

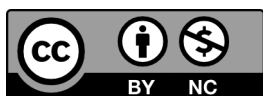
A Study on the Motion Events Expressed by “*wang* 往 DV” in the Bingzhou Cluster of Jin Dialect

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Abstract: This study investigates the use of directional verbs in the structure of “*wang* 往 + localizer + verb” (“*wang* 往 DV”) in four districts in the Bingzhou Cluster of Jin Dialect. Based on Talmy’s theory of motion events, the syntactic features of “*wang* 往” and its subsequent directional verbs, as well as the components of the Path of each directional verb are analyzed. Compared with Mandarin, where only “*hui* 回” can be used as a localizer, in the Bingzhou cluster of Jin dialect, “*jin* 进, *chu* 出, *qi* 起, *guo* 过, *hui* 回, *kai* 开, *zhu* 住, and *zhuan* 转” can all express motion events through this structure, presenting richer components of Vector, Conformation, and Direction. Besides, the segmentation of motion events expressed by “*wang* 往 DV” in the Bingzhou cluster is different from that in Mandarin.

Key words: Motion Events; Directional Verb; Jin Dialect



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1 Introduction

Space and motion are fundamental and central parts of the universal human experience. The encoding of motion events has received extensive attention in the field of cognitive semantics. So far, Talmy’s (1985, 2000) studies on the relationship between the semantic and syntactic components provide a powerful analytical basis for exploring the different expressions of motion events in different languages. Jin dialect, a dialect of Chinese, is used in an area that starts from the Taihang Mountains in the east, approaches the Helan Mountains in the west, reaches the Yin Mountains in the north, and extends to the Fenhe and Weihe Valley in the south (Wen, 1997), and is mainly used in Taiyuan and Lüliang cities in Shanxi Province.

The structure of “*wang* 往 + localizer + verb” is widely used in Chinese to express motion events, but the usage of the localizers in it varies significantly between Mandarin and Jin dialect. In Jin dialect, a large number of directional verbs can be used as localizers in this structure (hereinafter referred to as “*wang* 往 DV”), such as “*wang* 往 *jin* 进 V”, “*wang* 往 *qi* 起 V”, etc. This study will investigate the usage of directional verbs used as localizers in “*wang* 往 DV” in the Bingzhou cluster of Jin dialect. Based on Talmy’s theory of motion events, this study will also analyze how this

structure expresses motion events, with the aim of deepening the understanding and application of Talmy's theory of motion events and enriching the research on Chinese dialects.

2 Literature Review

2.1 Studies on Directional Verbs

Directional verbs refer to verbs that function as complements after verbs or adjectives to indicate the direction of motion (Wang, 2011). Directional verbs form a closed subcategory within Chinese verbs. The existing grammatical treatises have not yet provided clear standards regarding the quantity and specific usage of directional verbs (Zhou, 1999). At present, most scholars recognize that the Chinese directional verbs include the simple directional verbs, namely “*shang* 上”, “*xia* 下”, “*jin* 进”, “*chu* 出”, “*hui* 回”, “*guo* 过”, “*qi* 起”, “*kai* 开”, “*lai* 来”, “*qu* 去”, “*dao* 到”, “*zhu* 住”, as well as compound directional verbs formed by the combination of simple directional verbs, such as “*jinlai* 进来”, “*shangqu* 上去”, etc. (Lv, 1980; Zhao, 1980). Additionally, some scholars have discovered a special directional verb “*zhuan* 转” in Jin dialect and elaborated on its usage in detail (Yang, 2012). Since “*shang* 上” and “*xia* 下” can function as directional verbs and localizers at the same time, this study will just focus on the remaining 11 simple directional verbs mentioned above (*jin* 进, *chu* 出, *hui* 回, *guo* 过, *qi* 起, *kai* 开, *lai* 来, *qu* 去, *dao* 到, *zhu* 住, *zhuan* 转) and investigate their usage in “*wang* 往 DV” structure in the Bingzhou cluster of Jin dialect.

2.2 Studies on Directional Verbs Used as Localizers

Localizers are words that indicate direction or position, including “*shang* 上”, “*xia* 下”, “*qian* 前”, “*hou* 后”, “*zuo* 左”, “*you* 右”, etc., which can be the objects of “*wang* 往” and indicate the direction of motion. In Mandarin, the directional verb “*hui* 回” can also be used as a localizer. For example:

- (1) 他 顺着 原路 往 回 走
 he along original path toward back walk
 ‘He walks back along the original path.’

In dialects, the phenomenon of directional verbs functioning as localizers is more common. The current research on this phenomenon focuses mainly on the differences in its usage among different dialects, the historical origin and the cognitive mechanism of it (Wang, 2011; Zong, 2014; Xing, 2015). However, the “*wang* 往 + localizer + verb” structure, as a common form representing motion, has not yet been thoroughly interpreted within the framework of motion events. This study will investigate the usage of “*wang* 往 DV” structure in the Bingzhou cluster of Jin dialect, and analyze its syntactic and semantic components based on Talmy's (1985, 2000) theory.

3 Theoretical Framework

3.1 Motion Events

Talmy's (1985, 2000) concept system and typological theory have the greatest influence on the research on motion

event expressions. Talmy (2000) defines motion event as “a situation containing motion and the continuation of a stationary location alike”. He indicates that a motion event consists of four internal components, namely Figure, Ground, Path, and Motion, and two external components, Manner and Cause. Talmy (1985) classifies the languages in the world into satellite-framed languages and verb-framed languages. In satellite-framed languages, the Path is expressed by satellites, such as particles and affixes, while the Manner is conflated into the verb roots. In verb-framed languages, the Path is expressed by the verb roots, while the Manner usually does not appear or is expressed by peripheral components. Both English and Chinese are classified as satellite-framed languages by Talmy, which sparks many controversies (Dai, 2002; Shen, 2003). Slobin (2004) later adds the equipollently-framed language to Talmy’s framework, in which the Path and Manner are expressed by equal grammatical forms, and he considers Chinese as an equipollently-framed language. At present, there is no conclusive classification for the typology of Chinese motion events.

3.2 Components of the Path in Motion Events

Talmy (2000) proposes the concept of “Path Complex” based on the structure and representation of the Path, which consists of Vector, Conformation and Deictic. Slobin (2008) further proposes a fourth component of Earth-grid Displacement. Bohnemeyer (2003), Han (2007), Hu (2011) and other scholars also discuss the Direction as one of the Path components. Compared with the Deictic or Earth-grid Displacement component, the Direction component has a greater capacity in representing the Path. Therefore, this study will analyze the Path from three aspects: Vector, Conformation and Direction.

The Vector component refers to the dynamic and phased characteristics that the Figure possesses during its Motion, including arrival, traversal and departure. The Conformation component refers to the geometric relationship between the Path and the spatial position of the Ground, such as the Motion of the Figure inside/outside, above/below, on the surface, or on the side of the Ground. The Deictic consists of two member notions: “toward the speaker” and “in a direction other than toward the speaker” (Talmy, 2000). Besides, the Direction also includes the orientation of the Figure in space, mainly including the vertical, horizontal, return and convergence/dispersion (Han, 2007).

4 Analysis of the “*wang* 往 DV” Structure within the Framework of Motion Events

This study investigates the usage of directional verbs functioning as localizers in the “*wang* 往 DV” structure in the Bingzhou cluster of Jin dialect through interviews. The respondents come from Qingxu County, Taiyuan City, Xinghualing District, Taiyuan City, Qi County, Jinzhong City, and Yuci District, Jinzhong City. The native dialects of all the respondents belong to the Bingzhou cluster of Jin dialect.

The content of the interviews mainly includes: asking the respondents to read the presented sentences in their native dialect, determining whether the sentences are acceptable in the dialect and explaining the reasons, as well as comparing the semantic differences among different sentences. According to the interviews, in the Bingzhou cluster of Jin dialect, except for “*dao* 到”, “*lai* 来” and “*qu* 去”, the other eight simple directional verbs can all be used as localizers in the “*wang* 往 DV” structure. This section will explain this phenomenon based on Talmy’s framework of motion events.

4.1 Syntactic Features of the “*wang* 往 DV” structure

Talmy (2000) defines satellite as “the grammatical category of any constituent other than a noun-phrase or prepositional-phrase complement that is in a sister relation to the verb root”, such as English verb particles, German separable and inseparable verb prefixes, Chinese verb complements, etc. In Mandarin, “*wang* 往” can be used as a verb or a preposition when expressing motion events. “*wang* 往” is relatively less used as a verb. For example:

- (1) 叫 他 往 东, 他 偏 往 西
Ask he go east he insist go west

‘Tell him to go east, but he insists on going west.’

- (2) 人 来 人 往
people come people go

‘People are hurrying to and fro.’

When used as a preposition, “*wang* 往” is often combined with localizers to form prepositional phrases, indicating the direction of the Motion, and can be placed before or after the verb (Shao, 2005). For example:

- (3) 鸟 往 南边 飞
bird toward south fly

‘The bird flies southward.’

- (4) 火车 开 往 上海
train move toward Shanghai

‘The train is heading for Shanghai.’

In motion events expressed by the structure of “*wang* 往 + localizer + verb”, the verb generally indicates the Manner, and the Path is expressed by the prepositional phrase “*wang* 往 + localizer. For example:

- (5) 他 飞快地 往 左 跑
he rapidly toward left run

‘He runs quickly to the left.’

In this motion event, “*pao* 跑” is the Manner verb, and the Path is expressed by the prepositional phrase “*wang* *zuo* 往左”, which challenges Talmy’s assertion that in satellite-framed languages, the Path is expressed by satellites. Liu (2013) also points out that in Mandarin, besides verb complements, sometimes prepositional phrases combined with directional complements, or prepositional phrases alone, can be used to express the Path, such as:

- (6) 他 向 小山 跑 去
he toward hill run go

‘He runs towards the hill.’

- (7) 蜂窝 掉 在 地上
honeycomb fall on ground

‘The honeycomb falls to the ground.’

In example (6), the Path is expressed by the prepositional phrase “*xiang xiao shan* 向小山” and directional complement “*qu* 去” jointly. In example (7), the Path is expressed by the prepositional phrase “*zai di shang* 在地上”.

In the areas covered by this study, eight directional verbs (*jin* 进, *chu* 出, *hui* 回, *guo* 过, *qi* 起, *kai* 开, *zhu* 住, *zhaun* 转) can be used as localizers and placed after “*wang* 往”. “*wang* 往” can be used as a verb or a preposition to form prepositional phrases with its subsequent directional verbs. In general, “*wang* 往” is more commonly used as a

preposition. For example:

- (8) 他的 手 往 下 (放), 戒指 就 自己 滑了 下 来
 his hand toward down (put) ring then itself slipped down come
 ‘He lowered his hand, and the ring slipped off by itself.’
- (9) 你 先 往 出 (走), 再 继续 走 200 米 就 到了
 you first toward out (walk) then go on walk 200 meters will arrive
 ‘First go out, and then walk another 200 meters and you’ll arrive.’
- (10) 他 一 往 起 (站), 把 上面的 架子 碰 倒了
 he as soon as toward up (stand) make upper shelf knock toppled
 ‘As soon as he stood up, he knocked over the upper shelf.’

In example (8), “*wang xia (fang)* 往下 (放)” exists in both Mandarin and Jin dialect. In the areas covered by this survey, “*wang 往*” can be used as a verb to indicate the Motion and Path together with “*xia 下*”; it can also function as a preposition to form a prepositional phrase indicating the Path together with “*xia 下*”, and then combines with “*fang 放*”, which indicates the Motion and Manner, to construct a motion event. In examples (9) and (10), “*chu 出*” and “*qi 起*” are originally directional verbs. In the Bingzhou cluster of Jin dialect, both of them can be placed after “*wang 往*” and used as localizers. In the dialects of Yuci, Qingxu and Qixian, “*wang 往*” can only function as a preposition and be used in combination with other manner verbs. That is, only “你*先往出走*” and “他*一往起站*” are acceptable. Only in the dialect of Xinghualing District, “*wang 往*” can be used as both a preposition and a verb. That is, “你*先往出*” and “你*先往出走*” are both acceptable and express the same meaning. But whether “*wang 往*” is used as a verb or a preposition, the subsequent directional verbs no longer possess the nature of a verb and cannot express the Motion or Path independently. The next part will explain the components of the Path of each directional verb used as a localizer, and conduct a comparative analysis with similar phenomena in Mandarin.

4.2 Components of the Path of Directional Verbs in “*wang 往 DV*”

4.2.1 “*wang 往 jin 进 V*”

“*wang 往 jin 进 V*” shares similarities with “*wang 往 li 里 V*” in Mandarin, both indicating the Motion of the Figure from the outside to the inside of the Ground. The Vector component of “*jin 进*” is “departure”; the Conformation component is “from the outside of the Ground to the inside”; the Direction component is “horizontal”. For example:

- (1) 一只 虫子 往 进 钻
 a bug toward in burrow
 ‘A bug is burrowing into something.’

The difference between “*wang 往 jin 进 V*” and “*wang 往 li 里 V*” lies in that “*wang 往 jin 进 V*” can only indicate that the Figure moves from the outside of the Ground to its inside, while “*wang 往 li 里 V*” can express not only the Motion from the outside to inside of the Ground, but also the Motion within the Ground. In other words, the Conformation component of “*wang 往 li 里 V*” is “from the outside of the Ground to the inside” or “inside the Ground”. For example:

- (2) 风 不停地 往 里/进 灌
 wind ceaselessly toward in pour

‘The wind keeps pouring in.’

- (3) 往 里 坐坐, 还 有 位置
toward in sit still there is room

‘Sit in and there is still room.’

Example (2) is a boundary-crossing motion event, in which the Figure moves from the outside of the Ground to the inside, so both “*jin* 进” and “*li* 里” are acceptable. In contrast, example (3) is a motion event within the same space, so only “*li* 里” can be used to express it.

4.2.2 “*wang* 往 *chu* 出 V”

“*wang* 往 *chu* 出 V” has two meanings in the Bingzhou cluster of Jin dialect. “*wang* 往 *chu* 出₁ V” is similar to “*wang* 往 *wai* 外 V” in Mandarin, both indicating the Motion from the inside to the outside of the Ground. The Vector component of “*chu* 出₁” is “departure”; the Conformation component is “from the inside of the Ground to the outside”; the Direction component is “horizontal”. For example:

- (4) 我 马上 往 出 走
I right away toward out walk
‘I’m going out right now’

Similar to the differences between “*wang* 往 *jin* 进 V” and “*wang* 往 *li* 里 V”, “*wang* 往 *chu* 出₁ V” and “*wang* 往 *wai* 外 V” also have differences in the Conformation component. “*wang* 往 *chu* 出₁ V” can only indicate that the Figure moves from the inside of the Ground to the outside, while “*wang* 往 *wai* 外 V” can express not only the Motion from the inside to the outside of the Ground, but also the Motion within the Ground. The Conformation component of “*wang* 往 *wai* 外 V” is “from the inside of the Ground to the outside” or “inside the Ground”. For example:

- (5) 泉水 从 地下 往 出/外 冒
spring water from underground toward out gush
‘The spring water gushes out from underground.’
(6) 堵着 我了, 往 外 挪挪
block me toward out move
‘You’re blocking me. Move over a bit.’

In example (5), the spring water emerges from underground and appears on the surface, resulting in a boundary-crossing motion event, so both “*chu* 出₁” and “*wai* 外” are acceptable. Example (6) is a motion event within the same space, so only “*wai* 外” can be used to express it.

Furthermore, “*wang* 往 *chu* 出₁ V” and “*wang* 往 *wai* 外 V” have differences in the psychological distance between the speaker and the reference point of the Motion. “*wang* 往 *chu* 出₁ V” is more commonly used when the psychological distance between the speaker and the reference point is relatively close; when the psychological distance is farther, “*wang* 往 *wai* 外 V” is used. For example, the speaker may say “我马上往出走 (I’m going out right now)” and “你往外走了吗 (Have you gone out)”. At this point, “*chu* 出₁” also has the Deictic component of “in a direction other than toward the speaker”. As mentioned earlier, the difference between “*wang* 往 *chu* 出₁ V” and “*wang* 往 *wai* 外 V” lies in the different Conformation component. The difference in the psychological distance also stems from that. When expressing the action of “我马上往出走 (I’m going out right now)”, the speaker considers his current position and the position after going out as two spaces separated by a “door”, so the boundary-crossing behavior is obvious. But

when the speaker asks others “你往外走了吗 (Have you gone out)”, it is more likely that the speaker views the other person’s location as a continuous movement towards his own position, which is hard to perceive as a boundary-crossing motion event.

The usage of “*wang* 往 *chu* 出₂” is to add a certain distance after “*chu* 出₂”, as is detailed in 4.2.3.

4.2.3 “*wang* 往 *qi* 起 V”

“*wang* 往 *qi* 起 V” has three meanings in the Bingzhou cluster of Jin dialect. “*wang* 往 *qi* 起₁ V” is similar to “*wang* 往 *shang* 上 V”, both indicating the Motion from a lower position to a higher one. The difference is that “*wang* 往 *qi* 起₁ V” indicates that the Figure has been raised from its original position and it can then move in any direction, while “*wang* 往 *shang* 上 V” must be an upward lift in the vertical direction and implies that the Figure stays at a certain point after the lift. Therefore, the Vector component of “*qi* 起₁” is “departure”; the Conformation component is “above the Ground”; the Direction component is “bottom up”. The Vector component of “*shang* 上 ” is “departure+arrival”; the Conformation component is “above the Ground”; the Direction component is “vertically upward”. For example:

(7) 我 把 它 往 起 搬
I make it toward up move
'I lift it.'

(8) 我 把 它 往 上 搬
I make it toward up move
'I move it (to a position directly above).'

(9) 他 赶紧 往 起 扶 我
he quickly toward up hold me
'He quickly helps me to my feet.'

“*wang* 往 *qi* 起₂ V” expresses the Motion in which scattered objects combine into a single entity. At this point, its Vector component is “departure+arrival”; the Conformation component is “on the surface of the Ground”; the Direction component is “convergence”. For example:

(10) 把 这些 零件 往 起 组装
Make those parts toward together assemble
'Assemble the parts into a whole.'

In addition, “*wang* 往 *qi* 起₃” can be followed by a certain distance, and in this case, “*wang* 往 *chu* 出₂” can be used instead. For example:

(11) 往 起/出 50 米, 飘着 一个 气球
toward ahead 50 meters floating one balloon
'50 meters ahead, there is a balloon floating.'

In this example, the Figure is the focus of the speaker’s attention, and a fictive motion event occurs along the Path expressed by “*qi* 起₃” or “*chu* 出₂”. The Vector component of them is “departure+traversal”; the Conformation component is “on the surface of the Ground”; the Direction component is “forward horizontally”. This example can also indicate that there is a balloon floating 50 meters above the speaker, which is expressed by “*qi* 起₁”, and the components of it will not be repeated here.

4.2.4 “*wang* 往 *guo* 过 V”

In the Bingzhou cluster of Jin dialect, “*wang* 往 *guo* 过 V” does not have a fixed direction of Motion, but refers to the Motion of the Figure toward a certain position that the speaker currently has in mind, or a position that has been agreed upon by the speaker and the listener previously. For example:

- (12) 学生们 站 成 一排, 教官 一个一个 往 过 看
 students stand in a row drillmaster one by one toward along look
 ‘The students stand in a row, and the drillmaster looks at them one by one (in the direction of the line).’
- (13) 火车 往 过 开着
 train toward along moving
 ‘The train is moving (in the direction that the speaker has in mind).’
- (14) 给 我 往 过 拿 瓶 水
 to me toward along bring bottle water
 ‘Bring me a bottle of water.’

The Vector component of “*guo* 过 ” is “departure”, and the Conformation component is “on the surface of the Ground”. However, the Direction component of it varies with specific situations. For example, in examples (12) and (13), the Direction component is “horizontal”, and in example (14) it is “toward the speaker”.

4.2.5 “*wang* 往 *kai* 开 V”

“*wang* 往 *kai* 开 V” has two meanings in the Bingzhou cluster of Jin dialect. The first one means “start”, such as:

- (15) 他 往 开 走了
 he toward begin walked
 ‘He began to walk.’

In this example, the motion event is expressed by the verb “*zou* 走 ”. “*wang* 往 *kai* 开 ” merely indicates the beginning of the motion event and does not carry any semantic information about Motion, Path, or Manner. Therefore, it will not be discussed here.

The second meaning of “*wang* 往 *kai* 开 V” is that the Figure leaves its original position. The Vector component is “departure”; the Conformation component is “on the side of the background”, and the Direction component is “dispersion”. For example:

- (16) 他 往 开 推了 我 一 下
 he toward away pushed me one stroke
 ‘He pushed me away.’
- (17) 他 抓住 烤鸡 的 两只 腿 往 开 一撕
 he grab roasted chicken of two legs toward away tear
 ‘He grabbed the two legs of the roasted chicken and tore it apart.’

4.2.6 “*wang* 往 *zhu* 住 V”

“*wang* 往 *zhu* 住 V” expresses a motion event in which the Figure moves toward a certain reference object and then fixes itself on the reference object. Its Vector component is “departure+arrival”, the Conformation component is “on the surface of the Ground”, and the Direction component is “convergence”. For example,

- (18) 狗 嘴 在 往 住 合着
dog mouth is toward together closing

‘The dog’s mouth is closing.’

- (19) 我 家 的 门 坏了,
my house of door broken
先 拿 铁丝 往 住 栓
temporarily use iron wire toward together fasten

‘The door of my house is broken. I’ll temporarily fix it by fastening it with an iron wire.’

4.2.7 “*wang* 往 *zhuan* 转 V” and “*wang* 往 *hui* 回 V”

“*wang* 往 *zhuan* 转 V” and “*wang* 往 *hui* 回 V” are similar, both indicating the diversion of the Figure. The difference is that “*wang* 往 *zhuan* 转 V” can express the diversion to any direction, while “*wang* 往 *hui* 回 V” can only express that the Figure returns along the original route.

Therefore, the Vector component of “*wang* 往 *zhuan* 转 V” is “departure”, the Conformation component is “on the surface of the Ground”, and the Direction component is “change the direction”. The Vector component of “*wang* 往 *hui* 回 V” is “departure+traversal”, the Conformation component is “on the surface of the Ground”, and the Direction component is “returning”.

4.3 Segmentation of Motion Events

Talmy (2000) points out that two or more simple events can be conceptualized as one single event and expressed through a sentence or a phrase. In example (20), sentence (a) can be regarded as expressing the two events respectively described by sentence (b) and (c):

- (20) a. Jack rode his bike to school.
b. Jack rode his bike.
c. Jack went to school.

Through interviews, this study reveals that in the motion events expressed by “*wang* 往 DV”, if there is information about the destination of Motion, the segmentation of events will be different between the Bingzhou cluster of Jin dialect and Mandarin. In Mandarin, “*hui* 回” is the only directional verb that can be used as a localizer in “*wang* 往 DV”. For example:

- (21) 我们 沿着 海滩 往 回 走 到 放 衣服 的 位置
we along beach toward back walk to put clothes of place

‘We walked back along the beach to the place where we had left our clothes.’

In this motion event, multiple subevents are expressed through a single sentence: the Figure moves along the Path indicated by “*hui* 回” and eventually reaches the destination. However, in the Bingzhou cluster of Jin dialect, “*wang* 往 DV” focuses on the process of the event, and the subevent of destination must be expressed separately by another clause. For example:

- (22) a. *他 从 地上 往 起 跳 到 台子 上
he from ground toward up jump to platform above

- b. 他 从 地上 往 起 跳, 跳 到 台子 上
 he from ground toward up jump jump to platform above
 ‘He jumped from the ground to the platform.’
- (23) a. * 猴子 往 过 爬 到 主枝 上
 monkey toward along climb to limb above
 b. 猴子 往 过 爬, 爬 到 主枝 上
 monkey toward along climb climb to limb above
 ‘The monkey climbed up to the limb (along a certain route).’

In the two examples above, the sentences (a) both incorporate the subevent of arrival into “*wang* 往 DV”, which is not accepted by the respondent. On the other hand, the sentences (b) express this subevent through another clause, which conforms to the expression habits of the dialect.

5 Conclusion

This study investigates the usage of 11 directional verbs (*jin* 进, *chu* 出, *hui* 回, *guo* 过, *qi* 起, *kai* 开, *lai* 来, *qu* 去, *dao* 到, *zhu* 住, *zhuan* 转) in the structure of “*wang* 往 DV” in the Bingzhou cluster of Jin dialect. According to the investigation, apart from “*lai* 来”, “*qu* 去”, and “*dao* 到”, all the other eight directional verbs can function as localizers in “*wang* 往 DV”. When expressing motion events, these directional verbs exhibit rich Vector, Conformation and Direction components of the Path. In addition, the structure of “*wang* 往 DV” in the Bingzhou Cluster of Jin dialect cannot incorporate the subevent of arrival. The conclusions of this study still require further verification by expanding the scope of the investigation.

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