Emergence of evaluation completive hão in Chinese

Anqi Zhang & Weijia Chen

Nanjing University
anqizhang@nju.edu.cn, weijiachen@smail.nju.edu.cn

Completive markers can express speakers' attitudes in Japanese and Korean (Strauss 2002; Davis & Gutzmann, 2015). However, crosslinguistic variations and changes of these evaluative completives have not been extensively studied. This paper offers a diachronic study of V-hao 'good' in Chinese, a similar evaluative completive expressing a speaker's positive attitude. We propose that \cancel{y} \cancel{h} \cancel{a} by \cancel{b} as a subjective adjective, and later acquired aspectual semantics, suggesting variations in paths of multi-dimensional meanings for completives.

In Old Chinese, hǎo 'good' was a subjective adjective without a completive meaning. When used after VP, hǎo 'good' was either predicated of the object or the whole VP, expressing the speaker's evaluation. In Middle Chinese, hǎo 'good' started to gain a completive meaning, by appearing with nouns denoting results as and resultative DE constructions Towards the end of Middle Chinese, V-hǎo constructions emerged. In pre-modern Chinese, V-hǎo gradually standardized replacing resultative DE constructions. Throughout, hǎo has always retained its original usage, creating an ambiguity observed above.

Hǎo 'good' originated as a subjective adjective (cf. Lasersohn, 2005) predicative of individuals or events in the Old Chinese. Hǎo's completive semantics emerged as an entailment, when hao began to modify resultant states as in Middle Chinese. At this stage, the completive sense is an inference. In pre-Modern Chinese, when V-hǎo standardized, the completive meaning became truth-conditional, while the evaluative content became use-conditional. In Modern Chinese, hǎo 'good' can be purely completive without a resultant state.

Unlike regular pragmatization (Davis & Gutzmann 2015), the subjective content of hǎo 'good' existed before its aspectual semantics, which emerged as an entailment before replacing the subjective meaning as truth-conditional content. This suggests there are at least two origins for 2-dimensional completives: 'finish' verbs as in Japanese and subjective adjectives in Chinese. This exemplifies a different development order from other evaluative completives in Japanese and Korean. Our analysis suggests subjective lexical items as a potential source for multidimensional semantics.

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