Subjectification and the Development of Special-Verb Existential/Presentative Constructions[*]

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This paper deals with the historical development of a special type of existential/presentative construction in Chinese, i.e., existential constructions with an 'empty' verb (such as *you* 有 'have/exist' and *shi* 是 'be') as the main verb. In documenting the major changes that have taken place in this construction, I show that while some of the major existential constructions, such as the *you*-construction, have been present since the earliest stages of the history of the Chinese language, major grammaticalization processes have taken place, not in the form of changes in individual verbs *per se*, but rather in the range of verbs allowed over time in the construction: verbs of abundant quantity (*duo* 多 'be many', *rao* 饒 'be abundant', *jie* 皆 'be all') and verbs of vision (*jian* 見 'see', and *du* 睹 'see') are gradually introduced into this construction. I take this as evidence that the development of existentials in Chinese can be characterized as an increase in subjectification and that the unidirectionality principle of grammaticalization can be applied to constructions in addition to individual lexical items.

Key words: *you* 'have', existentials, presentatives, Chinese historical syntax, grammaticalization, subjectification

1. Introduction

The syntactic form that I shall discuss in this paper has been variably referred to by linguists of Chinese as *cunxian ju* 存現句 or *existentials*, which are said to express the existence of entities, and *presentatives* (Li & Thompson 1981:509), which are said to "perform the function of introducing into a discourse a noun phrase naming an entity."

In this paper the terms *existential* and *presentative* are used interchangeably.

As is known, presentative constructions in Chinese encompass a variety of syntactic forms, which can roughly be classified into two major categories: verbal and non-verbal (Chu et al. 1997, Fan 1963, Lei 1993, L. Li 1986, Nie 1989, Song 1982a, 1982b, 1988, 1991, Wang 2003, among others). The difference between verbal and non-verbal presentative constructions is that in verbal presentatives there is a main verb denoting the existential meaning (e.g., *Qiangshang **you** fu hua*, 牆上有幅畫 'There is a picture on the wall'), whereas in a non-verbal presentative construction, there is not (e.g., *Wuli san ge ren*, 屋裡三個人 '(There are) three people in the house'). The verbs in verbal presentatives can be classified further into two types: general action verbs (such as *zuo* 'sit' and *gua* 'hang') and 'empty' verbs (such as *you* 有 'have/exist' and *shi* 是 'be'). Verbal presentative constructions involving a general action verb have been discussed fairly extensively in the literature, and they should not concern us here. The focus of this paper is rather on those presentative constructions which involve an empty verb such as *you* 有. I call such verbs *special verbs* and the associated existential/ presentative constructions *special-verb existential/presentative constructions*.

More specifically, the goal of this paper is to document the major changes that have taken place in the special-verb presentatives in Chinese. My investigation shows that some of the major existential constructions, such as the *you*-construction, have been present since the earliest stages of the history of the Chinese language. What is more interesting, however, is the fact that within the special-verb existential constructions, some major grammaticalization processes have taken place, not in the form of changes in individual verbs *per se*, but rather in the range of verbs allowed in the existential construction. It also appears that the kinds of verbs allowed in the construction are not chosen randomly, but seem to follow a pattern of increased degree of subjectification, i.e. speaker involvement (Traugott 1982, Traugott & König 1991). The phenomenon I describe here can thus be considered to constitute a new pattern of grammaticalization.

The organization of the paper is as follows. First, I shall show briefly the variety of *you*-constructions in the history of Chinese and how they have been used as the most basic and neutral existential construction throughout the process. Then I show that, in contrast with *you*-constructions, and as existentials evolve, more special verbs are introduced into the existential construction, and they typically convey more than just the existential/presentative meaning. In general the other special verbs that I found typical of the presentative construction include the following: *duo* 多 'be many', *rao* 饒 'be abundant', *jie* 皆 'be all', *jian* 見 'see', and *du* 睹 'see'.[1] Historical evidence suggests

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[1] For the current project I did not include the copula type in my discussion, as it seems to deserve a separate treatment.

that the addition of the existential verbs other than *you* took place in two different stages —the quantifying type (*duo* 多, *rao* 饒 and *jie* 皆) appeared in the Pre-Medieval period, and the vision type (*jian* 見 and *du* 睹) appeared in the Late Medieval period—and overall the observed developmental tendency in Chinese existentials can be characterized as an increase in subjectification over time. Finally, I conclude this paper by discussing the theoretical implications of the tendency described here for principles and mechanisms of syntactic change.

2. *You* (有) constructions

I begin with a profile of the semantically neutral existential structure: the *you*-construction. Syntactic structures involving the use of the verb *you* 'exist/have' (negative forms: *wang* 亡, *wu* 无/無 'be nil') are among the most basic and neutral existential constructions in Chinese. Here, as with many other languages, the verb of possession and the verb of existence share the same form. Our scrutiny of texts indicates that existentials containing *you* have been present throughout the history of the Chinese language.[2] This does not mean, however, that the kind of syntactic forms in which *you* appears in early Chinese and Modern Chinese are the same; in fact a number of important changes have taken place in the *you* structure at different times. In this section I describe the various distinctive forms of the *you*-construction, including the negative counterparts, *wang* and *wu* 'be nil'. The major syntactic patterns where *you* appears include: *you*+NP, *you*+NP+VP, X+*you*+NP, NP+*you*__*zhe*, and *you*+VP. I now discuss each of these forms briefly.

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[2] In my discussion I use Peyraube's (1988) division for historical Chinese in describing the diachronic development of the presentative constructions. That is, the following stages of the history of the Chinese language are recognized:

    (I)   Archaic (XIV-III B.C.)
        (i)   Pre-Archaic (XIV-XI B.C.)
        (ii) Early Archaic (XI-VI B.C.)
        (iii) Late Archaic (VI-III B.C.)
    (II)   Pre-Medieval or the Han Period (206 B.C.-220 A.D.)
    (III) Medieval (III-1250)
        (i)   Early Medieval (III-VI)
        (ii) Late Medieval (VI-1250)
    (IV) Pre-Modern (1250-1400)
    (V) Modern (XV-XVIII)

Although Chinese historical linguists may differ with respect to details of the division scheme (see Tai & Chan 1999 for a recent discussion of this issue), for my purpose this will be adequate.

2.1 *You*+NP

The earliest forms we find are simple *you*-constructions without any preverbal elements. This is to be dated back to the period of bone and bronze inscriptions (often written in the form of 㞢 (sometimes 又). Below are examples from the Pre-Archaic and the Late Archaic periods.[3]

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[3] Abbreviations of grammatical terms used in the glosses:

(?):	uncertain pronnuciation	ASSC:	associative
CLF:	classifier	CNJ:	conjunction
NEG:	negative	NOM:	nominalizer
PRF:	perfective	PRT:	utterance final particle
QUO:	quotative	1SG/PL:	first person singular/plural
2SG/PL:	second person singular/plural	3SG/PL:	third person singular
3:PRT:	combination of a third person pronoun and a final particle		

Texts surveyed in this paper and their versions used are listed below; (X) indicates the abbreviation used in the paper.

Pre-Archaic:

甲骨文合集，郭沫若等，北京：中華書局，1979-83。

小屯・殷墟文字甲編（甲編），董作賓。

小屯・殷墟文字乙編（乙編），董作賓。

（商周），劉翔等《商周古文字讀本》，北京：語文出版社，1989。

Early Archaic:

（金），選段見劉翔等《商周古文字讀本》，北京：語文出版社，1989。

尚書（書），蔡沈注《書經》，上海：上海古籍出版社，1987。

詩經（詩），朱熹《詩集注》，上海：上海古籍出版社，1980。

Late Archaic:

論語，洪業等《論語引得》，上海：上海古籍出版社，1986。

左傳（左），洪業等《春秋經傳引得》，上海：上海古籍出版社，1983。

孟子（孟），洪業等《孟子引得》，上海：上海古籍出版社，1986。

荀子（荀），洪業等《荀子引得》，上海：上海古籍出版社，1988。

墨子（墨），洪業等《墨子引得》，上海：上海古籍出版社，1988。

韓非子（韓），《諸子集成》本，上海：上海書店，1986。

戰國策（戰國），張清常、王延棟《戰國策箋注》，天津：南開大學出版社，1993。

Pre-Medieval:

史記，王伯祥《史記選》，北京：人民文學出版社，1957。又，《史記》，北京：中華書局，1959。

漢書。陳直、冉昭德《漢書選》，收入鄭天挺主編《中國史學名著選》，北京：中華書局，1962。

Early Medieval:

世說新語（世說），張永言主編《世說新語辭典》，成都：四川人民出版社，1992。

佛國記，郭朋等《佛國記注譯》，長春：長春出版社，1995。

洛陽伽藍記（伽藍記），范祥雍《洛陽伽藍記校注》，上海：上海古籍出版社，1978。

(1) 兮甲 從　 王，折 首 執 訊， 休， 亡 敁。（商周·兮甲盤）
　　 Xi Jia cong wang zhe shou zhi xun xiu wang min
　　 NAME follow king chop head capture prisoner splendid be:no injure
　　 'Xi Jia followed the King to the war, and killed and captured enemies. What an achievement! There were no casualties.'

In this excerpt, the negative form of *you*, *wang*, is used without any preverbal element. Below are two examples of *you* from *Shang Shu* (尚書), which are used in a similar pattern.

(2) 日 月 之 行 則 有 冬 有 夏。（書·洪範）
　　 ri yue zhi xing ze you dong you xia
　　 sun moon ASSC motion CNJ have winter have summer
　　 'The motion of the sun and the moon results in the seasons of winter and summer.'

生經，大藏經第三冊，新文豐出版公司影印。
三國志，繆鉞《三國志選》，收入鄭天挺主編《中國史學名著選》，北京：中華書局，1962。
百喻經，大藏經第三十三冊，新文豐出版公司影印。

Late Medieval:

敦煌變文（變），項楚《敦煌變文選注》，成都：巴蜀書社，1989。又，劉堅、蔣紹愚主編《近代漢語語法資料彙編·唐五代卷》，北京：商務印書館，1990。
入唐求法巡禮行記（巡禮行記），劉堅、蔣紹愚主編《近代漢語語法資料彙編·唐五代卷》，北京：商務印書館，1990。
大唐三藏取經詩話（取經詩話），上海：中國古典文學出版社，1954。
南宗頓教最上大乘摩　般若波羅蜜經六祖惠能大師于韶州大梵寺施法壇經一卷（壇經），楊曾文校寫《敦煌新本六祖壇經》，上海：上海古籍出版社，1993。
神會和尚遺集（神會語錄），胡適校敦煌唐寫本《神會和尚遺集》，台北：胡適紀念館，1970。
祖堂集，劉堅、蔣紹愚主編《近代漢語語法資料彙編·唐五代卷》，北京：商務印書館，1990。
燕雲奉使錄，劉堅、蔣紹愚主編《近代漢語語法資料彙編·宋代卷》，北京：商務印書館，1992。
朱子語類，劉堅、蔣紹愚主編《近代漢語語法資料彙編·宋代卷》，北京：商務印書館，1992。

Pre-Modern:

劉知遠諸宮調（諸宮調），劉堅、蔣紹愚主編《近代漢語語法資料彙編·宋代卷》，北京：商務印書館，1992。
永樂大典戲文三種校注，錢南揚《永樂大典戲文三種校注》，北京：中華書局，1979。
京本通俗小說（小說），程毅中等點校《京本通俗小說等五種》，南京：江蘇古籍出版社，1991。
清平山堂話本（話本），石昌渝點校《清平山堂話本》，南京：江蘇古籍出版社，1990。
古今小說，許政揚校《古今小說》，北京：人民文學出版社，1958。
警世通言，嚴敦易校注《警世通言》，北京：人民文學出版社，1956。

(3)　無　　弱　　孤　　有　　幼。（書‧盤庚）
　　　wu　　ruo　gu　　you　you
　　　be:nil　weak　lonely　have　young
　　　'No weak and lonely people, but only the young.'

Beginning with *Lun Yu* (論語) and *Xun Zi* (荀子), or the Late Archaic period, the NP in the simple *you*+NP construction became quite complex:

(4)　子　　　曰："君子　而　不　仁　　者　　有　　矣　　夫？
　　　zi　　　yue　junzi　er　bu　ren　　zhe　you　　yi　　fu
　　　Confucius　say　sage　but　not　virtue　NOM　have　PRT　PRT
　　　未　　有　　小人　　　　而　仁者　　也！"（論語‧憲問）
　　　wei　you　xiaoren　　er　renzhe　ye
　　　never　have　uncivilized:man　but　virtue　PRT
　　　'Confucius said: "Is there any sage who is not a man of virtue? Never exist any uncivilized man who is virtuous."'
(5)　有　　父　　子　　訟　　者，　孔子　　　拘　　之。（荀‧宥坐）
　　　you　fu　　zi　　song　zhe　Kongzi　　ju　　zhi
　　　exist　father　son　suit　NOM,　Confucius　arrest　3PL
　　　'There was a case where a father and a son were engaged in a lawsuit. Confucius arrested them.'

In both examples, the NPs in the *you*+NP structure are not simple nouns, but a nominalization structure marked by the nominalizer *zhe* (者). At the same time, some NPs in the *you*+NP construction are found to become somewhat simple. Attenuated pronominal forms started to appear as the object of the verb *you*. Here are examples of the pronominals *zhu* 諸 and *zhi* 之 as the object of *you* from *Lun Yu* (論語), *Meng Zi* (孟子), and *Zhan Guo Ce* (戰國策):

(6)　定公　　　問："一　言　　而　可　以　興　　　邦，　有　　諸？"
　　　Dinggong　wen　yi　yan　er　ke　yi　xing　　bang　you　zhu
　　　NAME　　　ask　one　speech　CNJ　may　use　establish　nation　exist　3:PRT
　　　…曰："一　言　　　而　喪　　邦，　有　　諸？"（論語‧子路）
　　　　yue　yi　yan　　er　shang　bang　you　zhu
　　　　say　one　utterance　CNJ　lose　nation,　exist　3:PRT
　　　'Duke of Ding asked: "I heard that one saying could be enough to make a nation prosper, and one saying could also destroy a nation. Is there such a thing?"'

(7) 以　　羊　　易　　之，不　識　　有　　諸？
　　yi　 yang　yi　 zhi　 bu　 shi　 you　 zhu
　　use　sheep change 3SG　NEG　know　exist　3:PRT
　　曰：“有　　之。”（孟・梁惠王上）
　　yue　 you　 zhi
　　say　 exist　3:PRT
　　'Exchange it with a sheep. Did that ever happen? Menchius said: "Yes, it did."'

(8) 客　　見　 趙　　王　　曰：“臣　　　聞　　王　　之　　使　　人　　買　　馬　　也，
　　ke　 jian Zhao wang　yue　　chen　 wen　wang zhi　 shi　 ren　 mai　ma　 ye
　　guest see NAME king　say　　servant hear king　NOM　order man　buy　horse PRT
　　有　　之　　乎？”王　　　曰：“有　　之。”（戰國・趙四）
　　you　 zhi　 hu　　wang　yue　　you　 zhi
　　exist 3SG　PRT　king　 say　　exist 3SG
　　'The guest met with the King of Zhao and asked: "I have heard that you sent someone to buy horses. Is it true?" The King said: "Yes. it's true."'

These forms are typically used in a question-and-answer context, where the introduction of referent is not done by the existential itself but by a separate utterance preceding the *you*-construction. Thus in the last example above, there is an introduction sentence 'I have heard that you sent someone to buy horses' before the use of the existential 'Does it exist/Is it true'. In modern Chinese, however, the postverbal anaphoric form tends not to be a simple pronoun, since the use of pronouns for third person referents is much more restricted now than in Classical Chinese.

　　'*You*+NP' can also be used as a vocative. This is found even in the bone inscriptions, as shown in (9).

(9) 王　　　貞　　曰： 有　　崇。（甲骨文合集 5067）
　　wang　zhan　yue　 you　 sui
　　king　 divine say　 exist evil
　　'The King made the divination, and proclaimed: "Evils!"'

　　In general all the *you*-constructions in the data can be said to be neutral in meaning, i.e., they are used simply to express the existence of an entity. However, as Z. Li (1994) points out, sometimes *you* is used to indicate the appearance of unusual entities. We believe that *you* in vocatives, as in (9), falls into this category. In the texts I examined, I find another vocative case in the Early Medieval text *Shi Shuo Xin Yu* (世說新語):

(10) 魏武　　 少　　時，嘗　　 與　　袁紹　　　好　 爲　　遊俠，
　　 Wei Wu shao　 shi　 chang　yu　 Yuan Shao hao　 wei　 youxia
　　 NAME　　young time　once　 with NAME　　　ike　 be　 knight-errant

觀　　人　　新　婚，　　因　潛　　入　　主人　　園中，
guan　ren　　xin　hun　　yin　qian　ru　　zhuren　yuanzhong
watch　someone　new　wedding　CNJ　secretly　enter　host　　garden:in

夜　　　叫呼　　云：有　　偷兒賊！（世說・假譎）
ye　　jiaohu　yun　you　tou'erzei
night　shout　say　exist　thief

'When the King of Wei Wu was young, he enjoyed being a knight-errant with Yuan Shao. Once they secretly entered a garden to watch a private wedding. Then at night they shouted: "Thief!"'

From the above, we can safely say that simple *you*+NP constructions appeared even in the Pre-Archaic period, and the semantics of the *you*-construction is mostly neutral.

2.2 *You*+NP+VP

An extended use of the *you*+NP construction is for the NP to take a complex predicate in the form of *you*+NP+VP, a construction previously termed *presentative serial verb construction* (Li & Thompson 1981). This kind of syntactic construction appeared first in the Early Archaic (*Shang Shu* 尚書) period and has been used throughout the history of Chinese. Here I give three examples from *Shang Shu*, *Zuo Zhuan* (左傳), and *Shi Shuo Xin Yu* respectively.

(11)　我　　有　　大　　事　　　　休。（書・大誥）
　　　wo　you　　da　　shi　　　xiu
　　　1SG　have　grant　undertaking　magnificent
　　　'My undertaking is magnificent.'

(12)　君　　有　　大臣　　在　　西南　　　隅。（左・哀 16）
　　　jun　　you　dachen　zai　xinan　　yu
　　　majesty　have　minister　be:in　west south　corner
　　　'Your majesty has ministers in the southwest region.'

(13)　謝奕　作　剡　令，　有　一　老翁　　犯法。（世說・德行）
　　　Xie Yi　zuo　Yan　ling　you　yi　laoweng　fanfa
　　　NAME　be　NAME　chief　exist　one　old:man　commit:crime
　　　'While Xie Yi was the chief of Yan, an old man committed a crime.'

As can be seen, the above examples represent several kinds of semantic relationship between the post-*you* NP and the VP. In (11) the VP *xiu* (休) expresses properties of the NP *da shi* (大事); in (12) the VP *zai xinan yu* (在西南隅) indicates the location of the NP *dachen* (大臣); and finally in (13) the VP *fanfa* (犯法) is the action of the NP *laoweng* (老翁).

It appears, then, that presentative serial verb constructions are found even in Early Archaic Chinese and it is still commonly used in modern Chinese (Li & Thompson 1981, Wang 2003).

2.3 X+*you*+NP

As mentioned at the beginning of this paper, a typical existential construction usually has a preverbal element. This is the case for many *you*-constructions. The pre-verbal element (designated X here) is manifested in a variety of forms. First, a very common preverbal element is the temporal expression. We also find this kind of construction as early as the Pre-Archaic bone inscriptions.[4]

(14) 自　今　辛　至於　來　辛　又　大　雨？
     zi　jin　Xin　zhiyu　lai　Xin　you　da　yu
     from　this　NAME　to　next　NAME　exist　big　rain
     自　今　辛　至於　來　辛　亡　大　雨？（甲骨文合集 30048）
     zi　jin　Xin　zhiyu　lai　Xin　wang　da　yu
     from　this　NAME　to　next　NAME　be:not　big　rain
     'From this Xin to the next, will there be heavy rain? From this Xin to the next, will there be no heavy rain?'

Here the preverbal temporal expression is *zi jin Xin zhiyu lai Xin* 'from this Xin to the next'.

    Another major type of preverbal element can be considered a topic expression, where the *you* structure is used both to express the existence of entities and to add further information about the preverbal topic element (Wang 2003). We found such examples mostly in *Lun Yu*. Consider the following:

(15) 子　曰：“志　士　仁　人，無　求　生　以　害　仁，
     zi　yue　zhi　shi　ren　ren　wu　qiu　sheng　yi　hai　ren
     Confucius　say　ambitious　man　noble　man　be:no　seek　life　CNJ　sacrifice　virtue
     有　殺　身　以　成　仁。”（論語・衛靈公）
     you　sha　shen　yi　cheng　ren
     have　kill　body　CNJ　reach　humanity
     'Confucius said: "No ambitious and noble man will sacrifice virtue to live. He only sacrifices himself to attain virtue."'

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[4] This seems to suggest that the temporal structures appeared earlier than Wang (2003) admits.

In this example, *zhishi renren* 'ambitious and noble men' can be considered the topic expression, and the *you* clause that follows functions to comment about it.

However, by far the most common type of preverbal element in existential *you*-constructions is a spatial or locative expression (Wang 2003). The spatial/locative expressions can be divided further into three major types: (i) those which comprise a direction/locative morpheme only, as the cases of *nan* 南 'south' and *han* 漢 'Han River' in the following example:

(16) 南　　有　　喬　　木，不　可　休　　思。
     nan　　you　　qiao　　mu　　bu　ke　xiu　si
     south　exist　arbor　tree　NEG　able　rest　PRT
     漢　　有　　遊　　女，不　可　求　　思。（詩・周南）
     Han　　you　　you　　nü　　bu　ke　qiu　si
     NAME　exist　swiming　girl　NEG　able　seek　PRT
     'In the south, there are arbor trees which cannot be rested upon. In the Han River, there are swimming girls who cannot be sought after.'

(ii) those which consist of regular nominal expressions naming places of various sorts:

(17) 野　　有　　死　　麇，　白　茅　　　包　　之。
     ye　　you　　si　　jun　　bai　mao　　bao　zhi
     field　exist　dead　water:deer　white　congograss　wrap　3SG
     …林　有　　樸　薪，野　有　　死　　鹿。（詩・周南）
     lin　　you　　pu　su　　ye　　you　　si　　lu
     forest　exist　drop　leaf　field　exist　dead　deer
     'There are dead water deer in the field; wrap them with white congograss. When the leaves fall in the forest, dead deer start to appear in the field.'

(18) 周　　易　　有　　之。（左・宣 12）
     Zhou Yi　you　　zhi
     NAME　　have　3SG
     'Zhou Yi has it.'

(19) 狗　　彘　　食　人　　　食　而　不　知　　檢，
     gou　zhi　　shi　ren　　shi　er　bu　zhi　jian
     dog　pig　　eat　human　food　CNJ　NEG　know　restrain
     塗　　有　　餓　　莩　而　不　知　　發。（孟・梁惠王上）
     tu　　you　　er　　piao　er　bu　zhi　fa
     road　exist　hungry　body　CNJ　NEG　know　start
     'Dogs and pigs do not know restraint when they eat human food. (You) don't even know that things need attention when there are dead bodies on the road.'

(20) 函谷　關　　有　兵　　守　　關。（史記・項羽本紀）
Hangu guan you bing shou guan
NAME fort have soilder defend fort
'Fort Hangu has solders defending it.'

Many of these uses in modern Chinese would require a locative marker (e.g. 周易有之 < 周易中有此, 塗有餓莩 < 路上有餓死的人).

(iii) Those which consist of a more complex spatial expression in the form of an NP plus a locative noun or a locative marker. The nominal expression is usually a noun naming a place, a mountain, a river, and so forth.[5]

(21) 井上　　有　李。（孟・滕文公下）
jingshang you li
well:up exist plum
'Plums are on the well.'

(22) 長安　　東北　　有　神　氣。（史記・封禪書）
Chang'an dongbei you shen qi
NAME east:north exist god spirit
'In the northeast of Chang'an there is divine spirit.'

(23) 言　曰　此　牛　腹中　　有　奇。（史記・封禪書）
yan yue ci niu fuzhong you qi
say QUO this cow belly:in exist wonder
'It has been said that there is something extraordinary in this cow.'

In these examples, we see the combinations of nouns with locative markers (井上, 腹中) and nouns with a locative noun (長安東北). In Medieval Chinese, it is found that these complex spatial expressions started to be more elaborate and were even extended to references of non-spatial domains, such as 人中, 生死之中, 我這裡:

(24) 時　五　百　　人　中，有　一　人　　最　　上　智慧。（生經・卷一）
shi wu bai ren zhong you yi ren zui shang zhihui
then five hundred person:in exist one person most top intelligence
'Among these five hundred people, there is one who is most intelligent.'

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[5] According to Ch. Li (1992), locative nominals in Archaic Chinese are more semantically than syntactically motivated, i.e., their function was mainly to indicate an exact location rather than grammatical/morphological *per se*, as is the case in the later stages. The use of locative markers, in a much bleached sense, on regular nominals, seems to have increased substantially from Pre-Medieval texts (as in *Shi Ji*).

(25) 有　　人　　　語言：　生　　　死　　之　　　中
  you ren yuyan sheng si zhi zhong
  exist person say live dead ASSC in
  無　　常　　　苦　　空　　無　　我。（百喻經・卷下）
  wu chang ku kong wu wo
  no constant bitter empty no self
  'It has been said that between being alive and being dead, there is no constant bitterness and emptiness, nor is there the self.'

(26) 石頭　　曰："我　　這裡　　有　　刀子。"（祖堂集・卷五）
  shitou yue wo zheli you daozi
  Stone say 1SG here exist knife
  'Monk Stone said: "I have knives here."'

In summary, there are a variety of pre-verbal elements in the *you* presentative constructions. Again, except for some uses, e.g. *you*+third person pronoun, these forms are almost all preserved in present-day Chinese.

2.4 (NP)+*you＿zhe* (者)

NP+*you＿zhe* (者) was a widespread syntactic structure in Late Archaic Chinese. The structure involves two nominals: the initial NP and a nominalization structure marked by the morpheme *zhe* 者. These are linked by the special verb *you*. The main function of this structure is to introduce an entity into the discourse by anchoring it to a general NP at the beginning of the utterance. Typical examples are shown below.

(27) 葉公　語　孔子　　曰："吾　黨　　有　　直躬　　者，
  Ye Gong yu Kongzi yue wu dang you zhigong zhe
  NAME tell Confucius QUO 1SG party exist blunt NOM
  其　父　　攘　羊　而　子　證　　之。"（論語・子路）
  qi fu rang yang er zi zheng zhi
  3SG father steal goat CNJ son report 3SG
  'Ye Gong told Confucius: "There is a fellow countryman of mine who is very blunt. His father stole a goat and he reported it."'

(28) 宋　人　　有　閔　其　苗　之　不　長　而　揠　之　者；
  Song ren you min qi miao zhi bu zhang er ya zhi zhe
  NAME person exist hate 3SG shoot ASSC NEG grow CNJ pull 3SG NOM
  芒芒然　　　歸。（孟・公孫丑上）
  mangmangran gui
  bewilderedly return
  'There was a man in Song, who hated the fact that the shoots of his crop were not growing tall, so he pulled them up, then returned bewilderedly.'

In the first example, the general NP is *wudang* 吾黨 'countryman', and the nominalization is *zhigongzhe* 直躬者 'an honest one'. The whole structure literally means: "Among my countrymen, there is one who is very honest".

Sometimes there is no general NP preceding the *you*+nominalization combination,

(29) 王　　坐　於　堂上，　　　有　牽　牛　而　過　堂下　　　者，
　　wang zuo yu tangshang you qian niu er guo tangxia zhe
　　king sit at court:up exist lead cow CNJ pass court:down NOM
　　王　　見　之。（孟・梁惠王上）
　　wang jian zhi
　　king see 3SG
　　'While the King was at the court, he saw a man go by leading a cow.'

In this example, there is no general NP before *you*. The main function of the *you* structure is basically the same as those with a general NP, i.e., to introduce a referent into the discourse, but the referent introduced is either less specific, or does not need to be specified.

It appears that this device is most prolific in the Late Archaic period. Thereafter, only sporadic examples are found. Here is an example from *Shi Ji* (史記):[6]

(30) 淮陰　　屠中　　少年　　　有　侮　信　　者（史記・淮陰侯列傳）
　　Huai Yin tuzhong shaonian you wu Xin zhe
　　NAME market:in young:man exist bully NAME NOM
　　'There was a young fellow in the Huai Yin market who bullied Han Xin.'

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[6] There are also cases where the whole NP+you__zhe construction is used as a predicate, and not for referent introducing. For example,

(i) 衛懿　公　好　鶴，　鶴　有　乘　軒　　者。（左・閔2）
　　Wei Yi gong hao he he you cheng xuan zhe
　　NAME duke favor crane crane exist ride carriage NOM
　　'Since Duke Wei Yi likes cranes, there have been cranes that ride in the royal chariot.'

(ii) 至于　趙　之　爲　趙，　趙　主　之　子孫　侯　　者
　　zhiyu Zhao zhi wei Zhao Zhao zhu zhi zisun hou zhe
　　regard NAME ASSC govern NAME NAME king GEN offspring be:titled NOM
　　其　繼　　有　在　者　乎？（戰國・趙太后新用事）
　　qi ji you zai zhe hu
　　3PL offspring exist present NOM PRT
　　'With regard to Zhao's ruling, among those Zhaos who were conferred titles, are their offsprings still alive now?'

These are, however, relatively rare in my data.

2.5 *You* taking a verbal structure

In all of the syntactic patterns we discussed above *you* takes a nominal element. It is also possible for *you* to take a verbal structure. Some appear with a negative morpheme *wu* 無 or *bu* 不,

(31) 無　　有　　作　　好。（書・洪範）
　　　wu　　you　zuo　hao
　　　NEG　exist　fate　good
　　　'None is/has a good fate.'

(32) 臣　　　無　　有　　作　　福　　　作　　威。（書・洪範）
　　　chen　　wu　　you　zuo　fu　　　zuo　wei
　　　servant　NEG　exist　do　fortune　do　power
　　　'I did not abuse my power.'

Others stand without a negative morpheme,

(33) 降　　　　年　　有　　永　　有　　不　　永。（書・高宗肜日）
　　　jiang　　　nian　you　yong　you　bu　　yong
　　　descending　year　exist　lasting　exist　NEG　lasting
　　　'In the future some may last long, some may not.'

(34) 有　　能　　一　　日　　用　　其　　力　　　於　　仁　　矣　　乎？（論語・里仁）
　　　you　neng　yi　　ri　　yong　qi　　li　　　yu　　ren　　yi　　hu
　　　exist　able　one　day　use　3SG　power　at　virtue　PRT　PRT
　　　'Is there anyone who can use his energy for one day in the pursuit of virtue?'

(35) 萬　　　　　民　　多　　有　　勤　　　苦　　　凍　　綏。（墨・兼愛）
　　　wan　　　　min　　duo　you　qin　　　ku　　　dong　sui
　　　ten:thousand　people　many　exist　hard:work　bitter　cold　hungry
　　　'There are thousands of people out there who work hard but are starving and dying.'

The *You*+VP structure occurs mainly in the Early Archaic period. This may be attributed to the fact that nominalization was not fully developed in Early Archaic Chinese. The lack of differentiation in form renders verbal and nominal expressions very similar to each other.

There is yet another type of *you*+VP structure. Consider the following examples.

(36) 有　　告　　　陳桓子　　　曰。（左・昭 10）
　　　you　gao　　　Chen Huanzi　yue
　　　exist　report　NAME　　　　QUO
　　　'Someone reported to Chen Huanzi.'

(37) 有　渝　此　盟，明　　神　殛　之。（左·僖2）
　　　you　yu　ci　meng　ming　shen　ji　zhi
　　　exist break this treaty bright god strik 3SG
　　　'Anyone who breaks the treaty will be stricken by the mighty gods.'

In these examples there is no NP after *you,* nor is there a nominalizer *zhe* after the NP and before the final VP. According to Z. Li (1994:148), this kind of structure appears typically when the agent of the verb is not specifiable.

You taking a VP is not found after the Archaic period. We can speculate that this is perhaps due to the later proliferation of nominalization devices.[7]

3. Summary of the *you*-constructions

The previous sections have demonstrated that the *you*-construction, with variant forms, has been present since the very early stages of the Chinese language. With few exceptions, most of the syntactic forms associated with the existential verb *you* have continued to survive into modern Chinese. The semantics of the *you*-constructions are basically neutral, i.e., they typically express the existential or presentative meaning, only occasionally a sense of unusual appearance.

We now turn to the development of other forms of existentials which supplement the *you*-construction. Historical evidence indicates that the addition of special verbs other than *you* took place at two different stages, corresponding to two different classes of special verbs: the quantifying type, which appeared during the Pre-Medieval period, and the vision type, which appeared during the Late Medieval period. I now describe these two stages in the following two sections respectively.

4. The introduction of quantifying verbs*: duo*(多*), rao*(饒*), and *jie*(皆*)*

Although *you* is undoubtedly the most commonly used verb throughout the history of Chinese, beginning in the Pre-Medieval period, we also see the introduction of other special verbs into the existential construction. The first group of special verbs that appeared after the Late Archaic (VI-III B.C.) period consists of those which express the

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[7] In some southern Chinese dialects, such as Min, *you* as an experiential auxiliary has been widely noticed and seems spreading to spoken Mandarin (Cheng 1990). It is not clear whether there is any connection between the use of *you* here and the dialectal use. Whatever the connection may be, one difference is that, in the classical cases, *you* merely expresses existence or presentation, not experience.

quantity of objects. They differ from *you*-constructions in that they also convey the speaker's subjective judgment regarding that quantity. These verbs include *duo* 多 'be many', *rao* 饒 'be abundant', and *jie* 皆 'be all'.

  Duo is by far the most common verb in this category, which can be found in many Pre-Medieval texts such as *Shi Ji* (史記) and *Gu Shi* (古詩).

(38) 齊　　地　　多　　變詐，　不　習　　於　禮義。（史記・廣陵王策）
Qi　di　duo　bianzha　bu　xi　yu　liyi
NAME　place　be:many　cheating　NEG　learn　at　civilization
'Qi is a place full of cheats, the people are not civilized.'

(39) 臨邛　　中　　多　　富　人（史記・司馬相如列傳）
Lingqiong　zhong　duo　fu　ren
NAME:in　　　be:many　rich　person
'There are many rich people in Linqiong.'

(40) 然　左右　多　　竊聽　　者，范雎　恐。（史記・范雎蔡澤列傳）
ran　zuoyou　duo　qieting　zhe　Fan Ju　kong
but　left:right　be:many　eavesdrop　NOM　NAME　fear
'Since there were many people eavesdropping on both sides, Fan Ju was worried.'

(41) 內　無　　良　將　　而　外　多　　敵　　國。（史記・范雎蔡澤列傳）
nei　wu　liang　jiang　er　wai　duo　di　guo
inside　be:nil　good　general　CNJ　outside　be:many　enemy　state
'There are not many able generals inside, but many enemy states outside.'

(42) 黯　　對　　曰："陛下　　內　多　　欲
An　dui　yue　bixia　nei　duo　yu
NAME　answer　QUO　majesty　inside　be:many　desire
而　外　　施　仁　　義，"（史記・汲鄭列傳）
er　wai　shi　ren　yi
CNJ　outside　apply　humanity　trust
'Ji An replied: "Your majesty, you have many desires inside, yet you pretend outwardly to be humane and trustworthy."'

(43) 項王　　所　過　無　不　殘滅　者，天下　　多　　怨。（史記・淮陰侯列傳）
Xiangwang　suo　guo　wu　bu　canmie　zhe　tianxia　duo　yuan
NAME　NOM　pass　NEG　NEG　kill　PRT　heaven:under　be:many　hatred
'Chief Xiang killed wherever he went; people hated him very much.'

(44) 右　內　史　　界部中　　多　　貴人　宗室，難　　治。（史記・汲鄭列傳）
you　nei　shi　jiebuzhong　duo　guiren　zongshi　nan　zhi
right　inner　history　division:in　be:many　royal　clan　difficult　govern
'The Right Inner Imperial Archive Division is full of royal clansmen. It's very difficult to govern.'

(45) 愴愴　　　履　霜，　中　　多　　蒺藜。（樂府‧孤兒行）
chuangchuang lü　shuang zhong duo　　jili
bleakly　　　walk frost　inside be:many puncture:vine
'Walking bleakly on the frost, where puncture vines abound.'

(46) 燕　趙　多　　佳　　人，　美　　者 顔 如 玉。（古詩‧燕趙多佳人）
Yan Zhao duo　　jia　　ren　mei　zhe yan ru　yu
NAME NAME be:many gorgeous person beautiful NOM face as　jade
'Yan and Zhao are full of gorgeous women, whose beauty is likened to jade.'

(47) 邊　城　多　　健　　少，
bian cheng duo　　jian　shao
outer city　be:many healthy young
內　舍　多　　寡　婦。（漢魏‧陳琳‧飲馬長城窟行）
nei　she　duo　　gua　fu
inner house be:many single woman
'Too many young men are on the border outposts, while many single women are at home.'

(48) 京都　多　　妖　　女，　京　洛　出　　少年。（曹植‧名都篇）
jingdu duo　　yao　nü　　jing　Luo　chu　shaonian
capital be:many elegant woman capital NAME produce young:man
'Metroplitan cities are full of elegant women; the capital Luoyang has many fine young men.'

(49) 高 台　多　　悲　　風，朝　　日　照 北　林。（曹植‧雜詩其一）
gao tai　duo　　bei　feng zhao　ri　zhao bei　lin
high platform be:many sorrowful wind morning sun cast　north forest
'The high platform is full of sorrowful winds when the morning sun shines on the north woods.'

(50) 從　此　山　　南　三　里　行，到　一　山，
cong ci　shan　　nan　san　li　xing dao　yi　shan
from this mountain south three mile walk arrive one mountain
…此　山　　榛木　茂盛，　又　多　　獅子、虎、狼，
　ci　shan　　zhenmu maosheng you duo　　shizi　hu　lang
　this mountain hazel　exuberant also be:many lion　tiger wolf
不可　妄　　行。（佛國記）
buke　wang　xing
NEG　reckless pass
'If you go about three miles from this mountain, there is another mountain, where hazels flourish and there are also many lions, tigers, and wolves. never pass there recklessly.'

(51) 別　　　有　准財、　金肆 二　里，　富　人　　在　　焉。
bie　　you Zhun Cai Jin Si er　li　fu　ren　zai　yan
additionally exist NAME　　NAME two street rich people be:in　there

凡　此　十　里，多　　　諸　　工商　　貨殖　之　民。（伽藍記・卷四）
fan　ci　shi　li　duo　zhu　gongshang huozhi zhi　min
all　this ten mile be:many all:sort business　trade　ASSC people
'There are also these two streets called Zhun Cai and Jin Si, where many rich people reside. For about ten miles all sorts of business and trading people live in the area.'

It is clear that the semantics of the verb *duo* is different from *you*, in that it has two components: "existence" and "abundance/many". *Duo* is used instead of *you* when the speaker wishes to express his belief that the quantity is indeed great or abundant.

　　Duo is also found as an adverb quantifying *you*,

(52)　然　門外　　多　　有　長　者　車　轍。（史記・陳丞相世家）
　　　ran menwai　duo　you zhang zhe　che zhe
　　　but door:out be:many exist senior person cart wheel:print
　　　'But there are lots of wheel prints of senior people's carriages.'

This shows that the semantics of *duo* is never merely "existence". This usage is occasionally found in some Archaic texts:

(53)　萬　　　民　多　　有　勤　苦　凍　綏。（墨・兼愛）
　　　wan　min　duo　you qin　ku dong sui
　　　ten:thousand people be:many exist hardwork bitter cold hungry
　　　'There are so many people out there who are hard at work but are starving and dying.'

But this is much more frequently seen in Medieval texts. Consider the following,[8]

(54)　沙河 中　多　　有　惡　鬼　熱　風。（佛國記）
　　　shahe zhong duo　you er　gui　re feng
　　　NAME:in　　be:many exist devil ghost hot wind
　　　'The Sandy River has many devil ghosts and hot winds.'

(55)　城中　　多　　有　抄賊，遇　　輒　無　全。（佛國記）
　　　chengzhong duo　you chaozei yu　zhe　wu　quan
　　　city:in　　be:many exist robber encounter at:once be:nil whole
　　　'In the city there are many robbers. You are sure to die if you encounter them.'

8　An alternative structure is found in the following serial verb construction.
　　搏山　亦　有　諸　羅漢　坐　禪　　石窟　甚　多。（佛國記）
　　Boshan yi　you zhu luohan zuo chan　shiku shen duo
　　NAME　also exist all　arahant sit　meditation grotto very many
　　'Boshan also has a lot of grottoes depicting arahants sitting in meditation.'

(56) 寺內… 多　　有　枳　　　　　樹 而 不　中食。（伽藍記・正始寺）
　　　sinei　　　duo　　you zhi　　　　shu er bu　zhongshi
　　　temple:in　be:many exist trifoliate:orange tree CNJ NEG eatable
　　　'There are many trifoliate orange trees in the temple, but the fruit is inedible.'

Besides *duo*, there are other similar verbs, *jie* (皆) and *rao* (饒), but they are much less frequently used.

(57) 夜　聞　漢　軍　四面　　皆 楚　歌。（史記・項羽本紀）
　　　ye　wen Han jun simian　jie Chu　ge
　　　night hear NAME army four:side all NAME song
　　　'At night the Chu army heard Chu regional songs on all sides of the camp.'

(58) 門　戶　　階陛 左右，　皆 王　僚　之 親戚　　也。（史記・刺客列傳）
　　　men hu　　jiebi zuoyou jie Wang Liao zhi qinqi　　ye
　　　door window step left:right all NAME　GEN relatives PRT
　　　'All around were Wang Liao's relatives.'

(59) 山中　　饒　　霜　露，
　　　shanzhong　rao　　shuang lu
　　　mountain:in　be:abundant frost　dewdrop
　　　風　氣 亦　先　寒。（陶淵明・庚戌歲九月中于西田獲早稻）
　　　feng qi yi xian han
　　　wind air also early cold
　　　'The mountains are filled with frost and dewdrops, the wind and the air are also cold.'

To summarize, then, the addition of such quantifying verbs in the Pre-Medieval period constitutes a new development in the history of special-verb existential constructions, as they not only add to the variety of verbs in the presentative construction, but also add more pragmatic nuances that are not available from *you* alone. Specifically, they express not just the existence of entities but also the speaker's subjective judgment regarding the quantity.

5. The introduction of verbs of vision: *jian* (見) and *du* (睹)

Perhaps the most interesting grammatical change in the special verb existential construction is the admission of another class of special verbs, verbs of vision or verbs of seeing, into the structure. This process is found to take place during the Late Medieval period (VI-1250 A.D.). Verbs of seeing include verbs such as *jian* 見 'see' and, occasionally, *du* 睹 'see'. Both were originally used to indicate what was seen by the protagonists in the story. Around the Late Medieval period, however, they seemed to

have grammaticalized into a way of introducing referents into the discourse. Consider the following:

(60) 臺上　　　忽　　　見　一　點　雲　　起，
　　 taishang　　hu　　　jian　yi　dian　yun　qi
　　 platform:up　suddenly　see　one　bit　cloud　rise
　　 俄爾　　　　之間，　重　　雲　　遍　天。（巡禮行記・卷三）
　　 e'er　　　　zhijian　zhong　yun　　bian　tian
　　 short:while　between　heavy　cloud　all　　sky
　　 'A tiny bit of cloud suddenly rose from the platform, then in a short time heavy clouds covered the sky.'

(61) 地上　　　見　金光　　　一　道　分明，
　　 dishang　　jian　jinguang　　yi　dao　fenming
　　 ground:up　see　golden:light　one　CLF　clear
　　 認　　　是　一　個　小　　蛇兒　迭　七　　寸。（諸宮調）
　　 ren　　　shi　yi　ge　xiao　she'er　die　qi　　cun
　　 recognize　COP　one　CLF　small　snake　long　seven　inch
　　 'There was a bright golden ray of light on the ground, which was a small snake about seven inches long.'

(62) 漸　　　睹　雲中　　　有　一　僧人，年　約　　十五。（取經詩話・十六）
　　 jian　　du　yunzhong　you　yi　sengren　nian　yue　　shiwu
　　 gradually　see　cloud:in　exist　one　monk　　age　about　fifteen
　　 'Gradually a monk about fifteen years old appeared in the clouds.'

As can be seen from the above examples, *jian-* and *du-*constructions are used to introduce both human protagonists (*xingzhe* 行者, *sengren* 僧人 'monk') and non-human protagonists (*yun* 雲 'cloud', *xiaoshe* 小蛇 'small snake'), i.e., to indicate the presence of certain entities in the story.

The change of *jian* (and to some extent *du*) from a verb expressing visibility to a grammaticalized verb of presentation is supported by the following evidence.

First, *jian* can be substituted by *you* without significantly altering the meaning of the construction. Consider the following examples.

(63) 空中　　　只見　天　　花　　墜，
　　 kongzhong　zhi　jian　tian　hua　zhui
　　 air:in　　　only　see　heaven　flower　cascade
　　 雲裡　惟　聞　龍腦　　　煙。（變・文殊問疾）
　　 yunli　wei　wen　longnao　　yan
　　 cloud:in　only　smell　dragon:head　smoke
　　 'There are flowers cascading from the heaven, and all one smells is dragon-head shaped smoke.'

(64) 不　多　時，見　一　個　婦女　　問　楊玉　　道，…（話本・楊溫攔路虎傳）
bu　duo　shi　jian　yi　ge　funü　　wen　Yang Yu　dao
NEG　long　time　see　one　CLF　woman　ask　NAME　　QUO
'Soon a woman asked Yang Yu'

(65) 青松　　　影裡，　　依稀　見　寶殿　　巍峨。（話本・楊溫攔路虎傳）
qingsong　yingli　　yixi　jian　baodian　wei'e
pine　　　shadow:in　dimly　see　palace　　lofty
'In the shadow of pine trees, the lofty palaces are dimly seen.'

(66) 冒　著　雨　又　行　了　數　　十　步，
mao　zhe　yu　you　xing　le　shu　　shi　bu
brave　DUR　rain　again　walk　PRF　several　ten　step
見　一　個　小　小　竹　　門　樓。（小說・一窟鬼）
jian　yi　ge　xiao　xiao　zhu　　men　lou
see　one　CLF　small　small　bamboo　door　tower
'Walking a little further in the rain, one finds another small bamboo tower with a door.'

Here, all the instances of *jian* can be substituted by *you* without much change in meaning.

Second, *jian* and *you* (or *shi* 是) are used as alternative existential verbs.

(67) 會中　　　有　八　千　　菩薩，
huizhong　you　ba　qian　　pusa
meeting:in　exist　eight　thousand　Bodhisattva
宴中　　　見　五　百　　個　聲聞。（變・文殊問疾）
yanzhong　jian　wu　bai　　ge　shengwen
banquet:in　see　five　hundred　CLF　Bodhisattva
'There were eight thousand Bodhisattvas in the gathering, and five hundred at the banquet.'

(68) 從　天井裡　　一　跳　跳　將下去。　兩　邊　是　廊屋，
cong　tianjingli　yi　tiao　tiao　jiangxiaqu　liang　bian　shi　langwu
from　courtyard:in　one　jump　jump　downward　two　side　COP　side:room
去　側　首　見　一　碗　燈。（古今小說・宋四公大鬧禁魂張）
qu　ce　shou　jian　yi　wan　deng
go　side　end　see　one　CLF　lamp
'Jumping into the courtyard, (he) could see side rooms on the two sides, and there was a bowl lamp at the end of one side.'

This again indicates the similar functions that all three verbs perform in the texts.

Third, *jian* (and sometimes *du*) is followed by special verbs *you* or *shi* (ex. (61)), or an action verb which denotes existence of entities (ex. (64)):

(69) 見　坳上　　有　一　具　枯　屍，
jian aoshang you yi ju ku shi
see col:up exist one CLF dry corpse
長　　四十　餘　　里。（取經詩話·六）
chang sishi yu li
long forty some mile
'There was a dead body on the col, which was about forty miles long.'

(70) 漸　　睹 雲中　　有　一　僧人，年　約　　十五。（取經詩話·十六）
jian du yunzhong you yi sengren nian yue shiwu
gradually see cloud:in exist one monk age about fifteen
'Gradually a monk about fifteen years old appeared in the clouds.'

In such cases, one can infer that if the expression is truly vision-oriented, that is, if it is really being used to show what is being seen, then there is probably no need to use the "locative NP+*you*" structure which follows, since just *jian* or *du* plus the post-*you* NP would suffice for this purpose. In other words, we would expect that the following forms would suffice (# indicates that the construction is hypothetical):

見一具枯屍，長四十餘里。
　　jian yi ju ku shi, chang sishi yu li
漸睹一僧人，年約十五。
　　jian du yi sengren, nian yue shiwu

But these forms mean something different from what is expressed by the original texts.

　Fourth, frequently, what follows *jian* cannot be a specific object, which would be needed to warrant the use of a truly vision-oriented verb. Also, the event involving *jian* often cannot be expressed as a single action of seeing, as the use of a vision-oriented *jian* or *du* would imply. Consider the following examples:

(71) 又　見　山中　　　有　一　村　　寺，　並　無　　僧行。（取經詩話·五）
you jian shanzhong you yi cun si bing wu sengxing
also see mountain:in exist one village temple CNJ be:nil monk
'Again a village temple appeared in the mountains, but no monks were to be seen.'

(72) 見　崔寧　　開　個　碾玉　鋪，
jian Cui Ning kai ge nianyu pu
see NAME run CLF jade shop
卻　見　櫃身裡　　一　個　婦女，便　　是　秀秀　　養娘。（小說·碾玉觀音）
que jian guishenli yi ge funü bian shi Xiuxiu yangniang
just see counter:in one CLF woman then COP NAME maid
'Cui Ning runs a jade shop, the woman behind the counter is Xiuxiu.'

In (71) it is not difficult to infer that the existence of the village temple and the absence of monks in the village cannot be detected by a single action of seeing, nor could it be possible for the state of Cui Ning's running of the shop in (72). In other words, *jian* in these examples should not be understood as a real verb of vision.

Finally, in texts where *jian* is used there is usually no specific agent with which it can be associated, which suggests again that it is not truly a verb of vision:

(73) 當　日　茶　市　　方　罷，　相　　是　日中，
　　　dang ri cha shi　　fang ba　xiang shi rizhong
　　　same day tea market just finish scence COP noon
　　　只　見　一　個　官人　　入　　來。（話本・簡貼和尚）
　　　zhi jian yi ge guanren ru　　lai
　　　then see one CLF official enter come
　　　'The same day at noon time, when the tea market had just closed, a government official entered the shop.'

Here in the story it is not specified, and also not necessary to specify, who the agent was that saw the appearance of the official.

Even though the evidence is, in my view, quite strong for my proposal of the grammaticization of *jian*, I do not intend to dispute the fact that some of the uses of *jian* (e.g. in ex. (68)) may still be viewed as action oriented, i.e. used for describing what the protagonist is actually seeing in the narrated event, rather than merely to introduce referents into the discourse. The vision interpretation of *jian*, however, does not really constitute a counterexample to my claim regarding the grammaticalization of *jian*, as I am arguing that as this morpheme transforms from a full-fledged verb of vision to a discourse device for referent introducing, it is bound to carry over its original propositional meanings during the process of grammaticalization. This kind of phenomenon is explainable in terms of one of Hopper's principles of grammaticalization: persistence, which says that a grammaticalized morpheme is bound to be constrained by its original meaning, especially during the early stages of its grammaticalization process (Hopper 1991).

This construction was widely employed in the vernacular literature in the Modern era (Pan 1982:210). Below are examples from *Jin Ping Mei* (金瓶梅) and *Hong Lou Meng* (紅樓夢). In both cases *jian* is used to introduce characters into the story.

(74) 薛嫂　　請　　西門慶　　正面　　椅子上　坐　了，
　　　Xue Sao qing Ximen Qing zhengmian yizishang zuo le
　　　NAME invite NAME　　front　　chair:up sit PRF

……只　見　一　個　小廝兒
zhi　jian　yi　ge　xiaosi'er
then　see　one　CLF　little:servant
拿出　一　盞　福仁　泡　茶　來。（金瓶梅 7 回）
nachu　yi　zhan　furen　pao　cha　lai
bring:out　one　CLF　NAME　steep　tea　enter
'Xue Sao invited Ximen Qing to sit in the front chair. then a young servant brought out a set of steeped tea.'

(75) 不　一　時，只　見　三　個　奶媽　並　五　六　個　丫頭
bu　yi　shi　zhi　jian　san　ge　naima　bing　wu　liu　ge　yatou
NEG　one　time　then　see　three　CLF　hostess　CNJ　five　six　CLF　maid
擁　著　三　位　姑娘　來　了：第一個，肌膚　微　豐…；（紅樓夢 3 回）
yong　zhe　san　wei　guniang　lai　le　diyi　ge　jifu　wei　feng
embrace　DUR　three　CLF　girl　enter　PRF　first　CLF　flesh　slightly　round:out
'In a short while three hostesses appeared along with five to six young maids, walking out with three young ladies. The first young lady had a slightly rounded figure.'

Cross-linguistically, it can be shown that verbs of seeing which are grammaticalized to construct presentatives/existentials are by no means rare. In English, for example, verbs such as *see* and *witness* are commonly used to construct existentials.

(76) The end of 1997 could *see* at least one vendor reaching 5GB of capacity. (PC Magazine Online, September 20, 1996)

(77) Instead of this the 1930's *witnessed* a tragic economic depression, the rise of Fascist dictators in Europe, ... (The Brown Corpus)

6. Summary

Basic presentatives consisting of special verbs typically involve verbs such as *you*. At the same time, we saw two types of verbs, quantifying verbs and verbs of vision, being admitted, during the Pre-Medieval and Late Medieval periods respectively, to the existential construction. I discuss the theoretical implications of these changes next.

7. Discussion and conclusions

In the preceding discussion, I have shown that among the special verbs that constitute the existential construction, *you* has been no doubt the most basic and dominant one throughout the history of this construction, since its main function has been to convey a pure existential meaning (and occasionally that of 'unusual appearance') and its

associated syntactic forms are still widely used in Modern Chinese. Major changes have been realized through the introduction of two types of verbs, quantifying verbs (*duo*, *jie*, and *rao*) and verbs of vision/seeing (*jian* and *du*), into this construction.

The introduction of verbs other than *you* is significant in a number of ways. One fairly obvious feature to be noted is that by allowing more verbs into this construction the semantic scope of this construction has been enlarged. Thus not only the meaning of pure existence is seen in this construction, a variety of meanings have been added, namely 'quantity', 'abundance', and 'appearance'.

The most important change to the verb itself, however, has been the grammaticalization of increased subjectification. The introduction of quantifying verbs (*duo*, *jie* and *rao*) can be seen to have added a subjective judgment and verbs of vision (*jian* and *du*) a point of view to this otherwise objective structure. These changes have important theoretical ramifications for both the unit of language change and the principle of unidirectionality of grammaticalization.

One of the most important insights of current grammaticalization theory is the proposal that grammaticalization proceeds in a unidirectional fashion: If grammatical changes happen to a lexical or a grammatical item, they usually take place from coding concrete and lexical meanings to coding more abstract and grammatical meanings, and not the other way around. In a series of influential papers, Traugott (1982) and Traugott & König (1991) point out that another manifestation of the principle of unidirectionality in grammaticalization processes is the change of a lexeme from non-subjectification (less speaker involvement) into subjectification (increased speaker involvement). Thus, in English, for example, *while* has changed from a pure temporal noun meaning 'time, period' in Old English to a concessive conjunction meaning 'although' in modern English, which entails higher speaker involvement. The unidirectional principle accounts well for the overall development in special-verb existentials in Chinese, as shown in the diagram below.
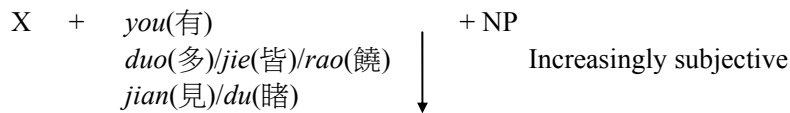
X　　+　　*you*(有)
　　　　　duo(多)/*jie*(皆)/*rao*(饒)　　　　　+ NP
　　　　　jian(見)/*du*(睹)　　　　　　　　　Increasingly subjective

Figure 1: Change as increased subjectification in special verb presentatives

What is unique in our case, however, is the fact that changes did not happen in one lexeme, *you*, but rather by the addition of new lexemes, such as *duo* and *jian*, which encode judgment and perspective, hence the increased involvement of the speaker/writer. This suggests that the unidirectionality principle takes effect not only on single lexemes, as has previously been assumed, but also on a construction as a whole.

Based on the data we have examined, it may be suggested that when paradigmatic changes (Saussure 1955) occur, new lexemes attracted to the construction can be expected to show equal or higher speaker involvement than the extant ones. In fact, all the newer special verb forms in the presentatives discussed above are all higher in speaker involvement than the initial objective *you*. In the case of verbs *duo* and *rao*, they can be decomposed into "existence" and "abundance/many"; and *jie* can be "existence" and "all". As can be inferred, all those quantifying verbs are dual-functional: they convey the meaning of existence while also expressing the speaker's judgment. In the case of the verbs of vision, *jian* and *du*, their dual function is to express both 'existence'/ 'appearance' as well as the intended visibility of the object.

To conclude, the history of Chinese special-verb presentatives exhibits two tendencies. On the one hand, the *you*-construction has been the dominant form throughout the process, and most of its associated syntactic forms are preserved up to the present day. On the other hand, as we have demonstrated, several other verbs have been admitted into the existential structure, resulting in increased complexity in the semantics and discourse pragmatics of the construction. The theoretical import of the latter pattern can be captured with an extended view of unidirectionality: that is, unidirectionality of grammaticization can be realized not just in individual lexemes, but also in constructions as a whole.

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漢語抽象動詞存現句的歷史發展
及其主觀化過程

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　　本文探討漢語抽象動詞存現句的歷史發展。抽象動詞存現句指的是由"有"和"是"等構成的存現句式。考察發現，雖然"有"之類的格式自古以來就是佔主導地位的格式，其內部構成在歷史上出現過較大變化。最主要的變化是動詞類型的擴大，即從單純的存現動詞"有"擴大到表示數量大或全的"多"、"饒"、"皆"等以及表示視見活動的"見"和"睹"等。這些新增入的動詞在存現格式裡都有語法化的意義，它們除了表示存在的意義之外還增加了作者和說話人的主觀意願或視點。這個現象似乎說明，所謂語法化的從單純的語義內涵到主觀化的過程不單是單個詞語的問題，也是整個句子格式的問題。

關鍵詞：有，存現句，語法化，主觀化