

GRAMMATICALIZATION
AND
THE DEVELOPMENT OF FUNCTIONAL CATEGORIES IN CHINESE

by

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ABSTRACT

Gramaticalization and the Development of Functional Categories in Chinese

This dissertation examines how functional categories have developed in Chinese and argues for the existence of a variety of processes of grammaticalization and reanalysis on the basis of changes found in Chinese. "Vertical grammaticalization" is suggested to be a common movement-dependent reanalysis process in which elements undergo raising into the extended functional structure dominating a lexical category and then become reanalyzed in the higher target head position, this process occurring in the creation of a new indefinite determiner from the general classifier *ge* (chapter 2) and in the creation of aspect and tense morphemes (chapter 6, verbal *-le*). "Horizontal grammaticalization" is argued to be a second type of cross-domain reanalysis where a functional head in one type of domain is re-interpreted as an equivalent corresponding functional head in a second parallel type of domain, this occurring in modern Mandarin with the ongoing creation of a new perfect tense/T⁰ morpheme from an original D⁰ element (chapter 4, D-to-T reanalysis and the *shi-de* cleft construction). The dissertation also considers how restructuring operations may result in the creation of new functional categories. In chapter 3 it is argued that a new instantiation of evidential Mood/C⁰ is created when an original bi-clausal structure is simplified as a mono-clausal structure and the predicate of the original matrix clause becomes re-analyzed as a high functional head in the new single clause

structure (chapter 3, Taiwanese *kong* as an S-final particle derived from *kong* ‘to say’). Restructuring is also suggested to be responsible for the creation of a new completive aspect projection in Chinese from an original resultative construction and significantly to be triggered by reasons of directionality and selection (chapter 5, resultative verb constructions and aspect). Generally the dissertation attempts to provide answers to a number of puzzles relating to the present identity and syntax of functional elements in Chinese and to argue for synchronic analyses of such elements in a way which also accounts for how such grammatical elements could have most plausibly come into existence.