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Résumé

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Abstract

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

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The paradox of the construction [V *zai* NP_{LOC}] and its meanings in the Beijing dialect of Mandarin¹

Katia CHIRKOVA & Christine LAMARRE

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

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

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

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

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1. THE PARADOX OF THE CONSTRUCTION [V ZAI NP_{LOC}], EARLY QĪNG SOURCES AND SIMILAR PATTERNS IN NORTHERN MANDARIN DIALECTS

1.1. The paradox of the construction [V *zai* NP_{LOC}]

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

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

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

³ Unless otherwise specified, all examples in this article are quoted from a corpus of spoken Beijing Mandarin collected by Chirkova in 2000-2001 (hereafter corpus). Following Yuen Ren Chao (1968: xvii), we give examples both in characters and in romanized transcriptions (Hànyǔ Pīnyīn, in our case), with an English gloss. The characters are included for the convenience of readers who feel more comfortable with them than with romanization. For more details on the corpus, see § 1.5.

- (1) 真 了不得, 他 掉 在 水 里 了⁴.
 Zhēn liǎobudé tā diào zai shuǐ li le.
 really terrible he fall be.in water inside CRS
 'Good God! He fell into the water!'
- (2) 把 手 放 在 背 后!
 Bá shǒu fàng zai bèi hòu!
 PTR hand put be.in back behind
 'Put your hands behind your back!'

In being terminative the [V *zai* NP_{Loc}] construction is similar to constructions with the postverbal locative phrase introduced by 到 *dao* 'arrive' (hereafter the [V *dao* NP_{Loc}] construction).

Paradoxically, the same, essentially terminative, [V *zai* NP_{Loc}] construction in Standard Mandarin can also have the durative meaning. This inconsistency has been to our knowledge first noted by Jaxontov (1957: 97, 135; Chinese edition 1958: 100, 140). He points out that the [V *zai* NP_{Loc}] construction is at variance with the parallel — and always terminative — constructions [V *gěi* 'give' NP] and [V *dao* 'arrive' NP_{Loc}]. Conversely, Jaxontov notes that the [V *zai* NP_{Loc}] construction is different from the [V *gěi* 'give' NP] and [V *dao* NP_{Loc}] constructions in that it can express both a terminative and durative event, depending on the context. He quotes the following examples from Zhōu Libō's 周立波 novel *Bàofēng zhòuyǔ* 暴风骤雨 [The tempest]:⁵

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

⁵ Given that the kind of semantic opposition discussed here is better understood from the context, we have consulted the original text of Zhōu's novel (1952; we did not have access to the first 1949 edition of the novel used by Jaxontov) and quoted in each case the full sentence, even if Jaxontov quotes only the clause with the locative phrase.

- (3) 白 玉山 把 小 豆油灯 搁 在
 Bái Yùshān bá xiǎo dòuyóudēng gē zai
 Bái Yùshān PTR small bean.oil.lamp put be.in
 炕桌 上, 拿 出 本子 和 钢笔,
 kàngzhuō shang, ná chu běnzi hé gāngbǐ
 kàng.table up take exit notebook and steel.pen
 在 写 什么。
 zài xiě shénme.
 be.in write something
 'Bái Yùshān had put the small oil lamp on the *kang* table, taken out a notebook and a pen, and was now writing something.'
 (Zhōu 1952: 183, Jaxontov 1957: 135, our glosses)
- (4) 领 回 来 的 猪肉 还 搁 在
 Lǐng huí lái de zhūròu hái gē zai
 receive return come SUB pork still put be.in
 桌子 上, 没 有 煮 熟, 也
 zhuōzi shang, méi yóu zhǔ shóu, yě
 table up not.exist exist boil cooked also
 没 有 剁 馅。
 méi yǒu duò xiàn.
 not.exist exist chop filling
 'The pork received from the farmer's union was still lying on the table, she had not cooked or minced it.'
 (Zhōu 1952: 182, Jaxontov 1957: 135, our glosses)

To sum up, the essence of the [V *zai* NP_{Loc}] construction paradox is as follows: despite the overall tendency in Mandarin for the postverbal constructions with *dao* 'arrive' and *gěi* 'give' to express the terminative meaning, the [V *zai* NP_{Loc}] construction can express both the terminative and the durative meaning.

1.2. Previous studies on the construction [V *zai* NP_{Loc}]

Previous studies on the [V *zai* NP_{Loc}] construction concentrate mainly on the following two issues.

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

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

- (5) 他 在 床 上 躺 着。
 Tā zài chuáng shang tǎng zhe.
 3 be.in bed up lie DUR
 'He is lying on the bed.'

- (6) 他 躺 在 床 上。
 Tā tǎng zai chuáng shang.
 3 lie be.in bed up
 'He is lying on the bed.'

In Standard Mandarin, the [V *zai* NP_{LOC}] construction is generally considered to have both the durative and the terminative meaning with the verb *zhù* 'live' and verbs of posture (cf. Wáng 1957, Jaxontov 1988, Tai 1975, Peyraube 1980: 228-260, Li and Thompson 1981: 397-409), as well as to some extent with verbs of placement (Fàn 1982, Zhū 1982: 182-184, Chén 1988, Zhào 1995).

Fàn (1982: 82-84) demonstrates that the semantic ambivalence of [V *zai* NP_{LOC}] sentences is due to the inherent aspectual features of verbs of posture and of placement.⁶ These verbs can be used in the [V *zai* NP_{LOC}] construction to denote either a change of location (terminative), as in example (7), or the state that follows the completion of such an event (durative), as in example (8). Both examples are quoted from Fàn (*ibid.*):

- (7) 他 一 屁股 就 坐 在 沙发 上。
 Tā yí pìgǔ jiu zuò zai shāfā shang.
 3 one buttocks just sit be.in sofa up
 'He flopped onto the sofa.', or
 'He sat down with all his weight on the sofa.' (change of location)
- (8) 他 安安静静 地 坐 在 沙发 上。
 Tā ān'ānjìngjìng de zuò zai shāfā shang.
 3 quiet.quiet SUB sitbe. in sofa up
 'He was quietly sitting on the sofa.' (durative)

⁶ For the analysis of the aspectual features of these verbs, see Chén Píng (1988: 408). Chén also comments on the ambiguity of the [V *zai* NP_{LOC}] construction for this particular set of verbs. Our own more detailed account of verbs of posture follows in § 2.2.

The second emphasis in works on constructions with postverbal locative phrases is placed on various means to introduce postverbal locative phrases, i.e. *zai* 在 'be in', *dao* 到 'arrive', the form *de* 的, and *zhe* or *zhuo* 着 (Guō 1986; Jiāng 1994; Xú 1994a, 1994b; Zhào 1995; Yuán 2002). Arguably, the most disputed of these forms is form *de* used in the Beijing dialect of Mandarin. This form is sometimes considered a blend of the written forms 在 *zài* and 到 *dào* in the spoken language (cf. Chao 1968: 353-354, 106-107, Dragunov 1958: 71-72, Zhū 1961: 1, 1982: 182, Guō 1986: 20) or alternatively, as a neutralization of the coverb *dao* (Xú 1994b: 183). In addition to these forms, studies dealing mainly with synchronic data, e.g. Peyraube (1980: 134-147), Guō (1986) and Xú (1994a, 1994b), comment on the so-called "zero form" — the term also accepted in this discussion — i.e. the absence of any marker between the verb and the following verb phrase. For instance, Xú (1994a) notes that in the sentence *Bá shǒu fāng zai bèi hòu!* 'Put your hands behind your back!' (example 2), *zai* 'be in' can be replaced by *dao* 'arrive', the form *de* or the zero form, without any change of meaning.

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

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

1.3. Meaning of [V *zai* NP_{Loc}] in vernacular texts of the late Qīng

As shown by Lamarre (2003a), sentences with the [V *zai* NP_{Loc}] or the [V *de* NP_{Loc}] construction in three texts reflecting the Beijing dialect of Mandarin spoken in the late Qīng dynasty (late

19th – beginning of the 20th century) denote exclusively a change of location, i.e. are terminative. For instance, in *Guānhuà zhǐnán* 官话指南 [A guide to the Mandarin language] (1881), a textbook compiled by Wú Qītài and Zhèng Yǒngbāng, Japanese interpreters of Chinese descent, all 39 sentences with the postverbal locative phrase introduced by *zai* 'be in' are terminative. Alternatively, when a verb of posture or placement appears in a sentence with the durative meaning (the total of 31 examples in this text), the locative phrase is placed preverbally and the verb usually takes the durative particle *zhe*. Consider the following two sentences with the verb *gē* 'put':

- (9) 胰子 盒兒 在 臉盆 架子上 擱 着 哪。
 Yízi hér zài liǎnpén jiàzi shang gē zhe na.
 soap box be.in wash.basin stand up put DUR RLV
 'The soap box is on the washstand.', literally
 'The soap box has been put on the washstand.'
 (vol. III, ch. 3, 46a)
- (10) 你 把 那 凳子 拿 過 來。 把
 Ní bǎ nèi dèngzi ná guo lai bǎ
 2S PTR that stool take cross come PTR
 煙盤兒 擱 在 上頭。
 yānpár gē zài shàngtōu.
 pipe.tray put be.in up.head
 'Bring me that stool and put my opium tray on it.'
 (vol. III, ch. 7, 48b)

Two more texts that also reflect the Beijing dialect of Mandarin of the same period, *Xiǎo É* 小兒 [Young É] (1908) and *Yànjīng fūyǔ* 燕京婦語 [Metropolitan conversation for ladies] (1906), share the same feature. In these works, the preverbal locative phrase used with verbs of posture and placement normally has the durative meaning, whereas the postverbal locative phrase is associated with the terminative meaning. In other words, in the Beijing dialect of

Mandarin of the turn of the 20th century, a postverbal locative phrase construction could only express a change of location.⁷ This exclusively terminative meaning of the postverbal locative phrase construction is thus markedly different from the meaning ascribed to this construction in Standard Mandarin. This discrepancy is of interest, given that Standard Mandarin is according to its canonical definition based on the Beijing dialect of Mandarin and that Standard Mandarin and the Beijing dialect of Mandarin are often even considered to be one and the same language, cf. Li and Thompson (1981: 1) and Norman (1988: 136-7).⁸

1.4. Postverbal locative phrase constructions in Northern Mandarin dialects

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

⁷ In *Guānhuà zhīnán*, postverbal locative phrases are introduced by 在 *zai* 'be in' and 到 *dao* 'arrive'. *Xiǎo É* and *Yànjīng fūyǔ*, in addition to *zai* and *dao*, also make use of the form *de* and the zero form.

⁸ Standard Mandarin, 普通话 *pǔtōnghuà* 'common speech', according to the 1955 definition by Quánguó wénzì gǎigé huìyì 全国文字改革会议 (the National Language Reform Meeting) is "the standard language of China that takes the pronunciation of Beijing as its norm of pronunciation, is based on the northern dialects, and has the grammar of exemplary modern vernacular texts as its normative grammar" (Guō 2000: 978).

Lamarre (2003a) furthermore notices that in contrast to Northern Mandarin dialects, in many dialects spoken in Central and Southern China, sentences with the postverbal locative phrase can have both the terminative and the durative reading (see Xú and Shào 1998: 5-9 for details on the Shanghai dialect). The situation in such dialects is thus reminiscent of that in Standard Mandarin. Lamarre therefore concludes that the possibility for postverbal locative constructions in Standard Mandarin to have both the terminative and the durative reading, similar to Central and Southern dialects, is the result of the latter influencing the original northern pattern with only one meaning — a change of location — for postverbal locative phrases. In other words, the durative meaning of postverbal locative phrases in Standard Mandarin is secondary and triggered by Central and Southern patterns.

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

1.5. Goals, data and terminology

The aim of this article is twofold.

First, it investigates the meaning of postverbal locative phrases in the Beijing dialect of Mandarin based on a corpus of spoken Beijing Mandarin, collected by Chirkova in 2000-2001. The corpus consists of informal and unplanned conversations with 42 native speakers of the Beijing dialect of Mandarin of various age groups. Chirkova tried to record language consultants who were not exposed to university education and whose language, as a consequence, retained those features that distinguish it from the official educational model, Standard Mandarin. The majority of

language consultants are school children (younger than 20 years old, henceforth referred to as 'younger speakers') and retired workers and employees (above 50 years of age, henceforth referred to as 'older speakers'). The conversations range in length from 30 minutes to one hour and are transcribed in the Hànyǔ Pīnyīn system of transcription. In its written form, the corpus comprises 17,844 sentences. For further details on the corpus, see Chirkova (2003: 6-11).

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

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

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

A hotly debated issue in previous studies is the grammatical status of the forms used to introduce postverbal locative phrases, e.g. *zai* 'be in', *dao* 'arrive', and the form *de*, variously referred to as *prepositions*, *coverbs* or *verbs*, acting as complements of the preceding verb. They have also been treated as highly grammaticalized locative markers affixed to the verb, or as locative markers with some properties of aspectual markers (Zhū 1982, Xú 1994a and 1994b, Liú et al. 2000, Liú 2001).

No unifying term that could account for the diversity of the syntactic behaviour of these forms in the written language as well as in various dialects has yet been proposed and in this discussion we will refer to all different means serving to introduce locative phrases simply as *forms*. *Zài~zai* 'be in' and *dào~dao* 'arrive' are furthermore also referred to as *coverbs* (see n.2 for definition).

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

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

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

In the dialect of Beijing, preverbal locative phrases are usually introduced by *dǎi~dài* 'be in', *āi~ǎi* 'be next to', and *gēn* 'on',

⁹ Lamarre's findings about the non-occurrence of the durative reading for postverbal locative constructions in Northern dialects have recently been corroborated by her recent field work on several Guānzhōng and Jin dialects of Shānxī and Shǎnxī.

whereas postverbal locative phrases are introduced by the form *de* (Hú 1991: 42; Mullie 1932: 73; Xú 1994a, 1994b; Zhū 1987: 328-329). The use of *dài*, *gēn* and *de* is exemplified in sentences (11)-(13). *Āi~ǎi* 'be next to' has not been attested in this function in the corpus.

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

- (11) 他 这 个... 这 个... 穿 上 之后
 Tā zhèi ge... zhèi ge... chuān shang zhīhòu
 3 this item this item put.on up after
 这 一 宿 就 待 冰 上
 zhèi yì xiǔ jiù dài bīng shang,
 this one night just be.in ice up
 水 上 站 着, 这 一 宿 站
 shuǐ shang zhàn zhe, zhèi yì xiǔ zhàn
 water up stand DUR this one night stand
 着, 这 鞋... 这 脚 也 不 凉。
 zhe, zhèi xié... zhè jiǎo yě bu liáng.
 DUR this shoe this feet also not cool
 'After he eh... eh... put them on, he stood the whole night on the ice... on the water, he stood all night and because of his shoes... his feet did not get cold at all.'

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

- (12) 就 跟 床 上 坐 着, 不 能 下 地。
 Jiù gēn chuáng shang zuò zhe, bù néng xià dì.
 just follow bed up sit DUR not be.able down earth
 'So she was sitting on the bed and could not step on the ground.'

Sentence (13) describes Manchu funeral rituals.

- (13) 然后 那 个 幡儿 最后 搁 的
 Ránhòu nèi ge fān zuìhòu gē de
 afterwards that item streamer finally put *de*
 那 个 这 个 坟 头 上。
 nèi ge zhèi ge fén tóu shang.
 that item this item tomb head up
 'Then the streamer was finally put on that.. the top of the tomb.'

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

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

forms that introduce preverbal, i.e. *dǎi~dài*, *āi~ǎi*, *gēn* and *zài*, and postverbal locative phrases, i.e. *de*, was typical for the Beijing dialect of Mandarin of the late 1980s.

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

- (14) 我们 在 城里 住, 不 在 这儿 住。
 Wǒmen zài chéngli zhù, bú zài zhèr zhù.
 1P be.in city.inside live not be.in here live
 'We live downtown, not here.'

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

- (15) ...所以 我 父亲 把 希望 都 寄托 在
 ... suóyì wǒ fùqīn bǎ xīwàng dōu jìtuō zài
 therefore 1S father PTR hope all consign be.in
 我 身 上...
 wǒ shēn shang...
 1S body up
 '... therefore my father set all his hopes on me...'

Table 1 summarizes the frequency of the preverbal and postverbal occurrences of *zài~zai* in the speech of nine language consultants of various age groups, totalling seven recording sessions. The number of occurrences of the forms *dao* and *de* is included in the table for comparison. The total of sentences in these seven sessions amounts to approximately one quarter of the corpus.

It is worthy of note that in those few instances where *zai* is used postverbally, it is more often than not terminative. One formal evidence of this is the frequent use of postverbal *zai* in the so-called *bǎ*-construction or disposal sentence (3 out of the total of 19 postverbal usages of *zai* in Table 1). Notably, the *bǎ*-construction usually encodes a change of state, or — in our examples — a change of location.¹⁰ This usage is illustrated in the next sentence.

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

language consultant (age): session length (sentences)	preverbal occurrences of <i>zài</i>	postverbal occurrences of <i>zai</i>	postverbal occurrences of <i>de</i>	postverbal occurrences of <i>dao</i>
Tián (86 years old): 165	6	∅	3	∅
Liú (83 years old): 1267	44	2 ¹	33	∅
Fù (76 years old): 964	23	1	4	∅
Zhāng (>70 years old): 795	33	2	28	∅
Wāng (> 40 years old): 737	33	8	13	∅
Zhào, Zhōu, Liú, Zhāng (all 15 years old): 433	15	2	1	∅
Zhào, Zhōu, Liú, Zhāng (all 15 years old): 369	10	4	∅	1
Total	164	19	82	1

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

- (16) 然后 他 把 乌龟 放 在 我们
 Ránhòu tā bǎ wūguī fàng zai wǒmen
 afterwards 3 PTR turtle put be.in 1P

¹⁰ This is sometimes expressed by the term "disposal meaning", cf. Li and Thompson (1981: 468-470). Hopper and Thompson (1980) note that this construction requires "a perfectivizing expression, either a perfective particle or a phrase or clause specifying the conceptual boundary of the action." The perfective meaning noted here corresponds roughly to what we call *terminative*.

院儿 里 地 上。
 yuàr li dì shang.
 yard inside earth up

'Then he put the turtle on the ground in our yard.'

With postverbal locative phrases, the Beijing dialect of Mandarin also uses, besides *de* and *zài*, the coverb *dao* 'arrive' and the zero form. The latter is often seen as an omission of *dao* or *zai* (Peyraube 1980: 134-148, Guō 1986: 22, Xú 1994b: 180). The use of *dao* in the corpus is illustrated in sentence (17):

(17) 柯南 里边儿 不是 还 有 一个
 Kēnán lǐbiar bú shi hái yǒu yí ge
 Conan¹¹ inside.side not be still exist one item

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

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

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

(18) 这 《晚报》 昨天 我 搁 哪儿 了?
 Zhè Wǎnbào zuótian wǒ gē nǎr le?
 this evening.paper yesterday 1S put where PF

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

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

¹¹ *Conan* is the name of a Japanese cartoon, shown on Chinese television in 2000-2001.

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

Guō (1986: 22), Xú (1994b: 1994) and Zhào (1995: 3) argue that *zai* does not occur in the postverbal locative phrase followed by the directional verbs *lai* 'come' or *qu* 'go'. In contrast with the written language, *zai* may co-occur with the directional verbs *lai* and *qu* in the spoken language, as shown in the following example.¹² In this sentence, the language consultant recalls festivities around the Chinese New Year in her childhood. Steamed buns and various dishes used to be prepared well before the New Year and stored outside, in the cold.

- (19) 然后 就 搁 一 个 大 盆儿
 Ránhòu jiu gē yí ge dà péer
 afterwards just put one item big pot
 里头, 拿 一 个 布 一 盖,
 lītou, ná yí ge bù yí gài,
 inside take one item cloth one cover
 也 是 搁 在 外边儿 去。
 yě shi gē zai wàibiar qu.
 also be put be.in outside.side go
 'Then put them in a big pot, just cover them with a cloth,
 and also put them outside.'

¹² Similar examples with the verb 搁 *gē* 'to put' can be found in *Yànjīng fuyǔ*. See for instance Lesson 7.

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

- (20) 得 写 到 哪儿 得 写 到
 Déi xiě dào nǎr, déi xiě dao
 must write arrive where must write arrive
- 广 安门 往 南翼门 就
 Guǎng' ānmén wàng Nányìmén jiu
 Guǎng' ānmén to Nányìmén just
- 是 右安门 他 拐弯儿 那儿 了。
 shi Yòu' ānmén, tā guǎiwār nàr le.
 be Yòu' ānmén 3 turn.corner there PF
- 'Up to where did I have to write my homework? I had to write it from Guǎng' ānmén to Nányìmén, eh... Yòu' ānmén, the sheep used to take a turn there.'

The form *de* is sometimes considered as a blend of the written coverbs *zai* and *dao* in the spoken language (Chao 1968: 353-354, 106-107, Dragunov 1958: 71-72, Guō 1986: 20, Zhū 1961: 1, 1982:182) or, alternatively, as a neutralization of the coverb *dao* (Xú 1994b: 183) or also of *zhe* (Jiāng 1994, Yuán 2002, see also § 1.2). The exact nature of the relationship between *zai*, *dao*, on the one hand, and the form *de* and the zero form, on the other, is currently unclear. Is the form *de* a neutralization of the written forms *zài* and *dào*? Is the zero form an omission of *zài* or *dào*? Do the coverbs *zài* and *dào*, when used postverbally in the written language, automatically transform into the form *de* (or the zero form) in the spoken language? As noted by Xú

(1994a: 182), there are no systematic recordings of the spoken language that can demonstrate that the written locative coverb *zài* automatically changes to *de*. All forms, *zai*, *dào*, *de*, *dao* and zero form have been attested in the corpus. This clearly shows that *zai* and *dao* do not automatically change into the form *de* in the spoken language, as is sometimes suggested.

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

2.2. Verbs selected for analysis

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

Li and Thompson divide verbs that allow both preverbal and postverbal positioning of a locative phrase into four groups:

- (i) *Verbs of displacement*, i.e. verbs "whose meaning includes the *local* displacement of either the subject (in the case of intransitive verb) or the direct object (in the case of the transitive verb)" (1981: 398, original italics), e.g. 扔 *rēng* 'toss', 推 *tuī* 'push', 掉 *diào* 'drop, fall', 拨 *bō* 'sprinkle', 摔 *shuāi* 'fall, trip', 倒 *dǎo* 'fall', 流 *liú* 'flow', 爬 *pá* 'crawl'.
- (ii) *Verbs of posture*, e.g. 站 *zhàn* 'stand', 睡 *shuì* 'sleep', 爬 *pá* 'crouch', 蹲 *dūn* 'squat', 停 *tíng* 'stop', 坐 *zuò* 'sit', 躺 *tǎng* 'lie', 跪 *guì* 'kneel', 住 *zhù* 'have residence', 漂 *piāo* 'float' (1981: 401).
- (iii) *Verbs of appearing*, e.g. 发生 *fāshēng* 'happen, occur', 出现 *chūxiàn* 'appear', 出生 (*chū*)*shēng* 'be born', 生长 *shēngzhǎng* 'grow up', 长大 *zhǎngdà* 'grow up' (1981: 403).
- (iv) *Verbs of placement*, i.e. verbs "whose meaning includes the *local* displacement of either the subject (in the case of intransitive verb) or the direct object (in the case of a transitive verb)" (ibid., p. 398, original italics), e.g. 放 *fàng* 'put, place', 种 *zhòng* 'plant', 画 *huà* 'draw, paint', 吐 *tù* 'expectorate', 刻 *kè* 'carve, sculpt', 撒 *sā* 'spill', 藏 *cáng* 'hide', 写 *xiě* 'write', 抄 *chāo* 'copy', 印 *yìn* 'print' (1981: 404, original italics).

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

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

¹³ This inventory roughly corresponds to the verbs of posture and placement appearing in the [V *zai* NP_{Loc}] and [zài NP_{Loc} V *zhe*] constructions in the two

Table 2 - Intransitive and transitive verbs selected for analysis

Intransitive	Transitive
蹲 <i>dūn</i> 'squat'	摆 <i>bǎi</i> 'display'
跪 <i>guì</i> 'kneel'	堆 <i>duī</i> 'pile up'
爬 <i>pá</i> 'crawl'	躲 <i>duǒ</i> 'hide'
漂 <i>piāo</i> 'float'	放 <i>fàng</i> 'put, place'
躺 <i>tǎng</i> 'lie'	搁 <i>gē</i> 'put, place'
站 <i>zhàn</i> 'stand'	挂 <i>guà</i> 'hang'
住 <i>zhù</i> 'live, take up residence'	埋 <i>mái</i> 'bury'
坐 <i>zuò</i> 'sit'	扔 <i>rēng</i> 'toss'
	锁 <i>suǒ</i> 'lock'
	贴 <i>tiē</i> 'stick'
	停 <i>tíng</i> 'stop'
	写 <i>xiě</i> 'write'
	装 <i>zhuāng</i> 'install'

2.3. Criteria for sentence selection

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

(a) Only sentences that allow both preverbal and postverbal placement of locative phrases have been selected. This implies that each of the selected sentences can be transformed by shifting the locative construction that it contains either preverbally (if it is originally used postverbally) or postverbally (if it is originally used

corpora reflecting late Qīng Beijing Mandarin described in Lamarre (2003a). *Guānhuà zhǐnán* also includes the verbs 归 *guī* 'gather', 押 *yā* 'mortgage', 枷号 *jiāhào* 'shackle', 湾 *wān* 'cast anchor', 插 *chā* 'insert', 搭 *dā* 'put up, build', 藏 *cáng* 'hide', 折 *zhé* 'fold', 叙 *xù* 'relate (by writing)', 掖 *yē* 'tuck in', 铺 *pū* 'spread', 煞 *shā* 'tighten', 跨 *kuà* 'step, bestride', 拴 *shuān* 'fasten', and 寄放 *jìfàng* 'leave (in the care of someone)'. In addition, *Yànjīng fùyǔ* also comprises the verbs 晒 *shài* 'dry in the sun', 种 *zhòng* 'plant', and 收 *shōu* 'put away, bring in'.

preverbally). For example, the expression *nàr guà de* 'hanging there' in sentence (21) can be transformed to *guà zai nàr de*.

- (21) 你就喜欢 名人 字画, 那儿挂 的...
 Nǐ jiu xǐhuan míngrén zìhuà, nàr guà de...
 2S just like famous.people calligraphy.scroll there hang SUB
 'You like calligraphy and paintings of renowned artists, hanging there...'

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

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

- (22) 在 尿 里 泡, 然后 在 土 里
 Zài niào li pào, ránhòu zài tǔ li
 be. in urine inside soak afterwards be.in earth inside
 埋, 再 拿 盐 熏。
 mái, zài ná yán xūn.
 bury again take salt smoke
 'Soak them in urine, bury them into the soil and finally smoke them.'

In example (23), the speaker who is afraid of theft on public transport explains that he always spreads the money he carries on himself over several pockets.

- (23) ...反正 这 都 是 兜儿, 都 是 啊,
 ... fǎnzhèng zhè dōu shì dōur, dōu shì a,
 in.any.case this all be pocket all be eh
 这儿 搁 点儿, 那儿 搁 点儿, 这么 着。
 zhèr gē diǎr, nàr gē diǎr, zhème zhe.
 here put a.little there put a.little so DUR
 '... in any case, I've got plenty of pockets here, these are all pockets,
 so I put some money here and some more there, like that.'

Given that the main goal of this article is to investigate the meaning of postverbal locative phrases, sentences including preverbal locative phrases are taken into account only for the sake of comparison. This is why we have excluded those sentences, where the verb denotes an action, e.g. examples (22) and (23), and selected those that express a durative situation of 'being placed or situated somewhere', as in the following example. In this sentence, the language consultant talks about treasures kept at the Bǎilín Temple in Beijing.

- (24) 仅 存 的 都 在 他 那 儿 搁 着。
 Jǐn cún de dōu zài tā nàr gē zhe.
 only store SUB all be.in 3 there put DUR
 'The only remaining ones are kept there.'

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

- (25) 牛街 我 说 过 这 个, 但是
 Niújiē wǒ shuō guo zhè ge, dànshi
 Niújiē 1S speak EXP this item but.be
 呢 在 那儿 哈儿 住 的 汉族人
 ne zài nàrher zhù de Hànzúrén
 RLV be.in there live SUB Hà.nationality.person

有, 为 数 不 多。
 yǒu, wéishù bù duō.
 exist be.number not much

'Even though, as I said, there are some Hàn Chinese living in Niújiē, they are not numerous.'

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

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

(26) 她 就 坐 在 轿 子 里 边 儿 压 着,
 Tā jiu zuò zai jiàozǐ lǐbiar yā zhe,
 3 just sit inside sedan.chair inside.side press DUR

然后 到 我 们 家 来。
 ránhòu dào wǒmen jiā lái.
 then arrive 1P home come
 'So she came to our place in a sedan.'

(d) Existential sentences, i.e. those that contain the verb *yǒu* 'exist' or a verb of posture as the main verb and that describe where something has been put or placed (cf. Li and Thompson 1981: 510), have likewise not been chosen as not allowing for the transformation outlined in (a). For instance:

- (27) 他 那儿 住 着 哥儿 俩。
 Tā nàr zhù zhe gēr liǎ.
 3 there live DUR elder.brother two.item
 'There were two brothers who lived at his place.'

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

- (28) 我 跟 家 住 了 些 日子。
 Wǒ gēn jiā zhù le xie rìzi.
 1S follow home live PF some days
 'I stayed at home for some time.'

2.4. Intransitive verbs: correlation between construction position and meaning

2.4.1. *Zhù* 'live'

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

observed in *Guānhuà zhǐnán*.¹⁴ For example, sentence (29) describes the situation of having long-term residence, whereas sentence (30) depicts the situation of taking up residence.

- (29) 府上 在 那兒 住。 — 舍下 在
 Fǔshàng zài nǎr zhù. Shèxià zài
 your.house be.in where live my.house be.in
 東單 牌樓 總布 胡同。
 Dōngdān Páilóu Zǒngbù hùtong.
 Dōngdān Páilóu Zǒngbù alley
 "Where do you live?" – "I live in Dōngdān Páilóu Zǒngbù alley."

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

- (30) 今兒 早起 火輪船 到 了, 他 就 下
 Jīnr záoqǐ huǒlúnchuán dào le, tā jiù xià
 today morning steamboat arrive CRS 3 just go.down
 船 住 在 我們 棧 里 了。
 chuán zhù zai wǒmen zhàn li le.
 boat live be.in 1P shop inside CRS
 'The steamboat arrived this morning, after having disembarked he stopped at our hotel.'

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

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

¹⁴ Lamarre (2003a) notes that these sentences are regularly translated into the Shanghai dialect of *Tǔhuà zhǐnán* 土话指南 (1908), using the opposite word order, i.e. 住 *zhù* 'live' followed by *la*, the Shanghai equivalent of *zai*, and followed in turn by the locative phrase.

Table 3 demonstrates the frequency of co-occurrence of *zhù* with preverbal and postverbal locative phrases in the corpus. It also estimates correlation between construction position and meaning. The first number in each column represents the total of occurrences of *zhù* 'live' either with preverbal locative phrases or with *de*, *zai* or the zero form and postverbal locative phrases. For instance, *zhù* co-occurs with the form *de* 12 times in the speech of older language consultants. The second number, given in square brackets, indicates the percentage of sentences for which construction position and meaning match (see § 1.5).

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

住 <i>zhù</i>		Older speakers	Younger speakers
Pre-V: Durative 在/跟/ Ø NP _{LOC} 住(着)		35	8
Post-V: Terminative	Followed by 的 <i>de</i>	12 [33%]	1 [Ø%]
	Followed by 在 <i>zai</i>	10 [50%]	9 [11%]
	Followed by Ø	19 [63%]	16 [44%]
Total		76	34

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

- (31) 回 头 让 您 说, 我 姓 什 么,
 Huí tóu ràng nín shuō, wǒ xìng shéme,
 return head let you.HON speak 1S have.family.name what
 叫 什 么 多 大 岁 数 家 在 哪 儿 住,
 jiào shéme, duō dà suìshù, jiā zài nǎr zhù,
 be.called what how.much big age home be.in where live

啊，好，完了 到时间 查 你去。
 a, hǎo, wán le dào shíhour chá nǐ qu.
 eh good finish CRS arrive time check 2S go
 'And then they will ask you: "What's your name?" "How old are you?" "Where do you live?" eh... Well, and then after a while they will come to check you.'

- (32) 在 那儿 住着，要 唐山 不 地震
 Zài nàr zhù zhe, yào Tángshān bú dìzhèn
 be.in there live DUR if Tángshān not.be earthquake
 呢 也 得 住 着 呢。
 ne yé děi zhù zhe ne.
 RLV also must live DUR RLV
 'So she was at the hospital there and if not for the Tángshān earthquake, she would still be staying there.'

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

- (33) 你 什么... 怎么了 住院? — 心脏 病,
 Nǐ shéme... zěme le, zhù yuàn? — Xīnzàng bìng,
 2S what how CRS live hospital heart disease
 冠心 病。—住哪儿 了? —住 的空总 医院 了。
 guànxīn bìng. — Zhù nǎr le? — Zhù de Kōngzǒng yīyuàn le.
 coronary disease live where CRS live *de* air.central hospital CRS
 "What had happened to you that you were hospitalized?"
 — "Heart problems, coronary disease." — "What hospital were you in?" — "In the Central Air Force Hospital."

This distinction between the two meanings of *zhù* is arguably currently being conflated in the speech of younger language consultants, presumably under the influence of Standard Mandarin via education and mass media. Nor is such a distinction typical for the

written language, where *zhù* followed by the postverbal locative phrase can indicate both the durative situation of having residence and the terminative event of taking up one's residence at a location. For instance, the first example that *Xiàndài Hànyǔ cídiǎn* offers in its entry on *zhù* in the meaning *jūzhù*, *zhùsù* 'reside' is 你住在什么地方? *Nǐ zhù zai shénme dìfang?* 'Where do you live?' presumably inquiring where the listener has their residence (1996: 1645). To compare, the same meaning, i.e. 'Where do you live?' is given in the entry on 住 *zhù* in the *Chinese-English dictionary* (1912: 315-316) by Herbert Giles for the sentence with the preverbal locative phrase, viz. 你在那裏住? *Nǐ zài nàlǐ zhù?* (ibid., p. 316).

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

- (34) 因为 我 一般 呢 旗人 都 住 在
 Yīnwei wǒ yìbān ne qí rén dōu zhù zai
 because 1S usually RLV banner.people all live be.in
 城里, 都 是 住 在 城里。
 chénglǐ, dōu shì zhù zai chénglǐ.
 city.inside all be live be.in city.inside
 'Because I... usually, all bannermen live downtown, they
 all live downtown.'

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

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

An important distinction for a postverbal locative phrase construction to be taken into account in this analysis is between verbs occurring as the first verbal phrase in a serial verb construction and those used as the main verb. The main verb is the verb that defines

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

As noted by Chao (1968: 326), a serial verb construction favors the subordinate rather than coordinate reading for the first verbal phrase. In his analysis, the second verbal phrase is mostly viewed as having approximately the same function as the whole and

is the center to which the first verbal phrase is a modifier. In other words, in a serial verb construction without any markers after the first verb (as is the case with the postverbal locative phrase), the first verbal phrase tends to be interpreted as denoting an event that accompanies the event expressed by the second verbal phrase and overlaps with it in time, i.e. as denoting a durative meaning.

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

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

Table 4. Intransitive verbs in a serial verb construction

Verb		住 <i>zhù</i> 'live'	坐 <i>zuò</i> 'sit'	站 <i>zhàn</i> 'stand'	躺 <i>tǎng</i> 'lie'	爬 <i>pá</i> 'crawl'	蹲 <i>dūn</i> 'squat'	跪 <i>guì</i> 'kneel'	漂 <i>piāo</i> 'float'
Pre-V		43	8	1	∅	∅	1	∅	1
Post-V	first V	∅	14	8	2	3	∅	∅	∅
	main verb	67	9	3	1	∅	1	1	∅
Total		110	31	12	3	3	2	1	1

The following two sentences illustrate the use of the verbs *zhàn* 'stand' and *zuò* 'sit' as the first verb in a serial verb construction.

- (35) 过了两天, 这两老头儿又
 Guò le liǎng tiān, zhè liǎ lǎotóur yòu
 cross CRS two day this two.item old.gentleman again
 来了就站那门脸儿那儿看着。
 lái le jiu zhàn nèi ménliǎr nàr kàn zhe.
 come CRS just stand that door.face there look DUR
 'Two days later, these two old gentlemen came again, and
 stood there in the doorway looking around.'

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

- (36) 婆婆、公公吃饭, 儿媳妇儿不能
 Pópo, gōnggōng chī fàn, érxiǎfèr bù néng
 mother.in.law father.in.law eat rice daughter.in.law not be.able
 坐那儿一块儿吃。
 zuò nàr yíkuàr chī.
 sit there together eat
 'When the mother- and the father-in-law are eating, the
 daughter-in-law cannot sit and eat together with them.'

We suggest that the position of the locative phrase (preverbal and postverbal) with the first verb in a series in the Beijing dialect of Mandarin can potentially differentiate between the terminative and the durative meaning, just like the particles *le* or *zhe* do. However, due to the tendency to see the first verb in a series as denoting a background or durative event for verbs of posture, the postverbal locative phrase with such a verb is accordingly easily interpreted as expressing the durative meaning. Thus, the original distinction is blurred in this particular syntactic environment. For this reason, we do not assess the correlation between construction position and meaning for intransitive verbs used as first in a V-V series. Frequency

of co-occurrence of intransitive verbs as first in a V-V series with *de*, *zai*, and the zero form is presented in Table 5. Intransitive verbs normally do not co-occur with *dao* in the corpus, for which reason *dao* is not included in the table. In this as well as in the following tables, "I" stands for older language consultants, and "II" for younger language consultants.

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

Verb Form introducing NP _{Loc}	坐 <i>zuò</i> 'sit'		站 <i>zhàn</i> 'stand'	爬 <i>pá</i> 'crawl'	躺 <i>tǎng</i> 'lie'	
	I	II	I	I	I	II
的 <i>de</i>	8	0	2	0	0	0
在 <i>zai</i>	2	3	5	1	0	1
zero form	1	0	1	2	1	0
Total	11	3	8	3	1	1

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

- (37) 小弟 正 坐在 屋裏 喝 茶 了。
 Xiǎodì zhèng zuò zai wūli hē chá le.¹⁵
 little.brother precisely sit be.in room.inside drink tea RLV
 'I was just sitting inside drinking tea.'
 (vol. II, ch. 35, p. 39a)

¹⁵ The modal sentence final particle 了 *le* in *Guānhuà zhǐnán* corresponds to the Modern Mandarin sentence final particle 呢 *ne*, and has been glossed here accordingly.

2.4.3. Correlation between construction position and meaning for intransitive verbs used as the main verb

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

Table 6. Correlation between position and meaning for intransitive verbs used as the main verb

Verb	坐 <i>zuò</i> 'sit'		站 <i>zhàn</i> 'stand'		躺 <i>tǎng</i> 'lie'	蹲 <i>dūn</i> 'squat'	跪 <i>guì</i> 'kneel'	漂 <i>piāo</i> 'float'
	I	II	I	II	I	I	I	II
的 <i>de</i>	1 [100%]	1 [100%]	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	1 [100%]
在 <i>zai</i>	∅	∅	2 [50%]	∅	1 [100%]	∅	1 [100%]	∅
zero form	5 [100%]	2 [100%]	∅	1 [100%]	∅	1 [∅%]	∅	∅
Total	6	3	2	1	1	1	1	1

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

- (38) 小孩儿 反正 在 这儿 坐 着, 我们
 Xiǎohár fǎnzhèng zài zhèr zuò zhe, wǒmen
 child in.any.case be.in here sit DUR 1P
 在 那儿 唱 戏 玩儿。
 zài nàr chàng xì wánr.
 be.in there sing opera have.fun
 'The children were sitting with us here anyway, so we had our fun singing Beijing opera.'

If, on the other hand, the locative phrase accompanying a verb of posture used as the main verb is postverbal, the sentence expresses either a change of location, as in example (39), or a durative situation, as in example (40). In sentence (39), the speaker recalls that after dog taxes were introduced in Beijing in the 1990s, many people tried to get rid of their pets, sometimes giving them to the relatives in the countryside or sometimes simply abandoning them. He also remembers, his two friends ate the dog that used to be somebody's pet. Dog meat is a delicacy in China.

- (39) 俩 人 买 一 瓶 儿 二 锅 头 就 坐 在
 Liǎ rén mǎi yì píngr èrguōtóu jiu zuò zài
 two.item person buy one bottle alcohol just sit be.in
 那儿, 把 这 半 只 狗 开 了
 nàr, bǎ zhèi bàn zhī gǒu kāi le
 there PTR this half one.of.a.pair dog open CRS
 多 一 半 儿。
 duō yí bàn.
 much one half
 'So the two people bought a bottle of sorghum vodka, sat down there and ate more than half of the dog.'

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

- (40) 白天 就 蹲 那儿, 到 晚上 就 成 精 了。
 Báitiān jiu dūn nàr, dào wǎnshang jiu chéngjīng le.
 daytime just squat there arrive evening just become.demon CRS
 'In the daytime, they were just squatting there, but in the evening they turned into demons.'

2.4.4. Summary

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

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

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

2.5. Transitive verbs: correlation between construction position and meaning

2.5.1. *Gē* 'put' and *fāng* 'put'

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

In the corpus, there is an interesting correlation between the age of language consultants and the frequency of the use of *gē*. Older language consultants use *gē* predominantly (55 times) and *fāng* rarely (10 times). Younger language consultants, on the other hand, use *gē* and *fāng* equally (7 times each verb). It is also worthy of note that while *gē* normally co-occurs with a variety of forms, *fāng* is predominantly followed by *zai*. It is reasonable to conclude

that having borrowed *fāng* for 'put' from the written language, the Beijing dialect of Mandarin has also imported with it the coverb *zai*. The distribution of *gē* and *fāng* in the speech of older and younger language consultants is summarized in the following table.

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

Verb		搁 <i>gē</i> 'put'		放 <i>fāng</i> 'put'	
		I	II	I	II
Form introducing NP _{LOC}					
Pre-V: Durative		7	1	1	∅
Post-V: Terminative	的 <i>de</i>	17 [100%]	1 [100%]	∅	∅
	在 <i>zai</i>	4 [100%]	5 [100%]	5 [100%]	6 [100%]
	zero form	25 [100%]	3 [100%]	1 [100%]	∅
	到 <i>dao</i>	2 [100%]	∅	∅	1 [100%]
Total		55	10	7	7

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

- (41) 我都忘了贴, 忘了往
 Wǒ dōu wàng le tiē, wàng le wàng
 I S all forget CRS paste forget CRS towards
 自行车上贴, 就老跟兜儿
 zìxíngchē shang tiē, jiu lǎo gēn dōur
 bicycle up paste just all.the.time follow pocket

里 搁 着。
li gē zhe.
inside put DUR

'I completely forgot to stick it, forgot to stick it onto the bicycle and was carrying it around all the time in my pocket.'

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

- (42) 火苗儿 出来 以后 你 把 这 烟嘴儿
Huǒmiáor chūlai yǐhòu nǐ bǎ zhè yānzǔěr
flame exit.come after 2S PRT this cigarette holder

搁 嘴 里。
gē zuǐ li.
put mouth inside

'After flames come out, put the cigarette holder into the mouth.'

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

- (43) 得, 你 买 个 一 毛 五 分 的, 给
Dé, nǐ mǎi ge yì máo wǔ fèn de, gěi
reach 2S buy item one ten.cent five cent SUB give

您 一 大 块, 把 那 东 西 搁 里 去。
nín yí dà kuài, bǎ nèi dōngxi gē lǐ qu.
2S.HON one big piece PTR that thing put inside go

'Well, you bought a piece for 15 cents, they gave you a huge lump and you put it inside.'

In example (44), the language consultant explains how singers of Beijing opera make themselves up before a performance. They brush the hair to the back and cover it with a cloth, so that the make-up does not accidentally make their hair dirty.

- (44) 他把这个头发弄的后边儿去,
 Tā bǎi zhèi ge tóufa nòng de hòubiār qu,
 3 PTR this item hair make *de* back.side go
 把这布搁的这儿哈儿。
 bǎi zhèi bù gē de zhèrher.
 PTR this cloth put *de* here
 'He combed the hair to the back and placed the cloth here.'

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

2.5.2. Correlation between construction position and meaning for transitive verbs

Tables 8 and 9 illustrate the correlation between construction position and meaning for the eleven transitive verbs selected for analysis.

Verb		挂 <i>guà</i> 'hang'		埋 <i>mái</i> 'bury'		扔 <i>rēng</i> 'toss'		停 <i>tíng</i> 'stop'		写 <i>xiě</i> 'write'
		I	II	I	II	I	II	I	II	I
Position										
Pre-V: Durative		3	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	1	∅	∅
Post-V: Terminative	的 <i>de</i>	5 [100%]	∅	2 [100%]	3 [100%]	1 [100%]	∅	1 [100%]	1 [100%]	1 [100%]
	在 <i>zai</i>	2 [50%]	∅	1 [100%]	2 [100%]	∅	∅	∅	1 [100%]	∅
	zero form	∅	1 [100%]	∅	1 [100%]	1 [100%]	1 [100%]	∅	∅	2 [100%]
	到 <i>dao</i>	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	1 [100%]	∅	∅	1 [100%]
Total		10	1	3	6	2	2	2	2	4

Table 8. Correlation between construction position and meaning for 挂 *guà* 'hang', 埋 *mái* 'bury', 扔 *rēng* 'toss', 停 *tíng* 'stop' and 写 *xiě* 'write'

Table 9. Correlation between construction position and meaning for 贴 *tiē* 'stick', 装 *zhuāng* 'install', 摆 *bǎi* 'display', 堆 *duī* 'pile up', 躲 *duǒ* 'hide' and 锁 *suǒ* 'lock'

Verb		贴 <i>tiē</i>	装	摆 <i>bǎi</i>		堆 <i>duī</i>		躲	锁
		'stick'	<i>zhuāng</i>	'display'		'pile up'		'hide'	'lock'
Position		I	I	I	II	I	II	II	I
Pre-V: Durative		1	∅	∅	∅	∅	1	∅	1
Post-V: Terminative	的 <i>de</i>	∅	1 [100%]	∅	∅	1 [100%]	∅	∅	∅
	在 <i>zai</i>	∅	1 [100%]	1 [∅%]	1 [100%]	∅	∅	1 [100%]	∅
	zero form	2 [100%]	1 [100%]	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅
	到 <i>dao</i>	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅
Total		3	3	1	1	1	1	1	1

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

- (45) 卖肉的人呢找来不少人,
 Mài ròu de rén ne zhǎo lai bù shǎo rén,
 sell meat SUB person RLV look.for come not few person
 拿那个猪头挂的清真寺去了。
 ná nèi ge zhūtóu guà de Qīngzhēnsì qu le.
 take that item pig.head hang *de* mosque go CRS
 'The butchers assembled a lot of people, took the pig's head
 and hung it in the mosque.'

In sentence (46), the language consultant describes the appearance of water peddlers in Beijing.

- (46) 这 个 木桶 呢 就 挂 在 他
 Zhèi ge mùtǒng ne jiu guà zai tā
 this item wood.bucket RLV just hang be.in 3
 那 个 车 上, 赶 小 驴车。
 nèi ge chē shang, gǎn xiǎo lüérchē.
 that item vehicle up drive small donkey.vehicle
 'The wooden bucket is hanging on his cart, he is driving a
 small donkey cart.'

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

- (47) 到 文化 大 革命 的 时候儿, 我
 Dào wénhuà dà géming de shíhour wǒ
 arrive culture big revolution SUB time 1S
 还 看见 过 那 东西, 还 在
 hái kànjian guo nèi dōngxi, hái zài
 still look.see EXP that thing still be.in
 那 屋子 里 锁 着 呢。
 nèi wūzi li suǒ zhe ne.
 that room inside lock DUR RLV
 'At the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, I still saw it, it
 was locked in that room.'

2.6. Summary for all verbs selected for analysis

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

Below, we give a summary of Tables 3, 6, 7, 8 and 9 to give a global account of the percentages of all sentences for which construction position (postverbal) and construction meaning (terminative) do not match.

a) For the verb *zhù* 'live, take up residence', approximately 57% sentences with the postverbal locative phrase (38 out of the total of 67 examples) have a durative meaning, i.e. we can speak of the mismatch of construction position and meaning.

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

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

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

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

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

3. CONCLUSIONS

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

All forms, i.e. *de*, *zai*, the zero form and *dao*, have been attested in the corpus as means to introduce postverbal locative

phrases. The following features are characteristic for their use in the corpus:

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

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

3.2. Correlation between construction position and meaning

Our main conclusion is that for the set of verbs considered the distinction between the durative meaning for preverbal locative

constructions and the terminative meaning for postverbal locative constructions is still typical for the Beijing dialect of Mandarin. Modern Beijing data by and large shows uniformity with the northern pattern, as described by Lamarre (2003a, 2003b, 2003c).

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

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

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

¹⁶ Lamarre thanks Hideki Kimura for his insightful comments on this issue.

preverbal progressive *zài* (see Jaxontov Chinese edition 1958:151-2, Chirkova 2003:27 and Lamarre 2003c for details).

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

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