6 THE CORE SENSES OF *SHÀNG*

With a view to cross-linguistic comparison, the current chapter is devoted to an analysis on how the positive pole of the vertical dimension can be linguistically manifested in Chinese. In particular, the constructional schema which I focus on is [V] – [SHANG], for the following reasons. First, in all major English-Chinese dictionaries, *shàng* is listed as the first entry to *up*, which ensures the status of *shàng* as the most suitable counterpart of *up* in Chinese. However, as we look into the corpus, we see that *shàng* occurs in a variety of constructions, such as [NP] – [SHANG], [V] – [SHANG], [SHANG] – [NP], etc. Among all these constructions, only [V] – [SHANG] involves both the target words and a verb similar to the English VPCs. Secondly, although in most cases, *shàng* is immediately followed by an NP, it should not be seen merely as a postposition. Rather, the verb and *shàng* form a complex structure that consists of two integrated components, the meaning of which is not entirely compositional, which makes [V] – [SHANG] comparable to English VPCs.[64]

Below, I will analyze my corpus data using Evans's (2004) methodology of sense distinction with respect to three criteria, and I will introduce the senses that are not derived by conceptual metaphor, i.e. the senses that do not involve cross-domain mapping. I will continue to use Langacker's (1987, 2008) notion of conceptual autonomy and dependence in forming symbolic assemblies, which I used in the analysis on *up*. Due to space limitations, the metaphorical senses of *shàng* are not discussed in this study.

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64   [V] – [SHANG] is a global schema which can be instantiated by several local schemas, such as [NP1] – [V] – [SHANG] – [NP2], [NP] – [V1] – [SHANG] – [V2], etc., with the global schema always immanent in the local manifestations.

6.1 Core senses of *shàng* and the Meaning Criterion

Based on Evans's (2004) methodology, I identified in the corpus the following six core senses for *shàng* which do not involve a cross-domain mapping: 'vertically attained'; 'vertically higher'; 'forward'; 'attached'; 'completive'; and 'inceptive'.[65] In this section, I expound on these senses and how they meet the Meaning Criterion.

6.1.1 'Vertically attained'

'Vertically attained' involves the vertical dimension in the conceptual domain of SPACE. A distinct characteristic of the meaning is that it has a concrete and specific location as its lm, which distinguishes it from 'vertically higher'. In addition, some effort typically needs to be made by the tr in order to attain the lm. Excerpts (6–1) and (6–2) are typical:

(6–1)	擔心	這場雪		太	大,	屋頂
	dānxīn	*zhè-chǎng-xuě*		*tài*	*dà*	*wūdǐng*
	worry	this-CL-snow		too	big	roof
	吃不住,		待會	我	爬上	屋頂
	chī-bú-zhù		*dàihuì*	*wǒ*	*pá-shàng*	*wūdǐng*
	contain-NEG-PFV		later	I	climb-SHANG	roof
	去	鏟一鏟		雪。		
	qù	*chǎn-yì-chǎn*		*xuě*		
	go	shovel-TNTV-RED		snow		

"(I) worry that the snow is too heavy for the roof to take. Later, I'll climb onto the roof to shovel the snow."

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65   The usage cluster of 'vertically attained' could be seen as an instantiation of 'vertically higher' in a specific context. However, I choose to present it as a distinct sense for four reasons: First, this particular meaning is very productive not only in the constructional schema of [V] – [SHANG] but also in that of [NP] – [SHANG], which constitutes its own distinct structural dependency, and makes the sense meet the Grammatical Criterion of PP. Second, as will be shown in this chapter, this usage cluster plays a pivotal role in the emergence of 'attached' and two subsequent senses of 'completive' and 'inceptive'. Third, 'vertically attained' and 'vertically higher' are based on distinct "conceptual archetypes" (Langacker 1999, 2006, 2008), traces of which always remain in the process of semantic extension. Finally, from a cross-linguistic point of view, the usage cluster of *shàng* 'vertically higher' can be roughly translated into *up to* or *into* in English, whereas *shàng* 'vertically attained' into *onto*, which reveals their underlying conceptual difference. Another point to make here is that the last three meanings are all "aspectual" in nature (Su 1997); they portray how a situation is viewed by the speaker. The sense of 'inceptive' was also noticed and discussed in Jin (2005). In addition, the three meanings share a grammatical profile, which I will cover in 6.3.

(6–2)

完工	的	時候，	他	登上	
wángōng	*de*	*shíhòu*	*tā*	*dēng-shàng*	
finish	LK	when	he	mount-SHANG	

城牆，	從	東門	到	北門，	巡視了
chéng qiáng	*cóng*	*dōng mén*	*dào*	*běi mén*	*xúnshì-le*
city wall	from	East gate	to	North gate	patrol-PFV

一周。
yì zhōu
one circle

"When (the construction work was) finished, he climbed onto the top of the city wall, and patrolled from the East Gate to the North Gate to examine (the construction)."

Shàng in (6–1) and (6–2) exhibits a distinct meaning. In particular, the verbs *pá* 'climb' and *dēng* 'mount' imply a certain effort needed in order for the tr to attain a specific surface that is vertically higher, as the lm of the verbal process. With the distinct meaning shown above, 'vertically attained' satisfies the Meaning Criterion.

Furthermore, 'vertically attained' and 'vertically higher' are different in terms of the NP that follows. (6–3) below is a typical instance of 'vertically attained' and (6–4) is typical of 'vertically higher'; both involve the construction of *shēng-shàng* 'rise-SHANG,' with different kinds of GOAL.

(6–3)

從	海	中	升上	海面	登陸
cóng	*hǎi*	*zhōng*	*shēng-shàng*	*hǎimiàn*	*dēnglù*
from	sea	LOC	rise-SHANG	sea surface	land

時，	拍	岸	的	浪潮	變
shí	*pāi*	*àn*	*de*	*làngcháo*	*biàn*
when	pat	shore	LK	waves	become

兇	了。
xiōng	*le*
mean	CRS

"When (everyone) went up from under to the sea surface, the waves that lapped the shore became stronger."

(6-4) 那個 少女 就 在 風雨 中，
     nà-ge   *shàonǔ*   *jiù*   *zài*   *fēngyǔ*   *zhōng*
     that-CL   girl   PRT   LOC   storm   LOC

     升上 天空 不見 了。
     shēng-shàng   *tiānkōng*   *bújiàn*   *le*
     rise-SHANG   sky   disappear   CRS

     "In the storm, the girl then rose to the sky and disappeared."

A comparison between (6-3) and (6-4) reveals that the nature of the NP after [V] – [SHANG], i.e. the GOAL, bears an influence on the meaning of *shàng*. In particular, the GOAL in (6-3), *hǎimiàn* 'sea-surface,' is a specific location that elaborates the endpoint of the trajectory, which is attained by the rising tr; this generates the interpretation of that example as 'attained'. In contrast, the GOAL in (6-4), *tiānkōng* 'sky', is a highly general location, so the reading of the tr attaining the endpoint of a trajectory is weak; this constitutes a semantic distinction between 'vertically higher' and 'vertically attained'.

6.1.2 'Vertically higher'

This cluster of usages denotes a figure moving upward in the domain of SPACE. The endpoint of the trajectory is vague, and usually involves a general location such as *tiān* or *tiānkōng* 'sky'. Examples (6-4) above and (6-5) below illustrate this cluster.

(6-5) 跑 個 幾 步, 就
     pǎo   *ge*   *jǐ*   *bù*   *jiù*
     run   DIM   several   step   PRT

     連人帶傘, 輕飄飄 地
     lián-rén-dài-sǎn   *qīng-piāo-piāo*   *dì*
     with-person-bring-parachute   light-buoyant-RED   ADV

     浮上 天空。
     fú-shàng   *tiānkōng*
     float-SHANG   sky

     "(He) ran just for several steps, and then floated up to the sky along with his parachute."

As can be seen in (6–4) and (6–5), this usage cluster of *shàng* denotes an upward trajectory with a generic endpoint instantiated in SPACE. In (6–5), the primary figure travels along an upward trajectory in SPACE and ends up in a general location, which is elaborated as *tiānkōng* 'sky'. Similarly, the tr in (6–4), which is *nà-ge shàonǚ* 'that girl', follows a vertical trajectory up to a generic location. In these examples, *shàng* exhibits a distinct meaning of moving upward in SPACE, which allows this usage cluster to meet the Meaning Criterion of PP.

6.1.3 'Forward'

The meaning of 'forward' is similar to 'vertically attained' and 'vertically higher', in that the three senses all demonstrate a strong spatial sense. However, this meaning is different from the other two in that it does not involve verticality in a completely objective sense. Instead, the sense of verticality is present only from a certain "onstage" (Langacker 1990) point of view. Instances (6–6) and (6–7) are typical of this meaning:

(6–6)	幹員	發覺	郭長榮		準備	逃逸,
	gànyuán	*fājué*	*guō chángróng*		*zhǔnbèi*	*táoyì*
	agent	find	Guo Changrong		ready	escape

	立即	擁上,		逮捕	郭	嫌。
	lìjí	*yǒng-shàng*		*dàibǔ*	*guō*	*xián*
	immediate	swarm-SHANG		arrest	Guo	suspect

"(When) the agent(s) found that Guo Changrong was about to escape, (they) immediately swarmed to arrest the suspect, Mr. Guo."

(6–7)	浪花	沖來	時,	我	拔腿就跑,
	lànghuā	*chōng-lái*	*shí*	*wǒ*	*bátuǐ jiù pǎo*
	wavelet	wash-come	when	I	fled immediately

	浪花	退走	時,	我	也
	lànghuā	*tuì-zǒu*	*shí*	*wǒ*	*yě*
	wavelet	back-away	when	I	also

	跟著,	追上去...
	gēn-zhe	*zhuī-shàng-qù*
	follow-IPFV	chase-SHANG-go

"When wavelets came toward me, I fled immediately, and when wavelets went away, I followed and chased them..."

In these excerpts, the trajectories of the primary figures are both horizontal, not vertical. As can be seen in (6–6), the trajectory of the primary figure, *gànyuán* 'agent,' is not to be defined on the vertical plane but the horizontal one. Moreover, the trajectory of the primary figure in (6–7), *wǒ*, is not vertically upward but may even be slightly downward, since the tr is moving in the same direction as the wavelet subsiding toward the sea. In addition to the non-vertical nature of the trajectories, *shàng* in (6–6) and (6–7) encode a forward motion of the tr, which semantically distinguishes this particular usage cluster from 'vertically attained' and 'vertically higher'; this enables this sense to satisfy the Meaning Criterion.

However, the establishment of the semantic category begs the question: How can we experientially account for the development of this sense? What is the motivation for the semantic extension from 'vertically higher' to 'forward'?

I would argue that the experiential motivation that serves to couple an upward path with the forward motion of a moving figure is the notion of "Interactive Focus" (Lindner 1983), the region in front of one's body measured from the height of one's hand to one's eyes. In Lindner's and my analysis in Chapter 5, this region serves as the experiential motivation that makes possible the semantic extension from 'vertically higher' to 'accessible' for *up*. However, I argue that in Mandarin Chinese, the sensory-motor salience of Interactive Focus serves to associate UP not only with the notion of perceptual and cognitive accessibility but also with forward motion. In particular, the experiential motivation goes as follows: if something locates in the perceptually salient region of a moving figure's Interactive Focus, then the object is not only in his sight, i.e., in proximity to the upper part of the moving figure's body, but also in front of him and also in his direction of motion. Note that the above experiential connection between UP and a moving figure's FRONT/FORWARD is embodied, given that our eyes are located in our upper body and that we must watch where we are headed as we move.

Let us consider (6–6) and (6–7) again to illustrate this point. In (6–6), the GOAL of the motion prompted by *yǒng-shàng* 'swarm-SHANG' is the suspect, with the forward motion made by *gànyuán* 'agent' to attain the GOAL, which is both in their direction of motion and perceptually salient to them. Similarly, the tr in (6–7), which is *wǒ* 'I,' makes an attempt of forward motion to reach the GOAL, encoded as *lànghuā* 'wavelet', which is both in front of and perceptually salient to the trajector's Interactive Focus.

In addition, note that this coupling of UP and FRONT/FORWARD cannot be achieved via the default, or offstage, point of view, but needs to be made via an onstage one. In the usage cluster of 'forward,' the speaker always reports the motion with *shàng* by identifying himself with the onstage moving tr, in (6–6) with *gànyuán* and in (6–7) with *wǒ*, and this perspective shift is comparably achieved

via the cognitive mechanism of "self-projection" (Ikegami 2008), similar to what we have seen in the sense of 'approaching' for *up*.[66]

6.1.4 'Attached'

The fourth meaning that I identified in the corpus is 'attached', which exhibits a meaning that is not present in the previous clusters. In particular, the use of *shàng* in this semantic category underscores the resultant state of a process, where something is attached to a typical SURFACE. (6–8) and (6–9) instantiate this meaning:

(6–8)

房屋	外，	都	刷上	不同
fángwū	*wài*	*dōu*	*shuā-shàng*	*bù tóng*
house	outside	all	brush-SHANG	different

的	顏色，	看起來	有點	像
de	*yánsè*	*kàn-qǐlái*	*yǒudiǎn*	*xiàng*
LK	color	look-IPFV	a little	LK

童話	世界。
tónghuà	*shìjiè*
fairy tale	world

"Outside of (the) houses is/was painted with different colors, (which) look like a fairy-tale world."

(6–9)

報名	可	用	明信片，	寫上
bàomíng	*kě*	*yòng*	*míngxìnpiàn*	*xiě-shàng*
register	MOD	use	postcard	write-SHANG

姓名、	年齡、	地址、	性別、	電話。
xìngmíng	*niánlíng*	*dìzhǐ*	*xìngbié*	*diànhuà*
full name	age	address	gender	phone

"(To) register, (you) may use a postcard, and write your full name, age, address, gender and phone number (on it)."

As can be seen in (6–8) and (6–9), this usage cluster exhibits an additional meaning that is not seen in the previous senses. In (6–8), *shàng* highlights the

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66   A comparison between *up* 'approaching' and *shàng* 'forward' reveals that both involve an on-stage vantage point between the usage clusters, and this shared feature suggests an important role played by the vantage point in the study of lexical semantics. A cross-linguistic comparison as to how the involvement of an onstage vantage point can motivate semantic extensions from the same conceptual substrate would be an interesting pursuit. I will return to this issue in Chapter 8.

result of the verbal process of *shuā* 'brush', so that the product *yánsè* 'color' is attached to the wall of the house as a prototypical SURFACE. Similarly in (6–9), the verbal process of *xiě* 'write' creates characters, with the resultative *shàng* denoting that these characters are attached to *míngxìnpiàn* 'postcard' as a typical SURFACE. Therefore, the distinct meaning of an entity being attached to a prototypical SURFACE allows the usage cluster of 'attached' to meet the Meaning Criterion of PP.

While this cluster of images satisfies the Meaning Criterion, it is also essential to discuss the possible connection between 'attached' and the other meanings in the semantic network. Accordingly, we may ask whether 'attached' is an extension from another meaning, and in cases where it is, what motivates the semantic extension.

A look into the corpus reveals the possible connection between 'attached' and 'vertically attained'. As we saw in 6.1.1, the meaning of 'vertically attained' involves a SURFACE with which the tr finally gets into physical contact and on which the tr can stay. I argue that this element remains crucial in understanding 'attached'. For instance, *wūdǐng* in (6–1) and *chéngqiáng* in (6–2) are both prototypical surfaces with which the tr of the verbal process comes into contact. Such a SURFACE is also instantiated in (6–8) as *fángwū* and as *míngxìnpiàn* in (6–9). Therefore, the two meanings both invoke a SURFACE.

(6–10) is another example taken from the corpus, which may illustrate the possible route of semantic extension from 'vertically attained' to 'attached':

(6–10)	看著	兒子	哀求	的	眼神,
	kàn-zhe	*érzi*	*āiqiú*	*de*	*yǎnshén*
	look-IPFV	son	beseech	LK	look

	葉三娘		低了頭		取下
	yè sānniáng		*dī-le-tóu*		*qǔ-xià*
	Ye Sanniang		lower-PFV-head		take-down

	已經	戴上		頭頂	的	斗笠...
	yǐjīng	*dài-shàng*		*tóudǐng*	*de*	*dǒulì*
	already	wear-SHANG		head	LK	leaf hat

"As she saw the beseeching look in her son's eyes, Ye Sanniang lowered her head and took down the leaf hat that she had been wearing on her head..."

The *shàng* in (6–10) is ambiguous between the readings of 'vertically attained' and 'attached'. On one hand, this instance of *dài-shàng* 'wear-SHANG' can be understood to involve a tr, elaborated as *dǒulì* 'leaf hat', which has been sitting on the top of Ye Sanniang's head as a result of vertical elevation—meaning this usage can be interpreted as an instantiation of 'vertically attained'; on the other hand, the tr in this instance can also be construed as simply attached to the top

of Ye Sanniang's head, with the head serving as a SURFACE, hence the reading of 'attached'. For contrast, consider the constructed instance below, which also involves the construction of *dài-shàng*,

(6–11)

看著	兒子	哀求	的	眼神，
kàn-zhe	*érzi*	*āiqiú*	*de*	*yǎnshén*
look-IPFV	son	beseech	LK	look

葉三娘	戴上	斗笠...
yè sānniáng	*dài-shàng*	*dǒulì*
Ye Sanniang	wear-SHANG	leaf hat

"As she saw the beseeching look in her son's eyes, Ye Sanniang took down the leaf hat..." (constructed)

The main difference between (6–10) and (6–11) is the nature of the NP immediately following the construction of *dài-shàng*. In (6–10), the NP is instantiated by *tóudǐng* as a location, so the reading of attaining a vertical goal is more prominent. In contrast, the NP following *shàng* in (6–11) is instantiated by a thematic patient instead of a location, so the reading of attaining a vertical goal is weaker, which makes (6–11) a less typical case of 'vertically attained'.[67] A comparison between these two examples constitutes a case of "attenuation" (Langacker 1999), with the sense of vertical elevation having faded away, leaving behind only the conceptual content of ATTACHMENT TO A SURFACE. I will return to this point in Chapter 7.

6.1.5 'Completive'

The fifth meaning identified in the corpus involves less conceptual content than 'attached' and pertains to the speaker's construal of a situation. Specifically, *shàng* in this group of [V] – [SHANG] highlights the finish of a physical process denoted by the verb, in which two entities come into contact. For instance, *shàng* in (6–12) and (6–13) codes the endpoint of such a verbal process:

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67 Here, I only show the possibility of 'vertically attained' and 'attached' being related by considering pairs like (6–10) and (6–11). The issue of how and why a difference in the following NP can induce semantic extension will be addressed as I discuss the concept elaboration of *shàng*.

(6–12)　當　　　門　　　快要　　　　關上　　　　　　　或
　　　　dāng　*mén*　*kuài yào*　*guān-shàng*　　*huò*
　　　　when　door　about to　　close-SHANG　　or

　　　　正在　　　合攏　　　時，　　千萬　　　別　　　進出。
　　　　zhèng zài　*hélǒng*　*shí*　*qiānwàn*　*bié*　*jìn-chū*
　　　　IPFV　　　join　　　when　certainly　NEG　enter– go out

"When the doors (of an elevator) are coming to a complete close
or are in the middle of coming together, never walk in or out."

(6–13)　白兔　　　笑得　　　　　嘴唇　　都　　裂開
　　　　báitù　*xiào-dé*　　　*zuǐchún*　*dōu*　*liè-kāi*
　　　　rabbit　laugh-PFV　　lip　　PRT　split-open

　　　　了，　　一直　　　到　　現在　　還　　沒有
　　　　le　*yìzhí*　*dào*　*xiànzài*　*hái*　*méiyǒu*
　　　　CRS　until　　to　now　　still　NEG

合上。
hé-shàng
come together-SHANG

"The rabbit kept laughing until its lips split, and its lips have still not
come together."

Compared to what we have seen in the typical instantiations of 'attached', (6–12) and (6–13) only involve two entities entering into contact with each other, neither involving a typical SURFACE.[68] In particular, in (6–12), *shàng* denotes the resultant state of two objects being in contact, which is coded by the verbal process of *guān* 'close'. This instance is a warning against entering the elevator before the doors of an elevator are still in the middle of coming into a state of contact, i.e. before the endpoint of the closing process of the doors. In (6–13), *shàng* similarly denotes the endpoint of the verbal process, *hé* 'come together,' where the tr, *zuǐchún* 'lips,' are still in the middle of the ongoing process of coming into

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68　Some might argue that the NPs in the above examples, *mén* and *zuǐchún*, could be associated with SURFACE, which would undermine the validity of my claim. However, my point here is that, used with a verb of closing, SURFACE is not the most prominent feature of *mén* or *zuǐchún*. Recall that in Chapter 5, I discussed Croft's (1993) insight that a dependent predication can trigger a metonymic extension in an autonomous predication. Now we see that for an autonomous predication like *mén* or *zuǐchún*, different dependent predications can induce different degrees of domain highlighting. For instance, the element of SURFACE receives more attention in the symbolic assembly of *zuǐchún-shang yǒu dōngxī* 'lip-SHANG exist something' than that of *hé-shang zuǐchún* 'come together-SHANG lips.' Therefore, my point is simply that for an instantiation of [V] – [SHANG] – [NP], where *shang* means 'completive', the element of SURFACE of the NP as the autonomous predication is not brought to immediate focus but only remains in the conceptual base.

proximity. Examples (6–12) and (6–13) show that the distinct meaning of contact (without involvement of a prototypical SURFACE) allows this meaning to satisfy the Meaning Criterion.

As for the route of meaning extension, I consider 'completive' an extension from 'attached'. As an illustration of this, consider (6–14), which is a typical instance of 'attached' against its constructed counterpart (6–15), where the reading of 'attached' is weaker and is therefore ambiguous between 'attached' and 'completive'.

(6–14)

我	就	用	一張	紙，	寫上
wǒ	*jiù*	*yòng*	*yì-zhāng*	*zhǐ*	*xiě-shàng*
I	PRT	use	one-CL	paper	write-SHANG

「媽媽	過	節	快樂」	六個	字。
māma	*guò*	*jié*	*kuàilè*	*liù-ge*	*zì*
mother	pass	holiday	happy	six-CL	character

"I then used a sheet of paper and wrote on it six characters: Happy Holiday, Mom!"

(6–15)

我	寫上	「媽媽	過	節
wǒ	*xiě-shàng*	*māma*	*guò*	*jié*
I	write-SHANG	mother	pass	holiday

快樂」	六個	字。
kuàilè	*liù-ge*	*zì*
happy	six-CL	character

"I wrote six characters: Happy Holiday, Mom!"

A comparison between (6–14) and (6–15) reveals a difference in the immediate co-text of *shàng* and the conceptual content prompted by the co-text. In (6–14), SURFACE is linguistically elaborated by *yòng yì-zhāng zhǐ* 'use one-CL paper', whereas in (6–15), the above co-text is omitted and remains only in the conceptual base. As a result, the involvement of SURFACE in (6–15) becomes only latent compared to its unabridged counterpart, which results in an ambiguity between 'attached' and 'completive'.

In addition to the above pragmatically driven change, a gradual shift at the conceptual level may also account for the extension from 'attached' to 'completive'. If we take a look at the above instantiations of 'completive', including the doors coming toward each other in (6–12) and one's lips coming together in (6–13), at first glance these processes do not seem to involve a typical SURFACE. However, if we consider the endpoint of the above processes, viz. a door closed or lips closed, there exists a resultant SURFACE in a loose sense. In particular, as

a door fits into its frame, the two objects together form a surface, and after one's two lips are brought together, the gap between the upper and the lower lips disappears into a surface. Therefore, I consider the above instantiations of 'completive' to be extensions from prototypical instantiations of 'attached', with the only difference being the degree of prototypicality of the SURFACE involved.[69]

6.1.6 'Inceptive'

'Inceptive' is the sixth meaning that I identified for [V] – [SHANG]. This usage cluster is purely aspectual in nature, reflecting how a situation is viewed. *Shàng* in this semantic category serves to indicate the inception of a state and the continuation of that particular state.[70] In other words, it highlights the beginning, rather than the endpoint, of a process. Excerpts (6–16) and (6–17) are typical of this meaning:

(6–16)	萬一	他	追上了		別的	女孩，
	wànyī	*tā*	*zhuī-shàng-le*		*bié de*	*nǚhái*
	what if	he	chase-SHANG-PFV		other	girl

	或者是	我	愛上		你，	那
	huòzhěshì	*wǒ*	*ài-shàng*		*nǐ*	*nà*
	or	I	love-SHANG		you	then

	怎麼辦？
	zěnmebàn
	what to do

"What if he met another girl, or if I fell in love with you, then what shall (we) do?"

(6–17)	對	佛法	有了	更	進一步	的
	duì	*fófǎ*	*yǒu-le*	*gēng*	*jìnyíbù*	*de*
	about	Buddhism	have-PFV	more	further	LK

	認識，	她	才	瞭解	其中	意涵
	rènshì	*tā*	*cái*	*liǎojiě*	*qízhōng*	*yìhán*
	understanding	she	PRT	know	within	meaning

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69   In this sense, 'completive' can be viewed as an extension from 'attached' as a consequence of "semantic attenuation" (Langacker 1999), with the conceptual element of SURFACE being gradually stripped away. I will come back to this point in Chapter 7.

70   The above definition of inceptive aspect is based on Smith (1997) and Xiao and McEnery (2004).

並	逐漸	迷上	佛學。
bìng	*zhújiàn*	*mí-shàng*	*fó-xué*
and	gradually	addict-SHANG	Buddhist-study

"After she had more thorough knowledge of Buddhism, she came
to understand its real meaning, and was getting more and more addicted
to the study of Buddhism."

In both of the above examples, *shàng* denotes the inception of a mental state
coded by the verb. In (6–16), *shàng* encodes the beginning of the verbal process
of *ài* 'love', with the symbolic assembly of *ài-shàng* meaning someone entering the
mental state of being in love with another and remaining in that state. Likewise,
shàng in (6–17) codes the inception of the psychological state of *mí* 'addict', i.e.
the sentential subject being attracted to the study of Buddhism and remaining in
that mental state. The above two instances show the meaning of someone deep
in a mental state, which is different from 'completive'. The meaning 'inceptive'
therefore meets the Meaning Criterion.

Besides satisfying the Meaning Criterion, this sense bears a possible connec-
tion with 'completive'. Consider the construction *guān-shàng* in (6–18):

(6–18)	業者	將	鐵門	關上,	繼續
	yèzhě	*jiāng*	*tiěmén*	*guān-shàng*	*jìxù*
	owner	DSPL	gate	close-SHANG	continue

營業。
yíngyè
run business

"The owner (of the casino) kept the gate shut and resumed business."

Juxtaposed with Excerpt (6–13), which is a typical instantiation of 'completive',
this instantiation of *guān-shàng* has both a completive and an inceptive reading.
In other words, *guān-shàng* in (6–18) is ambiguous between 'finishing the pro-
cess of closing the door', which counts as an instance of 'completive', and 'with
the door remaining in the state of being shut', a case of 'inceptive'. Given this
token of *guān-shàng* with a dual reading, it is justifiable to see a possible relation
between 'completive' and 'inceptive' for *shàng*. However, this claim begs the ques-
tion: if the two meanings are obviously antonymous, in what way can they relate
to each other?

I argue that difference in profiling is what causes the antonymous dual read-
ings of (6–18). In (6–18), the sentential subject, which is encoded as *yèzhě*, is
engaged in a series of processes. The sentential subject first makes an attempt
to close the gate, then completes the process of closing, then resumes business.

Figure 6.1: a) The reading of 'completive'; b) The reading of 'inceptive'

In this series of processes, if we choose to limit our attention to the process of closing and its endpoint, then *shàng* clearly denotes the finish of that process, which results in the exclusively completive reading that we saw in (6–13). On the other hand, if we choose to focus on the verbal process of resuming business, then *shàng* not only denotes the endpoint of the closing process prior to resuming business, but also codes the onset of the state of the door being shut. Figure 6.1a and 6.1b below show how these alternative ways in allotting attention to an identical conceptual base can give rise to two completely antonymous readings. The single line represents the process of closing the door, the circle stands for the temporal point at which the door is closed, and the double line symbolizes the process of resuming business. Boldness stands for profiling and the direction of the arrow for the passage of time.

Thus the conceptual connection of 'inceptive' with 'completive' can be established by attributing the antonymy of the two readings to the difference in the windowing of attention to an identical conceptual base. Therefore, 'completive' and 'inceptive' for *shàng* may be considered two sides of the same coin.[71]

However, in addition to the shift in focus, two other important factors are also at play in explaining for the antonymy: verb types and shared conceptual content. First of all, as we have discussed, the 'completive' meaning occurs with verbs that create physical contact between objects, while the 'inceptive' meaning collocates with stative verbs of mental affinity. These two different types of verbs profile different bits of the identical conceptual base of CAUSE, BECOME and STATE (Croft 1990). On one hand, verbs of physical action like *guān* 'close' and *hé* 'bring together' code the CAUSE portion of the conceptual scene, with *shàng* coding the end of that particular bit. On the other hand, stative verbs like *ài* 'love' and *mí* 'addict(ed)' linguistically elaborate the STATE portion of the entire scene, with *shàng* coding the inception of the mental state. Therefore, we can see that the shift in conceptual profile shown in Figure 6.1 is triggered by a shift from action to stative in terms of verb types and that *shàng* is 'completive' with respect to the CAUSE, and 'inceptive' relative to the STATE.

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71   The issue of a lexical item developing two opposite meanings has been extensively reported in the literature. Interested readers are referred to Chen and Chang's (2010) research on Chinese *xiang*, Lu's (2017b) analysis of English *in*, and Rhee's (2000) discussion of various examples from Korean, Chinese, Old French and English.

The shared conceptual element of CONTACT may also provide an explanation for the extension from 'completive' to 'inceptive'. Specifically, the repertoire of the verbs that collocate with 'inceptive' is associated with the notion of mental affinity, which can be found, in a schematic manner, in the conceptual element of CONTACT inherent in the usages of 'completive'. As I have shown, for the meaning of 'inceptive,' verbs that occur with *shàng* are verbs in the mental domain, including *ài* 'love,' *mí* 'addict,' etc., which suggest the notion of mental or emotional closeness. Note especially that not all verbs in the mental domain fit into the schema of [V] – [SHANG], since a verb that does not suggest mental closeness, such as *hèn* 'hate', cannot elaborate the above schema. Therefore, the key notion of closeness, instantiated respectively in a concrete and an abstract domain, is a commonality shared by 'completive' and 'inceptive'. This schematic commonality is what allows for the semantic extension to take place. I will return to this point in the discussion on the concept elaboration of 'inceptive'.

So far, I have introduced all the six core meanings identified in our corpus, and I have shown how these meanings meet the Meaning Criterion and how they are interrelated. Below, I will discuss the sanctioning sense in the semantic network in 6.2, and discuss these senses with respect to the Grammatical Criterion and the Concept Elaboration Criterion in terms of constructional schema in 6.3.

6.2 Decision of the sanctioning sense

In this section, I employ Evans' (2004) criteria of PP to determine the sanctioning sense in the semantic network of *shàng*.

For the first criterion of earliest attested meaning, according to 搜詞尋字 *sōu cí xún zì*, an online Chinese database, the earliest meaning of *shàng* was 'high', which corresponds to the senses of 'vertically higher' and 'vertically attained'. This makes these two meanings meet the first criterion of PP.[72]

As for the second criterion of predominance in the semantic network, 'vertically attained' fits best. As I mentioned in 6.1, Mandarin *shàng* occurs in a variety of constructions. A look into the corpus reveals that, among those constructions that contain *shàng*, [NP] – [SHANG] is the most frequent, and its usages are predominantly instantiations of 'vertically attained'. Therefore, 'vertically attained' best fits this criterion in terms of frequency in the entire semantic network of *shàng*.

'Vertically attained' also satisfies both the third criterion (naturalness of prediction) and the fourth (facilitation of cognitive processing). 'Vertically attained'

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72   *Sōu cí xún zì* is an online Chinese dictionary that offers information on the diachronic development of most Chinese characters. It can be accessed at http://words.sinica.edu.tw/sou/sou.html.

satisfies both these criteria because the image-schematic components of UPWARD MOTION and CONTACT are imminent not only in the other core senses but also in many other metaphorical usages. Therefore, selection of this sense as the primary sense is the most natural and the most cognitively plausible, which allows it to meet the third and the fourth criteria.

As for the fifth criterion, human phenomenological experience, since the three meanings instantiated in the domain of SPACE ('vertically attained', 'vertically higher', and 'forward') are what human beings are most aware of, these meanings meet this criterion. For the meaning of 'attached', in addition to the conceptual content of an entity being in contact with a surface, the meaning is also aspectual in nature, so does not merely involve the domain of SPACE. Therefore, this sense can hardly be considered the most fundamental. As a result, only the first three senses are all judged to meet the fifth criterion.

With the above results, Table 4 below summarizes how each of the six core senses fits the criteria of PP, where a double circle stands for full satisfaction of a criterion and a single circle for only partial fulfillment. 'Vertically attained' satisfies all the criteria and should be considered the best choice of the sanctioning sense.[73]

		'Vertically attained'	'Vertically higher'	'Forward'	'Attached'	'Completive' and 'inceptive'
Criterion	1	◉	◉			
	2	◉				
	3	◉				
	4	◉				
	5	◉	◉	◉		

Table 4: The core senses of *shàng* with respect to Evans' (2004) criteria

[73]   The polysemy of *shàng* has been studied by Su (1997) and Jin (2007). Su's (1997) presentation of 'UP' as the prototypical meaning in the semantic extension of *shang* is in line with my analysis. On the other hand, Jin's (2007) choice of 'on' as the prototypical sense is dubious, since the choice was not methodologically justified.

6.3 The core senses of *shàng* and their associated constructional schemas

In this section, I discuss the constructional schemas associated with six senses of *shàng*, to see how each of them exhibits its own pattern of grammatical profile and of concept elaboration.

First of all, the concept elaboration of *shàng* is influenced by its preceding verb and its following NP, with the former taking priority in the analysis. Based on the A-D alignment within the assembly, *shàng* is the dependent predication, and the verb is the autonomous predication in a relative sense. This is because, out of many possible concepts associated with a verb, the resultant state of the verbal process is only one of them, while for a resultative suffix, the processual predication is the only concept associated with it; and a suffix needs a verb to specify what kind of process it modifies. The NP that follows comes into play as an argument of the verb, with [V] – [SHANG] being the dependent predication and the NP the autonomous one. Hence, in analyzing the contextual factors which may help determine the meaning of *shàng*, the verb should be given priority over the NP following *shàng*. This principle will hold throughout my discussion of the concept elaboration of *shàng*. Interested readers are referred to Lu (2015a) for a detailed discussion of how the A-D alignment influences the semantics of *shàng*.

6.3.1 'Vertically attained' and its associated constructional schemas

Shàng 'vertically attained' necessarily occurs in the schema of [NP1] – [V] – [SHANG] – [NP2], where the meaning is contingent on its autonomous predication, viz. verbs of vertical elevation that profile an upward trajectory, such as *pá* 'climb,' *yuè* 'jump,' or *dēng* 'mount'. Note especially that the notion of EFFORT is involved in most processes of 'vertically attained'. In addition to the above special property of the processual predication, the NP2 slot is always instantiated by a specific GOAL with a surface on top. Examples (6–1) and (6–2), repeated here as (6–19) and (6–20) below, illustrate the two features discussed above.

(6-19) 擔心   這場雪   太   大，   屋頂
        dānxīn   *zhè-chǎng-xuě*   *tài*   *dà*   *wūdǐng*
        worry   this-CL-snow   too   big   roof

        吃不住，   待會   我   爬上   屋頂
        chī-bú-zhù   *dàihuì*   *wǒ*   *pá-shàng*   *wūdǐng*
        contain-NEG-PFV   later   I   climb-SHANG   roof

        去   鏟一鏟   雪。
        qù   *chǎn-yì-chǎn*   *xuě*
        go   shovel-TNTV-RED   snow

"(I) worry that the snow is too heavy for the roof to take. Later, I'll climb onto the roof to shovel the snow."

(6-20) 完工   的   時候，   他   登上
        wángōng   *de*   *shíhòu*   *tā*   *dēng-shàng*
        finish   LK   when   he   mount-SHANG

        城牆，   從   東門   到   北門，   巡視了
        chéng qiáng *cóng*   *dōng mén*   *dào*   *běi mén*   *xúnshì-le*
        city wall   from   East gate   to   North gate   patrol-PFV

        一周。
        yì zhōu
        one circle

"When (the construction work was) finished, he climbed onto the top of the city wall, and patrolled from the East Gate to the North Gate to examine (the construction)."

These two examples exemplify a distinct pattern of grammatical profile and concept elaboration for 'vertically attained'. In (6-19), the tr, *wǒ* 'I', follows a trajectory in SPACE with effort by means of climbing, which is linguistically elaborated by the verb *pá*, and finally vertically attains the specific and concrete GOAL, which is coded by *wūdǐng* 'roof'. Here, the NP *wūdǐng* is a SURFACE which supports the tr and allows the tr to stay firmly on it. The tr in (6-20), *tā* 'he', likewise ascends in SPACE with effort by means of mounting, coded by the verb *dēng*, and as a result finishes on the top of the city wall. The GOAL, *chéng qiáng*, is conceptually associated with a SURFACE on top of it, which can physically uphold the tr.

Based on the above discussion, in this usage cluster, *shàng* is structurally preceded by a verb and is followed by an NP that specifies the GOAL of the verbal process.

Furthermore, the pattern of concept elaboration for 'vertically attained' includes a verb of vertical elevation that involves effort and profiles the ascending

Figure 6.2: The image-schematic structure for 'vertically attained'

PATH and an NP associated with SURFACE as the GOAL of the trajectory. With the conceptual base of the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL schema, Figure 6.2 below demonstrates the image-schematic structure for 'vertically attained', where the PATH and the GOAL are both profiled and put in bold, and the horizontal bold line signals the SURFACE-related nature of the GOAL.

Besides satisfying the Meaning Criterion, 'vertically attained' also exhibits its own pattern of grammatical profile and concept elaboration, which entitles this usage cluster to the status of a distinct sense.

6.3.2 'Vertically higher' and its associated constructional schema

The sense of 'vertically higher' occurs within the constructional schema of [NP1] – [V] – [SHANG] – [NP2]. The concept elaboration of that schema is first of all dependent on a verb of vertical elevation that profiles only the upward PATH or the manner of vertical elevation. A typical example of the former (upward PATH only) group is *shēng-shàng* 'rise-SHANG', and two instances of the latter (manner of vertical elevation) group being *fú-shàng* 'float-SHANG' and *fēi-shàng* 'fly-SHANG'.[74]

In addition to the distinct PATH-profiling property of the verb as the autonomous predication in [V] – [SHANG], note that the slot of NP2 is always elaborated by a general location like *tiān* or *tiānkōng* 'sky', toward which the tr, which is instantiated by NP1, is directed. The vague and general nature of the GOAL is important for a usage event that involves [NP1] – [V] – [SHANG] – [NP2] to be analyzed as an instantiation of 'vertically higher'. If the usage event includes a concrete GOAL like a tree branch, as in *fēi-shàng zhītóu* 'fly-SHANG tree branch',

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74   In addition to [V] – [SHANG], this sense is also instantiated in other constructional schemas, such as [SHANG] – [V]. Typical examples are *shàng-shēng* 'SHANG-rise'and *shàng-fú* 'SHANG-float'.

Figure 6.3: The image-schematic structure for *shàng* meaning 'vertically higher'

then the usage develops an additional meaning and should be analyzed as an instantiation of 'vertically attained'.[75]

From the above discussion, we see that 'vertically higher' has the grammatical profile of [NP1] – [V] – [SHANG] – [NP2]. As for its concept elaboration, the usage involves a verb of vertical elevation that profiles only the upward PATH of the trajectory and a general locative noun phrase as the GOAL, which renders the entire construction strictly instantiated in the domain of SPACE.

Therefore, this cluster of usage satisfies the Grammatical Criterion and the Concept Elaboration Criterion, in addition to the Meaning Criterion, which secures its status as a distinct sense. Figure 6.3 shows the image-schematic structure for 'vertically higher'. With the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL schema as its conceptual base, this cluster profiles both the PATH and the general GOAL, which are both represented in bold, with the SOURCE remaining in the conceptual base.

6.3.3 'Forward' and its associated constructional schemas

The meaning of 'forward' occurs in the constructional schema of [NP] – [V] – [SHANG] (– [X]), with X being an optional PATH-highlighting element that can be instantiated by either an adverb or an NP. In addition, its pattern of concept elaboration involves at least the following elements: a verb that prompts a non-vertical PATH of a moving figure; a verb of motion or a verb of transfer; and an onstage point of view, the direction of which coincides with that of the moving figure. Below, I discuss the role played by verbs of motion.

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75   The two instances of *fēi-shàng* discussed here, according to Lakoff's (1987) fine-grained image-schematic analysis, would also have to be listed as two separate usages. However, the reason I classify these two instances into different semantic categories is based on their different "conceptual archetypes" (Langacker 1999, 2006, 2008), which I will elaborate on in Chapter 7. Interested readers are also referred to Lu (2017) for details.

In this semantic category, the meaning of *shàng* is contingent on its autono-mous predication, in this case verbs of non-vertical motion, such as *zhuī* 'chase' or *gǎn* 'hurry', which code the motion of the tr and thus highlight the PATH. The above characteristic renders this usage cluster strictly instantiated in the domain of SPACE. However, these verbs are not inherently associated with vertical eleva-tion, and the forward trajectory is coupled with the concept of UP via an onstage conceptualizer that coincides with the tr, as I explained in 6.1. Instances (6–6) and (6–7), repeated here as (6–21) and (6–22), are typical:

(6–21)

幹員	發覺	郭長榮	準備	逃逸,
gànyuán	*fājué*	*guō chángróng*	*zhǔnbèi*	*táoyì*
agent	find	Guo Changrong	ready	escape

立即	擁上,		逮捕	郭	嫌。
lìjí	*yǒng-shàng*		*dàibǔ*	*guō*	*xián*
immediate	swarm-SHANG		arrest	Guo	suspect

"(When) the agent(s) found that Guo Changrong was about to escape, (they) immediately swarmed to arrest the suspect, Mr. Guo."

(6–22)

浪花	沖來	時,	我	拔腿就跑,
lànghuā	*chōng-lái*	*shí*	*wǒ*	*bátuǐ jiù pǎo*
wavelet	wash-come	when	I	fled immediately

浪花	退走	時,	我	也
lànghuā	*tuì-zǒu*	*shí*	*wǒ*	*yě*
wavelet	back-away	when	I	also

跟著,	追上去...
gēn-zhe	*zhuī-shàng-qù*
follow-IPFV	chase-SHANG-go

"When wavelets came toward me, I fled immediately, and when wavelets went away, I followed and chased them..."

For the above two examples, the PATH and the onstage vantage point, which co-incides with the tr, are both in profile. In (6–21), the tr's, *gànyuán* 'agent(s)', travel along a path in the conceptual domain of SPACE, which is coded by the verb *yǒng* 'to rush (in a collective fashion) toward'.[76] The verb itself does not prompt a ver-tical path; instead, the direction of the path is construed from the perspective of an onstage vantage point that coincides with the tr, since the GOAL of motion is in the perceptually salient region of, or more specifically in front of, the tr.

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76   The primary figures in this instance, *gànyuán* 'agent(s)', are several conjoined entities that par-ticipate in the same process, corresponding to what Langacker (1991: 479) terms "replicate trajectors".

Therefore, for this particular instance, the PATH and the onstage conceptualizer are both conceptually prominent. By the same token, in (6–22), the verb is not associated with the vertical dimension, with the PATH of the tr's motion elaborated by the verb *zhuī* 'chase'. The forward-headed PATH is coupled with UP only with respect to the point of view taken by a conceptualizer that coincides also with the moving figure. This point of view is implicitly prompted by the use of *shàng* and of the deitic term *qù* 'go', so is in profile as well as the PATH. Moreover, note that the verb does not have to be a typical verb of motion but can be a verb that is only peripherally related to the concept of MOTION. Excerpt (6–23) is such an example:

(6-23)	桑斯兒	不甘示弱，		搶上	幾	步，
	sāng sīér	*bùgānshìruò*		*qiǎng-shàng*	*jǐ*	*bù*
	Sang Sier	not to be out done		rush-SHANG	several	step

	和	他	並肩而行。
	hàn	*tā*	*bìngjiānérxíng*
	with	him	walk side by side

"Sang Sier refused to be outdone, (so) rushed several steps forward to catch up with him."

For this particular instance, the prototypical meaning of the verb *qiǎng* is 'rob,' and so it is not a typical verb of motion, but the verb can extend to describe a 'hurried' motion. It is therefore peripherally related to MOTION, which renders the whole construction an instantiation in SPACE. In this instance, both the PATH and the onstage point of view are conceptually prominent. Here, an NP immediately following *shàng*, *jǐ bù* 'several steps', linguistically elaborates the length of the trajectory and hence profiles the PATH. The onstage vantage point is also in profile, from which the trajectory looks upward.

Following from this, we can generalize that the first possible source of concept elaboration for 'forward' is a verb of motion, or a verb that is peripherally related to MOTION, and that these verbs do not invoke a strict sense of verticality.

In addition to verbs of motion, the second group of verbs that collocate with 'forward' are verbs of transfer, as in *sòng-shàng* 'give-SHANG', *xiàn-shàng* 'present-SHANG', *duān-shàng* 'carry-SHANG', etc. Instances (6–24) and (6–25) illustrate this group of usages:

(6–24)

她	顯然	舒服	多	了...	我
tā	*xiǎnrán*	*shūfú*	*duō*	*le*	*wǒ*
she	obviously	comfortable	much	CRS	I

又	倒了	杯	水，	送上	藥
yòu	*dǎo-le*	*bēi*	*shuǐ*	*sòng-shàng*	*yào*
again	pour-PFV	cup	water	give-SHANG	medicine

"She obviously felt better... I poured another cup of water and gave (her) the medicine."

(6–25)

出	關	當地	美女	即	上前，
chū	*guān*	*dāngdì*	*měinǚ*	*jí*	*shàng-qián*
exit	gate	local	beauty	PRT	come up

獻上	一朵		火鶴花	給	女士們。
xiàn-shàng	*yì-duǒ*		*huǒhèhuā*	*gěi*	*nǚshì-men*
present-SHANG	one-CL		anthurium	to	lady-PL

"(When we) exited the gate, local beauties immediately came up (to us) and presented an anthurium to (each of our) ladies."

As can be seen in (6–24) and (6–25), the verbs of transfer, which are essentially verbs of caused motion, also serve to profile a non-vertical PATH, with *shàng* like-wise prompting an onstage vantage point that coincides with the tr. In (6–24), the figure which is caused to move and which follows a non-vertical PATH during the process is *yào* 'medicine', with the processual predication of transfer coded as *sòng* 'give', profiling the PATH. The trajectory of *yào* is coded as upward, since the goal is in the Interactive Focus of an onstage conceptualizer identified with the source of the trajectory. By the same token, the tr in (6–25), *yì-duǒ huǒhèhuā* 'one-CL anthurium', is directed to *nǚshì-men* 'ladies' by means of *xiàn* 'present'. The function of *shàng* in this instance is similarly to prompt an implicit onstage vantage point that coincides with the tr, via the perceptually prominent region of which the direction of the trajectory is associated with UP. With the above illustrations, we can see that verbs of transfer that prompt a nonvertical PATH are another source of concept elaboration for 'forward'. An onstage vantage point is similarly conceptually prominent in this sub-cluster.

A comparison between 'vertically higher' and 'forward' reveals that the GOAL for 'vertically higher' is always elaborated by a locative NP immediately following *shàng*, which is not the case for 'forward'. 'Forward' need not involve an NP immediately following *shàng*, and even if there is an NP present, it does not instantiate the GOAL of the trajectory. Specifically, the NP can be instantiated by the length of the PATH, as in *qiǎng-shàng jǐ bù* 'rush-SHANG several steps', or by the object transferred in the case of a verb of transfer, as in *sòng-shàng yào* 'pres-

Figure 6.4: The image-schematic representation for 'forward'

ent-SHANG medicine'. Therefore, the GOAL is not necessarily encoded in the constructional schema for *shàng* 'forward'. As a result, the GOAL is not conceptually prominent and remains only latent in the conceptual base.

Figure 6.4 below shows the imagistic structure for 'forward.' The profiled PATH is in bold, with the onstage vantage point coinciding with the tr, which is also salient. However, the direction of the trajectory can be construed as upward only from that particular viewpoint, so it is represented in a dashed line, which stands for a loss of vertical sense.

In this section, I have shown the distinct pattern of grammatical profile and of concept elaboration for 'forward', which includes a verb of motion or a verb of transfer that prompts a non-vertical PATH and an onstage conceptualizer that coincides with the tr. Accordingly, 'forward' satisfies the Grammatical Criterion and the Concept Elaboration Criterion, and can be assigned the status of a distinct sense.

6.3.4 'Attached' and its associated constructional schemas

'Attached' is another core sense of *shàng* identified in the corpus. In 6.1.4, I addressed the emphasis on physical contact with a SURFACE as its additional meaning not present in the other senses. As has been shown in 6.1.4, 'attached' focuses on the resultant state of its autonomous predication, with a tr in contact with a typical SURFACE as the lm. Now, I will discuss this meaning with respect to the Concept Elaboration Criterion and the Grammatical Criterion of PP.

If we compare this sense with 'vertically attained', two observations can be made as to its pattern of concept elaboration. Firstly, verbs that are associated with 'attached' are free of a sense of verticality and come in a variety of categories, including verbs of wearing and verbs of applying substance to a surface,

which all prompt the concept of SURFACE.[77] Secondly, the thematic role of the NPs immediately following *shàng* is also different from that which we saw in the previous senses— for 'attached', the NPs are instantiated by a thematic patient instead of by a location.[78] Below, I present these groups of verbs and the NPs.

The first group of verbs found to collocate with 'attached' is verbs of wearing, including *chuān* 'wear (clothes)', and *dài* 'wear (accessories)'. Such verbs are processual predications where a primary figure, via caused motion, gets close to, and is finally attached to, a body part that can be construed as a kind of SURFACE. Excerpt (6–10), repeated here as (6–26) for ease of reference, and (6–27) below both instantiate the meaning of 'attached':

(6–26)

看著	兒子	哀求	的	眼神,
kàn-zhe	*érzi*	*āiqiú*	*de*	*yǎnshén*
look-IPFV	son	beseech	LK	look

葉三娘		低了頭		取下
yè sānniáng		*dī-le-tóu*		*qǔ-xià*
Ye Sanniang		lower-PFV-head		take-down

已經	戴上		頭頂	的	斗笠...
yǐjīng	*dài-shàng*		*tóudǐng*	*de*	*dǒulì*
already	wear-SHANG		head	LK	leaf hat

"As she saw the beseeching look in her son's eyes, Ye Sanniang lowered her head and took down the leaf hat that she had been wearing on her head..."

(6–27)

大家	紛紛	穿上	外套，	好像
dàjiā	*fēnfēn*	*chuān-shàng*	*wàitào*	*hǎoxiàng*
every one	in droves	wear-SHANG	jacket	like

回到	冬天	一樣。
huí-dào	*dōngtiān*	*yíyàng*
return-PFV	winter	same

"Everyone put on their jacket in droves, and now it was like winter again."

This category of verbs invoke the concept of SURFACE. In (6–26), the tr is *dǒulì* 'leaf hat', and it follows a trajectory in SPACE in the verbal process of *dài* 'wear (accessories)'. As a result of that process, the leaf hat finally rests on a SURFACE, which is instantiated by the top of Ye Sanniang's head. Likewise, in (6–27), *shàng*

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77   The variety of verbs listed here is not meant to be exhaustive. We could expect to encounter a wider variety of [V] – [SHANG] with a larger corpus.

78   In the corpus, I found an interaction between the usage cluster of 'attached' and the *bǎ* construction, which I believe is due to the nature of NP2 being patient-like.

highlights the resultant state of a moving figure, coded as *wàitào* 'jacket', being in contact with the agent's body, which can be construed as a SURFACE.

In addition to the category of the autonomous predication relative to *shàng*, the NP is instantiated by a thematic patient instead of by a location. Specifically, *dǒulì* is the thematic patient of *dài* in (6–26) and *wàitào* that of *chuān* in (6–27).

In addition to verbs of wearing, the second typical group of verbs associated with 'attached' are verbs of applying substance to a surface. Such verbs include, but are not limited to: *tú-shàng* 'apply-SHANG'; *shuā-shàng* 'brush-SHANG'; and *pēn-shàng* 'spray-SHANG'. For this category of verbs, the NPs following *shàng* are similarly thematic patients. In addition to excerpt (6–8), repeated here as (6–28), (6–29) is also typical of this sub-group of instantiations of 'attached':

(6–28)

房屋	外，	都	刷上	不同
fángwū	*wài*	*dōu*	*shuā-shàng*	*bù tóng*
house	outside	all	brush-SHANG	different

的	顏色，	看起來	有點	像
de	*yánsè*	*kàn-qǐlái*	*yǒudiǎn*	*xiàng*
LK	color	look-IPFV	a little	LK

童話	世界。
tónghuà	*shìjiè*
fairy tale	world

"Outside of (the) houses is/was painted with different colors, (which) look like a fairy-tale world."

(6–29)

社會科學院，	管理學院，	夜間部，
shèhuì kēxuéyuàn	*guǎnlǐ xuéyuàn*	*yèjiān bù*
Faculty of Social Studies	Faculty of Management	Evening Division

及	農學院，	所有	教室	的
jí	*nóng xuéyuàn*	*suǒyǒu*	*jiàoshì*	*de*
and	Faculty of Agriculture	all	classroom	LK

外牆，	被	噴上	藍色	油漆。
wài qiáng	*bèi*	*pēn-shàng*	*lánsè*	*yóuqī*
external wall	PASS	spray-SHANG	blue	paint

"At Faculty of Social Sciences, Faculty of Management, Evening Division, and Faculty of Agriculture, the external walls of all classrooms were sprayed with blue paint."

For this group of instantiations of [V] – [SHANG], my observation regarding the verb and the thematic role of the NP still holds true. Conceptually dependent

on verbs of applying substance to a surface, *shàng* brings to focus the resultant state of the verbal process, with the tr being attached to a lm that invokes a kind of SURFACE. In (6–28), the autonomous predication of *shuā* 'brush' in *shuā-shàng* involves a human agent applying a brush to a SURFACE to produce a result on it. Here, the different colors, with the thematic role of a patient, are brought onto the SURFACE, i.e. the external walls of the houses. Similarly in (6–29), the thematic patient, *lánsè yóuqī* 'blue paint', is applied to a SURFACE in the autonomous predication of *pēn* 'spray' in *pēn-shàng*, with the SURFACE linguistically coded as *jiàoshì de wài qiáng* 'the external walls of the classrooms'. Here, the blue paint can be construed to be "attached" to the walls of the classrooms. Note also that in the above examples, *yánsè* 'color' in (6–28) and *yóuqī* in (6–29) are both the thematic patient, which is acted upon and undergoes change by an agentive figure.

In addition to typical verbs of applying substance such as *shuā* and *pēn*, some other verbs that involve the notion of written creation can also be put in this category, since a process of written creation can alternatively be construed as applying ink or paint onto a piece of paper. These verbs include *xiě* 'write' and *huà* 'draw', with Excerpts (6–30) and (6–14), repeated here as (6–31) for ease of reference, being typical examples.

(6–30)

在	牆上...	畫上	大	如	牛
zài	*qiáng-shàng*	*huà-shàng*	*dà*	*rú*	*niú*
LOC	wall-LOC	draw-SHANG	big	like	buffalo

的	肥豬	和	幾個人	才	能
de	*féizhū*	*hàn*	*jǐ-ge-rén*	*cái*	*néng*
LK	fat pig	and	several-CL-man	PRT	can

抬得動	的	白菜。
tái-dé-dòng	*de*	*báicài*
raise-PFV-move	LK	cabbage

"(They) drew on the wall fat pigs that were as big as buffalos and cabbages that took several people to carry."

(6–31)

我	就	用	一張	紙,	寫上
wǒ	*jiù*	*yòng*	*yì-zhāng*	*zhǐ*	*xiě-shàng*
I	PRT	use	one-CL	paper	write-SHANG

「媽媽	過	節	快樂」	六個	字。
māma	*guò*	*jié*	*kuàilè*	*liù-ge*	*zì*
mother	pass	holiday	happy	six-CL	character

"I then used a sheet of paper and wrote on it six characters: Happy Holiday, Mom!"

It is clear from the above instances that the concept of SURFACE is also involved in these verbal processes, and that the NPs immediately following *shàng* are also being acted upon and undergoing change. In (6-30), the autonomous predication of *huà* 'draw' in *huà-shàng* prompts a SURFACE on which the ink and the created symbol is attached, and this SURFACE is instantiated by *qiáng* 'wall'. The symbol created by means of drawing, *dà rú niú de féizhū*, is acted upon by the painter. Similarly, in (6-31), the autonomous predication of *xiě* 'write' in *xiě-shàng* also clearly involves a SURFACE on which the ink or the written characters is attached. The NP immediately following *shàng*, the six characters, is likewise a thematic patient instead of a location.[79]

The above illustrations show the sources of concept elaboration for 'attached'. This cluster is first and foremost conceptually dependent on a verb that prompts a SURFACE as its autonomous predication. In addition, the SURFACE is instantiated by an NP following *shàng*, which is a thematic patient. In particular, the above verbs fall into two major categories: verbs of wearing, and verbs of applying substance to a surface.

In addition to its own pattern of concept elaboration, the usage cluster of 'attached' exhibits a distinct grammatical profile. Specifically, *shàng* 'attached' almost always occurs in the construction of [NP1] – [V] – [SHANG] – [NP2], and if *shàng* was omitted, the resultant [NP1] – [V] – [NP2] would still be acceptable, given appropriate contexts, with the only difference being the way the conceptual content prompted by the symbolic assemblies was construed. In comparison, the constructional schema of [NP1] – [V] – [NP2] merely reports the conceptual content of NP1 taking the action coded by V to NP2, while the schema of [NP1] – [V] – [SHANG] – [NP2] further brings to focus the resultant state. For instance, for a verb of applying substance to a surface, *pēn yóuqī* 'spray paint' and *pēn-shàng yóuqī* 'spray-SHANG paint' are both grammatical, but the latter accentuates the reading of paint being sprayed onto a surface. On the other hand, the above observation does not hold for the instantiations of the [NP1] – [V] – [SHANG] – [NP2] schema for 'vertically attained,' 'vertically higher,' and 'forward.' For example, *shàng* cannot be omitted in *fēi-shàng tiānkōng* 'fly-SHANG sky,' *qiǎng-shàng jǐ bù* 'rush-SHANG several steps,' or *pá-shàng wūdǐng* 'climb-SHANG roof'. Otherwise, anomaly or a change in conceptual content would result.[80]

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79   An interesting observation that can be made about these verbs that involve the concept of written creation is that this cluster of [V] – [SHANG] is interchangeable with [V] – [XIA] in certain context (Chiarong Lu p.c.). This is an interesting topic for further pursuit but would require a detailed exploration into the usage patterns of *xià* as well. The construction was also mentioned in Lu (2017).

80   A comparison between these instantiations of the [NP1] – [V] – [SHANG] – [NP2] schema and their abridged counterparts for 'attached' reveals that they both prompt the same conceptual content, with the only difference being how the conceptual content is viewed, which bears a schematic similarity to the clusters of 'completive' and 'inceptive.' However, this particular usage cluster is still different from the two aspectual meanings in the sense that the element of SURFACE is still obvious

Figure 6.5: a) The imagistic structure for cases with an ambiguous reading between 'vertically attained' and 'attached'; b) The imagistic structure for 'attached'

The above discussion shows that 'attached' meets the Concept Elaboration Criterion and the Grammatical Criterion, and can be analyzed as a distinct sense.

Following from the discussion in 6.1.4 and in this section, Figure 6.5a shows the transition stage between 'vertically attained' and 'attached', where the dashed line stands for the co-presence of a sense of verticality much less evident than 'vertically attained' and a sense of contact with a surface, while Figure 6.5b represents the imagistic structure for 'attached', with the dotted line showing an almost total loss of the vertical sense. For this usage cluster, the spatial sense is now weaker, since the sense of motion has almost completely faded away, with the conceptual substrate of PATH remaining only in the conceptual base. What is in profile is the remaining conceptual content of the tr being attached to a SURFACE as the GOAL of the trajectory.

6.3.5 'Completive' and its associated constructional schemas

In 6.1.4 and 6.1.5, I discussed how 'completive' is an extension from 'attached', with the main difference between the two meanings being whether a prototypical SURFACE is involved. In 6.3.4, I mentioned that the usage cluster of *shàng* 'completive' is structurally similar to that of 'attached' in the sense that they both occur in [NP1] – [V] – [SHANG] – [NP2], where *shàng* can be omitted without a major change in the conceptual content. In this section, I further address the above two observations in terms of the Concept Elaboration Criterion and the Grammatical Criterion.

in 'attached', which renders 'attached' semantically more concrete in comparison to the other two meanings and allows us to distinguish it from them in terms of the Meaning Criterion and the Concept Elaboration Criterion. Note also that the similarity shared by 'attached', 'completive' and 'inceptive' attests Langacker's (1990, 1999) observation on subjectification and grammaticalization, which I will come back to in Chapter 7.

Firstly, 'completive' exhibits a distinct pattern of concept elaboration of its preceding verb invoking the conceptual element of CONTACT. In particular, there are two types of verbs that typically collocate with 'completive' in the corpus, which are verbs of closing and verbs of connection. In particular, the former subgroup can be instantiated by *guān-shàng* 'close-SHANG', *hé-shàng* 'come together-SHANG', *bì-shàng* 'shut-SHANG', etc. Examples (6–12) and (6–13), repeated here as (6–32) and (6–33), are typical instances that involve a verb of closing:

(6–32)	當	門	快要	關上		或
	dāng	*mén*	*kuài yào*	*guān-shàng*		*huò*
	when	door	about to	close-SHANG		or

	正在	合攏	時，	千萬	別	進出。
	zhèng zài	*hélǒng*	*shí*	*qiānwàn*	*bié*	*jìn-chū*
	IPFV	join	when	certainly	NEG	enter-exit

"When the doors (of an elevator) are coming to a complete close or are in the middle of coming together, never walk in or out."

(6–33)	白兔	笑得		嘴唇	都	裂開
	báitù	*xiào-dé*		*zuǐchún*	*dōu*	*liè-kāi*
	rabbit	laugh-PFV		lip	PRT	split-open

	了，	一直	到	現在	還	沒有
	le	*yìzhí*	*dào*	*xiànzài*	*hái*	*méiyǒu*
	CRS	until	to	now	still	NEG

	合上。
	hé-shàng
	come together-SHANG

"The rabbit kept laughing until its lips split, and its lips have still not come together."

The commonality shared by (6–32) and (6–33) is the element of CONTACT as the resultant state of a verbal process. In comparison to 'attached', this usage cluster does not code a tr attached to a prototypical SURFACE, but merely highlights the final state of two entities being in contact with each other. In (6–32), *shàng* in *mén kuài yào guān-shàng* 'door about to close-SHANG' profiles the endpoint of the process of closing coded by the autonomous predication of *guān* in *guān-shàng*, with the two doors of an elevator coming into proximity to each other. Likewise, *shàng* in (6–33) profiles the endpoint of the process of two lips coming together, which is coded by its autonomous predication of *hé* in *hé-shàng*. The above two instantiations are different from those of 'attached', in that these instantiations serve only to bring to focus the endpoint of a process where two entities enter

into contact, instead of coding an object attached to a strictly defined SURFACE. In other words, whether the constructional schema of [NP1] – [V] – [SHANG] – [NP2] invokes a prototypical SURFACE constitutes the main difference between an instantiation of 'attached' and an instantiation of 'completive'. Therefore, 'completive' can be viewed as an attenuated version of 'attached' with the conceptual content of SURFACE having faded away, which I will address in Chapter 7.

Verbs of connection are another possible source of concept elaboration for *shàng* 'completive', as in *lián-shàng* 'link-SHANG', *jiē-shàng* 'connect-SHANG', and *chā-shàng* 'plug-SHANG'. Excerpt (6–34) is typical:

(6–34)	印表機	和	光碟機	只要	插上
	yìnbiǎo-jī	*hàn*	*guāngdié-jī*	*zhǐyào*	*chā-shàng*
	printer	and	CD-ROM	as long as	plug-SHANG

	線，	即	可	使用。	
	xiàn	*jí*	*kě*	*shǐyòng*	
	cable	PRT	can	use	

"(Nowadays,) printers and CD-ROMs can be used as long as they are plugged in."

For such a verb of connection, the conceptual representation of [NP1] – [V] – [SHANG] – [NP2] is a tr approaching a lm and finally coming into contact with it. As with a verb of closing, the conceptual representation of a verb of connection also bears a schematic similarity to that of 'attached', in that the two usage clusters both involve physical contiguity between two entities, with the only difference being the involvement of a typical SURFACE. In (6–34), *shàng* encodes the resultant state of the autonomous predication of *chā* 'plug' in *chā-shàng*, i.e. a printer and a DVD-ROM being wired, with the socket of the printer and the DVD-ROM in spatial proximity to and in contact with one end of the wire. No strictly defined SURFACE can be identified in this instance.

With the above illustrations, I have shown how verbs of closing and verbs of connection associate with the meaning of 'completive' in [NP1] – [V] – [SHANG] – [NP2]. Accordingly, Figure 6.6 below represents the imagistic structure for 'completive,' where the dashed horizontal line represents the almost total attenuation of the element of SURFACE. Since the resultant state of an entity in contact with another is at issue, the GOAL of the trajectory is conceptually prominent, with the other portions of PATH and SOURCE staying in the conceptual base.

Although I have identified verbs of closing and verbs of connection as the source of concept elaboration for 'completive', I found some other verbs in the corpus that could also be analyzed as instantiations of 'completive'. In particular, some instantiations of [V] – [SHANG] that contain a verb of motion, if followed by an NP that specifies the goal of the trajectory, may also fall into this semantic

Figure 6.6: The imagistic structure for 'completive'

category. This overlap of categories can be attributed to the experiential basis of an object in motion bearing the potential to result in its contact with another object. *Zhuī-shàng* 'chase-SHANG' and *gǎn-shàng* 'hurry-SHANG' in (6–35) and (6–36) are such potentially ambiguous examples:

(6–35) | 太陽！ | 看 | 我 | 來 | 追上 |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| *tàiyáng* | *kàn* | *wǒ* | *lái* | *zhuī-shàng* |
| sun | look | I | come | chase-SHANG |

你，	勝過	你！
nǐ	*shèng-guò*	*nǐ*
you	win-PFV	you

"Sun! I am here to catch you up and to surpass you!"

(6–36) | 傑克 | 終於 | 趕上 | 巴士， | 將 | 訊息 |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| *jiékè* | *zhōngyú* | *gǎn-shàng* | *bāshì* | *jiāng* | *xùnxí* |
| Jack | finally | hurry-SHANG | bus | DSPL | message |

傳給	司機。
chuán-gěi	*sījī*
pass-to	driver

"Jack finally caught the bus and passed the message to the driver."

In these examples, *shàng* similarly profiles the resultant state of the process encoded by the verb, i.e. an object in motion finally entering into potential contact with another. In (6–35), *shàng* codes the final state of the tr being in proximity to, and possibly in potential contact with, the lm, *nǐ* 'you', as a result of the verbal process *zhuī* 'chase'. *Shàng* in (6–36) likewise codes the result of the processual predication of *gǎn* 'hurry,' with the tr being contiguous to the lm, *bāshì* 'bus'. In both these examples, *shàng* is associated with a state of contact,

which accentuates the endpoint of the autonomous processual predication in [V] – [SHANG].

Remember that in 6.3.3, I presented (6–7) as a typical instantiation of 'forward', which was an instance of [V] – [SHANG] that involves the same motion verb *zhuī* 'chase'. The excerpt is repeated here as (6–37) for ease of reference, as a contrast to (6–35) above:

(6–37)

浪花	沖來	時,	我	拔腿就跑,
lànghuā	*chōng-lái*	*shí*	*wǒ*	*bátuǐ jiù pǎo*
wavelet	wash-come	when	I	fled immediately

浪花	退走	時,	我	也
lànghuā	*tuì-zǒu*	*shí*	*wǒ*	*yě*
wavelet	back-away	when	I	also

跟著,		追上去...
gēn-zhe		*zhuī-shàng-qù*
follow-IPFV		chase-SHANG-go

"When wavelets came toward me, I fled immediately, and when wavelets went away, I followed and chased them..."

Zhuī-shàng in these two examples has very different co-texts, hence its different meanings in use. In (6–37), *zhuī-shàng* is followed by the PATH-highlighting element of *qù* 'go' that profiles the PATH and as a result underscores the reading of 'forward', which is imagistically PATH-prominent. By contrast, *zhuī-shàng* in (6–35) is followed by an NP that specifies the GOAL of the trajectory, *nǐ*, which renders the image-schematic structure of this particular instantiation of [V] – [SHANG] GOAL-prominent and its reading endpoint-salient. Therefore, embedded in different co-texts, each associated with its respective imagistic structure, *shàng* can develop different meanings in *zhuī-shàng*. Figure 6.7 below illustrates such ambiguous cases of [V] – [SHANG], the reading of which is dependent on what follows *shàng*.[81]

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81   In Chapter 5, we discussed how the dependent predication may induce a metonymic extension in the autonomous predication in a symbolic assembly (Croft 1990). Accordingly, the difference between (6–35) and (6–37) can also be accounted for by the fact that in *zhuī-shàng-qù*, the dependent predication of the resultative *shàng-qù* triggers a domain highlighting in the autonomous predication of *zhuī*.
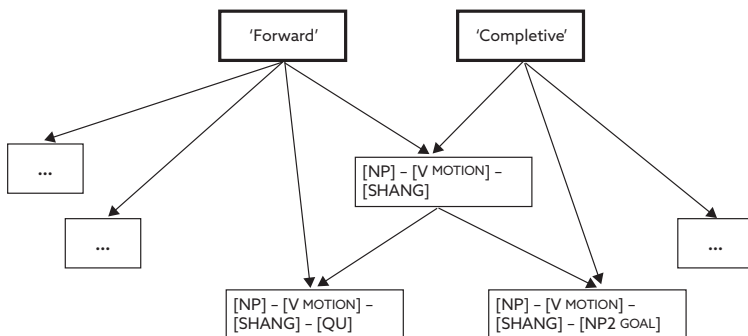
Figure 6.7: Dual interpretations of *shàng* between 'forward' and 'completive' within certain constructional sub-schema

In the above figure, the higher-level schema of [NP] – [V MOTION] – [SHANG] bears the potential of ambiguity between 'forward' and 'completive', which can be exemplified by *zhuī-shàng*. The schema is in turn imminent in its two instantiations, [NP] – [V MOTION] – [SHANG] – [QU] and [NP1] – [V MOTION] – [SHANG] – [NP2 GOAL], which is also an instantiation of 'forward' and 'completive' at the semantic pole respectively.

As for grammatical profiling, 'completive' is similar to 'attached', which was mentioned in 6.3.4. Specifically, in 'completive', *shàng* can also be omitted without inducing a major change in the conceptual content. For instance, for a verb of closing, *guān-shàng mén* 'close-SHANG door' prompts a similar conceptual content to its reduced counterpart, *guān mén* 'close door', with the only difference being how the conceptual content is construed. The same holds true for a verb of connection, instantiated by *chā-shàng xiàn* 'plug-SHANG wire' and its abridged counterpart *chā xiàn* 'plug wire.' And the same also holds true for a verb of motion, instantiated by *gǎn-shàng bāshì* 'hurry-SHANG bus' and the reduced *gǎn bāshì* 'hurry bus'.

With the above discussion, we see that 'completive' meets the Concept Elaboration Criterion and the Grammatical Criterion, in addition to the Meaning Criterion. Therefore, this meaning can be established as a distinct sense.

6.3.6 'Inceptive' and its associated constructional schemas

'Inceptive' is the sixth meaning identified in the corpus based on the methodology of PP which also exhibits a distinct pattern of concept elaboration and grammatical profile.

Verbs associated with 'inceptive' are instantiated in the mental domain with a sense of affinity, as in *ài-shàng* 'love-SHANG', *mí-shàng* 'addict-SHANG', *xǐhuān-*

shàng 'like-SHANG'. Excerpts (6–16) and (6–17), repeated here as (6–38) and (6–39), are typical:

(6–38)   萬一   他   追上了   別的   女孩，
      wànyī   *tā*   *zhuī-shàng-le*   *bié de*   *nǚhái*
      what if   he   chase-SHANG-PFV   other   girl

      或者是   我   愛上   你，   那
      huòzhěshì *wǒ*   *ài-shàng*   *nǐ*   *nà*
      or   I   love-SHANG   you   then

      怎麼辦？
      zěnmebàn
      what to do

      "What if he met another girl, or if I fell in love with you, then what shall (we) do?"

(6–39)   對   佛法   有了   更   進一步   的
      duì   *fófǎ*   *yǒu-le*   *gēng* *jìnyíbù*   *de*
      about   Buddhism   have-PFV   more   further   LK

      認識，   她   才   瞭解   其中   意涵
      rènshì   *tā*   *cái*   *liǎojiě* *qízhōng*   *yìhán*
      understanding   she   PRT   know   within   meaning

      並   逐漸   迷上   佛學。
      bìng *zhújiàn*   *mí-shàng*   *fó-xué*
      and   gradually   addict-SHANG   Buddhist-study

      "After she had more thorough knowledge of Buddhism, she came to understand its real meaning, and was getting more and more addicted to the study of Buddhism."

In these two examples, *shàng* profiles the inception of a state of being emotionally attracted, which is in turn linguistically elaborated by its autonomous predication in the assembly of [V] – [SHANG], with the resultant state remaining after the inception. An example of this is (38), in which *shàng* highlights the beginning of the state of the tr being emotionally attached, which is elaborated by the verb *ài* 'love'. After the inception of that particular state, the state of being in love lasts. Similarly, *shàng* in (6–39) underscores the inception of the state of someone being attracted to the study of Buddhism, which is elaborated by the verb *mí* 'addict'. The state of being addicted, which can be understood as a kind of potential mental closeness, also remains after its inception.

Note especially that the verbs prompt the notion of mental contiguity between two entities in an abstract sense. Specifically, the autonomous predica-

tions relative to *shàng*, i.e. *ài* and *mí*, are both associated with the notion of contiguity between an experiencer and another entity, though not in a concrete conceptual domain. In contrast, a mental verb that does not invoke the concept of contiguity, such as *hèn* 'hate' or *tǎoyàn* 'dislike', would create an anomaly if combined with *shàng*. With the above contrast, psychological closeness characterizes the usage cluster of *shàng* 'inceptive'. This abstract contiguity is an attenuated version of 'completive', with the element of spatial proximity having faded away, leaving behind only a vestige that is highly schematic, so that it can only be instantiated in an abstract domain. I will come back to this observation in Chapter 7.[82]

Having noted the pattern of concept elaboration of 'inceptive', we are faced with this question: As I discussed in 6.1, the emergence of the inceptive reading can be attributed to a shift in the windowing of attention. But how does this shift in perspective take place at the conceptual level?

I argue that such conceptual transformation is forced by the possible connection between the notion of CONTACT and a homogenous state, and that the shift is experientially motivated. Remember that the notion of CONTACT is the essential element in the concept elaboration of 'completive', and that the concept elaboration of *shàng* 'inceptive' is dependent on the stative and homogenous nature of the autonomous predication relative to it. I claim that the connection between CONTACT and a homogeneous state is experientially based, in the sense that a homogenous state can result when an object initiates contact with another and remains in contact with it. This is a recurrent pattern that emerges from our daily interaction with the world.[83]

This argument allows us to formulate the image-schematic structure for *shàng* meaning 'inceptive' as shown in Figure 6.8 below. In Figure 6.8, the endpoint of the mental process of entering into emotional closeness is clearly in profile, with its SOURCE and PATH not receiving much attention and remaining in the conceptual base. The horizontal line stands for the concept of CONTACT, with the dashed line representing the remaining vestige instantiated in the mental domain after

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82   Interested readers are referred to Lu and Su (2012) for a detailed discussion on this matter.

83   This explanation attributes the semantic shift from 'completive' to 'inceptive' not to a metaphorical but to a metonymic extension, since the conceptual transformation boils down to a shift in profile within one experiential gestalt. The other point against a metaphorical account is the lexical aspectual nature of the autonomous predication relative to *shàng* meaning 'completive' and 'inceptive'. The autonomous predications in the usages of 'completive' involve incremental change, as in an event of closing or an event of chasing, whereas those for 'inceptive' are homogenous and do not involve any change at all. Therefore, the above event structures do not make good cross-domain counterparts, even though the two clusters are instantiated in distinct conceptual domains and are seemingly metaphorical in relation. Interested readers are referred to Lu (2017) for a similar argument against metaphor as the driving force of semantic change in *shàng*. Readers are also referred to Langacker's (1999) discussion on the English *be going to* construction, where it was convincingly shown how a seemly abrupt cross-domain semantic transfer is in essence gradual.
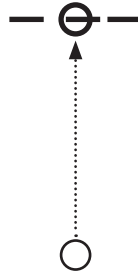
Figure 6.8: The imagistic structure of *shàng* meaning 'inceptive'

the element of physical contiguity has faded away (hence a more broken line than that of 'completive' in Figure 6.7).[84]

6.4 Summary of the chapter

In this chapter, I scrutinized the non-metaphorical core senses of *shàng* in [V] – [SHANG], which is structurally similar to [V] – [UP] in English. I discussed the prototypical sense of 'vertically attained', with the notion of SURFACE that characterizes it. 'Vertically higher' extends from the prototypical meaning, and the sense of 'forward' is further extended via the cognitive mechanism of self-projection. Along the other track of semantic extension, the conceptual substrate of SURFACE is gradually attenuated, leaving behind the other senses: 'attached'; 'completive'; and 'inceptive'. Figure 6.9 summarizes the organization of the core senses of *shàng*.

Beyond the semantic network, an examination of the core senses of *shàng* with respect to grammatical profile and concept elaboration echoes what was shown to be true for *up* in Chapter 4. Specifically, as I showed in my discussion on 'vertically attained', 'attached', 'completive', and 'inceptive', use of authentic data and distinguishing between minor clusters of usages allows us to identify the possible "bridging context" (Heine 2002) that fosters semantic extension from one sense to another. In addition, as I showed in my discussion on 'forward', 'attached', and 'completive', a sense is not a homogeneous lump but instead should be

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84   Note that there are other instantiations of [V] – [SHANG] – [NP] where the NP following *shàng* is instantiated in the domain of TIME, with typical examples including *huā-shàng shuāng-bèi shí-jiān* 'spend-SHANG double-multiplication time' and *zǒu-shàng yì-zhěng-tiān* 'walk-SHANG one-whole-day'. I believe such a temporal reading of these usages is triggered by the temporal nature of the NP, and so is metaphorical in essence and therefore beyond the scope of the current chapter. Interested readers are referred to Lu (2015) for a detailed discussion of such metaphorical senses.

understood as a composite of different sub-groups of usages in the form of constructional schemas. My practice of fleshing out constructional schemas in terms of grammatical profile and concept elaboration has thus allowed for a constructionist characterization of what constitutes a semantic category. Table 5 below summarizes what constructionally defines each core sense of *shàng* in terms of its grammatical behavior and its pattern of concept elaboration:

Sense	Grammatical Profile	Concept Elaboration
'Vertically attained'	[NP1] – [V] – [SHANG] – [NP2]	1. PATH– and GOAL-prominent 2. V VERTICAL MOTION in SPACE that involves EFFORT 3. NP2 prompting SURFACE
'Vertically higher'	[NP1] – [V] – [SHANG] – [NP2]	1. PATH– and GOAL-prominent 2. V VERTICAL MOTION in SPACE 3. NP2 as a locative NP and of general nature
'Forward'	[NP] – [V] – [SHANG] (–[X])	1. SOURCE– and GOAL-prominent 2. V NON-VERTICAL MOTION in SPACE 3. For a V MOTION, X as a PATH-highlighting element after *shàng*, which can be instantiated by an ADV or an NP 4. For a V TRANSFER, X as the direct object 5. Invoking an onstage conceptualizer
'Attached'	[NP1] – [V] – [SHANG] – [NP2], with *shàng* being optional	1. GOAL-prominent 2. V WEARING and V APPLYING SUBSTANCE TO A SURFACE 3. Either NP1 or NP2 prompting SURFACE
'Completive'	[NP1] – [V] – [SHANG] – [NP2], with *shàng* being optional	1. GOAL-prominent 2. V CLOSING, V CONNECTION and V MOTION causing (potential) CONTACT
'Inceptive'	[NP1] – [V] – [SHANG] – [NP2], with *shàng* being optional	1. GOAL-prominent 2. V MENTAL STATE with a sense of affinity

Table 5: Distinct patterns of grammatical profiling and concept elaboration for the core senses of *shàng* in [V] – [SHANG]

The summary in Table 5 supports two fundamental assumptions in CG: that language use is grounded in basic human cognitive ability; and that there exists a close relationship between perception and conception. In particular, there are three major points in Table 5 that help justify the above assumptions. Firstly, we see that the concept elaboration of a lexical sense in a symbolic assembly is closely associated with the image-schematic structure prompted by the constructional schema, which illustrates the close relation between meaning and perception. Specifically, in all these constructional schemas of [V] – [SHANG], *shàng* serves
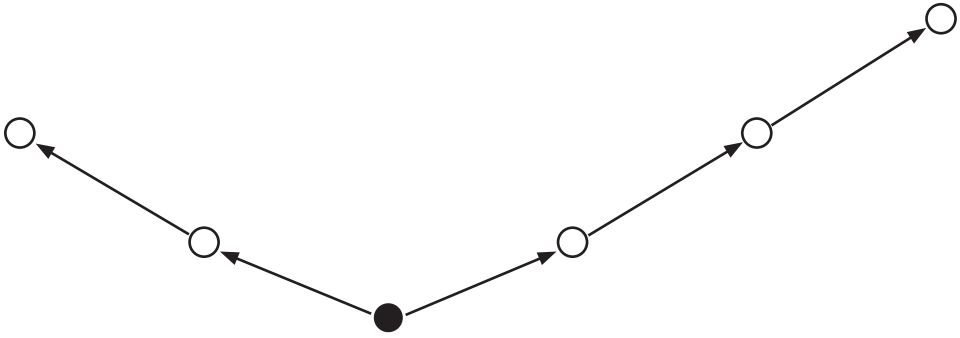
Figure 6.9: The The organization of the core senses of *shàng*

to prompt a conceptual base, part of which is highlighted and receives more attention than the rest. This windowing of attention is accomplished by the interaction between *shàng* and its co-text. The second piece of evidence is the involvement of a vantage point in 'forward'. Perspective-taking is a basic perceptual ability of humans. An onstage point of view, which may alternate with the default offstage one, can equip the conceptualizer with conceptual flexibility, which allows for extension at the semantic pole of a symbol. Thirdly, focal adjustment is a key operating principle in human perception and conception. This is attested by the semantic extension from 'completive' to 'inceptive', which involves different allocations of attention to the subparts of the same conceptual scene, giving rise to different construals of an identical conceptual content.

The discussion in the current chapter has provided a basis for a contrast between *up* and its Mandarin counterpart, *shàng*. In the next chapter, I will further advance the theme of the present study, the connection between perception and conception, by discussing the relationship between meaning and viewing arrangement in conceptualization (Langacker 1985, 1990, 1999).