Encyclopedia of Chinese Language and Linguistics

Volume 4
Shā–Z

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CHINESE LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTICS

Volume 4
Shā–Z

General Editor
Rint Sybesma

Associate Editors
Wolfgang Behr
Yueguo Gu
Zev Handel
C.-T. James Huang
James Myers

BRILL

Nakanishi Hiroki 中西裕树, "Cóng yuánshǐ Shēyǔ dào xiàndài Shēyǔ de yīxiē yīnbiàn 从原始畬语到现代畬语的一些音变" [Some sound changes from Proto-Shē to modern Shē dialects], *Doshisha Studies in Language and Culture* (*Gengo Bunka* 言語文化) 13/1, 2010, 19–53.

Nakanishi, Hiroki 中西裕樹, "Syoogo no syoyuusha hyoogen—Chuugoku nanbu ni okeru chiiki toku-choo no zanzon—ショオ語の所有者表現—中國南部における地域特徵の殘存—" [Possessive constructions in the Shē language—A residue of an areal feature in southern China], in: Too-hoogaku kenkyuu ronsyuu kankookai 東方學研究論集刊行會, eds., *Takata Tokio kyoojyu taisyoku kinen Toohoogaku kenkyuu ronsyuu* 高田時雄教授退職記念 東方學研究論集 [East Asian studies festschrift in honor of the retirement of Professor TAKATA Tokio], 2014, 164–180.

Nakanishi, Hiroki and Bit-chee Kwok, "Evolution of the Initial Consonants in the She Language Induced by Contact with Hakka", *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* 37/2, 2009, 207–226.

National Bureau of Statistics of China 中华人民共和国统计局, eds., *Zhōngguó tǒngjì niánjiàn zǒng 32 qī* 中国统计年鉴总32期 [China Statistical Yearbook 32], Běijīng 北京: Zhōngguó tǒngjì 中国统计出版社, 2013.

Ratliff, Martha, "Ho Ne (She) is Hmongic: One Final Argument", *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 21/2, 1998, 97–109.

Ratliff, Martha, *Hmong-Mien Language History*, Canberra: Australian National University, 2010.

Wáng Fǔshì 王辅世 and Máo Zōngwǔ 毛宗武, *Miáo-Yáoyǔ gǔyīn gòunǐ* 苗瑶语古音构拟 [The reconstruction of Proto-Hmong-Mien phonology], Běijīng 北京: Zhōngguó Shèhuì Kēxué 中国社会科学出版社, 1995.

Yue, Anne O., "Chinese Dialects: Grammar", in: Graham Thurgood and Randy J. LaPolla, eds., *The Sino-Tibetan Languages*, London: Routledge, 2003, 84–125.

Hiroki Nakanishi

Shì 是…(de 的) Sentences

This lemma introduces structural characteristics of emphatic sentences: *shì…de* 是…的 'be…*de*', bare *shì* without *de*, and (*shì*)…*de* sentences. Despite often being interchangeably treated as clefts, they will be reviewed separately. Section 1 summarizes two main approaches to *shì…de*: predication approach (§1.1), and particle *de* approach (§1.2). Bare *shi*-sentences and optional *shi* sentences will be discussed in section 2 and section 3 respectively.

1. SHÌ…DE

Shì…de sentences lack overt constituent displacement. *Shì* occurs in preverbal positions (possible positions for *shì* marked by "^" in (1)), and the constituent immediately following usually receives the focal attention, such as the subject focus (the capitalized constituent) in (1i), and the adjunct foci in (1iii)–(1iv) depending on *shì*'s positions. *Shì* can never occur postverbally. The particle *de* appears sentence finally or between V and O; see (7).

1. ^張三^去年^在印度^用手吃(*是)飯的。
   ^ Zhāng Sān ^qùnián ^ zài Yìndù ^ yòng
   Zhāng Sān last.year in India with
   shǒu chī (*shì) fàn de.
   hand eat SHI rice DE
   i. 'ZHĀNG SĀN ate with his fingers in India last year.'
   ii. 'Zhāng Sān ate with his fingers in India LAST YEAR.'
   iii. 'Zhāng Sān ate with his fingers IN INDIA last year.'
   iv. 'Zhāng Sān ate WITH HIS FINGERS in India last year.'

1.1 *Predication approach*

Paris (1979) claims that *shì* as in (2a) is a copular verb and the remainder of the sentence is nominalized by the nominalizer *de* (Chao's 1968 "specifying *de*", and Li and Thompson 1981). However, it is unclear why the "head-noun" of the nominalizer cannot be realized or syntactically projected. In (2a), the nominal 'situation/fact', selecting for a CP like 'the situation (such) that…' (Kitagawa and Ross 1982; Simpson and Wu 2002) can never be allowed. The intended reading of (2a) is not derived from (2b) by deleting the relative head noun. Besides, no clear evidence indicates that the verb is marked gerundive.

2. a. 張三是去年殺牛的 (*情形/*事實)。
   Zhāng Sān shì qùnián shā niú de
   Zhāng Sān SHI last.year kill cattle DE
   (*qíngxíng/*shìshí).
   situation
   'Zhāng Sān killed cows LAST YEAR.'

b. 張三是去年殺牛的人。

Zhāng Sān shì qùnián shā niú de
Zhāng Sān SHI last.year kill cattle DE
rén.
person
'Zhāng Sān is the one who killed cows last
year.'

To rid a null head-noun, Cheng (2008) claims *de*
marks the presence of a generalized lambda (λ-)
operator, which creates a predication structure
but *without* the relative head, shown in (3b).
The copular *shì* selects a small clause, and (3a)
is derived by raising the subject to the matrix
subject position.

3. a. 張三是住在臺北的。

Zhāng Sān shì zhù zài Táiběi de.
Zhāng Sān SHI live LOC Taipei DE

b. [shì   [small clause [SUBJ
Zhāng Sān] [PRED *e* zhù zài Táiběi de]]].

She further suggests that the adjunct narrow
focus as in (1) is obtained via an LF movement of
the focused constituent and phonological stress.

This predication analysis assumes that the
emphatic *shì … de* sentences are no different
from canonical copular sentences. However,
Paris (1979) and Lee (2005) distinguish the for-
mer (the "clefts" containing a narrow (adjunct/
subject) focus in (1) and (2a)) from the latter,
in which *shì* immediately precedes a bare verb
as in (4a). Sentence (4a) containing a dynamic
verb expresses what Paris calls "predication of
essence" (1979:73): properties of characterizing/
generalizing the subject, and (4b) is possible
with a stative predicate (Lee 2005).

4. a. 張三是殺牛的。

Zhāng Sān shì shā niú   de.
Zhāng Sān SHI kill cattle DE
'Zhāng Sān kills cattle (a cattle slaughterer).'
(Paris 1979:68)

b. 張三是喜歡看電影的。

Zhāng Sān shì xǐhuān kàn diànyǐng de.
Zhāng Sān SHI like   see movie   DE
'It is true that Zhāng Sān likes to see
movies.'
(Lee 2005:203)

Questions still remain as to why *shì … de* "clefts"
hinge on the occurrence of a narrow focus
(Yáng 1997). In (5) *shì* immediately precedes the
dynamic verb, but does not express a charac-
terizing property of the subject. Moreover, the
obtained VP focus (5i) and object focus (5ii) are
not predicted by Paris and Lee.

5. 我(去年)是見過王小姐的。 (Shi 1994:82)

Wǒ (qùnián) shì jiàn-guo Wáng xiǎojiě de.
1SG last.year SHI see-EXP Wáng miss   DE
i. 'I DID see Miss Wáng last year.'
ii. 'I saw MISS WANG last year.'

1.2 *Particle de approach*

In the camp of treating *shì … de* as a cleft proper,
while the focus effect of *shì* (as a focus particle
in Huang 1982 and Chiu 1993) is widely acknowl-
edged, *shì* is often treated as a verb (Teng 1979;
Tāng 1980; Paul and Whitman 2008; raising verb
in Huang 1988; or modal in Shi 1994). Further-
more, it has been widely claimed that *shì … de*
expresses realis situations contributed by *de*: a
perfective aspect (Dragunov 1952; Teng 1979; Shi
1994; Paul and Whitman 2008) or a past tense
marker (Simpson and Wu 2002), since a future
context is infelicitous in (6), and only realis
context is possible in V-*de*-O as in (7). Note that
V-*de*-O is more common in the northern dia-
lects than in the south (Chao 1968). Its Canton-
ese counterpart, V-*ge*-O, is even unacceptable
(Tang 2011:156).

6. 我是明天買票(*的/*了)。

Wǒ shì míngtiān mǎi piào
1SG SHI tomorrow buy ticket
(*de/*le).
 DE/PERF
'I will buy the ticket TOMORROW.'

7. 我是昨天/*明天買的票。

Wǒ shì zuótiān/*míngtiān   mǎi de piào.
1SG SHI yesterday/tomorrow buy DE ticket
'I bought/*will buy the ticket YESTERDAY/
*TOMORROW.'

Nevertheless, the realis *de* analysis cannot explain
the volition sentences as in (8), or habitual/
generic sentences as in (9), noted in Tāng (1980).

8. 我是明天要去買票的。

Wǒ shì míngtiān yào qù mǎi piào de.

1SG SHI tomorrow want go buy ticket DE

'I want to buy ticket TOMORROW.'

9. 我是早上喝茶的。

Wǒ shì zǎoshàng hē chá de.

1SG SHI morning drink tea DE

'I drink/drank tea IN THE MORNING.'

The V-*de*-O and V-O-*de* are often assumed to be interchangeable despite scarce formal accounts. Simpson and Wu (2002) suggest that V-*de*-O be derived from V-O-*de* by cliticizing the nominalizer *de* into the verb and being reanalyzed as the past tense *de*. This synchronic derivation is refuted by Lóng and Xiào's (2011) diachronic evidence: V-*de*-O, first appearing in the Sòng dynasty (11th-13th cents. CE), had developed earlier than the first emergence of the V-O-*de* in the Yuán dynasty (13th–14th cents. CE).

In view of the properties for designating "clefts", viz., the requirement of a narrow (subject/adjunct) focus and the realia contexts, the recurring fundamental question is why Mandarin "clefts" require such language specific conditions.

2. Bare Shi Sentences

While *shì . . . de* and bare *shì* sentences are found interchangeable (e.g., Teng 1979; Huang 1982, 1988; Chiu 1993; Huang *et al.* 2009), Lee (2005) reports a dynamic bare verb restriction in *shì . . . de*, but inapplicable to bare *shì* sentences, as shown in (10).

10. 他是畢業了/(*的)。

Tā shì bìyè le/(*de).

3SG SHI graduate PERF/DE

'He DID graduate.'

Paul and Whitman (2008) make another distinction to exclude what they call "medial" bare *shi* sentences as in (11) from their "cleft" proper, which includes (i) *shì . . . de* as in (1), and (ii) the subject focus bare *shì*-sentences as in (12), the foci shown in the bracketed phrases.

11. 他[是] [[學][語言學]] , . . .

Tā [shì F-iv] [[xué F-ii] [yǔyánxué F-i] F-iii] Ø, . . .

3SG be study linguistics

F-i. 'He studies LINGUISTICS (, not French).' —object focus

F-ii. 'He STUDIES(, not teaches), linguistics.'—verb focus

F-iii. 'He STUDIES LINGUISTICS (, not teach French).'—VP focus

F-iv. 'He DOES study linguistics.'—proposition focus

12. 是[Akiu]喝了紅酒。

Shì [Akiu] hē-le hóngjiǔ Ø.

SHI Akiu drink-ASP red.wine

'AKIU drank red wine.'

Paul and Whitman's distinction is motivated by two assumptions. Firstly, the "cleft" proper requires a "positionally determined" exclusive/exhaustive (Kiss 1998:415) narrow focus: immediately following *shì*. Secondly, the medial bare *shì* is excluded from their "cleft" proper because the elements in *shì*'s dominating domain can be *shì*'s focus associates via "association with focus" (AwF) (Jackendoff 1972; Rooth 1985) as in (11i) (11iii), not limited to a designated (narrow) focus.

Questions remain regarding the possible interpretation of the object and predicate focus and their assumed exclusive truth condition in *shì . . . de*. Firstly, the object focus in (13) and verb focus in (14) are rendered both in *shì . . . de* and bare *shì* sentences (adapted from Tāng 1980:272). If they are interpreted via AwF in bare *shì* sentences, why can they not be interpreted likewise in *shì . . . de*?

13. A: 他是學什麼(的)?

Tā shì xué shénme (de)?

3SG SHI study what DE

'What does he study?'

B: 他是學[語言學](的)?

Tā shì xué [yǔyánxué] (de)?

3SG SHI study linguistics DE

'He studies LINGUISTICS.'

14. A: 他是學語言學(的)嗎？
     Tā   shì xué   yǔyánxué (de) ma?
     3SG SHI study linguistics DE QUES
     'Does he study linguistics?'
   B: 不, 他是[教]語言學(的)。
     Bù, tā   shì [jiāo] yǔyánxué (de).
     no   3SG SHI teach   linguistics DE
     'No, he TEACHES linguistics.'

Another question is whether exclusiveness/exhaustiveness is truth-conditionally structured in *shì…de* as Paul and Whitman (2008:420) contend in (15a) (cf. Kiss 1998) vs. the lack of it in the medial bare *shì* (15b).

15. a. 他是在北京學中文的，#(但)也是在上海學的。
     Tā   shì zài Běijīng xué   Zhōngwén
     3SG SHI LOC Běijīng study Chinese
     de, #(dàn) yě   shì zài Shànghǎi
     DE   but   also SHI LOC Shànghǎi
     xué   *de*.
     learn DE
     'It's in Běijīng that he studied Chinese, but also in Shànghǎi.'
   b. 他是在北京學過中文，但也在上海學過。
     Tā   shì zài Běijīng xué-**guò**
     3SG SHI LOC Běijīng study-EXP
     Zhōngwén Ø, dàn yě   zài Shànghǎi
     Chinese   but also LOC Shànghǎi
     xué-**guò**.
     learn-EXP
     'She studied Chinese in Běijīng, but she also studied Chinese in Shànghǎi.'

Unlike *only*, which semantically entails exhaustiveness, Horn (1981) explicitly states that the exhaustiveness effect is *not* part of the truth-conditions in clefts; rather, it is conversationally implicated; sentence (16a) entails 'Mary ate a pizza', and presupposes 'Mary ate something', but not necessarily denote (b); see Drenhaus *et al.*'s (2011) review and their empirical evidence.

16. a. It was pizza that Mary ate.
    b. Mary ate (exactly) one thing.

The oddity of (15a) may be due to a contradiction (in the second conjunct) to the asserted factual

event in violation of Grice's (1975) Maxim of Manner in Cooperative Principle. Likewise, this conversation violation obtains in bare *shì*. In (17), the perfective *-le* is substituted for the experience aspect *-guo* in Paul and Whitman's (15b).

17. 他是在北京學了中文，#但也在上海學了。Cf. (15b)
    Tā   shì zài Běijīng xué-le   Zhōngwén,
    3SG SHI LOC Běijīng study-PERF Chinese
    #dàn yě   zài Shànghǎi xué-le.
     but also LOC Shànghǎi study-PERF

Moreover, Paul and Whitman's (15a) is improved in (18a) when *-gùo* is substituted for *-le*. The exhaustiveness can be cancelled in (18b), as language-learning experiences can be gained at multiple locations, illustrated in (18c).

18. a. 他是在北京學過中文的,… Cf. (15a)
     Tā   shì zài Běijīng xué-guo
     3SG SHI LOC Běijīng study-EXP
     Zhōngwén de,
     Chinese   DE
   b. …但我不認為他只在北京學過。
     …dàn wǒ   bù   rènwéi tā   zhǐ   zài
      but 1SG not think   3SG only LOC
     Běijīng xué-guo.
     Běijīng study-EXP
     'He has indeed learned Mandarin in Běijīng, but I don't think he learned it only in Běijīng.'
   c. …但他也是在臺灣學過的。
     …dàn tā   yě   shì zài Táiwān
      but 3SG also SHI LOC Táiwān
     xué-guo   de.
     study-EXP DE

Despite the efforts of distinguishing medial bare *shì* from "cleft", Paul and Whitman's assumptions require further scrutiny: why AwF cannot be applied to *shì…de*, and whether *shì…de* truth-conditionally denotes exclusiveness.

3. OPTIONALITY OF SHÌ

Shì can be optional without affecting the truth condition (Yáng 1997; Lǐ *et al.* 1998; Yuán 2003 etc.). The bare *de*-sentences as in (19) express some property denoted by the predicate

ascribed to the subject (Yuán 2003), while the presence of *shì* just adds emphasis (Yáng 1997). Yuan notes that without *shì* ("implicitly marked" focus structure), the focus of (19i) and (19ii) is disambiguated by stress, but the foci in overt *shi…de* ("explicitly marked" focus structure) are not necessarily stressed. *Wh*-interrogatives and their answers in bare *de*-sentences in (20) automatically receive focus.

19.　　莉萍今年考上大學的。
　　　Lìpíng jīnnián　　kǎo-shàng
　　　Lìpíng this.year　examine-enter
　　　dàxué　　　　de.
　　　university　DE
　　　i.　'LIPING passed the entrance exam this
　　　　　year.'
　　　ii.　'Lìpíng passed the entrance exam
　　　　　THIS YEAR.'

20.　a.　莉萍什麼時候考上大學的？
　　　　Lìpíng shénme shíhòu kǎo-shàng
　　　　Lìpíng what　　time　　examine-enter
　　　　dàxué　　　de?
　　　　university　DE
　　　　'When did Lìpíng pass the entrance exam-
　　　　ination?'
　　b.　誰今年考上大學的？
　　　　Shéi jīnnián kǎo-shàng　　dàxué
　　　　who this.year examine-enter university
　　　　de?
　　　　DE
　　　　'Who passed the entrance examination
　　　　this year?'

Furthermore, Cheng (2008) contends that bare *de*-sentences can express sentential emphasis, broad focus, with no particular stress on any element, as shown in (21B). However, one can still pronounce *shì* before the verb (marked by "^") in Cheng's context of (21A).

21.　A: What is he doing here?
　　　B: 他^來找我的
　　　　Tā ^ lái　zhǎo　　wǒ de.
　　　　3SG come look.for 1SG DE
　　　　'(It is that) He came to see me.'
　　　　(Cheng 2008:#3)

Another type of broad focus is evidenced when *shì* is understood to be in the pre-subject position, as in (22), in which two clauses are contrasted, and (23B).

22.　^他來找我的（，不是我去找他的）。
　　　^ Tā lái　　zhǎo　　wǒ de(, bù　shì　wǒ
　　　　3SG come look.for 1SG DE not SHI 1SG
　　　qù zhǎo　　tā　　de).
　　　go look.for　3SG　DE
　　　'(It is that) He came to see me(, not that I
　　　came to see him).'

23.　A: What are you doing in the office here?
　　　If you don't come out, I'll tell the boss.
　　　B: 唉！^工作組的老張把我鎖在屋裡的。
　　　　Ài!　　^Gōngzuòzǔ de Lǎo Zhāng bǎ wǒ
　　　　(Sigh)! labor.team DE old Zhāng BA 1SG
　　　　suǒ　zài　wū-lǐ　　de.
　　　　lock　LOC room-in　DE
　　　　'It's that Old Zhāng in the labor team locked
　　　　me inside the room.'
　　　　(Yuán 2003)

Like the bare *de* in (23B), the overt pre-subject *shì* case as in (24b) clearly expresses a sentence focus, as the narrator stressed that the police made Wangzhuo come out instead of he standing up by himself.

24.　a.　Suddenly he heard "Wangzhuo, you are
　　　　arrested!" He then stood up fearfully.
　　b.　不，是兩位警把他揪起來的。
　　　　Bù, shì liǎngwèi jǐngchá　　bǎ　tā
　　　　no SHI two.CLF policemen take 3SG
　　　　jiūqǐlái　　de.
　　　　snatch.up　DE
　　　　'No, it is that two policemen snatched
　　　　him out.'
　　　　Yuán (2003:6)

The above discussion suggests that bare *de*-sentences allow a medial *shì* or pre-subject as schematized in (25a) and (25b) respectively, in the latter of which either narrow or broad focus is possibly yielded.

25.　a.　S-(*shi*)-(adjunct)-V-O-*de*.
　　b.　(*Shi*) S-V-O-*de*.

Paul and Whitman distinguish the broad focus sentences, termed as "propositional assertion" (*kěndìng yǔqì* 肯定語氣 'affirmative mood' from Zheng *et al.* 1992) as in (21) and (26ii), from their narrow focus *shì … de* "cleft" proper, e.g., (26-i).

26. 他(是)跟你開玩笑的。

Tā (shì) gēn nǐ kāiwánxiào de.

3SG SHI with 2SG play.joke DE

i. 'It was with you that he was joking.'—narrow focus

ii. '(It is the case that) he was joking with you.'—propositional assertion

Their propositional assertion also includes an irrealia (27), disqualified from their realis "cleft" (also in Zhāng 2006).

27. 你^會得肺炎的。

Nǐ ^ huì dé fèiyán de.

you will get pneumonia DE

'It must be the case that you will get pneumonia.'

Lǐ *et al.* (1998:95)

In summary, according to Paul and Whitman, (25a) may denote a narrow focus "cleft" or a propositional assertion (broad focus), but they have no say to the sentence focus of (25b). By contrast, Cheng (2008) treats (25b) as involving an Assertion operator *de*, distinguished from the λ-operator *de* in (25a) and (3b). Hence the debates boil down to the quest for classifying variants of *shì … de* and the identification of a "cleft proper".

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Chao, Yuen Ren, *A Grammar of Spoken Chinese*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968.

Cheng, Lisa Lai-Shen, "Deconstructing the *shi … de* Construction", *The Linguistic Review* 25, 2008, 235–266.

Chiu, H.-C. Bonnie, "The Inflectional Structure of Mandarin Chinese", dissertation, UCLA, 1993.

Dragunov, Alexander A., *Issledovanija po grammatike sovremennogo kitajskogo jazyka* [Studies in the grammar of modern Chinese], Moscow: Akademija Nauk, 1952.

Drenhaus, Heiner, Malte Zimmermann and Shravan Vasishth, "Exhaustiveness Effects in Clefts are not Truth-Functional", *Journal of Neurolinguistics* 24, 2011, 320–337.

Grice, Paul, "Logic and Conversation", in: Peter Cole and Jerry Morgan, eds., *Syntax and Semantics* 3: *Speech Acts*, New York: Academic Press, 1975, 41–58.

Horn, Laurence R., "Exhaustiveness and the Semantics of Clefts", in: Victoria Burke and J. Prestejovsky, eds., *Proceedings of the 11th Annual Meeting of NELS*, Massachusetts: UMass Amherst, 1981.

Huang, C.-T. James, "Logical Relations in Chinese and the Theory of Grammar", dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1982.

Huang, C.-T. James 黄正德, "Shuō *shì* hé *yǒu* 說是和有" [On *be* and *have*], *The Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology* 59, 1988, 43–64.

Huang, C.-T. James, Y.-H. Audrey Li and Yafei Li, *The Syntax of Chinese*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Jackendoff, Ray S., *Semantic Interpretation in Generative Grammar*, Cambridge MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1972.

Kiss, Katalin, "Identificational Focus versus Information Focus", *Language* 74/2, 1998, 245–273.

Kitagawa, Chisato and Claudia N. Ross, "Prenominal Modification in Chinese and Japanese", *Linguistic Analysis* 9/1, 1982, 19–53.

Lee, Hui-chi, "On Chinese Focus and Cleft Constructions", dissertation, Tsing-hua University, 2005.

Li, Charles and Sandra Thompson, *Mandarin Chinese: A Functional Reference Grammar*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981.

Li, Charles [Lǐ Nè 李訥], Sandra Thompson [Ān Shāndí 安山笛] and Zhāng Bójiāng 張伯江, "Cóng huàyǔ jiǎodù lùnzhèng yǔqìcí *de* 從話語角度論證語氣詞的" [The particle *de* as an evidential marker in Chinese], *Zhōngguó Yǔwén* 中國語文 263, 1998, 93–102.

Lóng Hǎipíng 龍海平 and Xiào Xiǎopíng 肖小平, "*Wǒ shì zuótiān mǎi dē piào* jùshì jíqí xiāngguān wèntí 我是昨天買的票句式及其相關問題" [*Wǒ shì zuótiān mǎi dē piào* construction and its related questions], *Shìjiè Hànyǔ Jiāoxué* 世界漢語教學 25, 2011, 305–318.

Paris, Marie-Claude, *Nominalization in Mandarin Chinese*, Paris: Université de Paris VII, 1979.

Paul, Waltraud and John Whitman, "*Shi … de* Focus Clefts in Mandarin Chinese", *The Linguistic Review* 25–3/4, 2008, 413–451.

Rooth, Mats, "Association with Focus", dissertation, UMass Amherst, 1985.

Shi, Dingxu, "The Nature of Chinese Emphatic Sentence", *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 3/1, 1994, 81–100.

Simpson, Andrew and Xiu-Zhi Wu, "From D to T-Determiner Incorporation and the Creation of Tense", *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 11/2, 2002, 169–209.

Tang, Sze-Wing, "On Gerundive Nominalization in Mandarin and Cantonese", in: Foong Ha Yap, Karen

Grunow-Hårsta and Janick Wrona, eds., *Nominalization in Asian Languages: Diachronic and Typological Perspectives*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2011, 147–160.

Tāng Tíng-Chí 湯廷池, "Gúoyǔ fēnlièjù, fēnlièbiànjù, zhǔnfēnlièjùdé jiégòu yǔ xiànzhì zhī yánjiù 國語分裂句, 分裂變句, 準分裂句的結構與限制之研究" [Cleft and pseudo-cleft constructions in Chinese: Structure, functions and constraints], *Journal of Taiwan Normal University* 25, 1980, 250–296.

Teng, Shou-Hsin, "Remarks on Cleft Sentences in Chinese", *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* 7/1, 1979, 101–114.

Yáng Shíquán 楊石泉, "*Shi … de* jù zhíyí 是 …的句質疑" [Doubts on *shi … de*], *Zhōnggú Yǔwén* 中國語文 261, 1997, 439–442.

Yuán Yùlín 袁毓林, "Cóng jiāodiǎn lǐlùn kàn jùwěi *de* dé jùfǎ yǔyì gōngnéng 從焦點理論看句尾的的句法語義功能" [On the syntactic and semantic function of *de* in the sentence final position: From a viewpoint of modern focus theory], *Zhōngguó Yǔwén* 中國語文 292, 2003, 3–16.

Zhāng Héyǒu 張和友, "Jùjiāoshì 'shì'-zìjùde jùfǎ yǔyì tèdiǎn 聚焦式 '是' 字句的句法語義特點" [Syntactic and semantic features of focalizing '*shi*' sentences], *Yǔyánjiāoxué yǔ Yánjiù* 語言教學與研究 1, 2006, 42–50.

Shu-ing Shyu

Shuōwén jiězì 說文解字

The *Shuōwén jiězì* 說文解字 [Explaining the unit characters and analyzing the compound characters], often referred to for convenience simply as the *Shuōwén*, is a 1st-century-CE character dictionary, the chief purpose of which is to explain the graphic structure of individual characters. The explanations that it presents are based on a first-level analytical classificatory scheme that accounts in principle for the structure of the Chinese writing system as it was understood at that time. The dictionary was compiled by the Eastern Hàn scholar Xǔ Shèn 許慎 (c. 55–c. 149), completed in 100 CE, but not presented to the Hàn court until 121 CE (Miller 1980:69). In compiling the *Shuōwén* as he did, Xǔ Shèn conforms to a widespread predisposition of the time to see a multitude of material aspects of the Hàn world in rationally analytical, systemic terms and by the same token to see the intellectual underpinnings of that world as amenable to rational explication (Miller 1980:28–29; Boltz 1994:151). By virtue of its systematic, analytical presentation of the Chinese script, the *Shuōwén* is in its organizational structure and contents clearly representative of this Hàn intellectual perspective. The *Shuōwén* is often described as an etymological dictionary, but it is not etymological in the conventional modern sense of the word; its entries give graphic analyses of characters, not histories of words. With few exceptions, it provides only very brief glosses to identify basic meanings of the words represented by the characters. The definitions usually represent standard (classical) usage, sometimes reflecting *yīnyáng wǔxíng* 陰陽五行 aspects of Hàn intellectual currents. Not infrequently the glosses seem intended to imply semantic rationales for the graphic structures that the dictionary elucidates. To that extent the meanings reflect "grapho-etymological" rather than quotidian meanings.

The dictionary in its transmitted, received form has fifteen *piān* 篇 'sections' each with a *shàng* 上 'part 1' and *xià* 下 'part 2'. The first 14 sections comprise the dictionary part of the *Shuōwén* proper and consist of 540 separate character classes, called *bù* 部 'groups', based on graphic structure. Each *bù* 'group' is defined by a single graphic component, called by later tradition a *bùshǒu* 部首 'group heading', that is, a "classifier", that Xǔ Shèn has identified as a primary recurring grapho-semantic constituent in the characters of the writing system. Each entry within a single *bù* will have the classifier component for that group as a part of its graphic structure and will consequently be analyzable into two parts, the classifier and the remaining part of the character. The remaining part may or may not be further analyzable. When the remaining part is identified as a phonophoric (i.e., the 'sound-bearing graphic component', commonly but imprecisely called the "phonetic") it is generally not further analyzed graphically, even when it clearly consists of more than one component. When no phonophoric is identified, characters may be analyzed into more components than the simple bipartite "classifier-remainder" structure. In a very few cases a *bùshǒu* 'classifier' will in fact be a character itself that Xǔ Shèn analyzes into components and will not be found as a recurring constituent in more than one or two characters.