DERIVED VERBS IN CHINESE: THE UNIVERSAL AND THE UNIQUE^1

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Introduction. There is a rich literature on Chinese compound verbs formed by a verb and one or more positional elements of verbal or adjectival origin, e.g. song 'send, give a gift'; songdao 'send (to)'; songchu 'send, carry away'. The literature treats (1) the merits of describing complex verbs in a transformational or lexicalist framework,\(^2\) (2) the analysis of compound verbs as a phenomenon of verbal aspect,\(^3\) (3) the classification of derived verbs by formal and semantic criteria,\(^4\) and (4) the writing of pedagogical grammars of compound verbs.\(^5\) Rare are discussions of the changing patterns of derivation through time and space.

The present paper will characterize the distinctive properties of Mandarin compound verbs against the background of verbal derivation in diverse languages; I view the discussion below as a tentative proposal for a typology of verbal derivation. Students of Chinese verb derivation have frequently drawn occasional parallels between Chinese and other languages, but I know of no systematic comparative investigations. Ideally, a comparative investigation should entail a broad sampling of languages of diverse families and structures, but here I will restrict myself primarily to Indo-European and Semitic, though I have also examined Hungarian, and the Indic and Kwa languages.

In West Indo-European languages, the devices available for deriving compound verbs from a simplex verb stem include (a) prefixation (e.g. Russian čítat' 'read'; pročítat' 'read through'), (b) infixation (e.g. French tousser 'cough'; toussoter 'cough slightly'), (c) suffixation (e.g. English eat; eat up), (d) multiple (usually encircling) derivation, e.g. prefixation and a reflexive/reciprocal pronoun/postfix (e.g. Russian govet' 'fast'; razgovet'sja 'break the fast'). In the Semitic languages, derivation takes the form of (a) prefixation (e.g. Hebrew raxač 'wash'; hitraxeč 'get washed'), (b) infixation and prefixation (e.g. literary Arabic fa'illa 'do'; ifta-
"ala "counterfeit"), (c) internal consonant/vowel gemination (e.g. Maltese kiser "break": kisser "break to pieces"), (d) prefixes (e.g. literary Arabic ʻaxaʃa "take": ʻaxaʃa ʻala "blame"). The inventory of devices could be somewhat expanded if we included other language families, e.g. Hausa uses tone patterns, sometimes with segmental changes. Chinese most resembles the devices found in Germanic languages, except that its verb particles are homophonous with verbs and adjectives, while Germanic particles are homophonous with prepositions and adverbs. In both Chinese and the West Indo-European languages, infixation is rarely used (e.g. kan "look": kanyikan "have a look"). Finally, there is also a close parallel between Chinese and some creoles (e.g. Afrikaans, Virgin Islands Dutch Creole) where verbal prefixes are reduced forms of verbs.

Any comparison of such a variety of languages will first have to make sense out of a terminological mêlée. In Western and Soviet linguistic circles, derived verbs have been called variously "causative", "potential", "verb-complement compounds", "resultative verbs, compounds", "complex resultative verbs", "quasiresultatives" and "verb-verb constructions", while the derivational morphemes have been called "converbs", "auxiliary verbs", "postpositive verbs", "verb operators", "semi-affixes", "suffixes", "verb-particles", "functional endings", "verb endings" and "complements". Terms like "resultative" or "directional" which call attention to semantic functions are not always appropriate, especially in cross-linguistic contexts; terms such as "serial verbs" or "verb-verb constructions", in calling attention to formal properties, may be historically accurate but cannot be recommended for synchronic studies, since most of the postpositional elements differ in meanings and tones from the simplex verbs from which they are derived. For example, the bound postpositional element -shang only occasionally has the meaning of the free verb shang "go up, to", e.g. shanglou "go upstairs" vs. suoshang "lock up", kaoshang "pass test". Hence I prefer to use neutral terms such as "derived verbs" for the general phenomenon, and "verb patterns" or "verb particles" for the postpositional derivational elements.

Despite the considerable structural differences, derived verbs in Indo-European, Semitic and Chinese share an impressive number of formal and semantic properties, which will be discussed below under ten headings. Lack of space precludes the citation of many non-Chinese examples.
1. The fit between functions and resources. In Chinese a single verb may express a variety of meanings, and a single meaning may be expressed by a number of verb particles. For example, -qilai expresses inchoativity (e.g. re 'be hot'; reqilai 'become hotter') and ingressivity (e.g. shuo 'speak'; shuojilai 'begin speaking')—though often there is a change in meaning, e.g. chao 'make noise'; chaqilai 'quarrel'). -dao expresses both successful and unexpected action (e.g. ban 'handle'; bandao 'handle successfully' vs. meng 'dream' [noun]; mengdao 'dream of something unexpected'). Conversely, the opposition 'lock': 'lock up (firmly)' can be expressed by no less than three verb particles, e.g. suo 'lock': suoshang = suqilai = suozhu 'lock up (firmly)'. Moreover, derived verbs may be nearly synonymous with simplex verb-noun object constructions, e.g. shuojilai 'begin talking' ~ kaikou '(at last) begin talking' (literally 'open' + 'mouth').

An important goal should be to ascertain which semantic functions tend to be expressed by a common verb particle. There are striking similarities among the languages sampled. For example, in Chinese, the features of inchoativity and ingressivity may both be expressed by -qi(lai); in Russian ingressivity, perfection and successive action are all expressible by the prefix za-. In addition to shared sets of functions, unrelated languages often agree in the assignment of simplex verbs to parallel derivational patterns. For instance, English up with verbs of nonmovement may also express the notion of performing an action within a circumscribed area or context. It is striking that not only does Chinese -qi(lai) match the two meanings of English up, but the nondirectional function of -qi(lai) and up operates on a similar corpus of simplex verbs, e.g. Chinese suan-qilai = count up, guanqilai = close up, xiangqilai = think up.

Future research should determine to what extent languages agree over the assignment of semantic notions to derived verbs. Consider the notions 'chase' and 'pursue, hunt for': while English now expresses the two notions by lexical means, Old English, like many other languages, expressed the second notion by a derived form of 'chase': purchacen 'seek to obtain' ~ French chasser; purchasser, Arabic țarada; țarada. Chinese zhui; zhuisuo 'pursue, investigate'.

2. Inconsistent utilization of the resources. Derivational resources are rarely used consistently, i.e. a derivational chain often lacks individual links.
For example, from tang 'lie', we can derive tangxiao-
(lai) 'lie down' and a potential compound tangdaxia-
'can lie down (in a certain space)'. But diao 'fall'
> diao-xialai, diaoxiaqu 'fall down' has no interme-
diate *diaoxia. Many compounds expressing a potential
action lack the non-potential variant, e.g. yongdezha-
ocan use": *yongzhao. There are also cases where de-
duced verbs exist in the absence of the underlying com-
plex, see *yu: yudao = yushang = yuzhao = yujian
'meet'. Frequently, there is no semantic equivalence
between positive and negative derived verbs formed with
the potential infix, e.g. xiangqilaí 'think up a
solution, recall': xiangdeqilaí 'can think up a
solution, can recall': xiangbuqilaí 'cannot think up
a solution, cannot recall', but the negated potential
use of guandezhao 'can take care'—guanbuzhao—
means both 'none of your business' as well as 'cannot
manage'. Often the semantic link between a derived verb
and its potential form is opaque, e.g. shuoding
'agree upon, settle through talking' vs. shuobuding
'cannot say for sure, maybe' (*'cannot settle through
talking').

Often derived verbs assume unpredictable (usually
non-verbal) functions, e.g. henbude 'would that'
(literally 'hate' + 'cannot' + 'attain'); occasionally,
derived verbs function as nouns, e.g. banbudaor
'roly-poly' < 'cannot push over'. Particularly common
is the creation of (near) synonyms involving various
verb particles and degrees of morphological complexity:
(a) single = double verbal particles, e.g. shuo
'talk': shuoqi = shuqilaí; 'begin to talk'; (b)
simplex = complex, e.g. ti = tiqilaí 'lift up',
tingdong 'understand what one hears' can be contract-
ed to dong 'understand' but not to ting 'hear'; (c)
a verb may appear with a choice of verb particles, e.g.
pao 'run': paoqai = paozu 'run away'; (d) diverse
simplexes may use a common verb particle, e.g. ding
'decide': nading = dading (zhuyi) 'make up (one's
mind)'. There are wide scale differences in productivity
of the verb particles, e.g. -shang and -xia are
very productive in a variety of functions, but -dong
'move' or -de (used with some verbs of perception)
have a low distribution. A number of observers have
noted that the simplex member of an opposition does not
always enjoy the highest text frequency, see e.g.
Dungan. There is evidence that the complex -qilaí
is used more often than simple -qi; the potential
verb seems to be rarer than the actual, but indivi-
dual positive potential verbs may be rarer than the
 corresponding negative potential.

See also the opaque relationship of English send up
'put in jail' vs. send down 'demon'. In Hebrew the simplex verb has become obsolete and new verbs have to be accommodated in derived verbal patterns.

3. Tautologous expression. Simplex verb stems can optionally attract postpositional elements of similar meaning, resulting in tautologous expression, e.g. ti 'carry, lift; mention' + -qilai 'raise' > tiqilai 'lift (up); mention'. In some cases of tautologous expression, the verb particle is obligatory, e.g. da-jia xin-li kaishi andunxiaq/xialai 'everyone began to calm down'. Tautologous expression also characterizes the use of the potential form, e.g. xuedehui 'can learn' (with 'can' expressed by -de- + -hui), neng shudedao 'can count up to' (with 'can' expressed by neng...-de-).

See also English fall = fall down; slow up = slow down.

4. Interdialectal and interlingual relationships. Closely related dialects of Chinese often differ in inventory, distribution and functions of postpositional elements. For example, Mandarin siqu 'die' (< 'die' + 'go') corresponds to the cognate Amoy phrase xi-khi, but there is no Mandarin *huaiqu for Amoy phai-khi 'spoil'. While Cantonese sai 'wash' > saifaan 'wash again', the Mandarin cognates xi 'wash' and fan 'return' are not combinable. Speakers of a single dialect frequently disagree over the grammaticality of a verb, e.g. nianmandeliao 'can finish studying' was not accepted by all my Mandarin informants. On relative chronologies of complex construction, see section 5 below.

Note Russian pisat' = Czech psat 'write' but Russian opisat' 'describe' vs. Czech opsat 'copy, transcribe, circumscribe, paraphrase'; Indian English speed: overspeed vs. English speed: *overspeed.

5. Coexistence of diverse chronological strata. The fact that Mandarin verbal particles differ widely in (a) productivity and (b) the morphophonemics of tone leads me to suspect the coexistence of disparate chronological strata. For example, compare productive -dei vs. unproductive -de ~ de 'obtain'. Note also the existence of semantic differences between verb particles and their cognate free forms, e.g. hao 'be well' vs. -hao 'well; complete, finish; ability' but huai = -huai 'be bad, spoil'.

The partial obsolescence of the derivational system is suggested by the fact that a number of verb particles can be replaced by a periphrastic construction,
e.g. ingressivity can be expressed by the verb particle -qilai as well as by kaishi 'begin' + verb, as in reqlai = kaishi rele 'it has become hot'.

The study of the changing patterns of derivation is a desideratum in Chinese, Indo-European and Semitic linguistics.\(^{22}\) Egyptian Arabic *'ista-* is rare, while *ta-* is extremely productive; Russian *za-* is rare in the meaning of successive action, but productive as a mark of perfective action.

6. Inverse relationship between morphological and semantic complexity. Simplex verbs tend to be broader in meaning than any derived complex.\(^{23}\) For example, *zhan* can mean 'open up, extend, show', while derived verbs with *zhan-* express only one of the simplex meanings, e.g. *zhankai* 'open up', *zhanxian* 'extend a time limit, postpone', *zhanlan* 'exhibit'. Complex verbs with two verbal particles tend to be less prone to ambiguous interpretations than simplex verbs with a single verb particle, e.g. *fangxia* 'put down; accommodate' vs. *fangdexia* 'can accommodate' (*'can put down*), but *kanbuqi* means variously 'cannot afford to see (movies); look down upon, have a low opinion of'. Often, the simplex has an unspecified function in contrast to the corresponding derived verbs, e.g. *gu* 'drum' > *gudong* 'agitate, arouse; agitation'.\(^{23}\)

It is imperative to determine whether the present meanings of simplex verbs predate the meanings of derived verbs or vice versa.

In comparing complex verbs with their simplex cognates, we occasionally observe an inability to conjugate the former in the imperative, e.g. *kan* 'look!', *ting* 'listen!' vs. *kanjian*, *tingdao*.\(^{24}\) In addition, complex verbs cannot occur with the aspactual marker -zhe. On the greater text frequency of the potential, see above. The verb particle -shang in a complex verb may preclude the occurrence of an animate subject, e.g. *chuanran* 'infect, be contagious' vs. *chuanranshang* 'be infected'.

See Czech *volat* 'shout; summon; telephone' vs. *vyvolat* 'shout'; *povolat* 'summon'; *zavolat* 'telephone'.

7. Use of derivational machinery to express diverse grammatical categories. Verb particles have a number of heterogeneous functions in Chinese. They (a) add new meanings to the simplex or restrict the scope of the simplex (see section 6 above); (b) convert a noun into a verb, e.g. *gen* 'root'; *genju* 'be based on'; (c) express verbal aspect, e.g. -guo (with neutral tone)
experiential aspect, as in chiguo 'have eaten' vs. -guo(lai) 'pass through, across' as in paodeguo 'can run across'.

There are two complications in Chinese which are absent in Indo-European and Semitic grammars: (a) derived verbs with a simple verb particle are on the surface identical to verbs consisting of two independent verbs; (b) a derived verb consisting of a complex verb particle, beginning with -de-, is identical in surface structure to the sequence of a verb and a manner adverb. Disambiguating is done by derivational patterns. An example of a compound verb is taolun 'discuss' < tao 'beg for' + lun 'discuss'. From taolun we can derive taolunwan 'discuss completely' but no corresponding potential form, e.g. *taodelun. A distinguishing feature of the compound is that V₂, which tends to retain its original meaning in the compound, is often similar to V₁ in meaning, e.g. xiu 'repair' + zheng 'correct' > xiuzheng 'revise'. Moreover, compound verbs can be fully reduplicated, e.g. taoluntaolun 'have a talk with', whereas derived verbs are amenable to partial re-duplication at best, e.g. ilakai 'open' > ilalakai 'open'.

A topic for research is to determine the freedom to cross over from one type of derivational pattern to the other. For example, xiuzheng 'revise' participates in the derivational patterns of both derived and compound verbs, e.g. xiuzhengdeliao 'can whittle straight' (compound verb) ~ xiudezheng 'can revise' (derived potential verb). An example of surface ambiguity is kandekuai which could mean either 'can read fast' or 'read fast'. The ambiguity is removed by an optional tone in the potential, e.g. kandekuai; there is no ambiguity in the negative, e.g. kanbukuai 'cannot read fast' vs. kande bukuai 'not read fast'.

Finally, a sequence of two verbs, the second of which is directional in meaning, may be interpreted either as a derived verb or as a sequence of two verbs, e.g. na shu chulai 'carry the books and come out' or 'take out the books'.

See Hebrew hit- which expresses reflexivity, reciprocity and also creates new verbs from nouns and adjectives (see above); in the Slavic languages, prefixes express perfective aspect in addition to semantic extensions of the simplex verb.

8. Agglutination and the merger of existing resources. Chinese can create new complex verb particles by combining existing simple verb particles. The complex verb particles are often semantically no longer related to the parallel simplex particles. For example,
qi ~ -qi 'get up, rise' (as in tiqi 'raise, lift up') vs. -qilai 'begin' (as in shuoqilai 'begin talking') or -deqi 'can afford' (as in maideqi 'can afford to buy'). The meaning of a complex verb particle is largely predictable only when the first component is the potential marker -de-/bu-, e.g. nian 'study': nianman 'finish studying': niandeawan 'can finish studying'. The number of elements which can appear in the second position of a complex verb particle is far smaller than the number of elements which can serve as a single verb particle.

See Russian nesti 'bring': ponesti 'bolt (horse)'; sustain': nanesti 'bring a quantity of': po- as the second or third verbal prefix denotes exclusively a gradual activity, e.g. ponanesti 'bring a lot little by little'; dumat 'think': zadumat 'plan, conceive': prizadumat'sja 'become pensive, hesitate': poprizadumat'sja 'become somewhat pensive'. Literary Arabic qaruba 'be close': qarraba 'bring close(r)'; taqarraba 'approach, go near'. The maximum of agglutinated suffixes in most Slavic languages is commonly three, in Semitic two.

9. Interpretation of derived verbs. We have seen that verbal derivation is a mixed domain of productive and unproductive forms and functions, For example, from dai 'carry', we have daishang (men) in the unpredictable meaning of 'close (the door)'. Describing the rules governing the formation and interpretation of derived verbs remains an urgent task of Chinese, Slavic and Semitic linguistics. It seems that speakers may be able to interpret derived verbs in two ways: (1) by extracting clues from the meaning of the simplex and (2) by relating each derived verb to the chain of derived verbs in which the simplex participates. For example, if a simplex verb of motion is combined with -delai, then the meaning of the derived verb tends to express the potential of the simplex: dai 'bring': dailai 'bring along (here)': daidelai 'can bring along'. If the simplex is not a verb of motion, then -delai assumes the meaning of 'potential because' and -lai cannot appear without -de, e.g. chi 'eat': *chilaii: chidelaii 'can eat (because the food is tasty)'. If -qilai is added to a simplex stative verb, then the meaning of the compound may be inchoative, e.g. leng 'be cold': lengqilaii 'become cold(-er)'; but with simplex verbs expressing a physical action, -qilai retains its original directional force, e.g. zuo 'sit': zuoqilaii 'sit up (from, in bed)'.

In Hebrew, a derived verb with the ni- prefix will
be interpreted as the passive voice of the simplex when
the latter is a transitive verb (e.g. šamar 'guard';
nīšmar 'be guarded') but as a mediopassive if there
is no corresponding simplex form in use, e.g. nixna
'surrender'; *kana).

10. Morphological identity of the verb particles.
Chinese differs from Semitic and to some extent from
Indo-European languages in that there are no bound mor-
phemes which cannot serve as free morphemes. It is in-
teresting to speculate whether the morphological iden-
tity of the verb particles/patterns in the three
language families is a function of the relative age of
the device. For example, the Chinese particles of
verbal origin which have ceased to function as in-
dependent verbs, such as ba definite object marker
(< *'take') or bei passive voice marker (< *'re-
ceive, submit') may be older than the verb particles.

11. Order of the components. A distinctive feature
of Chinese which finds only scant reflection in Germa-
nic languages is the frequent reversability of compo-
nents in derived verbs. Derived verbs differing in com-
ponent order are often similar in meaning, e.g. kai-
zhang 'open'; zhangkai 'separate'; kaizhan 'be
openminded, develop'; zhankan 'open up; launch'.
Examples of pairs which are very dissimilar in meaning
are haochi 'be tasty' vs. chihao 'finish eating',
fachu 'emit (odor, sound)' vs. chuifa 'set out (on
the road)'. There seem to be no cases in Chinese where
a change in component order is not marked by a change
in meaning. Of the Indo-European languages that I
examined, freedom of component order is only found
occasionally, see e.g. English sit out vs. outsit,
read out vs. outread. In the Semitic languages
there is no freedom of component order since the deri-
vational devices are exclusively bound morphemes.

12. Scope of derivational pattern. In Chinese,
every verb in principle can become a verbal particle. A
future task is to determine what sort of verbs are most
likely to become verbal particles.

In Indo-European and Semitic languages, there are
restrictions on the use of derivational patterns, e.g.
with non-native stems. In Slavic languages, a number of
foreign verbs, regardless of their time of borrowing and
source, are not freely combinable with verbal prefixes,
except (in some cases) to express the perfective aspect,
e.g. Russian manevoirovat' 'manoeuvre' (imperfective
aspect) (< German < French) is only combinable with the
prefix s- to form the perfective aspect; Russian verbs
of Church Slavic origin often fail to combine with prefixes altogether, e.g. Ženit' 'marry off' (bi-aspec-tual), kaznit' 'put to death, execute' (imperfective aspect only). On the other hand, Romance verb stems in English are less likely to appear in phrasal verb patterns than native stems, see e.g. (native) bring down vs. (Romance) *reduce, diminish without down.

In Semitic languages most verb stems consist of three consonants; foreign verbs with more than three consonants can only participate in one or two derived verbal patterns, e.g. English puncture > Hebrew pincer 'cause a mishap' > hitpincér 'end in a mishap'.

13. Variety of derivational patterns. In Chinese, the fact that every verb can function as a verb particle and vice versa means that Chinese has a far richer inventory of derivational devices than Indo-European and Semitic languages. However, students of Chinese do not agree over the number of verb particles in the language. Cartier (1972) posts over 100 (of varying productivity), but most writers envisage a far more reduced corpus, e.g. less than three dozen. Chinese monolingual and bilingual dictionaries never strive for a complete listing of derived verbs. For example, the compendious Han ying ci dian (1978) lists fangxia in the single meaning 'lay down' but omits fangdexia 'can find room for'; negative potentials are listed without their positive counterparts, e.g. xiabulai 'refuse to come down (e.g. temperature); cannot be built; feel embarrassed' but there is no mention of xiadelai. Among bilingual dictionaries, Kotov 1974 stands out for his relatively detailed listing of verb particles. In principle, derived verbs whose formation and/or meaning can be predicted from the meanings of the components need not be glossed in the dictionary, but the corpus of such verbs needs to be determined.

Conclusions. The ten principles outlined above prove not to be unique to derived verbs in Chinese; parallels in principle and even in details of inventory and distribution exist in a great many languages, both related and unrelated—Germanic, Romance, Semitic, Slavic, Hungarian, Indic and Kwa—despite the divergent structure of these languages and the heterogeneous origins of their derivational machinery. The scope of the derivational systems varies widely from language to language: Semitic languages have relatively few derivational patterns, e.g. Modern Hebrew has only four productive patterns and Arabic dialects use under ten. The Germanic languages have roughly two dozen verbal prefixes in common use (compared to a small number of
 infixes); a Slavic language, Ukrainian, has forty-odd verbal prefixes. Chinese easily has the most elaborate system. Verbal prefixes in Indo-European languages are derived from prepositions and adverbs, but not every member of these two word classes serves as a verbal prefix; not every verbal prefix can also be a preposition or adverb.

However, the similarities among these languages in the formal parameters of the derivational morphemes are paralleled by some significant dissimilarities on the semantic plane, e.g. in the types of functions which coexist in a single affix. These dissimilarities constitute no less an interesting field for cross-linguistic investigation than the similarities. Consider the parallels between Ukrainian pid\textsuperscript{1}(i)(o)-'under', English up and Chinese -\textit{qi}(lai)--all of which express a direction as well as completion within a circumscribed space, of a specified goal, e.g. Ukrainian \textit{pid\textsuperscript{2}ukaty}'think up, of; find suitable', \textit{pid\textsuperscript{2}raxu\textsuperscript{4}aty}'count up' ~ Chinese suan\textsuperscript{2}qilai'count up', jia\textsuperscript{2}qilai'add up', xiangqi'think up'; Chinese suan\textsuperscript{2}qilai has an English equivalent in 'lock up', but there is no Ukrainian parallel. Note that Russian frequently uses \textit{pod-} 'under' to denote illegal activity, e.g. \textit{slu\textsuperscript{2}rat}'hear': \textit{pod\textsuperscript{2}lu\textsuperscript{2}rat}'overhear'--corresponding to the rare use of English over-! Such a development of an original spatial prefix has no parallel in Chinese, though a derived pattern in Arabic expressing illegal activity operates on a similar corpus of simplex verbs.

The immediate goal of Chinese linguistics should be to motivate the phenomena catalogued above and to trace their historical evolution; the more distant goal--extending beyond the confines of Chinese--should be to determine the types of paths along which semantic notions may develop, and the reasons for a similar distribution across languages.

\footnote{I am grateful to Chen Chung-Yu for her many helpful suggestions regarding the Chinese data.}


In the native Chinese writing system, derived verbs are not distinguished orthographically from sequences of morphemes. However, in Soviet Dungan, a form of Mandarin spoken by about 50,000 in Soviet Tadjikistan and Kazakhstan, written in a modified Cyrillic script, the components of derived verbs, unlike verb-noun compounds, are written together as one word, e.g. fynkë 'separate', boshong 'wrap up' (Imazov 1977:81-2, 98ff, 131-67).

- Derivational patterns may also be accompanied by optional morphological changes, e.g. Russian lit' 'pour' (with an accusative object); nalit' 'pour a quantity of' (with an accusative or genitive object).

- For a summary of the nomenclature, see Kalousková 1964:27, note 4 and Cartier 1972: section #9.33.

- But kandao can mean both 'succeed in seeing' and 'see unexpectedly' (see discussion in Thompson 1973: 376).

- For example, Russian cvesti 'bloom': zacvesti 'begin to bloom'; pit' 'drink': zapit' 'drink down (after)'; tormozit' (imperfective aspect): za-tormozit' (perfective aspect) 'put on the brakes'.

10 But English save up differs from Chinese cun-xialai < -xialai 'down'. Russian widely uses pod-'(up from) under' in the translation equivalents, e.g. ščitat' 'count': podščitat' 'count up'—but pod- is not used with the simplex verbs 'lock, wrap, close (up)'. Compare English think up (i.e. 'select from among existing possibilities') ~ Chinese xianqi (also means 'remember someone') ~ Russian vspomnit' < vs- 'up' + pomnit' 'remember').

11 For example, -de is restricted to verbs of perception, as in juede 'feel', jide 'remember', rende 'recognize'.

13 Chao 1968:111.
15 Chao 1968:457.
17 The examples are cited ibid. 115.
17 Dragunov 1960:122 notes that verb particles with directional meanings tend to have no stress or tone, while non-directional meanings retain their tone, e.g. nálaí vs. niànwán. The relative chronologies need to be studied.
20 Compare hàočí 'good to eat, be tasty' vs. chíháo 'finish eating'. See also section 11 below.
22 Greenberg 1966: chapters 3-4.
23 The notion that verb particles can lose their lexical functions and become "empty" aspectual markers, popular among Soviet and Chinese sinologists, is discussed by Chao 1968:453-4 and Cartier 1972:51, 56ff.
24 There is some tendency in English to use phrasal verbs with multiple particles more freely in imperative sentences (see Bolinger 1971:133, note 1).
26 See also Korotkov 1968:233 and discussion of wán in Lu 1973a.
27 Bolinger 1971:49.

References

Abbreviations: JCL—Journal of Chinese Linguistics; JCLTA—Journal of the Chinese Language Teachers’ Association; PhD—Unpublished PhD


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