

CHAPTER FIVE

Multifunctional Usages of *gen*: A Semantic and Syntactic Perspective

As pointed out earlier, *gen* can function as a verb, as a preposition and as a conjunction. In this chapter, we show that the behavior of *gen* interacts closely with verbal semantics and the syntactic position of modifying elements. Accordingly, we propose that a continuum can be established whereby verbal semantics and the syntactic position of modifying elements interact to account for multifunctional usages of *gen*.

5.1 A first look

In this section, a first look is given into how the behavior of *gen* is influenced by the syntactic and semantic factors.

5.1.1 The factor of verbal semantics

As mentioned earlier, the behavior of *gen* is influenced in large part by verbal semantics. Consider sentences (1) and (2).

- (1) wo gen Lisi xihuan da lanqiu
我 跟 李四 喜歡 打 籃球
1SG GEN Lisi like hit basketball
'Both Lisi and I like to play basketball.'
- (2) wo gen Lisi jie le san bai yuan
我 跟 李四 借 了 三 百 元
1SG GEN Lisi borrow PFV three hundred dollar
'I borrowed three hundred dollars from Lisi.'

Though the above two examples have identical sequence *wo gen Lisi*, the

interpretation of *gen* is different. In sentence (1), the verb *xihuan* ‘to like’ is a stative verb, and *gen* serves to conjoin two referents and is treated as a conjunction. In sentence (2), the verb *jie* ‘to borrow’ is a source-oriented verb, and *gen* is more likely to be analyzed as a preposition which introduces the *source* of the denoted event.

We will show in later sections that stative-nonreciprocal verbs such as *xihuan* ‘to like’ lie at one point of the continuum whereby *gen* mostly functions as a conjunction while nonstative-nonreciprocal verbs such as *jie* ‘to borrow’ stand at another point of the continuum whereby *gen* can serve as a preposition and as a conjunction.

5.1.2 The factor of syntactic position

As shown in Chapter 2, the syntactic position of a modifying adverbial can also influence the interpretation of *gen*. For example, the syntactic position of the modifying adverbial *zuotian* ‘yesterday’ influences the way *gen* is interpreted, as shown by sentences (3) and (4).

(3) wo gen Lisi zuotian zai xuexiao chifan
 我 跟 李四 昨天 在 學校 吃飯
 1SG GEN Lisi yesterday LOC school eat-rice
 ‘Lisi and I had a meal at school yesterday.’

(4) wo zuotian gen Lisi zai xuexiao chifan
 我 昨天 跟 李四 在 學校 吃飯
 1SG yesterday GEN Lisi LOC school eat-rice
 ‘I had a meal with Lisi at school yesterday.’

In (3), the temporal adverbial *zuotian* ‘yesterday’ follows the two referents, so the contiguity of the two referents is preserved and the two referents form a tight

syntactic unit. *Gen* in this case serves as a conjunction. In (4), *zuotian* precedes *gen* and the contiguity of the two referents is breached and the two referents no longer form a syntactic unit. *Gen* in this case is a preposition serving to mark comitativity.

In fact, it has been shown in the literature that if any modifying element intervenes between the two nouns which are originally conjoined by *gen*, *gen* must be treated as a preposition in most contexts.

5.1.3 Phrasal vs. sentential conjunction

As shown in Chapter 2, whether both referents in sentence (3) have a meal together or separately has aroused linguistic interest (e.g. Teng 1970, Paris 2005a).

Two elements *yiqi* ‘together’ and *dou* ‘all’ can help to disambiguate the meaning of *gen*. Consider sentences (5) and (6).

(5) [wo gen Lisi] zuotian yiqi zai xuexiao chifan
 我 跟 李四 昨天 一起 在 學校 吃飯
 1SG GEN Lisi yesterday together LOC school eat-rice
 ‘Lisi and I had a meal together yesterday.’

(6) [wo gen Lisi] zuotian dou zai xuexiao chifan
 我 跟 李四 昨天 都 在 學校 吃飯
 1SG GEN Lisi yesterday all LOC school eat-rice
 ‘Both Lisi and I had a meal yesterday.’

In (5), the two referents *wo* and *Lisi* have a meal together and they are treated as a collective unit. *Gen* in this case is treated as a phrasal conjunction. In (6), the two referents have a meal separately. *Gen* in this case entails a distributive-event reading and is analyzed as a sentential conjunction. According to Teng (1970), *gen* as a

sentential conjunction in sentence (6) conjoins in the deep structure the two sentences *wo zuotian zai xuexiao chifan* ‘I had a meal at school yesterday’ and *Lisi zuotian zai xuexiao chifan* ‘Lisi had a meal at school yesterday.’

The above examples show that *yiqi* and *dou* are valid elements to distinguish *gen* as a phrasal conjunction from *gen* as a sentential conjunction.

5.2 The application of our own verbal semantic framework with respect to the behavior of *gen*

As shown in Chapter 4, verbs are divided into two major categories, i.e. stative and non-stative verbs, each of which can be subdivided into reciprocal and non-reciprocal verbs. In the following sections, we will show how these different types of verbs interact closely with the interpretations of *gen*. In section 5.2.1, we will examine *gen* in co-occurrence with stative verbs. In section 5.2.2, we will focus on *gen* in co-occurrence with non-stative verbs.

5.2.1 *Gen* co-occurring with stative verbs

In this section, we will start with all types of stative verbs listed in our verbal semantic framework. Section 5.2.1.1 looks into *gen* co-occurring with the copula *shi*, section 5.2.1.2 explores stative intransitive verbs, section 5.2.1.3 deals with stative transitive verbs, section 5.2.1.4 discusses stative reciprocal verbs, and section 5.2.1.5 summarizes the behaviour of *gen* co-occurring with stative verbs.

5.2.1.1 *Gen* co-occurring with stative copula *shi*

Gen can co-occur with the stative copula *shi*. Consider examples (7).

- (7) Zhangsan *gen* Lisi *shi* *laoshi*
 張三 跟 李四 是 老師
 Zhangsan GEN Lisi COP teacher
 ‘Zhangsan and Lisi are teachers.’

However, the insertion of any element between *Zhangsan* and *Lisi* gives rise to the ungrammaticality of a sentence. Consider examples (8) and (9).

- (8) *Zhangsan *yiqian* *gen* Lisi *shi* *laoshi*
 張三 以前 跟 李四 是 老師
 Zhangsan before GEN Lisi COP teacher
 (9) [Zhangsan *gen* Lisi] *yiqian* *shi* *laoshi*
 張三 跟 李四 以前 是 老師
 Zhangsan GEN Lisi before COP teacher
 ‘Zhangsan and Lisi were teachers before.’

In light of the ungrammaticality of sentence (8), it is clear that when *gen* co-occurs with the stative copular verb *shi*, it can only function as a conjunction. Example (8) is ungrammatical because the modifying adverbial *yiqian* ‘before’ intervenes between *Zhangsan* and *Lisi* and the contiguity of these two coordinands is breached. In contrast, example (9) is grammatical because *yiqian* does not intervene between the two nouns and the contiguity of these two coordinated referents is maintained. Consider more examples in (10)-(13).

- (10) *Zhangsan *cengjing* *gen* Lisi *shi* *youqian* *ren*
 張三 曾經 跟 李四 是 有錢 人
 Zhangsan once GEN Lisi COP rich person

- (11) [Zhangsan gen Lisi] cengjing shi youqian ren
 張三 跟 李四 曾經 是 有錢 人
 Zhangsan GEN Lisi once COP rich person
 ‘Zhangsan and Lisi were once rich people.’
- (12) *Zhangsan xianzai gen Lisi shi hao ren
 張三 現在 跟 李四 是 好 人
 Zhangsan now GEN Lisi COP good person
- (13) [Zhangsan gen Lisi] xianzai shi hao ren
 張三 跟 李四 現在 是 好 人
 Zhangsan GEN Lisi now COP good person
 ‘Zhangsan and Lisi are nice people now.’

As pointed out in Chapter 2 and 3, *gen* as a conjunction can conjoin two coordinands at both phrasal and sentential levels. However, we find that the element *dou* ‘all’, a sentential conjunction indicator, can be successfully inserted as in sentence (14) while the element *yiqi* ‘together’, a phrasal conjunction indicator, cannot, as illustrated by the ungrammaticality of sentence (15).

- (14) [Zhangsan gen Lisi] yiqian dou shi laoshi
 張三 跟 李四 以前 都 是 老師
 Zhangsan GEN Lisi before all COP teacher
 ‘Both Zhangsan and Lisi were teachers before.’
- (15)*[Zhangsan gen Lisi] yiqian yiqi shi laoshi
 張三 跟 李四 以前 一起 是 老師
 Zhangsan GEN Lisi before together COP teacher

Therefore, we claim that *gen* in this type of occurrence can function only as a sentential conjunction. The conjoining of the two coordinands at a phrasal level is not permissible when *gen* co-occurs with the stative copula *shi*. Consider more examples in (16)-(19).

- (16) [Zhangsan gen Lisi] cengjing dou shi youqian ren
張三 跟 李四 曾經 都 是 有錢 人
Zhangsan GEN Lisi once all COP rich person
‘Zhangsan and Lisi were once rich people.’
- (17)*[Zhangsan gen Lisi] cengjing yiqi shi youqian ren
張三 跟 李四 曾經 一起 是 有錢 人
Zhangsan GEN Lisi once all COP rich person
- (18) [Zhangsan gen Lisi] xianzai dou shi hao ren
張三 跟 李四 現在 都 是 好 人
Zhangsan GEN Lisi now all COP good person
‘Both Zhangsan and Lisi are nice people now.’
- (19)*[Zhangsan gen Lisi] xianzai yiqi shi hao ren
張三 跟 李四 現在 一起 是 好 人
Zhangsan GEN Lisi now together COP good person

5.2.1.2 Gen co-occurring with stative intransitive verbs

Gen can co-occur with stative intransitive verbs. Consider example (20).

- (20) Zhangsan gen Lisi hen qiong
張三 跟 李四 很 窮
Zhangsan GEN Lisi very poor
‘Zhangsan and Lisi are very poor.’

When *gen* co-occurs with this type of verb like *qiong* ‘to be poor’, the insertion of an adverbial element between *Zhangsan* and *Lisi* also brings about the ungrammaticality of a sentence as illustrated by (21), in contrast to the grammatical sentence (22).

- (21)*Zhangsan yiqian gen Lisi hen qiong
張三 以前 跟 李四 很 窮
Zhangsan before GEN Lisi very poor
- (22) [Zhangsan gen Lisi] yiqian hen qiong
張三 跟 李四 以前 很 窮
Zhangsan GEN Lisi before very poor
‘Zhangsan and Lisi were very poor before.’

Accordingly, we claim that when *gen* co-occurs with stative intransitive verbs, it

can only function as a conjunction and the contiguity of the two coordinands needs to be maintained. Example (21) is ungrammatical because *yiqian* is inserted between *Zhangsan* and *Lisi* and the contiguity of these two referents is broken. Example (22) is grammatical because the modifying adverbial *yiqian* ‘before’ does not intervene between but occurs after *Zhangsan* and *Lisi*, so these two referents could be treated as a coordinated constituent. Consider more examples in (23)-(26).

- (23)*Zhangsan xianzai gen Lisi hen yonggong
張三 現在 跟 李四 很 用功
Zhangsan now GEN Lisi very hard-working
- (24) [Zhangsan gen Lisi] xianzai hen yonggong
張三 跟 李四 現在 很 用功
Zhangsan GEN Lisi now very hard-working
‘Zhangsan and Lisi are very hard-working now.’
- (25)*Zhangsan yiqian gen Lisi pao de hen man
張三 以前 跟 李四 跑 得 很 慢
Zhangsan before GEN Lisi run DE very slow
- (26) [Zhangsan gen Lisi] yiqian pao de hen man
張三 跟 李四 以前 跑 得 很 慢
Zhangsan GEN Lisi before run DE very slow
‘Zhangsan and Lisi ran very slowly.’

Also, we find that the element *dou* ‘all’ can be successfully inserted as in sentence (27) while the element *yiqi* ‘together’ leads to the ungrammaticality of sentence (28).

- (27) [Zhangsan gen Lisi] yiqian dou hen qiong
張三 跟 李四 以前 都 很 窮
Zhangsan GEN Lisi before all very poor
‘Both Zhangsan and Lisi were very poor before.’

- (28)*[Zhangsan gen Lisi] yiqian yiqi hen qiong
 張三 跟 李四 以前 一起 很 窮
 Zhangsan GEN Lisi before together very poor

Accordingly, *gen* in this type of occurrence can only function as a sentential conjunction. Consider the occurrence of *gen* with other stative intransitive verbs in sentence (29)-(32).

- (29) [Zhangsan gen Lisi] xianzai dou hen yonggong
 張三 跟 李四 現在 都 很 用功
 Zhangsan GEN Lisi now all very hard-working
 ‘Both Zhangsan and Lisi are very hard-working now.’

- (30)*[Zhangsan gen Lisi] xianzai yiqi hen yonggong
 張三 跟 李四 現在 一起 很 用功
 Zhangsan GEN Lisi now together very hard-working

- (31) [Zhangsan gen Lisi] yiqian dou pao de hen man
 張三 跟 李四 以前 都 跑 得 很 慢
 Zhangsan GEN Lisi before all run DE very slow
 ‘Both Zhangsan and Lisi ran very slowly before.’

- (32)*[Zhangsan gen Lisi] yiqian yiqi pao de hen man
 張三 跟 李四 以前 一起 跑 得 很 慢
 Zhangsan GEN Lisi before together run DE very slow

5.2.1.3 *Gen* co-occurring with stative transitive verbs

Gen can co-occur with stative transitive verbs. Consider example (33).

- (33) Zhangsan gen Lisi xihuan da lanqiu
 張三 跟 李四 喜歡 打 籃球
 Zhangsan GEN Lisi like hit basketball
 ‘Zhangsan and Lisi like to play basketball.’

When *gen* co-occurs with stative transitive verbs such as *xihuan* ‘to like’, an intervening adverbial element between *Zhangsan* and *Lisi* gives rise to an ungrammatical sentence, as shown by sentence (34).

- (34) *Zhangsan yiqian gen Lisi xihuan da lanqiu
張三 以前 跟 李四 喜歡 打 籃球
Zhangsan before GEN Lisi like hit basketball

In this sense, *gen* is taken to function only as a conjunction, so the two coordinands form a tight syntactic unit, as illustrated by sentence (35).

- (35) [Zhangsan gen Lisi] yiqian xihuan da lanqiu
張三 跟 李四 以前 喜歡 打 籃球
Zhangsan GEN Lisi before like hit basketball
‘Zhangsan and Lisi liked to play basketball before.’

In example (35), the modifying adverbial *yiqian* ‘before’ does not intervene and *gen* serves to conjoin *Zhangsan* and *Lisi*. Therefore, sentence (35) is a grammatical sentence. Consider *gen* in co-occurrence with other stative transitive verbs as in (36)-(39).

- (36) [Zhangsan gen Lisi] xianzai xiangxin ta de shuofa
張三 跟 李四 現在 相信 他 的 說法
Zhangsan GEN Lisi now believe 3SG DE story
‘Zhangsan and Lisi believe his story now.’

- (37) *Zhangsan xianzai gen Lisi xiangxin ta de shuofa
張三 現在 跟 李四 相信 他 的 說法
Zhangsan now GEN Lisi believe 3SG DE story

- (38) [Zhangsan gen Lisi] xianzai juede hen nanguo
張三 跟 李四 現在 覺得 很 難過
Zhangsan GEN Lisi now feel very sad
‘Zhangsan and Lisi feel very sad now.’

- (39) *Zhangsan xianzai gen Lisi juede hen nanguo
張三 現在 跟 李四 覺得 很 難過
Zhangsan now GEN Lisi feel very sad

Besides, *gen* in co-occurrence with stative transitive verbs can only serve as a sentential conjunction, as suggested by the permissible addition of *dou* ‘all’ in sentence (40) and the ungrammatical usage of *yiqi* ‘together’ in sentence (41).

- (40) [Zhangsan gen Lisi] yiqian dou xihuan da lanqiu
 張三 跟 李四 以前 都 喜歡 打 籃球
 Zhangsan GEN Lisi before all like hit basketball
 ‘Both Zhangsan and Lisi liked to play basketball before.’
- (41) *[Zhangsan gen Lisi] yiqian yiqi xihuan da lanqiu
 張三 跟 李四 以前 一起 喜歡 打 籃球
 Zhangsan GEN Lisi before together like hit basketball

Consider another pair of examples in (42) and (43).

- (42) [Zhangsan gen Lisi] xianzai dou xiangxin ta de shuofa
 張三 跟 李四 現在 都 相信 他的 說法
 Zhangsan GEN Lisi now all believe 3SG DE story
 ‘Both Zhangsan and Lisi believe his story now.’
- (43) *[Zhangsan gen Lisi] xianzai yiqi xiangxin ta de shuofa
 張三 跟 李四 現在 一起 相信 他的 說法
 Zhangsan GEN Lisi now together believe 3SG DE story

However, it is important to note that when *gen* co-occurs with certain stative transitive verbs like *yongyou* ‘to own’ and *xuyao* ‘to need’, *gen* can conjoin two coordinands at the sentential level and at the phrasal level.³⁰ Consider sentences (44)-(47).

- (44) [Zhangsan gen Mali] dou yongyou wudong fangzi
 張三 跟 瑪莉 都 擁有 五棟 房子
 Zhangsan GEN Mali all own five-CL house
 ‘Both Zhangsan and Mali own five houses.’
- (45) [Zhangsan gen Mali] yigong yongyou wudong fangzi
 張三 跟 瑪莉 一共 擁有 五棟 房子
 Zhangsan GEN Mali altogether own five-CL house
 ‘Zhangsan and Mali own five houses in total.’
- (46) [Zhangsan gen Mali] dou xuyao liangping shui
 張三 跟 瑪莉 都 需要 兩瓶 水
 Zhangsan GEN Mali all need two-CL water

³⁰ Lakoff and Peters (1967) point out that, among stative verbs, “measure adjectives” and “possessive verbs” may take a phrasal conjunction.

‘Both Zhangsan and Mali need two bottles of water.’

- (47) [Zhangsan gen Mali] yigong xuyao liangping shui
張三 跟 瑪莉 一共 需要 兩瓶 水
Zhangsan GEN Mali altogether need two-CL water
‘Zhangsan and Mali need two bottles of water in total.’

Furthermore, when no additional markers such as *dou* ‘all’ and *yigong* ‘altogether’ occur, *gen* is more likely to be perceived as a phrasal conjunction.

Consider the following sentences, *cf.* (48) and (49).

- (48) [Zhangsan gen Mali] yongyou wudong fangzi
張三 跟 瑪莉 擁有 五棟 房子
Zhangsan GEN Mali own five-CL house
‘Zhangsan and Mali own five houses (in total).’

- (49) [Zhangsan gen Mali] xuyao liangping shui
張三 跟 瑪莉 需要 兩瓶 水
Zhangsan GEN Mali need one-CL water
‘Zhangsan and Mali need two bottles of water (in total).’

5.2.1.4 *Gen* co-occurring with stative reciprocal verbs

When *gen* co-occurs with stative verbs which imply reciprocity, we find that the function of *gen* is different from that of *gen* co-occurring with stative non-reciprocal verbs (*cf.* those in sections 5.2.1.1-5.2.1.3). We start with the stative copula *shi* taking a reciprocal predicate. First, consider sentence (50), whereby *gen* co-occurs with a reciprocal predicate headed by *shi*.

- (50) Zhangsan gen Mali shi fuqi
張三 跟 瑪莉 是 夫妻
Zhangsan GEN Mali COP couple
‘Zhangsan and Mali are husband and wife.’

When *gen* co-occurs with stative reciprocal predicates, the behaviour of *gen* is not unitary. Consider sentences (51) and (52).

(51) Zhangsan yiqian gen Mali shi fuqi
張三 以前 跟 瑪莉 是 夫妻
Zhangsan before GEN Mali COP couple
‘Zhangsan was Mali’s husband before.’

(52) [Zhangsan gen Mali] yiqian shi fuqi
張三 跟 瑪莉 以前 是 夫妻
Zhangsan GEN Mali before COP couple
‘Zhangsan and Mali were husband and wife before.’

In (51), the temporal adverbial *yiqian* ‘before’ can intervene between *Zhangsan* and *Mali*; *gen* in this sentence is taken to act as a preposition. In (52), *yiqian* follows the two referents and the contiguity of these two coordinands is preserved; *gen* conjoins *Zhangsan* and *Mali* and is analyzed as a conjunction. Consider more examples

(53)-(56).

(53) Zhangsan yiqian gen Mali shi tongshi
張三 以前 跟 瑪莉 是 同事
Zhangsan before GEN Mali COP co-worker
‘Zhangsan was Mali’s co-worker before.’

(54) [Zhangsan gen Mali] yiqian shi tongshi
張三 跟 瑪莉 以前 是 同事
Zhangsan GEN Mali before COP co-worker
‘Zhangsan and Mali were co-workers before.’

(55) Zhangsan yiqian gen Lisi shi tongxue
張三 以前 跟 李四 是 同學
Zhangsan before GEN Lisi COP classmate
‘Zhangsan was Lisi’s classmate before.’

(56) [Zhangsan gen Lisi] yiqian shi tongxue
張三 跟 李四 以前 是 同學
Zhangsan GEN Lisi before COP classmate
‘Zhangsan and Lisi were classmates before.’

However, when *gen* co-occurs with stative reciprocal predicates, *gen* can only serve as a phrasal conjunction (*cf.* Lakoff and Peters 1967). Consider the following

sentences (57) and (58).

- | | | | | | | | |
|------|------------|-----|-------|--------|------------|------------|----------------|
| (57) | *[Zhangsan | gen | Mali] | yiqian | <u>dou</u> | <u>shi</u> | <u>fuqi</u> |
| | 張三 | 跟 | 瑪莉 | 以前 | 都 | 是 | 夫妻 |
| | Zhangsan | GEN | Mali | before | all | COP | couple |
| (58) | *[Zhangsan | gen | Mali] | yiqian | <u>dou</u> | <u>shi</u> | <u>tongshi</u> |
| | 張三 | 跟 | 瑪莉 | 以前 | 都 | 是 | 同事 |
| | Zhangsan | GEN | Mali | before | all | COP | co-worker |

In the above two sentences, the temporal adverbial *yiqian* ‘before’ occurs after the two referents and *gen* is treated as a conjunction. However, the addition of *dou* ‘all’ causes the ungrammaticality of sentences (57) and (58). This suggests that *gen* fails to conjoin *Zhangsan* and *Mali* at a sentential level and can only be looked upon as a phrasal conjunction.

Another type of stative reciprocal verb is formed by adding the reciprocal markers *huxiang*, *xianghu* or the reduced forms *xiang*, *hu* ‘mutual’ to a stative verb.

Consider example (59).

- | | | | | | |
|------|----------|-----|------|----------------|---------------|
| (59) | Zhangsan | gen | Mali | <u>huxiang</u> | <u>xihuan</u> |
| | 張三 | 跟 | 瑪莉 | 互相 | 喜歡 |
| | Zhangsan | GEN | Mali | mutual | like |
- ‘Zhangsan and Mali like each other.’

However, we find that when *gen* co-occurs with such reciprocal verbs, any intervening element between *Zhangsan* and *Mali* will lead to the ungrammaticality of the sentence. Consider sentence (60).

- | | | | | | | |
|------|-----------|---------------|-----|------|----------------|---------------|
| (60) | *Zhangsan | <u>yiqian</u> | gen | Mali | <u>huxiang</u> | <u>xihuan</u> |
| | 張三 | 以前 | 跟 | 瑪莉 | 互相 | 喜歡 |
| | Zhangsan | before | GEN | Mali | mutual | like |

In other words, when *gen* co-occurs with the reciprocal verbs headed by *huxiang*, it

can only function as a conjunction, as illustrated by (61).

- (61) [Zhangsan gen Mali] yiqian huxiang xihuan
 張三 跟 瑪莉 以前 互相 喜歡
 Zhangsan GEN Mali before mutual like
 ‘Zhangsan and Mali liked each other before.’

Besides, *gen* in this type of occurrence cannot serve as a sentential conjunction

because the occurrence of *dou* ‘all’ renders sentences (62) and (63) ungrammatical.

- (62) *[Zhangsan gen Mali] yiqian dou huxiang xihuan
 張三 跟 瑪莉 以前 都 互相 喜歡
 Zhangsan GEN Mali before all mutual like
 (63) *[Zhangsan gen Mali] cengjing dou huxiang taoyan
 張三 跟 瑪莉 曾經 都 互相 討厭
 Zhangsan GEN Mali ever all mutual dislike

Gen in co-occurrence with such reciprocal verbs exhibits uniform behaviour as a phrasal conjunction.

5.2.1.5 Summary

We have shown in section 5.2.1 that in co-occurrence with stative non-reciprocal verbs such as the copula *shi*, transitive and intransitive verbs, *gen* functions only as a conjunction. Besides, except for some stative transitive “measure” verbs, which can make *gen* conjoin two NPs at the phrasal level as well as at the sentential level, *gen* in co-occurrence with other stative non-reciprocal verbs functions only as a sentential conjunction. On the other hand, when *gen* co-occurs with stative reciprocal verbs, *gen* can basically function as a phrasal conjunction, but never as a sentential conjunction. Besides, in certain reciprocal verbs such as *shi fuqi* ‘to be a couple’, *gen* can also

behave as a preposition.

Table 5.1 summarizes the above discussion.

Table 5.1 Functions of *gen* co-occurring with stative verbs

STATIVE VERBS		Functions of <i>gen</i>			Co-occurrence constraints		
		Sent Conj	Phras Conj	Prep	<i>dou</i> 'all'	<i>yiqi</i> 'together'	
Non-reciprocal	Copula	+	-	-	+	-	
	Intransitive	+	-	-	+	-	
	Tr	Others	+	-	-	+	-
		<i>you</i> 'to have'	+	+	-	+	- <i>yigong</i> 'altogether'
Reciprocal	Copula	-	+	+(Rec)	-	-	
	Intr <i>huxiang</i> 'mutual'	-	+	-	-	-	

5.2.2 *Gen* co-occurring with non-stative verbs

In this section, we will deal with all the types of non-stative verbs included in our verbal semantic framework. Section 5.2.2.1 is devoted to *gen* in co-occurrence with non-stative reciprocal verbs and section 5.2.2.2 focuses on *gen* in co-occurrence with the non-stative non-reciprocal verbs. We divide section 5.2.2.2 into three subsections. In the first subsection 5.2.2.2.1, we look into the behaviour of *gen* which co-occurs with motion verbs. In the second subsection 5.2.2.2.2, we probe into the behaviour of *gen* which co-occurs with non-motion verbs. In the third subsection 5.2.2.2.3, we show that when *gen* co-occurs with certain non-motion verbs, *gen* serves to mark a

unidirectional relationship, oriented either towards *goal* or *source*.

5.2.2.1 *Gen* co-occurring with non-stative reciprocal verbs

One type of non-stative reciprocal verb takes the overt marker *huxiang*, *xianghu* or the reduced forms *xiang*, *hu* ‘mutual’. Consider example (64).

- (64) Zhangsan gen Lisi hu ma
 張三 跟 李四 互 罵
 Zhangsan GEN Lisi mutual scold
 ‘Zhangsan and Lisi scold each other.’

When *gen* co-occurs with such reciprocal verbs, *gen* can only function as a conjunction as in (65), not as a preposition as in (66).

- (65) [Zhangsan gen Lisi] changchang hu ma
 張三 跟 李四 常常 互 罵
 Zhangsan GEN Lisi often mutual scold
 ‘Zhangsan and Lisi often scold each other.’
- (66) *Zhangsan changchang gen Lisi hu ma
 張三 常常 跟 李四 互 罵
 Zhangsan often GEN Lisi mutual scold

Besides, *gen* as a conjunction cannot conjoin *Zhangsan* and *Lisi* at the sentential level.

Thus, the occurrence of *dou* yields the ungrammaticality of sentence (67).

- (67) *[Zhangsan gen Lisi] dou changchang hu ma
 張三 跟 李四 都 常常 互 罵
 Zhangsan GEN Lisi all often mutual scold

Another type of non-stative reciprocal verb takes the form of VO compound.

Consider sentences (68) and (69).

- (68) Zhangsan gen Mali jiehun
 張三 跟 瑪莉 結婚
 Zhangsan GEN Mali get-married
 ‘Zhangsan and Mali get married.’

- (69) Zhangsan gen Mali chaojia
張三 跟 瑪莉 吵架
Zhangsan GEN Mali quarrel
‘Zhangsan and Mali quarrel.’

Like the stative reciprocal predicate headed by *shi*, *gen* in co-occurrence with such VO compounds can function either as a conjunction or as a preposition. Consider sentences (70)-(73).

- (70) [Zhangsan gen Mali] yijing jiehun le
張三 跟 瑪莉 已經 結婚 了
Zhangsan GEN Mali already get-married CRS
‘Zhangsan and Mali have got married already.’

- (71) Zhangsan yijing gen Mali jiehun le
張三 已經 跟 瑪莉 結婚 了
Zhangsan already GEN Mali get-married CRS
‘Zhangsan has already got married with Mali.’

- (72) [Zhangsan gen Mali] changchang chaojia
張三 跟 瑪莉 常常 吵架
Zhangsan GEN Mali often quarrel
‘Zhangsan and Mali often quarrel.’

- (73) Zhangsan changchang gen Mali chaojia
張三 常常 跟 瑪莉 吵架
Zhangsan often GEN Mali quarrel
‘Zhangsan often quarrels with Mali.’

In (70) and (72), *Zhangsan* and *Mali* form a coordinated constituent and *gen* is analyzed as a conjunction. In (71) and (73), the contiguity of the two coordinands is fractured by the insertion of a modifying adverbial and *gen* functions as a preposition.

Besides, the ungrammatical usage of *dou* ‘all’ suggests that *gen* can serve to conjoin the two coordinands only at the phrasal level, not at the sentential level, i.e. it can serve only as a phrasal conjunction, but not as a sentential conjunction, as shown

by the ungrammaticality of sentences (74) and (75).

(74)*	[Zhangsan	gen	Mali]	<u>dou</u>	changchang	<u>chaojia</u>
	張三	跟	瑪莉	都	常常	吵架
	Zhangsan	GEN	Mali	all	often	quarrel
(75)*	[Zhangsan	gen	Mali]	<u>dou</u>	cengjing	<u>jiehun</u>
	張三	跟	瑪莉	都	曾經	結婚
	Zhangsan	GEN	Mali	all	ever	get-married

The last type of non-stative reciprocal verb is termed “collective” verbs.

Consider examples (76)-(77).

(76)	Zhangsan	gen	Mali	<u>taolun</u>	zhejian	shi
	張三	跟	瑪莉	討論	這件	事
	Zhangsan	GEN	Mali	discuss	this-CL	matter
	‘Zhangsan and Mali discuss this matter.’					
(77)	Zhangsan	gen	Mali	<u>bianlun</u>	zhege	yiti
	張三	跟	瑪莉	辯論	這個	議題
	Zhangsan	GEN	Mali	debate	this-CL	issue
	‘Zhangsan and Mali debate this issue.’					

When *gen* co-occurs with collective verbs, it can serve either as a conjunction as in

(78) and (80) or as a preposition as in (79) and (81).

(78)	[Zhangsan	gen	Mali]	<u>changchang</u>	<u>taolun</u>	zhejian	shi
	張三	跟	瑪莉	常常	討論	這件	事
	Zhangsan	GEN	Mali	often	discuss	this-CL	matter
	‘Zhangsan and Mali often discuss this matter.’						
(79)	Zhangsan	<u>changchang</u>	gen	Mali	<u>taolun</u>	zhejian	shi
	張三	常常	跟	瑪莉	討論	這件	事
	Zhangsan	often	GEN	Mali	discuss	this-CL	matter
	‘Zhangsan often discusses this matter with Mali.’						
(80)	[Zhangsan	gen	Mali]	<u>changchang</u>	<u>bianlun</u>	zhege	yiti
	張三	跟	瑪莉	常常	辯論	這個	議題
	Zhangsan	GEN	Mali	often	debate	this-CL	issue
	‘Zhangsan and Mali often debate this issue.’						

- (81) Zhangsan changchang gen Mali bianlun zhege yiti
張三 常常 跟 瑪莉 辯論 這個 議題
Zhangsan often GEN Mali debate this-CL issue
‘Zhangsan often debates this issue with Mali.’

Besides, *gen* as a conjunction can only serve to conjoin the two coordinands at a phrasal level. The addition of *dou* ‘all’ accounts for the ungrammaticality of sentences

(81) and (82).

- (81)*[Zhangsan gen Mali] dou changchang taolun zhejian shi
張三 跟 瑪莉 都 常常 討論 這件 事
Zhangsan GEN Mali all often discuss this-CL matter
(82)*[Zhangsan gen Mali] dou changchang bianlun zhege yiti
張三 跟 瑪莉 都 常常 辯論 這個 議題
Zhangsan GEN Mali all often debate this-CL issue

Meanwhile, it is interesting to note that when an aspect marker is added to VO compounds or collective verbs, *gen* can also function as a sentential conjunction.

Compare examples (83)-(84) and (85)-(86).

- (83)*[Zhangsan gen Mali] dou jiehun
張三 跟 瑪莉 都 結婚
Zhangsan GEN Mali all get-married
(84) [Zhangsan gen Mali] dou jie le hun
張三 跟 瑪莉 都 結 了 婚
Zhangsan GEN Mali all tie PFV marriage
‘Both Zhangsan and Mali have got married (with someone).’
(85)*[Zhangsan gen Mali] dou taolun zhejian shi
張三 跟 瑪莉 都 討論 這件 事
Zhangsan GEN Mali all discuss this-CL matter
(86) [Zhangsan gen Mali] dou taolun guo zhejian shi
張三 跟 瑪莉 都 討論 過 這件 事
Zhangsan GEN Mali all discuss EXP this-CL matter
‘Both Zhangsan and Mali have discussed this matter (with someone).’

As we can see in the above examples, when aspect is encoded into the VO

compound *jiehun* ‘get married’ or the collective verb *taolun* ‘discuss’, the two referents conjoined by *gen* no longer share a reciprocal relationship: the denoted reciprocal event becomes distributive and refers to each referent separately (another participant in this reciprocal event is left unspecified).

5.2.2.2 *Gen* co-occurring with non-stative non-reciprocal verbs

We find that when *gen* co-occurs with non-stative non-reciprocal verbs, the interpretation of *gen* is varied. Among non-stative non-reciprocal verbs, we note that there is a binary distinction between motion and non-motion verbs. We will start with motion verbs in section 5.2.2.2.1, followed by non-motion verbs in section 5.2.2.2.2. In section 5.2.2.2.3, we will deal with certain non-motion verbs which cause *gen* to mark a unidirectional relationship.

5.2.2.2.1 *Gen* co-occurring with motion verbs

When *gen* co-occurs with motion verbs like *qu* ‘to go’, the interpretation of *gen* is likely to be ambiguous between a preposition marking comitativity and a verb meaning ‘to follow’. Consider sentence (87).

(87)	Zhangsan	zuotian	<u>gen</u>	Lisi	<u>qu</u>	taibei
	張三	昨天	跟	李四	去	台北
	Zhangsan	yesterday	GEN	Lisi	go	Taipei

This sentence may entail two readings. Consider sentences (88a)-(88b).

(88)a.	Zhangsan	zuotian	<u>gen</u>	<u>zhe</u>	Lisi	<u>qu</u>	taibei
	張三	昨天	跟	著	李四	去	台北
	Zhangsan	yesterday	follow	DUR	Lisi	go	Taipei

‘Zhangsan followed Lisi to Taipei yesterday.’

- b. Zhangsan zuotian gen Lisi yiqi qu taibei
 張三 昨天 跟 李四 一起 去 台北
 Zhangsan yesterday GEN Lisi together go Taipei
 ‘Zhangsan went to Taipei with Lisi yesterday.’

In (88a), *gen* takes the aspect marker *zhe* and thus behaves as a verb. In (88b), the occurrence of *yiqi* helps to make the meaning of the sentence clearer and *gen* is treated as a preposition marking comitativity. We see that the aspect marker *zhe* and the adverbial *yiqi* ‘together’ help to disambiguate sentence (87). Below are other examples containing motion verbs.

- (89) Zhangsan zuotian gen Lisi lai wo jia
 張三 昨天 跟 李四 來 我 家
 Zhangsan yesterday GEN Lisi come 1SG home

Sentence (89) can be given two readings, as further elucidated by sentences

(90a)-(90b).

- (90)a. Zhangsan zuotian gen zhe Lisi lai wo jia
 張三 昨天 跟 著 李四 來 我 家
 Zhangsan yesterday follow DUR Lisi come 1SG home
 ‘Zhangsan followed Lisi to my home yesterday.’
 b. Zhangsan zuotian gen Lisi yiqi lai wo jia
 張三 昨天 跟 李四 一起 來 我 家
 Zhangsan yesterday GEN Lisi together come 1SG home
 ‘Zhangsan came to my home with Lisi yesterday.’

Also, examine sentence (91), which can implicate two readings, as illustrated by

sentence (92a)-(92b).

- (91) Zhangsan zuotian gen Lisi pao dao xuexiao
 張三 昨天 跟 李四 跑 到 學校
 Zhangsan yesterday GEN Lisi run reach school

- (92)a. Zhangsan zuotian gen zhe Lisi pao dao xuexiao
 張三 昨天 跟 著 李四 跑 到 學校
 Zhangsan yesterday follow DUR Lisi run reach school
 ‘Zhangsan followed Lisi in running to school yesterday.’
- b. Zhangsan zuotian gen Lisi yiqi pao dao xuexiao
 張三 昨天 跟 李四 一起 跑 到 學校
 Zhangsan yesterday GEN Lisi together run reach school
 ‘Zhangsan ran to school with Lisi yesterday.’

Besides functioning ambiguously as a verb or as a preposition, *gen* in co-occurrence with motion verbs is both likely to act as a phrasal conjunction and as a sentential conjunction. Consider the following sentences (93) and (94).

- (93) [Zhangsan gen Lisi] zuotian dou qu taibei
 張三 跟 李四 昨天 都 去 台北
 Zhangsan GEN Lisi yesterday all go Taipei
 ‘Both Zhangsan and Lisi went to Taipei.’
- (94) [Zhangsan gen Lisi] zuotian yiqi qu taibei
 張三 跟 李四 昨天 一起 去 台北
 Zhangsan GEN Lisi yesterday together go Taipei
 ‘Zhangsan and Lisi went to Taipei together.’

Consider the occurrence of *gen* with other motion verbs.

- (95) [Zhangsan gen Lisi] zuotian dou lai wo jia
 張三 跟 李四 昨天 都 來 我 家
 Zhangsan GEN Lisi yesterday all come 1SG home
 ‘Both Zhangsan and Lisi came to my home yesterday.’
- (96) [Zhangsan gen Lisi] zuotian yiqi lai wo jia
 張三 跟 李四 昨天 一起 來 我 家
 Zhangsan GEN Lisi yesterday together come 1SG home
 ‘Zhangsan and Lisi came to my home together yesterday.’
- (97) [Zhangsan gen Lisi] zuotian dou pao dao xuexiao
 張三 跟 李四 昨天 都 跑 到 學校
 Zhangsan GEN Lisi yesterday all run reach school
 ‘Both Zhangsan and Lisi ran to school yesterday.’

- (98) [Zhangsan gen Lisi] zuotian yiqi pao dao xuexiao
 張三 跟 李四 昨天 一起 跑 到 學校
 Zhangsan GEN Lisi yesterday together run reach school
 ‘Zhangsan and Lisi ran to school together yesterday.’

In other words, when *gen* co-occurs with motion verbs such as *qu* ‘to go’, *lai* ‘to come’ and *paodao* ‘to run to’, *gen* can be taken to embody four functions: verb, preposition, phrasal conjunction and sentential conjunction.

5.2.2.2.2 *Gen* co-occurring with non-motion verbs

When *gen* co-occurs with non-motion verbs, like *chi* ‘to eat’, the behavior of *gen* will not vacillate between verb and preposition. Consider the following sentence.

- (99) wo zuotian gen ta chi wancan
 我 昨天 跟 他 吃 晚餐
 1SG yesterday GEN 3SG eat dinner
 ‘I had dinner with him yesterday.’

In sentence (99), *gen* is unambiguously interpreted as a preposition marking comitativity. The addition of *yiqi* makes the meaning even clearer.

- (100) wo zuotian gen ta yiqi chi wancan
 我 昨天 跟 他 一起 吃 晚餐
 1SG yesterday GEN 3SG together eat dinner
 ‘I had dinner with him yesterday.’

Consider examples from other non-motion verbs.

- (101) wo zuotian gen ta gongzuo dao hen wan
 我 昨天 跟 他 工作 到 很 晚
 1SG yesterday GEN 3SG work reach very late
 ‘I worked very late with him yesterday.’

- (102) Zhangsan zuotian gen Lisi da lanqiu
 張三 昨天 跟 李四 打 籃球
 Zhangsan yesterday GEN Lisi hit basketball
 ‘Zhangsan played basketball with Lisi yesterday.’

Also, when *gen* co-occurs with these non-motion verbs, *gen* can be a phrasal conjunction and a sentential conjunction, as suggested by the following two sentences.

(103) *Gen* as a phrasal conjunction

[wo	gen	ta]	zuotian	<u>yiqi</u>	chi	wancan
我	跟	他	昨天	一起	吃	晚餐
1SG	GEN	3SG	yesterday	together	eat	dinner

‘He and I had dinner together yesterday.’

(104) *Gen* as a sentential conjunction

[wo	gen	ta]	zuotian	<u>dou</u>	chi	le	wancan
我	跟	他	昨天	都	吃	了	晚餐
1SG	GEN	3SG	yesterday	all	eat	PFV	dinner

‘Both he and I had dinner yesterday.’

Other examples are given below.

(105)[wo gen ta] zuotian dou gongzuo dao hen wan
 我 跟 他 昨天 都 工作 到 很 晚
 1SG GEN 3SG yesterday all work reach very late
 ‘Both he and I worked very late yesterday.’

(106)[wo gen ta] zuotian yiqi gongzuo dao hen wan
 我 跟 他 昨天 一起 工作 到 很 晚
 1SG GEN 3SG yesterday together work reach very late
 ‘He and I worked very late together yesterday.’

(107)[Zhangsan gen Lisi] zuotian dou da le lanqiu
 張三 跟 李四 昨天 都 打 了 籃球
 Zhangsan GEN Lisi yesterday all hit PFV basketball
 ‘Both Zhangsan and Lisi played basketball yesterday.’

(108)[Zhangsan gen Lisi] zuotian yiqi da le lanqiu
 張三 跟 李四 昨天 一起 打 了 籃球
 Zhangsan GEN Lisi yesterday together hit PFV basketball
 ‘Zhangsan and Lisi played basketball together yesterday.’

5.2.2.2.3 *Gen* co-occurring with unidirectional verbs

It is worth noting that when *gen* co-occurs with certain non-motion verbs, *gen* as

a preposition can develop another function, i.e. serving to indicate a one-way relationship between the two referents (Teng 1970). Consider the following sentences.

(109) Zhangsan zuotian gen Lisi jie le sanben shu
 張三 昨天 跟 李四 借 了 三本 書
 Zhangsan yesterday GEN Lisi borrow PFV three-CL book
 ‘Zhangsan borrowed three books from Lisi yesterday.’

(110) Zhangsan zuotian gen Lisi shuo le yixie hua
 張三 昨天 跟 李四 說 了 一些 話
 Zhangsan yesterday GEN Lisi say PFV some word
 ‘Zhangsan said some words to Lisi yesterday.’

In the above two sentences, *gen* serves to introduce the source and the goal of the denoted event. These types of verbs are termed “unidirectional” verbs, which can be further divided into source-oriented and goal-oriented verbs.

When *gen* co-occurs with verbs like *jie* ‘to borrow’, *xue* ‘to learn’, *mai* ‘to buy’, it introduces another referent which is the *source* of the denoted event. *Gen* in this function introduces the source of the denoted event. They are source-oriented verbs.

When *gen* co-occurs with verbs like *shuo* ‘to say’, *jieshi* ‘to explain’, *xuanbu* ‘to announce’, *gen* introduces another referent which is the *goal* of the denoted event. They are goal-oriented verbs.

It is also important to note that though *gen* tends to function as a unidirectional marker when co-occurring with the goal-oriented and source-oriented verbs, *gen* as a preposition will serve as a comitative marker when *yiqi* is added.

Consider the following two sentences (111) and (112).

- (111) Zhangsan zuotian gen Lisi yiqi jie le shu
 張三 昨天 跟 李四 一起 借 了 書
 Zhangsan yesterday GEN Lisi together borrow PFV book
 ‘Zhangsan, together with Lisi, borrowed books yesterday.’
- (112) Zhangsan zuotian gen Lisi yiqi shuo le yixie hua
 張三 昨天 跟 李四 一起 說 了 一些 話
 Zhangsan yesterday GEN Lisi together say PFV some word
 ‘Zhangsan, together with Lisi, said some words yesterday.’

Besides, it is possible for *gen* in these cases to derive a phrasal conjunction and a sentential conjunction. Consider the following sentence.

- (113)[Zhangsan gen Lisi] zuotian yiqi jie le shu
 張三 跟 李四 昨天 一起 借 了 書
 Zhangsan GEN Lisi yesterday together borrow PFV book
 ‘Zhangsan and Lisi borrowed books together yesterday.’
- (114)[Zhangsan gen Lisi] zuotian dou jie le shu
 張三 跟 李四 昨天 都 借 了 書
 Zhangsan GEN Lisi yesterday all borrow PFV book
 ‘Both Zhangsan and Lisi borrowed books yesterday.’
- (115)[Zhangsan gen Lisi] zuotian yiqi shuo le yixie hua
 張三 跟 李四 昨天 一起 說 了 一些 話
 Zhangsan GEN Lisi yesterday together say PFV some word
 ‘Zhangsan and Lisi said some words together yesterday.’
- (116) [Zhangsan gen Lisi] zuotian dou shuo le yixie hua
 張三 跟 李四 昨天 都 說 了 一些 話
 Zhangsan GEN Lisi yesterday all say PFV some word
 ‘Both Zhangsan and Lisi said some words yesterday.’

In other words, when *gen* co-occurs with unidirectional verbs, it can function four ways: as a preposition marking comitativity, a preposition marking unidirectionality, a phrasal conjunction and a sentential conjunction.

5.2.2.3 Summary

We have shown in this section that when *gen* co-occurs with non-stative verbs,

the interpretations of *gen* are varied. When *gen* co-occurs with non-stative reciprocal verbs, the interpretations of *gen* are similar to those of *gen* in co-occurrence with stative reciprocal verbs. On the other hand, when *gen* co-occurs with non-stative non-reciprocal verbs, *gen* basically stands three possibilities: it can function as a preposition, as a phrasal conjunction and as a sentential conjunction. Besides, when it co-occurs with motion verbs, it is likely to be perceived as a verb and when it co-occurs with unidirectional verbs, it can develop another function, which is to mark a unidirectional relationship. Table 5.2 summarizes the above discussion.

Table 5.2 Functions of *gen* co-occurring with non-stative verbs

NON-STATIVE VERBS			Functions of <i>gen</i>					Verb	
			Conj		Prep				
			Sent	Phras	Rec	Com	Unidir		
Reciprocal	Intr <i>huxiang</i> 'mutual'		-	+	-	-	-	-	
	VO Compound	- ASP	-	+	+	-	-	-	
		+ASP	+	+	+	-	-	-	
	Transitive (Collective)	- ASP	-	+	+	-	-	-	
		+ASP	+	+	+	-	-	-	
Non-reciprocal	Motion		+	+	-	+	-	+	
	Non-motion	Non-unidir	+	+	-	+	-	-	
		Unidir	S	+	+	-	+	+	-
			G	+	+	-	+	+	-

5.3 A binary-distinction analysis at two levels

The preceding sections can be briefly summarized along two parameters, i.e., whether *gen* co-occurs with verbs which may or may not involve stativity and reciprocity.

- (i) When *gen* co-occurs with “stative non-reciprocal” verbs like *qiong* ‘to be poor’ and *xihuan* ‘to like’, *gen* can only serve as a sentential conjunction. Only in co-occurrence with some “measure” stative non-reciprocal verbs like *you* ‘to have’ can *gen* function as a phrasal conjunction as well.
- (ii) When *gen* co-occurs with “reciprocal” verbs, whether “stative” or “non-stative”, *gen* can usually function either as a preposition or as a phrasal conjunction. One exception is the type of reciprocal verb which is coded by *huxiang* or *xianghu* ‘mutual’. When *gen* co-occurs with such reciprocal verbs, it can only serve as a phrasal conjunction. In addition, when a VO compound or a collective verb is marked for aspect, a sentential conjunction can be derived as well.
- (iii) When *gen* co-occurs with “non-stative non-reciprocal” verbs, the interpretations of *gen* are varied. *Gen* in this type of occurrence basically can serve as a preposition, a phrasal conjunction and a sentential conjunction. Furthermore, when *gen* co-occurs with motion verbs, *gen* is claimed to retain some verbal traits, as evidenced by Teng’s “principality” notion. *Gen* in this case is possibly

perceived as a verb. In addition, when *gen* co-occurs with certain non-motion verbs like *shuo* ‘to say’ and *jie* ‘to borrow’, *gen* as a preposition not only can function as a comitative marker but also serve to indicate a unidirectional relationship between the two referents.

The two levels of analyses can be schematically represented by Figure 5.1.

Besides, Table 5.3, which combines Table 5.1 and Table 5.2, comprehensively presents how *gen* behaves in co-occurrence with stative and non-stative verbs.

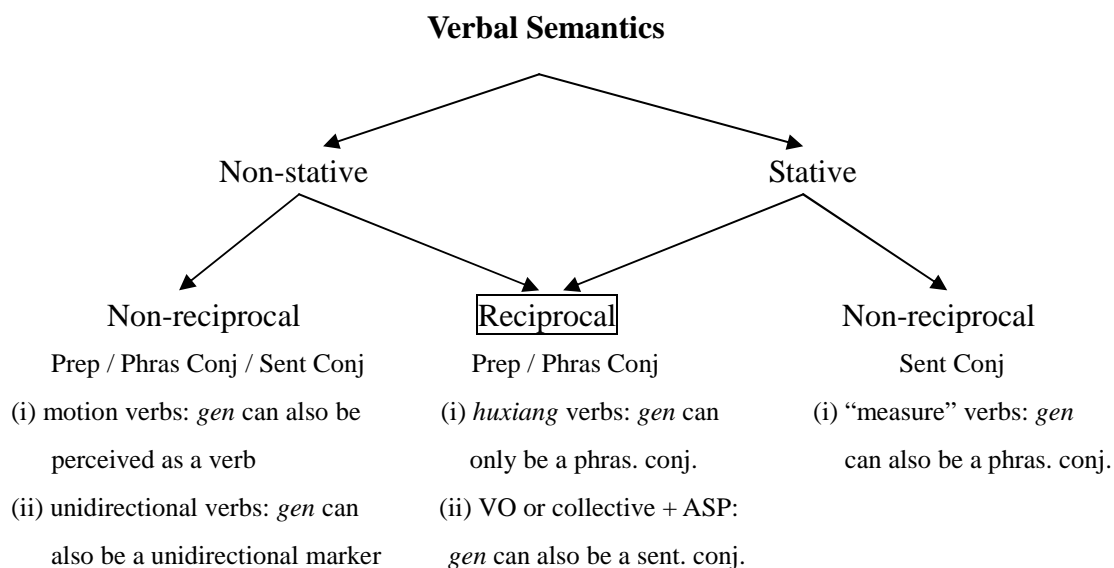


Figure 5.1 Interpretations of *gen* under a two-level analysis

Table 5.3 Functions of *gen* co-occurring with stative and non-stative verbs

Types of verbs			Functions of <i>gen</i>					Verb	
			Conj		Prep				
			Sent	Phras	Rec	Com	Unidir		
Stative verbs									
Reciprocal	Copula		+	-	-	-	-	-	
	Intransitive		+	-	-	-	-	-	
	Tr	Others	+	-	-	-	-	-	
		<i>you</i> 'to have'	+	+	-	-	-	-	
Non-reciprocal	Copula		-	+	+	-	-	-	
	Intr	<i>huxiang</i> 'mutual'	-	+	-	-	-	-	
Non-stative verbs									
Reciprocal	Intr	<i>huxiang</i> 'mutual'	-	+	-	-	-	-	
	VO Compound	- ASP	-	+	+	-	-	-	
		+ASP	+	+	+	-	-	-	
	Transitive (Collective)	- ASP	-	+	+	-	-	-	
		+ASP	+	+	+	-	-	-	
Non-reciprocal	Motion		+	+	-	+	-	+	
	Non-motion	Non-unidir	+	+	-	+	-	-	
		Unidir	S	+	+	-	+	+	-
			G	+	+	-	+	+	-

5.4 The continuum model

In this section, we bring forth a continuum model to account for the different behaviors of *gen*. By way of explicit illustration, we make recourse to two figures. Figure 5.2 demonstrates a graded continuum, which includes seven positions from (a) to (g) whereby *gen* co-occurs with different types of verbs and shows different behaviors. Figure 5.3 integrates this graded continuum into our proposed verbal semantic framework and indicates the continuum position at the bottom of each verb

type.

	VERB/PREP/CONJ			PREP/CONJ		CONJ	
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)
	<i>qu</i> 'go'	<i>chi</i> 'eat'	<i>jie</i> 'borrow'	<i>dajia</i> 'fight'	<i>xiangai</i> 'love (rec)'	<i>you</i> 'have'	<i>qiong</i> 'be poor'
Verb type	Non-stative Non-reciprocal			Non-stative / Stative Reciprocal		Stative Non-reciprocal	
Function	Non-stative Non-reciprocal			Non-stative / Stative Reciprocal		Stative Non-reciprocal	
Verb	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
Prep (Com)	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
Prep(Unidir)	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
Prep (Rec)	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
Phras Conj	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
Sent Conj	+	+	+	-	-	+	+

Figure 5.2 Behavior of *gen* on the continuum

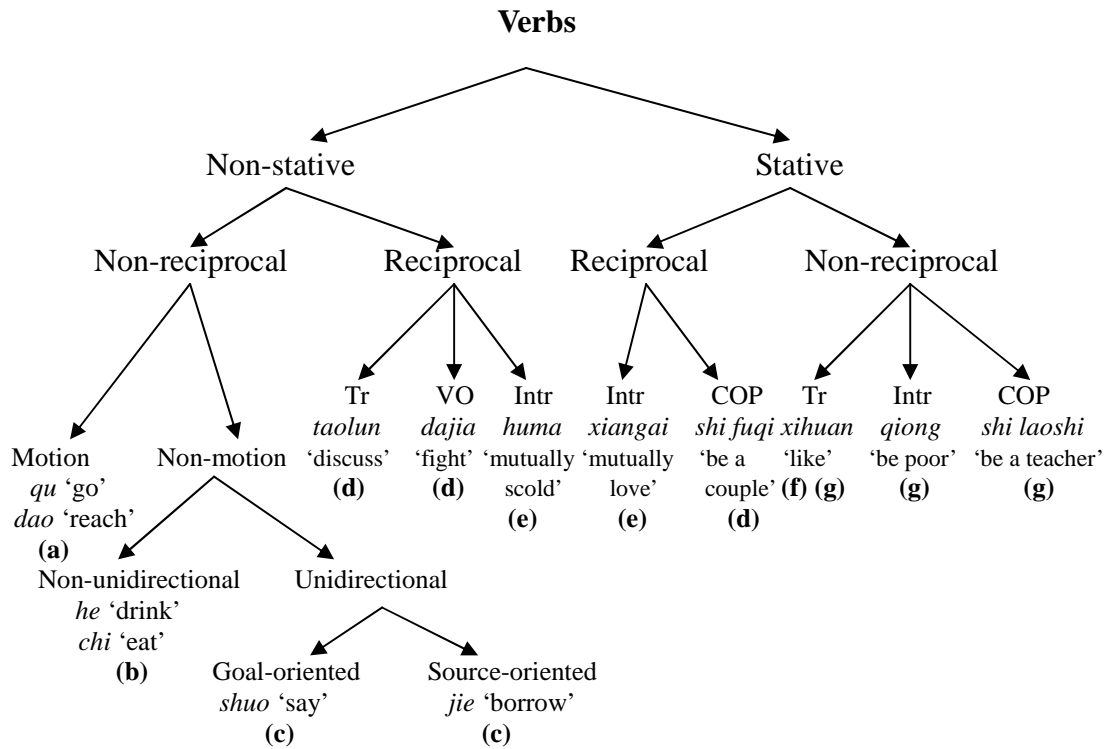


Figure 5.3 Integration of the continuum into our proposed verb classification

framework

As shown by Figure 5.2, at the far end of the continuum on the right, i.e. the position (g), the behavior of *gen* is exclusively interpreted as a sentential conjunction. The types of verbs co-occurring with *gen* in this position are “stative non-reciprocal” verbs in our framework, except for “measure” or “possessive” verbs. Verbs in this position include the copular predicate *shi laoshi* ‘to be a teacher’, intransitive verbs such as *qiong* ‘to be poor’, and transitive verbs such as *xihuan* ‘to like’.

To the immediate left of position (g), i.e. the position (f), *gen* can function not only as a sentential conjunction but also as a phrasal conjunction. The types of verbs in this position are those “measure” or “possessive” verbs. They are also stative and non-reciprocal in nature, such as *you* ‘to own’.

To summarize the present discussion, “stative non-reciprocal” verbs occur in the two positions (g) and (f), whereby *gen* basically can function as a sentential conjunction.

When we move to the left of position (f), the position (e), *gen* can function only as a phrasal conjunction. Verbs co-occurring with *gen* in this position are those reciprocal verbs headed by *huxiang*, or the reduced form *hu* or *xiang*. These are labeled “intransitive reciprocal” verbs in our framework. They can be stative like *xiangai* ‘to love each other’ or non-stative like *huma* ‘to scold each other’.

To the immediate left of position (e), the position (d), *gen* starts to behave

ambiguously between a conjunction and a preposition. In this position, *gen* can function as a phrasal conjunction and as a preposition featuring reciprocity. Co-occurring verbs are also reciprocal verbs, whether stative or non-stative. They include VO compounds like *dajia* ‘to fight’, transitive reciprocals like *taolun* ‘to discuss’ and copular reciprocals like *shi fuqi* ‘to be a couple’.

Basically, verbs occurring in position (e) and (d) are “reciprocal” verbs, whether “stative” or “non-stative”. When acting as a conjunction, *gen* in these two positions can function only as a phrasal conjunction. A sentential conjunction is never possible unless aspect is encoded into VO compounds or transitive reciprocals.³¹ Besides, *gen* shows ambiguous patterns in position (d).

Next, when we move to the left of position (d), we are entering positions whereby *gen* can be interpreted either (i) as a preposition or (ii) as a conjunction at the phrasal or sentential level. The verbs in these three positions, i.e. (a), (b), (c), are “non-stative” and “non-reciprocal.” For the sake of explicitness, we will start with the position (a), i.e. the other end of the continuum, as shown in Figure 5.2.

In position (a), *gen* is likely to be analyzed as a verb, based on Teng’s (1970) “principality” notion. In other words, *gen* is four ways possible: a verb, a preposition marking comitativity, a phrasal conjunction and a sentential conjunction.

³¹ This point has been elaborated in Section 5.2.2.1.1 of this chapter.

Co-occurring verbs in this position are motion verbs such as *qu* ‘to go’, *pao* ‘to run’ and *lai* ‘to come’.

When we move to the position (b), we find that *gen* will not be perceived as a verb any longer. In contrast to position (a), non-motion verbs occur in position (b), whereby *gen* can function as a preposition marking comitativity, as a phrasal conjunction and as a sentential conjunction. Verbs include *chi* ‘to eat’, *gongzuo* ‘to work’ and *zuo* ‘to sit’.

To the right of the position (b), the position (c), stand certain non-motion verbs whereby *gen* as a preposition can serve not only as a comitative marker but also as a unidirectional indicator. In other words, *gen* in this position has also four different interpretations: a preposition marking comitativity, a preposition displaying unidirectionality, a phrasal conjunction and a sentential conjunction. These verbs are termed unidirectional verbs in contrast to non-unidirectional verbs in position (b). Unidirectional verbs include goal-oriented verbs like *shuo* ‘to say’, *xuanbu* ‘to announce’ and source-oriented verbs like *jie* ‘to borrow’, *xue* ‘to learn’.

On balance, we have shown that it is possible to set up a continuum model to explain different behaviors of *gen* with recourse to our verbal semantic framework. As shown by Figure 5.2, at the right end of the continuum, the function of *gen* is restricted to a sentential conjunction, and co-occurring verbs are “stative

non-reciprocal” verbs. When we move to the middle of the continuum, *gen* starts to develop dual functions, either as a phrasal conjunction or as a preposition. Co-occurring verbs are “reciprocal” verbs, whether stative or non-stative. To its left on the continuum, *gen* can always behave as a preposition or as a conjunction (phrasal and sentential) and co-occurring verbs are “non-stative non-reciprocal” verbs. At the left end of the continuum, *gen* is said to evidence some verbal function and can be possibly perceived as a verb.

To sum up, at one end of the continuum on the right, *gen* displays unitary behavior, i.e. exclusively interpreted as a sentential conjunction. When we move to the left on the continuum, *gen* starts to behave ambiguously. The degree of ambiguity reaches its maximum with a variety of functions when we get to the left end of the continuum.