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Paths Through Different Domains:  
A Cognitive Grammar Analysis of Mandarin Dào

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0. Introduction

In Mandarin, the morpheme(s) dào (到) has a broad range of uses. While one of the purposes of this paper is to show that it is not really possible to give a finite list of distinct meanings or senses, certain prototypes can be recognized and described in the semantic space covered by dào. These include the verb dào 'to arrive (at)':

1. Tāmen kuài yào dào Niǔyuē le.  
they soon will arrive-at New York CRS  
They'll soon reach New York.

the locative-goal dào 'to', which may be either a preposition or a resultative complement<sup>1</sup> (RC) depending on whether it immediately follows the verb or not:

2. Tā zǒu -dào xuéxiào. (RC)  
s/he walk-to school  
S/he walked to school.
3. Tā bǎ shū diū -dào Zhāngsān-nèibiān. (RC)  
s/he BA<sup>2</sup> book toss-to Zhangsan-there  
S/he tossed the book to where Zhangsan was.
4. Lisi kāi -le nèi bù chē dào L.A. (PREP)  
Lisi drive-PFV that CL car to L.A.  
Lisi drove that car to L.A.

the achievement suffix dào<sub>A</sub>, another RC:

5. Āmei mǎi -dào -le nèi běn juébǎn de shū.  
Āmei buy-ACH-PFV that CL out-of-print DE book  
Āmei managed to buy that out-of-print book.

and, finally, the extent suffix dào<sub>E</sub>, also an RC:

6. Bàba lèi -dào huà dōu shuō -bu -chū-lái le.  
Dad tired-EXT speech even soeak-cannot-out-come CRS  
Dad is so tired that he can't even talk.

Most linguists who have considered some or all of these various uses of dào have either implicitly or explicitly considered them to be distinct morphemes with little or no semantic relation to each other (for example, Chao (1968), Cartier (1972), Thompson (1973), and Li and Thompson (1981)). Teng (1977) is the only scholar I know of who has ascribed a unified meaning

to the various non-verbal uses of dào and, furthermore, tried to relate them to the meaning of the verb. He suggests that they all have the meaning: "The theme comes into contact with the goal, in a situation of movement" (p. 7). He notes that the motion is not always physical but can be mental, perceptual, emotional, or involve "searching, reaching out". While this comes very close to describing the situation at the most schematic level, many of the uses of dào contribute more to the meanings of the sentences they occur in than this highly schematic description provides. Furthermore, in some of the senses, notably one variant of dào<sub>F</sub>, there is no objective motion or change in the scene portrayed, only subjective motion in the way the speaker-construer accesses part of the scene.

The present analysis will try to provide a unified account of dào, in the sense of Lindner (1982). Neither a single high-level schematic meaning, nor a set of unrelated meanings will do justice to the relationship between the multiple senses of dào. Rather all the senses will be represented by schematic characterizations related in a network, with clusterings of closely related senses producing prototypes, these prototypes related to each other at various higher levels of schematicity, and a number of senses as extensions from these prototypes. Some of these extensions fall close to a borderline between two prototypes so that it would be hard to describe them as examples of one or the other. The four variants named above are the basic prototypes.

The present work makes extensive use of the framework known as Cognitive Grammar as elaborated in Langacker (1982a, 1982b, 1984, 1985, 1986a, 1986b, 1986ms, in press a, in press b) because it provides a set of conceptual and representational tools that allow the detailed semantic description of individual uses, while at the same time permitting their relationships to be explicitly recognized. Because of space limitations, a summary of the framework will not be given and an acquaintance with the framework is presupposed. However, attempts will be made to briefly explain technical terms as they are introduced.

## 1. Dào<sub>v</sub>

The prototypical sense of the verb dào<sub>v</sub> presupposes the motion of an object through some extent of physical space and profiles the final transition to its destination. As such the domains of space and time figure prominently in the base (the minimal structure presupposed in designating the meaning of a morpheme), which consists of a sequence of locative states of the trajector (the conceptual analog of the gestalt concept of "figure", hereinafter designated IR) each located at some point in time. Since motion of the object along an extended path before its arrival at the destination is saliently presupposed (one cannot have the conclusion of a journey without the journey), it is represented in the base; however, it is merely the last few

locative states that are profiled (i.e. that dào actually designates). Fig. 1 shows the schematic representation of dào.

The double-headed vertical arrow on the left schematically represents a dimension or combination of dimensions in physical space. The arrow at the bottom represents conceived time (time as conceived by the speaker-construer). The small circles represent the mover, or entity in motion, at different points in time. Because motion is one of the major factors in determining whether some substructure within a scene is selected as the figure, it is natural for this entity to be selected as the TR of the relation. The oval at the bottom represents the region at the end of the path, which serves as the landmark of the relation (the "ground" in gestalt terms, referred to as LM for the rest of this paper). The LM of dào must either be an inherent locative, that is, a noun representing a thing which constitutes a sufficiently large region of physical space to contain the TR (e.g. Táibei, xuéxiào 'school') or a noun phrase with a locative suffix attached to the head noun, the locative suffix referring to a region of physical space defined relative to the object referred to by the noun it attaches to (e.g. Zhāngsān-neibian 'Zhangsan-there', zhuozi-shang 'table-on'). The oval is intended to suggest this larger, setting-like thing. The dotted lines are correspondence lines which connect different representations of the same entity at different points in space and time. Boldface indicates profiled aspects of the base, or what the morpheme is actually designating. Here, only the last two states are shown in boldface, along with the corresponding portion of the time line, to indicate that only the final, momentary transition into the destination is being designated or profiled by dào.

There are variants of dào that select domains other than physical space:

7. Xīnnián dào -le.  
New Year's Day arrive-PFV  
New Year's Day has arrived.
8. Tā tiēn yǐjīng dào -le wèi bǎi dù le.  
he temperature already arrive-PFV one hundred degrees CRS  
His temperature has already reached a hundred degrees.
9. Shíyóu de jiàqián yǐjīng dào -le zuì dī le.  
oil DE price already arrive-PFV most low CRS  
The price of oil has already reached its lowest.
10. Bìngrén de qíngkuàng yǐjīng dào -le hěn yánzhòng le.  
patient DE condition already arrive-PFV very serious CRS  
The patient's condition has already gotten very serious.

Here change of some property of the TR is metaphorically represented as movement along some ordered dimension, and dào profiles the transition to the final state, represented as a goal of motion.<sup>3</sup> The schematic representations of the semantic structure of these variants would be identical with Fig. 1, except

that the vertical arrow would be relabeled with the appropriate property name (temperature, price, degree of sickness etc.).

## 2. Dào

As noted in the introduction above, dào can occur either as a preposition, as in (4), or as a verb-suffix (in particular, a resultative complement), as in (2) and (3). The base in these cases is the same as the base of the verb dào in its prototypical locative sense. Like dào, dào also profiles the last few stages of a more extended path, but unlike the former, it does not profile time, but rather a complex stative, like the path designating prepositions in English (e.g. 'to'). A complex stative profiles a set of states which cannot consistently be viewed as coexisting at the same time, i.e. an object being in several distinct locations. However, it does not profile time; it does not portray the object as in motion. The distinction between a process and a complex stative is analogous to the distinction between viewing a movie of a bouncing ball and looking at a time-lapse or superimposed photograph of the same bouncing ball. The temporal profile in sentences containing dào comes from the main verb; however, the fact that only the last few states of the path are profiled in dào restricts the extent of the temporal profile of sentences that contain it. The schematic representation of dào is given in Fig. 2.

Dào and the preposition zài form a contrast set. Both may introduce a locative noun phrase that is construed as the location of a mover-theme at the end of its path. However, zài merely profiles the final state, while dào profiles the final stages of the path.

Zài, but not dào, can occur with certain imperfective verbs with meanings extended from perfective verbs meaning 'assume a position' or 'put something into a location'. The imperfective verbs profile the continuation of an object in the position or location through time. Examples are quà 'to hang, to be hanging (intr.)', tiē 'to be fastened, stuck to something', zuò 'to be seated', zhàn 'to be standing', tǎng 'to be lying down', and tīng 'to be parked':

11. Bāi jǔ tǔ guà -zài/\*-dào qiáng-shàng.  
 Eight-stallion-painting hang-at /\*-to wall -on  
 The eight-stallion-painting is hanging on the wall.

If my claim that zài profiles a single state while dào profiles a path is correct, this restriction would be expected, since imperfectives profile a continuation of a single state through time, and therefore do not provide a set of distinct locative states for dào to map onto.

Dào, but not zài, cannot occur with verbs that either emphasize long paths or continued input of energy or effort along a path, e.g.: jì 'to mail', kāi 'to drive (car)' (long path); tuī

'to push', lā 'to pull' (effort); zǒu 'to walk', pǎo 'to run', bān 'to move something somewhere'.

With many verbs that profile motion, either dào, or zài may mark the goal; however, there is a clear contrast in meaning depending on whether dào, or zài is used. For example, with the verb diào 'to drop, to fall', zài implies a short distance, whereas dào implies a longer distance:

12. Tā bǎ shū diào -zài/?-dào zhuōzi-shang.  
s/he BA book drop -at /?-to table -on  
S/he dropped the book on the table.
13. Tā bǎ shū diào ?-zài/-dào dìshang.  
s/he BA book drop ?-at /-to ground  
S/he dropped the book on the ground.

With diào, dào can also suggest a fall that is not along the flow of gravity:

14. Tā diào -zài/-dào shuǐ -lǐ.  
s/he fall -at /-to water-in  
S/he fell into the water.

With dào, (14) can describe either a long fall, e.g. from a helicopter, or emphasize the horizontal component of a fall over the side of a boat or dock into the water.

With verbs of placement (e.g. fàng 'to put') and displacement (e.g. rēng 'to throw') there is an emphasis on effort with dào:

15. Lǐsì bǎ shū fàng -zài/-dào guǐzi-shang.  
Lisi BA book put -at /-to shelf-on  
Lisi put the book on the shelf.

With dào, the sentence suggests that the shelf was high and hard to reach; with zài there is no such implication.

(16) makes very explicit this correlation of dào with effort:

16. Lǐsì fèi -le hěn dà de lì cái bǎ  
Lisi exert-PFV very great DE effort only-then BA  
Lisi had to exert himself to get the fan onto the  
diànshàn fàng ?-zài/-dào zhuōzi-shang.  
electric fan put ?-at /-to table -on  
table.

Both fèi-le hěn dà de lì 'used a great deal of effort' and cái 'only then, only with that' explicitly refer to the effort needed, and dào is preferable to zài in these sentences.

What is it that unites the sense of distance, as in examples (12), (13) and one interpretation of (14), the sense of horizontal motion in the other interpretation of (14), and the sense of effort in (15) and (16)? They all seem to involve a sense of

deviation from an expected position. When the deviation is in the direction of the flow of gravity, movement through a large distance is required to make it sufficiently salient to warrant explicit recognition with dào, rather than zài. When the deviation is horizontal, a smaller deviation is sufficient, and when the deviation is seen as requiring effort, a very small distance is sufficient.

### 3. Dào<sub>A</sub>

The achievement suffix dào<sub>A</sub> profiles the transition of the theme of a transitive process into the sphere of interaction/influence of the trajector of that transitive process. Unlike the previous variants of dào, dào<sub>A</sub> does not saliently presuppose an extended path; the only remnants of the path-like notion of dào are a sufficient number of states to portray the theme as not in the appropriate sphere of interaction at one point in time and then in it. Fig. 3 gives the semantic representation of dào<sub>A</sub>. The bold-faced rectangle on the left is similar to the semantic structure of dào, in that 1) it construes a complex stative, making reference to time, but not profiling it; 2) it profiles its trajector as being outside some large setting-like region at one point in time, and inside it at another. It is different from dào in that 1) the landmark is not a region in physical space but rather an abstract region defined relative to the trajector of the main verb; 2) since an extended path is not present even in the base, the sense of movement through some dimension is not salient, hence the lack of a vertical arrow in the representation of dào<sub>A</sub>; and finally 3) since the domain of the abstract sphere of interaction that constitutes the landmark of dào<sub>A</sub> and the entity with respect to which the particular region within that domain is defined both make reference to another process, that process must be represented in the base of dào<sub>A</sub>. The non-boldface rectangle on the right represents that process and correspondence lines establish the appropriate identifications of its substructures with those of the profiled states in dào<sub>A</sub>. (The wavy arrow for conceived time is intended to schematically represent the perfective nature of the process, i.e. that there is change in the state over time.)

The behavior of dào<sub>A</sub> with the causative nòng 'to make, cause' provides evidence for my choice of TR (i.e. the direct object of the main verb). Nòng when followed by a resultative complement portrays the subject as acting on the object in some unspecified way so as to bring about a change in the object: nòng-qīngchū 'make-clear: to make (something) clear', nòng-zou 'make-away: to make (something) go away'. Nòng-dào means 'to get, obtain'. If this is parallel with all the other uses of nòng with a resultative complement, and there is no reason to believe that it is not, dào<sub>A</sub> must be profiling the change of state of the object. Just as clearly the concept of possession of the object by the subject is being given by the dào<sub>A</sub>. While dào<sub>A</sub> does not always

profile the sphere of physical possession, this seems to be the prototype from which the other senses are extended. My primary informant says that the image most readily associated with this phrase is something coming into the palm of one's outstretched hand. Here we can not only see the relationship of dào with the verb sense of 'arrival', but we also have the prototypical case of possession, physical possession. The object also becomes accessible to the senses (because of its proximity) and available for use or manipulation. All of these senses are manifested by dào in its use with various verbs.

With the following verbs, dào profiles the object entering into the possession of the subject, either physical possession or the more general sense of socially legitimated control of something: mǎi 'to buy', zū 'to rent', jiè 'to borrow', lǐng 'to collect (salary)', qiǎng 'to grab, steal', jiān 'to pick up', dé 'to obtain', shòu 'to receive', jiē 'to catch' and nǎ 'to grasp'. With these verbs, adding dào has the effect of making the successful attainment of the goal seem either difficult, as in:

17. Wǒ zhǎo -le hěn jiǔ cái mǎi-dào-le nèi běn shū.  
 I search-PFV very long only-then buy-ACH-PFV that CL book.  
 I searched for a long time before I managed to buy that book.

or surprising or unexpected, as in:

18. Wǒ jīngrán jiè -dào-le nèi bǐ qián.  
 I surprisingly borrow-ACH-PFV that CL money  
 Surprisingly I managed to borrow that money.

Again we have the sense of effort or deviation from the expected in a rather different variant of dào from the one considered in the last section.

With the following verbs, dào profiles the transition of the object into the sphere of experience (conceptual, perceptual, emotional or some combination of these) of the subject: kàn-dào 'to look at-ACH: to see', tīng-dào 'to listen to-ACH: to hear', gǎnjué-dào 'to try to feel, to feel (agentive)-ACH: to feel (passive experience)', xiǎng-dào 'to think-ACH: to think of something', cāi-dào 'to guess, try to guess-ACH: to guess correctly', mèng-dào 'to dream-ACH: to dream of'.

With other verbs, dào profiles transition into other spheres which, nevertheless, are related to the spheres of possession or experience: qǐng-dào 'invite-ACH: to get (e.g. a good speaker, teacher, employee) as a result of inviting', zū-dào 'rent-ACH: (in addition to being used of a tenant managing to rent an apartment, this can also be used of a landlord) to manage to rent to, get (a good tenant)', jìsuan-dào 'calculate-ACH: to take into consideration in one's calculations', kaolü-dào 'consider, think

over-ACH: to take into consideration'. The latter two shade into a more abstract domain still, the domain of accessibility or usability. The following verbs seem to refer to this domain, portraying the transition of the object into a sphere of accessibility with respect to the process portrayed by the main verb: chī-dào 'eat-ACH: manage to eat (the object becomes available, immediately accessible for eating)', hē-dào 'drink-ACH: manage to drink, get the opportunity to drink (and actually drink)', yòng-dào 'use-ACH: to get around to using', wán-dào 'play-ACH: to get the opportunity to play (and actually play)'. Another abstract domain related to experience is referred to in tī-dào 'mention, raise a topic-ACH: to suggest for discussion, bring up somewhat unexpectedly'. Here dào<sub>A</sub> profiles the entrance of the topic into the universe of discourse.

#### 4. Dào<sub>E</sub>

There are certain uses of dào which are basically adverbial, that is they profile a property of the process designated by the main verb. Figs. 4.a and 4.b give the semantic structures of two variants of dào<sub>E</sub>. The relation profiled by dào<sub>E</sub> is defined on a metric imposed on some dimension; that is, the states of the dimension (usually some abstract property, but sometimes space or time) are ordered and some direction is implied by reference to some norm on that dimension (the dimension is represented by the vertical arrow in each diagram and the calibrations on it are intended to suggest its organization into a metric).

There are two variants on the extent dào<sub>E</sub>. One portrays the progressive positions through time of the relational trajector along the dimension toward some particular point. Fig. 4.a shows the semantic structure of this variant of dào<sub>E</sub>. The vertical arrow on the left represents the dimension, with the marks meant to indicate that it is ordered and oriented into a metric. The TR is some relation, here schematically represented as a circle connected to a square. The relation will be elaborated by the main verb. Only the last few states are profiled, as only the final transition to the final state is asserted. This version occurs primarily if not exclusively with perfective verbs that saliently refer to some quantifiable dimension:

19. Tā pǎo-dào zuì kuài le.  
he run-EXT, most fast CRS  
He reached his highest running speed.
20. Tā zhōngyú shuì-dào hěn shūfu le.  
he finally sleep-EXT, very comfortable CRS  
He finally got into a comfortable sleep.

In these examples, the relation represented by the main verb is portrayed as changing through time, either in the course of a single event (e.g. he is running faster and faster until he reaches his fastest speed, where (19) profiles the final increment

of speed) or over a more extended period of time, for example, a course of training for competition. (20) suggests that the person has turned this way and that until finally getting to a comfortable state of sleep and profiles his final transition into that state. Here the normally imperfective process of sleeping is being viewed as a changing state, changing in the soundness of the state achieved, which is being measured in terms of the comfort of the subject.

There is another version of dào<sub>E</sub> which does not portray any change through conceived time, even in the base. Consider the following examples:

21. Tā lèi -dào huà dōu jiǎng-bu -qīngchu le.  
s/he tired-EXT<sub>1</sub> speech even speak-cannot-clear CRS  
S/he's so tired that s/he cannot even speak clearly.
22. Tā gāoxìng-dào yǎnlèi dōu liú -xià -lái le.  
s/he happy -EXT<sub>1</sub> tears even flow-down-come CRS  
S/he's so happy that s/he's crying.

This variant is represented in Fig. 4.b. In these examples, dào<sub>E</sub> merely asserts that the relation profiled by the main verb, typically an imperfective relation expressed by what are traditionally called "stative verbs", is located at a certain point on a metric dimension. There is no implication that the relation traversed the dimension in order to get there. On the other hand, there is a sense of surprise at or emphasis on the degree or extent conveyed by the use of dào<sub>E</sub>, as we can see by comparing these with sentences with the de extent marker:

23. Tā lèi -de huà dōu jiǎng-bu -qīngchu le.  
s/he tired-EXT<sub>2</sub> speech even speak-cannot-clear CRS  
S/he's so tired that she cannot even speak clearly.
24. Tā gāoxìng-de yǎnlèi dōu liú -xià -lái le.  
s/he happy -EXT<sub>2</sub> tears even flow-down-come CRS  
S/he's so happy that she's crying.

The English translations do not this bring out, but my informant felt a clear contrast between the two sets of sentences with the former putting more emphasis on the extent or suggesting the unlikelihood of the imperfective process having this property. We can make sense of this subtle contrast in terms of the concept of subjective motion.

The point on the scale at which the trajector is located is portrayed as being the endpoint of subjective motion. Stated at the most intuitive level, the speaker-construer traces mentally along some abstract dimension (e.g. happiness) from some norm toward some positive extreme until it reaches the point which represents the actual degree of happiness being asserted by the sentence. Put more analytically, so that we can see the relationship between this version of dào<sub>E</sub> and the other versions of dào, the speaker-construer successively activates the

conception of points on that metric from the direction of the norm toward the profiled point on that dimension, the actual degree or extent at which the main verb is asserted to be. The extension of the concept of motion from the verb dào<sub>v</sub> to the extent dào<sub>E</sub> is thus an extension from objective motion through physical space, to subjectively construed motion along a (typically abstract) dimension with a metric imposed on it. What corresponds to the locative states in the dào<sub>v</sub> are a sequence of construal relations between points along the dimension where the trajectory relation might be located and the speaker-construer. Each state portrays some point on the metric that the property referred to by the main verb could be occupying, and locates it within the awareness of the speaker-construer. There are thus parallels with dào<sub>A</sub> when the sphere of experience is referred to (e.g. kàn-dào 'to look at-ACH: to see'). The fact that the process is profiled as being located at the final point on the metric accessed gives a sense of deviation from the expected location on the metric and, hence, the sense of emphasis on extent or surprise noted above. This motion is not conceived of as occurring in real time objectively construed, but rather processing time subjectively construed (the capital T labeling the horizontal arrow represents processing time). The speaker also does not construe himself objectively but rather off-stage, in the background. The points on the metric are portrayed as being progressively presented to his mind's eye, but he is viewing them through these eyes, and he himself is therefore not objectively portrayed. This constitutes the base and what is profiled is the location of the relation profiled by the main verb (again represented schematically by the configuration of a circle connected to a square) at the point on the dimension designated by the landmark of dào<sub>E</sub>.

## 5. Conclusion

As can be seen from the many examples in this paper, the morpheme dào has a vast variety of senses, some quite distinct, but all united by a family resemblance. They differ on a number of dimensions, though sometimes similarities cross-cut major differences (effort and unexpectedness are themes running through the different variants). All involve transition of something to a "location" of sorts. Typically this transition takes place in conceived time, although the non-verbal variants do not profile this change in time and therefore cannot be a clausal heads. In the case of the second variant of dào<sub>E</sub>, the transition is not even construed as occurring in conceived time, but rather reflects backgrounded awareness of the time course of the mental process of "finding" the degree of some property where a certain relation "is". The prototypical sphere or dimension of change is physical space, although even the verb tolerates some variation from this, while the relevant spheres for dào<sub>A</sub> and dào<sub>E</sub> are rarely physical space. Yet even for these two variants, the spheres or dimensions share properties with the locative prototype. The sphere of

interaction of dao<sub>A</sub>, defined relative to the subject, is very much like a region of space defined relative to some person or object and physical proximity often involves interaction. The various dimensions of dao<sub>E</sub> are analogous to single dimensions in physical space. The effort portrayed in many of the examples of the first version of dao<sub>E</sub> and the mental "effort" of the second version are very much like the energy or effort required to move oneself or something else from one location to another in space.

There are a couple of lessons to be learned from this analysis with respect to the nature of semantic representation. First, while there is a schematic representation that covers all of the variants, it clearly does not include all the meaning that the various lower level variants are contributing to the sentences they occur in. The most schematic characterization (not diagrammed) would represent in its base some entity not at some abstract location at one point in time and at that location at another, and would furthermore profile the latter state. It would not specify (be schematic with respect to) whether that entity was a thing, as with most variants of dao, or a relation, as with dao<sub>E</sub> and some versions of dao<sub>V</sub>. It would also be schematic with respect to whether the location was fixed at a point on an ordered dimension or simply construed as somewhere within an extended region, whether that region was in physical space or in a more abstract space, whether an extended path through some ordered dimension was specified in the base, whether this path was profiled or not, and if not, whether the states that comprise it are construed as being in conceived time or in processing time. Because the most schematic version is non-committal with respect to so many of the specific characteristics of the lower level prototypes, it cannot account for the details of the semantics of sentences containing them, nor for the sense of native speakers that, for example, two different examples of dao<sub>A</sub> with different abstract spheres are intuited as being more alike than either is to dao<sub>V</sub> or dao<sub>L</sub>, although all are felt to be related. The network characterization of their relationship captures these facts.

The other lesson is not really new; it has been made over and over again in the literature on cognitive grammar. The links between the different variants and subvariants, while being grounded in our experience of objective reality, are not a direct reflection of objective reality itself, as truth conditional approaches to semantics would have. The extension of the domain of dao<sub>A</sub> from possession to the visual field is not based on any objective analysis of possession or vision, but rather on human beings' phenomenological perception of these situations and supported by their cooccurrence in basic experiences like receiving something. The remove from objective experience is even greater in the case of the second version of dao<sub>E</sub>, where the motion or change referred to in the other senses of dao is realized as a purely subjective motion. In this case, there is no objective basis for the extension at all. It is not merely the perception of structural analogy between two objectively distinct

situations, but, rather, the explicit if backgrounded reference by the speaker-construer to his own act of portraying a situation that serves as the basis for the extension.

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#### Footnotes

1. The class of resultative complements is defined by the ability to occur with the potential infixes -de- 'can' and -bu- 'cannot' inserted between the verb and the complement.

2. The following is a brief translation of the abbreviations used in glossing the Mandarin examples:

ACH the achievement suffix, dào<sub>A</sub>

BA the preposed object preposition

CL nominal classifier

CRS "currently relevant state", a sentence final particle distinct from but probably related to the perfective suffix -le. It indicates that the event or imperfective process profiled by the sentence is somehow currently relevant and corresponds roughly to the English "as of now"

DE the nominalizer/modifier particle that typically occurs between nominal modifiers (possessors, adjective phrases and relative clauses) and their heads

EXT<sub>1</sub> the extent suffix dào<sub>E</sub>

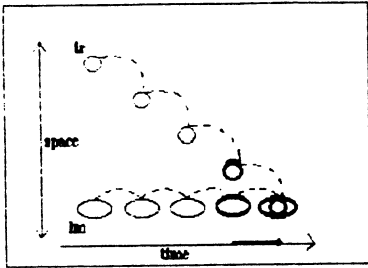
EXT<sub>2</sub> the extent suffix dé

PFV the perfective suffix -le

PROG the progressive aspect marker zài

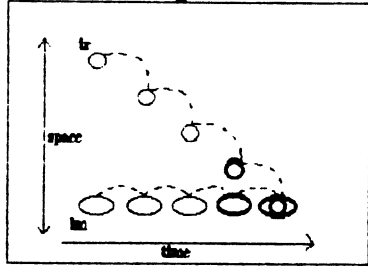
3. Some speakers do not accept, or are highly resistant to, landmarks of dào that are not explicitly nominal. This is true in examples like (9) and (10) above, as well as many of the examples given in the discussion of the extent dào<sub>E</sub>.

Fig. 1



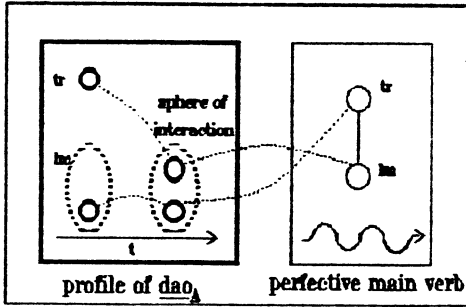
$\underline{Dào}_V$

Fig. 2



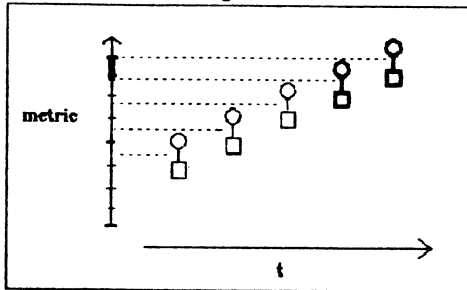
$\underline{Dào}_L$

Fig. 3



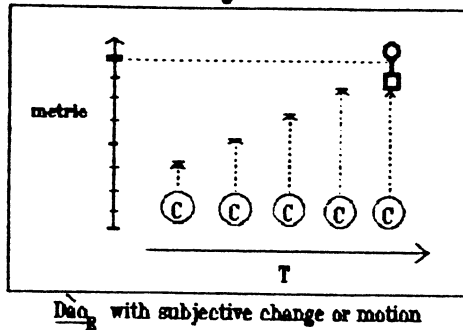
$\underline{Dào}_A$

Fig. 4a



$\underline{Dào}_P$  with objective change or motion

Fig. 4b



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