCL

*nǎi   **guǎn**   zhū   Jī*.
hence   guesthouse:V   ZHU   Ji (Place)

'Shusun Chuo got up in the early morning and stood there waiting for (orders). (The Jin people) hence let him lodge at Ji.'

Type (ii): Intransitive argument structure constructions of the SV pattern
This pattern is found in the following two contexts:
- With or without a PP following the V-position. The intransitive argument structure construction with a locative PP following the V-position can be seen in example (28a) with 馆 *guǎn* 'accommodation for guests, guesthouse' in the V-position, where the location for lodging (*guǎn*) is introduced by the preposition 於 *yú*. In (31) below, the sentence with 冠 *guàn* 'hat' in the V-position ends up directly with the interrogative particle 乎 *hu*.

(31) 許子**冠**乎？ (*Mengzi*, *Tengwengong*)

    Xŭzĭ   **guàn**   *hu?*

    Xuzi   hat:V   Q

    '(Mencius asked:) "Does Xuzi wear a hat?"'

– Reflexive or reciprocal V-position. A reflexive V-position is normally marked by the reflexive pronoun 自 *zì* 'self, oneself' that occurs directly in front of the verb. This can be illustrated by example (32) with the instrument word 刃 *rèn* 'blade of knife' in verbal function, where the reflexive verbal compound 自 刃 *zì–rèn* [REFL–blade of knife:V] can be interpreted as 'kill oneself', i.e. 'commit suicide'. A reciprocal V-position is normally marked by 相 *xiāng* 'each other, mutually' that occurs directly in front of the verb. This can be illustrated by example (33) with the object word 厲 *lì* 'grindstone' in verbal function, where 相厲 *xiān–lì* [RECIPR–grindstone:V] can be interpreted as 'encourage each other'.

(32) 慾自**刃**於廟，崔杼不許。 (*Zhanguo Ce*, *Chu Ce*)

    yù   *zì* – **rèn**   *yú*   *miào,*   *Cuīzhù* *bù*   *xŭ.*

    want   REFL – blade of knife:V LOC   temple   Cuizhu NEG allow

    '(Duke Zhuang) wanted to commit suicide at the temple. Cuizhu didn't allow (it).'

(33) 宗子陽與閭丘明相**厲**也。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Aigong* 11)

    Zōngzĭ Yáng   *yŭ*   *Lŭqiū Míng*   *xiān* – **lì**   *yĕ.*

    Zongzi Yang   and Lüqiu Ming   RECIPR – grindstone:V   PTCL

    'Zongzi Yang and Lüqiu Ming encouraged each other.'

Type (iii): Constructions of the NP$_U$V pattern

This type of construction amounts to about 2.5 percent of the 2,600 instances with object-denoting lexemes in the V-position. These instances are summarized in the following categories:

– Constructions of the unmarked [NP$_U$V] structure, in which the preceding Undergoer (NP$_U$) can be interpreted as the syntactic object of the verb that follows, and the Actor – if it is overtly expressed – normally precedes the structure and functions as the syntactic subject. This is consistent with SOV word order. On the other hand, there are also cases in which the preceding NP$_U$ can alternatively, or should rather be paraphrased as the syntactic subject, and the verb expresses a passive voice reading. Accordingly, the above structure

[NP$_U$V] is comparable with the SV order in the passive voice. Section 3.3.1 provides more details about these constructions and the two analyses.

– Constructions of the marked [NP$_U$–*M*–V] structure, in which an extra functional marker (*M*) is inserted between the preceding NP$_U$ and the verb. Similarly, this structure can also be interpreted either as an active OV-construction or a passive SV-construction. Section 3.3.2 provides more details about these constructions.

3.3.1 The unmarked [NP$_U$V] structure

In this study, there are eleven instances with the unmarked [NP$_U$ V] structure as the predicative core in a sentence. The eleven instances include seven cases with pronominal NP$_U$ (section 3.3.1.1) and four cases with the NP$_U$ being filled with a lexical NP (section 3.3.1.2).

3.3.1.1 NP$_U$ = Pronoun

As discussed, in Classical Chinese the forward movement of the object within a VP particularly takes place when the object is a pronoun (either an interrogative pronoun or a personal pronoun in a negative sentence). The same also holds true for the constructions with object words in verbal function. There are seven instances found, with a pronominal Undergoer in the unmarked [NP$_U$ V] structure. The seven instances come from *Zuozhuan* and *Zhanguo Ce* (see below).

In the instances found, the pronouns (as NP$_U$) are the first-person pronoun 余 *yú*, the second-person pronoun 女 (汝) *rǔ* and the interrogative 谁 *shuí* 'who' and 何 *hé* 'what'. The object words used this way include 毒 *dú* 'poison', shown in (34) below (which occurs twice in *Zuozhuan*, in both chapter *Xigong* 28 and *Xuangong* 12), 疵瑕 *cīxiá* 'blemishes on jade' (35), 仇 *chóu* 'enemy' (36) and three abstract words: 福 *fú* 'good fortune' (37), 德 *dé* 'virtue, moral, kindness, favour, etc.' (38) and 恥 *chǐ* 'shame' (39). As can be seen, of the seven instances, four are interrogative sentences, i.e. (36), (37), (38) and (39). The remaining non-interrogative instances, (34) and (35), are negated with 莫 *mò* and 不 *bù*, respectively.

(34) 莫[余**毒**]也已。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Xigong* 28; *Zuozhuan*, *Xuangong* 12)
　　　mò　　*[yú*　　**dú** *]*　　*yěyǐ.*
　　　NEG　　1st.PRON　poison:V　PTCL.affirmative exclamation
　　　"Nobody will harm me!'

(35) 不[女**疵瑕**]也 。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Xigong* 7)

    bù   *[rǔ*   ***cīxiá*]**   *yě*.

    NEG   2nd.PRON   blemishes on jade:V   PTCL

    '(I) don't blame you.'

(36) 將[誰**仇**]? (*Zuozhuan*, *Dinggong* 4)

    jiāng   *[shuí*   ***chóu*]** *?*

    FUT   Q.who   enemy:V

    'Who will (you) take as an enemy?'

(37) 將[誰**福**]哉? (*Zuozhuan*, *Zhaogong* 10)

    jiāng   *[shuí*   ***fú*]**   *zāi ?*

    FUT   Q.who   blessing:V   PTCL.exclamation

    'To whom will (God) let good fortune happen?'

(38) 其[誰敢**德**]? (*Zuozhuan*, *Chenggong* 3)

    qí   *[shuí*   *gǎn*   ***dé*]** *?*

    perhaps   Q.who   dare (self-deprecating)   favour:V

    'To whom should (we) be grateful? /Who should be appreciated?'

(39) 臣又[何**恥**]乎? (*Zhanguo Ce*, *Qin Ce*)

    c*hén*   *yòu*   *[hé*   ***chǐ*]**   *hu ?*

    I.MODEST(a subordinate)   also   Q.what   shame:V   PTCL

    'What puts me to shame? /What should I take as a shame?'

3.3.1.2 NP$_U$ = Lexical NP

There are four instances with the preverbal Undergoer in the unmarked [NP$_U$V] structure taking the form of a lexical NP. The four instances are constructed, respectively, with the following four object-denoting lexemes: 土 *tǔ* 'soil', 友 *yǒu* 'friend', 屏 *píng* 'screen (for the shielding purpose)**,** and 禮 *lǐ* 'courtesy, convention, rites, Confucian Codes'.

As discussed previously, in Classical Chinese, one and the same verb can be used to express either an active or a passive voice reading in a morphologically unmarked manner. Moreover, this language permits both VO and OV word order (though the latter order is not common). These structural options may give rise to some ambiguities regarding the question of whether the unmarked [NP$_U$ V] structure is consistent with OV order, or whether it constitutes a passive SV-construction. In fact, the interpretation of Actor or Undergoer as syntactic subject or object

in Classical Chinese is sometimes subject to pragmatics and can be done in more than one way. In view of these facts, the four instances under analysis are divided into the following two categories:

(a) Constructions of the topic-comment information structure, in which the object-denoting lexeme in the V-position expresses an active voice reading and constitutes the comment.

(b) Passive SV-constructions, in which the object-denoting lexeme in the V-position expresses a passive voice reading, and the preverbal NP_U serves as the subject.

The interpretive possibility in (a) above is illustrated with (40). In this sentence, the object word 友 *yǒu* 'friend' occurs twice. Its first occurrence serves as a noun; its second occurrence (in bold) serves as a transitive verb meaning 'make friends with someone' or 'make someone one's friends'.

(40) 伯夷，[非其君不事]，[非其友不**友**]。 (*Mengzi, Gongsunchou*)

Bóyí, [fēi qí jūn bù shì],
Boyi NEG PRON ruler NEG serve

*[fēi qí yǒu bù **yǒu**].*
NEG PRON friend NEG friend:V

'(As for) Boyi, (he) never served a ruler who was not his ruler; (he) never made friends with those who were not his friends [i.e. whom he did not consider true friends].'

The information structure of the sentence in (40) above is topic-comment, which is typical of all historical stages of Chinese. In this sentence, the proper name 'Boyi' (at the beginning) takes the topic position. The comment following 'Boyi' is composed of two parallel clauses, both having the $[NP_U V]$ structure. In the two parallel clauses, both the verb 事 *shì* 'serve' and the second instance of 友 *yǒu* 'make friends with' (both of which are negated by 不 *bù*) take the topic 'Boyi' as their Actor argument, while the two referential expressions 非其君 *fēi qí jūn* 'a ruler who was not his ruler' and 非其友 *fēi qí yǒu* 'those who were not his friends' (in front of the negated verb *bù shì* and the negated verb *bù yǒu*, respectively) take the role of Undergoer (NP_U). In my view, the shifting of the two Undergoer arguments to the preverbal position can be understood as a pragmatic strategy used for drawing attention to the characterization of the topic 'Boyi'. Moreover, the two preverbal Undergoers concerned (*fēi qí jūn* and *fēi qí yǒu*) could alternatively be analysed as topics in two topic-comment constructions represented, respectively,

by the two parallel clauses mentioned (i.e. the negated verb *bù shì* and the negated verb *bù yǒu* constitute two comments, respectively, while the subject referring to Boyi is dropped). In this connection, it is also worth mentioning that in the five classical texts under investigation, the word 友 *yǒu* as a transitive verb always precedes its Undergoer (i.e. in line with the VO word order), except for the sentence in (40) above, from *Mengzi*.

The second interpretive possibility (b) can be illustrated with example (41), in which the object word 土 *tǔ* 'soil' in verbal function is analysed as having a passive voice reading, i.e. 'be blocked with soil'. Accordingly, the preceding NP 衛八門 *wèi bā mén* 'eight gates of the Wei state' is the Undergoer of the event denoted by the verbal 土 *tǔ* and functions syntactically as the subject.

(41) [衛八門土]而二門墮矣。 (*Zhanguo Ce, Qi Ce*)

    *[Wèi   bā   mén   **tǔ**]   ér   èr   mén   duò   yǐ.*

    Wei state eight city gate soil:V CONJ two city gate fall PTCL.PFV

    '(At that time) eight city gates of the Wei state were blocked with soil, and two of them had been destroyed.'

The analysis sketched above is supported by considering the context of this sentence. As shown below, the context contains three clauses, describing a battle from the perspectives of two sides of the battle, i.e. the Zhao state and the Wei state:

昔者趙氏襲衛，

xīzhě Zhàoshì xí Wèi,

'Once the Zhao state attacked the Wei state,

車舍人不休傳，

chē shè rén bù xiū zhuàn,

The chariot soldiers (of the Zhao state) continued advancing,

衛國城割平，

Wèiguó chéng gē píng,

The Wei state begged for peace by ceding territory,

[(41) *Wèi bā mén tǔ ér èr mén duò yǐ.* (At that time) eight city gates of the Wei state were blocked with soil, and two of them had been destroyed].

As can be seen above, the subjects (or subject-domains) of the first two clauses pertain to the side of the Zhao state, which was the attacker during the war. From the third clause onwards, the domain of subject switches to the Wei state, which was the side attacked during the war. The fourth clause, presented in (41) with the verbal 土 *tǔ*, provides information about the bad situation of the city gates of

Wei during the war, so the domain of subject remains unchanged as in the third clause (i.e. the Wei state). In considering the maintenance of referential coherence, it seems plausible to analyse the phrase 衛八門土 *wèi bā mén tǔ* as a passive SV-construction, with 土 *tǔ* being interpreted as a predicate with the passive voice meaning 'be blocked with soil'. Otherwise, the author might have employed the expression 趙土衛八門 *zhào tǔ wèi bā mén* [Zhao state–soil:V–Wei state–eight–gate**]** instead (which is consistent with the common VO word order), if he really intended to change the subject domain back to the Zhao state. Nevertheless, as already stated, the paraphrase of Actor or Undergoer as syntactic subject or object in Classical Chinese is sometimes subject to pragmatics and can be done in more than one way. Therefore, the analysis provided above is not the only possible solution.

3.3.1.3 Summary

To summarize, of the eleven instances of the unmarked [NP$_U$ V] structure in the present study (including seven cases with pronominal NP$_U$ and four cases with full lexical NPs as NP$_U$), I would consider only the seven cases with pronominal NP$_U$ to be true OV-constructions (constructions with OV word order). This is in line with the views of Guo (1981), Chappell, Li, and Peyraube (2007), and Xu (2006) discussed above. In contrast, OV order is not preferred when the preverbal NP$_U$ is performed by lexical NPs. In my view, the four cases with full lexical NPs as NP$_U$ in the unmarked [NP$_U$ V] structure could be interpreted either as passive SV-constructions or as constructions of the topic-comment information structure, where the shifting of Undergoer to a preverbal position serves some pragmatic purpose.

3.3.2 The marked [NP$_U$–*M*–V] structure

As for the cases with marked [NP$_U$–*M*–V] structure, the following two subtypes are suggested, according to the function of the marker (*M*):

(a) The SHI/ZHI-construction, with the demonstrative pronoun 是 *shì* (SHI) or 之 *zhī* (ZHI) as the extra functional marker (*M*) being inserted between the preceding Undergoer and the verb, i.e. [NP$_U$–SHI/ZHI–V]. Section 3.3.2.1 provides more details about this construction.

(b) Marked passive(-like) constructions, in which the preceding Undergoer serves as the syntactic subject and the verb expresses a passive voice reading. Between them, there is either a marker that expresses possibility or necessity

(modal marker), or a prepositional phrase in which the Actor of the verb is introduced. Section 3.3.2.2 illustrates this construction.

3.3.2.1 SHI- or ZHI-construction

According to Xu (2006), with the presence of the demonstrative 是 *shì* (SHI) or 之 *zhī* (ZHI), the OV-constructions (in the form of either [SHI/ZHI + V] or [O+ SHI/ZHI + V], as illustrated in (22a) and (22b), respectively) are as common and normal as VO in Old Chinese. However, as far as the circumstance with an object-denoting lexeme occurring in the V-position (instead of conventional action words or verbs) is concerned, there are only four instances of the SHI/ZHI-construction found in this study. These include one instance of the ZHI-construction ([NP_U–ZHI–V]) and three instances of the SHI-construction ([NP_U–SHI–V]). Consistent with the views of Guo (1981), Chappell, Li, and Peyraube (2007) and Xu (2006) (section 3.1), I would consider these four instances to be OV-constructions.

The instance of the ZHI-construction comes from *Zhanguo Ce*, with the lexeme 法 *fǎ* 'law, rule' in the V-position (→ meaning 'follow, obey, comply with'). All of the three instances of the SHI-construction come from *Zuozhuan*, formed with the object words 城 *chéng* 'city wall, capital city' (→ 'build city walls' or 'build a capital city'), 屏 *píng* 'screen (for the shielding purpose)' (→ *bǐng* 'protect, shield') and 輔 *fǔ* 'side poles of a cart used to help cart-driving' (→ 'help, support') in the V-position, respectively. As an example, consider the sentence in (42) below, where the demonstrative 是 *shì* is inserted between the preverbal Undergoer 夏肆 *xià sì* [the Xia dynasty–remains] 'remains of the Xia dynasty' and 屏 *píng* 'screen (for the shielding purpose)' in verbal function, pronounced as *bǐng*.

(42) 晋国不恤周宗之阙，而[夏肆是**屏**]。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Xianggong* 29)

    Jìnguó   *bù*   *xù*   *Zhōu*   *zōng*   *zhī*   *quē,*
    Jin state   NEG   think about   Zhou   clan   DEP/GEN   decline

    ér   *[Xià*   *sì*   *shì*   ***bǐng].***
    CONJ   the Xia dynasty   remains   DEM   screen:V

    'The Jin state didn't think about the decline of the (royal) Zhou clan, but protected the remains of the (former) Xia dynasty.'

3.3.2.2 Marked passive(-like) constructions

There are many instances of marked passive(-like) constructions – constructions with a passive voice reading, but without any well-established passive marker [25] or morphology (see examples below).

The most frequently used object-denoting lexemes in these instances include 鞭 *biān* 'whip' (→ 'be whipped'), 鑒 *jiàn* '(bronze) mirror' (→ 'be used as mirror, be used for reference'), 懷 *huái* 'chest' (→ ' be kept in arms, be kept in mind'), 畜 *chù* 'domesticated livestock' (→ 'be kept or raised (as domesticated livestock), be considered or treated as domesticated livestock'), 禽 *qín* 'birds and beasts' (→ 'be seized, be caught, be captured'), 俘 *fú* 'prisoner of war, captive' (→ 'be captured, be taken as captive'), 官 *guān* 'official' (→ 'be made an official'), and 法 *fǎ* 'law, rule' (→ 'be followed, be taken as a rule').

In the instances, the extra functional marker inserted between the preceding Undergoer (in the subject function) and the verb (with passive voice reading) can either be a marker that expresses possibility or necessity (modal marker), or a prepositional phrase in which the Actor of the verb is introduced by a preposition meaning 'by' as in (44). The extra functional marker indicating possibility or necessity is often one of the following adverbial elements: 可 *kě* 'can, may' (or its negation 不可 *bùkě* 'cannot, may not'), 可以 *kěyǐ* 'can, may, be able to', 不得不 *bùdébù* 'must, have to', 必 *bì* 'must, certainly, necessarily', 足 *zú* 'be enough to', or 乃 *nǎi* '(then) will'. Although these elements are not well-established markers for passives in Classical Chinese, they frequently occur as indicators of passive voice readings in this language. Consider (43), for instance:

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25 The standard passive marker in Chinese is 被 *bèi*. The passive *bèi* construction appears in long form (NP$_U$ + *bèi* NP$_A$ + V), short form (NP$_U$ + *bèi* + V), as well as in another non-canonical form, known as 'indirect passive', with the subject position filled with an additional experiencer-NP (NP$_E$) and NP$_U$ moved to the postverbal position (NP$_E$ + *bèi* NP$_A$ + V+ NP). In Old Chinese, the word *bèi* was used normally with the meaning of 'blanket, quilt, bedding'. By the time of Late Old Chinese, *bèi* became a verb with the meaning of either 'wear, cover (with a cloth)' or 'receive, suffer, experience (something)'. In Wang's (1958: 425) report, the earliest occurrence of *bèi* for expressing passitivity is also found in Late Old Chinese (where it occurs directly before a verb, i.e. in the short form mentioned above), but it became common only after Early Middle Chinese. In my view, *bèi* in its passive function of that time was probably the result of a reanalysis, namely, the reanalysis of an original VO-construction (with *bèi* as a verb meaning 'receive, suffer, experience', followed by a flexible word in the function of undergoer-object such as 辱 *rǔ* 'insult') as a passive construction (with *bèi* as a passive voice marker, followed by a verb such as 辱 *rǔ* 'to insult') (Sun and Bisang, forthcoming).

(43) 子般怒，使**鞭**之。公曰："不如殺之，是不可**鞭**。"
(*Zuozhuan*, *Zhuanggong* 32)

Zǐbān	*nù*		*shǐ*	**biān**	*zhī.*		*Gōng*		*yuē:*
Ziban	get angry		order	whip:V	PRON		Duke Zhuang		say

bùrú			*shā*	*zhī,*	*shì*	*bù*	*kě*	**biān**.
cannot do better than			kill	PRON	DEM	NEG	can	whip:V

'Ziban got angry and ordered (people) to whip him [i.e. Luo]. Duke Zhuang said: "It is better to kill him, he could not (just only) be whipped."'

In (43) above, the instrument word 鞭 *biān* 'whip' occurs twice as a verb (in bold). Its first occurrence serves as a transitive verb meaning 'whip'; the second time, it is preceded by 可 *kě* 'can, may'. The context suggests that the predicative construction 不可鞭 *bù kě biān* [NEG–can–whip:V] expresses a passive voice reading in the sense of 'cannot be whipped', while the subject of this passive construction is taken by the demonstrative pronoun 是 *shì* referring to Luo (犖 *luò*), which is contextually available.

The occurrence of a prepositional phrase as the extra functional marker is especially common when 禽 *qín* 'birds and beasts' occurs in the V-position (→ 'be caught'). The preposition that is used to introduce the Actor argument is often 為 *wéi*, or occasionally 与 *yú*. This can be illustrated with example (44) below, which is composed of two parallel clauses: in the first clause, the Actor argument 秦 *qín* 'the Qin state' of the action denoted by the verbal 禽 *qín* 'be caught' is introduced by 為 *wéi*, and the preceding Undergoer 兵 *bīng* 'troops' serves as the syntactic subject.

(44) 兵為秦**禽**，智為楚笑。(*Zhanguo Ce*, *Han Ce*)

bīng	*wéi*	*Qín*	**qín,**		*zhì*	*wéi*	*Chǔ*
troops	by	Qin state	birds and beasts:V	wisdom	by	Chu state

xiào.
laugh at.PASS

'The troops (of the Han state) were caught by Qin; the (so-called) wisdom (of the Han state) was laughed at by Chu.

3.4 Summary and discussion

This chapter provided observations on the syntactic aspects of flexibility of parts of speech in Classical Chinese. Flexibility was observed in two positions within an argument structure construction: in the V-position and in syntactic argument

positions. In the present study, of the 3,600 instances illustrating flexibility of parts of speech, the vast majority of the instances conform to SVO word order, constructed with preverbal Actor argument and postverbal Undergoer argument. Of the 2,600 instances with object-denoting lexemes in the V-position, the proportion of the cases that can be considered as true OV-constructions remains marginal, up to a maximum of 0.5 percent (11/2,600), which includes seven instances with pronouns in the preverbal object position (section 3.3.1.1) and four instances of the SHI/ZHI-construction (section 3.3.2.1).

Basic word order and the question of the relevance of VO vs. OV in Chinese has been the subject of controversial debates since the 1970s and 1980s (cf. e.g., Li and Thompson 1975; Sun and Givón 1985; Sun 1996). In more recent times, basic word order is discussed from the perspective of typological-historical linguistics. Many researchers of Sino-Tibetan claim that the common Proto-language must have been SOV (e.g., Matisoff 2003). Dryer (2003) supports this conclusion from his typological perspective on Sino-Tibetan as a whole, but argues that Proto-Chinese might have been VO. After a closer examination of the Shang dynasty oracle bone inscriptions between the fourteenth and twelfth centuries BC, known as 甲骨文 *jiǎgǔwén* (which are the earliest written records and representative of Pre-Old Chinese), Djamouri (2001) confirms the status of Chinese as an SVO language. Of the 26,094 complete sentences in his corpus, 93.8 percent have SVO word order, while only 6.2 percent have SOV (see also Djamouri, Paul, and Whitman 2013). The findings of Djamouri's research imply that Chinese might have always been an SVO language in terms of its predominant word order at all stages of its history, contrary to the assumption that Chinese underwent a word order change from SOV to SVO in early stages of Old Chinese (Yu 1981; Liu 2004).

The findings of the present study based on five Classical Chinese texts demonstrate that as far as the argument structure constructions with flexible lexemes are concerned, VO word order is much more frequent than OV, and this preference for VO over OV is much stronger compared to what is reported for Old Chinese in general by some researchers such as Xu (2006). In my view, the strong preference for VO as attested in this study can be taken as additional evidence for SVO as the basic word order of Old Chinese (Djamouri 2001; Dryer 2003). In connection with the relevance of flexibility in the parts-of-speech system of this language, this phenomenon could be explained as follows: In early stages of Old Chinese, with the loss of derivational morphology (Sagart 1999; Mei 1989, 2008), word order became the most important indicator of word class (in combination with some other structural or grammatical means such as adpositions, particles)

and strongly supported the omission of strict verb-noun distinctions (co-existence of precategoriality and categoriality) in the lexicon of this language. This explanation is intimately related to the idea that "multifunctionality or flexibility at one level of the grammatical system must be counterbalanced by categorial specificity at another level in order to guarantee FUNCTIONAL TRANSPARENCY, i.e. the functional identifiability of linguistic units at the level of an actual utterance" (van Lier and Rijkhoff 2013: 23). Under these circumstances, the word order that was selected for determining word class was the most frequent word order available in the language, i.e. SVO. More specifically, as shown by the data, not every construction is equally suitable for using an object-denoting lexeme in the V-slot, or an action-denoting lexeme in the N-slot. To make sure that a flexible word gets its transparent interpretation in the utterance, the construction containing the V- or N-slot must be well-established and easily accessible for minimizing the costs of interpreting a flexible lexeme as verbal or nominal. As pointed out by Bybee (e.g., 1985, 1995), high frequency items are stronger in mental representation and thus easier to access. The fact that SVO order occurs commonly with object-denoting lexemes in the syntactic V-slot thus qualifies this word order as being strong in mental representation, i.e. as the basic word order of Old Chinese.

4 Cognitive-semantic foundations of flexibility in Classical Chinese

This chapter discusses the essential cognitive-semantic foundations that underlie the two types of zero-marked semantic type shifts discussed (the V→N type and the N→V type). It is structured as follows: Section 4.1 discusses the semantic interpretations of action-denoting lexemes in nominal function, aiming to show what cognitive patterns of semantic relatedness underlie the V→N type of derivation of flexible lexemes in Classical Chinese. Section 4.2 focuses on the N→V type of derivation and presents possible interpretations of object-denoting lexemes in verbal function in this language. The second section likewise sheds light on the cognitive patterns of semantic relatedness underlying the N→V derivation. Section 4.3 will examine these patterns for the two types of derivations of flexible lexemes more closely and reveal the metonymic relationships that exist in them. Section 4.4 provides a brief summary of the key findings of this chapter.

4.1 Nominal function of action-denoting lexemes

Empirical evidence suggests that in Classical Chinese an action-denoting lexeme in nominal function may receive one of the following interpretations in (45):

(45) Possible nominal functions of action-denoting lexemes in Classical Chinese
    a.   Actor of the action
    b.   Undergoer of the action
    c.   Instrument of the action
    d.   Object involved in the action
    e.   Place of the action
    f.   Name of the action

The five semantic roles presented in (45) above, i.e. Actor, Undergoer, Instrument, Object involved in the action, and Place, indicate that once an action-denoting lexeme is used referentially as a noun, a wide choice of conceptually coherent elements on the basis of the action-denoting semantics of the lexeme may come to the fore and serve as the nominal function of that lexeme. These conceptually coherent elements do not only involve the typical core participants of an

event structure such as Actor or Undergoer, but also the elements that are traditionally regarded as non-core periphery participants like Place.

In what follows, each of the six nominal functions of action-denoting lexemes in (45) will be discussed. All examples presented here are from the five Classical Chinese texts under investigation.

4.1.1 Actor of the action

The first interpretation in (45), Actor of the action, indicates that the nominal function of an action-denoting lexeme may present the semantic role of Actor of the action denoted by that lexeme. This gives rise to the pattern of semantic type shift ACTION → ACTOR OF THE ACTION. Empirical findings suggest that in this pattern, the role ACTOR is normally interpreted as 'the person or a certain group of people who habitually, customarily, or professionally perform(s) the action concerned'.

This pattern of semantic type shift can be seen in example (26) discussed previously, where the action-denoting lexeme 戍 *shù* 'guard (frontier)' (the second instance of *shù* in that sentence) is used as a noun referring to 'the garrison soldiers' who guarded Maoshi in that context. This nominal meaning of *shù* exactly designates the typical Actor of the action of guarding the frontier, i.e. the people whose job is to guard the frontier or some place.

Consider another example: in Classical Chinese the lexeme 賈 *gǔ* often serves as an action word denoting different trading activities such as 'trade, purchase, sell, buy [tr.]', or 'do business [intr.]', as illustrated in (46a) and (46b) below. In contrast, the same word *gǔ* serves as a noun referring to 'traders' or 'merchants' in example (47). This nominal interpretation of *gǔ* is derived via the present pattern of semantic type shift ACTION → ACTOR OF THE ACTION.

(46) a. 平子每歲**賈**馬。(*Zuozhuan*, *Zhaogong* 29)
*Píngzǐ měi suì **gǔ** mǎ.*
Pingzi every year purchase horse
'Pingzi purchased horses every year.'

 b. 濮陽人呂不韋**賈**於邯鄲。(*Zhanguo Ce*, *Qin Ce*)
*Púyáng rén Lǚ Bùwéi **gǔ** yú Hándān.*
Puyang (Place) people Lü Buwei do business LOC Handan
'Lü Buwei from Puyang did business in Handan.'

(47) 同惡相求，如市**賈**焉。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Zhaogong* 13)

tóng	*è*		*xiāng – qiú,*	*rú*	*shì*	***gǔ***	*yān.*
same	evil person	RECIPR – need		like	market	trade:N	there/PTCL

'Evildoers support one another, similar to market traders.'

The examples in (48) and (49) below can also illustrate the present pattern of semantic type shift. In (48), the word 賊 *zéi* appears twice in succession. In Old Chinese, *zéi* was originally used for denoting the kind of activities that harm others, cause injuries, or damage to others. In a later period, it developed its nominal function, while its verbal function also remained. In the sentence in (48), the first instance of *zéi* functions as a noun meaning 'bad people', i.e. 'the people who habitually harm others or cause injuries or damage to others'. Meanwhile, this nominal function of *zéi* refers to the Actor of the activity denoted by the verbal *zéi* 'cause injuries, harm, assassinate' that immediately follows (which is the second instance of *zéi*).

(48) 西周必令**賊賊**公。 (*Zhanguo Ce*, *Eastern Zhou Ce*)

Xī Zhōu	*bì*	*lìng*	***zéi***	***zéi***	*gōng.*
Western Zhou state	certainly	order	harm:N	harm	you.HON

'The Western Zhou state will certainly send bad people to assassinate you.'

In (49), the action word 御 *yù* 'drive (a carriage)' also occurs twice and performs two different syntactic functions, respectively. The first *yù* serves as a verb following the modal verb 能 *néng* 'can, be able to', while the second *yù* serves as a noun referring to '(carriage) drivers', i.e. 'the people whose job is to drive (a carriage)'. The word 戎 *róng* 'chariot' is a modifier of the nominal *yù*, so the composed NP 戎御 *róng yù* means 'chariot-drivers'.

(49) 知欒糾之能**御**以和于政也, 使為戎**御**。 (*Guoyu*, *Jinyu*)

zhī	*Luánjiū*	*zhī*	*néng*	***yù***	*yǐ*	*hé*
know	Luanjiu	DEP	be able to	drive (carriage)	CONJ	cooperate

yú	*zhèng*	*yě,*	*shǐ*	*wéi*	*róng*	***yù.***
PREP	politics	PTCL	send	as	chariot	drive:N

'(Duke Dao of Jin) knew that Luanjiu was good at driving and could be suitable for political affairs, (so he) appointed (Luanjiu) as (his) chariot-driver.'

Besides the lexemes discussed above (戍 *shù*, 賈 *gǔ*, 賊 *zéi*, and 御 *yù*), there are a number of action-denoting lexemes in Classical Chinese whose nominal function can be interpreted according to the pattern ACTION → ACTOR OF THE ACTION. These include at least the following words: 諜 *dié* 'spy, engage in espionage' (→ 'spy', 'the people whose job is to engage in espionage'); 盜 *dào* 'steal, rob' (→ 'stealer, robber'); 伏 *fú* 'hide, lurk' (→ 'ambush (people)'); 傅 *fù* 'assist (in study or training)' (→ 'teacher', 'the people whose job is to assist others in studying or training'); 候 *hòu* 'reconnoitre, scout' (→ 'scout'); 寇 *kòu* 'invade' (→ 'invader', 'foe'); 牧 *mù* 'herd' (→ 'herdsman'); 圉 *yǔ* 'keep (horses)' (→ 'groom', 'the people whose job is to look after horses'); 騎 *qí* 'ride' (→ (possibly pronounced *jì*) 'rider', 'cavalryman'); 尹 *yǐn* 'administer' (→ 'administrator'); 佐 *zuǒ* 'assist (people of higher social status) (→ 'minister', 'the people whose job is to assist someone with a higher social status'); 相 *xiàng* 'assist (the king)' → ('prime minister', 'the person whose job is to assist the king and in charge of the government'); 相 *xiàng* 'perform ceremonial rituals' (→ 'master of ceremonies', 'the people who perform ceremonial rituals as a profession').[26]

4.1.2 Undergoer of the action

The second interpretation in (45), Undergoer of the action, indicates that the nominal function of an action-denoting lexeme may present the semantic role of Undergoer of the action denoted by that lexeme. This gives rise to the pattern of semantic type shift ACTION → UNDERGOER OF THE ACTION. Empirical findings suggest that in this pattern, the role UNDERGOER can normally be interpreted as 'the person(s) or animal(s) that typically undergo(es) the action concerned'.

This interpretation can be observed when using the following action-denting lexemes as nouns in Classical Chinese: 嬖 *bì* 'favour, dote on, find favour (with)' (→ 'a favourite', 'a favoured person (of someone with a higher status)'); 牽 *qiān* 'pull, lead' (→ 'draft animals such as oxen, donkeys, etc.'); 騎 *qí* 'ride' (→ 'battle steeds', 'horses'); 囚 *qiú* 'imprison' (→ 'prisoner', 'captive'); 殺 *shā* 'kill, slay, murder' (→ 'people who were killed/slain/murdered'); 質 *zhì* 'pawn' (→ 'hostage', 'pawn'); 使 *shǐ* 'send, order to go to' (→ 'people who are sent out for a particular task', 'people who are sent as messengers on a diplomatic mission between countries during a war', 'diplomatic envoy') etc..

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26 The two 相 *xiàng* are sometimes also identified as a single polysemous lexeme. Here I list them as two items in order to better show the semantic type shifts involved.

As previously discussed in example (27), the action word 騎 *qí* 'ride' can serve as a noun, most probably with the meaning 'battle steeds'. This nominal meaning of *qí* refers to the animals that typically undergo the action of cavalry riding in that context.

Similarly, the word 牽 *qiān* 'pull, lead' can also be interpreted in this way. Despite the fact that in Classical Chinese *qiān* routinely serves as a transitive verb, taking an animal Undergoer (usually the domesticated animals such as oxen, donkeys, or mules) as illustrated in (50), it is used in example (51) as a noun referring to the animals that are pressed into service typically by being pulled or led, in the sense of draft animals (such as oxen, donkeys, or mules).

(50) 王坐於堂上, 有**牽**牛而過堂下者 。 (*Mengzi, Lianghuiwang*)
　　wáng　zuò　yú　táng　shàng,　yǒu　　qiān　niú　ér
　　king　sit　LOC　hall　above,　there is　pull　ox　CONJ
　　guò　　táng　xià　　zhě.
　　pass by　hall　below　NML
　　'(As) the king sat above in the hall, someone pulling an ox passed by.'

(51) 吾子淹久於敝邑，唯是脯資餼**牽**竭矣。 (*Zuozhuan, Xigong* 33)
　　wúzǐ　　　yān　　　jiǔ　yú　bì yì,　　　　　wéi　shì
　　you.HON　stay (long)　long　LOC　my country.MODEST　only　DEM
　　fū　　　zī　　xì　　qiān　jié　　yǐ.
　　dried meat　fund　grains　pull:N　exhaust　PTCL.PFV
　　'You have stayed in my country for too long, but (our supplies of) dried meat, funds, grains and draft animals are exhausted.'

The following example (52) illustrates that the Undergoer can also be a human being.

(52) 知罃之父， 成公之**嬖**也。 (*Zuozhuan, Chenggong* 2)
　　Zhīyīng　zhī　fù,　　Chéng gōng　zhī　bì　　yě.
　　Zhiying　GEN　father　Duke Cheng　GEN　favour:N　PTCL
　　'Zhiying's father was Duke Cheng's favourite.'

In the sentence above, the lexeme 嬖 *bì* is used as a noun meaning 'a favoured person' (referring to Zhiying's father, a favourite of Duke Cheng), i.e. the Undergoer of the action of (someone's) favouring. This nominal use of *bì* exists despite the fact that *bì* was originally an action word and usually functions as a verb in

Classical Chinese – either as a transitive verb meaning 'favour, dote on' or as an intransitive verb meaning 'find favour (with), win the praise (of)'. The transitive and intransitive verbal uses of *bì* can be seen in (53a) and (53b) respectively. Notice that the intransitive reading of *bì* could alternatively be interpreted as a passive one, i.e. 'be favoured'.

(53) a. 晉侯**嬖**程鄭 。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Xianggong* 24)
　　　　　Jìn hóu　　　　**bì**　　　*Chéngzhèng.*
　　　　　Duke Ping of Jin　favour　Chengzheng
　　　　　'Duke Ping of Jin favoured Chengzheng.'

　　　b. 辰嬴**嬖**於二君 。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Wengong* 6)
　　　　　Chényíng　**bì**　　　　　　　*yú*　*èr*　*jūn.*
　　　　　Chenying　find favour (with)　PREP　two　ruler
　　　　　'Chenying found favour with the two rulers.'

In (54), the word 使 *shǐ* 'send, order to go to' occurs twice, performing two different syntactic functions. The first instance of *shǐ* serves as a verb, while the second instance functions as a noun meaning 'the people who are sent as messengers on a diplomatic mission between two countries during a war', known as 'diplomatic envoys'. Likewise, this semantic type shift of *shǐ* follows the pattern ACTION → UNDERGOER OF THE ACTION.

(54) 欒書伐鄭，鄭人使伯蠲行成，晉人殺之，非禮也。兵交，**使**在其間可也。
　　　(*Zuozhuan*, *Chenggong* 9)
　　　Luánshū　*fá*　*Zhèng,*　*Zhèng*　*rén*　**shǐ**　*Bōjuān*
　　　Luanshu　attack　Zheng state　Zheng state　people　send　Bojuan
　　　xíng chéng,　*Jìn*　*rén*　*shā zhī,*　*fēi*　*lǐ*　　*yě.*
　　　plead for pease　Jin state　people　kill　PRON　NEG　etiquette　PTCL
　　　bīng　*jiāo,*　**shǐ**　*zài*　*qí*　*jiān*　*kě*　　*yě.*
　　　weapons　cross　send:N　be at　PRON　midst　permit　PTCL
　　　'Luanshu [a general of the Jin state] launched strikes on the Zheng state. The people of Zheng sent Bojuan to (go to Jin to) plead for peace. The Jin people killed Bojuan, which was against the rules of etiquette (in the wartime). (It was an accepted norm that) while taking up weapons against each other, those who serve as messengers between countries may not be harmed.'

The nominal function of 親 *qīn* 'be intimate (with), be close (to), come close (to)' can also be interpreted according to the present pattern of semantic type shift (or alternatively, according to the previous pattern ACTION → ACTOR OF THE ACTION). For instance, in (55) below, *qīn* in nominal function refers to 'parents' (which is the second instance of *qīn*; the first instance takes the V-position).

(55) 人人親其**親**。(*Mengzi*, *Lilou*)

    rén rén   *qīn*   *qí*   **qīn**.

    everyone   be close to   PRON   be close to:N

    'Everyone is close to their parents.'

It is particularly interesting that 親 *qīn* as a noun can, depending on the context, refer to a variety of subjects as the Undergoer/Actor of 'be intimate (with), be close (to), come close (to)'. In addition to the meaning (i) 'parents' as illustrated in (55) above, *qīn* in nominal function can at least also have one of the following concrete interpretations:

(ii) 'father' (for example, in *Zhanguo Ce*, chapter *Zhao Ce*: 臣少之時, 親嘗教以兵 *Chén shào zhī shí, qīn cháng jiāo yǐ bīng* [I.MODEST–young–GEN–moment, be close to:N–once–teach–with–military tactics] 'As I was young, (my) father once taught me military tactics.');

(iii) 'mother' (e.g., in *Zhanguo Ce*, chapter *Han Ce*: 可旦夕得甘脆以養親 *Kě dànxī dé gāncuì yǐ yǎng qīn* [can–in a day's time–get–tasty–CONJ–support–be close to:N] '(I) could daily get a meagre income to support (my) mother.');

(iv) 'son' (e.g., in *Zuozhuan*, chapter *Zhaogong* 19: 立長親 *lì zhǎng qīn* [establish–eldest–be close to:N] '(He) let (his) eldest son accede to the throne.');

(v) 'relatives' (e.g., in *Zuozhuan*, chapter *Zhaogong* 1: 兵其從兄, 不養親也 *Bīng qí cóngxiōng, bù yǎng qīn yě* [weapon:V–PRON–cousin, NEG–support–be close to:N–PTCL] 'Taking up weapons against one's own cousin, (which is) not the way to treat relatives.');

(vi) 'trusted followers' (e.g., in *Zuozhuan*, chapter *Xigong* 23: 晉侯無親 *Jìn hóu wú qīn* [Duke of Jin–not have–be close to:N] 'The duke of Jin didn't have trusted followers.').

4.1.3 Instrument of the action

The third interpretation available for (45) indicates that an action-denoting lexeme in nominal function may present the semantic role of Instrument (tool/im-

plement), with which the action denoted by that lexeme is typically realized, performed, or carried out. This gives rise to the pattern of semantic type shift ACTION → INSTRUMENT OF THE ACTION.

This pattern can apply to the nominal function of the action-denoting lexemes such as 鑿 *záo* 'cut, chisel' (→ 'chisel', 'the tool used for cutting or shaping wood and stone'), 縛 *fù* 'tie up, bind' (→ 'ropes used for tying up prisoners'), 縶 *zhí* 'tie up, imprison' (→ 'reins, used especially to fix a horse by tying up its legs'), 係 *xì* 'tie up, fasten' (→ 'ropes'), 約 *yuē* 'bundle up' (→ 'ropes'), 縋 *zhuì* 'let down (with a rope)' (→ 'ropes used for letting down'), 杖 *zhàng* 'hold, grasp (→ 'cane, crutch')', 扞 *hàn* 'defend, guard, protect' (→ 'sleeves used often by archers as armguards') etc.

Consider the word 鑿 *záo* as an example. In Classical Chinese, *záo* routinely serves as a transitive verb meaning 'chisel, cut', as shown in (56), where it takes the NP *èr kū* 'two holes' as its Undergoer in the object position. By contrast, *záo* occurs as a noun referring to the hand tool 'chisel' in (57). In this sentence, the subject-NP 門者 *mén zhě* is simply glossed as 'gatekeeper'. As mentioned before, the word 門 *mén* can serve as either a noun meaning 'gate, door' or a verb meaning 'attack the gate, guard the gate' in Classical Chinese, and the function word 者 *zhě* can be analysed as either a topic marker or a nominalization marker or a subject-substitute relative pronoun.

(56) 請為君復鑿二窟 。 (*Zhanguo Ce, Zhao Ce*)
    *qǐn   wèi   jūn   fù   **záo**   èr   kū.*
    please for   ruler (you.HON) more chisel   two   hole
    'Please (let me) cut two more holes for you.'

(57) 門者皆無得挾 斧、斤、鑿、鋸、椎。 (*Mozi, Beichengmen*)
    *mén zhě   jié   wú   dé   xié   fǔ,   jīn,   **záo,***
    gatekeeper   all   NEG   can   carry axe   small hoe chisel:N
    jù,   chuí.
    saw   hammer
    'None of the gatekeepers were allowed to carry any sort of axes, hoes, chisels, saws or hammers.'

In Classical Chinese, the action word 縛 *fù* 'tie up, bind' can also occasionally serve as a noun. For example, in (58) *fù* occurs in the object position of the transitive verb 釋 *shì* 'untie, release'. The VO construction 釋其縛 *shì qí fù* [untie–PRON–tie up:N] means 'untie his ropes', in which *fù* as a noun refers to 'the ropes used for tying (someone) up'.

(58) 武王親釋其**縛**，受其璧而袚之。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Xigong* 6)

    *Wǔ wáng   qīn   shì   qí   **fù,**   shòu   qí   bì*

    King Wu   personally untie PRON tie up:N accept PRON jade

    ér   fú   zhī.

    CONJ   hold the ceremony to clean away evil influence   PRON

    'King Wu personally untied the ropes that tied him [i.e. Duke Xu] up, accepted his jade and held for him the ceremony to clean away evil influence.'

Regarding the nominal interpretation of 縛 *fù* in the sentence above, the question may arise as to why *fù* as a noun was not interpreted as referring to some other binding materials, such as cloth, curtain, tapes or iron chains, with which one can certainly tie someone up. In answering this question, the context does not provide more information than the following 許男面縛, 銜璧 *Xǔ nán miàn fù, xián bì* 'Duke Xu's hands were tied behind his back, carrying a jade in his mouth'. This sentence, followed by the one in (58), describes a certain posture of Duke Xu, which was typically regarded as a sign of surrendering by one's own free will in the classical period. However, the question of why the nominal *fù* in (58) above is interpreted as ropes could be addressed by considering the fact that ropes were the standard and typical material for tying up prisoners of war in classical period (though this doesn't mean that the action of tying someone up could not be realized by means of other materials than ropes). If the referential meaning of *fù* were not ropes, the ultimate explanation would particularly depend on the context. To illustrate, if the sentence in (59) below represented the context of the VO construction *shì qí fù* in (58) above, the referential interpretation of *fù* would not be 'ropes' anymore, but rather 'curtain'. In (59), the action of tying someone up is realized by means of '(a large piece of cloth used as) curtain', as indicated by the prepositional phrase 以帷 *yǐ wéi* [with–curtain]).

(59) 閭丘嬰[以帷]~PP~縛其妻而載之。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Xianggong* 25)

    Lǘqiū Yīng [yǐ   wéi]~PP~   fù   qí   qī   ér   zài   zhī.

    Lüqiu Ying with curtain tie up PRON wife CONJ cart-carry PRON

    'Yanqiu Ying tied up his wife by means of a curtain and carried her in a cart.'

Two further examples illustrating that the present pattern of semantic type shift may lead to the reading of a concrete instrument or tool used for realizing a given action are given in (60) and (61) below. First, in (60) the action word 縶 *zhí* 'tie up, imprison' occurs in the object position of the transitive verb 執 *zhí* 'hold', in

which *zhí* functions as a noun referring to the reins that help one to tether a horse (by tying up its legs) in ancient time. This describes an important rule of etiquette at war in classical period, according to which a general of the victorious country should hold the reins, when he went to see the king of the defeated country, with the implication that he was ready to be at the king's disposal and keep the horses' legs in order to ensure the king's safety. This rule of etiquette is called 執縶之禮 *zhí zhí zhī lǐ* 'Etiquette of holding reins'.

(60) 韓厥執**縶**馬前，再拜稽首。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Chenggong* 2)
    Hánjué zhí **zhí** *mǎ qián, zài bài*
    Hanjue hold tie up:N horse front again make a ceremonial call
    qǐshǒu.
    kowtow
    'Hanjue held the rein in front of the horses (of Duke Qing of Qi) and kow-
    towed twice.'

In (61) below, the action word 縋 *zhuì* 'let (someone or something) down with a rope' occurs twice: the first time it serves as a verb, while the second time it serves as a noun referring to the rope that was let down for climbing in that context.

(61) 子佔使師夜**縋**而登。登者六十人。**縋**絕。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Zhaogong* 19)
    Zǐzhān shǐ shī yè **zhuì** *ér dēng.*
    Zizhan send troop night let down with a rope CONJ climb up
    dēng zhě liùshí rén. **zhuì** *jué.*
    people who climb up sixty people let down with a rope:N break
    'Zizhan sent troops to let a rope down (from the top of the city wall)
    and climb up (along the rope) in the night. Sixty people intended to
    climb up. The rope broke (suddenly).'

4.1.4 Object involved in the action

The fourth interpretation available for (45) indicates that the nominal function of an action-denoting lexeme can be interpreted as the object that is typically in-volved in the action denoted by that lexeme. This indicates the pattern of seman-tic type shift ACTION → OBJECT INVOLVED IN THE ACTION. Compared to the se-mantic role of UNDERGOER (of the action) discussed previously (section 4.1.2), it is important to note that in the current pattern, the role of OBJECT does not nec-essarily refer to the/an undergoer of any given action, and that, as suggested by

empirical evidence, it is inanimate. By contrast, the notion of UNDERGOER is generally interpreted as being animate, as discussed, it refers to the person(s) or animal(s) that typically undergo(es) that action.

This pattern of semantic type shift can apply to the nominal function of a considerable number of action-denoting lexemes. These include, for example, 皮 *pí* 'remove the skin (of something), peel' (→ 'skin'); 馘 *guó* 'cut off left ears' (→ 'the left ears that were cut off'); 襚 *suì* 'dress a dead person, put on shroud for a dead person' (→ 'shroud, a cloth or clothing used to wrap a dead body'); 制 *zhì* 'cut out garments' (→ 'garments'); 飯 *fàn* 'eat, have meal' (→ 'meal, food'); 飲 *yǐn* 'drink (alcohol)' (→ 'drink, alcohol, wine'); 酌 *zhuó* 'pour out liquor' (→ 'liquor, alcohol'); 餼 *xì* 'donate grains' (→ 'donated grains'); 膳 *shàn* 'prepare food, present food' (→ 'food, meal'); 羞 *xiū* 'present (fine food to someone with a higher status)' (→ 'offering', 'the fine food offered'); 祀 *sì* 'sacrifice, offer sacrifice to (the heaven)' (→ 'sacrificial offering, oblation'); 餉 *xiǎng* 'carry meal (to the field), supply provisions' (→ 'food, meal, provisions'); 鑿 *záo* 'chisel a hole' (→ 'hole'); 任 *rèn* 'carry, bear' (→ 'burden, task, load'); 芻 *chú* 'mow grass, feed animals with grass' (→ 'animal fodder'); 賂 *lù* 'give (someone) presents or something else that they want' (→ 'gifts, presents, bribe'); 賵 *fèng* 'give things for making funeral arrangements' (→ 'the things that were given for making funeral arrangements').

Consider the word 皮 *pí* as an example. According to Zhang (2005), *pí* was originally a verb meaning 'remove the skin (of something), peel', but later it underwent HY and developed its nominal function. In the present study (based on five classical texts), *pí* appears 36 times as a noun, but only once as a verb. The verbal use of *pí* is shown in (62) below. Example (63) illustrates the nominal meaning of *pí*, i.e. 'skin', which can be interpreted as 'the object involved in the action of removing the skin' according to the present pattern.

(62) 自**皮**面抉眼 。 (*Zhanguo Ce*, *Han Ce*)
    zì – ***pí***   *miàn* *jué*   *yǎn.*
    REFL – peel face   gouge out   eyes
    '(He) himself peeled the skin of (his) face and gouged (his) eyes out.'

(63) 虢射曰：" **皮**之不存，毛將安傅？ " (*Zuozhuan*, *Xigong* 14)
    Guóshè yuē: ***pí***   *zhī* *bù* *cún,* *máo* *jiāng* *ān*   *fù?*
    Guoshe say peel:N DEP NEG exist hair FUT   Q.where adhere
    'Guoshe said: "with the skin gone, to what can the hair attach itself?"'

The nominal function of 馘 *guó* 'cut off left ears' can also be interpreted in this way. Originally, *guó* was an action word used for describing a particular activity

of the victorious side of a war, i.e. they cut off the left ears of dead enemies in order to count the total number of captives (both dead and those captured alive) for reporting achievement. When *guó* is used as a noun, as in (64) below, it refers to 'the left ears that were cut off'.

(64) 楚子使師縉示之俘**聝**。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Xigong* 22)

    Chǔ zǐ   shǐ Shījìn shì   zhī   fú   guó.

    King Cheng of Chu send Shijin show PRON captive cut.off.left.ear:N

    'King Cheng of Chu sent Shijin to show them the left ears cut off from captives.'

The word 羞 *xiū* 'present (fine food to a person of higher status)' is also subject to the present pattern. In Classical Chinese, *xiū* is normally used in a similar way to 薦 *jiàn* 'present, offer' (they are regarded as synonyms). This can be seen in (65) below, where *jiàn* and *xiū* (as well as their objects) constitute two parallel expressions. In (66), however, *xiū* occurs as the syntactic object of the verb *jiàn*, referring to the fine food that Yongwu presented to Duke Huan in that context.

(65) 薦五味，**羞**嘉穀。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Xigong* 30)

    jiàn   wǔ wèi,   xiū   jiā gǔ.

    present   five flavours (i.e. various flavours) present excellent cereal

    '(They) presented various flavours and excellent cereals.'

(66) 雍巫有寵於衛共姬，因寺人貂以薦**羞**於公。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Xigong* 17)

    Yōngwū yǒu   chǒng yú   Wèigòngjī, yīn   sìrén   Diāo

    Yongwu have favour PREP Weigongji due to eunuch Diao

    yǐ   jiàn   xiū   yú   Gōng.

    CONJ/be able to present present:N PREP Duke Huan

    'Yongwu was a favourite of Weigongji [i.e. Duke Huan's wife]. With the help of the eunuch Diao, (Yongwu) got a chance to present fine food to Duke Huan.'

4.1.5 Place of the action

The fifth interpretation available for (45) indicates that the nominal function of an action-denoting lexeme can be interpreted as the place or location (which can

be an area, a site or a building etc.) where the action denoted by that lexeme typically takes place. This presents the pattern of semantic type shift ACTION → PLACE OF THE ACTION.

This pattern can be seen in the nominal function of the following action-denoting lexemes in Classical Chinese: 牧 *mù* 'pasture, herd, tend (sheep, goats, etc.)' (→ 'pasture land'); 棲 *qī* 'perch, stay, rest' (→ 'the place where birds can perch', 'the place where people can stay or rest'); 圉 *yǔ* 'keep horses' (→ 'the place where horses are kept', 'stable'); 圄 *yǔ* 'arrest, confine, chain, keep someone closed in a place (by force)' (→ 'jail', 'prison'); 圄 *yǔ* 'put in jail, imprison' (→ 'jail', 'prison'); 次 *cì* 'stop, stay (for a while)' (→ 'a stopping place on a journey', 'stopover'); 居 *jū* 'live, reside' (→ 'the place to live', 'dwelling place', 'residence').

Consider, for instance, the word 牧 *mù* 'herd, pasture, graze, tend (sheep, cows, etc.)'. In (67) below, *mù* occurs twice. The first instance of *mù* serves as a transitive verb, taking the anaphoric pronoun 之 *zhī* (referring to the 'cows and sheep' mentioned in the previous clause) as its syntactic object. By contrast, the second instance of *mù* – together with 芻 *chú* 'animal fodder' (which is also an action word and subject to the pattern of ACTION → OBJECT INVOLVED IN THE ACTION discussed, i.e. *chú* 'mow grass, feed animals with grass' → 'animal fodder') – takes the object position of the transitive verb 求 *qiú* 'try for, seek'. Here, the nominal meaning of *mù*, i.e. 'pasture land' refers to the place or area where the action of herding cows and sheep typically takes place.

(67) 今有受人之牛羊而為之**牧**之者，則必為之求**牧**與芻矣。
(*Mengzi, Gongsunchou*)

jīn	*yǒu*	*shòu*	*rén*	*zhī*	*niú*	*yáng*	*ér*	*wèi*	*zhī*
now	there is	receive	people	GEN	cow	sheep	CONJ	for	PRON

mù	*zhī*	*zhě,*	*zé*	*bì*	*wèi*	*zhī*
pasture	PRON	NML	CONJ	necessarily	for	PRON

qiú	***mù***	*yǔ*	*chú*	*yǐ.*
try for	pasture:N	and	animal fodder	PTCL

'If (one) promises to pasture someone's cows and sheep, then (he) is responsible for finding pasture land and fodder for the cows and sheep.'

The word 棲 *qī* may also serve as an interesting example. In Classical Chinese, *qī* often functions as an intransitive verb meaning 'perch, stay, rest'. It can be used for the activity performed either by birds or by people, as illustrated in (68a) and (68b), respectively. On the other hand, *qī* can sometimes also serve as a noun. Likewise, the nominal *qī* may refer either to the place where animals perch, or

less commonly to the place where people stay for a rest. In (69a), the nominal *qī* refers to the place where chickens perch in a general sense, while in (69b) it is interpreted in the concrete sense as someone's bed.

(68) a. 仰**棲**茂樹。 (*Zhanguo Ce, Chu Ce*)
         yǎng   ***qī***   *mào*   *shù*
         with the face upwards   perch   thick   tree
         'With the face upwards, (finches) perch in thick woods.'

     b. 越王勾踐**棲**於會稽之上。 (*Guoyu, Yueyu*)
         Yuè wáng   Gōujiàn qī   yú   Kuàiqī   zhī   shàng.
         King of Yue Goujian rest LOC Kuaiqi (Mount) GEN top
         'King of the Yue state, Goujian, stopped over on Mount Kuaiqi'.

(69) a. 猶連雞之不能俱止於**棲**。 (*Zhanguo Ce, Qin Ce*)
         yóu   lián   jī   zhī bù   néng   jù
         likewise tied together chicken DEP NEG   be able to   all
         zhǐ   yú   qī.
         halt   LOC   perch:N
         'Likewise, chickens that are tied together cannot stay quietly on perchs.'

     b. 二嫂使治朕**棲**。 (*Mengzi, Wanzhang*)
         èr   sǎo   shǐ   zhì   zhèn   qī.
         two   sister-in-law send   put in order   1st.SG.PRON   rest:N
         "Send (my) two sisters-in-law to make my bed!"
         [Context: Shun's brother Xiang had hatched a plot to murder Shun. After that, Xiang wanted to divide Shun's property and use Shun's two wives as his maids.]

4.1.6 Name of the action

The sixth interpretation available for (45) indicates the pattern of semantic type shift ACTION → NAME OF THE ACTION, where the nominal function of a given action-denoting lexeme is interpreted as the name of the action denoted by that lexeme.

In the present study, this pattern of semantic type shift is not available for all of the action-denoting lexemes under investigation, but restricted to some of

them. In particular, it applies when the following action words are used as anaphoric nouns in a terminological way (i.e. as a term referring back to the action mentioned previously in the context): 餉 *xiǎng* 'carry meals (to the field), provide with meal, supply provisions'; 盜 *dào* 'steal, rob'; 賊 *zéi* 'harm, injure, hurt, kill'; 寇 *kòu* 'invade'; 御 *yù* 'drive (a carriage)'; 牧 *mù* 'pasture, herd'; 親 *qīn* 'be close (to), come close (to)'; 騎 *qí* 'ride'; 飲 *yǐn* 'drink (alcohol)'; 祀 *sì* 'sacrifice, offer sacrifice to (the heaven)'; 居 *jū* 'live, reside'.

Consider, for instance, the word 餉 *xiǎng* 'carry meals (to the field), provide with meal, supply provisions'. In example (70) below, *xiǎng* occurs twice. The first instance of *xiǎng* serves as a verb designating the activity of carrying meals to the field. The second instance occurs in the object position of the transitive verb 仇 *chóu* 'hate, take as an enemy', where it functions as an anaphor referring back to the action denoted by the first *xiǎng* as a verb. The second *xiǎng* can therefore be interpreted as a noun meaning 'the provision of meals to the field', 'the act of carrying meals to the field', or the like.

(70) 有童子以黍肉**餉**，殺而奪之。《書》曰：'葛伯仇**餉**'。
(*Mengzi*, *Tengwengong*)

yǒu	*tóngzǐ*	*yǐ*	*shǔ*	*ròu*	***xiǎng,***
there is	boy	with	millet	meat	carry meal to the field

shā	*ér*	*duó*	*zhī.*
kill	CONJ	rob	PRON

Shū		*yuē:*	*Gě Bó*	*chóu*	***xiǎng.***
Book of History		say	Ge Bo	hate	carry meal to the field:N

'There was a boy who carried millet and meat to the field (for those who worked there). (Ge Bo) killed (the boy) and robbed him (of the millet and meat). What is said in the Book of History, "Ge Bo behaved as an enemy to the provision of meal to the field", has reference to this.'

In the view of Evans and Osada (2005), as discussed previously (section 2.1.2), only the present pattern of semantic type shift meets the criterion of compositionality (and is thus of relevance to lexical flexibility), whereas all the other patterns discussed are semantically non-compositional. As for the nominal function of action-denoting lexemes, Evans and Osada's compositionality seems to suggest that the notion 'the name of the action' is cross-linguistically fundamental for the discourse function of reference in any given flexible language. Consistent with the findings from typological studies that argue against compositionality (van Lier and Rijkhoff 2013: 16–18; Peterson 2005: 396; Rau 2013; Beck 2013), the empirical findings of this study also demonstrate that the referential meaning 'the name of the action' pertains to an unproductive type of derivation, and that it

seems relevant to only a subset of action-denoting lexemes that can be used as nouns. Even though this referential meaning could potentially hold for all of the relevant action words in the lexicon that are claimed to be flexible, in practice it is observed only when the meaning is really necessary and fits into the discourse context. Usually, the reading of 'the name of the action' occurs under the prerequisite that the action mentioned is contextually activated (i.e. in anaphoric use, as in (70) above).

In contrast, the referential meanings that do not conform to compositionality (those discussed in the previous subsections) are, however, the more widespread ones for the nominal use of action-denoting lexemes under investigation. This also holds true for the several action-denoting lexemes mentioned which can be interpreted according to the pattern of ACTION → NAME OF THE ACTION (i.e. 餉 *xiǎng*, 盜 *dào*, 賊 *zéi*, 寇 *kòu*, 御 *yù*, 牧 *mù*, 親 *qīn*, 騎 *qí*, 飲 *yǐn* and 居 *jū*). It is found that besides other possible interpretations, the nominal functions of 盜 *dào*, 賊 *zéi*, 寇 *kòu* and 御 *yù* may also conform to the pattern ACTION → ACTOR OF THE ACTION (section 4.1.1). The nominal function of 飲 *yǐn* actually often follows the pattern ACTION → OBJECT INVOLVED IN THE ACTION (section 4.1.4). The nominal functions of both 騎 *qí* and 親 *qīn* may also conform to the pattern ACTION → ACTOR OF THE ACTION or ACTION → UNDERGOER OF THE ACTION (section 4.1.2). The nominal function of 居 *jū* 'live, reside' can be interpreted according to the pattern ACTION → PLACE OF THE ACTION (with the target meaning 'residence') alongside ACTION → NAME OF THE ACTION (meaning 'residency'). These do not however intend to imply that "non-compositional" interpretations of action-denoting lexemes should be regarded as the fundamental use for the discourse function of reference in flexible languages (whereas the compositional nominal interpretation rather not). In fact, both compositional and non-compositional interpretations may probably happen to action-denoting lexemes in a language that allows flexibility in its parts-of-speech system. In my view, semantically compositional and non-compositional interpretations are rather distributional instances adapted to the needs of discourse.

4.1.7 Summary

Regarding the derivation of action-denoting lexemes in nominal function, this section shows that there are at least six patterns of semantic type shifts. These patterns, summarized in Table 8 below, represent six regular ways of generating highly predictable meanings in the V→N type of derivation of flexible lexemes in Classical Chinese.

Tab. 8: Semantic type shifts of action-denoting lexemes in nominal function

ACTION-DENOTING SEMANTICS		NOMINAL FUNCTION
ACTION	→	ACTOR OF THE ACTION
ACTION	→	UNDERGOER OF THE ACTION
ACTION	→	INSTRUMENT OF THE ACTION
ACTION	→	OBJECT INVOLVED IN THE ACTION
ACTION	→	PLACE OF THE ACTION
ACTION	→	NAME OF THE ACTION

4.2 Verbal function of object-denoting lexemes

Both intransitive and transitive argument structure constructions in Classical Chinese can take object-denoting lexemes in their V-position. In line with the suggestion made by Dirven (1999), among many others, when an object-denoting lexeme serves as a verb, it can be considered as an action word conveying an event schema, in which an actor performs a certain action (onto someone or something) in a certain place, possibly using an instrument or by means of something in a certain manner. The term 'schema', as used in Dirven (1999) and this study, goes back to Bartlett (1932). In cognitive linguistics, it is often used interchangeably with other terms such as 'domain', 'frame', 'script', 'scene', or 'cognitive model' (see Panther and Radden 1999). According to Heine (1997: 46), what distinguishes an event schema from a simple concept is that the former, implying an answer to a question like 'What happened?', consists of more than one perceptually discontinuous entities, whereas the latter, implying an answer to a question like 'What did he do to it?', typically comprises no more than one entity. In an event schema like 'X EATS Y', the relational concept of EAT (which is a simple concept) implies that there are at least three entities, i.e. X (agent), EAT, and Y (patient). In this study, the term 'event schema' is used interchangeably with 'event domain' or 'action domain'.

Empirical evidence suggests that the object-denoting semantics of a given lexeme occurring in the V-position of an argument structure construction in Classical Chinese may be associated with the following semantic roles in an event domain:

(71) Associated semantic roles in an event domain
 a. Actor of an action
 b. Result of an action
 c. Instrument of an action
 d. Means/Manner of an action
 e. Object involved in an action
 f. Place of an action

The six semantic roles mentioned above may likewise imply six general patterns of semantic type shifts for object-denoting lexemes in verbal function, as outlined in Table 9 below. The remainder of this section will discuss these six semantic roles and their respective patterns of semantic type shift in detail.

Tab. 9: Semantic type shifts of object-denoting lexemes in verbal function

OBJECT-DENOTING SEMANTICS		VERBAL FUNCTION
ACTOR OF AN ACTION	→	ACTION
RESULT OF AN ACTION	→	ACTION
INSTRUMENT OF AN ACTION	→	ACTION
MEANS/MANNER OF AN ACTION	→	ACTION
OBJECT INVOLVED IN AN ACTION	→	ACTION
PLACE OF AN ACTION	→	ACTION

4.2.1 Actor of an action

The pattern of semantic type shift ACTOR OF AN ACTION → ACTION indicates that an object-denoting lexeme in verbal function can be used to convey an event schema in which the role of Actor is referred to by the object-denoting semantics of that lexeme. This pattern can be illustrated with example (72), in which the word 伯 *bà* 'chief of vassal states, chief of vassals' serves as a transitive verb in the VO-construction 伯諸侯 *bà zhūhóu* [chief of vassal states:V–vassals/vassal sates] (the subject is 君 *jūn* 'ruler, king' at the beginning of the sentence). In this construction, *bà* as a verb is used to designate what a chief of vassal states is normally expected to do to his vassals, i.e. 'dominate' or 'rule'. That is, the object-denoting semantics of *bà* 'chief of vassal states' refers to the Actor of the action of dominating or ruling vassal states.

(72) 君唯不遺德刑，以**伯**諸侯。 (*Zuozhuan, Chenggong* 16)

jūn	wéi	bù	yí	dé	xíng,
ruler	only	NEG	abandon	benevolence	penal law

yǐ	**bà**		zhūhóu.
CONJ	chief of vassal states:V		vassals/vassal sates

'Only when the king abandons neither benevolence nor penal law [i.e. he tempers justice with mercy], will (he) dominate (his) vassal states.'

The verbal function of the lexeme 臣 *chén* 'subordinate, male slave, minister (under the king)' in example (73) can also illustrate the present pattern of semantic type shift:

(73) 舜**臣**堯，賓于四門。 (*Zuozhuan, Wengong* 18)

Shùn	**chén**	Yáo,	bīn	yú	sì	mén.
Shun	subordinate:V	Yao	regale guests	LOC	four	city gate

'Shun submitted himself to Yao (and) regaled the guests at the four city gates.'
[Context: Emperor Shun was the successor to Emperor Yao.]

The word 臣 *chén* in (73) above serves as a transitive verb meaning 'submit oneself to (someone)'. This verbal function of *chén* denotes an action that one would normally expect a lower-level subordinate to do to a higher-level person, for example, a male slave submits himself to his master, a minister submits himself to the king. That is, in the current event schema, the object-denoting semantics of *chén* (i.e. 'subordinate, male slave, minister (under the king)') refers to the Actor of the action of submitting oneself (denoted by *chén* in verbal function).

Besides the lexemes 伯 *bà* and 臣 *chén* discussed above, the verbal function of many human-denoting lexemes in Classical Chinese can be interpreted according to the present pattern. These include 君 *jūn* 'ruler, king' (→ 'rule, dominate, master'); 王 *wáng* 'king, monarch' (→ *wàng* 'be/become a king', 'act as a king', 'dominate, rule'); 主 *zhǔ* 'host, chief' (→ 'be a host', 'be in charge of something, direct, claim'); 霸 *bà* 'chief of feudal princes' (→ 'act as a chief of feudal princes', 'rule, dominate'); 帝 *dì* 'emperor, the supreme being' (→ 'act as an emperor', 'rule'); 侯 *hóu* 'dukes, marquis or princes under the emperor' (→ 'act as a duke, prince or marquis under someone', 'submit oneself to'); 官 *guān* 'officer, official' (→ 'be an official/ officer', 'act as an official/officer'); 友 *yǒu* 'friend' (→ 'be/become a friend', 'be friendly', 'make friends with'); 醫 *yī* 'doctor' (→ 'heal'); 僕 *pú* 'servant', 'cart-driver' (→ 'act as a servant', 'serve as someone's cart-driver', 'serve'); 戎 *róng* 'army' (→ 'battle, attack, fight'); 妾 *qiè* 'woman slave' (→ 'serve');

嬪 *pín* 'a concubine of an emperor' (→ 'be/become a concubine of an emperor', 'marry an emperor'); 女 *nǚ* 'maid' (→ 'serve', 'act as a maid').

4.2.2 Result of an action

The pattern of semantic type shift RESULT OF AN ACTION → ACTION indicates that an object-denoting lexeme in verbal function can be used to convey an event schema in which the object-denoting semantics of that lexeme represents the result or resulting effect of the action. Similar to the previous pattern ACTOR OF AN ACTION → ACTION, the current pattern can also apply to a number of lexemes denoting various human roles in Classical Chinese. When these lexemes are used as verbs designating event schemata, the result or resulting effect of the action is referred to by their original object-denoting semantics, i.e. the human role (N$_{HUMAN}$). In this way, the present pattern can be construed as N$_{HUMAN}$ → [MAKE SOMEONE N$_{HUMAN}$]$_{ACTION}$. This can also be illustrated by the aforementioned lexeme 臣 *chén* denoting 'subordinate, male slave, minister (under the king)'. But unlike the previous (73) (where *chén* in verbal function means 'submit oneself to someone'), *chén* in (74) below has the verbal meaning 'make someone one's subordinate'. This interpretation conforms to the pattern construed above, i.e. 'subordinate (N$_{HUMAN}$)' → 'make someone a subordinate (N$_{HUMAN}$)', where the original object-denoting semantics of *chén* represents the resulting effect of the action denoted by the verbal *chén*.

(74) 韓、魏、趙、楚之志恐秦兼天下而**臣**其君，故專兵一志以逆秦。
(*Zhanguo Ce, Qi Ce*)

Hán	*Wèi*	*Zhào*	*Chǔ*	*zhī*	*zhì*	*kǒng*
Han state	Wei state	Zhao state	Chu state	GEN	thoughts	fear

Qín	*jiān*	*tiānxià*	*ér*	***chén***	*qí*	*jūn,*
Qin state	annex	land under heaven	CONJ	subordinate:V	PRON	ruler

gù	*zhuān*	*bīng*	*yī*	*zhì*	*yǐ*	*nì*	*Qín.*
thus	concentrate	forces	one	will	in order to	fight against	Qin state

'(The four states) Han, Wei, Zhao and Chu were afraid that the Qin state would annex all the lands and make their rulers his subordinates, thus (they) were going to unite in the fight against Qin.'

In this connection, it is important to note that the lexemes denoting human roles do not necessarily have to behave like 臣 *chén*, with their newly derived verbal function following either the present pattern of semantic type shift (RESULT OF

AN ACTION → ACTION) or the previous ACTOR OF AN ACTION → ACTION. As a matter of fact, some of them can only have one interpretation. Consider, for instance, the lexeme 俘 *fú* 'captive, prisoner of war': As long as *fú* occurs as a transitive verb, as shown in (75), it can only be interpreted according to the pattern of RESULT OF AN ACTION → ACTION (i.e. N$_{HUMAN}$ → [MAKE SOMEONE N$_{HUMAN}$]$_{ACTION}$), but not according to the ACTOR OF AN ACTION → ACTION. Here in (75), the verbal function of 俘 *fú* ('make someone a captive, take someone as a prisoner, capture') designates an event schema in which the resulting effect is that the Undergoer *Xi Kuilei* was made to become a 'captive' (denoted by the original object-denoting semantics of *fú*).

(75) 鄭人**俘**鄢魁壘。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Aigong* 27)
　　 *Zhèng　　　rén　　**fú**　　　Xī Kuílěi.*
　　 Zheng state　people　captive:V　Xi Kuilei (a warrior of the Jin state)
　　 'The people of the Zheng state captured Xi Kuilei.'

Besides 臣 *chén* and 俘 *fú*, the lexemes denoting human roles (N$_{HUMAN}$) that can undergo the present pattern of semantic type shift (i.e. N$_{HUMAN}$ → [MAKE SOMEONE N$_{HUMAN}$]$_{ACTION}$) include, for example, 王 *wáng* 'king, monarch' (→ *wàng* 'make someone a king'); 君 *jūn* 'ruler' (→ 'make someone a ruler'); 帝 *dì* 'emperor' (→ 'make someone an emperor'); 主 *zhǔ* 'host, chief' (→ 'make someone one's head', 'consider someone one's chief'); 官 *guān* 'officer, official' (→ 'make someone an official'); 賓 *bīn* 'guest' (→ 'treat someone as a guest'); 客 *kè* 'guest' (→ 'treat someone as a guest'); 祖 *zǔ* 'ancestor' (→ 'consider someone an ancestor'); 子 *zǐ* 'child, son' (→ 'consider someone one's child or son'); 師 *shī* 'teacher, fine example' (→ 'consider someone a teacher', 'learn from someone'); 友 *yǒu* 'friend' (→ 'consider someone a friend).

The next two examples (76) and (77) demonstrate that the present pattern of semantic type shift may also apply to lexemes denoting inanimate objects. When these lexemes are used as verbs designating event schemata, the result or resulting effect of the action is referred to by their original object-denoting semantics, i.e. the inanimate object (N$_{OBJECT}$). More specifically, the verbal function of these lexemes can be interpreted as the resulting product of a manufacturing process. In this way, the present pattern can be construed as N$_{OBJECT}$ → [MAKE SOMETHING INTO N$_{OBJECT}$]$_{ACTION}$. To illustrate, in example (76), the object word 戟 *jǐ* 'halberd' serves as a transitive verb with the meaning 'make something into, or in the form of, a halberd'. This verbal meaning of *jǐ* conveys an event schema in which the action has a resulting effect on its undergoer (i.e. *qí shǒu* [PRON–hand] 'his

hand'), causing it to be in the form of a 'halberd' (i.e. by holding up his index and middle fingers).

(76) 公**戟**其手，曰：“必斷而足。”(*Zuozhuan*, *Aigong* 25)

Gōng	*jǐ*	*qí*	*shǒu, yuē: bì*		*duàn ér*	*zú.*
Duke Chu	halberd:V	PRON	hand say certainly	cut	your	feet

'Duke Chu made his hand in the form of a halberd and said (to Chushi Shengzi): "(I) must cut your feet."'

In a similar way, in (77) below, the food term 醢 *hǎi* 'minced meat sauce' is used as a transitive verb meaning 'make into minced meat sauce' according to the pattern $N_{OBJECT} \rightarrow$ [MAKE SOMETHING INTO N_{OBJECT}]$_{ACTION}$. This verbal interpretation of *hǎi* likewise conveys an event schema in which the action has the resulting effect that causes its undergoer (i.e. *Wèi* in the object position, referring to Susha Wei in that context) to become 'minced meat sauce' (denoted by the original object-denoting semantics of *hǎi*).

(77) 殖綽、工僂會夜縋，納師，**醢**衛於軍。(*Zuozhuan*, *Xianggong* 19)

Zhíchuò	*Gōnglǚ Huì*	*yè*	*zhuì,*	*nà*	*shī,*
Zhichuo	Gonglü Hui	at night	slide down a rope	accept	troops

hǎi			*Wèi*	*yú*	*jūn.*
minced meat sauce:V			Susha Wei	LOC	army

'During the night, Zhichuo and Gonglü Hui slid down a rope (to the bottom of the city wall). (They) let the troops (of the Qi state) get in (the city) and minced Susha Wei into meat sauce in the army.'

Besides *jǐ* and *hǎi* discussed above, the following object-denoting lexemes may also be interpreted in this way: 脯 *fǔ* 'dried meat' (→ 'make into dried meat'); 井 *jǐng* 'square-fields' (→ 'make into square-fields', 'divide into square-fields'); 縣 *xiàn* 'county' (→ 'make into a county'); 郡 *jùn* 'prefecture' (→ 'make into a prefecture'); 野 *yě* 'suburb, territory far away from the centre of the state' (→ 'make into a territory far away from the centre of the state').

4.2.3 Instrument, Means or Manner of an action

This subsection discusses both the pattern of semantic type shift INSTRUMENT OF AN ACTION → ACTION and the pattern MEANS/MANNER OF AN ACTION → ACTION. The former pattern indicates that an object-denoting lexeme in verbal

function can be used to convey an event schema with the Instrument participant being referred to by the object-denoting semantics of that lexeme. With the latter pattern, it is the Means or the Manner participant that is referred to by the object-denoting semantics of that lexeme.

In this context, a distinction needs to be made between the notion of Instrument and that of Means or Manner. Basically, an instrument can refer to a concrete man-made tool, an implement, utensil, or apparatus, with which an action is typically carried out for certain purposes. This can be exemplified by considering a whip, with which the action of whipping or hitting animals or people is typically carried out, or by considering the human body part 'elbow', with which the action of pushing someone or something is typically realized. By contrast, in this study, the semantic role of Means or Manner is intended to refer to abstract methods, processes, ways or behaviours, by which or in which an action is performed or a result is achieved. This can be illustrated by considering the event schema of pillowing one's head on something (e.g., on a leg, an arm, or books), in which someone uses something (that can be pillowed) as a pillow. That is, he rests his head on the thing as if on a pillow. As for the former example with 'whip' or 'elbow', the whip or elbow serves as a concrete instrument that really exists in that event schema. However, in the latter example of 'pillow', the pillow does not necessarily have to exist as a concrete instrument in that event schema; rather, it is used to designate the manner in which someone performs the action of resting his head. These differences between the two patterns can be manifested through the analysis of the context and the whole argument structure construction. Chapter 5 will address this issue in more detail.

The pattern INSTRUMENT OF AN ACTION → ACTION can be illustrated with any one of the following examples (78), (79) and (80). In (78), the object word 鞭 *biān* '(leather-thronged) whip' serves as a transitive verb meaning 'whip', taking *shìrén Jiǎ Jǔ* 'the servant (named) Jia Ju' as its Undergoer in the object position. This verbal interpretation of *biān* conveys an event schema with the instrument of the action of whipping being referred to by the object-denoting semantics of *biān* 'whip'.

(78) 公鞭侍人賈舉而又近之。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Xianggong* 25)

Gōng	***biān***	*shìrén Jiǎ Jǔ*	*ér*	*yòu*	*jìn*	*zhī.*
Duke Zhuang	whip:V	servant Jia Ju	CONJ	again	close	PRON

'Duke Zhuang whipped (his) servant Jia Ju but then was kind to him again.'

Similarly, in (79) the lexeme 肘 *zhǒu* denoting the body part 'elbow' serves as a transitive verb meaning 'to elbow (push or hit someone with one's elbow)', taking 'Han Kangzi' as its Undergoer in the object position. That is, the object-denoting semantics of *zhǒu* functions as the instrument in the event schema, with which the action of elbowing someone is realized. In (80), the lexeme 水 *shuǐ* 'water, flood' serves as a transitive verb meaning 'fill with water, deluge, to flood'. This verbal reading of *shuǐ* can be interpreted in such a way that the natural material 'water, flood' (referred to by *shuǐ*) was used as an instrument onto the Undergoer *Daliang* (a capital city), i.e. Daliang underwent what one did using flood/water. As a result, Daliang would be flooded and fall.

(79) 魏桓子**肘**韓康子。 (*Zhanguo Ce*, *Qin Ce*)
　　 Wèi Huánzǐ **zhǒu** *Hán Kāngzǐ.*
　　 Wei Huanzi elbow:V Han Kangzi
　　 'Wei Huanzi elbowed Han Kangzi.'

(80) 秦有鄭地，得垣雍，決滎澤，而**水**大梁，大梁必亡矣。
　　 (*Zhanguo Ce*, *Wei Ce*)
　　 Qín yǒu Zhèng dì, dé Yuányōng, jué Yíngzé,
　　 Qin state have Zheng place get Yuanyong dredge Yingze
　　 ér **shuǐ** *Dàliáng, Dàliáng bì wáng yǐ.*
　　 CONJ water:V Daliang Daliang certainly fall PTCL
　　 '(The troops of) Qin captured the region Zheng and got Yuanyong. (They) dredged Yingze and filled Daliang with water. Daliang will certainly fall.'

The pattern MEANS/MANNER OF AN ACTION → ACTION can be illustrated with the example in (81). In this sentence, the lexeme 枕 *zhěn* 'pillow' is used as a transitive verb, taking the nominal 草 *cǎo* 'grass' as its Undergoer in the object position. The context suggests that the VO-construction 枕草 *zhěn cǎo* should be interpreted as 'take grass as a pillow, use grass as a pillow', or more specifically, 'rest one's head on grass as if on a pillow'. That suggests that in the event schema conveyed by *zhěn* as a verb, the object-denoting semantics of *zhěn* 'pillow' does not really function as a concrete instrument; rather, it is used to designate the manner in which someone performs the activity of resting his head. Also note that in this example, all garment words (縗斬 *cuīzhǎn,* 苴経 *jūdié,* 帶 *dài,* 菅屨 *jiānjù*) are used as predicates with the meaning of 'wear'. The object word 杖 *zhàng* 'crutch' likewise serves as a predicate meaning 'lean on crutch'.

(81) 晏嬰粗縗斬、苴経、帶、杖、菅屨，食鬻，居倚廬，寢苫，**枕**草。
(*Zuozhuan*, *Xianggong* 17)

Yànyīng   cū cuīzhǎn,
Yanying   (wear) mourning cloth made of coarse material

jūdié,   dài,   zhàng,
(wear) mourning headband (wear) waistband (lean on) crutch

jiānjù,   shí yù,   jū
(wear) shoes made of coarse grass eat   porridge live in

*yīlú,   qǐn   shān,   **zhěn**   cǎo.*
tin-roofed shack   sleep on   straw mat   pillow:V   grass

'Yangyin wore a mourning cloth made of coarse material, a mourning
headband, a mourning waistband and coarse-grass shoes; (he)
leaned on a crutch, ate porridge, lived in a tin-roofed shack, slept on a
straw mat, and took grass as pillow.'

The two patterns of semantic type shift discussed above, i.e. INSTRUMENT OF AN
ACTION → ACTION and MEANS/MANNER OF AN ACTION → ACTION suggest two
different types of semantic relatedness underlying the derivation. Despite this, it
is important to note that the two patterns generally apply to the same sets of ob-
ject-denoting lexemes (instruments words and lexemes denoting body parts) in
Classical Chinese. The verbal interpretation of these lexemes could potentially
follow either of the two patterns. Specifically, the selection of pattern for deriving
their concrete verbal function depends on both the semantics of the lexeme con-
cerned and the argument structure construction in which it occurs (cf. chapter 5).

4.2.4 Object involved in an action

The pattern of semantic type shift OBJECT INVOLVED IN AN ACTION → ACTION
indicates that an object-denoting lexeme in verbal function can be used to denote
an action that literally involves the object referred to by that lexeme.

The present pattern should be differentiated from the patter of RESULT OF
AN ACTION → ACTION discussed in section 4.2.2. In particular, the latter applies
to those object words that are used as transitive verbs for conveying an event
schema, in which a (real or conceived) making-action is applied onto someone or
something, with the intended result or resulting effect of this making-action (but
not anything else involved in that action) being referred to by the original object-
denoting semantics of the lexeme. In contrast, the present pattern applies to the

object words that are normally used as intransitive verbs, and their original object-denoting semantics can theoretically refer to anything involved in the event schema somehow. Consider example (82), in which the object word 冠 *guān* denoting 'hat' is used twice as an intransitive verb (pronounced as *guàn*), with the same meaning 'wear a hat'. Obviously, the object denoted by *guān* (i.e. 'hat') is involved in the action denoted by *guàn* 'wear a hat'.

(82) 許子**冠**乎? 曰：**"冠。"** (*Mengzi*, *Tengwengong*)

Xǔzǐ **guàn** *hu?* *yuē:* **guàn.**

Xuzi hat:V Q say hat:V

'(Mencius asked:) "Does Xuzi wear a hat?"
(Chen Xiang replied:) "(He) wears a hat."'

In (83) below, the food term 穀 *gǔ* 'grain, corn, cereal' (cf. example (65) for its nominal use) likewise serves as an intransitive verb meaning 'eat grains', in which the original object-denoting semantics of *gǔ* (i.e. 'grain, corn, cereal') is involved.

(83) 晉入楚軍，三日**穀**。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Chenggong* 16)

Jìn *rù* *Chǔ* *jūn,* *sān rì* **gǔ.**

Jin state enter Chu state troops three days grain:V

'(The troops of) Jin entered (the camp of) the troops of Chu and ate (the leftover) grains for three days.'

In the two examples (82) and (83) above, the objects 'hat' and 'grain', being involved in the actions of 'wear a hat' and 'eat grains' respectively, belong to the semantic classes of 'garments' and 'foodstuff' respectively. For them, the way the object is involved in the action can be explained in terms of the implicatures 'wear an object' and 'eat/drink an object'. The verbal function of the following words, due to their similar semantics to *guān* 'hat' or *gǔ* 'grain, corn, cereal', can be interpreted in a similar manner: 弁 *biàn* 'hat of officials' (→ 'wear a hat of officials'); 冕 *miǎn* 'hat of kings or higher officials, especially worn in full dress ceremony' (→ 'wear a hat of kings or higher officials'); 苴絰 *jūdié* 'morning band' (→ 'wear mourning band (on the head and around the waist)'); 胄 *zhòu* 'helmet' (→ 'wear a helmet'); 介 *jiè* 'armour' (→ 'wear an armour'); 襪 *wà* 'socks' (→ 'wear socks'); 縗絰 *cuīdié* 'mourning apparel' (→ 'dress in mourning'); 衣 *yī* 'clothes, clothing, garment' (→ *yì* 'wear clothes'); 服 *fú* 'clothes, clothing, garment' (→ 'wear clothes'); 食 *shí* 'food, meal, (cooked) rice' (→ 'eat'); 飧 *sūn* 'evening meal,

dinner, (cooked) food' (→ 'eat', 'make a dinner'); 酒 *jiǔ* 'alcohol' (→ 'drink alcohol'); 麥 *mài* 'wheat' (→ 'eat wheat'); 粟 *lì* 'millet' (→ 'eat millet', 'provide millet').

The way the object is involved in an action can also be established in the manner in which the object represents the end product of that action. Consider:

(84) 陳人**城**。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Xianggong* 23)
   *Chén   rén   **chéng**.*
   Chen state   people   city walls:V
   'The people of Chen built city walls.'

(85) 叔孫為孟**钟**。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Zhaogong* 4)
   *Shūsūn   wèi   Mèng   **zhōng**.*
   Shusun   for   Meng Bing   bell:V
   'Shusun cast a bell for Meng Bing.'

The object word 城 *chéng* 'city wall' in (84) serves as an intransitive verb with the meaning 'build city walls' in that context in *Zuozhuan* (notice that the other referential meaning of *chéng* is 'capital city', the verbal function of which is 'build a capital city'). In this interpretation, the object-denoting semantics of *chéng* refers to the result of this building process. Similarly, in (85) the object-denoting semantics of 钟 *zhōng* 'bell' can be understood as the result of the manufacture of the bell, which is denoted by the intransitive verbal *zhōng* in that context. Besides *chéng* and *zhōng*, there are a number of object words in Classical Chinese whose intransitive verbal function can be interpreted in this manner, with the object involved in an action representing the result of the action as a process of building, establishing, making or manufacturing. For example, 巢 *cháo* 'nest' (→ 'build a nest'); 宮 *gōng* 'house or palace built with walls' (→ 'build a house or palace'); 舍 *shè* 'tent, hut, house' (→ 'make a tent', 'build a hut'); 堞 *dié* 'battlements' (→ 'build battlements'); 垣 *yuán* 'wall' (→ 'build walls'); 墙 *qiáng* 'wall' (→ 'build walls'); 郭 *guō* 'outer city wall' (→ 'build outer city walls'); 藩 *fān* 'fence' (→ 'build a fence'); 塹 *qiàn* 'moat' (→ 'build a moat'); 隧 *suì* 'aisle or tunnel (leading to the coffin chamber of an ancient tomb)' (→ 'build a tunnel (leading to the coffin chamber)'); 溝 *gōu* 'ditch' (→ 'make a ditch'); 坎 *kǎn* 'pit, hole' (→ 'make a pit'); 穴 *xué* 'hole' (→ 'make a hole'); 牀 *chuáng* 'bed' (→ 'make a bed'); 梁 *liáng* 'bridge' (→ 'build a bridge'); 國 *guó* 'country' (→ 'build a country, establish a country'); 縣 *xiàn* 'county' (→ 'build a county, establish a county'); 邑 *yì* 'city' (→ 'build a city').

Furthermore, some lexemes denoting (general or specific) illnesses can be interpreted in terms of the present pattern too. This can be seen in the following

example with the disease terms 疥 *jiè* 'tertian malaria' and 痁 *shān* 'chronic malaria' in the V-position, in which they could, among others, be interpreted as 'have tertian malaria' and 'have chronic malaria', respectively.

(86) 齊侯**疥**，遂**痁**。(*Zuozhuan*, *Zhaogong* 20)
　　 Qí hóu 　　　 ***jiè,*** 　　　　　 *suì* 　 ***shān.***
　　 Duke Jing of Qi 　 tertian malaria:V 　 then 　 chronic malaria:V
　　 'Duke Jing of Qi had tertian malaria, then (he) had chronic malaria.'

Sometimes, the verbal function of animal terms such as 蠶 *cán* 'silkworms', 魚 *yú* 'fish', 蠹 *dù* 'wood-boring beetles or insects' or 畜 *chù* 'domesticated livestock (e.g., pigs, dogs)' may also be interpreted according to the present pattern. For instance, in (87) below the lexeme 蠶 *cán* 'silkworms' serves as an intransitive verb with the meaning 'raise silkworms'.

(87) 夫人**蠶**繅，以為衣服。(*Mengzi*, *Tengwengong*)
　　 fūrén 　 ***cán*** 　　 *sāo,* 　　 *yǐ* 　　　 *wéi* 　 *yī-fú.*
　　 ladies 　 silkworms:V 　 reel silk 　 in order to 　 make 　 garments
　　 'Ladies raised silkworms and reeled silk to make garments.'

The present pattern of semantic type shift can also apply to the verbal function of lexemes denoting weather or some supernatural phenomena. For example:

(88) 自正月不**雨**。(*Zuozhuan*, *Wengong* 10)
　　 zì 　　 *zhēngyuè* 　　　　　　　　　　　　　 *bù* 　 ***yù***
　　 since 　 the first month (in the Chinese lunar calendar) 　 NEG 　 rain:V
　　 'It had not rained since the first month.'

(89) 夏四月，陳**災**。(*Zuozhuan*, *Zhaogong* 9)
　　 xià 　　　 *sìyuè,* 　 *Chén* 　　　 ***zāi.***
　　 summer 　 April 　　 Chen (town) 　 disaster:V
　　 'During summer, in April, disaster befell Chen.'

In (88) above, the lexeme 雨 *yǔ* 'rain' serves as an intransitive verb (pronounced as *yù*) with the meaning 'it rains'. In (89), the lexeme 災 *zāi* 'disaster' also functions as an intransitive verb, meaning 'experience disaster' or 'disaster befalls'. Notice that the expression 陳 *chén* 'the town named Chen' followed by *zāi* can be

analysed either as the Experiencer who underwent (the effect of) the disaster (*zāi*), or as the Locative indicating where the disaster (*zāi*) took place.

In the examples discussed above, though the semantic link in the derivations generally complies with the pattern of OBJECT INVOLVED IN AN ACTION → ACTION, the establishment of concrete relationships between the action and the object involved in that action are carried out, however, in various ways. Chapter 5 will then address the question as to how and to what degree can an 'involvement' be established between an action and an object in given argument structure constructions in Classical Chinese.

4.2.5 Place of an action

The pattern of semantic type shift PLACE OF AN ACTION → ACTION indicates that an object-denoting lexeme in verbal function can be used to designate an event schema in which the action is typically (expected to be) carried out in the place referred to by the object-denoting semantics of that lexeme. This pattern can be illustrated with example (28a), as repeated in (90) below for convenience, in which the place term 馆 *guǎn* 'accommodation for guests, guesthouse, inn' serves as an intransitive verb with the meaning 'lodge (in a guesthouse)'.

(90) 孟子之滕，**館**於上宮。 (*Mengzi, Jinxin*)

　　*Mèngzǐ　zhī　Téng,　　**guǎn**　　　yú　　shànggōng.*

　　Mencius　go　Teng state　guesthouse:V　LOC　upper floor of a house

　　'Mencius went to the Teng state and lodged in the upper floor of the guesthouse.'

Similarly, the lexeme 社 *shè* denoting 'the site of sacrificing to the God of the land (which can be, for example, a building, a temple, or just an open place)' can also be interpreted in this way, when it occurs in the V-position. For example, in (91), it functions as an intransitive verb meaning 'sacrifice to the God of the land' or 'perform the sacrificing activity (by killing animals and offering them to the God of the land)'. As can be seen, this verbal interpretation of *shè* designates the kind of activity that one would normally expect to take place or be carried out at the certain site where people perform sacrificial ceremonies or rituals to the God of the land, as denoted by *shè*.

(91) 齊**社**，搜軍實，使客觀之。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Xianggong* 24)

Qí   **shè,**
Qi state   site of sacrificing to the God of the land:V

sōu   *jūn shí,*   *shǐ*   *kè*   *guān*   *zhī.*
check   army ordnance and provisions   let   guest   watch   PRON

'The Qi state performed the ceremony of sacrificing to the God of the land, checked army ordnance and provisions, and exhibited these to (their) guests.'

The two examples in (92) below illustrate that a single object word can be used to convey different activities in different constructions and contexts. In spite of this, these activities have in common that they typically take place at the same location referred to by the object-denoting semantics of that word. As can be seen, in (92a) the place term 市 *shì* 'market' serves as an intransitive verb with the meaning 'do business', while in (92b) the same *shì* serves as a transitive verb in the VO-construction 市馬 *shì mǎ* [market:V–horse], in which it designates the activity 'buy' or 'purchase'. Both of the trading activities (designated by *shì* in verbal function) in (92a) and (92b) are those that typically take place in a 'market' (*shì*).

(92) a. 鄭商人弦高將**市**于周。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Xigong* 33)

Zhèng   *shāng rén*   *Xiángāo*   *jiāng*   **shì**   *yú*
Zheng state   businessman   Xiangao   FUT   market:V   LOC

Zhōu.
Zhou state

'Xiangao, a businessman from Zheng, was going to do business in Zhou.'

b. 天下必以王為能**市**馬。 (*Zhanguo Ce*, *Yan Ce*)

tiānxià   *bì*   *yǐ*   *wáng*   *wéi*   *néng*
land under heaven   certainly   consider   king   as   be willing to

shì   *mǎ.*
market:V   horse

'Your Majesty, people all over the world must consider (you) to be willing to spend (a lot of) money to buy (swift) horses.'

Besides the lexemes discussed above, there are many other object words in Classical Chinese which can be interpreted in this way, for example, 舍 *shè* 'tent, inn, house, hut' (→ 'stay at, reside, lodge in/at, keep in'); 宅 *zhái* 'residence, house' (→ 'reside, lodge (in/at), stay (at)'); 廬 *lú* 'hut, cottage' (→ 'lodge (in/at)', 'put up

at one's house'); 邑 *yì* 'city, state' (→ 'reside'); 倉 *cāng* 'granary, barn' (→ 'store grains'); 祖 *zǔ* 'ancestral temple' (→ 'offer sacrifice to ancestors'); 廷 *tíng* 'court of a king, imperial court' (→ 'have an audience with the king'); 田 *tián* 'cropland, farmland, field' (→ 'hunt, go hunting', 'plough field', 'till farmland'); 門 *mén* 'gate' (→ 'enter a gate for the purpose of attack', 'guard a gate', 'station troops at a gate for the purpose of defence'). Notice that some of these lexemes can also be interpreted according to the pattern OBJECT INVOLVED IN AN ACTION → ACTION (discussed in section 4.2.4).

4.2.6 Summary and discussion

Section 4.2 contains an outline of the semantic type shifts that object-denoting lexemes in verbal function may undergo. This N→V type of derivation of flexible lexemes can be regarded as the counterpart of the V→N type of derivation as discussed in the previous section 4.1. Empirical evidence suggests that for the N→V type of derivation as well, there are at least six regular ways of generating highly predictable meanings in Classical Chinese (cf. Table 9).

Compared with the semantic type shifts of the N→V type of derivation, it is particularly interesting to observe that the V→N type is often accompanied by semantic narrowing. According to Sperber and Wilson (1995, 2008), semantic narrowing is a process of meaning construction in which a word's meaning becomes less general or less inclusive than its earlier meaning. This happens when a word with a general meaning is applied to something more specific. The process of semantic narrowing can be observed in the semantic type shifts of the action words that follow the pattern of ACTION → UNDERGOER OF THE ACTION (section 4.1.2) or the pattern ACTION → INSTRUMENT OF THE ACTION (section 4.1.3), as suggested by the lexemes such as 親 *qīn* 'be close to, come close to' (→ 'trusted followers', 'parents', 'mother', 'father', 'son' etc.); 使 *shǐ* 'send, order to go to' (→ 'the people who are sent as messengers on a diplomatic mission between countries during a war'); 牽 *qiān* 'pull, lead' (→ 'draft animals such as oxen, donkey'); 縛 *fù* 'tie up, bind' (→ 'ropes used for tying up prisoners'); 縶 *zhí* 'tie up, imprison' (→ 'reins, used especially to fix a horse by tying up its legs'). When one such action word is used as a noun, it is intended to refer either to the standard or prototypical Instrument or Undergoer of the action, or an Instrument or Undergoer which is specified or contextually relevant (i.e. the term is used anaphorically).

It has also been observed that for both of the types of derivations of flexible lexemes discussed (the N→V type and the V→N type), there are *metonymic* associations entailed. This observation is not something new, nor is it unfamiliar to

flexibility studies. In the Chinese context, this observation can be traced back as far as Chen (1922), as he put it regarding the semantic relatedness involved in the HY process: "any component element in the original meaning of a word could in principle trigger one such derivational process of the word" (Chen [1922] 1957: 11). Although Chen did not use any terminology such as *jièdài* (借代), which is the most commonly used Chinese term for the notion of metonymy, his observation implies that the semantic type shift in the use of an action word as a noun (V→N) can be interpreted in a metonymic manner in which the concept of the action is used to conceptualize something that is associated in meaning with that action such as the Actor, the Undergoer, or the Instrument with which the action is typically carried out. By the same token, as for the use of object-denoting lexemes in verbal function (N→V), the semantic type shift can likewise be interpreted metonymically in a reversed manner: the concept of an action is conceptualized by something that is associated in meaning with that action.

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), metonymy – alongside metaphor – serves as an important part of our everyday way of thinking on the basis of our experience, and they allow us effectively to conceptualize one thing by means of its relation to something else. In the light of the facts mentioned above, the need arises to take a closer look at the definition of metonymy and its application in linguistics so far.

4.3 Metonymy and its application

4.3.1 Metonymy in Cognitive linguistics

In Cognitive linguistics, metonymy is regarded as a mapping in which "we are using one entity to refer to another that is related to it" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 35), or as a conceptual shift that consists in mentally accessing one conceptual entity via another conceptual entity (Kövecses 2010: 145). The connection that is established between the two entities in a metonymic mapping is widely recognized as a kind of association by contiguity (e.g., Blank 1999; Barnden 2010). Unlike the traditional view that limits contiguity to an observable, real-world relationship between entities, cognitivists generally hold the view that instead of existing independently of human understanding, knowledge or belief, contiguity ensues from the mapping of the real-world relationships into our conceptual system, hence the name 'conceptual contiguity' (Radden and Kövecses 1999: 19; Truszczyńska 2002: 223). In this way, metonymy is generally defined as a conceptual mapping process. During the mapping, the 'vehicle' entity (sometimes also called 'source') successfully provides mental access to another conceptual entity,

known as the 'target'. This is what happens when the two entities are contiguously related to each other and belong to the same conceptual domain (Lakoff 1987; Kövecses and Radden 1998).

According to Lakoff (1987), a conceptual domain is an "idealized cognitive model" (ICM). An ICM can be understood as an organized cognitive whole made up of parts. Within an ICM, our knowledge is organized along different sets of structuring principles, where metonymic relationships are one such set of principles (Lakoff 1987: 68). On the basis of ICMs, there are two types of metonymic relationships distinguished: the first type concerns the part-part relation that exists between constituent elements within an ICM; the second type represents the part-whole relation between an ICM as a whole and its constituent elements (Radden and Kövecses 1999: 29–30; Truszczyńska 2002: 224). The first type of metonymic relationship (involving the part-part relation) is said to allow for the metonymies in which parts of an ICM serve to access other parts of the same ICM. This can be illustrated with the famous example "*The ham sandwich* is getting impatient for his check" (Nunberg 1979), in which the food 'ham sandwich' as a part of the Restaurant ICM is used as a reference point to stand for the customer who ordered a ham sandwich and waited for his check, which is another part of the same Restaurant ICM. The second type of metonymic relationship (i.e. with the part-whole relation) allows for the metonymies in which a part of an ICM is used to stand for the whole ICM. An example of this type is the substitution of 'England' for Great Britain as a whole, when one colloquially wants to refer to the country consisting of England, Scotland, and Wales (Radden and Kövecses 1999: 31). Based on the two types of metonymic relationships as well as the ICMs to which the relationships belong, cognitivists have provided typologies of metonymy, where various instances of metonymic relationships are organized into different categories (see e.g., Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Radden and Kövecses 1999; Voßhagen 1999; Blank 1999; Panther and Thornburg 1999; Nerlich, Clark, and Todd 1999).

Relationships within a single conceptual domain may or may not give rise to metonymy (Radden and Kövecses 1999: 29).[27] Once a metonymy is produced, given that it is a mapping between the target A and the vehicle B, the question of why just B (not anything else) is chosen to stand for the intended target A is addressed by Lakoff (1987) in the following way: "compared to A, B is either easier

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27 One of Radden and Kövecses' (1999: 29) examples illustrating that not all relationships within a domain can produce metonymies is the domain of the human face: although a face has several parts that are closely related in space, they do not lead to metonymy.

to understand, easier to remember, easier to recognize, or more immediately use-
ful for the given purpose in the given context" (Lakoff 1987: 84). Langacker (1993)
makes similar observations on this question, as quoted by Schönefeld (2005:
145):

> The entity that is normally designated by a metonymic expression serves as a reference-
> point affording mental access to the desired target (i.e. the entity actually being referred to)
> .... By virtue of our reference-point ability, a well-chosen metonymic expression lets us men-
> tion one entity that is salient and easily coded, and thereby evoke – essentially automati-
> cally – a target that is either of lesser interest or harder to name.
>
> (Langacker 1993: 30)

Based on this observation, one can conclude that a metonymic association is far
more than a story of simple substitution, and that it has pragmatic power and
effectively serves as a cognitive tool for conceptualization and for conveying in-
formation. The preferred metonymic vehicle is used to refer to the target, as it is
cognitively prominent and more easily accessible, through which the intended
target is conceptualized in an efficient way. In light of Langacker (1993: 30), Rad-
den and Kövecses (1999: 44–52) propose that there are hidden rules that govern
the selection of the preferred vehicles, and that the motivation of the rules con-
sists in our most basic human experiences derived from our anthropocentric view
of the world and our interaction in the world. The rules include, above all, the
cognitive principles in relation to human experience, perceptual selectivity, and
cultural preferences, such as HUMAN OVER NON-HUMAN, FUNCTIONAL OVER
NON-FUNCTIONAL, as well as the communicative principles in regard to the pre-
requisites of clarity and relevance, such as CLEAR OVER OBSCURE, RELEVANT
OVER IRRELEVANT, and so on. All these principles and rules are believed to be
able to govern the inner structure of metonymic patterns and lead to natural and
default cases of metonymy.

4.3.2 Metonymy and conversion

Numerous linguistic attempts have been made to explore the relationship be-
tween metonymy (or, metonymic ways of thinking) and language. From either a
synchronic or a diachronic perspective, the investigations focus on the question
of how metonymy as a conceptual configuration acts on human languages, tak-
ing into account the effects of metonymy at various linguistic levels (see e.g., Pan-
ther and Radden 1999; Nerlich, Clark, and Todd 1999; Jäkel 1999; Pankhurst
1999). In particular, it is widely accepted that metonymy can serve as a major mo-

tivating force in historical developments of semantics. As illustrated in the following paragraph taken from Radden and Kövecses (1999), the semantic development of the English word *hearse* from the meaning 'harrow' to 'vehicle for conveying a dead person to the place of burial' can be construed as a result of different metonymic processes, with both of the discourse functions of reference and predication being participated in the conceptualization of different event domains:

> In medieval farming, the word originally denoted a triangular frame for supporting candles at church services. The new 'candle-frame ICM' evoked the functionally most salient part of it, the candles. Our general knowledge of the 'candle ICM', in its turn, gave rise to the metonymic focus on the processing of burning. In the Middle Ages, candles were made of wax, were very expensive and were only lit for special occasions. This Medieval 'candle-burning ICM' explains why the burning of candles came to be metonymically associated with a special liturgical occasion, Tenebrae, the Holy Week before Easter. The Medieval 'Tenebrae ICM' accounts for a further metonymic step. In the church, service of the Holy Week, all candles were gradually extinguished to commemorate the darkness at Christ's crucifixion. The burning candle was a metaphor for man's life, and, as an entailment, its extinction a metaphor of man's death. The whole candle-burning events were thus metonymically restricted to its final part, the extinction of the candle. The 'crucifixion ICM' was then metonymically extended to people's death in general. The 'death ICM' accounts for the metonymic highlighting of a salient part surrounding people's death, the funeral. The 'funeral ICM' involves several parts, many of which were described by the word 'hearse': the dead body, the coffin, the bier, the tomb, the funeral pall, the framework supporting the pall, and the carriage for carrying the coffin. Among these parts, the moving carriage eventually appeared to be the most salient element of the 'funeral ICM'.
>
> (Radden and Kövecses 1999: 20)

Intimately related to the unmarked semantic change of English words such as *hearse* (in the example above) is the notion of conversion. Conversion is traditionally defined as a word-formation process that produces new lexical items of particular word classes, without this process being indicated by any overt formal markedness (Štekauer 1996; Bauer and Valera Hernández 2005). Conversion is also called 'zero-derivation' when assuming the presence of invisible affixes in the process, instead of the inexistence of an affix (Marchand 1969: 359). So far, many linguistic analyses of word formation have accounted for conversion via metonymy (e.g., Dirven 1999; Schönefeld 2005). Researchers such as Radden and Kövecses (1999) claim that metonymy should not just be confined to the understanding of conversion or zero-derivation, but that it applies also to the word-formation processes that are morphologically marked by affixes (e.g., *write* → *writer*).

In Dirven's (1999) discussion, the type of noun-to-verb conversion is construed as a metonymic process. This process can generally take place against a

background of any of three potential event schemata: Action schema, Location/Motion schema, and Essive schema, as outlined in (93). In an event domain, any of the participants associated with the nine semantic roles presented in (93) (i.e. Patient, Instrument, Manner, Place, Source, Path, Goal, Class Membership, and Attribute) may become the bearer of the saliency feature in the appropriate configuration and occur as input for the conversion. Finally, these will occur in the converted verbs.[28]

(93) Three event schemata and nine associated semantic roles
       (Dirven 1999: 285)
       Action schema: Patient, Instrument, Manner
       Location/Motion schema: Place, Source, Path, Goal
       Essive schema: Class Membership, Attribute

In (93) above, an Action schema is defined as an event type in which a Patient is acted upon, often with an Instrument or in a certain Manner. Against the background of an Action schema, the paraphrasing of conversion as a metonymic process can be illustrated with the derivation from the nominal 'head' in (93a) to the denominal verb 'head' in (93b) below. According to Dirven, in the total Action schema implied by the whole sentence in (93a), the Patient 'ball' undergoes something done by the Agent 'player' with his head, while the Instrument participant 'head' is so salient that it can stand for the action itself and triggers the conversion from the nominal 'head' to the verbal 'head'.

(94) Conversion from [N] *head* → [V] *head* (cf. Dirven 1999: 278)
       a. *The player sends the ball into the goal with his head.*
       b. *He headed the ball into the goal.*

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28 Notice that there is no Agent as a semantic role in Dirven's (1999) event domains. Dirven (1999: 285–286) ascribes the reason why the human role Agent cannot participate in conversion to the cognitive principle of anthropocentrism. In his view, human beings are already the focus of attention in most linguistic structures, so that they cannot be focused upon again in the conversion processes, at least not in the agent or dative roles which are prototypically human roles. For that reason, an expression like 'to *police* a district' in an Essive schema can never mean that people have turned into police officers, rather, the schema can only involve the patient role, i.e. to put police officers in a district so that it may become safe again. Here the 'police' does not serve as an Agent, but as a Patient or an Instrument.

The denominal verb 'land' in (95) and the denominal verb 'nurse' in (96) illustrate the metonymic paraphrasing of conversion against the background of a Location/Motion schema and the background of an Essive schema, respectively. As per Dirven's definition, a Location/Motion schema as an event type may comprise an inactive patient and the location of this patient, i.e. Place, or alternatively, it comprises a moving patient and one or more elements of the motion's trajectory, i.e. Source, Path, or Goal. An Essive schema as an event type either involves a patient who is assigned a certain Class Membership status or involves an Attribute. Example (95) illustrates that, against the background of the Motion schema conveyed by the whole sentence, the semantic role Goal serves as the input for the conversion from the nominal 'land' to the verbal 'land'. In (96), against the background of the Essive schema conveyed by the whole sentence, 'Mary' as a patient is assigned the Class Membership of a nurse. That is, the Class Membership of nurses serves as the input for the conversion from the nominal 'nurse' to the verbal 'nurse'.

(95) *The plane was forced to land in Cairo.* (Dirven 1999: 282)

(96) *Mary nursed the sick soldiers.* (Dirven 1999: 284)

As discussed earlier (section 4.3.1), part-part relation and part-whole relation are two basic types of metonymic relationships in a conceptual domain. According to Kövecses and Radden (1998), metonymies based on the part-part relation are typically used when speakers want to name some actions, conceptual entities or participants encompassed in an action domain, whereas metonymies based on the part-whole relation are often used for naming things (e.g., *England* for 'Great Britain'). As for the former type of metonymies discussed (i.e. with the part-part configuration), Kövecses and Radden (1998: 54) observe that there are as many as thirteen different metonymic relationships within an action domain available for conversion. In later work, Radden and Kövecses (1999: 37) added the relationship ACTION FOR INSTRUMENT and the relationship AGENT FOR INSTRUMENT to their list but removed TIME OF MOTION FOR AN ENTITY INVOLVED IN THE MOTION. The list presented in (97) merges the two versions by Kövecses and Radden and comprises fourteen metonymic relationships.

(97) Metonymic relationships within an action domain (cf. Kövecses and Radden 1998: 54; Radden and Kövecses 1999: 37)
AGENT FOR ACTION (e.g., *butcher* the cow, *author* a book)
ACTION FOR AGENT (e.g., *snitch* as a slang for informer)

INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION (e.g., *ski, shampoo* one's hair)
ACTION FOR INSTRUMENT (e.g., pencil *sharpener*; screw*driver*)
OBJECT INVOLVED IN AN ACTION FOR THE ACTION (e.g., *blanket* the bed)
ACTION FOR OBJECT INVOLVED IN THE ACTION (e.g., Give me one *bite*!)
RESULT FOR ACTION (e.g., *powder* the aspirin)
ACTION FOR RESULT (e.g., a deep *cut*)
MEANS FOR ACTION (e.g., He *sneezed* the tissue off the table)
MANNER OF ACTION FOR THE ACTION (e.g., She *tiptoed* to her bed)
DESTINATION FOR MOTION (e.g., *porch* the newspaper)
TIME PERIOD OF ACTION FOR THE ACTION (e.g., to *summer* in Paris)
AGENT FOR INSTRUMENT (e.g., *the pen* for writer)
TIME OF MOTION FOR AN ENTITY INVOLVED IN THE MOTION
(e.g., *8.40* in 'The 8.40 has just arrived')

The list in (97) suggests that there are eight semantic roles involved in an action domain that may serve as input for the noun-to-verb conversion (N→V), occurring in the converted verbs. The eight semantic roles are AGENT, INSTRUMENT, MEANS, MANNER, RESULT, OBJECT INVOLVED IN AN ACTION, DESTINATION, and TIME PERIOD OF ACTION. By contrast, there are only four semantic roles available for verb-to-noun conversion (V→N), i.e. AGENT, INSTRUMENT, OBJECT INVOLVED IN THE ACTION, and RESULT. This contrast is outlined in (98):

(98) Metonymic relationships involved in two types of conversion
      (cf. Kövecses and Radden 1998: 54; Radden and Kövecses 1999: 37)
      Verb-to-noun conversion (V→N):

      ACTION FOR AGENT
      ACTION FOR INSTRUMENT
      ACTION FOR OBJECT INVOLVED IN THE ACTION
      ACTION FOR RESULT

      Noun-to-verb conversion (N→V):

      AGENT FOR ACTION
      INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION
      MEANS FOR ACTION
      MANNER OF ACTION FOR THE ACTION
      OBJECT INVOLVED IN AN ACTION FOR THE ACTION
      RESULT FOR ACTION
      DESTINATION FOR MOTION
      TIME PERIOD OF ACTION FOR THE ACTION

The involvement of metonymic relationships in conversion has also been well supported by Schönefeld's (2005) study. She examined Hansen et al.'s (1982) whole list of different types of 'unmarked changes across word categories' (covering both conversion in the traditional, word-formation sense and the syntactic transposition of a word)[29] with regard to the question of whether there are cases which cannot be analysed as being motivated by metonymic relationships. After that, she reached the conclusion that for all the types of unmarked changes across word categories described there, metonymic associations can be shown to exist between the original and the newly derived meanings of the respective forms. From a cognitive perspective, Schönefeld (2005: 150–153) suggests viewing conversion or unmarked change of word category – regardless of whether it is syntactic or word-formational in nature – primarily as a conceptually triggered phenomenon of semantic extension of a language's lexicon based on metonymic relationships. Specifically, Schönefeld views conversion as a special event-schema metonymy in which the recategorization takes place between different semantic types (for example, between thing-denoting semantic type and event-denoting semantic type), with the resultant expression showing a (morpho)syntactic behaviour which differs from that of the original expression.

4.3.3 Metonymy and flexibility in Classical Chinese

Metonymy as a conceptual configuration that effectively acts on languages has also long been of interest to scholars and researchers in China. The Chinese term that is most commonly used for the notion of metonymy is *jièdài* [borrow–substitute] (借代). According to the general understanding of Chinese linguistics, *jièdài* is one of common 'rhetorical methods' (修辭手法 *xiūcí shǒufǎ*) whose function is to name one thing by means of something else which is associated with it in meaning. The two things that participate in a *jièdài* substitution are given special names: the thing that is borrowed for naming or conceptualizing another thing is normally called *jiètǐ* 'borrowed object' (借體), corresponding to the metonymic vehicle entity (cf. section 4.3.1); the thing that is not overtly expressed but understood by mean of the borrowed object is termed *běntǐ* 'original object' (本體), corresponding to the metonymic target entity. A close examination of theoretical

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29 Schönefeld (2005: 136) notes that Hansen et al. (1982) tend to use the term *conversion* to refer to the syntactic transposition of a word (which is identified as a syntactic phenomenon, instead of a word-formation process). Therefore, the term 'unmarked changes across word categories' is intended to cover the processes in both of the syntactic and word-formation senses.

treatments and descriptions of *jièdài* in Chinese literature suggests that there has been no restrictions or constraints on what parts of speech should the linguistic expressions for the 'borrowed object' and for the 'original object' have. However, due to the fact that *jièdài* as a rhetorical method is primarily defined to serve the purpose of *naming* things, the 'borrowed object' and 'original object' in a *jièdài* association are often understood as corresponding to two nominal expressions within the framework of categoriality in modern Chinese linguistics.

The earliest application of *jièdài* in Chinese language can already be found in the poem *Tange* (彈歌) created at the stage of Old Chinese, which was later reproduced in *Wuyue Chunqiu* (吳越春秋) published in the Han dynasty (Wang 2005: 245). In *Tange*, there are two instances of *jièdài* identified. In the first instance, the word 土 *tǔ* 'soil', serving as the *jiètǐ* 'borrowed object' (i.e. the metonymic vehicle) is used for the concept of 'pellets' (made of soil and typically used for hunting animals at that time) which is the *běntǐ* 'original object' (i.e. the metonymic target). In the second instance of *jièdài*, the word 宍 *ròu* 'meat', serving as the borrowed object, is used for conceptualizing 'animals or beasts' (as people's food in the primitive hunting society), which is the original object. The two *jièdài* substitutions happened, in spite of the fact that there were already well-established terms for the concept of pellets and that of animals or beats, respectively (e.g., 丸 *wán* and 兽 *shòu* respectively). Moreover, both pf the *jièdài* instances discussed can be regarded as corresponding to the metonymic relationship MATERIAL CONSTITUTING AN OBJECT FOR THE OBJECT proposed by Radden and Kövecses (1999: 32), with the material of an object being used for conceptualizing the object.

Similarly to what has been done in the metonymy research in the West, Chinese researchers have tried to organize various *jièdài* instances into categories according to their internal relations and the domains to which the relations belong. For example, in Wang's (2005: 245–249) study, instances of *jièdài* in ancient Chinese are classified into three basic types, according to the domain of the original object to which *jièdài* (as a mechanism) is applied (i.e. the domain of the metonymic target). The three basic types are called *jièdài* of humans (人的借代 *rén de jièdài*), *jièdài* of objects (物的借代 *wù de jièdài*), and *jièdài* of events (事的借代 *shì de jièdài*), respectively. As suggested by the name, the type of *jièdài* of humans refers to the cases in which a person (or a group of people) is conceptualized by means of something related to the person (or the group of people), such as some contextually salient properties of the person, his garment, his official function, his typical activities, and so on. The type of *jièdài* of objects refers particularly to the cases with an inanimate object being conceptualized by means of something else related to the object, such as its salient physical appearance, its

material, its typical function, or some activities that are typically carried out in order to obtain that object. The type of *jièdài* of events refers to the cases in which an event, activity or an occurrence is conceptualized by means of something which is not only conceptually related to the event, activity or occurrence but also much more concrete, such as the typical Actor of the event or activity, the instrument with which the event or activity is typically performed, or the place where the event or activity typically takes place. As a matter of fact, the flexible use of words across word categories is inevitably included in the *jièdài* instances, though not all of the instances of *jièdài* have to do with the flexibility of words.

In connection with HY, Wang (2005: 250) identifies two types of HY built on the *jièdài* associations in ancient Chinese, namely, (i) HY of adjectives as nouns (Adj→N), and (ii) HY of verbs as nouns (V→N). The former type of HY can be illustrated by the nominal use of the property word 濕 *shī* 'wet, moist': for example, *shī* is used as a noun referring to 'a wet or moist place' in *Xunzi* (a Classical Chinese text). The latter type of HY can be illustrated by the nominal use of the action word 宿 *sù* 'lodge, rest': for example, *sù* is used as a noun meaning 'the lodging birds' in *Lunyu* (a Classical Chinese text). In addition to the two types of HY recognized by Wang (2005), the noun-to-verb HY (N→V) has also been identified as relating to *jièdài*. As was already discussed (chapter 2), in Chi's (2009) investigation into the HY phenomena of nouns in *Zuozhuan*, *jièdài* 'metonymy' – alongside *pàishēng* 'derivation' (派生) and *bǐyù* 'metaphor' (比喻) – is regarded as one main type of semantic relatedness for the noun-to-verb HY. One of his examples illustrating the metonymic link is the flexible use of the word 兵 *bīng* 'weapon' as a verb with the meaning 'fight with weapons'. This example corresponds to the metonymic relationship INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION proposed by Radden and Kövecses (1999: 37), where the instrument, with which an action (e.g. fight) is typically carried out, is used for conceptualizing the action.

Although the zero-marked semantic type shift of flexible lexemes, researched in this study, differs from conversion (in that the former is not subject to word formation, but a process which links different categorial uses of a single flexible lexeme), they both allow for combining formal identity with syntactic diversity. They can both be construed as a process of derivation that produces a new concept associated with a particular syntactic behaviour which differs from that of the original concept. In light of Schönefeld (2005) as well as Chen (1922), based on empirical findings, I take the view that metonymic associations constitute the cognitive-semantic foundation of the zero-marked semantic type shifts that flexible lexemes undergo in Classical Chinese, both in the use of action-denoting lexemes in nominal function (the V→N type) and in the use of object-denoting lexemes in verbal function (the N→V type). In one such metonymic mapping, the

original semantics of a lexical item, which may typically be associated with a certain syntactic role of N or V, is used as a reference point to provide mental access to the newly derived meaning of the lexical item in another syntactic function. This mapping occurs due to the fact that the two meanings concerned are contiguously related to each other in a given conceptual domain. The mapping between the two concepts is far more than a story of simple substitution, but it has pragmatic power and effectively serves as a cognitive tool for conveying information (Lakoff 1997; Langacker 1993).

The above idea can be illustrated by looking at the nominal use of the action word 賈 *gǔ* 'trade, exchange, sell, purchase, buy' or 'do business [intr.]', as shown in example (47), where *gǔ* serves as a noun referring to 'trader, tradesman'. The two concepts before and after this V→N semantic type shift (i.e. the concept of any one of the trading activities mentioned and the concept of the human role 'trader, tradesman', both of which are expressed by *gǔ*) are closely related to each other: they are both part of the conceptual domain controlled by our real-world knowledge about the event of trading (containing concrete trading activities, traders, goods, a market or a place where goods are sold and bought, etc.). While using the action word *gǔ* as a noun in the above way, we are actually making use of the metonymic link ACTION FOR AGENT according to Kövecses and Radden (1998, 1999), where the action-denoting semantics serves as a means to refer to the typical Actor of that action. The semantic type shift that *gǔ* undergoes in this sense can therefore be construed as a metonymic mapping, from the concept of any one of the trading activities (vehicle) to the concept of trader or tradesman (target). This mapping is not overtly expressed in the word *gǔ* itself, but is cued by its syntactic position and contextually available information.

Given the above considerations and taking into account a number of typologically salient characteristics of Classical Chinese such as being morphologically poor, lacking obligatory structural markedness distinctions, allowing precategoriality in its lexicon (i.e. coexistence of precategoriality and categoriality), as well as the fact that pragmatic inference played a significant role in this language (as attested, for instance, in argument- or pronoun-dropping), I take the view that the flexible use of an existing word form as a metonymically related, but syntactically distinct item is one of the most economic ways in this language to name a new concept or a newly construed situation in discourse.

In this connection, both the patterns of semantic type shifts of action-denoting lexemes in nominal function (Table 8) and the patterns of semantic type shifts of object-denoting lexemes in verbal function (Table 9) can be construed as involving the following metonymic relationships:

(99) Metonymic relationships involved in the two types of zero-marked se-
      mantic type shifts of flexible lexemes in Classical Chinese

      V→N type of zero-marked semantic type shift:

      ACTION FOR ACTOR
      ACTION FOR UNDERGOER
      ACTION FOR INSTRUMENT
      ACTION FOR OBJECT INVOLVED IN THE ACTION
      ACTION FOR PLACE

      N→V type of zero-marked semantic type shift:

      ACTOR FOR ACTION
      RESULT FOR ACTION
      INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION
      MEANS/MANNER FOR ACTION
      OBJECT INVOLVED IN AN ACTION FOR THE ACTION
      PLACE FOR ACTION

The metonymic relationships listed in (99) for flexible lexemes in Classical Chinese can be compared with those involved in the two types of conversions proposed by Kövecses and Radden (1998, 1999), as listed in (98). It is highly interesting to observe that there are both close parallels and significant divergences between the two systems:

As far as the similarities between them are concerned, the first direct impression is that in both systems, there are four core semantic roles playing a central role within an event domain, namely, ACTOR (or AGENT), INSTRUMENT, RESULT, and OBJECT INVOLVED IN AN ACTION. Moreover, in both systems, the range of metonymic relationships in the N→V type of derivation is relatively wider than that in the V→N type of derivation, though this contrast in the conversion system (98) according to Kövecses and Radden (1998, 1999) is much stronger. For both systems, the most remarkable asymmetry between the two types of processes is the absence of the metonymic relationship ACTION FOR MEANS/MANNER in the V→N type as a counterpart of MEANS/MANNER FOR ACTION in the N→V type.

A significant difference between the two systems pertains to the semantic role of PLACE. In the Classical Chinese system (99), the role of Place serves as a conceptually coherent element and participates in interpreting the semantic relatedness for both of the N→V and V→N types of derivation. In contrast, the role of Place is involved in the N→V type of conversion, but does not apply to the V→N conversion according to Kövecses and Radden (1998, 1999).

4.4 Summary

This chapter discussed the cognitive-semantic foundations underlying both the V→N and the N→V types of derivation of flexible lexemes in Classical Chinese. For both types of derivation, I explored their most fundamental and basic patterns of interpretation, and these patterns were further examined and explained in terms of metonymy. A comparison of the metonymic relationships presented in the patterns of zero-marked semantic type shifts of flexible lexemes in Classical Chinese and those presented in the conversion processes according to Kövecses and Radden (1998, 1999) suggests that there are both close parallels and interesting divergences between them. The close parallels do not seem to be merely co-incidental; rather, they demonstrate and prove that in both systems, metonymy serves as a cognitive foundation in the conceptually triggered linking processes between different semantic and syntactic types. On the other hand, the differences between the two might stem from the fact that they assume different grammatical systems.

In sum, efforts undertaken in this chapter serve two purposes: firstly, they are intended to contribute further to the exploration of the underlying relationship between metonymy and language in general, focusing on how metonymy as a conceptual configuration affects the formation of linguistic configurations; secondly, they are intended to contribute to further understanding of the nature of flexibility of parts of speech. The argument is that metonymic relationships serve as the cognitive-semantic foundation of using flexible lexemes in Classical Chinese.

5 Pragmatics of flexibility in Classical Chinese: The level of argument structure constructions

The previous chapter explored the most fundamental and basic patterns of semantic type shifts of flexible lexemes in terms of metonymy. This chapter shows how the metonymic relationships, as the cognitive-semantic foundation of the derivations of flexible lexemes, interact with a given argument structure construction (which carries its own meaning), and how these are further concretized into multiple pragmatic implicatures. For this purpose, the discussion will focus on the N→V type of derivation of object-denoting lexemes within either an intransitive or a transitive argument structure construction.

The point of departure for this chapter is Bisang's (2008a, 2008b) approach to the verbal function of object words in Late Archaic Chinese. As discussed previously (section 2.2.3.2), Bisang's approach, by combining Goldberg's (1995, 2005) Construction Grammar with stereotypical implicatures (Levinson 2000), shows that the verbal function of an object word in an intransitive or transitive argument structure construction can basically be derived through pragmatic implicatures that depend on the semantic class of objects to which the word concerned belongs and the meaning contributed by the whole construction. This chapter will discuss different semantic classes of object-denoting lexemes in Classical Chinese and show how their concrete meaning in the V-position of a given argument structure construction is derived through two mechanisms, *rule-based* and *metaphorical* ones.

The first section 5.1 discusses the verbal function of object-denoting lexemes derived through the rule-based mechanism, termed as rule-based interpretation. The notion of rule-based interpretation concerns cases in which the verbal interpretation of an object word in an argument structure construction can be derived through pragmatic implicatures based on the grammatical analysis of that construction, i.e. based on the meaning of components of the construction (Bisang 2008a, 2008b). On the other hand, however, there are also cases where the verbal interpretation of given object words cannot simply be achieved in this way. In these cases, the interpretation of an object word in the V-position goes beyond the semantic and conceptual domain of that word (domain of its semantic class), so that a grammatical analysis of the construction does not suffice to derive the meaning of that construction. Rather, in order to get the specific meaning of the word concerned as well as the meaning of the whole argument structure construction, interpretation via metaphors (e.g., Lakoff 1987, 1993; Kövecses 2010) is needed. The question of how to derive the metaphorical interpretation of given

object words in verbal function will be addressed in section 5.2. Section 5.3 discusses the relationship between the rule-based and metaphorically motivated interpretations that an object-denoting lexeme in verbal function may have. More specifically, this section addresses the question of where concepts of metaphor are located and integrated into the N→V derivation of object words. This chapter concludes with a brief summary and discussion presented in section 5.4.

5.1 Rule-based interpretation

This section will discuss the rule-based interpretation of the object-denoting lexemes from all of the major categories presented in (13). As their rule-based interpretation depends on the semantic class of objects to which they belong, these lexemes are divided into the following eleven semantic classes, for a better illustration.

(100)   Eleven semantic classes of object-denoting lexemes
      a.   Lexemes denoting human roles
      b.   Lexemes denoting instruments
      c.   Lexemes denoting places and/or buildings
      d.   Lexemes denoting garments
      e.   Lexemes denoting foodstuff
      f.   Lexemes denoting body parts
      g.   Lexemes denoting animals
      h.   Lexemes denoting natural events or elements
      i.   Lexemes denoting supernatural events or elements
      j.   Lexemes denoting illnesses
      k.   Lexemes denoting laws, rules, regulations, codes of conduct, etc.

In what follows, each of the eleven semantic classes in (100) will be considered with respect to both their overall constructional possibilities in Classical Chinese and their respective interactions with given argument structure constructions. Section 5.1.1 starts by looking at the rule-based interpretation of the semantic class of lexemes denoting human roles.

5.1.1 Lexemes denoting human roles

Many lexemes denoting various human roles (cf. Category I in (13)) can serve as verbs in either intransitive or transitive argument structure constructions in Classical Chinese. This semantic class involves the lexical items denoting political or social functions (e.g., 君 *jūn* 'ruler, king', 伯 *bà* 'chief of vassal states', 官 *guān* 'officer, official'), items denoting family members (e.g., 子 *zǐ* 'child, son', 女 *nǚ* 'daughter', 妻 *qī* 'wife'), as well as many terms for different human functions in everyday life (e.g., 主 *zhǔ* 'host, chief', 僕 *pú* 'servant, cart-driver of a host', 友 *yǒu* 'friend', 賓 *bīn* 'guest', 祖 *zǔ* 'ancestor', 醫 *yī* 'doctor').

The verbal function of the class of lexemes denoting human roles is, in most cases, subject to the metonymic relationships ACTOR FOR ACTION and RESULT FOR ACTION presented in (99). These indicate that the lexemes denoting human roles in verbal function can be used to convey an event schema with either the Actor participant or the resulting effect of the action being referred to by the original object-denoting semantics of the lexeme concerned. Empirical evidence suggests that, by interacting with the most common intransitive or transitive argument structure constructions in Classical Chinese as outlined in Table 5, the ACTION as output of the above two metonymies can be concretized into one of the following rule-based pragmatic implicatures for this semantic class (cf. Bisang 2008b: 29/(8-i) in section 2.2.3.2):

(101) N: human role

  INT: (a) NP$_S$ is/acts as/becomes a (true) N

     (b) NP$_S$ does what one typically does to an N

  TR: (a) NP$_A$ does to NP$_U$ what an N typically does

     (b) NP$_A$ causes NP$_{U[S]}$ to be/become a (true) N

     (c) NP$_A$ considers/treats NP$_{U[S]}$ as a (true) N

The implicatures INT(a) and INT(b) in (101) apply to intransitive argument structure constructions. INT(a) suggests that, when a lexeme denoting a human role (N: human role) is used as an intransitive verb, it can have a human Actor/Doer argument (NP$_S$) who plays or is going to play the role of a (true) N. The notion of a true N refers to a human actor (N) who acts properly or in a socially responsible manner consistent with particular cultural values or ethical principles in the society of classical period. The selection of the different verbs in the implicature, i.e. 'be, act as' or 'become' is rather context-dependent, which can be seen in examples (102) and (103) below:

(102) 晉靈公不**君**。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Xuangong* 2)

    *Jìn   Líng gōng   bù   **jūn**.*

    Jin state   Duke Ling   NEG   ruler:V

    'Duke Ling of Jin did not act properly as a ruler.'

(103) 今王與百姓同樂，則**王**矣。 (*Mengzi*, *Lianghuiwang*)

    jīn wáng yǔ bǎixìng   tóng   lè,

    if   king with common people together happy

    *zé   **wàng**   yǐ.*

    then   king:V   PTCL

    'If a king is happy together with common people [i.e. if a king feels happy just because his people are happy], then (he) becomes a true king.'

Example (102) occurs against the background of naming a number of instances showing that the behaviour of Duke Ling of Jin did not measure up to the standard conduct of a ruler. In this sentence, the lexeme 君 *jūn* 'ruler' serves as an intransitive verb with the meaning 'be or act as a true ruler' or 'act properly as a ruler'. By comparison, in the adverbial clause of example (103), the word 王 *wáng* 'king' as an intransitive verb (which is the second instance of 王 *wáng* in that sentence), pronounced as *wàng*, should be interpreted as 'become a true king'.

    The implicature INT(b) in (101) suggests that the lexeme denoting a human role (N) in verbal function can have a human Actor/Doer argument (NP$_S$) who does what one is normally expected to do to an N. This implicature applies primarily to the subclass of lexemes denoting political or social functions. These functions are typically associated with particular social and ethical responsibility, as regards both what and how they should normally do and what one should normally do to them. This can be illustrated with example (104) below, in which the aforementioned lexeme 王 *wáng* 'king' serves again as an intransitive verb pronounced as *wàng*, but this time it has the meaning 'pay homage to the king'. The action of paying homage is exactly what Duke Shang of Song (NP$_S$) was expected to do to the king in the situation as described in the context, though he did not.

(104) 宋公不**王**。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Yingong* 9)

    *Sòng gōng   bù   **wàng**.*

    Duke Shang of Song   NEG   king:V

    'Duke Shang of Song did not go to pay homage to the king.'

In the implicatures applied to transitive argument structure constructions, i.e. TR(a), TR(b) and TR(c) in (101), either the Actor (NP$_A$) or the Undergoer (NP$_U$) of a given construction is required to play the role of a (true) N.

As for TR(a), NP$_A$ plays the role of N (i.e. NP$_A$ =N) and does to NP$_U$ what an N is normally expected to do. This implicature can be illustrated with example (72) discussed, in which the verbal meaning of 伯 *bà* 'chief of vassal states', i.e. 'dominate, rule' designates exactly what a chief of vassal states typically does to his vassal states. In contrast, the implicature TR(b) requires NP$_U$ to play the role of N (i.e. NP$_U$ =N) or, more specifically, NP$_A$ did something that makes NP$_U$ an N (here N represents the result or resulting effect of that action). This implicature can be illustrated with example (74) discussed, where the lexeme 臣 *chén* 'subordinate, man slave, or minister (under the king)' functions as a transitive verb designating the action 'dominate' (i.e. 'cause someone to be/become one's subordinate'). The resulting effect of this action, i.e. 'subordinate' is referred to by the original object-denoting semantics of *chén*.

The contrast between the two implicatures TR(a) and TR(b) for Classical Chinese is comparable to that of two types of English denominal verbs discussed by Clark and Clark (1979: 773–774): AGENT verbs and GOAL verbs. With AGENT verbs, the parent noun has the agentive role, while for GOAL verbs the parent noun has the goal role. One of Clark and Clark's (1979) examples of AGENT verbs is *butcher*: the paraphrase of the sentence *John butchered the cow* is *John did to the cow that act that one would normally expect [a butcher to do to a cow]*, where the *butcher* is an agent in the parent clause in square brackets. The GOAL verbs can be illustrated with *powder*: the paraphrase of the sentence *Edward powdered the aspirin* is *Edward did something to cause it to come about that [the aspirin was powder]*, in which the *powder* comes to exist because of Edward's action, and thus *powder* is in the goal case.

Although both of the implicatures TR(b) and TR(c) in (101) are subject to the metonymic relationship RESULT FOR ACTION, they apply to different argument structure constructions. As a matter of fact, the differentiation between TR(b) and TR(c) is closely related to two traditional Chinese terms developed for distinguishing between two types of verbal usages, i.e. *shǐdòng* 'causative verb usage' (使動), in the sense of using something nonverbal as a causative verb, and *yìdòng* 'conative verb usage' (意動), in the sense of using something as a conative verb such as *consider as*, *take as*, or *feel like* (cf. e.g., Shi 1998). Generally speaking, the causative interpretation in TR(b) is interrelated with the factual reading, while the conative interpretation in TR(c) can normally be transformed into an attitudinal one. For instance, the differentiation between causative TR(b) and conative TR(c) becomes necessary when we compare the interpretation of 臣 *chén*

in (74) to the verbal function of 君 *jūn* 'ruler' in (105) below. Obviously, in (74), the causative interpretation of *chén* is impossible to be replaced by a conative one, because the context indicates that the four states (Han, Wei, Zhao, and Chu) were in fear of being swallowed by the expanding Qin. Thus, it would not make sense for them to be afraid that Qin was just going to *consider* their rulers as his subordinates or *feel like* so, while not necessarily making it a reality. By contrast, in (105) a causative interpretation of *jūn* would not be acceptable. Otherwise, it would result in a semantic or pragmatic violation of this sentence, since practically a servant would never say that he dares or does not dare to *cause* someone who is in fact his ruler to be a ruler.

(105) 臣故不敢不**君**。 (*Guoyu*, *Jinyu*)

    chén   *gù*   *bù*   *gǎn*   *bù*   ***jūn***.

    I.MODEST(a subordinate) thus   NEG   dare   NEG   ruler:V

    '(Xinyu said:) "Thus I don't dare not to treat (Luanshi) as my ruler."'
    [Context: Xinyu was a servant of Luanshi. As Luanshi fled his homeland, the Jin state, the government of Jin placed an exclusion order on Luanshi's servants, banning them from following Luanshi, but Xinyu did it anyway. He expressed his reason for this as stated above.]

In general, the pragmatic implicatures listed in (101) largely apply to the verbal function of the semantic class of lexemes denoting human roles in Classical Chinese. However, there are also a few exceptions. These primarily include some of the verbal meanings of the lexemes 女 *nǚ*, 妻 *qī* and 室 *shì*, which are based on the metonymic relationship OBJECT INVOLVED IN AN ACTION FOR THE ACTION in (99).

    First, consider the lexeme 女 *nǚ*. It has two referential meanings: 'maid' and 'daughter'. The verbal interpretations of *nǚ* 'to be or act as a maid [intr.]' and 'serve as a maid to someone [tr.]' (both of which are derived from the meaning 'maid') conform to the principles INT(a) and TR(a) in (101), respectively. However, the other verbal function of *nǚ* attested, i.e. 'marry off one's daughter [intr.]', as illustrated in (106), does not conform to any of the rule-based implicatures discussed, which is derived from its referential meaning 'daughter'.

(106) 宋雍氏**女**於鄭莊公 。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Huangong* 11)

    Sòng   *Yōngshì*   ***nǚ***   *yú*   *Zhèng*   *Zhuāng gōng*

    Song state   Yongshi   daughter:V   PREP   Zheng state   Duke Zhuang

    'Yongshi from the Song state married off his daughter to Duke Zhuang of Zheng.'

The lexeme 妻 *qī* 'wife' may also function as a verb, pronounced as *qì*. In most cases, the verbal *qì* behaves like a transitive counterpart of the abovementioned intransitive *nǚ* in (106), i.e. with the meaning 'marry off one's daughter to someone [tr.]' or 'cause someone to marry (by marrying off one's daughter to him) [tr.]' (e.g., in *Zuozhuan*, chapter *Xigong* 24: 文公妻趙衰 *Wén gōng qì Zhào Shuāi* [Duke Wen–wife:V–Zhao Shuai] 'Duke Wen married off his daughter to Zhao Shuai'). Similarly, this verbal interpretation of *qì* does not conform to any of the implicatures discussed for this semantic class. In addition to this usage, only rarely can *qì* as a transitive verb be interpreted as 'make someone one's wife' or 'marry someone' according to the causative implicature TR(b) in (101). In the present study, the only instance of *qì* with this interpretation comes from *Mengzi* (chapter *Wanzhang*): 妻帝之二女 *qì dì zhī èr nǚ* [wife:V–emperor–GEN–two–daughters] '(Shun) married the two daughters of the emperor.'

The verbal function of the lexeme 室 *shì* 'wife' can also be interpreted in various ways. Besides the meaning 'make someone one's wife, marry someone' according to TR(b) in (101), *shì* can sometimes serve as an intransitive verb meaning 'have a wife' or 'get married' (e.g., in *Zuozhuan*, chapter *Zhaogong* 19: 建可室矣 *Jiàn kě shì yǐ* [Jian–can–wife:V–PTCL] 'It is time for Jian to have a wife') or as a causative verb meaning 'cause someone to have a wife' (e.g., in *Guoyu*, chapter *Luyu*: 文伯之母欲室文伯 *Wénbó zhī mǔ yù shì Wénbó* [Wenbo–GEN–mother–want to–wife:V–Wenbo] 'Wenbo's mother wanted Wenbo to have a wife').

Zhang (2005: 189–191) suggests treating the three lexemes discussed (i.e. 女 *nǚ*, 妻 *qī* and 室 *shì*) as special instrument words, since in their respective event schemata (conveyed by their verb functions), their original object-denoting semantics plays the role of an instrument, with which the action 'marry' or 'cause to marry' is realized.

5.1.2 Lexemes denoting instruments

The notion 'instrument' is meant as a cover term for what is variously designated as a tool, implement, utensil, or apparatus. Needless to say, the category of instruments contains both prototypical and non-prototypical members. The class of instrument words in Classical Chinese includes, for example, 鞭 *biān* '(leather-thronged) whip', 策 *cè* 'whip', 麾 *huī* 'standard of a commander', 觴 *shāng* 'drinking vessels', 椎 *chuí* 'mallet, wooden hammer', 席 *xí* 'mat', 幕 *mù* 'covering cloth', 鏡 *jìng* 'mirror, looking glass', 帷 *wéi* 'curtain', 鉤 *gōu* 'hook', 羅 *luó* 'nets (for catching birds)', 壺 *hú* 'bottle, kettle, container (for liquid)', 簞 *dān* 'bamboo basket, bamboo utensil (for holding food)' and so on (cf. Category II in (13)).

The verbal interpretation of instruments words in Classical Chinese is subject to several metonymic relationships including INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION, MEANS/MANNER FOR ACTION, RESULT FOR ACTION, as well as OBJECT IN-VOLVED IN AN ACTION FOR THE ACTION presented in (99). Empirical evidence suggests that, by interacting with the most common intransitive or transitive argument structure constructions in Classical Chinese, as outlined in Table 5, the above metonymies for this semantic class can be concretized into either rule-based or metaphorically motivated pragmatic implicatures. The rule-based interpretation of this semantic class (N: instrument) generally follows the implicatures in (107) below (cf. Bisang 2008b: 35–36/(8-ii) in section 2.2.3.2). Their metaphorical interpretations will be discussed in section 5.2.3.1.3.

(107) N: instrument
    INT: (a) NP$_S$ does what one typically does using N
         (b) One uses N / N is used (in the way it is typically used)
    TR: (a) NP$_A$ does to NP$_U$ what one typically does using N
         (b) NP$_A$ uses NP$_U$ as N
         (c) NP$_A$ causes NP$_U$ to have N somewhere
            (for the purpose of what N is typically used for)

The implicature INT(a) in (107) can be illustrated by the verbal interpretation of 麾 *huī* 'standard of a commander' in (108) below:

(108) 瑕叔盈又以蝥弧登，周麾而呼曰：“君登矣！”(*Zuozhuan, Yingong* 11)
    Xiáshūyíng   yòu   yǐ   Áohú   dēng,
    Xiashuying   also   take/with   standard by the name of Aohu   climb up
    zhōu   huī   ér   hū   yuē:
    in all directions   standard of a commander:V   CONJ   shout   say
    jūn   dēng   yǐ.
    ruler   climb up   PCTL.PFV
    'Xiashuying, also taking the standard by the name of Aohu, climbed up (the city gate tower), (he) waved the standard in all directions and shouted: "The ruler has climbed up!"'

In (108), the word 麾 *huī* takes a verbal position, preceded by a human Actor argument (NP$_S$), i.e. 瑕叔盈 'Xiashuying' (placed at the beginning of the sentence). As described by the whole sentence, Xiashuying carried out a series of actions, which are conveyed, in turn, by the verbal expressions 以 *yǐ* 'take', 登 *dēng* 'climb up', 麾 *huī* 'wave the standard (for commanding, signalling or giving orders)' and

呼 *hū* 'shout', respectively. The verbal meaning of *huī* in this sentence denotes what Xiashuying as a commander typically did using his standard, conforming to the implicature INT(a).

Compared to INT(a), the implicature INT(b) in (107) applies to the intransitive constructions that are not provided with an overtly expressed or specified Actor/Doer argument (NP_S). Nevertheless, the instrument word in the construction should be analysed as a predicate, and it expresses a verbal meaning with respect to the typical function of the instrument concerned (in the translation, the construction usually requires a generic pronoun such as 'one' or 'they' in the subject function, or alternatively, it can be analysed as a passive construction meaning 'the instrument is used'). The implicature INT(b) can be illustrated with example (109) below, in which the word 權 *quán* 'scale' functions as an intransitive verb with the meaning 'weigh with a scale, to scale'.

(109) **權，然後知輕重。度，然後知長短。** (*Mengzi, Lianghuiwang*)
    quán,   *ránhòu*   *zhī*   *qīng-zhòng;*
    scale:V   and then   know   light-heavy (i.e. weight)
    duó,   *ránhòu*   *zhī*   *cháng-duǎn.*
    measure   and then   know   long-short (i.e. length)
    '(One) scales and then knows the weight. (One) measures and then knows the length.'

In the example above, the verbal use of 權 *quán* as well as its interpretation is parallel to the verbal 度 *duó* 'measure' at the beginning of the next clause. As a matter of fact, this passage employs the figure of speech of parallelism, with matching words of the same word-class specification occurring in respective positions of different clauses in parallel, such as *quán* [V] in parallel with *duó* [V], *qīng-zhòng* 'light-heavy (i.e. weight)' in parallel with *cháng-duǎn* 'long-short (i.e. length)'.

The implicature TR(a) in (107) is used most frequently for interpreting the rule-based verbal function of instruments words, where the Undergoer argument (NP_U) can be either an inanimate object or an animate being. With an inanimate NP_U, this implicature can simply be converted into "the Actor (NP_A) uses the instrument (N) for the object (NP_U)", in which the instrument N and the argument NP_U typically have an isotopy relation, for example, use a food bowl to hold food, use a box to hold or store something, or put water into a water bottle. This can be seen in the example in (110), with 簞 *dān* 'bamboo basket, bamboo utensil (for holding food)' and 壺 *hú* 'bottle, kettle, container (for liquid)' being predicatively interpreted as 'put food into bamboo baskets' or 'hold/take food with bamboo

baskets' and 'put dirnks into bottles, hold/take drinks in bottles', respectively, in the lase clause. The verbal use of the two instrument words *dān* and *hú* is found in *Mengzi*, where *dān* occurs eight times in total and is used as a verb for three times and as a noun or a numeral classifier for five times (e.g. 一簞食 *yī dān shí* 'a bamboo basket of rice'), and *hú* occurs three times and all serves as a verb (for its occurrence as a noun or a classifier, see example (126) from *Zhanguo Ce*).

(110) 今燕虐其民，王往而徵之，民以為將拯己於水火之中也，**簞**食**壺**漿以
迎王師。 (*Mengzi, Lianghuiwang*)

jīn	Yān	*nüè*	*qí*	*mín,*	*wáng*	*wǎng*	*ér*
now	Yan state	abuse	PRON	people	king	come to	CONJ

zhēng	*zhī,*	*mín*	*yǐwéi*	*jiāng*	*zhěng*	*jǐ*	*yú*
conquer	PRON,	people	consider	will	rescue	themselves	LOC

shuǐ huǒ zhī zhōng	*yě,*	***dān***	*shí*	***hú***	*jiāng*
in the flood and fire	PTCL	basket:V	food	bottle:V	drinks

yǐ	*yíng*	*wáng*	*shī.*
CONJ/in order to	greet	king	troops

'Now the Yan state treats their people cruelly, Your Majesty, (you) come and conquer Yan. The people (of Yan) consider that (you) will rescue them from the flood and fire [i.e. the suffering], (so they are) holding food with bamboo baskets and drinks in bottles to welcome you and your troops.'

With an animate NP$_U$, the implicature TR(a) in (107) can be seen in example (78) previously discussed in section 4.2.3, where the word 鞭 *biān* '(leather-thronged) whip' serves as a transitive verb meaning 'beat with a whip'. In that example, the Actor 'Duke Zhuang of Qi' did to the Undergoer 'Jiaju' what one typically does using *biān* 'whip' (a whip is identified as an instrument used for whipping). Similarly, the sentence in (111) below can also serve as an example illustrating the implicature TR(a).

(111) 將軍戰勝，王觴將軍。 (*Zhanguo Ce, Qin Ce*)

Jiāngjūn	*zhàn shèng,*	*wáng*	***shāng***	*jiāngjūn.*
General	triumph	king	drinking vessels:V	general

'General (you) triumphed, the king gave (you) a toast.'

The instrument word 觴 *shāng* 'drinking vessels' functions as a transitive verb with the meaning 'toast with a drinking vessel' in (111). As described by this sentence, the Actor 'the king' did to the Undergoer 'a general' what one typically

does using *shāng* 'drinking vessels', by means of which the action of toasting is realized.

The implicature TR(b) in (107) can be illustrated with example (81) discussed in section 4.2.3, in which the lexeme 枕 *zhěn* 'pillow' serves as a transitive verb meaning 'use something as a pillow'. In a similar fashion, the verbal function of 戟 *jǐ* 'halberd' in (76) discussed in section 4.2.2 can be interpreted according to this implicature too, insofar as the verbal interpretation of *jǐ* 'make (one's hand) in the form of a halberd' can be paraphrased as 'use (one's hand) as a halberd'. In fact, as described by that sentence, Duke Chu made his hand in the form of a halberd, as a gesture of cutting one's feet by a halberd.

The implicature TR(c) in (107) can be illustrated with the other verbal interpretation of the aforementioned lexeme 枕 *zhěn* 'pillow' in transitive constructions, i.e. 'cause to have a pillow (for the purpose of what a pillow is typically used for)', or in second interpretation, 'provide with something in the function of a pillow', as illustrated in (112) below.

(112) 王寐, 疇**枕**王以璞。 (*Guoyu*, *Wuyu*)

    *wáng mèi,   Chóu **zhěn**   wáng yǐ   pú.*

    king fall asleep Chou pillow:V king by means of soil clod

    'The king fell asleep; Chou put the king's head on a soil clod'.

Similarly, TR(c) also applies to the verbal function of 刃 *rèn* '(sharp) blade', when it means 'cause to have a (sharp) blade', in second interpretation, 'provide or equip with a (sharp) blade', as in 刃其捍 *rèn qí hàn* [(sharp) blade:V–PRON– sleeves] '(He) equipped (his) sleeves with (sharp) blades' (*Zhanguo Ce*, chapter *Zhao Ce*). Notice that the more frequently occurring verbal interpretation of *rèn* is the transitive 'kill with a (sharp) blade', following the implicature TR(a) in (107).

As a matter of fact, in the two examples discussed above for TR(c), the objects 'pillow' (referred to by *zhěn*) and '(sharp) blade' (referred to by *rèn*) do not appear primarily as instruments in their respective verbal interpretations 'cause to have a pillow' and 'cause to have a (sharp) blade'. Rather, they work by virtue of their first being placed, as their verbal function can first be paraphrased as 'NP$_A$ did something to cause it to come about that NP$_U$ has N somewhere' (in the second meaning, the purpose of what N is typically used for is intended to be fulfilled). In this sense, these instrument words in verbal function are comparable to the LOCATUM verbs as defined by Clark and Clark (1979: 769), whose parent noun (N) is put in the objective case of a clause which describes the location of one thing with respect to another.

Clark and Clark (1979) point out that English INSTRUMENT verbs can sometimes resemble the LOCATUM verbs, since "some instrument verbs appear to work BY VIRTUE OF their being locata or locations" (Clark and Clark 1979: 779). One of their examples is the verb *leash* (the dog). As a locatum verb, *leash* means 'put a leash on the dog', in other words, 'cause the dog to be retained by putting a leash on the dog'. In the latter interpretation, *leash* is an instrument verb, but one that works by virtue of its first being a locatum verb. Zádrapa (2011: 163–164) observes that the same holds true for Classical Chinese, especially when the effect of the instrument is intrinsically associated with a specific change of spatial relations. Consider, for instance, the dyestuff terms such as 墨 *mò* 'ink, black dyestuff' (→ 'cause something to become black by means of ink/black dyestuff', 'dye something black') or 丹 *dān* 'cinnabar' (→ 'dye something red by means of cinnabar). Zádrapa points out that in their respective verbal interpretations, though the dyestuff only plays an intrinsic role in the resultant state, it is a kind of instrumental stuff with which things are dyed. The same applies to some stuff terms that work in a similar way to the dyestuff, with an unspecified locata or locations for the derived action, for example, 毒 *dú* 'poison' (→ 'put poison in, to poison'). As the underlying reason for the blur boundaries between instrument verbs and locatum verbs, Zádrapa (2011: 163) claims, "the point is that the categories are actually not exclusive: various categorizations are relevant on different levels of conceptual organization." The logic of this claim is something I fully agree with: that categorization is a thing that sometimes depends on the context and the construction, as well as on the perspective we take. Regarding the relation between a parent object (N) and a derived action (V), we can either take the perspective of viewing the parent object as an instrument with which the action is typically carried out, or alternatively, we pay more attention to the placement of the object and thus that action is realized. In this way, one and the same verbal meaning of an instrument word allows it to be classified as either an INSTRUMENT or a LOCATUM verb. The multiple construing possibilities of a certain semantic class manifest itself on the level of argument structure constructions.

5.1.3 Lexemes denoting places and/or buildings

The group of lexemes denoting places includes, firstly, the terms of various habitats such as 館 *guǎn* 'guesthouse, inn, accommodation for guests', 舍 *shè* 'tent, inn, house, hut', 廬 *lú* 'hut, cottage', 巢 *cháo* 'nest', 城 *chéng* 'city wall, capital city', 國 *guó* 'country'; secondly, the terms for storage places like 倉 *cāng* 'granary, barn', 廩 *lǐn* 'store house for rice, granary'; thirdly, the terms of venues for

special events or activities such as 社 *shè* 'site of sacrificing to the God of the land', 祖 *zǔ* 'ancestral temple', or 市 *shì* 'market'. A similar conception of place is 'building'. The notion of building may refer to any construction or structure intended for serving some needs of human beings or society. On the one hand, a building (a building product) represents a certain shape or form associated with some functions and properties, while on the other hand, a building may designate a place, a location or an environment, in which some human or animal activities take place, and geographically this place is separated from the place outside. In this sense, it is not always easy to make a clear-cut distinction between a building and a place. The present subsection therefore considers them together.

In Classical Chinese, the verbal interpretations of the lexemes denoting places and/or buildings basically fall into two types: First, they are used for designating the human or animal activities which typically take place in one such place or building (referred to by the lexeme concerned); second, they are used for designating the human or animal activities which bring one such place or building (referred to by the lexeme concerned) as a building product into being. The former type of verbal interpretation is subject to the metonymic relationship PLACE FOR ACTION presented in (100). The latter type of verbal interpretation is subject to the metonymic relationship OBJECT INVOLVED IN AN ACTION FOR ACTION in (100). Empirical evidence suggests that, by interacting with the most common intransitive or transitive argument structure constructions in Classical Chinese (Table 5), the ACTION as output of the above two metonymies for this semantic class (N: place/building) can be concretized into the following rule-based implicatures (cf. Bisang 2008b: 40/(8-iv) in section 2.2.3.2):

(113) N: place/building
        INT: (a) NP_S does what one typically does in N
                (b) NP_S causes N to come into being: to build/make N
        TR: (a) NP_A applies the action that one typically does in N onto NP_U
                (b) NP_A applies the action of building/making N onto NP_U

The implicature INT(a) in (113) can be illustrated with any one of the examples (90), (91) and (92a) discussed previously, with 館 *guǎn* 'guesthouse, accommodation for guests' (→ 'lodge (in a guesthouse)), 社 *shè* 'the site of sacrificing to the God of the land' (→ 'sacrifice to the God of the land') and 市 *shì* 'market' (→ 'do business') in the V-position of intransitive argument structure constructions, respectively. For instance, in (90) *guǎn* serves as an intransitive verb designating what a guest typically does in a guesthouse, i.e. 'lodge (in a guesthouse)'.

The lexeme 館 *guǎn* can also occur in transitive argument structure constructions. As a transitive verb, *guǎn* is usually used for conveying an event schema in which the Actor applies the action 'lodge' to an Undergoer, while it becomes no longer important as to whether the Undergoer is lodged in a guesthouse or not. This can be seen in (114), in which the emperor (NP$_A$) let his son-in-law (NP$_U$) lodge in a deputy house of the palace. Here the interpretation of *guǎn* as a transitive verb conforms to the implicature TR(a) in (113) above.

(114) 帝**館**甥於貳室。 (*Mengzi, Wanzhang*)
       dì   **guǎn**   *shēng*   *yú*
       emperor guesthouse:V son-in-law LOC
       èrshì.
       deputy house of a palace
       'The emperor let (his) son-in-law lodge in a deputy house of the palace.'

The word 舍 *shè* is usually used to refer to a place or building that functions like an inn, where passing travelers can stop over to sleep, keep draft animals, or locate things. Similar to *guǎn*, when *shè* serves as a transitive verb, it normally follows the implicature TR(a) in (113), denoting the action like 'to place' or 'cause to be placed'. Unlike *guǎn*, *shè* may have either a human Undergoer or a non-human Undergoer, as illustrated in (115a) and (115b) respectively:

(115) a.   公曰: "**舍**而母！" (*Zuozhuan*, *Xianggong* 25)
           Gōng   *yuē:* **shè**   *ér*   *mǔ.*
           Duke Ai say   house:V 2nd.PRON mother
           'Duke Ai said: "Place your mother (in the right place)!"'

     b.   乃多**舍**甲焉。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Dinggong* 10)
           nǎi   *duō*   **shè**   *jiǎ*   *yān.*
           hence   more   house:V leather armour there/PTCL
           'Hence (they) placed more leather armour there (inside the gates).'

In the above examples illustrating INT(a) and TR(a), the lexeme denoting a place or building is used as a verb for designating an action that typically takes place in one such place or building denoted by that lexeme. By contrast, the implicatures INT(b) and TR(b) in (113) apply to the cases where the place or building (referred to by a given lexeme of this class) is regarded as a building product.

First, the implicature INT(b) can be illustrated with example (84), in which the lexeme 城 *chéng* 'city wall, capital city' serves as an intransitive verb meaning 'build city walls'. Besides *chéng*, there are a considerable number of lexemes denoting places and/or buildings in Classical Chinese, which can be interpreted in this way, for example, 垣 *yuán* 'wall' (→ 'build walls'), 溝 *gōu* 'ditch' (→ 'make a ditch, to ditch'), 塹 *qiàn* 'moat' (→ 'build a moat, to moat') (cf. the lexemes mentioned in section 4.2.4 of chapter 4).

In particular, the lexeme 城 *chéng* 'city wall, capital city' appears very often in the classical text *Zuozhuan*, where its verbal function 'build a capital city' was even defined as a term, as can be seen in the following quotation:

> 凡邑有宗廟先君之主曰都，無曰邑。邑曰築，都曰城。
>
> 《左傳》章：莊公二十八年

> As far as cities are concerned, the cities that have ancestral temples and tablets of deceased emperors are capital cities by the name of *dū* (都), while cities without ancestral temples or tablets of deceased emperors are called *yì* (邑). The construction of a *yì* is called *zhù* (築), while the construction of a *dū* is called *chéng* (城).
>
> (*Zuozhuan*, *Zhuanggong* 28)

Similar to many lexemes of this semantic class, 城 *chéng* cannot only be used as an intransitive verb meaning 'build city walls' or 'build a capital city', as illustrated in (84) according to the implicature INT(b), but it can also serve as a transitive verb according to the applicative TR(b) in (113), as shown in (116):

(116) a. 夏，士蔿**城**絳，以深其宮。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Zhuanggong* 26)

xià,   *Shìwěi*   ***chéng***   *Jiàng,*   *yǐ*
summer   Shiwei   capital city:V   Jiang (Capital city)   CONJ

shēn   *qí*   *gōng.*
cause to be deeper   PRON   palace built with enclosure walls

'During the summer, Shiwei built Jiang further and deepened the palace [i.e. by building or heightening the palace walls, as though the palace became deeper in a figurative sense].'

b. 諸侯**城**衛楚丘之郛，懼狄難也。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Xigong* 12)

zhūhóu   ***chéng***   *Wèi*   *Chǔqiū*   *zhī*
vassal   capital city:V   Wei state   Chuqiu (Capital city)   GEN

fú,   *jù*   *Dí*   *nàn*   *yě.*
outer city   fear   Di (a tribe from North China)   disaster   PTCL

'The vassals built the outer city of Chuqiu, the capital of Wei, for fear of the disaster caused by Di's attack.'

Both of the examples in (116) are form *Zuozhuan*. At a first glance, one may wonder whether the implicature TR(b) in (113) can be paraphrased simply as 'NP$_A$ builds/makes NP$_U$'. In many cases, the answer is positive. However, the current, applicative implicature seems to be more widely applicable. This can be seen by comparing the two examples in (116) above. In (116a) the VP 城绛 *chéng jiàng* should be interpreted as meaning 'build further Jiang', but neither 'build a capital city over the area named Jiang (which could be a village, a district or something else)' nor 'build Jiang into a capital city'. That is, *chéng* as a transitive verb in this sentence has the concrete meaning 'build further (a capital city)'. The reason for this can be traced back to the fact that Jiang (绛 *jiàng*) was already a capital city by the time mentioned (which is supported by the meaning of the rest part of that sentence). By comparison, in (116b) *chéng* as a transitive verb can be interpreted as 'build something (of a capital city)', with the NP *Wèi Chǔqiū zhī fú* 'the outer city of the capital Chuqiu of the Wei state' as the object. The comparison of the two examples indicates that the same word *chéng* can be used for either of the concepts 'build further' and 'build', even when its verbal function 'build a capital city' was established as a term. Of particular importance is the extra-linguistic context that plays a role in differentiating the concrete meanings.

5.1.4 Lexemes denoting garments

The verbal function of the lexemes denoting garments is generally subject to the metonymic relationships OBJECT INVOLVED IN AN ACTION FOR THE ACTION and MEANS/MANNER FOR ACTION presented in (100). Empirical evidence suggests that, by interacting with the most common intransitive or transitive argument structure constructions in Classical Chinese (Table 5), the above metonymies for this semantic class (N: garment) can further be concretized into the following rule-based implicatures:

(117) N: garment
   INT: NP$_S$ wears N
   TR: (a) NP$_A$ wears NP$_U$ as N
      (b) NP$_A$ causes NP$_U$ to wear N

Both INT and TR(a) in (117) can be illustrated with example (118), in which the word 冠 *guān* 'hat' appears four times as a verb, pronounced as *guàn* (the third instance could be analysed as a noun). The former two instances of *guàn* serve as intransitive verbs meaning 'wear a hat', conforming to the implicature INT. The

latter two instances function as transitive verbs meaning 'wear (something) as a hat', conforming to TR(a).

(118) 許子**冠**乎？曰："**冠**。"曰："奚**冠**？"曰："**冠**素。"
       (*Mengzi, Tengwengong*)

Xŭzĭ	***guàn***	*hu?*		*yuē:*	***guàn***.	
Xuzi	hat:V	Q		say	hat:V	

yuē:	*xī*	***guàn*** /*guān?*		*yuē:*	***guàn***	*sù.*
say	Q.what	hat:V /hat		say	hat:V	white silk

'(Mencius asked:) "Does Xuzi wear a hat?" (Chen Xiang) replied: "(He) wears a hat." (Mencius asked:) "What hat does he wear?" (Chen Xiang) replied: "(He) wears a hat made of white silk."'

In addition to their physical functions, garments of different types can also serve to imply particular social and cultural considerations, for example, different norms about hats reflect standards of social status in ancient society. The above-mentioned 冠 *guān* is often used as a general term for hats, while 弁 *biàn* usually refers to the hats worn by officials, and 冕 *miǎn* refers particularly to the crown worn on a king's head or the hats worn by higher officials on formal occasions or in ceremony. These differences are also manifested when the hat-denoting words serve as verbs. For instance, compared to the use of 冠 *guàn* in (118) above, where it denotes the activity of wearing a hat carried out by an ordinary person (i.e. Xuzi), in (119) below, 弁 *biàn* and 冕 *miǎn* serve as verbs in a serial verb construction, denoting the action 'wear a hat' performed by two nobles, i.e. by Duke Ding of Liu and the leader of the royal family Zhao. In the serial verb construction concerned, 端委 *duān wěi* 'formal clothes, dress worn on formal occasions' also function as a verb meaning 'wear fomal clothes'.

(119) 吾與子**弁冕**端委，以治民臨諸侯。 (*Zuozhuan, Zhaogong* 1)

wú	*yú*	*zĭ*	***biàn***	***miǎn***	*duān wěi,*
I	and	2nd.PRON.HON	hat:V	hat:V	formal clothes:V

yĭ	*zhì*	*mín*	*lín*	*zhūhóu.*
CONJ	govern	common people	administer	vassal (states)

'(Duke Ding of Liu said to the leader of the royal family Zhao:) "We wear crowns and formal clothes so as to govern the country and administer (our) vassal states."'

In (120) the lexeme 服 *fú* 'clothes, clothing, garment' occurs twice. The first instance of *fú* serves as a transitive verb, and the VO construction 服堯之服 *fú Yáo*

zhī fú [clothes:V–Yao–GEN–clothes] yields the meaning of '(you) wear what Yao wore (as clothes)'. This verbal interpretation of *fú* also conforms to the implicature TR(a) in (117). This example again illustrates the figure of speech of parallelism, with the verbal use of *fú* parallelling the verbal 誦 *sòng* 'repeat' and the verbal 行 *xíng* 'do, act' at the beginning of the next two clauses, respectively.

(120) 子**服**堯之服，誦堯之言，行堯之行。 (*Mengzi, Gaozi*)

    zǐ   ***fú***   *Yáo zhī fú,*   *sòng   Yáo   zhī*
    2nd.PRON.HON   clothes:V   Yao   GEN   clothes   repeat   Yao   GEN
    yán,   *xíng   Yáo   zhī   xíng*
    words   do   Yao   GEN   do:N
    'You wear what Yao wore, repeat what Yao said, and do what Yao did.'

The causative implicature TR(b) in (117) can be illustrated with example (121), in which the verbal function of 介 *jiè* 'armour' can be interpreted as 'cause to wear an armour'. As the context indicates, Jishi dressed his game-cock in an armour.

(121) 季、 郈之雞鬥。季氏**介**其雞，郈氏為之金距。
    (*Zuozhuan, Zhaogong* 25)

    Jì   Hòu   zhī   jī-dòu.   *Jìshì   **jiè**   qí   jī,*
    Jishi   Houshi   AUX   play a cockfight   Jishi   armour:V   PRON   cock
    Hòushì   wèi   zhī   jīnjù.
    Houshi   make/for   PRON   (equip with) metal paws
    'Jishi and Houshi played a cockfight. Jishi dressed his game-cock in an armour, (while) Houshi equipped his cock with metal paws.'

Occasionally, some garment words in the V-position can be used for metaphorical conceptualization. Examples are given in section 5.2.3.1.5.

5.1.5 Lexemes denoting foodstuff

The verbal function of the lexemes denoting foodstuff is in most cases subject to the metonymic relationships OBJECT INVOLVED IN AN ACTION FOR THE ACTION and RESULT FOR ACTION presented in (99). Empirical evidence suggests that, by interacting with the most common intransitive or transitive argument structure constructions in Classical Chinese (Table 5), the ACTION as output of the above metonymies for this semantic class (N: foodstuff) can be concretized

into the following rule-based implicatures in (122). The metaphorically motivated interpretation of some foodstuff terms will be discussed in section 5.2.3.1.5.

(122) N: foodstuff
      INT: NP_S eats/drinks N
      TR: (a) NP_A eats/drinks NP_U
           (b) NP_A causes NP_U to eat/drink N: to feed NP_U
           (c) NP_A causes NP_U to be N: to make NP_U into N

The implicature INT in (122) above can be exemplified by the interpretation of 穀 *gǔ* 'grain, corn, cereal' in (83) discussed previously in section 4.2.4, where *gǔ* as a verb means 'eat grains'. In a like manner, both the verbal function of 食 *shí* 'food, meal, grains, (cooked) rice' in (123) and that of 酒 *jiǔ* 'alcohol, wine, alcoholic drink' in (124) below conform to this INT, which can be interpreted as 'eat' (123) and 'drink alcohol' (124), respectively.

(123) 王呼之曰：＂餘不**食**三日矣＂ 。 (*Guoyu, Wuyu*)
      *wáng hū   zhī   yuē: "yú bù   **shí**   sān rì   yǐ."*
      king   shout PRON say   I   NEG food:V   three day   PTCL.PFV
      'King Ling of Chu shouted to him: "I have not eaten for three days."'

(124) 燕王喜使栗腹以百金為趙孝成王壽，**酒**三日。 (*Zhanguo Ce, Yan Ce*)
      Yān wáng Xǐ   shǐ   Lìfù   yǐ   bǎi jīn   wèi Zhào
      King Xi of Yan send Lifu   take/with hundred Jin of gold for   Zhao
      *Xiàochéng wáng shòu,   **jiǔ**   sānrì.*
      King Xiaocheng   offer birthday congratulations alcohol:V three days
      'King Xi of the Yan state sent Lifu with 50 kilograms of gold to celebrate the birthday of King Xiaocheng of the Zhao state. (They) drank alcohol for three days.'

The three transitive implicatures in (122), i.e. TR(a), TR(b) and TR(c) differ each other and can be divided into two main groups. While the interpretations in TR(a) and TR(b) still fall into the functional domain of foodstuffs (i.e. for eating or drinking), TR(c) suggests that a lexeme denoting foodstuff can serve as a transitive verb designating the human activities that take this foodstuff as a man-made product and apply its manufacturing process to someone or something else, and as a result, the undergoer is made into that foodstuff.

The implicature TR(a) in (122) can be illustrated with the verbal function of the abovementioned 食 *shí* 'food, meal, grains, (cooked) rice' in a transitive construction. Compared to its intransitive usage in (123), it serves as a transitive verb in (125), taking the referential NP 人食 *rén shí* 'human food' as its Undergoer in the object position.

(125) 狗彘**食**人食而不知檢，塗有餓莩而不知發。 (*Mengzi, Lianghuiwang*)

      gǒu   *zhì*   ***shí***   *rén*   *shí*   *ér*   *bù*   *zhī*   *jiǎn*

      dog   pig   eat   human   food   CONJ   NEG   know   prevent

      tú   *yǒu*   *è piǎo*   *ér*   *bù*   *zhī*

      road   exist   people who died of starvation   CONJ   NEG   know

      fā.

      open (granaries)

      '(Rich people's) dogs and pigs are eating human food, but (they take it for granted and) do not stop it; there are people who have died of starvation on the roads, but (they) do not open granaries (for starving people).'

The implicature TR(b) in (122) can be illustrated with example (126), in which the word 餌 *ěr* 'cake, pastry, food, bait' serves as a verb meaning 'feed'.

(126) 臣有父，嘗餓且死，君下壺飧**餌**之。 (*Zhanguo Ce, Zhongshan Ce*)

      chén   *yǒu*   *fù,*   *cháng*   *è*   *qiě*   *sǐ,*   *jūn*

      1st.MODEST   have   father   once   starve   almost   die   2nd.HON

      xià   *hú*   *sūn*   ***ěr***   *zhī.*

      give (to one's inferiors)   pot   cooked food   food:V   PRON

      'Once, our father was close to dying from starvation, you gave him a pot of cooked food to eat.'

The implicature TR(c) in (122) can be illustrated with the verbal function of 醢 *hǎi* 'minced meat sauce' in (77) as previously discussed in section 4.2.2, where *hǎi* undergoes the semantic type shift RESULT OF AN ACTION → ACTION (corresponding to the metonymy RESULT FOR ACTION in (99)), with the meaning 'make into minced meat sauce'. A similar example is given in (127) below, in which the food term 脯 *fǔ* 'dried meat' serves as a transitive verb meaning 'make into dried-meat'.

(127) 故**脯**鄂侯。 (*Zhanguo Ce*, *Zhao Ce*)

     gù   **fǔ**   *È Hòu.*

     therefore   dried meat:V   E Hou

     'Therefore, (King Zhou of Shang) made E Hou into dried meat.'
     [Context: King Zhou of Shang branded Gui Hou as a conspirator and killed him. E Hou admonished King Zhou to release Gui Hou.]

5.1.6 Lexemes denoting body parts

In Classical Chinese, a lexeme denoting a (human or animal) body part can – by virtue of the typical function or any noticeable properties of that body part – be used predicatively to designate activities or events. Empirical evidence suggests that, by interacting with the most common intransitive or transitive argument structure constructions in Classical Chinese (Table 5), the verbal function of the lexemes denoting body parts can be interpreted either in the rule-based way or metaphorically. Their metaphorical interpretation will be discussed later in section 5.2.3.1.1. Their rule-based interpretation can be concretized into the following implicatures (cf. Bisang 2008b: 39/(8-iii) in section 2.2.3.2):

(128) N: body part

     INT: NP_S does what one typically does with N

     TR: NP_A does to NP_U what one typically does with N

The verbal function of the lexeme 目 *mù* 'eyes' in (129) below can illustrate the implicature INT in (128). In this sentence, *mù* designates the activity that one typically does with eyes, i.e. 'watch, look'.

(129) 曰：“**目**於眢井而拯之。” (*Zuozhuan*, *Xuangong* 12)

     yuē: **mù**   *yú*   *yuān* *jǐng* *ér*   *zhěng* *zhī.*

     say   eyes:V LOC   dry   well   CONJ save   PRON

     '(Huanwushe) said: "Watch that dry well, and then (you can) save me."'

The implicature TR in (128) can be illustrated with example (79) discussed in section 4.2.3, where the lexeme 肘 *zhǒu* 'elbow' serves as a transitive verb meaning 'push with one's elbow, to elbow'. Although the body part 'elbow' can also be used for realizing other actions (for example, one can raise the upper part of body by means of it), the action 'to elbow' is the one that is typically realized by means

of 'elbow'. Similarly, the English denominal verb *elbow* also means 'push with one's elbow'.

A further example illustrating the implicature TR in (128) is given in (130). In this sentence, the word 指 *zhǐ* 'finger(s)' serves as a transitive verb with the meaning of 'point one's finger at something in space'. This verbal reading of *zhǐ* obviously emerged from the primary deictic function of finger(s), in the sense that someone directs other people's attention to something by holding out his finger towards it.

(130) 怒之，使下，**指**木，曰：“屍女於是。” (*Zuozhuan*, *Xuangong* 12)
     nù   *zhī,*   *shǐ*   *xià,*   ***zhǐ***   *mù,*
     get angry with PRON ask get down   finger:V tree
     yuē: "shī   *rǔ*   *yú*   *shì."*
     say   pick up a corpse   2nd.PRON LOC DEM
     '(Feng) got angry with them and asked (them) to get down (the carriage). (He) pointed his finger at the tree and said: "Pick up your corpses here!"'

The derived actions illustrated above (i.e. 'watch, look' designated by 目 *mù* 'eyes' in (129), 'push with one's elbow' by 肘 *zhǒu* 'elbow' in (79), and 'point one's finger at' by 指 *zhǐ* 'finger(s)' in (130)) are all those whose realization depends on the use of the body parts such as 'eyes', 'elbow' or 'finger(s)'. This suggests that the rule-based verbal function of the lexemes denoting body parts can be interpreted in a similar way to the instrument words according to the implicature INT(a) or TR(a) in (107). In fact, both of the semantic classes of lexemes can be used to convey an event schema with the Instrument participant being referred to by the original object-denoting semantics of the lexeme in question, which corresponds to the metonymic relationship INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION in (99).

5.1.7 Lexemes denoting animals

Some animal terms such as 畜 *chù* 'domesticated livestock (such as pigs, dogs, chicken)', 蠹 *dù* 'wood-boring beetles or insects' or 蠶 *cán* 'silkworms' can serve as verbs. Their verbal function is generally subject to the metonymic relationships ACTOR FOR ACTION, RESULT FOR ACTION, and OBJECT INVOLVED IN AN ACTION FOR ACTION presented in (99). Empirical evidence suggests that, by interacting with the most common intransitive or transitive argument structure constructions in Classical Chinese (Table 5), the ACTION as output of the above

metonymies can be concretized into various implicatures, either rule-based or metaphorically motivated ones. The metaphorical verbal interpretation of this semantic class normally only appears in transitive argument structure constructions (section 5.2.3.1.2). However, their rule-based interpretation is observed in both intransitive and transitive argument structure constructions.

When an animal term occurs in the V-position of an intransitive construction, the lexeme in verbal function requires an argument (NP_S) that often serves semantically as an Actor, or alternatively, as an Experiencer or Locative. When the NP_S takes the role of Actor, it is usually a human being who is expected to do what one typically does to the animal referred to by the lexeme concerned, or occasionally, to be or become that animal (in subjunctive mood). When the NP_S takes the role of Experiencer, it often refers to a non-human entity that undergoes or experiences some effect due to that animal or some typical activities of that animal, while the role of Locative indicates in particular the place where this effect takes place. These different interpretations with respect to different types of NP_S (i.e. as Actor, Experiencer or Locative) can be related to three verbal functions in terms of *do*, *be/become*, and *undergo/experience*, respectively.

When a lexeme of this semantic class serves as a transitive verb: in the cases of rule-based interpretation, the lexeme in verbal function normally requires a human Actor (NP_A) argument and an animal Undergoer (NP_U) argument. Their rule-based interpretation can generally be construed as 'NP_A does to NP_U what one typically does to the animal referred to by the lexeme concerned.

Taken together, the implicatures outlined in (131) can work as effective solutions to derive the rule-based interpretation of the lexemes denoting animals (N: animal) in intransitive or transitive argument structure constructions.

(131) N: animal
      INT: (a) NP_S does what one typically does to N
               (b) NP_S is/becomes N
               (c) NP_S undergoes or experiences what N typically does
      TR: NP_A does to NP_U what one typically does to N

The implicature INT(a) in (131) above can be illustrated with example (87) discussed previously, where the word 蠶 *cán* 'silkworms' serves as an intransitive verb meaning 'raise silkworms'. Similarly, in example (132), the word 畜 *chù* denoting 'domesticated livestock' also serves as an intransitive verb with the meaning of 'raise, keep, or breed domesticated livestock'. Both of the verbal interpretations illustrated designate what one typically does to the animals such as silkworms or domesticated livestock in relevant contexts.

The implicature INT(b) in (131) can be seen in (133), in which the lexeme 魚 *yú* 'fish' serves as an intransitive verb meaning 'become fish'. The third implicature INT(c) can then be seen in (134), with the lexeme 蠹 *dù* 'wood-boring beetles or insects' placed in the V-position. That sentence indicates that 'the enormous wealth amassed by dukes' (referred to by the expression 公聚 *gōng jù*) underwent what 'wood-boring beetles or insects' (denoted by *dù*) typically do, namely, they eat, damage and destruct. In fact, here the NP$_S$ *gōng jù* can be analysed semantically either as an Experiencer of the activity 'get damaged by beetles' (denoted by *dù* in verbal function) or as a Locative of the activity mentioned.

(132) 制其田裡，教之樹、畜，導其妻子使養其老。（*Mengzi, Jinxin*）

zhì	*qí*	*tián lǐ,*	*jiāo*	*zhī*
formulate	PRON	fields and houses	teach	PRON

shù	***chù,***	*dǎo*	*qí*	*qī zǐ*
plant trees	domesticated livestock:V	instruct	PRON	wives and sons

shǐ	*yǎng*	*qí*	*lǎo.*
let	care for	PRON	the elderly

'(Xibo) arranged their fields and houses, taught them to plant trees and raise livestock, and instructed their wives and sons to care for the elderly.'

(133) 微禹，吾其**魚**乎。（*Zuozhuan, Zhaogong* 1）

wēi	*Yú*	*wú*	*qí*	***yú***	*hū.*
were it not for	Yu	1st.PRON	perhaps	fish:V	PTCL

'(Duke Ding said:) "We might have become fish, if not for Yu's (flood control)."'

(134) 公聚朽**蠹**，而三老凍餒。（*Zuozhuan, Zhaogong* 3）

gōng	*jù*	*xiǔ*	***dù,***	*ér*
duke	amassed wealth	rot	wood-boring beetles:V	CONJ

sān lǎo	*dòng něi.*
people over eighty years of age	starve and suffer from the cold

'The enormous wealth amassed by the dukes has rotted and got damaged by beetles, whereas people over eighty years of age are starving and suffering from the cold weather.'

The following (135) is to illustrate the implicature TR in (131):

(135) 昔者有饋生魚於鄭子產，子產使校人畜之池。 (*Mengzi, Wanzhang*)

      xī   zhě yǒu   kuì   shēng yú yú   Zhèng   Zǐchǎn,

      once TOP there is present live fish PREP Zheng state Zichan

      Zǐchǎn shǐ   jiâorén

      Zichan   send   people who are in charge of ponds

      chù   *zhī   chí.*

      domesticated livestock:V PRON pond

      'Once, (someone) presented live fish to Zichan of the Zheng state, Zichan asked (his) servants who are in charge of ponds to keep the fish in ponds.'

In (135) above, the aforementioned lexeme 畜 *chù* 'domesticated livestock' serves as a transitive verb meaning 'keep, raise, or breed', taking the anaphoric pronoun 之 *zhī* (referring to the live fish) as its Undergoer in the object position. This verbal reading of *chù* indicates the action that the 'servants who are in charge of ponds' (referred to by 校人 *jiào rén*) were asked to do to the live fish in that context, that is, they would keep and raise them, as what people typically do to domesticated animals.

5.1.8 Lexemes denoting natural events or elements

The semantic class of lexemes denoting natural events or elements includes not only the terms for meteorological phenomena such as 雨 *yǔ* 'rain', 風 *fēng* 'wind' but also the terms of natural elements or material such as 水 *shuǐ* 'water, flood', 火 *huǒ* 'fire', or 土 *tǔ* 'soil'. Empirical evidence suggests that these lexemes in verbal function are generally subject to the metonymic relationships OBJECT INVOLVED IN AN ACTION FOR ACTION and INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION presented in (99). By interacting with the most common intransitive or transitive argument structure constructions in Classical Chinese (Table 5), their verbal function can be concretized into the following rule-based implicatures:

(136) N: natural event/element

        INT: (a) N happens (or Heaven lets N happen)

                 (b) NP$_S$ experiences or undergoes N

        TR: NP$_A$ applies N (as an instrument) to NP$_U$

The implicature INT(a) in (136) above demonstrates that the lexemes of this group can occur alone in the V-position of an intransitive construction, referring to a

dynamic natural event, without requiring an argument (which is comparable to an impersonal construction in English, except that there is no dummy pronoun in Chinese). This implicature can be illustrated with both the verbal function of 雨 *yǔ* 'rain' (→ *yù* 'it rains') in (88) (discussed in section 4.2.4) and its verbal interpretation in (137). The example given in (137) shows that 雨 *yǔ* in the V-position can take 天 *tiān* 'God, heaven' as its one and only argument in the subject position, and the SV construction 天雨 *tiān yù* (which occurs twice in this example) could still be interpreted as 'it rains'. Notice that the construction with 天 *tiān* 'God, heaven' in the preverbal subject position is often seen when the lexemes denoting supernatural events or elements are used as verbs (cf. section 5.1.9).

(137) 是日，飲酒樂，天**雨**。文侯將出，左右曰：“今日飲酒樂，天又**雨**，公將焉之？”(*Zhanguo Ce*, *Wei Ce*)

shì   rì,   yǐn   jiǔ   lè,   tiān   **yù**.   Wén hóu   jiāng
DEM   day   drink wine happy heaven rain:V Duke Wen   will

chū,   zuǒyòu   yuē: "jīnrì   yǐn   jiǔ   lè,   tiān   yòu
go out attendants say   today drink wine happy heaven also

yù,   gōng   jiāng   yān   zhī?"
rain:V 2nd.HON   will   Q.where   go to

[Context: Duke Wen and the officials who are in charge of mountains and forests appointed a day to meet.]
'On this day, it rained; (they) drank and enjoyed themselves (indoors). Duke Wen would like to go out, (his) attendants said: "Today, (you) are drinking and having fun, besides, it is raining, where are you going to?"'

The implicature INT(b) in (136) applies to the intransitive constructions with a preverbal argument (NP$_S$) that experiences the dynamic natural event referred to by the lexeme in verbal function (or, the natural event happens to someone or something). This implicature can be illustrated with example (138) with 風 *fēng* 'wind' in the V-position, where the preverbal NP 晉中軍 *Jìn zhōng jūn* 'the middle troops of Jin' can be analysed as an Experiencer who underwent (the effect of) wind blowing (denoted by *fēng* 'wind' in verbal function).

(138) 晉中軍**風**於澤。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Xigong* 28)
Jìn   zhōng   jūn   **fēng**   yú   zé.
Jin state middle troops wind:V   LOC   swamp
'The middle troops of Jin encountered wind in the swamp.'

This implicature INT(b) is further illustrated with the examples in (139) and (140) below. In (139) 'the east of the country' referred to by the preverbal NP 東國 *dōng guó* underwent the flooding denoted by 水 *shuǐ* 'water, flood' in verbal function.

(139) 東國**水**，不可以城。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Zhaogong* 4)
    dōng guó   **shuǐ,**   *bù*   *kěyǐ*   *chéng.*
    the east of the country   flood:V   NEG   can   city wall:V
    'The east of the country was flooded, (so) city walls could not be built (there).'

In (140) the preverbal NP 公宮 *gōng gōng* 'duke's palace' also takes the semantic role of Experiencer that underwent (the effect of) the event of catching fire denoted by 火 *huǒ* 'fire' in verbal function.

(140) 公宮**火**。 (*Guoyu*, *Jinyu*)
    gōng gōng   **huǒ.**
    duke's palace   fire:V
    'The palace of the duke caught fire.'

The implicature TR in (136) applies when the verbal function of a given lexeme denoting a natural element designates an event schema in which the Actor (NP$_A$) applies the natural element (as an instrument) to an Undergoer (NP$_U$) for a certain purpose. This can already be seen in example (80) illustrating the metonymic pattern of INSTRUMENT OF AN ACTION FOR ACTION. In that sentence, the lexeme 水 *shuǐ* 'water, flood' serves as a transitive verb meaning 'fill with water', 'deluge' or 'to flood'. This verbal function of *shuǐ* can be interpreted in such a way that the natural material 'water, flood' (*shuǐ*) was used as an instrument and applied to the Undergoer 'Daliang' (*Dàliáng*), or say, Daliang underwent what one did by means of water or flood. In a very similar manner to *shuǐ*, in example (41), repeated in (141) below for convenience, the lexeme 土 *tǔ* 'soil' occurs as a verb with the meaning of 'be blocked with soil' or 'be earthed up'. As for this verbal interpretation of *tǔ*, we can likewise say that the natural material 'soil' (*tǔ*) was used as an instrument in that context and applied to the Undergoer 'the eight city gates of the Wei state' (*Wèi bā mén*). Consequently, two of the gates of Wei were destroyed.

(141) 衛八門**土**而二門墮矣。 (*Zhanguo Ce*, *Qi Ce*)

Wèi   *bā mén*   ***tǔ***   *ér*   *èr mén*   *duò*

Wei state   eight city gates   soil:V   CONJ   two city gates   fall

yǐ.

PTCL.PFV

'The eight city gates of Wei were blocked with soil and two of the gates had been destroyed.'

5.1.9 Lexemes denoting supernatural events or elements

The term 'supernatural events or elements' refers mainly to the elements, substance, or abstract thoughts or power which are believed to come from the supernatural world. This group of lexemes includes, for example, 福 *fú* denoting 'blessing, good fortune', 禍 *huò* 'calamity, misfortune', 殃 *yāng* 'misfortune, disaster' and 災 *zāi* 'disaster'. One thing that these lexemes in verbal function have in common is that they usually take the supernatural Actor (or, Source of supernatural power) 天 *tiān* 'God, heaven' or 神 *shén* 'spiritual being, divine being' in the subject position. According to the traditional religious beliefs in ancient China, the God, heaven or spiritual beings have the power to let good or bad fortune happen to someone or something on earth. Consider the examples in (142) below: they all have 天 *tiān* 'God, heaven' or 神 *shén* 'spiritual being, divine being' in the preverbal, subject position, while different lexemes denoting supernatural elements take the V-position followed by an argument who undergoes or experiences the (effects of) supernatural events.

(142) a.   神**福**仁而**禍**淫。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Chenggong* 5)

     shén   ***fú***   *rén*   *ér*

     divine being   good fortune:V   benevolent people   CONJ

     huò   *yín*.

     misfortune:V   evil people

     'Divine beings let good fortune happen to benevolent people and let misfortune happen to evil people.'

   b.   天**禍**許國。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Xinggong* 11)

     Tiān   ***huò***   *Xǔ guó*.

     God/heaven   misfortune:V   Xu state

     'God/Heaven let misfortune happen to the Xu state.'

    c. 天**祚**明德。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Xuangong* 3)

       Tiān   ***zuò***   *míng dé.*

       God/heaven good fortune:V   people who have moral integrity

       'God/Heaven let good fortune happen to people who have moral integrity.'

    d. 天其**殃**之也。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Xianggong* 27)

       Tiān   *qí*   ***yāng***   *zhī*   *yě.*

       God/heaven probably misfortune:V PRON PTCL

       'God/Heaven probably let misfortune happen to him.'

For example, in (142a) both of the terms 福 *fú* 'good fortune, blessing' and 禍 *huò* 'misfortune, calamity' serve as transitive verbs. The expression 神 *shén* 'spiritual being, divine being' (in the subject position) serves as the Actor who let the 'good fortune, blessing' (denoted by *fú*) and 'misfortune, calamity' (*huò*) happen. The two referential expressions that follow *fú* and *huò* respectively, i.e. 仁 *rén* 'benevolent people, people who do good deeds' (which is the meaning arising from the current context) and 淫 *yín* 'evil people' (the meaning arising from the current context) underwent or experienced the 'good fortune' (*fú*) and 'misfortune' (*huò*). The same explanation also holds for the other three examples in (142b), (142c) and (142d), with 天 *tiān* 'God, heaven' in the subject position and 禍 *huò* 'calamity, misfortune', 祚 *zuò* 'good fortune', and 殃 *yāng* 'misfortune, disaster' in the V-position, respectively.

    Below, the example in (143) also illustrates a transitive argument structure construction. The lexeme 禍 *huò* 'misfortune, calamity' occurs in the V-position, and it has two arguments: the person name 'Shusun Shi' (*Shūsūn Shì*) following *huò* takes the semantic role of Undergoer (NP$_U$) in the object position; the person name 'Shuniu' (*Shùniú*) in the subject position serves semantically as the Causer of the event 'the misfortune happened to Shusun Shi'. Thus, *huò* in the V-position can be interpreted as 'cause misfortune to happen to (someone)'.

(143) 豎牛**禍**叔孫氏。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Zhaogong* 5)

      Shùniú   ***huò***   *Shūsūn Shì.*

      Shuniu   misfortune:V   Shusun Shi

      'Shuniu caused misfortune to happen to Shusun Shi.'

The example given in (144) below illustrates an intransitive construction. This construction has neither a Causer nor a supernatural Actor such as 天 *tiān* 'God,

heaven' or 神 *shén* 'spiritual being, divine being' in the preverbal, subject position (or rather, the supernatural Actor does not overtly appear in the utterance). Nevertheless, the word 禍 *huò* 'calamity, misfortune' can still be interpreted as a verb meaning 'misfortunes happen' or the like.

(144) 去順效逆，所以速**禍**也。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Yingong* 3)

       qù   shùn   xiào   nì,   suǒyǐ sù   huò   yě.

       leave norm follow anomaly thus   quickly misfortune:V PTCL

       'Having departed from norms and gone against the laws of morality, therefore misfortunes happen quickly.'

Another type of intransitive constructions with the lexemes of this semantic class is illustrated with the example (89) discussed previously, where the lexeme 災 *zāi* 'disaster' functions as a verb. In that sentence, though the nominal expression 陳 *chén* 'the town named Chen' takes the preverbal, subject position, it should not be taken as an Actor argument like *tiān* 'God, heaven' or *shén* 'spiritual being, divine being' as in (142) above, but rather an Experiencer that underwent the disaster (or alternatively, a Locative indicating where the disaster took place).

    In sum, with respect to the most common intransitive or transitive argument structure constructions in Classical Chinese (Table 5), the verbal function of the lexemes denoting supernatural events or elements can be derived through the following rule-based implicatures in (145). The two transitive implicatures TR(a) and TR(b) can be seen in (142) and (143) above, respectively; the two intransitive ones INT(a) and INT(b) can be seen in (144) and (89), respectively.

(145) N: supernatural event/element

     INT: (a) N happens (or God/Heaven lets N happen)

           (b) NP$_S$ experiences or undergoes N

     TR: (a) God/Heaven lets N happen to NP$_U$

           (b) NP$_A$ causes N to happen to NP$_U$

As shown in (145), the verbal function of the lexemes denoting supernatural events or elements in intransitive constructions can be interpreted in a very similar way to that of the lexemes denoting natural events or elements (section 5.1.8). The main difference between the two semantic classes lies in their verbal interpretation in transitive constructions.

5.1.10 Lexemes denoting illnesses

When the lexemes denoting illness, diseases, or health disorders are used as verbs, a well observable tendency is that their verbal function is subject to the metonymic relationship OBJECT INVOLVED IN AN ACTION FOR ACTION. Empirical evidence suggests that this group of lexemes (N: illness) can occur in the V-position of either intransitive or transitive argument structure constructions, and that they can be interpreted either in the rule-based way or metaphorically. Their metaphorical verbal interpretation seems to occur only in transitive argument structure constructions (cf. section 5.2.3.1.4). Their rule-based verbal interpretation conforms to the implicatures in (146) below.

(146) N: illness
INT: NP$_S$ has/suffers from N
TR: NP$_A$ consider NP$_U$ N

The implicature INT in (146) can often be seen in the verbal function of the lexemes denoting specific diseases, including 瘧 *nüè* 'malaria' (→ 'have/suffer from malaria'), 疽 *jū* 'subcutaneous ulcer' (→ 'have/suffer from subcutaneous ulcer'), 疥 *jiè* 'tertian malaria' (→ 'have/suffer from tertian malaria') and 痁 *shān* 'chronic malaria' (→ 'have/suffer from chronic malaria), as illustrated in (86). For general illness terms such as 疾 *jí* 'illness', 病 *bìng* '(serious) illness' as well as the compound 疾病 *jíbìng* '(serious) illness', this implicature also holds true. As shown by the following examples, both *jí* in (147) and the first instance of *bìng* in (148) (vs. the second instance of *bìng* serves as a noun) are used as intransitive verbs with the meaning of 'have/suffer from (serious) illnesses', i.e. 'be (seriously) ill'.

(147) 宋穆公**疾**。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Yingong* 3)
*Sòng   Mù gōng   **jí**.*
Song state   Duke Mu   illness:V
'Duke Mu of Song was ill.'

(148) 今吾尚**病**，病癒 ...。 (*Mengzi*, *Tengwengong*)
*jīn   wǔ   shāng **bìng,**   bìng   yù，*
now   1st.PRON   still   (serious) illness:V (serious) illness heal
'(Mencius said:) "Now I am still ill, (after) the illness is healed, [I will go to see him]."'

There is no instances found in the present study for the implicature TR in (146). However, it can be seen in the sentence given in (25), from *Zhuangzi* (Classical Chinese text). In that example, as discussed, the illness term 病 *bìng* '(serious) illness' in its first occurrence may be analysed as a transitive verb meaning 'consider as an illness', taking another *bìng* '(serious) illnesses' as its object-undergoer (which is the second instance of *bìng* in that sentence).

5.1.11 Lexemes denoting laws, rules, regulations, codes of conduct, etc.

The group of lexemes denoting laws, rules, regulations, codes of conduct, etc. (cf. the items presented as Category X in (13), except for the illness terms discussed) seems to be a summary of categories, rather than a semantic class. However, the verbal properties of the lexemes of this group are very similar in many respects. The reason may be that the concepts conveyed by these lexical items – including both their nominal and verbal concepts – play a similar role in the classical culture and society generally. Consider, for instance, the notions of 法 *fǎ* 'law, rule', 刑 *xíng* 'penal law, principle of punishment' or 禮 *lǐ* 'courtesy, right custom, convention, rites, Confucian codes, etc.' were developed for being followed and applied; the basic ideas of 義 *yì* 'justice, righteousness', 仁 *rén* 'benevolence, humanity', 榮 *róng* 'glory, honour' or 恥 *chǐ* 'shame' were used for assessment of human conducts. In brief, the concepts of these lexemes fulfill certain social functions: they are used as principles and instructions stating the way things are or should be done, and telling people what is good and what is bad.

Empirical findings suggest that, by interacting with the most common intransitive or transitive argument structure constructions in Classical Chinese as outlined in Table 5, the verbal function of the lexemes of this group generally conforms to the following rule-based implicatures. Notice that the TR(a) is the most commonly used one.

(149) N: law/rule/rite/regulation
        INT: NP$_S$ behaves in accordance with N
        TR: (a) NP$_A$ take NP$_U$ as N / NP$_A$ follows NP$_U$ as N /
               NP$_A$ consider NP$_U$ in accordance with N
            (b) NP$_A$ applies N to NP$_U$ / NP$_A$ treats NP$_U$ by using N

The implicature INT in (149) can be illustrated with the example in (150) below. In this sentence, the lexeme 禮 *lǐ* 'courtesy, right custom, convention, rites, Con-

fucian codes, etc.' serves as an intransitive verb with the meaning 'behave in accordance with the basic rules of courtesy or right custom (as defined in the society)', in other words, 'behave correctly and politely'.

(150) 宋公子鮑**禮**於國人。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Wengong* 16)
 *Sòng   gōngzǐ Bào   **lǐ**   yú   guó rén.*
 Song state   Bao (Duke Wen)   courtesy:V   PREP   people of a country
 'Bao, Duke Wen of Song, behaved correctly and politely to people.'

The implicature TR(a) in (149), with a few possible formulations, can be seen in the verbal functions of 法 *fǎ* 'law, rule, principle' (→ 'take or follow something as a principle') (see also example (14)), 恥 *chǐ* 'shame' (→ 'take or consider something as a shame') and 仁 *rén* 'benevolence, humanity' (→ 'consider someone humane') in the following examples (151), (152) and (153), respectively.

(151) 二者皆**法**堯舜而已矣。 (*Mengzi*, *Lilou*)
 *èr zhě   ji*é   **fǎ**   Yáo Shùn   éryǐ   yǐ.*
 they two   both   law:V   Yao and Shun   PTCL.that is all   PTCL.PFV
 'Both of them followed what Yao and Shun did (as principles).'

(152) 寡人**恥**之。 (*Mengzi*, *Lianghuiwang*)
 *guǎrén   **chǐ**   zhī.*
 1st.MODEST(king)   shame:V   PRON
 '(The king said:) "I take it as a shame."'

(153) 父死在堂而求利，人孰**仁**我？ (*Guoyu*, *Jinyu*)
 fù   sǐ   zài   táng   ér   qiú   lì,
 father   die   be at   hall   CONJ   seek   profit
 *rén   shú   **rén**   wǒ?*
 people   Q.who   humanity:V   1st.PRON
 '(Our) father has just died (and his coffin) is (still) in the hall, but (we are now) pursuing interests. Who will consider us humane?'

The implicature TR(b) in (149) can be illustrated with example (154), formed with 刑 *xíng* 'penal law, principle of punishment' in verbal function, where the original concept referred to by *xíng* is applied as an instrument (in dealing with some people).

(154) 良君將賞善而**刑**淫。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Xianggong* 14)

      liáng   *jūn*   *jiāng*   *shǎng*   *shàn*   *ér*

      good   ruler   will   give reward   good deeds   CONJ

      xíng   *yín.*

      penal law:V   evil deeds

      'A good ruler will give (people) reward for (their) good deeds and punish (them) for (their) evil deeds.'

5.1.12 Summary

This section discussed the rule-based interpretation of object-denoting lexemes from eleven semantic classes in Classical Chinese. Based on empirical evidence, for each of the semantic classes, the discussion showed what the overall constructional possibilities are for using these lexemes in verbal function, and explored how their concrete meaning in a given intransitive or transitive argument structure construction can be derived, based on a grammatical analysis of the construction. In this way, eleven sets of rule-based principles of interpretation have been proposed for the eleven semantic classes, respectively. Through the rule-based implicatures, the verbal function of object-denoting lexemes from a certain semantic class can be obtained systematically.

The eleven sets of rule-based interpretations – alongside the metaphorical interpretations (below section 5.2) – represent the results of multiple interactions of the metonymic relationships discussed (as the cognitive-semantic foundation of using flexible lexemes, shown in chapter 4) with the most common argument structure constructions in Classical Chinese.

5.2 Metaphorically motivated interpretation

The previous section discussed how to derive the rule-based verbal function of object-denoting lexemes in Classical Chinese. As was mentioned, the rule-based mechanism does not always fully cover the functional range of possible interpretations of given constructions. There are also cases where the meaning of an object word in a given argument structure construction goes beyond the conceptual domain of the original object-denoting semantics of that word, thus having the potential to be interpreted in a figurative manner via metaphors. This section addresses the questions of how concepts of metaphor (e.g. Lakoff 1987, 1993; Kövecses 2010) are involved in the derivation and play a role in producing specific meanings to a given construction in Classical Chinese.

5.2.1 Introduction to metaphorically motivated interpretation

The metaphorically motivated verbal interpretation of object-denoting lexemes does not comply with any of the rule-based principles discussed in the previous section 5.1, as they cannot be obtained simply through the grammatical analysis of a given construction. A comparison between the two verbal interpretations of the lexeme 背 'back (body part)' in the following examples (155) and (156), respectively, is intended to provide a first impression of the difference between the rule-based interpretation and the metaphorically motivated interpretation of an object word.

(155) 王**背**屏而立，夫人向屏。 (*Guoyu*, *Wuyu*)
       wáng   **_bèi_**   *píng*   *ér*   *lì,*   *fūrén* *xiàng* *píng.*
       king   back:V screen CONJ stand   wife   face   screen
       'The king turned his back toward the screen and stood, (while his) wife faced the screen.' (Or, 'The king stood with his back turned toward the screen, while his wife faced the screen.')

(156) 宋人**背**北杏之會。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Zhuanggong* 13)
       Sòng   *rén*   **_bèi_**   *Běixìng*   *zhī*   *huì.*
       Song state people   back:V   Beixing (Place) GEN   covenant
       'The people of Song turned against the Beixing covenant.'

In both sentences above, *bèi* can be analysed as a transitive verb. The verbal *bèi* in (155), taking *píng* 'screen' as its Undergoer in the object position, can be interpreted as meaning 'turn one's back towards something'. This interpretation of *bèi* conforms to the rule-based implicature TR in (128), which is the principle used for deriving the verbal function of the semantic class of lexemes denoting body parts in transitive argument structure constructions. This implicature corresponds to the fact that the realization of the action 'turn one's back towards something' depends on the use of the body part 'back', including its primary deictic function in space. By contrast, the verbal *bèi* in (156), with *Běixìng zhī huì* 'Beixing covenant' as its Undergoer in the object position, cannot be interpreted according to the abovementioned implicature TR. Rather, *bèi* in this sentence is used in a metaphorical manner to conceptualize an act of treachery, in the sense that the Song people did not (continue to) comply with the Beixing covenant, but went against it. Needless to say, the realization of such action or behaviour does not depend on the use of the body part 'back'. As a matter of fact, while the semantic type shift that *bèi* in (155) undergoes (i.e. from the object-denoting semantics 'body

part back' to the action-denoting 'turn one's back towards something', following the metonymic pattern INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION) remains within the conceptual domain of body parts, the semantic type shift that *bèi* in (156) undergoes (i.e. from 'body part back' to 'turn against something', which is also subject to the metonymic relationship INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION) goes beyond the conceptual domain of body parts. In other words, in the latter case (156), the target ACTION ('turn against') of that metonymic relationship belongs to a conceptual domain which is different from that of the source INSTRUMENT (i.e. 'body part back'). [30]

Compared to the rule-based interpretations of object-denoting lexemes described previously, where they are organized according to the semantic classes of lexemes, their metaphorically motivated verbal interpretation in a given intransitive (INT) or transitive (TR) argument structure construction can be summarized as follows:

(157) Metaphorically motivated verbal interpretation of object-denoting lexemes

       N: object-denoting semantics of the lexeme
       INT: NP_A does the action metaphorically associated with N
       TR: NP_A applies the action metaphorically associated with N to NP_U

In this context, the relationship between the rule-based interpretation and the metaphorically motivated interpretation that an object-denoting lexeme in verbal function may have becomes a point to consider. Among other things, one may assume that the two interpretations are dependent on each other in the derivations. In particular, it can be assumed that if an object word in the V-position of a construction can be interpreted in both rule-based and metaphorical ways, its rule-based meaning (V_R) would be the one that emerges at first and directly from the original object-denoting semantics of that word (i.e. $N{\rightarrow}V_R$). By contrast, the metaphorically motivated interpretation (V_M) is the one that is derived on the basis of the rule-based meaning (i.e. $V_R \rightarrow (...\rightarrow) V_M$). This assumption seems to be supported by Zhang (2005). As previously discussed (section 2.2.3.1 of chapter 2),

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30 Notice that Classical Chinese has several other commonly used action words or verbs available for the V-slot meaning 'to turn against' or 'to go against' (as referred to by *bèi* in (156)), for example, 反 *fǎn,* 叛 *pàn* (interchangeable with 畔 *pàn*), 离 *lí*, and 去 *qù* – all of them are frequently used in the five classical texts under investigation. However, in spite of the presence of these alternatives, the author chose to use *bèi* for the meaning of 'to turn against' in the sentence in (156).

Zhang (2005) believes that a metaphorical verbal meaning of an object word cannot emerge directly from the original object-denoting semantics of that word through HY, but is only possible via the derivation of some literal meaning (thus being excluded from the scope of HY). By contrast, Zádrapa (2011: 130–133) argues that metaphors can generally participate in any of the processes of HY (section 2.2.3.3). He heuristically points out that metaphor as an integral element of human language and mind is very common, and that any derivational process across word categories based on metaphorical meanings can be as common as those based on literal or non-figurative meanings. The findings of the present study generally support Zádrapa's view. Although the chronological order of the derivational meanings of an object word in verbal function cannot always be empirically ascertained with respect to the involvement of metaphors in the derivation, there are still clear cases suggesting that the metaphorically motivated verbal interpretation of an object word can emerge directly from its original object-denoting semantics. Section 5.3 will provide a detailed discussion of the relationship between the rule-based interpretation and the metaphorically motivated interpretation.

The remainder of this section will discuss many examples illustrating how the metaphorical meanings of given object words in verbal function are generated. At the end of this section, two issues entailed in the highly generalized implicatures of metaphorical interpretation in (157) should be explained, namely, how the original object-denoting semantics of a given lexeme is metaphorically associated with the action derived, and how the argument structure construction as a whole contributes to the generation of metaphorical meanings. In particular, the answer to the second question reveals the necessity of discussing the verbal function of object-denoting lexemes at the level of argument structure constructions.

The aim of the subsequent section is to outline some important notions of metaphor in the realm of cognitive linguistics as well as Chinese linguistics. These serve as a theoretical and methodological framework for guiding the present metaphor research in the context of flexibility in Classical Chinese.

5.2.2 Metaphor

Metaphors are devices that "allow us to understand one domain of experience in terms of another" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 117). According to Lakoff (1992), the locus of metaphors is not in language, but in thought, more specifically, in the

way we conceptualize one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain. This definition makes metaphor as a cross-domain mapping different from metonymy. As discussed, metonymy is conceived as the kind of association that takes place within a single conceptual domain. In fact, it is widely believed that metaphor and metonymy can be distinguished from each other by examining how each makes connections between things: while a metonymy involves some association by contiguity between entities of the same conceptual domain, the relation between conceptual domains in a metaphor is based on real or perceived similarity (Barnden 2010).[31] On the other hand, however, despite these differences between metaphor and metonymy, there is no common opinion as to whether they are generated according to opposite principles (Gibbs 1999: 62). In the view of Ruiz de Mendoza (1997a: 283), the 'cross-domain' and 'domain-internal' distinction may be the only essential difference between metaphor and metonymy. Goossens (1999) observes that considerable interactions can take place between metaphor and metonymy. In his investigation into the development of the English modal *must* from deontic to epistemic modality, the most frequent pattern of interactions between metaphor and metonymy is called 'metaphor from metonymy' (cf. also Pauwels 1999).[32]

In the Chinese context, the most generally used term for the notion of metaphor is *bǐyù* (比喻) or *pìyù* (譬喻). The terminology for *bǐyù* as a figure of speech can be traced back as early as Old Chinese, where it was originally termed as *pì* 'metaphor, analogy' (譬) in the oldest poetry collection *Shijing* (詩經, dating from the eleventh to seventh centuries BC). Already since the Spring and Autumn period (771–476 BC), the application of *bǐyù* in language use as well as its various manifestations have been under investigation by scholars (for the research history of *bǐyù* and relevant literature in each historical period, see Wang 2005: 212–235). One of the most important reseach findings is the typology of *bǐyù*: according to how the metaphorical association is structured in an utterance and/or whether the association is overtly indicated by a relation word such as 如 *rú* or 像 *xiàng* 'like, as if', there are several types of *bǐyù* identified, including *míngyù* (明喻), *ànyù* (暗喻), *jièyù* (借喻), *fǎnyù* (反喻), *huíyù* (回喻), etc.

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31 Cf. also Barnden (2010) for a discussion of ambiguous cases with unclear distinction between contiguity and similarity.
32 In Goossens's pattern of metaphor from metonymy, two domains, which are intertwined on one complex matrix domain symbolizing the metonymic interpretation, are discrete, so that the metaphorical reading turns out, but still there is a conceptual link with the possibility that the two domains may be intertwined in one complex domain (Goossens 1999: 193–194).

Along with *jièdài* 'metonymy', as previously discussed in section 4.3.3 (chapter 4), *bǐyù* is regarded as one common 'rhetorical method' (修辭手法 *xiūcí shǒufǎ*). Similar to the distinctions made in Western linguistics between metaphor and metonymy as outlined above, Chinese researchers also tend to differentiate *bǐyù* from *jièdài* by looking at how each makes connections between things and what they as rhetorical methods are typically used for. By definition, *jièdài* is regarded as the method used for naming one thing by means of something else which is associated with it, while *bǐyù* is regarded as the method used in particular for describing or illustrating one thing by means of something else which has some similarities to it.

The two conceptual domains that participate in a metaphorical mapping are distinguished from each other. In Lakoff's (1992) model, the conceptual domain from which we draw metaphorical expressions (either in linguistic or non-linguistic form) to understand another conceptual domain is called 'source', while the domain that is understood this way is termed 'target' (Kövecses 2010: 4).[33] In this way, a metaphorical mapping is defined as a systematic set of conceptual correspondences between the source and target domains. During the mapping, certain aspects or attributes of the source domain and those of the target domain are systematically brought into correspondence with each other. Consider, for instance, the famous LOVE-IS-A-JOURNEY metaphor. According to Lakoff (1992), this metaphor is a unidirectional mapping from the source domain JOURNEY to the target domain LOVE, during which various constituent elements of the domain of JOURNEY (such as *the travelers, the vehicles, the journey,* etc.) and various constituent elements of the domain of LOVE (such as *the lovers, the love relationship itself, the events in the relationship,* etc.) are brought into correspondence with each other. This mapping process is illustrated in Table 10.

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33 Besides Lakoff's (1992) model, there are some other models, such as I.A. Richards ([1936] 1990), in which metaphor is reduced to three basic parts: *tenor* (referring to the part to which attributes are ascribed), *vehicle* (the part whose attributes are borrowed), and *ground* (the relationships established between the tenor and the vehicle in a metaphorical mapping).

Tab. 10: Metaphorical mapping from JOURNEY to LOVE (Kövecses 2010: 9)

Source: JOURNEY		Target: LOVE
the travelers	→	the lovers
the vehicles	→	the love relationship itself
the journey	→	events in the relationship
the distance covered	→	the progress made
the obstacles encountered	→	the difficulties experienced
decisions about which way to go	→	choices about what to do
the destination of the journey	→	the goal(s) of the relationship

Similarly, in Chinese literature, the two conceptual domains invovled in a metaphorical mapping are also given names: the metaphorical source domain (e.g., JOURNEY in Table 10 above) is normally referred to as *yùtǐ* 'metaphorical object' (喻體), while the notion of metaphorical target domain (e.g. LOVE in Table 10) is termed as *běntǐ* 'original object' (本體). Similar to the case of *jièdài*, there are no constraints on what parts of speech should the linguistic expressions for *yùtǐ* 'metaphorical object' and *běntǐ* 'original object', respectively, have. Under these circumstances, the flexible use of words across word categories (under the name of HY) has naturally been incorporated in the instances of metaphors (*bǐyù*) in Chinese through history:

Though lacking detailed and theoretically well-founded descriptions, many studies devoted to the topic of *bǐyù* 'metaphor' in ancient Chinese have so far provided more or less examples illustrating the interaction of *bǐyù* with HY. As far as the period of Classical Chinese is concerned, as pointed out by Shi (1998) and Wang (2005: 218), *bǐyù* as a rhetorical method is particularly often integrated into the 'conative verb usage of nouns' (名詞意動 *míngcí yìdòng*, i.e. using a noun as a conative verb in the sense of 'consider as an N, take as an N'). Many instances of the conative verb usage of nouns are found in the classical text *Xunzi*. For example, in the sentence 友风而子雨 *yǒu fēng ér zǐ yǔ* [friend:V–wind–CONJ–child:V–rain] '(Cloud) takes wind as (his) friend and takes rain as (his) child', the human-denoting lexemes *yǒu* 'friend' and *zǐ* 'child' are used as two transitive verbs taking two meteorological terms, i.e. *fēng* 'wind' and *yǔ* 'rain' as their undergoers, respectively, in the object function. The two verbs *yǒu* and *zǐ* are thus treated as having the conative meanings 'take as one's friend' and 'take as one's child', respectively. In other words, in the above instance of metaphor (*bǐyù*), the two concepts of human domain, 'friend' (referred to by the original semantics of *yǒu*) and 'child' (referred to by the original semantics of *zǐ*), both serving as the metaphorical source (*yùtǐ* 'metaphorical object'), are used for conceptualizing the

targets 'wind', 'rain' as well as 'cloud' in the domain of meteorological phenomena (*běntǐ* 'original object').

Further, it is generally accepted that metaphors as source-to-target mappings in our conceptual system are not created arbitrarily or by chance, but that they are grounded in our detailed experience and everyday understanding of the world, and that they are intended to serve certain purposes in our communication. In particular, it is argued that abstract, non-physical concepts are often targeted and largely comprehended via metaphors by means of concrete physical concepts. That is, compared to the target, the source of a metaphor is believed to be more concrete or physical, through which the structure and content of the target can be clearly delineated and better understood. Kövecses's (2010) survey of the most common metaphorical source and target domains provides strong evidence in support of this argument. In his comprehensive survey, the most common metaphorical source domains contain physical and concrete concepts such as HUMAN BODY, ANIMALS, PLANTS, BUILDINGS, TOOLS and FOOD, while the most common target domains like EMOTION, DESIRE, MORALITY, THOUGHT, etc. are, in Kövecses's view, abstract, diffuse and lacking clear delineation. In (158), the most common metaphorical source domains (I) and target domains (II) discussed by Kövecses (2010: 17−28) are presented and briefly illustrated with examples. Notice that in the examples given, the metaphorical expressions (in italics) are used either referentially or predicatively.

(158) The most common metaphorical source and target domains
(Kövecses 2010: 17–28)

(I) Common metaphorical source domains:

HUMAN BODY (e.g., the *head* of the department)
HEALTH AND ILLNESS (e.g., a *healthy* society)
ANIMALS (e.g., It will be a *bitch* to pull this boat out of the water)
PLANTS (e.g., Exports *flourished* last year)
BUILDINGS AND CONSTRUCTIONS (e.g., She *constructed* a coherent argument)
MACHINES AND TOOLS (e.g., She *produces* a book every year)
GAMES AND SPORTS (e.g., to *toy* with the idea)
MONEY AND ECONOMIC TRANSACTIONS (e.g., *Spend* your time wisely)
COOKING AND FOOD (e.g., What's your *recipe* for success?)
HEAT AND COLD (e.g., a *warm* welcome)
LIGHT AND DARKNESS (e.g., She *brightened* up)
FORCES (e.g., She *swept* me off my feet)
MOVEMENT AND DIRECTION (e.g., She solved the problem *step by step*)

(II) Common metaphorical target domains:

EMOTION (e.g., She was deeply *moved*)
DESIRE (e.g., She is *hungry for* knowledge)
MORALITY (e.g., He's a *shady* character)
THOUGHT (e.g., I *see* your point)
SOCIETY / NATION (e.g., a *healthy* society)
POLITICS (e.g., The president *plays hardball*)
ECONOMY (e.g., the *growth* of the economy)
HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS (e.g., Their friendship is *in full flower*)
COMMUNICATION (e.g., She *gave* me a lot of information)

5.2.3 Common metaphorical source and target domains in Classical Chinese

In studying flexibility of parts of speech in Classical Chinese, I have observed that there are many close parallels between Kövecses's (2010: 17–28) most common metaphorical source and target domains (158) and the conceptual domains that occur most frequently in the metaphorical mappings involved in the N→V type of derivation of object-denoting lexemes. This section aims to present these parallels, as well as some metaphorical source and target domains that are typical of flexible lexemes from the present research. Before going into detail, I would like to give an illustration of the basic structure of a source-to-target metaphorical mapping in the context of the N→V type of derivation of flexible lexemes. The illustration aims at explaining how an object-denoting lexeme in the V-position of a given construction is integrated into a metaphorical mapping:

Take the transitive argument structure construction discussed in (156) for instance. In that construction, the Actor argument (NP$_A$) in the preverbal, subject position is *Sòng rén* [Song state–people] 'the people of the Song state', the body-part term 背 *bèi* 'back' occurs in the V-position, and the Undergoer argument (NP$_U$) following *bèi* is *Běixìng zhī huì* [Beixing–GEN–meeting] 'Beixing covenant'. As discussed previously, in that sentence, the word *bèi* is used metaphorically to conceptualize an act of treachery, in the sense of 'turn against', 'go against' or 'oppose'. That is, in the metaphor expressed by the whole argument structure construction, the concept of the body part 'back' (referred to by the original object-denoting semantics of *bèi*), serving as the conceptual source domain, is used to conceptualize an treacherous act of turning against a covenant, which constitutes the conceptual target domain. During the metaphorical mapping, the cross-domain correspondences may include a set of salient features shared by both of the source and target concepts such as *behind the front, not face-to-face, away from the correct side, opposite* and so on.

The above explanation can be illustrated with the generalized picture of the metaphorical mapping of 背 *bèi* 'back' in the V-position in Figure 4. By contrast, Figure 5 illustrates the verbal use of 背 *bèi* 'back' in (155) with the meaning of 'turn one's back toward something'. In the example in (155) illustrating the rule-based interpretation of *bèi*, the realization of the action of turning one's back toward something (carried out by the king) depends on the actual use of his body part 'back' (i.e. [+ by means of the body part X (X: back)] in Figure 5). Therefore, unlike the case in (156), the semantic type shift that *bèi* in (155) undergoes does not entail any cross-domain mappings in our conceptual system.
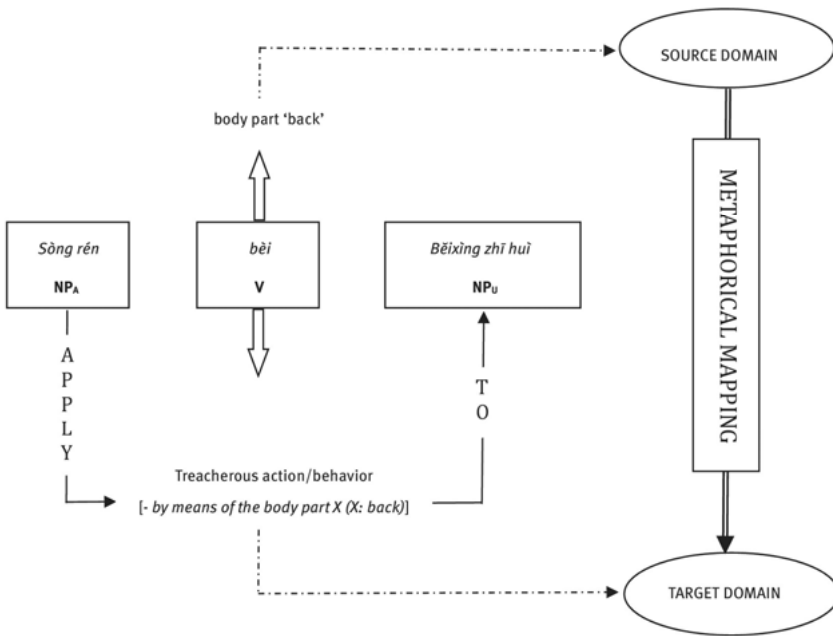
Fig. 4: Metaphorical mapping of 背 *bèi* 'back' in the V-position
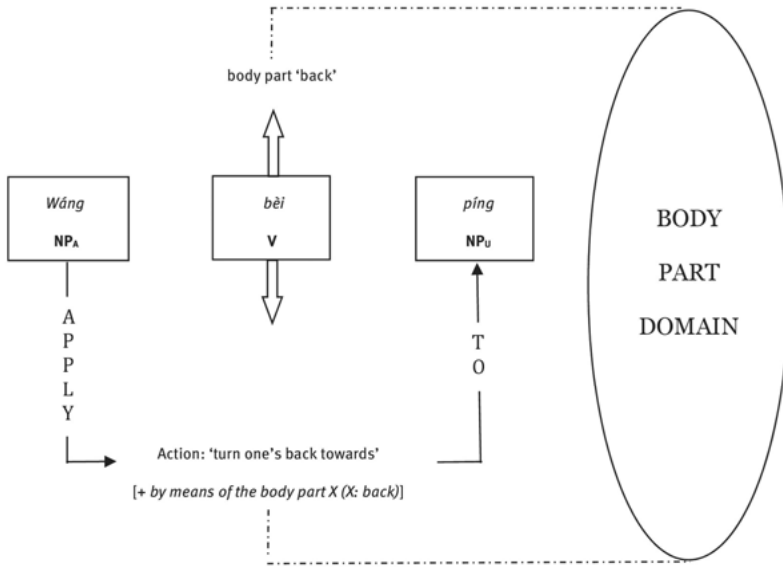
Fig. 5: Rule-based use of 背 *bèi* in the V-position

The following subsections present, firstly, the most common metaphorical source domains found in this study of flexibility (section 5.2.3.1), and secondly, a summary of the most common metaphorical target domains (section 5.2.3.2).

5.2.3.1 Common metaphorical source domains

The most common metaphorical source domains, involved in the N→V type of derivation of the object words from the eleven semantic classes under investigation (listed in (100)), include the following:

(159) Common metaphorical source domains in this study
    a. BODY PARTS
    b. ANIMALS
    c. INSTRUMENTS
    d. ILLNESS
    e. PLACES AND BUILDINGS
    f. FOODSTUFF (incl. PLANTS)
    g. NATURAL EVENTS
    h. SOCIAL/POLITICAL HUMAN NOTIONS

The following points are of relevance when comparing the above list in (159) with the most common metaphorical source domains in Kövecses's (2010) study as given in (158):

(i) Firstly, there are some differences in grouping and naming of a few source domains between Kövecses's survey and the present metaphor research:

— the present research groups 'human body parts' and 'animal body parts' together under the label of BODY PARTS (159a), while they are treated as two separate source domains in Kövecses's survey, i.e. HUMAN BODY and ANIMALS. For this reason, the source ANIMALS (159b) in the present research excludes the terms of animal body parts such as 'wings' or 'horns', but merely concerns the animal terms or concepts that treat an animal as a whole;

— the present research names INSTRUMENT (159c), ILLNESS (159d) and PLACES AND BUILDINGS (159e) as source domains, which are comparable to Kövecses's MACHINES AND TOOLS, HEALTH AND ILLNESS, and BUILDINGS AND CONSTRUCTIONS, respectively;

— the present research combines PLANTS and FOOD into one source domain, as in (159f), whereas they are separately discussed by Kövecses as two sources. This is due to the fact that in the present research, the notion 'plant' rather functions as an internal attribute ([+plant]) of foodstuffs such as 'grain, corn, cereal' (穀 *gǔ*) or 'wheat' (麥 *mài*), and that the potential merely for 'plant' to serve as a metaphorical source domain is not particularly high;

— the present research has NATURAL EVENTS (159g) as a source domain, while this notion falls into Kövecses's source category of FORCES (which involves various kinds of forces such as gravitational forces, magnetic forces, electric forces, and mechanical forces). Notice that Kövecses's FORCES can be realized in the physical world not only in the form of natural events like waves, wind, flood, or fire, but also in the form of agents pushing, pulling, driving, or sending another thing. The present metaphor research on NATURAL EVENTS focuses on the forces in the shape of natural events.

(ii) Secondly, the source domain of SOCIAL/POLITICAL HUMAN NOTIONS in (159h) above is typical of the context of flexibility in Classical Chinese, which is not present in Kövecses's list (158).

(iii) Thirdly, some sources of Kövecses's survey such as GAMES AND SPORTS, MONEY AND ECONOMIC TRANSACTIONS do not appear as common sources in the present research.

5.2.3.1.1 Body Parts

According to Kövecses (2010: 18), the human body constitutes an ideal metaphorical source domain, since it – as ego's center – is clearly delineated for each one of us. As expected, the human body also plays a key role in generating metaphorical meanings in the context of flexibility in Classical Chinese, where the concepts of various human body parts can be used as source domains in understanding abstract target concepts. Besides the body part 'back' referred to by 背 *bèi*, as discussed in (156) (cf. Figure 4), some other body parts such as 'finger(s)' referred to by 指 *zhǐ*, 'head' by 首 *shǒu*, 'teeth' by 齒 *chǐ*, 'legs and arms' by 股肱 *gǔgōng* are also frequently used in metaphorical mappings.

In the previous section 5.1 on the rule-based interpretation of object words, example (130) shows that the lexeme 指 *zhǐ* 'finger(s)' can serve as a transitive verb meaning 'point one's finger at something', conforming with the implicature TR in (128) (NP$_A$ does to NP$_U$ what one typically does with N). This rule-based interpretation of *zhǐ* emerges from the fact that the realization of the action of pointing one's finger at something depends on the use of the body part 'finger(s)' ([+ *by means of X (X: finger)*]), involving its primary deictic function in space ([+ *spatial deixis*]). By contrast, in neither of the examples given in (160) and (161) can the verbal function of the same word *zhǐ* 'finger(s)' be interpreted in the rule-based way. Rather, the meaning of *zhǐ* must be metaphorically interpreted, since in both of the examples the concept of 'finger(s)' (referred to by *zhǐ*) is used as the metaphorical source for conceptualizing something else beyond the conceptual domain of body parts. More specifically, in (160), that concept is used to conceptualize the target scene in which the troops moved in a certain direction (as indicated by the modifier *dōng* 'eastward' followed by *zhǐ*). In (161), that concept is used to conceptualize the target scene in which someone (i.e. *Yansui* in that context) pointed out someone else's (i.e. *Hankui's*) mistakes.

(160) 指 *zhǐ* 'finger(s)' → 'move directly (toward)'
      舉宋而東**指**，則泗上十二諸侯盡王之有已。 (*Zhanguo Ce, Chu Ce*)

jǔ	*Sòng*	*ér*	*dōng*	***zhǐ,***	*zé*
occupy	Song state	CONJ	eastward	finger:V	then

Sìshàng	*shíèr*	*zhūhóu*	*jìn*	*wáng*	*zhī*
basin of Si River	twelve	vassal states	all	king	DEP/GEN

yǒu	*yǐ.*
possess/possession	PTCL.PFV

'Having captured the Song state, (you can) move troops directly toward the east, then all the twelve vassal states along the basin of Si River will be yours, Your Majesty.'

(161) 指 *zhǐ* 'finger(s)' → 'point out'

嚴遂正議直**指**，舉韓傀之過。 (*Zhanguo Ce*, *Han Ce*)

*Yánsuì zhèng yì   zhí   **zhǐ,**   jǔ*

Yansui fairly criticize directly finger:V enumerate

Hánkuí zhī   guò.

Hankui GEN   mistake

'Yansui fairly criticized, directly pointed out, and enumerated Hankui's mistakes.'

At the same time, however, a close comparison of the two examples in (160) and (161) above suggests that there are some differences in their respective metaphorical mappings. Consider (160): although the realization of the troop's activity of moving directly towards a certain direction (referred to by *zhǐ* in verbal function) does not depend on the actual use of the body part 'finger(s)', here *zhǐ* as a verb is used deictically to indicate a directed movement of troops in space, as if a pointing finger indicates a certain direction. Based on this, one can assign the negative characteristic [– *by means of X (X: finger)*] and the positive [+ *spatial deixis*] to the metaphorical verbal interpretation of *zhǐ* in this sentence. In (161), however, neither does the realization of the activity of pointing out someone's mistakes (referred to by *zhǐ* in verbal function) necessarily depend on the use of the body part 'finger(s)', nor does the spatial deictic function of 'finger(s)' necessarily come into use. Therefore, one can assign both of the negative [– *by means of X (X: finger)*] and [– *spatial deixis*] characteristics to the metaphorical verbal interpretation of *zhǐ* in this sentence. To sum up, in neither of the metaphorical instances discussed, the realization of the activity denoted by *zhǐ* as a verb necessarily requires the actual use of the body part 'finger(s)'; rather, this body part is capable of serving as the metaphorical source domain just due to its certain salient features (functional, formal).

A similar observation can be made for the verbal function of 背 *bèi* 'back' in the examples given in (155) and (156) respectively. The rule-based interpretation of *bèi* in (155), i.e. 'turn one's back toward (something in space)' can be described in terms of both of the positive [+ *by means of X (X: back)*] and [+ *spatial deixis*] characteristics. By contrast, in (156) the metaphorical interpretation of *bèi* 'turn against' should be assigned [– *by means of X (X: back)*] and [– *spatial deixis*], two negative characteristics. Compared to the two instances discussed, *bèi* in (162) below can be interpreted as meaning 'be or stay at the back side of something in space' in terms of the negative [– *by means of X (X: back)*] and the positive [+ *spatial deixis*] characteristics.

(162) 背 *bèi* 'back' → 'be or stay at the back side of (something in space)'

楚師**背**鄀而舍。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Xigong* 26)

Chŭ	*shī*	***bèi***	*Xī*	*ér*	*shè.*
Chu state	troops	back:V	Xi Mountains	CONJ	camp

'The troops of Chu stayed at the back side of Xi Mountains and camped.'

In (162) above, *bèi* as a verb is interpreted in a metaphorical manner, too. As the context tells us, the concept of the body part 'back' (referred to by *bèi*) is used as the metaphorical source domain for conceptualizing the target scene in which the troops of Chu camped at the back side of Xi Mountains. As for this interpretation of *bèi*, although the realization of troops staying at the back side of a place does not require the actual use of the body part 'back', the concept of 'back' is used deictically to demonstrate the back side of Xi Mountains with regard to the spatial orientation of the mountains (thus with the positive [+ *spatial deixis*]). Despite the fact that the body part 'back' and the spatial 'back side' of a place are two different conceptual domains, they share the same spatial characterization as the opposite side of the front in their meaning.

The body part 'head' referred to by 首 *shŏu* can also serve as the metaphorical source domain. In Classical Chinese, the object word *shŏu* can function as a verb in either rule-based or metaphorical way. In the rule-based way, the verbal interpretation of *shŏu*, just like any other lexemes denoting body parts, follows either of the implicatures in (128), as illustrated in (163).

(163) 啟北**首**而寢於盧門之外。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Aigong* 26)

Qĭ	*bĕi*	***shŏu***	*ér*	*qĭn*	*yú*	*Lúmén*	*zhī*	*wài.*
Qi	northward	head:V	CONJ	sleep	LOC	Lu Gate	GEN	outside

'Qi turned his head towards the north and slept outside the Lu Gate.'

(Or, 'Qi slept outside the Lu Gate, with his head towards the north.')

In the sentence in (163) above, *shŏu* as a verb expresses the rule-based meaning 'turn one's head towards (a certain direction in space)', to which both of the positive characteristics [+ *by means of X (X: head)*] and [+ *spatial deixis*] can be assigned. By contrast, in the example in (164) which describes how the houses of an emperor, a duke, a senior official, and a normal official, respectively, should be constructed in different ways according to the rules of etiquette in the classical period, *shŏu* as a transitive verb needs to be metaphorically interpreted in terms of the negative [− *by means of X (X: head)*] and the positive [+ *spatial deixis*] characteristics. As can be seen in this example, the word *shŏu* in the V-position of the last transitive clause, taking the anaphoric pronoun *zhī* (referring to the house

rafter) in the object position, is used to conceptualize the activity 'hack down the rafter head on the top of a house' (in which the meaning component 'hack down' is inherited from the verb 斫 *zhuó* of the previous clause). This verbal interpretation of *shǒu* indicates that the metaphorical mapping takes place from the source domain of the body part 'head' to the target domain of the house's part 'rafter head on the top of a house'. These two distinct conceptual domains nevertheless share the same spatial characterization of the part 'head' relative to other parts within their respective systems.

(164) 首 *shǒu* 'head' → 'hack down the rafter head on the top of the house'
天子之室, 斫其椽而礱之, 加密石焉; 諸侯, 礱之; 大夫, 斫之; 士, **首**之。
(*Guoyu*, *Jinyu*)

tiānzǐ		*zhī*	*shì,*	*zhuó*	*qí*	*chuán ér*
the Son of Heaven		GEN	palace,	hack down	PRON	rafter CONJ
lóng	*zhī,*	*jiā*	*mìshí*			*yān;*
grind	PRON	add	fine-grained grindstone			there/PTCL
zhūhóu,		*lóng*	*zhī;*		*dàfū,*	
a duke's (house)		grind	PRON (i.e. rafter)		a senior official's (house)	
zhuó		*zhī;*		*shì,*		***shǒu***
hack down		PRON (i.e. rafter)		a normal official's (house)		head:V
zhī.						
PRON (i.e. rafter)						

'(As for) the king's palace, the rafter must be hacked down, ground roughly and then ground again with fine-grained grindstone. (As for) a duke's house, the rafter must be ground. (As for) a senior official's house, the rafter must be hacked down. (As for) a normal official's house, the rafter head on the top of the house must be hacked down.'

As can be seen above, a group of metaphors fit together in that they demonstrate some particular characteristics on different levels. The sets of characteristics assigned to respective (metaphorical or non-metaphorical) meanings can be put together to form a continuum: at one end of the continuum, the verbal meaning of a lexical item denoting a certain body part is non-metaphorical (covering rule-based interpreation), while at the other end of the continuum, the meaning is metaphorical. The continuum from the non-metaphorical end to the metaphorical end includes the following three levels:

–   On the first level, the lexeme denoting a certain body part (X) in the V-position is non-metaphorically interpreted, and it can typically be described in

terms of both of the positive characteristics [+ *by means of the body part X*] and [+ *spatial deixis*];

– On the second level, the lexeme in the V-position is metaphorically interpreted, and it can be described in terms of the negative [– *by means of the body part X*] and the positive [+ *spatial deixis*] characteristics;

– On the third level, the lexeme in the V-position is metaphorically interpreted, and it can be described in terms of both of the negative [– *by means of the body part X*] and [– *spatial deixis*] characteristics.

The above continuum is a descriptive analysis at the level of semantics, but should not be understood as necessarily corresponding to the actual chronological order of derivation with respect to the involvement of metaphor in the process. In other words, that does not imply that metaphorical meanings (i.e. meanings of the second or third level above) are always derived from non-metaphorical ones (meanings of the first level). Nor does it mean that all of the metaphorical items that fall into the source-domain category of body parts should always be interpreted in this way according to the three levels along the continuum. On the contrary, it must be noted that there are also lexemes denoting body parts whose verbal function can only be interpreted in a metaphorical manner (i.e. without the presence of the first level at least). This can be illustrated with the verbal function of 齒 *chǐ* 'teeth' in Classical Chinese. Empirical evidence suggests that in all instances of *chǐ* serving as a verb, it must be interpreted metaphorically, as illustrated in (165) below. This example describes the scene in which Duke Yin of the Lu state (the speaker) thought that he and those 'people with the royal family name Xue' (referred to by *zhūrèn*) should not be treated equally (i.e. he perhaps thought he had to be modest and be behind them).

(165) 齒 *chǐ* 'teeth' → 'stand equally, be on equal terms with, be juxtaposed'
寡人若朝於薛，不敢與諸任齒。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Yingong* 11)
guǎrén   ruò cháo   yú   Xuē,
1st.MODEST(king)   if   have an audience with a king   LOC   Xue state
bù   gǎn   yú   zhūrèn   chǐ.
NEG   dare   with   people with the royal family name Xue   teeth:V
'(Duke Yin of Lu said:) "If I have an audience with the king of Xue, (I) don't dare to be on equal terms with those nobles by the name of Xue."'

In the sentence given in (165) above, the word *chǐ* 'teeth' in the V-position can be interpreted as meaning 'stand equally', 'be on equal terms with', 'be juxtaposed' or the like. Needless to say, the realization of one such activity does not depend

on the use of the body part 'teeth', but it is very likely that the metaphorical interpretation of *chǐ* emerged from the visual image of the general arrangement of teeth in the mouth (each tooth is equally arranged in a row next to one another). Based on this, the negative [– *by means of X (X: teeth)*] and the positive [+ *spatial deixis*] characteristics can be assigned to this metaphorical verbal meaning of *chǐ*. In this connection, it is interesting to mention that the word 牙 *yá* 'teeth, molar' as the synonym of *chǐ* can occasionally also serve as a verb in Classical Chinese. However, unlike *chǐ*, *yá* as a verb is conventionally used only in the rule-based way for denoting the action 'bite by means of teeth', according to the implicature TR in (128).[34]

The body parts 'legs and arms' referred to by the compound 股肱 *gǔgōng* can also serve as the metaphorical source domain. This can be seen in the following example in (166), in which *gǔgōng* functions as a transitive verb meaning 'serve' or 'support'. Both of the negative characteristics [– *by means of X (X: legs and arms)*] and [– *spatial deixis*] can be assigned to this metaphorical interpretation of *gǔgōng*.

(166)　股肱 *gǔgōng* 'legs and arms' → 'serve, support'
　　　昔周公、大公**股肱**周室。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Xigong* 26)
　　　xī　　*Zhōu gōng,*　　*Dà gōng*　**gǔgōng**
　　　once　Duke Dan of Zhou　Duke Tai　legs and arms:V
　　　Zhōushì.
　　　the royal family of Zhou
　　　'Once, Duke Dan of Zhou and Duke Tai served the royal family of Zhou.'

As shown in (166) above, the conceptual source domain of 'legs and arms' (referred to by *gǔgōng*) is used to depict the scene in which Duke Dan of Zhou and Duke Tai did useful work for the royal family of Zhou, as if the legs and arms hold the body up and support many of the body's tasks. At the same time, Duke Dan and Duke Tai are subordinated to the royal family of Zhou, in a similar way like body appendages relative to the body.

Body parts that are only typical of animals are found in the metaphorical conceptualization of abstract targets, too. The following examples in (167), (168) and

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34 For example, consider the sentence from *Zhanguo Ce* (chapter *Qin Ce*): 投之一骨, 輕起相牙者, 何則? *Tóu zhī yī gǔ, qīng qǐ xiāng yá zhě, hé zé?* '(If one) throws a bone to them [i.e. the dogs which seem to live together peacefully at the moment], (they) would immediately start to bite each other. Why is this?' In this sentence, *yá* 'teeth, molar' serves as a verb meaning 'to bite', preceded directly by the reciprocal marker 相 *xiāng*.

(169) illustrate that 'wings' (or more specifically, 'the two parts of the body that a bird or insect uses for flying') referred to by 翼 *yì* can be used as the metaphorical source domain for conceptualizing various target activities.

(167) 翼 *yì* 'wings' → 'divide into two groups (as if two wings are divided)'
韓魏**翼**而擊之。 (*Zhanguo Ce*, *Zhao Ce*)

Hán	*Wèi*	*yì*	*ér*	*jī*	*zhī.*
Han Kangzi	Wei Xuanzi	wings:V	CONJ	attack	PRON

'Han Kangzi and Wei Xuanzi divided into two groups and attacked them from both sides.'

(168) 翼 *yì* 'wings' → 'look after', 'protect, shelter'
勝如卵，余**翼**而長之。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Aigong* 16)

Shèng	*rú*	*luǎn,*	*yú*	*yì*	*ér*	*zhǎng*	*zhī.*
Sheng	as if	egg	1st.PRON	wings:V	CONJ	attack	PRON

'Sheng is like an egg; I look after and bring him up.'

(169) 翼 *yì* 'wings' → 'lend wings to, help, support'
球賢良以**翼**之。 (*Guoyu*, *Chuyu*)

qiú	*xián liáng*		*yǐ*	*yì*	*zhī.*
seek	able and virtuous people		CONJ	wings:V	PRON

'(We) seek able and virtuous people to support him.'

First, the word 翼 *yì* 'wings' in the V-position in (167) can be interpreted as meaning 'divide into two groups'. In that sentence, the concept of wings is used as the metaphorical source domain to vividly depict the event scene in which the attack was efficiently carried out by two sides of the enemy (converging attack), as if an animal was seized (firmly) in the way of being caught with its two wings. This metaphorical interpretation of *yì* most probably emerged from the direct visual image of wings in general: wings typically grow on the two (left and right) sides of the body of an animal. Although the realization of the human activity of dividing into two groups does not depend on the use of wings, the form of wings is used for picturing how that attacking activity was carried out with respect to the spatial location and orientation of wings, i.e. from both sides. Therefore, the negative [– *by means of X (X: wings)*] and positive [+ *spatial deixis*] characteristics can be assigned to the metaphorical verbal interpretation of *yì* in this sentence. Further, this example is similar to the one with 齒 *chǐ* 'teeth' discussed in (165),

as they both suggest that during metaphorical mappings, body parts can be selected to serve as the source domain due to their typical appearance or form properties.

Both examples (168) and (169) show that the concept of wings can also serve as the metaphorical source domain due to their remarkable functional properties. In (168), the concept of wings is used to describe metaphorically the action 'look after' or 'protect, shelter' performed by a human (i.e. *yú* 'I' referring to Zixi) towards another human (i.e. *Shèng*). Both of the negative characteristics [– *by means of X (X: wings)*] and [– *spatial deixis*] can be assigned to this metaphorical interpretation of *yì*. It probably emerged from a very important function of wings, in the sense that parent birds take their eggs or hatchlings under their wings to protect or look after them. In (169), the body part 'wings' is used as the metaphorical source domain to conceptualize the human activity 'lend wings to someone' or 'support, help'. In the metaphor expressed by the whole sentence, the systematic correspondence of cross-domain mapping may include, in particular, the features like *helpful, useful, assistant*, which are attributes borrowed from the source domain 'wings' and assigned to the 'able and virtuous people' (referred to by *xián liáng*) who carried out the activity 'lend wings to someone, help, support'. Likewise, both of the negative characteristics [– *by means of X (X: wings)*] and [– *spatial deixis*] can be assigned to the metaphorical interpretation of *yì* in this sentence.

5.2.3.1.2 Animals

The domain of animals is also counted as a productive metaphorical source domain. In Classical Chinese, the animal terms that occur most frequently in metaphorical understanding of abstract targets include 畜 *chù* 'domesticated livestock', 驂 *cān* '(three) horses that pull a single-shaft carriage', 禽 *qín* 'beasts and birds' and 蠹 *dù* 'wood-boring beetles', among other items. The concepts of these animal terms can give rise to different metaphors. In particular, human beings are quite often understood in terms of animals or some (assumed) significant properties of animals. What seems to have motivated this metaphor use is the pattern of PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS, which is derived from the model of GREAT CHAIN METAPHOR proposed by Lakoff and Turner (1989), as shown in (170). In this model, different entities are arranged in a hierarchical manner, with human beings being placed in a higher order than animals.

(170) GREAT CHAIN METAPHOR (Lakoff and Turner 1989)
       Human beings > animals > plants > complex objects > natural physical
                                                                    things

In terms of the pattern of PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS, human attributes can be understood by means of animal attributes, or the other way around. This can be seen in different examples below. Notice that the (assumed) significant properties of animals that are used to describe people could be culturally determined.

Consider, for instance, the animal term 畜 *chù* 'domesticated livestock'. The rule-based verbal function of *chù* in transitive argument structure constructions has been illustrated with example (135), where the verbal *chù* 'keep, raise, breed' takes the anaphoric pronoun *zhī* referring to the 'live fish' as its object. Within this VO construction *chù zhī*, the concept of *chù* [V] and that of *zhī* [O] have an isotopy relation, as they jointly have the basic meaning trait of being [*+animal, -human*], and this gives homogeneity to the construction. In other words, there is a congruence of semantic domain between the verb *chù* and its object *zhī* (say, $V_{[+animal, -human]} = O_{[+animal, -human]}$). By contrast, *chù* as a transitive verb ($V_{[+animal, -human]}$) in the example in (171) below does not have an object-undergoer with the seme of being [*+animal, –human*], but instead it takes a human Undergoer (namely, *Jí*) in the object position. This VO combination (i.e. *chù Jí*) results in an incongruence of semantic domain between the verb and its object ($V_{[+animal, -human]} \neq O_{[+human]}$). In fact, this incongruence of semantic domain between participants within a construction often triggers the metaphorical interpretation of the construction.

(171) 畜 *chù* 'domesticated livestock such as pigs, dogs, cows, chickens' →
'look down on (someone)'
今而後知君之犬馬**畜**伋。 (*Mengzi*, *Wanzhang*)

jīn	*ér*	*hòu*	*zhī*	*jūn*	*zhī*	*quăn mă*
now	CONJ	later	know	ruler	AUX/DEP	like dogs and horses

chù			*Jí.*
domesticated livestock:V			Ji

'(Ji said:) "From now on, (I) know that the ruler keeps me like domesticated dogs and horses."' [i.e. he knew that the ruler looked down on him.]

The sentence in (171) talks about someone being looked down on or disdained. The metaphorical reading of *chù* in the V-position ('treat/consider someone as domesticated livestock', i.e. 'look down on someone') probably arose from the fact that domesticated livestock (denoted by *chù*) as an appendage to a household was characterized – probably, culturally determined – as being *low*, and even in some cases, *foolish* and *unwelcome*; then, these domesticated livestock-related characteristics were used to understand the manner in which a person like *Ji* who

was assumed to have these characteristics was treated. In other words, if someone is compared to domesticated livestock, he might be or feels discriminated against for being lowly. Consider another example with 畜 *chù*:

(172) 畜 *chù* 'domesticated livestock such as pigs, dogs, chickens' → 'live under someone else's roof'
其弟期，大叔疾之從孫甥也，少畜於公，以為司徒。
(*Zuozhuan*, *Aigong* 25)

qí	*dì*		*Qī,*	*Dàshūjí*	*zhī*	*cóng sūn shēng*
PRON	younger brother		Qi	Dashuji	GEN	a grandson of one's sister

yě,	*shào*	***chù***			*yú*	*Gōng,*
PTCL	in childhood	domesticated livestock:V			LOC	Duke Chu

yǐwéi	*Sītú.*
use as	Situ (Official function)

'His younger brother Qi was a grandson of Dashuji's sister. During (his) childhood, (Qi) lived under Duke Chu's roof, serving as Situ.'

While the concept of domesticated livestock (denoted by *chù*) is used in (171) for understanding the manner or the way how people are treated, it is used in (172) for the purpose of vividly picturing the dependent situation of a person, in the sense that he has to depend on others for a living. In other words, if someone is compared to domesticated livestock (as an appendage to a household), he might be in a dependent position under another person's roof for support. In general, as can be seen from these examples, the given metaphor cannot only express emotions, but it can also be quite informative.

Example (173) shows that the concept of '(three) horses that pull a single-shaft carriage' denoted by 驂 *cān* can also serve as the metaphorical source.

(173) 驂 *cān* '(three) horses that pull a single-shaft carriage' → 'have at one's disposal', 'have command over'
王之先帝，駕犀首而驂馬服，以與秦角逐。(*Zhanguo Ce*, *Zhao Ce*)

wáng	*zhī*	*xiāndì,*		*jià*	*Xīshǒu*
king	GEN	deceased emperor in former times		ride/drive	Xishou

ér	***cān***		*Mǎfú,*
CONJ	three horses that pull a single-shaft carriage:V		Mafu(General)

yǐ	*yú*	*Qín*	*juézhú.*
CONJ	with	Qin state	fight against

'The former emperor had Xishou and Mafu at his disposal to fight against Qin.'

In the sentence in (173), the word 驂 *cān* serves as a transitive verb, taking the human Undergoer Mafu (i.e. Zhao She, a very famous general of the Zhao state) in the object position. In the same clause, *cān* has a parallel expression, i.e. the transitive verb 駕 *jià* with the original meaning 'ride (a horse), drive (a carriage)', which also takes a human Undergoer in the object position, i.e. Xishou (most probably referring to a famous official named Gongsun Yan in that context). The two VO constructions under discussion can be interpreted in a metaphorical manner as 'have Xishou and Mafu at one's disposal' or 'have command over Xishou and Mafu'. The metaphorical verbal readings conveyed by *cān* and *jià* vividly illustrate that Xishou and Mafu served as excellent assistants of the emperor in the fight, as if well-trained horses would make the carriage go on triumphantly. This metaphorical association probably arose from the fact that in times of war, the horses that are specialized in pulling a carriage (such as *cān*) were characterized as being *useful, capable, qualified*, etc. (especially in the culture of the Warring States period). These positive characteristics were then used to understand the manner in which people (such as Mafu or Xishou) who were assumed to have these characteristics were treated. That is, if someone is compared to the '(three) horses that pull a single-shaft carriage' (*cān*), he is probably taken as a useful and excellent assistant or help to his commandant.

The metaphors illustrated above all have animals as their source domains and activities of human beings as their targets. In (174) below, however, the concept of the animal term 蠹 *dù* 'wood-boring beetles or insects' is used to conceptualize some harmful activities that would damage, destroy or spoil a country.

(174) 蠹 *dù* 'wood-boring beetles or insects' → 'cause damage to, damage, spoil'
       荊、魏不能獨立，則是一舉而壞韓蠹魏。 (*Zhanguo Ce, Qin Ce*)
       Jīng,   Wèi   bù   néng   dúlì,   zé   shì
       Chu state Wei state NEG can be independent then it is
       *yī jǔ   ér   huài   Hán   **dù***
       with one action CONJ collapse Han state wood-boring beetles:V
       Wèi.
       Wei state
       '(As) Chu and Wei could not be independent, then (we can) defeat Han in one stroke, (this will) damage Wei.'

In (174) above, the metaphorical association established between the two concepts (i.e. between the 'wood-boring beetles or insects' and the activity 'cause damage to, damage, spoil') can probably be traced back to the fact that wood-

boring beetles or insects were typically characterized as being *able to do harm*, *damaging*, or *destructive*, due to their remarkable properties, namely, they live in wood and often cause damage to the wood. Then, the characteristics related to the wood-boring beetles or insects were used to depict harmful activities that would cause damage to a state.

5.2.3.1.3 Instruments
The conceptual domain of instruments also plays a significant role in generating metaphorical verbal readings of object words in Classical Chinese. For instance, example (175) with 鈎 *gōu* 'hook' in the V-position shows that the concept of hook can serve as the source domain in a metaphorical mapping. Generally, the verbal function of *gōu* 'hook' in Classical Chinese can be interpreted in either rule-based or metaphorical way. In the rule-based way, *gōu* as a transitive verb designates the meaning of 'catch, hang' or 'connect something by means of a hook', following the implicature TR(a) in (107) (NP$_A$ does to NP$_U$ what one typically does using N). In the metaphorical way, as illustrated in (175), *gōu* as a transitive verb, taking *Yuè* 'the Yue state' as its Undergoer in the object position, can be interpreted as 'contact with', 'connect with' or 'establish communication with'. Obviously, the realization of such activities does not require the actual use of a hook. Rather, the metaphorical association between the concept of hook and the concept of the activity mentioned above can be explained by the fact that a hook is used typically for catching or connecting things. If one thing is hooked to another thing, they are connected with each other. By the same token, if a person has established communication with another person or an organization, they are connected with each other. In this way, it becomes apparent that the metaphorical interpretation of *gōu* in the above sentence comes from the utility of hooks, in the sense that the primary function of a hook is to cause things to be connected with each other.

(175) 鈎 *gōu* 'hook' → 'contact with, connect with, establish communication with'
魯不足與，請適城鉏，以**鈎**越，越有君。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Aigong* 25)

Lǔ	*bù*	*zú*	*yǔ,*		*qǐng*	*shì*	*Chéngchú,*
Lu state	NEG	be worthy	get along with		please	go to	Chengchu

yǐ	***gōu***	*Yuè,*	*Yuè*	*yǒu*	*jūn.*
in order to	hook:V	Yue state	Yue state	have	ruler

'(Quanmi said:) "The Lu state is not worthy of getting along with, please go to Chengchu to contact with the Yue state. Yue has a (true) ruler."'

The example in (176) below illustrates that the concept of 'the ropes that people can hold on to for support, especially when getting in or out a carriage' referred to by 綏 *suí* can be used as the metaphorical source domain. Similar to the case in (175) above, the metaphorical reading of *suí* in this sentence, i.e. 'pacify or appease (vassals)' can be understood as having developed from the utility of the kind of ropes (*suí*), in that their primary function is to cause someone to stay stable.

(176)   綏 *suí* 'the ropes that people can hold on to for support, especially when getting in or out a carriage' → 'pacify, appease', or 'stabilize'
        君若以德**綏**諸侯，誰敢不服？ (*Zuozhuan*, *Xigong* 4)
        *jūn   ruò yǐ   dé   **suí**   zhūhóu, shuí gǎn bù   fú.*
        ruler if   with virtue ropes:V vassals who   dare NEG obey
        'Your Majesty, if (you) pacify the vassals with (your) virtue, who would dare to refuse to obey?'

Both in (177) and in (178) below, the instrument word 厲(礪) *lì* functions as a transitive verb, with the concept of 'grindstone, pumice stone' serving as the metaphorical source domain:

(177)   厲(礪) *lì* 'grindstone, pumice stone' → 'encourage (people)'
        非所以**厲**群臣也。 (*Zhanguo Ce*, *Qin Ce*)
        *fēi   suǒyǐ   **lì**   qún   chén   yě.*
        NEG   use to grindstone:V crowd minister PTCL
        '(It was) not used for encouraging ministers.'

(178)   厲(礪) *lì* 'grindstone, pumice stone' → 'sharpen (weapons)'
        鄭穆公使視客館，則束載、**厲**兵、秣馬矣。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Xigong* 33)
        Zhèng   Mù gōng   shǐ   shì   kè guǎn   zé
        Zheng state Duke Mu send look about guesthouse then
        *sù   zài,   **lì**   bīng,   mò   mò   yǐ.*
        tie up load grindstone:V weapon feed horse PTCL.PFV
        'Duke Mu of Zheng sent (people) to look about the guesthouse (where Qizi and others lodged). (It was found that they) had already packed carriages, sharpened weapons and fed horses.'

Example (177) illustrates that the concept 'grindstone, pumice stone' can be used to conceptualize the activity 'encourage (people so as to make them sharp)', while example (178) demonstrates that the same concept can also be associated

with the activity 'sharpen (weapons)' (which must not necessarily be realized by means of real grindstones or pumices). Both cases involve the metaphorical association in which the utility of grindstones or pumice stones, i.e. to make sharp, is encoded into the verbal reading of *lì*.

Similar to the cases of *lì* illustrated above, the examples in (179) and (180) illustrate that the concept of 屏 *píng* 'screen (used typically for the shielding purpose)' can be used for metaphorically conceptualizing different target activities. Firstly, in (179) this concept is used to conceptualize the kind of activity that hides the facts or hinders someone from seeing or hearing the truth, thus resulting in someone's ill-judged decisions and errors. In (180), the same concept is used to conceptualize the activity of driving or keeping someone away from one's house. In fact, in both cases discussed, the metaphorically motivated interpretation of *bǐng* (the pronouncation of *píng* as a verb) can be understood as having emerged from the utilities of the screen (*píng*), in the sense that it is typically used for the purpose of protecting or hiding something, or for blocking and keeping off someone or something that is not desired.

(179) 屏 *píng* 'screen (used typically for the shielding purpose)' → *bǐng* 'screen off, block, hide, hinder'
去朝吳, 出蔡侯朱, 喪太子建, 殺連尹奢, **屏**王之耳目, 使不聰明。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Zhaogong* 27)

qù	*Cháowú,*	*chū*	*Càihóu Zhū,*	*sàng*	*Tàizǐ Jiàn,*
get rid of	Chaowu	drive away	Caihou Zhu	lose	Prince Jian

shā	*Liányǐn*	*Shē,*	*bǐng*	*wáng*	*zhī*	*ěr*	*mù,*
kill	Lianyin (Offical)	Wushe	screen:V	king	GEN	ears	eyes

shǐ	*bù*	*cōng míng.*
cause	NEG	can well see and hear well

'(He) got rid of Chaowu, drove away Caihou Zhu, lost Prince Jian, killed Official Wushe, (and) screened off the king's ears and eyes to make (him) unable to see and hear well [i.e. to hinder the king from getting all the facts.]'

(180) 屏 *píng* 'screen (used typically for the shielding purpose)' → *bǐng* 'drive away, keep away'
出妻**屏**子，终身不養焉。 (*Mengzi*, *Lilou*)

chū	*qī*	*bǐng*	*zǐ,*	*zhōngshēn*	*bù*	*yǎng*	*yān.*
drive away	wife	screen:V	son	for life	NEG	support	PTCL

'(He) drove away (his) wife and son (and thus) got no support (from them) for life.'

The phenomenon that one and the same instrument can serve as the metaphorical source domain for conceptualizing different target scenes is quite often. It can also be seen in the following examples in (181) and (182), both of which have the lexeme 階 *jiē* 'stairs' in the V-position of a transitive argument structure construction.

(181) 階 *jiē* 'stairs' → 'result in, lead to (gradually)'
       多怨而**階**亂。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Chenggong* 16)
       *duō   yuàn   ér   **jiē**   luàn.*
       much   rancour CONJ stairs:V unrest
       '(Social) unrest ensues from (people's) accumulated rancour.'

(182) 階 *jiē* 'stairs' → 'incur, induce, cause (gradually)'
       王不忍小忿而棄鄭，又登叔隗以**階**狄。 (*Guoyu*, *Zhouyu*)
       wáng bù rěn   xiǎo fèn   ér   qì   Zhèng, yòu
       king NEG tolerate small anger CONJ abandon Zheng   also
       *dēng   Shūkuí yǐ   **jiē**   Dí.*
       make ascend Shukui CONJ stairs:V Di (a tribe from North China)
       'Your Majesty, (you) did not tolerate trivial matters and abandoned the Zheng state, also, (you) appointed Shukui as empress so as to gradually incur (trouble and danger caused by) Di.'

The two examples above illustrate that the concept of 'stairs', or more specifically 'a series of steps of surfaces at increasing or decreasing heights, by which people can go from one floor to another' can be used to conceptualize different abstract forces which could bring about some particular result or cause something (usually something unpleasant) to happen. In (181) the concept of stairs is used to describe the target scene in which people's accumulated rancour would (gradually) lead to social unrest, while in (182) this concept is used to describe the potential of incurring damages caused by enemies.

5.2.3.1.4 Illness

In English, there are many expressions such as *a healthy economy*, *a sick joke*, or *it never hurts to ask*, where concepts of healthy or illness serve as the metaphorical source domain for conceptualizing abstract targets. Also in the context of flexibility of parts of speech in Classical Chinese, concepts of healthy or illness – primarily the concepts of general illness terms – are often found in metaphorical

mappings. This can be seen in the following examples with the general illness terms 病 *bìng* '(serious) illness' and 疾 *jí* 'illness' in the V-position.

Examples (183)–(186) show that the term *bìng* as a verb can, depending on the context and the construction in which it occurs, be used to conceptualize different event targets in relation to difficulties, problems, worries, anger or emotion. All these target events are beyond the conceptual domain of physical illness.

(183) 病 *bìng* '(serious) illness' → 'suffer from difficulties'
   國必甚**病**。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Xigong* 4)
   *guó   bì   shèn   **bìng**.*
   country   certainly   very   (serious) illness:V
   'The countries will certainly suffer (heavily) from difficulties.'

(184) 病 *bìng* '(serious) illness' → 'worry about'
   於是衛方**病**邢。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Xigong* 20)
   *yú shì   Wèi   fāng   **bìng**.   Xíng.*
   this time Wei state only just (serious) illness:V Xing state
   'It was not until this time that Wei worried about Xing.'

(185) 病 *bìng* '(serious) illness' → 'feel angry with'
   徵舒**病**之。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Xuangong* 10)
   *Zhēngshū   **bìng**.   zhī.*
   Zhengshu   (serious) illness:V   PRON
   'Zhengshu felt angry with it.'

(186) 病 *bìng* '(serious) illness' → 'harass'
   北戎**病**齊。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Huangong* 10)
   *Běi Róng   **bìng**.   Qí.*
   North Rong (ethnic group)   (serious) illness:V Qi state
   'North-Rong harassed (the frontiers of) the Qi state.'

The lexeme 疾 *jí* 'illness' as a synonym of *bìng* also often serves as the metaphorical source domain for depicting different non-physical targets, in relation to activities, problems, worries or emotion, as shown in the following examples (187), (188) and (189) (cf. example (147) with the rule-based interpretation of *jí* in an intransitive construction).

(187) 疾 *jí* 'illness' → 'harm'

使**疾**其民，以盈其貫。(*Zuozhuan*, *Xuangong* 6)

shǐ	***jí***	*qí*	*mín,*	*yǐ*		*yíng*	*qí*	*guàn.*
cause	illness:V	PRON	people	in order to		increase	PRON	misdeed

'(We can) cause (him) to do harm to people in order to credit (him) a full list of misdeeds.'

(188) 疾 *jí* 'illness' → 'get angry about'

諸侯**疾**之，將致命於秦。(*Zuozhuan*, *Chenggong* 13)

zhūhóu	***jí***	*zhī,*	*jiāng*	*zhìmìng*		*yú*	*Qín.*
vassals	illness:V	PRON	FUT	fight desperately		PREP	Qin state

'The vassals got angry about this and would desperately fight against Qin.'

(189) 疾 *jí* 'illness' → 'feel sick about, hate, detest, disgust'

民**疾**君之侈 。(*Guoyu*, *Jinyu*)

mín	***jí***	*jūn*	*zhī*	*chǐ.*
people	illness:V	ruler	GEN	extravagance

'People hate the ruler's extravagance.'

In this connection, it is interesting to note that metaphorical interpretations are not found when the compound 疾病 *jíbìng* '(serious) illness' occurs as a verb in the present study. Its verbal interpretation always follows the intransitive, rule-based implicature outlined in (143) for illness terms.

5.2.3.1.5 Other common source domains

This subsection briefly discusses some other common metaphorical source domains in Classical Chinese such as PLACES AND BUILDINGS, FOODSTUFF, NATURAL EVENTS and SOCIAL/POLITICAL HUMAN NOTIONS presented in (159) as well as the domains which are not presented in that list.

(i) PLACES AND BUILDINGS

Some places and buildings may serve as the metaphorical source domain due to their typical appearance or some remarkable functional properties. This can be illustrated with the verbal usage of the geographic term 鄙 *bǐ* 'periphery' in (190) below.

(190) 鄙 *bǐ* periphery' → 'disrespect, discriminate'
    我皆有禮，夫猶**鄙**我。 (*Zuozhuan, Zhaogong* 16)

wǒ	*jiē*	*yǒu*	*lǐ,*	*fū*	*yóu*	***bǐ***	*wǒ.*
1st.PRON	all	have	courtesy	PRON	still	periphery:V	1st.PRON

    'We always behave correctly and politely, (but) they still disrespect us.'

The example above illustrates that the concept of periphery is used in the meta-phorical comprehension of someone's emotion or feeling of being disrespected. Generally, the term 'periphery' refers to a geographic (sometimes also geometric) peripheral position or the outer edge of an area. A periphery is defined in relation to a center: if something is on the periphery of an area or place, it is on the edge of it and far away from the center. Taking this geographic idea as the starting point, one can say that the periphery of a subject of interest is the part that is not considered as important as the main part, similar to an appendage, as the case may be, even considered underdeveloped, weak, poor or impoverished. The sentence in (190) above talks about someone being looked down upon or despised, where the metaphorical interpretation of *bǐ* probably emerged in the way in which the aforementioned periphery-related characteristics were used to under-stand the manner in which the people who are assumed to have these character-istics were treated.

The example in (191) below illustrates that the concept of 'roof eaves' (or more specifically, 'the section of a roof that extends beyond the outside wall of a build-ing') denoted by 宇 *yǔ* is used as the source domain of metaphorical mapping.

(191) 宇 *yǔ* 'roof eaves' → 'cover protectively, rule, control'
    今君之德**宇**，何不寬裕也？ (*Guoyu, Jinyu*)

jīn	*jūn*	*zhī*	*dé*	***yǔ,***	*hé*	*bù*	*kuān yù*
now	ruler	GEN	virtue	roof eaves:V	Q.why	NEG	be tolerant

    yě?
    PTCL

    'Your Majesty, you now rule (the whole country) with your virtue, why not be more tolerant?'

As is generally known, roof eaves (as a building section) are typically intended for providing protection to the buildings. For example, they can prevent rain, snow and other things from spilling directly into the building and causing dam-age to the foundation. Besides, the traditional Chinese architecture in ancient times took advantage of the large and extended sloping eaves to construct painted and sculptured designs. In fact, all utilities of roof eaves are a result of

their overhanging, covering and enveloping architectural features. What example (191) shows is a suggestion made by a subordinate to the king. The metaphorical verbal interpretation of *yǔ* – which, in a nice and polite way, describes that the king's virtue protectively covers his country and people (in other words, he rules the whole country), like what the roof eaves of a building do to the whole building – probably emerged because of these architectural features of roof eaves mentioned above.

(ii) FOODSTUFF (incl. PLANTS)

As the Chinese saying goes, (the king regards his people as heaven, while) people regard food as heaven.[35] Food has always been a fundamental part of Chinese culture. There are numerous idioms, sayings, proverbs, as well as metaphors about food. Also in the context of flexibility of parts of speech in Classical Chinese, concepts of foodstuff are observed as one of the most frequent metaphorical source domains. This can be illustrated with the examples below.

The sentence in (192) is constructed with the food term 餌 *ěr* 'pastry, cake, bait, food' in the V-position. As was shown in (126), *ěr* as a transitive verb can be interpreted in the rule-based way as meaning 'feed (with cake, pastry, bait or food)', following the implicature TR(b) in (122). In (192), however, *ěr* as a transitive verb has to be interpreted in a metaphorical manner in which the concept of 'pastry, cake, bait, food' serves as the source domain to conceptualize someone's intended activity of supplying, satisfying, or pleasing someone else. As the context tells, Ganmao (the speaker) intended to please the king of Qin by offering Yiyang (place) to him, but definitely not by means of any real foodstuff. All the same, the metaphorical interpretation of *ěr* as a verb in this sentence most probably emerged because of the general utility of the foodstuff 'pastry, cake, bait, food' (referred to by *ěr*).

(192) 餌 *ěr* 'pastry, cake, bait, food' → 'supply, satisfy, please'
　　　我以宜陽**餌**王。 (*Zhanguo Ce, Qin Ce*)
　　　wǒ　　　*yǐ*　　　*Yíyáng*　　　***ěr***　　　*wáng*.
　　　1st.PRON　take/with　Yiyang (Place)　pastry:V　king
　　　'(Ganmao said:) "I will take Yiyang to please the king."'

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35 This saying originates from *Shiji* (史記), a book written by the historian Sima Qian (ca. 145–86 BC). Here the term 'heaven' (天 *tiān*) can be understood as 'the most important thing in life' or 'the first necessity'.

The concept of 'oil, grease, fat, cream' denoted by 膏 *gāo* can also serve as the metaphorical source domain, as illustrated in (193) below, where it is used figuratively to conceptualize the target scene in which big countries nourish or give favours to small countries, just as the rain moistens and nourishes crops.

(193) 膏 *gāo* 'oil, grease, fat, cream' → *gào* 'nourish, give favours to'
       小國之仰大國也，如百穀之仰膏雨焉！若常膏之，其天下輯睦。
       (*Zuozhuan, Xianggong* 19)

xiǎo guó		*zhī*	*yǎng*	*dà guó*	*yě,*	*rú*
small country		DEP	look up to	big country	PTCL	as though

bǎi gǔ		*zhī*	*yǎng*	*gāo*	*yǔ yān!*	*ruò*
all cereal crops		DEP	look up to	oil-like	rain there/PTCL	if

cháng	**gào**	*zhī,*	*qí*	*tiān xià*	*jí mù.*
often	oil:V	PRON	probably	land under heaven	harmonious

       'Small countries look up to big countries, as if all of the cereal crops look up at the rain that moistens and nourishes them. If (big countries) often give favours to small countries, then all the countries of the world would probably live together in harmony.'

As shown in (193) above, the word 膏 *gāo* 'oil, grease, fat, cream' occurs twice. The first instance of *gāo* serves as a modifier (annotated as 'oil-like') of the lexeme 雨 *yǔ* 'rain' in the object position, so the nominal expression *gāo yǔ* can be interpreted as 'the oil-like rain', or more specifically 'the rain that keeps the soil moist (so that crops will flourish)' according to the context. The second instance of the word, however, functions as a transitive verb, pronounced as *gào*. The verbal *gào* takes the anaphoric pronoun *zhī* as its Undergoer in the object position, which refers to the subject NP *xiǎo guó* 'small countries' at the beginning of the discourse. The context suggests that this VO construction *gào zhī* can be interpreted as 'to nourish or give favours to small countries'. Similarly, one could say that the metaphorical interpretation of *gào* in this sentence emerged due to particular functional properties of 'oil, grease, fat, cream' (denoted by *gào*).

   The verbal use of 食 *shí* 'food, meal, grains, (cooked) rice' in example (194) suggests that the concept of a general food term may also serve as the metaphorical source domain. As was illustrated by examples (123) and (125), the term *shí* in verbal function can be interpreted in the rule-based way as meaning 'eat'. Literally, words cannot be eaten. Nevertheless, the VO construction 食言 *shí yán* [eat–words/what one said] is found in this study, where it can have the figurative meaning of 'break a promise' in addition to its literal meaning 'eat words' (notice that in Modern Chinese, *shíyán* 'break a promise' is regarded as a lexical verb).

For instance, in (194) below, both the literal meaning of *shí yán* ('eat words') and its metaphorical interpretation ('break a promise') are involved: the former was used by Duke Ai (the speaker) as a reply to Mengwubo's question of why Guozhong was fat, while the latter was what Duke Ai really wanted to say and blame Mengwubo for his breaking promises. This example also seems to have addressed the question whether the metaphorical meaning of the construction *shí yán* was derived from its literal meaning 'eat words', i.e. whether the metaphorical interpretation of *shí* in *shí yán* is derived from its rule-based meaning 'eat' (cf. section 5.3.3).

(194) 食 *shí* 'food, meal, grains, (cooked) rice' → *shí yán* [eat words] 'break a promise'

公曰：「是**食**言多矣，能無肥乎？」飲酒不樂，公與大夫始有惡。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Aigong* 25)

Gōng	*yuē:*	"*shì*	***shí***	*yán*	*duō*	*yǐ,*		*néng*
Duke Ai	say	DEM	eat	words	much	PTCL.PFV		could

wú	*féi*	*hū?*	*yǐn*	*jiǔ*	*bù*	*lè,*	*Gōng*	*yǔ*
NEG	fat	Q	drink	alcohol	NEG	happy	Duke Ai	and

dàfū	*shǐ*	*yǒu*	*wù.*
Dafu (Official)	begin to	have	loathing

[Context: Mengwubo poked fun at Guozhong and asked why he was fat. Duke Ai answered this question for Guozhong as follows:]
'Duke Ai said: "This (person) has eaten too much words [i.e. broken his promises for too many times], how could he not be fat?" (Though Mengwubo) went on drinking, (he) was not happy. Duke Ai and Dafu [i.e. Mengwubo] hated each other from then on.'

Various parts of plants, according to the characteristics they are attributed to, can serve as the metaphorical source domain in conceptualizing different targets. For example, fruits as the ultimate products of a plant's growth are often used to conceptualize the final result of a development, or the consequence of some effort or action in a broader sense. Thus, there are expressions like *your hard work will bear fruit*, or *time will soon ripen* in English. In the context of flexibility of parts of speech in Classical Chinese, there are similar metaphors with the concept of fruits as the source domain. This can be illustrated with example (195). In this sentence, the concept of fruits (denoted by 果 *guǒ*) is used to conceptualize the human activity 'finish, accomplish' (referred to by *guǒ* in verbal function). Although in the five classical texts under investigation, the word *guǒ* is also found to serve as a noun meaning 'consequence, result' (which can be regarded as a meaning derived from its original semantics 'fruits' in a metaphorical way), this should not

exclude the possibility that the verbal function of *guǒ* 'finish, accomplish' emerged directly from its original semantics 'fruits'. In my view, both derivations (i.e. 'fruit' → 'consequence, result' and 'fruit' → 'finish, accomplish') are possible, given that flexibility is a potential in the lexicon.

(195) 果 *guǒ* 'fruits' → 'finish (doing something), accomplish'
固將朝也，聞王命而遂不**果**。 (*Mengzi, Gongsunchou*)

gù	*jiāng*	*cháo*	*yě,*	*wén*	*wáng*	*mìng*	*ér*	*suì*
originally	FUT	go to court	PTCL	hear	king	order	CONJ	then

bù	***guǒ*.**
NEG	fruit.V

'(You) were originally going to go to court, (but after) having heard the king's order, (you) stopped [i.e. you didn't go to court anymore].'

(iii) NATURAL EVENTS
The metaphorical conceptualization of abstract targets by means of natural events can be illustrated by example (196), with the lexeme 雨 *yǔ* 'rain' in the V-position pronounced as *yù*.

(196) 雨 *yǔ* 'rain' → *yù* 'drop onto (like relentless raindrops)'
射之，校機藉之，攉之，太汜迫之，燒荅覆之，沙石**雨**之 …。
(*Mozi, Beiefu*)

shè	*zhī,*	*jiào*	*jī*		*jí*	*zhī,*
shoot	PRON	check	crossbow launcher		bully	PRON

zhuǒ	*zhī,*	*tài sì*		*pò*	*zhī,*	*shāo dá*
pull out	PRON	boiling water		pour	PRON	burning ironware

fù	*zhī,*	*shā shí*	***yù***	*zhī*	…
engulf	PRON	sand and rock	rain:V	PRON	

[Context: When the enemies intend to climb up the city gate, the city gate defenders need to build temporary battlements. From the battlements, they need to do the following:]
'To shoot the enemies, aim crossbows at them and shoot them, pull out their climbing gears, pour boiling water over them, engulf them with burning ironware, and hit them on the head with sand and rocks like relentless raindrops from the top down …'

In (196) above, the verbal *yù* takes the anaphoric pronoun *zhī* (referring to the enemies who intend to climb up the city gate) as its Undergoer in the object position. In contrast to examples (88) and (137) discussed previously, where *yù* as an

intransitive verb is used in the rule-based way to designate the natural event 'to rain (it rains)', the verbal *yù* in (196) has a metaphorically motivated interpretation which falls completely out of the conceptual domain of any natural events or meteorological phenomena. Here, the natural event 'rain' is used as the metaphorical source to conceptualize a rainfall-like scene during fighting: a large amount of sand and rocks is falling like relentless raindrops from above and hitting the enemies on their heads intensively. This cross-domain metaphorical association is based on the fact that the natural event 'rain' happens in the form of falling. In addition, this example implies that, when the natural phenomenon 'rain' serves as the metaphorical source domain, it is the concept of a heavy downpour that is used in the conceptualization of the rainfall-like scene.

(iv) SOCIAL/POLITICAL HUMAN NOTIONS

It is particularly interesting that under the circumstance of flexibility of parts of speech in Classical Chinese, some lexemes denoting social or political human roles have the potential of being used in a metaphorical way, in which the generation of figurative meanings is greatly based on cultural considerations. Consider 祖 *zǔ* denoting 'ancestor', for instance. [36] When serving as a transitive verb, *zǔ* can be interpreted in either rule-based or metaphorical way. In the rule-based way, *zǔ* can be interpreted as meaning 'consider or treat (someone) as an ancestor' according to the implicature TR(c) in (101), as illustrated in (197).

(197) 宋**祖**帝乙。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Wengong* 2)
  Sòng   ***zǔ***   *Dì Yǐ*
  Song state   ancestor:V   Emperor *Yi*
  'The Song state considered Emperor Yi as ancestor.'

By contrast, the verbal interpretation of *zǔ* in (198) follows none of the rule-based implicatures discussed in (101). In this sentence, *zǔ* as a transitive verb takes the

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36 The other referential meaning of *zǔ* is 'ancestral temple', according to which it falls into the semantic class of places and/or buildings (section 5.1.3). As a member of this semantic class, *zǔ* in verbal function normally serves as an intransitive verb meaning 'offer sacrifice to ancestors (in an ancestral temple)', which conforms to the implicature INT(a) in (113). This can be seen, for example, in 陳鍼子送女, 先配而後祖 *Chén Zhēnzǐ sòng nǚ, xiān pèi ér hòu zǔ.* [Chen Zhenzi–accompany bride to bridegroom's family–daughter, first–marry–CONJ–later–ancestor temple:V] Chen Zhenzi accompanied his daughter to the bridegroom's family. (They) would first marry and later offer sacrifice to their ancestors (in an ancestral temple)." (*Zuozhuan*, *Yingong* 8).

inanimate expression 'Zhang Yi's previous scheme' (*Zhāng Yí zhī gù móu*) as its Undergoer in the object position.

(198) 祖 *zǔ* 'ancestor' → 'follow respectfully (something)'
秦王必**祖**張儀之故謀。 (*Zhanguo Ce, Han Ce*)

Qín wáng	*bì*	**zǔ**	*Zhāng Yí*	*zhī*	*gù móu.*
King of Qin	certainly	ancestor:V	Zhang Yi	GEN	previous scheme

'The king of Qin will certainly follow Zhang Yi's previous scheme respectfully.'

In (198) above, the verbal *zǔ* is used in a metaphorical manner in which the social human notion 'ancestor' (*zǔ*) serves as the source domain for conceptualizing the human activity of following something respectfully. The associative link established between the two concepts, i.e. the concept of 'ancestor' and the concept of the target activity 'follow something respectfully' can be attributed to the tradition of ancestral veneration rooted in Chinese culture, in the sense that ancestors are considered as deities who have an exemplary effect on the lives of those still living. As to how the ancestors should be treated, the tradition dictates that they should be respected and followed.

(v) Other source domains, such as GARMENTS
In addition to the metaphorical source domains presented in (159), there are still some other sources that are found more or less often when using object-denoting lexemes as verbs in Classical Chinese. For reasons of space, only garments as a source domain will be discussed below. Consider, for instance, the garment word 襟 *jīn* 'collar, front of a garment (in ancient style)'. It serves as a verb in (199) below and has a metaphorically motivated meaning.

(199) 襟 *jīn* 'collar, front of a garment' → 'possess or have (a strategically important place)'
王**襟**以山東之險，帶以河曲之利。 (*Zhanguo Ce, Qin Ce*)

wáng	**jīn**	*yǐ*	*shāndōng*	*zhī*	*xiǎn,*
king	collar:V	with	Shandong	GEN	strategic and tough place

dài	*yǐ*	*héqǔ*	*zhī*	*lì.*
waistband:V	with	Hequ	GEN	advantages

'Your Majesty, (you) have the strategically important and difficultly accessible Shandong, (you) have the advantages brought by Hequ.'

In (199), the garment word *jīn* as a verb is used in a metaphorical manner in which its object-denoting concept 'collar, front of a garment' serves as the source domain for conceptualizing the target activity 'possess or have (a strategically important place)'. Paralleling *jīn*, the garment word 帶 *dài* 'waistband' (at the beginning of the second clause) also serves as a verb with a metaphorically motivated meaning, i.e. 'possess or have (some benefits)'. As for *jīn*, the cross-domain association in the metaphorical mapping may be attributed to the typical style of the collars of Chinese garments in ancient times: they start at the neckline, with the edges of both (left and right) sides being overlapped at the centre front of a garment. In parallel, from a military perspective, a strategically important place is one where roads, paths or lines converge, like a collar of a garment. Given the potential of flexibility, as the next step, the garment word *jīn* 'collar, front of a garment' can be used as a verb meaning 'possess or have (a strategically important place)'.

5.2.3.2 Common metaphorical target domains

In the present metaphor research concerning the verbal function of object-denoting lexemes in Classical Chinese, the most common target domains to which the different metaphorical source domains discussed are applied can roughly be classified into the following three main categories:

AFFECT

The term AFFECT is intended to refer to the subjective conscious experience of feeling, emotion or mood. As a superior target domain, it typically involves the concepts that denote psychological and mental states, conditions or reactions such as anger, angst, fear, worry, detestation. The metaphorical source domain of ILLNESS, as illustrated by the examples with 病 *bìng* and 疾 *jí* (section 5.2.3.1.4), is usually connected with this target domain.

SPATIAL COGNITION

The domain of SPATIAL COGNITION as a superior target domain involves the concepts of information processing as to how an object is physically located, distributed or moved, with respect to a main (imaginary) reference frame such as the body. In metaphorical mappings, the source domain that most often serves to conceptualize this target category typically involves various human or animal body parts, as suggested by the examples of 指 *zhǐ* in (160), 背 *bèi* in (162), 首 *shǒu* in (164), 齒 *chǐ* in (165), as well as 翼 *yì* in (167). The natural event 'rain' referred to by 雨 *yǔ* may also be classified into the domain of SPATIAL COGNITION, as it

can be used to conceptualize raindrop-like scenarios of falling movement as demonstrated in (196).

BEHAVIOUR

The superior target domain of BEHAVIOUR involves concepts of a variety of different types of activities. They are largely understood by means of all the concrete source concepts discussed.

5.2.4 Components of metaphor – universality, sociocultural specificity, context, and perspectives

Metaphors vary in universality: "some seem to be universal, others are widespread, and some seem to be culture specific" (Lakoff 1993: 245). This is due to the fact that metaphors reflect particular ways of thinking and behaving, as well as ways of conceptualizing realities and experiences. All these are constituted not only by the aspects of cognition that are common to all human beings, but also by sociacultural considerations that may vary greatly by region, by culture and over time (Kövecses 2010: 195–209, 215–227).

As has been observed, if a metaphor is grounded in common things found in nature such as a body part of humans or animals, there are often similarities and parallelisms in metaphor uses across languages. This is simply because the motivation for their origins is universal, and there is always commonsense knowledge that an ordinary person is expected to have about them. Despite this fact, the exact realization of concepts might differ regionally and culturally. As an example, consider the verbal function of the body part term 翼 *yì* 'wings' in Classical Chinese. It is observed that one of its metaphorically motivated interpretations, i.e. 'lend wings to, help, support', the one illustrated in (169), often has analogues in other languages. For example, it can be compared to the German verb *beflügeln* (derived from the noun *Flügel* 'wing') in (200) below, where *beflügeln* may have or include a similar reading to *yì* in (169), in addition to some other possible readings depending on the context (e.g., *beflügeln* may also mean 'inspire' or 'enable to work smoothly or quickly').

(200) Klassische Musik *beflügelt* ihn bei der Arbeit. (Source: *www.canoo.net*)
       'Classical music helps him at work.'
       (Or, 'Classical music inspires him at work.' etc.)

For both the Classical Chinese *yì* in (169) and the German *beflügeln* in (200), the metaphorical association between the two concepts – the body part 'wings' (source) and the activity 'lend wings to, help, support' (target) – can be traced back to our general knowledge about the utility of wings: wings can serve a number of functions, for example, they allow animals to move (quickly), go far away, get out of trouble, brood eggs, regulate their body temperature, and so on.

On the other hand, compared to the verbal interpretations of the Classical Chinese *yì* 'wings', it is interesting that both the English denominal verb *wing* and the German *beflügeln* may have the metaphorical reading '(enable to) move quickly, as if flying'. This reading emphasizes the high speed of a movement, as demonstrated in sentences like "The prize will be *winging* its way to your son" (Source: *oxforddictionaries.com*), or "Die Angst *beflügelt* den eilenden Fuß" (Source: *Die Bürgschaft*. Friedrich von Schiller). The origin of this metaphorical reading of *wing* or *beflügeln* can be explained in terms of our commonsense knowledge that one important – arguably the primary function – of wings is for flying or enabling to move quickly. However, this reading or similar ones which fall into the conceptual domain of flying or moving quickly (by means of wings or not) is not observed when the Classical Chinese *yì* functions as a verb.[37] These empirical findings and comparison lend support to Kövecses's (2010: 35) observation that even the metaphorical associations embodied in universal experience may not necessarily exist in every language. As a matter of fact, the diversity of metaphor realization is associated with many factors which do not only include different speakers' socioculturally transmitted ways of thinking and conceptualizing, but also possibly some determinants in the lexicon of a given language that may influence the realization of potential associations that exist in the outside world.

The unique verbal usage of the lexeme 祖 *zǔ* 'ancestor, ancestral temple' can also serve to illustrate the influence of sociocultural considerations on metaphor realization. As shown in (198), the metaphorical link established between the source concept 'ancestor' and the target activity 'follow respectfully something' must be traced back to the ancestral veneration rooted in traditional Chinese culture, in the sense that the expected way of treatment of ancestors is that they should always be respected and followed. Another example of sociocultural specificity can be seen in the verbal function of the garment word 襟 *jīn* 'collar, front

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37 Notice that the other term for 'wings', i.e. 翅 *chì* is also observed in the V-position in a classical text (Hanfeizi), where it can merely be interpreted as meaning 'spread wings' (no 'fly'). In that sentence, the meaning of flying as a subsequent step of spreading wings (*chì*) is overtly expressed by the action word 飛 *fēi* in the next clause that follows the one with *chì*.

of a garment' in (199), where it is used to conceptualize the target activity 'possess or have a strategically important place'. As discussed, the metaphorical association between the source and target domains can be attributed firstly to the form (shape, style) of collars of Chinese garments in ancient times; secondly, this typical form of collars is linked conceptually to a militarily important place where roads, paths or lines converge.

As a further example for culture as a fundamental determinant, consider the verbal meaning 'to correct or rectify (something like errors or mistakes)' of the object word 繩 *shéng* 'ink lines'. This verbal reading of *shéng* is found, for instance, in the sentence 繩愆糾謬 *shéng qiān jiū miù* [ink lines:V–errors–rectify–mistakes] 'To correct errors (and) rectify mistakes' in the Old Chinese text *Shangshu* (尚書). At first glance, if one does not take the Chinese cultural background into consideration, it would be difficult to explain the origin of this verbal reading of *shéng*. In fact, *shéng* is used in this example in a figurative sense, where the metaphorical association between the source concept 'ink lines' and the target 'to correct or rectify (errors or mistakes)' can be ascribed to the utility of ink lines in ancient times: they were an important tool in construction and carpentry for marking long and straight lines on flat surfaces, during which they served as baselines or were used for correcting baseline errors.

Besides universality and sociocultural specificity, two fundamental components of metaphor, it is also important to observe that during a metaphorical mapping, the feature selection or, more specifically, the determination of similarities between the source domain and the target domain can be strongly context- and construction-dependent. This is due to the fact that the context and the argument structure construction in which the metaphor term occurs provide a current model of looking at given objects, thus determining which attributes of the object as salient traits are selected for the current metaphorical mapping (given that an object can be regarded as possessing a wide range of attributes of varying aspects such as functional, formal, agentive, constitutive, etc.).

According to the Dynamic Type Hierarchy Theory of Metaphor (DTH) (Way 1991: 125–146), a concept usually invokes a domain in which it may inherit various features from its different supertypes and associated background knowledge accompanying them. In the course of this, the context can dynamically determine the supertypes and classifications of the concept. For example, in the context of classifying things by color, one would normally view the world through 'color-classified' glasses. However, if one is interested in shape, he would probably view the world through 'shape-classified' glasses. In other words, things are not permanently classified in all these ways simultaneously; rather, the classification depends on the current context and the current viewpoint from which things are

observed. Consider, for instance, the object 'ice': Way observes that in the sentence 'That floor is a sheet of ice', the attribute of being slippery has greater prominence than other attributes of ice; however, in the sentence 'His hands were ice', extreme cold is the most salient feature of ice.

The same applies to the metaphorical mappings in Classical Chinese. It is often observed that one and the same metaphorical source can be used for conceptualizing different targets in different contexts and constructions. To illustrate, the animal body part 'wings' (referred to by 翼 *yì*) is used as the metaphorical source domain in (167) to conceptualize the human activity of dividing into two groups in a fight, as if two wings are distributed on both sides of a bird. However, against the background of (168), the same concept of 'wings' is associated with the human activity of taking someone under one's wings, i.e. 'protect, shelter, or look after someone'. Under the circumstance described in (169), 'wings' is related to the human activity of lending wings to someone, i.e. 'help or support someone'.

Similar observations can also be made regarding the source concept of the instrument 'screen (typically used for the shielding purpose)' referred to by 屏 *píng*. In (179), it is associated with the activity of driving or keeping someone away from one's house, while in (180) it is linked to the activity of hiding the truth or hindering someone from getting all the facts. Further, the source concept 'stairs' referred to by 階 *jiē* serves in (181) to conceptualize the scene in which people's accumulated rancour would gradually result in social unrest, while in (182) it is used to describe the event of inducing or provoking enemies of a country. All these observations suggest that the generation of metaphorical meanings is an issue that can be determined by the context and the argument structure construction in which the metaphor term occurs. This is also the reason why the metaphorically motivated interpretations of object-denoting lexemes, as well as their comparison with the rule-based interpretations need to be discussed within the scope of argument structure constructions. The whole construction plays a key role in generating metaphors.

On the one hand, as the DTH model claims, varying contexts may enable people to view things in various ways. On the other hand, however, a close examination of the metaphors represented in the verbal function of object-denoting lexemes in Classical Chinese suggests that the ways in which a given conceptual source domain could potentially be used in transforming the target into something else in this language are quite restricted and, to some degree, independent of what the context or the argument structure construction may be. It is observed that the selection of attributes of a given object for a metaphorical mapping (concerning which attributes of the object are going to be selected and integrated into

the metaphorical mapping) normally takes place from three major perspective classes in this language, namely, FUNTION, FORM, and MANNER or WAY OF TREATMENT. The three perspective classes can be regarded as three regular ways or common patterns in Chinese culture. They are reflected in many of traditional concepts and theories, for example, in the notions of 'Substance' (體 *tǐ,* referring to the form and existence) and 'Function/Use' (用 *yòng*, referring to the function and usage of an object). They are discussed below:

Perspective class: FUNCTION

When considered primarily from the perspective of FUNCTION, the attributes of an object that typically represent the purposes or utilities of the object will be used for the metaphorical mapping. Consider example (176): the function of the special kind of ropes referred to by 綏 *suí* (i.e. the ropes that are used for stabilizing the body when someone is getting in or out a carriage) is encoded in the metaphorical verbal reading of *suí*, i.e. 'appease or pacify (vassals)'. In other words, this verbal reading is generated in the metaphorical mapping from the function of the *suí* ropes. Meanwhile, this functional aspect of *suí* is also the one that makes *suí* as a kind of ropes tangible and significantly differentiated from other kinds of ropes.

   The metaphorical mapping carried out from the perspective of the function of given objects can primarily be seen in the verbal usage of the semantic classes of lexemes denoting instruments, body parts, as well as a few lexemes denoting foodstuff. In addition to *suí* mentioned above, the metaphorical interpretation of at least the following object-denoting lexemes in Classical Chinese can be identified as having emerged from the perspective class of FUNCTION: 鉤 *gōu* 'hook' (→ 'contact with, establish communication with'), 鑒 *jiàn* '(bronze) mirror' (→ 'use for reference', 'draw lessons (from)'), 權 *quán* 'scale' (→ 'weigh and compare', 'scale'), 繩 *shéng* 'ink line' (→ 'correct, rectify'), 旌 *jīng* 'flag' (→ 'honour', 'indicate'), 輔 *fǔ* 'side poles of a cart used to help cart-driving' (→ 'help, support'), 屏 *píng* 'screen' (→ *bǐng* 'hide, block, hinder', 'drive away, keep off'), 藩 *fān* 'fence' (→ 'defend, protect'), 階 *jiē* 'stairs' (→ 'result in, lead to', 'induce'), 指 *zhǐ* 'finger' (→ 'point to', 'point out (directly)'), 翼 *yì* 'wings' (→ 'look after', 'protect, shelter', 'help, support'), 股肱 *gǔgōng* 'legs and arms' (→ 'serve', 'help, support'), 膏 *gāo* 'fat, oil, grease' (→ *gào* 'moisten', 'nourish', 'give favours to'), 餌 *ěr* 'cake, pastry, food, bait' (→ 'supply', 'please', 'satisfy').

Perspective class: FORM

In a wider sense, the notion of FORM refers to the way in which an object exists or appears, answering the question 'what does it look like?' When considered primarily from the perspective of FORM, the attributes of an object that represent the visual appearance, configuration, or spatial arrangement of the object will be used for the metaphorical mapping.

Consider, for instance, the verbal interpretation of 齒 *chǐ* 'teeth' in (165), where the concept of teeth is used as the metaphorical source domain to conceptualize the target scene in which someone thought that he and some other people should not be treated equally. During this metaphorical mapping, the association between the source and target concepts (i.e. the body part 'teeth' and the activity of standing equally, being level with, or the like) is probably established on the basis of the visual image of the arrangement of teeth in the mouth. In other words, the metaphorical interpretation of *chǐ* in (165) is generated from the perspective of the form of teeth. Similarly, the verbal reading of 翼 *yì* 'wings' in (167) and the verbal reading of 雨 *yǔ* 'rain' in (196) can also illustrate the metaphorical mapping from the perspective of form. Firstly, in (167) the meaning of *yì* 'divide into two groups, as if the wings are distributed on both body sides' emerged from the appearance of wings; secondly, in (196) the meaning of *yǔ* 'drop onto (like rain)' emerged on the basis of the form of rain. Further, in (191) the word 宇 *yǔ* 'roof eaves' in verbal function is used to conceptualize the target scene in which a ruler's virtue protectively covers his country and people, like the roof eaves of a building protectively covers the whole building. This interpretation could also be understood as having emerged from the form of roof eaves, i.e. their overhanging, covering and enveloping architectural features.

Perspective class: MANNER or WAY OF TREATMENT

This perspective class provides answers to the question 'How is it treated?' It allows us mentally to capture an entity by means of the manner or the way of its treatment, with the entity being put into the context of external social interaction, such as interacting with a human compared to an animal, or with a high-status person compared to a low status one (cf. Denny 1976: 125). When considered primarily from the perspective of MANNER or WAY OF TREATMENT, the attributes of an entity specifying its origin, generation, or formation will be incorporated into metaphorical mappings, and in most cases, this perspective class is culture-bound.

Consider, for instance, the aforementioned metaphorical interpretation of 祖 *zǔ* 'follow respectfully something' in (198): the particular manner of social interaction in Chinese culture, in which ancestors should be respected and followed,

is encoded in the interpretation of *zǔ*. That is, this verbal meaning of *zǔ* has been generated from the manner, or the way of treatment of ancestors in the metaphorical mapping.

The metaphorical mapping carried out from the perspective of the manner or the way of treatment of an object can also be seen in the verbal usage of the semantic class of lexemes denoting animals. Consider the animal term 驂 *cān* '(three) horses that pull a single-shaft carriage' in (173), where it serves as a verb and can be interpreted as 'have someone at one's disposal' or 'have command over someone'. In that instance, the metaphorical association established between the source and target concepts was probably motivated by the recognition pattern in Classical Chinese culture, in which the horses that are specialized in pulling carriages were construed as being *functional*, *useful*, *well-trained*, and *capable* etc. If someone was compared to the animal referred to by *cān*, it means that he would also be treated in the manner how the animal *cān* was typically treated. Similarly, the verbal function of the animal term 畜 *chù* in (171), i.e. 'look down on someone' or 'disdain someone' can also be explained in such a way that if someone was compared with 'domesticated livestock' (referred to by *chù*), it means that he might feel as though he is or he would be treated in the manner in which the animal *chù* was typically treated.

In summary, the generalized picture of metaphorical mappings in Figure 6 explains where the perspectives discussed play a role in a mapping, and how they serve as part of the systematic correspondences across domains in the mapping, in which certain attributes or characteristics of the source concept are selected, borrowed, and ascribed to the target.
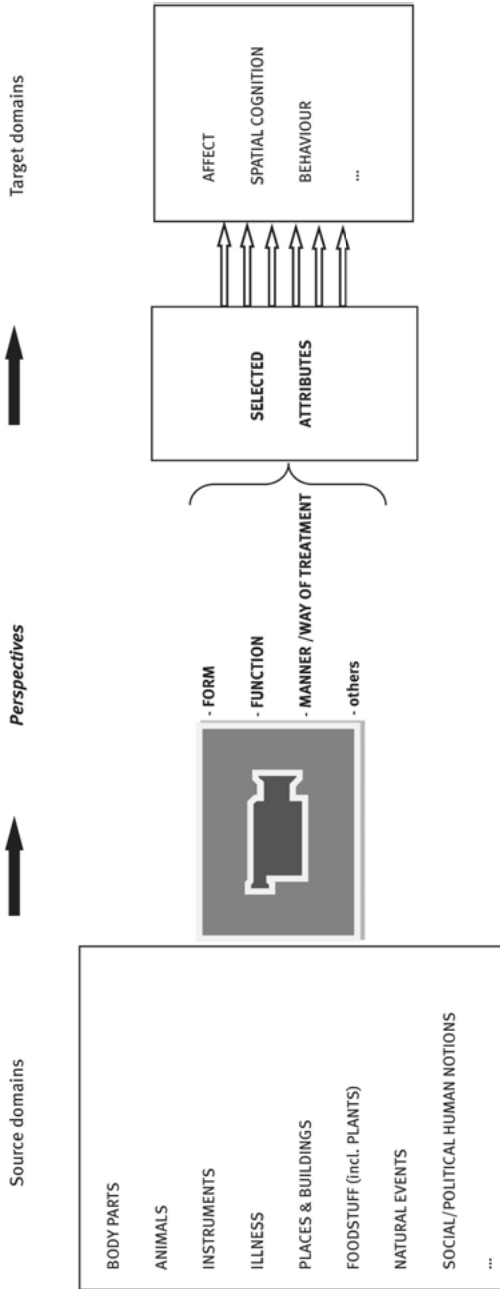
Fig. 6: The role of perspectives in metaphorical mappings

5.3 Relationship between the rule-based and metaphorically motivated interpretations

In the present study, of the 2,600 instances of argument structure constructions with object-denoting lexemes in verbal function, about 14 percent pertain to metaphorically motivated interpretation (section 5.2) and 86 percent to rule-based interpretation (section 5.1). Questions naturally arise regarding the relationship between the rule-based interpretation and the metaphorically motivated interpretation that an object word in verbal function may have. These also include the question of where a metaphor is located and integrated into the derivation of object-denoting lexemes. When an object word in verbal function can be interpreted metaphorically, does it necessarily have to go through a phrase in which it is interpreted in the rule-based way? That is, is it the case that, as claimed by Zhang (2005), a metaphorical verbal reading of a noun cannot emerge directly from the basic meaning of the noun through HY, but that it must be derived via some literal meanings at an intermediate stage (cf. section 2.2.3.1)?

Regarding the involvement of metaphor in the N→V derivation of object words, Zádrapa (2011: 130) proposes three possible solutions: firstly, the original object word has a polysemous structure which already contains a well-established metaphorical nominal meaning, from which a metaphorical verbal meaning is derived. Secondly, the original object word does not have one such polysemous structure with a source metaphorical nominal meaning; on the contrary, the metaphorical extension takes place in the process of HY of that object word, resulting in an action word with a metaphorical meaning (i.e. the metaphorical verbal interpretation of an object word is generated immediately while using this object word as a verb). Thirdly, unlike the second solution, the metaphorical extension does not take place in the process of HY of that object word, but after the process. That is, the metaphorical verbal meaning concerned is derived from an existing, non-metaphorical verbal meaning which itself is already an output of HY.

Based on Zádrapa's (2011: 130) suggestions and in the light of empirical findings, this study assumes that there are at least three configurations in answering the question: what is the relationship between the rule-based interpretation and the metaphorically motivated interpretation that an object word in verbal function may have? The three configurations assumed are as follows, where the third configuration involves two subcases:

(a) In the first configuration, only the rule-based interpretation is regarded as a possible output of using object words in the V-position. In other words, as long as an object-denoting lexeme occurs in the V-position of an argument

structure construction, it can only be interpreted in the rule-based way, based on the grammatical analysis of the construction (not metaphorically).

(b) In the second configuration, only the metaphorically motivated interpretation is a possible output of using object words in the V-position. In other words, when an object-denoting lexeme occurs as a verb, it can only be interpreted metaphorically. This configuration may theoretically overlap either with Zádrapa's first solution discussed (where the metaphorical verbal meaning of an object word is derived from a metaphorical nominal meaning that the object word already has) or with his second solution (where the metaphorical verbal interpretation is generated directly from the original object-denoting semantics of the word).

(c) In the third configuration, an object word in verbal function can have both the rule-based interpretation and the metaphorically motivated interpretation. This case can further be split into two subcases:

— First, there exists no relation between the two interpretations, they are subject to independent derivations.

— Second, there probably exists a dependency relation between the two interpretations, where either the metaphorically motivated interpretation is derived from the rule-based one, or the other way around. The former case, with the metaphorical verbal meaning being derived from the rule-based verbal meaning corresponds to the third solution proposed by Zádrapa.

The following sections will closely consider these three configurations and show that there are empirical facts to support all of them.

5.3.1 Only rule-based interpretation possible

The first configuration only brings about the rule-based interpretation. To illustrate this, consider the verbal usage of the body part term 目 *mù* 'eyes'. In Classical Chinese, though the word *mù* usually serves as a noun, it can also occasionally occur in the V-position of an argument structure construction. Serving as a verb, *mù* can only be interpreted in the rule-based way as either a transitive or an intransitive verb with the meaning 'look (at), watch', following the implicature TR or INT in (128) discussed. In the present study, of the altogether 146 occurrences of *mù* in the five classical texts under investigation, there are only two instances of *mù* serving as an intransitive verb with the rule-based meaning (from

Zuozhuan and *Guoyu*, respectively), while it serves as a noun meaning 'eyes' in all the other 144 instances.

There are also many other object-denoting lexemes from various semantic classes which can be classified into this configuration. In particular, these include the lexemes of the semantic classes that are present in the list of (100) (i.e. the eleven semantic classes of object-denoting lexemes discussed for the rule-based interpretation) but not in the list of (159) (i.e. the list of the most common metaphorical source domains). That is, both the group of lexemes denoting laws, rules, regulations, or codes of conduct, etc. (e.g., 義 *yì* 'justice, righteousness', 仁 *rén* 'benevolence, humanity') and the group of lexemes denoting supernatural events or elements (e.g., 福 *fú* 'good fortune, blessing', 禍 *huò* 'misfortune, calamity') must always be interpreted in the rule-based way, as long as they occur as verbs. These lexemes have abstract denotations, which might be the main factor that prevents them from serving as metaphorical sources.

Besides, most of the lexemes of the semantic class denoting human roles (e.g., 王 *wáng* 'king', 君 *jūn* 'ruler') can normally only be interpreted in the rule-based way, except when their verbal function is capable of being generated from the perspective of manner or way of treatment, forming the metaphorical source domain of social or political human notions, for example, 祖 *zǔ* 'ancestor' → 'follow respectfully something', illustrated in (198).

In addition to the semantic classes denoting relatively abstract concepts discussed above, there are also lexemes denoting physical objects which nevertheless fall into this configuration (i.e. found only in the rule-based interpretations), though their potential of being interpreted metaphorically should not be excluded. These include, first, some lexemes denoting body parts, such as 耳 *ěr* 'ears' (→ 'hear, listen to'), 肘 *zhǒu* 'elbow' (→ 'push with one's elbow, to elbow') and 牙 *yá* 'tooth, molar' (→ 'bite'). Second, many lexemes denoting garments or foodstuff can normally only be interpreted in the rule-based way, including 冠 *guān* 'hat' (→ *guàn* 'wear a hat'), 弁 *biàn* 'official's hat' (→ 'wear an official's hat'), 胄 *zhòu* 'helmet' (→ 'wear a helmet'), 介 *jiè* 'armour' (→ 'wear an armour'), 襪 *wà* 'socks' (→ 'wear socks'), 穀 *gǔ* 'grain, corn, cereal' (→ 'eat grains'), 麥 *mài* 'wheat' (→ 'eat wheat') and 酒 *jiǔ* 'alcohol' (→ 'drink alcohol'). Third, there are a large group of lexemes denoting places and/or buildings whose verbal function is always interpreted regularly in the rule-based way, for example, 社 *shè* 'site of sacrificing to the God of the land' (→ 'sacrifice to the God of the land'), 邑 *yì* 'city' (→ 'build a city'), 郭 *guō* 'outer city wall' (→ 'build outer city walls'), 穴 *xué* 'hole, grave' (→ 'make a hole, make a grave'), 坎 *kǎn* 'pit, hole' (→ 'make a hole', 'dig a hole'), 巢 *cháo* 'nest' (→ 'build a nest'), 垣 *yuán* 'wall' (→ 'build a wall'), 墙 *qiáng* 'wall' (→ 'build a wall'), 塹 *qiàn* 'moat' (→ 'build a moat, to moat'), 隧 *suì* 'tunnel'

(→ 'build a tunnel, to tunnel') and 渠 *qú* 'canal, ditch' (→ 'to canal, to ditch'). Fourth, in contrast to the general illness terms like 疾 *jí* 'illness' or 病 *bìng* '(serious) illness' that are often used as the metaphorical source domain, terms of specific disease like 疥 *jiè* 'tertian malaria' (→ 'have or suffer from tertian malaria') or 痁 *shān* 'chronic malaria' (→ 'have or suffer from chronic malaria') must always be interpreted in the rule-based way.

5.3.2 Only metaphorically motivated interpretation possible

The second configuration only allows the verbal interpretation via concepts of metaphor to be derived. In the course of derivation, the metaphorical verbal interpretation could have its origin either in a metaphorical nominal meaning that the object word already has, or just in its original object-denoting semantics (non-metaphorical).

The case with the metaphorical verbal interpretation originating from a metaphorical nominal meaning can be illustrated by looking at the verbal usage of the lexeme 本 *běn* with original object-denoting semantics 'root' ('the part of a plant that anchors the plant to the ground'). It is observed that the word *běn*, already at the earlier stage of Classical Chinese (or even earlier), developed the referential meaning 'basics, basic rules, principles' (i.e. 'root' → 'basics, basic rules, principles'), which is a metaphorical nominal meaning beyond the conceptual domain of plants or plant parts. The verbal function of *běn* in the following sentence in (201), i.e. 'take as basic rules' or 'follow, conform to, comply with (something basic)' can therefore be analysed as having derived from its established, metaphorical nominal meaning 'basics, basic rules, principle', rather than from its original denotation 'root'.

(201) 本 *běn* 'root' → 'basic rules' → 'take as basic rules, follow, conform to, comply with'
由質要，治舊汙，**本**秩禮 ....。 (*Zuozhuan, Wengong* 6)
yóu   zhì yào,   zhì   jiù wū,
follow   covenant   crack down   bad politics and customs
běn   *zhì lǐ ...*
basic rules:V   social orders
'(He) followed covenants, cracked down bad politics and customs, and took social orders as basic rules ...'

The configuration where the metaphorical verbal interpretation is derived directly from the original object-denoting semantics of given words can be illustrated by considering the verbal function of the body part term 齒 *chǐ* 'teeth':

Table 11 presents the distributions of the word form 齒 *chǐ* in the five Classical Chinese texts under investigation. As shown in the table, of the overall 52 occurrences of *chǐ*, there are 30 instances of *chǐ* as a noun with the meaning 'teeth' (found in all of the five texts), 8 instances of *chǐ* as a noun with the meaning 'age' (found in *Zuozhuan*, *Mengzi* and *Guoyu*), 9 instances of *chǐ* as a consituent element in a proper name (e.g., a mountain called 魚齒 *yúchǐ*, a person called 淖齒 *zhuōchǐ*), 3 instances of *chǐ* as a verb meaning 'stand equally, be on equal terms, be juxtaposed' or the like (only in *Zuozhuan*), and 2 instances of *chǐ* as a verb with the meaning 'sort by age' (in *Zuozhuan* and *Guoyu*). I would suggest considering the cases of *chǐ* with the meaning 'sort by age' as outputs of the N→V semantic type shift that *chǐ* 'age' undergoes (i.e. the object word *chǐ* 'age' is used as a verb meaning 'sort by age'), while the cases of *chǐ* with the meaning 'stand equally, be on equal terms, be juxtaposed' are outputs of the N→V semantic type shift that *chǐ* 'teeth' undergoes (i.e. the object word *chǐ* 'teeth' is used as a verb meaning 'stand equally, be on equal terms, be juxtaposed').[38] As discussed previously with example (165), the verbal meaning 'stand equally, be on equal terms, be juxtaposed' is derived from the original denotation of *chǐ*, i.e. 'teeth', via metaphor. In contrast, there are no instances of *chǐ* as a verb with a meaning which conforms to either of the rule-based implicatures INT and TR in (128), such as 'bite (by means of teeth)' or any other non-metaphorical readings falling in the conceptual domain of body parts (e.g., 'show one's teeth').

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38 The instances of *chǐ* 'teeth' and those of *chǐ* 'age' could be regarded as being subject to two different object words in Classical Chinese (both of which can serve as verbs), or alternatively, there is only one single object word *chǐ* but it has a polysemous structure. No matter what the analysis may be, it is very probably that a derivational relationship via metaphor exists between the items 'teeth' and 'age' (i.e. 'teeth' → 'age').

Tab. 11: Distributions of the word form 齒 *chǐ*

	Zuozhuan	Mengzi	Mozi	Guoyu	Zhanguo Ce
N body part 'teeth'	6	1	6	8	9
N 'age'	3	2		3	
Element in proper names	1				8
VRULE-BASED 'bite (by means of teeth)' or other meanings (e.g., 'show one's teeth')					
VMETAPHORICAL 'stand equally, be on equal terms with, be juxtaposed, etc.'	3				
V 'sort by age'	1			1	

Similar observations can be made regarding the verbal function of some other object-denoting lexemes in Classical Chinese, such as 膏 *gāo* 'fat, oil, grease, cream' (→ *gào* 'nourish', 'give favours to'), 翼 *yì* 'wing' (→ 'look after', 'protect', 'help', 'divide into two sides'), 宇 *yǔ* 'roof eaves' (→ 'cover (protectively)', 'shield'), 階 *jiē* 'stairs' (→ 'lead to, result in', 'induce'), 旌 *jīng* 'flag' (→ 'indicate', 'honour'), 綏 *suí* 'rope used to stabilize the body when someone is getting in a carriage' (→ 'appease', 'pacify', 'stabilize'), 襟 *jīn* 'collar, front of a garment' (→ 'possess, or to have a strategically important place'), 金玉 *jīnyù* 'gold and jade, jewelry' (→ 'cherish', 'treasure'), and 經緯 *jīngwěi* 'latitude and longitude' (→ 'plan and administer', 'regulate'). Despite their relatively small number, these items provide evidence for the derivational pattern of flexible lexemes, with which the metaphorical verbal interpretation of an object word can be derived directly from the original object-denoting semantics of the word (without any literal or non-metaphorical meaning as an intermediate stage in the derivation). This pattern of derivation is opposed to Zhang's (2005) claim that a metaphorical verbal reading of a noun cannot emerge directly from the basic meaning of the noun through HY, but that it must be derived via some literal meanings at an intermediate stage. Zhang's opinion ties in with those theories of metaphor which do not believe that metaphor (as a cognitive model) can be activated directly in the process of language understanding and production. These theories regard

metaphors as special cases of language use, in the sense that metaphorical expressions cannot be fully comprehended unless being reduced to literal meanings (cf. Barcelona 2000 for a discussion along these lines).

5.3.3 Both rule-based and metaphorically motivated interpretations possible

Unlike the previous two configurations, the third one applies to the object-denoting lexemes whose verbal functions can be interpreted in both rule-based and metaphorical ways. This configuration can be split into two subcases with respect to the potential relation between the two types of interpretations: Subcase (a) assumes that there is no dependency relation between the two interpretations, and that they are rather subject to independent derivations. Subcase (b) assumes that there exists a derivational relation between the two interpretations: either the metaphorical interpretation is derived from the rule-based one, or possibly the other way around.

Subcase (a) can be exemplified by the verbal uses of the lexeme 宮 *gōng* 'house or palace built with enclosure walls'. In Classical Chinese, *gōng* normally serves as a noun. When it nevertheless occurs in the V-position of an argument structure construction, it –as a member of the semantic class of lexemes denoting places and buildings – can be interpreted in the rule-based way as an intransitive verb meaning 'build a house or palace' according to the implicature INT(b) in (113), as illustrated in (202) below. On the other hand, there are also instances with *gōng* serving as a transitive verb and being interpreted in a metaphorical way, meaning 'surround, encircle', illustrated in (203).

(202) 虢公為王**宮**於玤。 (*Zuozhuan*, *Zhuanggong* 21)
　　 Guó gōng　　　　 *wèi　wáng　**gōng**　 yú　　Bàng.*
　　 Duke Chou of Guo　for　king　palace:V　LOC　Bang (Place)
　　 'Duke Chou of Guo built a palace in Bang for the king.'

(203) 大山**宮**小山。 (*Erya*, *Shishan*)
　　 *Dà　shān　　**gōng**　 xiǎo　 shān.*
　　 Big　mountains　palace:V　small　mountains
　　 'The big mountains surround the small mountains.'

In order to understand the configuration in Subcase (a) and in the above examples the two verbal derivations of *gōng*, it is necessary to first build up a mental representation of the basic object-denoting concept of *gōng* (as a mental object

referring to the object in the real world). In the representation, the concept 'house or palace built with enclosure walls' may activate a wide range of descriptive features of or about *gōng* in our conceptual system (where the features could probably be ranked in a hierarchical manner). These may include, for example, its function, shape, typical color, size, category, building materials, etc. Arguably, any property of the descriptive content of *gōng* can potentially be used as a conceptual input for the N→V derivation of the object word *gōng*, thus contributing to the generation of verbal meanings. For the same reason, different descriptive features would also be able to give rise to different verbal readings of the same object word *gōng* through the derivation. This is illustrated in Figure 7: for the rule-based case, as in example (202), the descriptive feature of *gōng* as a kind of product of a building process is used as the conceptual input for the N→V derivation, and this gives rise to the verbal meaning 'build a house or palace'. On the other hand, in the metaphorical case in (203), the object *gōng* (i.e. a house or palace built with enclosure walls) is viewed from the perspective of FORM, and the distinctive characteristic of *gōng* that describes the encircling form of walls is used in the metaphorical mapping to conceptualize the target scene in which small mountains are encircled by big mountains – it appears as though a palace (*gōng*) is encircled by walls. To say the least, there seems to exist no dependency relation between the two verbal interpretations of *gōng* regarding their derivational orders. The two interpretations may have emerged from the same conceptual domain, but on the basis of two different descriptive features.

Compared to Subcase (a), Subcase (b) assumes that a dependency relation exists between the rule-based interpretation and the metaphorically motivated interpretation that an object word in verbal function may have, with either the latter (V_M) being derived from the former (V_{RB}), or possibly the other way around. Theoretically, the dependency relation between the two interpretations could be either direct or indirect. Compared to the direct dependency relation that requires one interpretation to be developed directly from the other (e.g., $V_{RB} \rightarrow V_M$), an indirect dependency relation allows the existence of intermediate steps in the derivation (e.g., $V_{RB} \rightarrow ... \rightarrow V_M$). Notice that the direct case involves a kind of action-action derivation (V→V), while the indirect case remains open to interpretation.

宮 *gōng*

V_{RULE-BASED}

Description: house, palace

where people live

where things are located

product of building process

encircled by walls

...

Superset: [place], [building]

Superset: [inanimate object]

...

build a house/palace

V_{METAPHORICAL}

encircle, surround
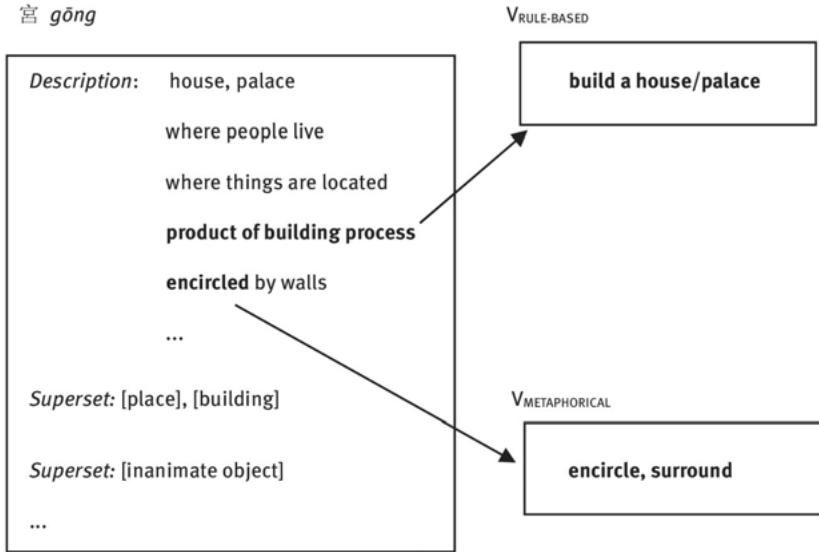
Fig. 7: Derivations of 宮 *gōng* 'house or palace built with enclosure walls'

Just like other configurations, the assumption in the Subcase (b) needs to be ex-
amined empirically. This reminds us of the lexeme 背 *bèi* denoting the body part
'back'. As previously shown in examples (155), (156) and (162), *bèi* in verbal func-
tion can be interpreted in the rule-based way as V_{RB} 'turn one's back towards
something' (155) or, alternatively, in the metaphorical way as either V_{M1} 'turn
against, go against' (156) or V_{M2} 'be or stand at the back side of something' (162).
In contrast to the rule-based meaning (155), the action-denoting concept (referred
to by *bèi* as a verb) in either of the metaphorical cases, (156) and (162), goes be-
yond the conceptual domain of body parts (Figure 4 vs. Figure 5). Intuitively, it
might seem that there exist some derivational possibilities. One possibility could
be the derivation of the metaphorical V_{M1} of *bèi* from its rule-based V_{RB} (either di-
rectly or indirectly). The other possibility could be that the metaphorical V_{M2} is
not subject to an N→V derivation, but derived from a metaphorical nominal
meaning of *bèi*, namely, 'back side (of something)',[39] in a similar manner to the
derivation of *běn* discussed in (201) (i.e. 'root' → 'basic rules, principles' → 'take

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39 This assumption is comparable to the relevant part of Heine, Claudi, and Hünnemeyer's
(1991: 48) cross-domain developments with respect to grammaticalization PERSON > OBJECT >
ACTIVITY.

as basic rules, follow, comply with'). Based on these, one might assume the following derivational paths in (204).

(204)   Assumed derivational paths of 背 *bèi* 'back':

    a.   Body part 'back' → V_{RB} 'turn one's back toward' → V_{M1} 'turn against'

    b.   Body part 'back' → 'back side (of something)' → V_{M2} 'be or stand at the back side (of something)'

First, the assumption in (204a) above does not seem to be well supported by the empirical findings of the verbal usage of 背 *bèi* in Classical Chinese, where relative to its rule-based use 'turn one's back toward' (V_{RB}), its metaphorical use 'turn against' (V_{MI}) turns out to be much more frequent and general. Table 12 presents the distributions of the lexeme *bèi* in the five classical texts under investigation. As can be seen, of the overall 83 occurrences of *bèi*, there are 12 instances of *bèi* meaning 'back (body part)', 2 instances of *bèi* as a verb with the rule-based meaning 'turn one's back toward', 6 instances of *bèi* as a verb with the metaphorical meaning 'be or stand at the back side (of something)', and 63 instance of *bèi* as a verb with the metaphorical meaning 'turn against'. Interestingly, the occurrence frequency of the metaphorical verbal uses of *bèi* is more than thirty times as frequent as that of its rule-based use. Besides, it is necessary to note that the only two rule-based instances of *bèi* meaning 'turn one's back toward (something)' are found in the same paragraph in *Guoyu*, with repeated argument structure constructions (i.e. the sentence 'the king turned his back toward the screen, whereas his wife faced it', as in (155), occurs twice). In addition, it is worth mentioning that the metaphorical verbal interpretation of *bèi* 'turn against' is also found in the earlier, Old Chinese text 'Book of History' (尚書 *Shangshu*), where its rule-based interpretation does not appear.

It is also interesting to observe that the distributional properties of 背 *bèi* in the five Classical Chinese texts (Table 12) do not support the assumption as presented in (204b) that the lexeme *bèi* had a metaphorical nominal meaning available, namely, 'back side (of something)', and that this nominal meaning serves as an intermediate stage in the metaphorical extension from the basic concept of the body part 'back' to the verbal meaning 'be or stand at the back side (of something)'.

Tab. 12: Distributions of the lexeme 背 *bèi*

	Zuozhuan	Mengzi	Mozi	Guoyu	Zhanguo Ce
N body part 'back'	6	2	2		2
N 'back side (of something)'					
V$_{RB}$ 'turn one's back toward'				2	
V$_{M1}$ 'turn against'	42			15	6
V$_{M2}$ 'be/stand at the back side (of something)'	4				2

Similar observations can also be made regarding the verbal occurrences of another member of the semantic class of lexemes denoting body parts, i.e. 指 *zhǐ* 'finger(s)', as well as the verbal uses of some instrument words such as 鑒 *jiàn* '(bronze) mirror', 權 *quán* 'scale' and 厲 *lì* 'grindstone, pumice stone'. Serving as verbs, these lexemes have two things in common: first, they all can be interpreted in either rule-based or metaphorical way, and their metaphorical interpretations are generated from the perspective of FUNCTION; second, relative to their rule-based verbal use, their metaphorical verbal uses are much more frequent and widely distributed (even though this can be partially attributed to the content of text).

In considering the distributional properties of the lexemes discussed above, the assumption that the metaphorical verbal interpretation is derived from the rule-based meaning, illustrated in (204), should not be taken for granted. Under these circumstances, one may assume that both the rule-based interpretation and the metaphorical interpretation of an object word in verbal function can be derived from the same descriptive feature represented in the basic object-denoting concept of that word. As for the derivations of *gōng*, as shown in Figure 7, different characteristics of the concept are assumed to have given rise to different verbal readings of the lexeme, either rule-based or metaphorical. By the same token, one and the same characteristic (or characteristic set) of a concept may not only give rise to rule-based interpretation, but also a metaphorical interpretation in another argument structure construction. Consider, for instance, the instrument

word 鏡 *jìng* 'mirror, looking glass'. It is plausible to assume that the same characteristic of the instrument, i.e. 'be able to reflect and produce an image', has given rise to both of the rule-based verbal meaning 'use as mirror' and the metaphorically motivated verbal interpretation 'use for reference, draw lessons (from)' in different argument structure constructions, illustrated in (6).

All the above are done without denying that there is good evidence for a close derivational relationship between the rule-based and the metaphorically motivated interpretation. In fact, there are many cases where the empirical findings support, or at least do not necessarily contradict, the assumption that the metaphorical verbal interpretation is derived from the rule-based one. The example given in (194), with the general food term 食 *shí* as a verb in the VO construction 食言 *shí yán* [eat–words/what one said], may well support this assumption. In that example, as discussed, both the literal meaning 'eat words' of the construction (i.e. with the rule-based interpretation of *shí* 'eat') and its metaphorical interpretation 'break a promise' were utilized by the speaker Duke Ai: the former was used as a reply to Mengwubo's question of why Guozhong was fat, while the latter was what Duke Ai really wanted to say and blame Mengwubo for his breaking promises. This also suggests that the metaphorical verbal interpretation of *shí* (in *shí yán*) is derived from its rule-based meaning 'eat'.

This assumption holds, especially when the metaphorical interpretation is considered from the perspective of MANNER or WAY OF TREATMENT. Consider, for instance, the lexeme 祖 *zǔ* 'ancestor, ancestral temple'. As discussed previously, when *zǔ* serves as a verb, it can be interpreted either in the rule-based way (as a transitive verb meaning 'consider someone as an ancestor' or as an intransitive verb meaning 'offer sacrifice to ancestors or gods') or in a metaphorical manner as a transitive verb meaning 'follow respectfully something', as illustrated in (198). Arguably, this metaphorical verbal interpretation of *zǔ* relates to the tradition of how an ancestor (referred to by *zǔ*) is typically treated in Chinese culture, and thus can be construed as having been generated in terms of the perspective WAY OF TREATMENT of ancestors.

Table 13 presents the distributions of the lexeme 祖 *zǔ* in the five classical texts under investigation. There are 44 instances of *zǔ* meaning 'ancestor', 5 instances of *zǔ* meaning 'ancestral temple', 11 instances of *zǔ* serving as a verb with the rule-based meaning 'offer sacrifice to ancestors or gods', 2 instances of *zǔ* as a verb with the rule-based meaning 'consider someone as an ancestor', and 2 instances of *zǔ* as a verb with the metaphorical meaning 'follow respectfully something'.

Taking into consideration both the distributional properties of *zǔ* as shown in Table 13 and the semantic relatedness between all of the different meanings of

zǔ, the assumption can be made that the metaphorical verbal interpretation of *zǔ* 'follow respectfully something' is probably derived on the basis of its rule-based verbal meaning 'consider someone as an ancestor'. From that point of view, one can assume that the metaphorical sense of *zǔ*, where something, instead of someone, is respected and followed, might have been derived in the way in which *zǔ* as a verb was first interpreted in the rule-based way as 'consider or treat as an ancestor'. In a second interpretation, the way of treatment of ancestors (as defined in traditional Chinese culture) was used to understand the manner in which something was treated.

Tab. 13: Distributions of the lexeme 祖 *zǔ*

	Zuozhuan	*Mengzi*	*Mozi*	*Guoyu*	*Zhanguo Ce*
N 'ancestor'	26	1	2	14	1
N 'ancestral temple'			5		
V$_{RULE-BASED}$ 'offer sacrifice to ancestors or gods'	6			4	1
V$_{RULE-BASED}$ 'consider someone as an ancestor'	2				
V$_{METAPHORICAL}$ 'follow respectfully something'					2

On closer examination, the three perspective classes discussed, i.e. FORM, FUNCTION, and MANNER or WAY OF TREATMENT (from which the selection of attributes of an object is carried out during the metaphorical mapping) concern two different types of attributes of an object, i.e. internal and external. The internal attributes of an object involve the qualities or characteristics of the object that are considered primarily from the perspective of FORM or FUNCTION. In contrast, the external attributes of an object refer to the particular characteristics associated with the MANNER or WAY OF TREATMENT of the object, which can be recognized only by putting the object into the external (social or extra-linguistic) context (where entities are identified, construed, and characterized in terms of their relation to other entities). It is also for this reason that the external attributes of an object are very likely culture-bound. In this connection, when the metaphorical

interpretation of an object-denoting lexeme in verbal function is generated that way, it can be analysed as an addition to the rule-based interpretation.

5.3.4 Summary

This section dealt with the relationship between the rule-based interpretation and the metaphorically motivated interpretation that an object word in verbal function may have. Empirical findings suggest that as long as an object-denoting lexeme is allowed to occur in the V-position of an argument structure construction, its verbal interpretation can regularly be derived in two ways: (i) in the rule-based way, based on the grammatical analysis of the construction; (ii) in the metaphorical way, by combining the grammatical analysis of the construction with interpretation via metaphors. There are lexemes from various semantic classes whose verbal function can be acquired in the rule-based way (section 5.3.1), in the metaphorical way (section 5.3.2), or in both rule-based and metaphorical ways (section 5.3.3). In the third case, a given lexeme in verbal function can have either rule-based or metaphorically motivated meanings. Between the two types of interpretations, a dependency relation may or may not exist. A dependency relation exists, when the rule-based interpretation and the metaphorically motivated interpretation are two interrelated and mutually dependent stages of the derivation, where one is derived on the basis of the other. Alternatively, the rule-based interpretation and the metaphorical interpretation can be subject to independent developments: they can be derived from the same or different characteristics of a concept (or conceptual domain) but in different argument structure constructions.

5.4 Summary and discussion

This chapter discussed flexibility of parts of speech in Classical Chinese at the level of argument structure constructions, focusing on the N→V type of derivation of object-denoting lexemes within either an intransitive or a transitive argument structure construction. Specifically, the discussion addressed the questions of how to derive the concrete meaning of a given utterance with object words in the V-position, and how the metonymic relationships discussed (chapter 4) are concretized into multiple pragmatic implicatures. The investigation was divided into three principal parts. The analysis of the first part concerned the rule-based interpretation of object words; the second part investigated how to acquire the metaphorically motivated interpretation of object words in given constructions; the

third part discussed the potential relationship between the rule-based interpretation and the metaphorically motivated interpretation that an object word in verbal function may have.

In general, the concrete meaning of an object word in the V-position of a given argument structure construction can be obtained through two mechanisms discussed in this chapter, i.e. rule-based and metaphorical. The rule-based mechanism is established on the basis of a grammatical analysis of the construction (in which syntax provides a basic scaffolding for semantic composition). Through the rule-based mechanism, the verbal meaning of an object word can be regularly derived in terms of the pragmatic implicatures that mostly depend on the semantic class of objects to which that word belongs. The metaphorical mechanism becomes necessary when the rule-based one does not fully cover the functional range of possible interpretations of a given construction. In these cases, the verbal meaning of an object word in a given construction goes beyond the conceptual domain of the original object-denoting semantics of that word, so that additional (extra-linguistic) interpretation via metaphors is needed for deriving the specific meaning of that word in the given construction. In the light of Lakoff (1987, 1993) and Kövecses (2010), this study investigated the metaphors that are frequently represented in the verbal interpretations of object-denoting lexemes in Classical Chinese. The major findings of the investigation include: what are the most common metaphorical source domains in Classical Chinese (cf. example (159)), in comparison with the most common metaphorical source domains identified in Kövecses's (2010) study, and how the three basic perspective classes, i.e. FORM, FUNCTION, MANNER or WAY OF TREATMENT, play a role in the metaphorical mappings in this language.

The two mechanisms discussed complement each other and work together to account for flexibility in the parts-of-speech system of Classical Chinese. In this language, the existence of precategoriality in the lexicon permits flexibility of parts of speech. On the other hand, however, in order to guarantee functional transparency (cf. van Lier and Rijkhoff 2013: 23), lexical flexibility is counterbalanced by both categorical specificity at the syntactic level (chapter 3) and semantic regularity at the level of utterance (chapter 4 and chapter 5). Semantic regularity manifests itself in that as long as an object-denoting lexeme is allowed to occur in the V-position of an argument structure construction, its verbal interpretation can principally be derived in one of three ways: (i) through the rule-based mechanism, (ii) through the metaphorical mechanism, or (iii) through both of the mechanisms. In the third case, regarding the possible relationship between the rule-based interpretation and the metaphorically motivated interpretation, empirical findings suggest that the two types of verbal interpretations can either be

subject to independent developments, or alternatively, it is the case that one of the interpretations is derived on the basis of the other.

6 Conclusion

This study dealt with flexibility in the parts-of-speech system of Classical Chinese. In terms of Rijkhoff and van Lier (2013), flexible lexemes of this language are defined as lexical items that can fulfil the functions typically associated with more than one traditional word class such as noun and verb, without the functional change being accompanied by any derivational markedness. In line with Bisang (2008a, 2008b), this study ascribes flexibility of parts of speech in Classical Chinese to precategoriality, which entails that the word-class specification of a flexible lexeme is ultimately determined at the syntactic level, according to its position/function in a given word-class indicating construction (e.g., in an N-slot or a V-slot).

From a diachronic viewpoint, this study suggests that precategoriality and categoriality of individual lexical items are not static, but that they are potentialities and tendencies that are subject to change over time. More specifically, precategoriality and categoriality are assumed to constitute a continuum in the lexicon of Chinese throughout its history, ranging from (full) precategoriality at one end to (full) categoriality at the other. In any given historical period, lexical items of the language are distributed between the two extremes of the continuum, according to the intensity of the association between their lexical meaning and the syntactic position/function of e.g., N or V. On the continuum, flexible lexemes – which are not necessarily related to one specific association between meaning and function, but can occur in a variety of such associations and thus be linked to more than one word-class specification – are proposed to be located towards the extreme of (full) precategoriality.

The corpus-based research reported in this study focused on two types of zero-marked semantic type shifts of flexible lexemes, i.e. those using action-denoting lexemes in nominal function (the V→N type), and those using object-denoting lexemes in verbal function (the N→V type). The two types of derivations were investigated in five Classical Chinese texts (*Zuozhuan*, *Mengzi*, *Guoyu*, *Mozi* and *Zhanguo Ce*). Based on empirical data, this study provided a detailed illustration of lexical flexibility in Classical Chinese, revealed its fundamental characteristics, and discussed the mechanisms developed to account for the data.

In general, flexibility of parts of speech in Classical Chinese was addressed at three descriptive levels in this study. First, at the syntactic level, the discussion focused on the most typical and important syntactic configurations for the use of flexible lexemes and their relations to the basic word order of this language. The findings of this study demonstrated that as far as the argument structure constructions formed with flexible lexemes are concerned, VO word order is much

more frequent than OV. This strong preference for VO can be taken as additional evidence for SVO as the basic word order of Old Chinese (Djamouri 2001; Dryer 2003). In connection with lexical flexibility, this phenomenon was explained as follows: With the loss of derivational morphology in early stages of Old Chinese (e.g., Sagart 1999), word order became the most important indicator of word class and strongly supported the omission of strict noun-verb distinctions (co-existence of precategoriality and categoriality) in the lexicon of this language.

Second, at the level of cognitive semantics (e.g., Lakoff 1987), the discussion concentrated on the metonymic relationships that constitute the cognitive-semantic foundation of the use of flexible lexemes in Classical Chinese. For flexible lexemes involved in both the V→N and the N→V types of zero-marked semantic type shifts, this study explored their basic patterns of interpretation, and these patterns were then examined and explained in terms of metonymy (e.g., Kövecses and Radden 1998; Radden and Kövecses 1999; Schönefeld 2005). Given the typologically salient characteristics of Classical Chinese such as the lack of obligatory markedness distinctions for grammatical relationships, the existence of precategoriality in the lexicon, as well as many structural features of this language that are closely associated with pragmatic inference, the argument is that the flexible use of an existing word form as a metonymically related but syntactically distinct item is one of the most economic ways in this language to name a new concept or a newly construed situation in discourse.

Third, at the level of argument structure constructions (e.g. Bisang 2008a, 2008b), the investigation focused on how the different metonymic relationships discussed interact with a given intransitive or transitive argument structure construction (which carries its own meaning within itself), and how these are further concretized into rule-based or metaphorically motivated pragmatic implicatures. A closer examination of an argument structure construction with an object word in the V-position reveals that there are two underlying frameworks for deriving the concrete meaning of the construction. In the rule-based framework, the verbal function of a given object word can be derived through a grammatical analysis of the construction. In the metaphorical framework, the composed semantics of the construction (based on the meaning of the components of the construction) actively interacts with the outside world in our conceptual system, where metaphor (Lakoff 1987, 1993; Kövecses 2010) serves as an essential cognitive principle in establishing and (re-)interpreting relations in the construction. The two mechanisms, rule-based and metaphorical, complement each other and work together to account for flexibility in Classical Chinese. Generally, the verbal interpretation of an object word in this language can principally be derived in one of three ways: (i) through the rule-based mechanism, (ii) through the metaphorical mechanism,

or (iii) through both of the mechanisms but in different constructions and contexts.

This study argues that flexibility of parts of speech in Classical Chinese can only be fully understood by taking into account a wide range of aspects, both linguistic and non-linguistic. The components needed to account for it include constructions (form-meaning pairings), semantics (Croft's 2000, 2001, 2003 conceptual space), metonymies, metaphors, pragmatic implicatures as well as culture specific contexts and world knowledge shared by the members of a given speech community. In my view, it is reasonable to argue that these components need not be specific to the language investigated here; they are applicable to any language that shows flexibility in its parts-of-speech system.

The investigation into flexibility of parts of speech in Classical Chinese reported in this study is far from being exhaustive. It is an attempt to provide a comprehensive account for the empirical data examined as part of this study, and thereby contribute to a further understanding of the use of flexible lexemes in nominal and verbal functions more generally. It is hoped that the mechanisms developed and solutions proposed will serve as a basis for further research on flexibility in parts-of-speech systems. Differing opinions and constructive debate from different perspectives always further the development of the field under investigation. While the current typological research on flexibility primarily focuses on the absence of the noun-verb distinction in parts-of-speech systems, it would also be interesting to consider investigating flexible lexemes in other functions than nouns and verbs, as well as their interactions with the nominal and verbal functions in a given language system. This could be a promising direction of research not only for Chinese languages but also in other typologically diverse languages that show lexical flexibility. Further research into the use of flexible lexemes in different functions at different angles would seem vital for gaining a comprehensive understanding of the nature of flexibility on all levels.

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Appendix I

Overview of the occurrences of 48 action-denoting lexemes in nominal function

	Zuozhuan	Mengzi	Zhanguo Ce	Guoyu	Mozi
	[N]	[N]	[N]	[N]	[N]
御 *yù* 'to drive (a carriage)'	23	-	6	5	1
戍 *shù* 'to guard (frontier)'	9	-	1	1	-
賈 *gǔ* 'to trade, to purchase, to sell, to buy, to do business, etc.'	5	7	7	2	12
傅 *fù* 'to give guidance, to assist'	3	1	9	2	-
尹 *yǐn* 'to administer, to govern'	2	-	-	1	-
相 *xiàng* 'to assist (the king)'	5	2	23	1	5
佐 *zuǒ* 'to assist (people of higher status)'	7	-	2	4	4
候 *hòu* 'to reconnoitre, to scout'	1	-	3	-	15
伏 *fú* 'to hide, to lurk'	1	-	-	-	1
賊 *zéi* 'to harm, to hurt, to cause bodily injuries or damage'	30	8	8	12	27
諜 *dié* 'to spy, to engage in espionage'	6	-	-	1	-
盜 *dào* 'to steal, to rob'	49	1	8	4	37

	Zuozhuan	Mengzi	Zhanguo Ce	Guoyu	Mozi
	[N]	[N]	[N]	[N]	[N]
寇 *kòu* 'to invade'	29	11	2	8	48
敵 *dí* 'to match, to parallel, to contrast (with)'	32	9	25	13	24
嬖 *bì* 'to favour, to dote on'	9	1	-	-	-
囚 *qiú* 'to imprison, to keep closed in a place'	19	-	1	1	-
圉 *yǔ* 'to keep horses', 'to keep closed in a place'	8	-	-	1	1
使 *shǐ* 'to send, to order (to go to)'	1	-	5	2	1
質 *zhì* 'to pawn, to take hostage'	30	-	30	1	6
親 *qīn* 'to be close (to), to come close (to)'	57	37	24	-	95
牽 *qiān* 'to pull, to lead'	1	-	3	-	-
騎 *qí* 'to ride (a horse)'	-	-	17	-	3
鑿 *záo* 'to cut, to chisel'	-	-	-	-	6
縛 *fù* 'to tie up, to bind'	2	-	-	-	-
縶 *zhí* 'to tie up, to imprison'	2	-	-	-	-
係 *xì* 'to tie up, to fasten'	-	-	-	1	1

	Zuozhuan	*Mengzi*	*Zhanguo Ce*	*Guoyu*	*Mozi*
	[N]	[N]	[N]	[N]	[N]
約 *yuē* 'to bundle up'	1	-	-	-	-
縋 *zhuì* 'to let down (with a rope)'	1	-	-	-	-
杖 *zhàng* 'to hold (a stick) in the hand, to grasp'	1	-	2	1	1
履 *lǚ* 'to tread'	1	1	-	-	4
皮 *pí* 'to remove the skin of something, to peel'	12	3	3	8	7
馘 *guó* 'to cut off left ears'	4	-	-	-	-
膳 *shàn* 'to prepare food, to present food'	3	-	-	-	-
飯 *fàn* 'to eat'	-	-	1	3	3
飲 *yǐn* 'to drink (alcohol)'	11	4	5	3	17
餼 *xì* 'to donate grains'	5	-	-	3	-
羞 *xiū* 'to offer (fine food to people of higher status)'	2	-	-	-	-
餉 *xiǎng* 'to carry meal (to the field), to supply provisions'	-	1	-	-	-
賂 *lù* 'to send gifts'	25	-	4	13	-
祀 *sì* 'to worship (heaven), to offer sacrifice to'	43	1	1	27	13

	Zuozhuan	Mengzi	Zhanguo Ce	Guoyu	Mozi
	[N]	[N]	[N]	[N]	[N]
襚 *suì* 'to dress a dead person, to put on shroud for a dead person'	3	-	-	-	-
制 *zhì* 'to cut out garments, to make (garments)'	3	-	-	-	-
任 *rèn* 'to carry, to bear'	5	5	6	6	11
芻 *chú* 'to mow grass, to feed animals with grass'	2	2	1	2	1
棲 *qī* 'to perch, to stay, to rest'	-	1	1	-	-
牧 *mù* 'to herd, to pasture'	9	2	1	5	-
次 *cì* 'to stop, to pause'	8	-	-	2	-
居 *jū* 'to live, to reside'	3	4	2	7	3

Appendix II

Overview of the occurrences of 186 object-denoting items in verbal function

	Zuozhuan	Mengzi	Zhanguo Ce	Guoyu	Mozi
	[V]	[V]	[V]	[V]	[V]
(I) Lexemes denoting human roles					
王 *wáng* 'king, monarch'	4	23	17	9	9
君 *jūn* 'ruler'	10	1	1	14	1
霸 *bà* 'chief of feudal princes, chief of vassal states'	8	6	13	6	2
伯 *bà* 'chief of vassal states'	1	-	9	8	-
帝 *dì* 'emperor, the supreme being'	-	-	8	-	-
侯 *hóu* 'duke, marquis, prince (under the emperor)'	-	1	1	-	-
主 *zhǔ* 'host, chief'	32	2	2	18	8
臣 *chén* 'subordinate, male slave, minister (under the king)'	30	8	20	3	-
官 *guān* 'officer, official'	5	-	4	1	1
友 *yǒu* 'friend'	4	18	3	2	3
子 *zǐ* 'child, son'	-	2	7	-	-
祖 *zǔ* 'ancestor'	8	-	3	4	-

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	Zuozhuan	*Mengzi*	*Zhanguo Ce*	*Guoyu*	*Mozi*
	[V]	[V]	[V]	[V]	[V]
師 *shī* 'teacher, fine example'	-	4	3	-	-
師 *shī* 'army, troop'	37	-	2	-	-
醫 *yī* 'doctor'	-	-	-	1	1
黨 *dǎng* 'clique, faction, kinsfolk, relatives'	1	-	5	4	3
軍 *jūn* 'troops'	31	-	9	5	-
俘 *fú* 'captive, prisoner of war'	13	-	-	-	-
仇 *chóu* 'enemy'	6	1	3	-	1
僕 *pú* 'servant', 'cart-driver'	6	-	-	-	-
賓 *bīn* 'guest'	7	-	-	2	3
客 *kè* 'guest'	-	-	1	-	2
妾 *qiè* 'female slave'	1	-	-	-	-
女 *nǚ* 'maid'	-	-	-	5	-
女 *nǚ* 'daughter'	2	2	-	3	-
妻 *qī* 'wife'	20	2	-	1	-
室 *shǐ* 'wife'	8	-	-	1	-

	Zuozhuan	*Mengzi*	*Zhanguo Ce*	*Guoyu*	*Mozi*
	[V]	[V]	[V]	[V]	[V]
夫 *fū* 'husband', 'married man'	3	-	-	-	-
婦 *fù* 'married woman'	2	-	-	-	-
(II) Lexemes denoting instruments					
鞭 *biān* '(leather-thronged) whip'	10	-	2	1	-
策 *cè* 'whip'	1	-	2	-	-
策 *cè* 'bamboo or wooden slips (used for writing)'	2	-	-	1	-
枕 *zhěn* 'pillow'	6	-	3	2	1
厲 *lì* 'grindstone, pumice stone'	5	-	5	1	-
麾 *huī* 'standard of commander'	1	-	-	-	1
旌 *jīng* 'banner, flag'	6	-	-	3	-
旗 *qí* 'flag'	1	-	-	-	1
旆 *pèi* 'banner'	3	-	-	-	-
觴 *shāng* 'drinking vessels'	1	-	8	-	-
權 *quán* 'scale'	-	1	2	5	5
繩 *shéng* 'rope, cord, string', 'ink line'	1	-	-	-	1

	Zuozhuan	*Mengzi*	*Zhanguo Ce*	*Guoyu*	*Mozi*
	[V]	[V]	[V]	[V]	[V]
綏 *suí* 'ropes used to stabilize the body when someone is getting in a carriage'	10	1	-	-	1
輔 *fŭ* 'side poles of a cart used for helping cart-driving'	19	5	18	14	3
椎 *chuí* 'mallet, wooden hammer'	-	-	1	-	-
席 *xí* 'mat'	3	-	1	-	-
鏡 *jìng* 'mirror, looking glass'	-	-	-	-	4
鑒 *jiàn* '(bronze) mirror'	3	-	-	7	12
帷 *wéi* 'curtain'	4	-	-	-	-
幕 *mù* 'covering cloth'	1	-	-	-	-
屏 *píng* 'screen (used for protecting or blocking)'	9	1	4	3	-
階 *jiē* 'stairs'	2	-	-	2	-
栫 *jiàn* 'fence'	1	-	-	-	-
燭 *zhú* 'torch, candle'	-	-	2	-	2
梏 *gù* 'wooden hand-shackles'	4	1	-	-	-
鉤 *gōu* 'hook'	2	-	1	-	10

	Zuozhuan	*Mengzi*	*Zhanguo Ce*	*Guoyu*	*Mozi*
	[V]	[V]	[V]	[V]	[V]
櫜 *gāo* 'vessels for storing armour, bows and arrows etc.'	1	-	-	-	-
鼓 *gǔ* 'drum'	27	6	8	4	29
兵 *bīng* 'weapon'	2	-	3	-	-
棺 *guān* 'coffin'	2	-	-	-	-
刃 *rèn* '(sharp) blade of a knife'	1	-	2	-	2
戟 *jǐ* 'halberd'	1	-	-	-	-
羅 *luó* 'net for catching birds'	-	-	-	-	1
壺 *hú* 'bottle, kettle, container (for liquid)'	-	3	-	-	-
簞 *dān* 'bamboo basket, bamboo utensil (for holding food)'	-	3	-	-	-
輦 *niǎn* 'man-drawn carriage'	5	-	2	-	-
罇 *zūn* 'wine goblet'	1	-	-	-	-
燧 *suì* 'flint'	1	-	-	-	-
櫝 *dú* 'box, casket, coffin'	1	-	-	1	-
丹 *dān* 'cinnabar'	2	-	-	2	-

	Zuozhuan	Mengzi	Zhanguo Ce	Guoyu	Mozi
	[V]	[V]	[V]	[V]	[V]
墨 *mò* 'ink, black dyestuff'	4	-	-	-	-
朱 *zhū* 'the tree with red core, red (dyestuff)'	2	-	-	-	-
彤 *tóng* 'red dyestuff'	1	-	-	-	-
毒 *dú* 'poison'	7	-	-	2	1
(III) Lexemes denoting places and/or buildings					
館 *guǎn* 'accommodation for guests, guesthouse, inn'	19	2	1	2	-
舍 *shè* 'tent, inn, house, hut'	33	1	6	6	4
城 *chéng* 'city wall, capital city'	115	-	2	8	-
市 *shì* 'market'	2	-	16	1	-
廬 *lú* 'hut, cottage'	1	-	-	-	-
倉 *cāng* 'granary, barn'	-	1	-	-	-
社 *shè* 'the site of sacrificing to the God of the land'	1	-	-	3	-
廷 *tíng* 'court of a king, 'imperial court'	3	-	-	-	-
田 *tián* 'cropland, farmland, field'	31	2	2	6	1

	Zuozhuan [V]	Mengzi [V]	Zhanguo Ce [V]	Guoyu [V]	Mozi [V]
門 *mén* 'gate'	34	-	-	-	1
巢 *cháo* 'nest'	4	-	-	-	-
宮 *gōng* 'house or palace built with walls'	2	-	-	-	1
堞 *dié* 'battlements'	1	-	-	-	-
墙 *qiáng* 'wall'	-	-	1	-	-
郭 *guō* 'outer city wall'	2	-	-	-	-
宇 *yǔ* 'roof eaves'	-	-	-	1	-
藩 *fān* 'hedge, fence'	5	-	-	1	-
溝 *gōu* 'ditch'	5	-	1	-	-
塹 *qiàn* 'moat'	3	-	-	-	4
隧 *suì* 'aisle or tunnel (leading to the coffin chamber of an ancient tomb)'	2	-	-	3	-
穴 *xué* 'hole'	2	-	-	-	11
坎 *kǎn* 'pit, hole'	3	-	-	-	-
梁 *liáng* 'bridge'	2	-	-	2	-

	Zuozhuan	Mengzi	Zhanguo Ce	Guoyu	Mozi
	[V]	[V]	[V]	[V]	[V]
道 *dào* 'road, way, path'	15	-	6	-	3
國 *guó* 'country'	4	-	-	1	-
疆 *jiāng* 'field border, territory'	14	-	-	-	-
鄙 *bǐ* 'periphery'	6	-	-	-	-
邑 *yì* 'city'	2	1	-	-	-
井 *jǐng* 'square-fields'	1	2	-	-	-
町 *tīng* 'an area named Ting, a measure unit of area'	1	-	-	-	-
縣 *xiàn* 'county'	3	-	4	-	-
(IV) Lexemes denoting garments					
服 *fú* 'clothes, clothing, garment'	5	2	17	2	10
衣 *yī* 'clothes, clothing, garment'	12	8	10	15	12
幅 *fú* '(width of) cloth'	2	-	-	-	-
絻 *wèn* 'mourning dress'	2	-	-	-	-
縗絰 *cuīdié* 'mourning apparel'	6	-	-	-	-
襟 *jīn* 'collar, front of a garment'	-	-	1	-	-

	Zuozhuan	*Mengzi*	*Zhanguo Ce*	*Guoyu*	*Mozi*
	[V]	[V]	[V]	[V]	[V]
冑 *zhòu* 'helmet'	6	-	-	1	-
介 *jiè* 'armour'	7	-	-	-	-
冠 *guān* 'hat'	4	4	2	2	2
弁 *biàn* 'hat of officials'	1	-	-	-	-
冕 *miǎn* 'hat of kings or higher officials, especially worn in full dress ceremony'	1	-	-	-	-
襪 *wà* 'socks'	1	-	-	-	-
佩 *pèi* 'ornament worn as pendant at the waist'	5	-	2	2	-
(V) Lexemes denoting foodstuff					
食 *shí* 'food, meal, grains, (cooked) rice'	51	46	38	29	47
飧 *sūn* 'evening meal, dinner, (cooked) food'	-	1	-	1	-
餌 *ěr* 'cake, pastry, food, bait'	-	-	5	-	1
酒 *jiǔ* 'alcohol'	-	1	1	-	-
膏 *gāo* 'fat, grease, oil'	1	-	-	-	-
脂 *zhǐ* 'fat, grease'	2	-	-	-	-

	Zuozhuan	Mengzi	Zhanguo Ce	Guoyu	Mozi
	[V]	[V]	[V]	[V]	[V]
醢 *hǎi* 'minced and hashed meat sauce'	4	-	5	-	-
脯 *fǔ* 'dried meat'	-	-	2	-	-
穀 *gǔ* 'grain, corn, cereal'	3	-	-	1	-
麥 *mài* 'wheat'	1	-	-	-	-
果 *guǒ* 'fruits'	7	2	1	2	3
(VI) Lexemes denoting body parts					
肘 *zhǒu* 'elbow'	1	-	1	-	-
目 *mù* 'eye'	1	-	-	1	-
指 *zhǐ* 'finger(s)'	5	1	5	-	25
牙 *yá* 'tooth, molar'	-	-	1	-	-
齒 *chǐ* 'teeth'	3	-	-	-	-
背 *bèi* 'back'	46	-	8	17	-
翼 *yì* 'wings'	3	1	1	4	-
角 *jiǎo* 'horns'	2	-	-	-	-
踵 *zhǒng* 'heel'	2	1	2	-	1

	Zuozhuan	*Mengzi*	*Zhanguo Ce*	*Guoyu*	*Mozi*
	[V]	[V]	[V]	[V]	[V]
懷 *huái* 'chest, bosom'	26	8	9	16	4
面 *miàn* 'face'	4	10	36	-	1
首 *shǒu* 'head'	1	-	1	1	-
顛 *diān* 'top of the head'	5	1	-	1	1
肉 *ròu* 'flesh'	3	-	-	1	-
股肱 *gǔgōng* 'legs and arms'	2	-	-	3	-
(VII) Lexemes denoting animals					
蠹 *dù* 'wood-boring beetles or in- sects'	2	-	2	-	1
禽 *qín* 'beasts and birds'	9	-	29	2	3
畜 *chù* 'domesticated livestock'	13	9	7	6	2
鳩 *jiū* 'dove, pigeon'	5	-	-	1	-
魚 *yú* 'fish'	2	-	-	-	-
蚕 *cán* 'silkworms'	1	2	-	1	-
驂 *cān* '(three) horses that pull a single-shaft carriage'	5	-	4	-	-

	Zuozhuan	*Mengzi*	*Zhanguo Ce*	*Guoyu*	*Mozi*
	[V]	[V]	[V]	[V]	[V]
駟 *sì* 'a team of four horses that pull a single-shaft carriage'	4	-	-	-	-
(VIII) Lexemes denoting illnesses					
疥 *jiè* 'tertian malaria'	1	-	-	-	-
痁 *shān* 'chronic malaria'	1	-	-	-	-
疽 *jū* 'carbuncle, abscess'	1	-	-	-	-
瘧 *nüè* 'intermittent fever, malaria'	1	-	-	-	-
疾 *jí* 'illness'	37	2	2	3	8
病 *bìng* '(serious) illness'	37	6	16	5	4
疾病 *jíbìng* '(serious) illness'	8	-	-	-	1
(IX) Lexemes denoting (super)natural events or elements					
雨 *yǔ* 'rain'	13	2	7	1	6
風 *fēng* 'wind'	2	1	-	3	-
水 *shuǐ* 'water'	8	-	3	-	1
火 *huǒ* 'fire'	15	-	-	1	-
土 *tǔ* 'soil'	-	-	1	-	-

	Zuozhuan	*Mengzi*	*Zhanguo Ce*	*Guoyu*	*Mozi*
	[V]	[V]	[V]	[V]	[V]
福 *fú* 'blessing, good fortune'	11	-	1	3	2
禍 *huò* 'calamity, misfortune, disaster'	30	1	1	3	4
祚 *zuò* 'blessing, happiness'	4	-	-	7	-
殃 *yāng* 'misfortune, disaster'	1	2	-	2	2
祉 *zhǐ* 'good luck, blessing'	1	-	-	-	-
災 *zāi* '(natural) disaster'	18	-	-	-	-
(X) Lexemes denoting laws, rules, regulations, codes of conduct, etc.					
班 *bān* 'order, rank'	3	1	-	1	-
序 *xù* 'order, sequence, rank'	3	-	-	5	-
次 *cì* 'order, sequence'	3	5	2	3	3
法 *fǎ* 'law, rule'	4	3	8	7	35
刑 *xíng* 'penal law'	13	3	4	14	1
禮 *lǐ* 'courtesy, convention, rites, regulations'	40	3	3	28	-
德 *dé* 'virtue, moral, kindness, favour'	27	1	43	12	1

	Zuozhuan	Mengzi	Zhanguo Ce	Guoyu	Mozi
	[V]	[V]	[V]	[V]	[V]
道 *dào* 'morals, law, standard for behaviour'	9	-	-	2	1
本 *běn* 'basics, basic rules, principle'	1	-	-	2	5
榮 *róng* 'glory, honor'	1	1	1	-	3
義 *yì* 'justice, righteousness'	25	11	15	-	8
仁 *rén* 'benevolence, humanity'	-	4	-	2	6
恥 *chǐ* 'shame'	16	12	3	6	-
尤 *yóu* 'mistake'	8	2	-	-	-
過 *guò* 'mistake fault'	9	9	27	9	1
疵瑕 *cīxiá* 'blemishes on jade'	1	-	-	-	-
禮貌 *lǐmào* 'etiquette, politeness, good manners'	1	1	-	-	-

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