
Emergence of Evaluation Completive *Hao* in Chinese

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Completive markers can express speakers' attitudes in Japanese and Korean (Strauss, 2002; Davis and Gutzmann, 2015). However, crosslinguistic variations and changes of these evaluative completives have not been extensively studied. This paper offers a diachronic study of V-*hao* 'good' in Chinese, a similar evaluative completive expressing a speaker's positive attitude. We propose that *hao* 'good' started with its evaluative meaning as a subjective adjective, and later acquired aspectual semantics, suggesting variations in paths of multi-dimensional meanings for completives.

In Old Chinese, *hao* 'good' was a subjective adjective without a completive meaning. When used after VP, *hao* 'good' was either predicated of the object or the whole VP, expressing the speaker's evaluation. In Middle Chinese, *hao* 'good' started to gain a completive meaning, by appearing with nouns denoting results as and resultative DE constructions. Towards the end of Middle Chinese, V-*hao* constructions emerged. In pre-modern Chinese, V-*hao* gradually standardized replacing resultative DE constructions. Throughout, *hao* has always retained its original usage, creating an ambiguity observed above.

Hao 'good' originated as a subjective adjective (cf. Lasersohn, 2005) predicative of individuals or events in the Old Chinese. *Hao*'s completive semantics emerged as an entailment, when *hao* began to modify resultant states as in Middle Chinese. At this stage, the completive sense is an inference. In pre-Modern Chinese, when V-*hao* standardized, the completive meaning became truth-conditional, while the evaluative content became use-conditional. In Modern Chinese, *hao* 'good' can be purely completive without a resultant state.

Unlike regular pragmatization (Davis and Gutzmann, 2015), the subjective content of *hao* 'good' existed before its aspectual semantics, which emerged as an entailment before replacing the subjective meaning as truth-conditional content. This suggests there are at least two origins for 2-dimensional completives: 'finish' verbs as in Japanese and subjective adjectives in Chinese. This exemplifies a different development order from other evaluative completives in Japanese and Korean. Our analysis suggests subjective lexical items as a potential source for multidimensional semantics.

References: • Davis, C. and D. Gutzmann (2015). Use-conditional meaning and the semantics of Pragmatization. In E. Csipak and H. Zeijlstra (Eds.), *Proceedings of Sinn Und Bedeutung* 19, pp. 197–213. • Lasersohn, P. (2005). Context Dependence, Disagreement, and Predicates of Personal Taste*. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 28(6), 643–686. • Strauss, S. (2002). Distinctions in Completives: The relevance of resistance in Korean.