

**Metaphorical use of Mandarin
compound directional complements**

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1 Abstract

Between the time when you wake *up* in the morning and *fall* asleep in the evening, you might feel *down* if you are *under* a lot of pressure, or be *high* in spirits if you feel on *top* of a situation. Such spatial metaphors are present in most languages and this study focuses on how Mandarin verb complements indicating spatial direction, so-called directional verb complements, are used metaphorically.

Spatial metaphors are found in various parts of the Chinese language and directional verb complements are part of a larger whole. The purpose of this study is to relate the various complements and their metaphors to one another, provide a system in which the metaphors of directional complements fit into a larger context within the Mandarin language, and examine similar structures in other languages.

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3 Preface

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That said, shortcomings (of which there are many, I'm sure) must be credited to yours truly. I must admit to underestimating the time needed to find material on the subject and also the seeming lack of said material. Of books consulted only a small fraction were deemed useful as most of them either mentioned the specific subject very briefly or were duplications of other works. However, it is not entirely unlikely that this opinion is a result of incomprehensive research rather than lack of relevant material.

The feeling of *almost* seeing the whole picture has been present through most of this study and in combination with unforeseen events adding to an already rough outline of a schedule, it has left me with a sneaking suspicion that I have missed something. On the other hand, from what I've learned from my fellow students I would in all likelihood be considered a freak of nature if I did *not* have such a feeling near the end of such a process. And so, I hope that whatever clues I might have missed are not of vital importance and that I will be able to fill in the gaps in the future as my understanding of this subject (hopefully) improves in time through further studies.

Kevin Dippner
Oslo, March 22nd, 2010

4 Abbreviations

Abbreviation	Term
ASC	associative (的, de)
ADV	adverbiliser (地, de)
BA	ba (把)
CL	classifier
CPL	complementiser (得, de)
CRS	Currently Relevant State (了, le)
DUR	durative aspect (着, zhe)
EXP	experiential aspect (过, guo)
GEN	genitive (的, de)
NOM	nominaliser (的, de)
NS	noun suffix (儿, er)
PFV	perfective aspect (了, le)
Q	question (吗, ma)
REx	Response to Expectation (呢, ne)
SA	Solicit Agreement (吧, ba)
SUR	surprise (呀, ya)

5 Introduction

Verb complements are a very common feature of the Chinese language. The subgroup that indicates spatial direction of motion, most often called directional verb complements, is also commonly used in a figurative sense. Students of Mandarin as a foreign language are often presented with the figurative use of directional complements in a matter-of-fact way, without much consideration for how and why. The purpose of this study is to relate the various complements and their metaphors to one another, provide a system in which the metaphors of directional complements fit into a larger context within the Mandarin language, and examine similar structures in other languages.

One important piece of the puzzle falls into place once we realise that the simple metaphors produced by the various directional complements are part of a larger cognitive system. For instance, the fact that 下去 (*xiaqu*, down-away) following a verb means “to continue (the action of the verb)” becomes much more interesting when we realise that it is part of the larger underlying concept that, in Chinese, time moves downward. This concept is not only present as verb complements, but in various other parts of the language. E.g. 下次 (*xiaci*, lit. down occurrence) means “next time”, and 下来 (*xialai*, lit. down come) used as a verb after a time word (such as “year”, “semester”, etc.) indicates the end of a period. Furthermore, in the case of many of these concepts, they extend their meaning in the opposite “direction”. E.g. as 下次 means “next time”, 上次 (*shangci*, lit. up occurrence) means “last time”. We will in this study argue that all metaphors produced by directional verb complements are parts of a larger underlying metaphorical concept.

Mandarin is far from the only language to have spatial metaphors; indeed, using spatial metaphors to express more abstract concepts, like time, is rather common across languages. Whether people are looking *forward* to a brighter tomorrow, proposing theories *ahead* of their time, or falling *behind* schedule, they rely on terms from the domain of space to talk about

time.¹ In this way, Mandarin is not exceptional. On the contrary, we will argue that there is a certain universality not only in spatial metaphors, but also in the underlying metaphorical concepts. However, it is important to note the difference between directional metaphors and other ways of expressing direction of spatial displacement in other languages. This will be discussed further in section 7.1.

Since we're dealing with metaphor, we touch upon an interesting related discussion; that of metaphor in Chinese poetry. Both Owen(1985) and Yu(1987) argue that Chinese poetry does not make use of metaphor, as understood by Western readers (“The poet is a gull between Heaven and Earth”²), but only simile (“It seemed to me I was like a gull between Heaven and Earth”³).⁴ The important difference is that the first sentence uses metaphor to make a statement that is not literally true (the poet is not really a gull), while the simile in the second is literally true (the poet really felt like he was a gull). The same is true for both parts of correlative sentences (such as “the poet feels light and free, a gull is flying over the sea”), which are also found in Chinese poetry.

We will argue that metaphorical use of directional verb complements is indeed metaphorical and on that basis claim that any lack of metaphors in Chinese poetry is not based on a general cognitive difference between Chinese and Western authors, but on a particular cultural preference that is first of all present in a poetic context, and not in the cognitive functions in everyday life.

The above can be summed up in the following hypotheses:

- a) Mandarin directional verb complements used metaphorically are instances of larger underlying cognitive concepts or general cognitive metaphors. These underlying metaphors are also found in other parts of the language.
- b) Both the instances and the underlying metaphors in Mandarin are in many ways the same as similar concepts found in other languages. Thus, Mandarin is less exotic in this aspect than on the poetic level (cf. Li, Owen). The directional constructions themselves bear both similarities and differences to equivalent aspects in other languages.

¹ Lera Boroditsky: “Do English and Mandarin speakers Think Differently About Time?”

<http://csjarchive.cogsci.rpi.edu/proceedings/2008/pdfs/p427.pdf>

² Owen(1985:15)

³ Owen(1985:15)

⁴ Owen(1985:15,26,34,56-57), Yu(1987:36-27,199-201)

c) The figurative use of Mandarin directional verb complements is metaphorical in nature, suggesting that any lack of metaphors in Chinese poetry, as discussed by Li and Owen, does not have to do with a lack of metaphors in the Chinese language per se, but is rather a result of poetic/cultural preference.

6 An introduction to verb complements

A verb complement is a complementary element that follows and modifies the verb. Verb complements are important in Mandarin, as they are widely used in both speech and writing.

Terminology as well as classification may vary between different books. For instance, Chao(1968) operates with directional verb complements as a subgroup of resultative verb compounds. In this thesis, for all practical purposes verb complements can be divided into the following three main categories:

1. Resultative verb complements (结果补语, *jieguo buyu*),
2. Directional verb complements (趋向补语, *quxiang buyu*),
3. Potential verb complements (可能补语, *keneng buyu*).

This study will mainly concern itself with directional verb complements and will touch upon potential verb complements. Resultative complements are of little relevance and will be discussed only briefly.

(Verb complements such as [verb+得+adjective phrase/sentence/verb phrase] are practically absent in the present study and will therefore not be discussed).

6.1 Resultative verb complements (结果补语, *jieguo buyu*)

Semantically speaking, resultative verb complements provide a result of the action or process indicated by the verb preceding it. The compound always consists of two elements, the main verb and its resultative complement. The “result” described by the second element can be of various kinds and is not necessarily easily discerned as a result as such, but rather as the *manner* in which the action or process indicated by the first element is performed⁵:

- | | | | | |
|--------------|--------|---------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| 1) Effect: | 打 - 破 | da – po | lit. hit – break | “hit so as to break” |
| Achievement: | 写 - 清楚 | xie – qingchu | lit. write – clear | “write clearly” |
| “Phase”: | 用 - 完 | yong – wan | lit. use – finish | “used up” |

⁵ Li/Thompson(1981:54-55)

As demonstrated in the examples above, the Mandarin resultative verb complement is often translated into English as an adverb, e.g. write *clearly*, used *up*, turn *off*, but it can also simply take the form of a verb, e.g. he *broke* the teacup.

6.2 Directional verb complements (趋向补语, *quxiang buyu*)

A directional verb complement describes the direction of the displacement caused by the preceding verb. The main verb is a so-called displacement verb and its directional complement consists of one of two types of directional verbs or a combination of the two. The two types of directional verbs may also be used on their own without the displacement verb, in which case the first directional verb functions as the main verb and not a complement.

There are few restrictions as to what kind of verb can serve as the displacement verb (V_1) in a directional verb compound, but we can roughly divide them into two groups:

- a. Verbs signalling motion, e.g. 走 *zou* “walk”, 跑 *pao* “run”, 飞 *fei* “fly” and 滚 *gun* “roll”.
- b. An action verb implying that the direct object undergoes a change in location, e.g. 搬 *ban* “remove”, 扔 *reng* “throw”, 送 *song* “send, give”, 拿 *na* “take, hold”, 领 *ling* “lead (to somewhere)”, 推 *tui* “push” and 举 *ju* “lift, raise” and 打 *da* “to hit, beat”.

The directional complements to verbs in group a. describe the direction of the subject (since these verbs are more or less intransitive), while the directional complements to verbs in group b. describe the direction of the so-called logical object.

As mentioned above, there are two types of directional verbs that can function as a directional complement, either alone or in combination with the other. The first type of directional verbs (V_2) is comprised of the following eight verbs, and they each have a directional meaning when it functions as a verb complement and a verbal meaning when it occurs as an independent verb, below displayed “[directional meaning] / [verbal meaning]”:

上 *shang* “up / ascend”, 下 *xia* “down / descend”, 进 *jin* “in / enter”, 出 *chu* “out / exit”,
起 *qi* “up / rise”, 回 *hui* “back / return”, 过 *guo* “over / cross”, 开 *kai* “apart, away / open”.

As directional complements these verbs describe direction of displacement in relation to the object in question.

The second type of directional verbs (V_3) describes direction of displacement in relation to the speaker and consists of the following two verbs: 来 lai “come, (toward the speaker)” and 去 qu “go, (away from the speaker)”.

Compound directional verb complements are composed of a type 2 directional verb followed by a type 3 directional verb (V_2+V_3). This means there are 16 (8 times 2) possible combinations, but *起去 and *开去 are considered ungrammatical⁶, so in practice there are 14 compound directional verb complements. Used as verb complements V_2+V_3 are always pronounced in the neutral tone.

The matter of object placement is not of much relevance to the present study, other than recognise that there are variations, so we will list them only briefly below:

$V_1 + V_2$: In expressions like this, without V_3 , the object is required and is inserted after the complement.

$V_1 + V_3$: The direct object is inserted after V_3 .

$V_2 + V_3$ (V_2 functions as the main verb): If there is a place object, such as 楼 lou “building, floor” or 山 shan “mountain”, in the sentence, it must be inserted in between V_2 and V_3 . (And it makes little sense with non-place objects).

$V_1 + V_2 + V_3$ (compound directional complement): Placing the object in a sentence featuring a compound directional complement may seem a bit complicated. An object not indicating a place can be placed after V_1 or V_3 . It can be placed after V_2 only if $V_3 =$ 来 lai. However, if $V_3 =$ 去, the directional complement may not be split.

If the object in the sentence indicates a place, e.g. 学校 xuexiao “school” or 北京 Beijing, it *must* be placed between V_2 and V_3 , regardless of V_3 being 来 lai or 去 qu⁷. For more information and examples, see for instance Li/Thompson(1981:58-66).

⁶ In the article “起去”的普方古检视 in Yuya Wenzhi Xue 2002, issue #8 Xing Fuyi, argue that both 开去 and indeed 起去 are possible combinations.

Also, in chapter 43 of the famous Chinese classic “Dream of the Red Chamber” (红楼梦), we find the sentence “把你的收起来”. (<http://www.eywedu.com/huipinghtm/mydoc045.htm>, visited April, 2010).

⁷ Li/Thompson(1981:58-66)

6.3 Potential verb complements (可能补语, keneng buyu)

A potential verb complement indicates whether or not the “goal” indicated by the preceding verb is obtainable. The compound consists of three parts: the main verb, its resultative or directional complement and one of two possible infixes, 得 de (“obtain” → goal obtainable) or 不 bu (“not” → goal not obtainable), in between. Because of this structure, some authors, like Li/Thompson, choose to discuss potential verb complements as a subgroup or form of resultative verb complements.

From resultative verb compounds:

2) 我 听 - 不 - 懂 你 说 - 的 - 话
wo ting - bu - dong ni shuo - de - hua
I listen not understand you say ASC words

I can't understand what you are saying (by listening).

Or: I am unable to understand what you are saying (by listening).

3) 我 听 - 得 - 懂 你 说 - 的 - 话
wo ting - de - dong ni shuo - de - hua
I listen obtain understand you say ASC words

I can understand what you are saying (by listening).

Or: I am able to understand what you are saying (by listening).

From directional verb compounds:

4) 他 跳 - 得 - 过 - 去
ta tiao -de - guo - qu
he jump obtain cross go

He can jump across. Or: He is able to jump across.

5) 他 跳 - 不 - 过 - 去
ta tiao -de - guo - qu
he jump not cross go

He cannot jump across. Or: He is unable to jump across.

Although the English translations of the above examples make use of “can” and “can’t”, the meaning of 得 and 不 can perhaps be better conveyed by “achievable” and “unachievable” respectively⁸.

The potential form is available to all resultative verb compounds from free parts, as long as it makes sense. “Free parts” means compounds that are not solid, which implies that no infix can be inserted, such as in 改善.⁹

7 About conceptual metaphors

Linguistic evidence shows that our conceptual system is largely metaphorical in nature. In cognitive linguistics a conceptual metaphor (or cognitive metaphor) refers to the understanding of one idea, or conceptual domain, in terms of another, e.g. understanding quantity in terms of directionality (e.g. "prices are rising"). A conceptual domain can be any coherent organization of human experience. The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another based on a perceived analogy.

An example of a conceptual metaphor is “argument is war”¹⁰. This metaphor is reflected in our everyday language by a variety of expressions, for instance:

- Your claims are *indefensible*.
- He *attacked every weak point* in my argument.
- His criticisms were *right on target*.
- I *demolished* his argument.
- If you use that *strategy*, he'll *wipe you out*.
- He *shot down* all of my arguments.

Lakoff/Johnson(2003) claims that metaphor is not just a matter of language, but that human thought processes are largely metaphorical; that the human conceptual system is

⁸ Li/Thompson(1981:56-57)

⁹ Chao (1968:452)

¹⁰ From Lakoff/Johnson(2003)

metaphorically structured and defined. We don't just talk about arguments in terms of war, but many of the things we do in arguing are partially structured by the concept of war; argument is partially structured, understood, performed, and talked about in terms of war. The metaphor is not merely in the words we use; it is in our concept of an argument. And because the metaphorical concept is systematic, the language we use to talk about that aspect of the concept is systematic.¹¹

A metaphor such as "argument is war" is called a structural metaphor; a case where one concept is metaphorically structured in terms of another. Lakoff/Johnson(2003) speaks of another kind of metaphorical concept, one that does not structure one concept in terms of another but instead organizes a whole system of concepts with respect to one another. These are called orientational metaphors, since most of them have to do with spatial orientation: up-down, in-out, front-back, on-off, deep-shallow, central-peripheral. These spatial orientations arise from the fact that we have bodies of the sort we have and that they function as they do in our physical environment. Orientational metaphors give a concept a spatial orientation. Here are some examples from the English language:

"happy is up; sad is down"

I'm feeling *up*. My spirits *rose*. You're *high* in spirits. Thinking about her always gives me a *lift*. I'm feeling *down*. I'm *depressed*. He's really *low* these days. I *fell* into a depression.

"conscious is up; unconscious is down"

Wake *up*. He *fell* asleep. He *dropped* off to sleep. He's *under* hypnosis. He *sank* into a coma.

"having control of force is up; being subject to control or force is down"

I have control *over* him. I'm *on top* of the situation. He's at the *height* of his power. He's in the *high* command. His power *rose*. He is *under* my control. He *fell* from power. His power is on the *decline*.¹²

The list goes on and all of these orientational metaphors seem to have a logical connection to human experience of the physical world.

¹¹ Lakoff/Johnson(2003:3-13)

¹² Lakoff/Johnson(2003:14-17)

One spatial metaphor that appears across languages and can be said to be universal is the use of spatial terms to talk about time. Whether people are looking forward to a brighter tomorrow, proposing theories ahead of their time, or falling behind schedule, they rely on terms from the domain of space to talk about time. Some aspects of time can be experienced in the physical world, e.g. that each moment in time only happens once, that we can never go back, and that many aspects of our experience are not permanent (e.g. faculty meetings are not everlasting, but rather begin and end at certain times). In other words, our experience dictates that time is a phenomenon in which we experience continuous unidirectional change that may be marked by appearance and disappearance of objects and events and these aspects of conceptual time appear to be universal across cultures and languages. In order to capture the sequential order of events, time is generally conceived as a one-dimensional, directional entity. Across languages, the spatial terms imported to talk about time are also one-dimensional, directional terms such as ahead/behind or up/down rather than multidimensional or symmetric terms such as narrow/wide or left/right.¹³

However, there are many aspects of our concept of time that are not observable in the world, e.g. in what direction does time move, does time move past us, or do we move through it, etc. Aspects like these, which are not constrained by our physical experience with time, are free to vary across languages and our conceptions of them may be shaped by the way we choose to talk about them.¹⁴ For example, it has been found that Aymara, a language spoken by the Aymara people of the Andes, arranges time so that the past is in front of them and the future is behind them.¹⁵ Other studies have found that cultural-linguistic factors like writing direction affect how peoples spatialise time, with Hebrew and Arabic speakers for example tending to arrange time from right to left rather than left to right as English speakers do.¹⁶ And speakers of Kuuk Thaayorre, an Australian Aboriginal language that relies primarily on absolute frames of reference for talking about space, have apparently been found to lay out time from East to West, rather than from left to right for English speakers.¹⁷

¹³ Clark, 1973; Traugott, 1978; Lehrer, 1990 (quoted from Boroditsky, 2008)

¹⁴ Boroditsky(2008)

¹⁵ Nunez & Sweetser, 2006 (quoted from Boroditsky, 2008)

¹⁶ Tversky et al, 1991; Fuhrman & Boroditsky, 2007 (quoted from Boroditsky, 2008)

¹⁷ Boroditsky & Gaby, 2006 (quoted from Boroditsky, 2008)

One apparent exception from the universality of spatial terms to talk about time that deserves a mention is the Hopi Indians, according to Benjamin Lee Whorf. He claimed that the Hopi language contains “no words, grammatical forms, constructions or expressions that refer directly to what we call ‘time’, or to past, present, or future, or to enduring or lasting, or to motion as kinematic rather than dynamic (...), or that even refer to space in such a way as to exclude that element of extension or existence that we call ‘time’, and so by implication leave a residue that could be referred to as ‘time’. Hence, the Hopi language contains no reference to ‘time’, either explicit or implicit.”¹⁸

Consider the following Mandarin words:

来	年。	后	年。	后	天。	去	年。	前	年。	前	天。
lai	nian.	hou	nian.	hou	tian.	qu	nian.	qian	nian.	qian	tian.
Come	year.	After	year.	After	day.	Go	year.	Before	year.	Before	day.
Next	year/	Year	after	next.	Day	after	next.	Last	year/	Year	before
The	<i>coming</i>					The	<i>year past.</i>				

We can see that this “future is behind and coming; past is in front and going (away)”¹⁹ is similar to English speakers’ horizontal terms about time, but as illustrated by the following terms, we see that also frequently in Mandarin is “past is up; future is down”, in other words time in vertical terms:

上	(个)	星期。	上	次。	上	年。	上	(个)	月。
Shang	ge	xingqi.	Shang	ci.	Shang	nian.	Shang	ge	yue.
Up	CL	week.	Up	occurrence/time.	Up	year.	Up	CL	month.
Last		week.	Last	time.	Last	year.	Last		month.
下	(个)	星期。	下	次。	下	(个)	月。		
Xia	ge	xingqi.	Xia	ci.	Xia	ge	yue.		
Down	CL	week.	Down	occurrence/time.	Down	CL	month.		
Next		week.	Next	time.	Next		month.		

¹⁸ Whorf(1967:57-58). See also Thompson(1950:158-161)

¹⁹ There are exceptions to this metaphor, as in 前途 qiantu “future”, which literally means front-route.

English and Mandarin both use horizontal and vertical spatial metaphors to talk about time, but in English front/back terms are predominant. Front/back terms are common in Mandarin as well, but Mandarin speakers also systematically use vertical metaphors to talk about time. Although in English vertical spatial terms can also be used to talk about time (e.g. “hand *down* knowledge from generation to generation” or “the meeting was coming *up*”), these uses are not nearly as common or systematic as in the use of 上 (*shang*, up) and 下 (*xia*, down) in Mandarin. Moreover, studies, some of which have considered various cultural factors (like writing direction, etc.), have shown that native Mandarin speakers also think about time vertically more often than English speakers do.²⁰

In an attempt to logically relate English speakers’ vertical terms about time, Lakoff/Johnson(2003) says that the physical basis for “foreseeable future events are up (and ahead)” (e.g. All *up* coming events are listed in the paper. What’s coming *up* this week? I’m afraid of what’s *up* ahead of us. What’s *up*?), is that our eyes look in the direction which we typically move (ahead, forward). As an object approaches a person (or the person approaches the object), the object appears larger. Since the ground is perceived as being fixed, the top of the object appears to be moving upward in the person’s field of vision.²¹

As we can see, this is contrary to the way Mandarin speakers view time vertically, with future being *down* – not *up*. Still, the Chinese view can also be explained from experience of the physical world: Most objects in everyday life is being pulled down by gravitational forces. If you drop a ball on the top of a hill it will roll down towards the foot of the hill as time passes.

As mentioned above, there are many factors to be considered if one wants to determine why speakers of a given language use spatial metaphors the way they do and it is outside the scope of this thesis to provide an in-depth analysis of such cultural or social factors. In the following, any hints about how the metaphorical concepts might have arisen from physical and cultural experience are meant to be suggestive and plausible, not definitive. What we do want to look into, however, is whether or not a given spatial metaphor is internally consistent and/or can be related to a more generic metaphor or view, such as time in the examples above.

²⁰ Boroditsky, 2001; Boroditsky ,2008.

²¹ Lakoff/Johnson(2003:6)

7.1 Directional complements as metaphors

As discussed in section 6.2, the basic function of a directional verb complement is to describe the direction of the displacement caused by the preceding verb. In all contexts where a directional complement does not indicate direction, the directional complement can be understood as having an extended meaning. In accordance with the above-mentioned theory, this extended meaning will in the following be called metaphorical meaning.

There can be little doubt that Mandarin directional verb complements can be used as orientational/spatial metaphors. As discussed above Mandarin is far from the only language to have spatial metaphors; indeed, using spatial metaphors to express more abstract concepts, like time, seems to be more or less universal across languages. In Mandarin these spatial metaphors are often expressed through directional complements. In English, as in the examples above, directional metaphors are typically formed by adverbs (as in “looking *forward* to something”) or adjectives (as in “an *upcoming* event”).

Mandarin, like English, is a so-called satellite-framed language, which among other things means that the motion verb, in addition to expressing motion, typically also expresses *manner* or *cause*²²:

The bottle *floated* out of the cave. (Manner)

The napkin *blew* off the table. (Cause)

In Mandarin the “the bottle floated out of the cave” would be expressed as follows:

瓶子	从	山洞	漂	出	来
pingzi	cong	shandong	piao	chu	lai
bottle	from	cave	float	exit	come

出 corresponds in function to the English adverb *out*, while 来 marks movement in the direction of the speaker. The latter has no immediate equivalent in English.

²² Eifring/Theil(2006:chapter 6)

In so-called verb-framed languages like Spanish, the motion verb typically does not convey information about manner or cause, but expresses instead the *path* of motion: direction, arrival, departure, traversing and many others²³:

La botella *salió* de la cueva. (Departure)

'The bottle moved out from the cave.'

La botella *cruzó* el canal. (Traversing)

'The bottle moved across the canal.'

Spatial metaphors in Mandarin are not limited to directional complements, but are also present in other parts of the language, as is apparent from the time related words in the examples above. As we will see in the following chapters, these other words and expressions largely conform with the more general ideas/metaphors, like “time moves downwards”. For example, as the earlier-mentioned 下次 (*xia ci*, next time/lit. “down occurrence”) indicates that the “direction” of time in Mandarin is down, so does some directional verb complements containing 下 (*xia*, down). In other words, we will see that the general spatial metaphors largely dictates how more specific directional metaphors are used and behave; that they form a system in which directional verb complements (and other parts of the language) are used to express the larger conceptual metaphors, as illustrated by the example below:

“Time moves downwards” (general conceptual metaphor):

下次	next time	down occurrence
下来 (used as a verb after time word)	come to an end	down-come
verb + 下去	continue (“verbing”)	hand down down-come

A consequence of these larger conceptual metaphors is that certain directional complements are used with certain verbs to express certain meanings. For example, in Mandarin as in

²³ Eifring/Theil(2006:chapter 6): Verb-framed languages also have a number of verbs that include information about manner, such as words for 'run', 'walk', 'fly' and so on. Even when they have such manner verbs, however, they tend to prefer path verbs.

Satellite-framed languages usually also express path, only it is not expressed in the verb, but in what is called the *satellite* to the verb, in English usually an adverb like *out*, in Chinese usually a non-main verb like *chu* (=exit).

English, “light is up; darkness is down” and in the same way as English speakers would say “the candle lit *up* the room” and not *“lit *down* the room”, a verb such as 亮 (*liang*, light) is used together with 起来 (*qilai*, *up-come*) and not 下来/下去 in the meaning “to light up (something)”.

In English the main verb may or may not be part of the spatial metaphor, e.g. *falling behind* schedule (verb is metaphorical), theories proposed *ahead* of their time (verb is not metaphorical). An aspect that needs to be considered is to what extent the different parts of a compound directional compound contribute to the metaphorical meaning in Mandarin. Is the meaning of V_2+V_3 (来/去) the product of the individual metaphorical meanings of V_2 and V_3 (e.g. is a given metaphorical meaning of 上来 a result of a combination of the individual metaphorical meanings of 上 and 来), is V_2+V_3 a unit without a clear connection to the individual metaphorical properties of V_2 and V_3 (e.g. is a given metaphorical use of 上来 unrelated to the individual metaphorical meanings of 上 and 来), or does the main verb in itself need to be considered part of the metaphor (as in the above example: “*falling behind* schedule”)? The latter is typically the least interesting case in this study, since we want to examine how the directional complements themselves form metaphors. What is more interesting is what part of the compound directional complements is dominant in making up metaphorical meanings; whether they can be considered fixed compounds or compounds where the different parts (V_2 and 来/去) play distinct roles. The roles of the separate elements, V_2 and V_3 , will be discussed as they are encountered in the text.

8 Metaphorical use of compound directional complements

Of the combinations of compound directional complements touched upon in section 6.2 we will refrain from discussing the controversial 起去 and 开去 since it’s debated whether they are even part of the language. Also, as 开 doesn’t really have an orientational meaning per se, 开来 will not be discussed in this section. This leaves 13 combinations of compound directional complements:

上来/上去 下来/下去 进来/进去 出来/出去 过来/过去 回来/回去 起来

All of these combinations have metaphorical meanings to some extent. 进来, 回来 and 回去 have no particular extended meanings and will be addressed together below. The rest will be discussed separately.

Directional complements can, of course, be used as potential verb complements and their metaphorical meaning in their potential form will be mentioned in cases where they differ from their metaphorical meanings as directional verb complements.

In the following we will go systematically through the different compounds and discuss their metaphorical properties. A concern has been how to arrange and present the material. Since we want to relate the various directional complements to more general conceptual metaphors, it would also have made sense to divide the following section into general conceptual metaphors and list the various directional complements under these headlines. However, we have decided to discuss each directional verb complement separately and try to relate them to the general underlying concepts as we believe it will be more comprehensible and easier to follow. In addition, listing the underlying metaphors would suggest that the ones encountered in this study comprise a complete list, which they don't; they are a means of illustrating the bigger picture.

8.1 进来, 回来 and 回去

As mentioned above, 进来 (jinlai), 回来 (huilai) and 回去 (huiqu) have no particular metaphorical meaning and are not in themselves productive as metaphors. There are, however, examples of expressions where they are used where they may be considered metaphorical. A few are listed below.

6)

我 打算 把 他们 出售 的 股票 全部 吃 进来。
wo dasuan ba tamen chushou de gupiao quanbu chi jin-lai
I plan BA they out-sell ASC stocks complete eat in-come

I plan to completely eat (=buy) the stocks they are laying out for sale.

(Gao, personal communication)

In this example the whole expression, 吃进来 (chi jin-lai, eat in-come), must be regarded metaphorically, as it is obvious that “I” is not really interested in actually eating stocks. However, the directional complement normally used with 吃 (chi) where it is meant literally is 下去 (xiaqu, down-away). Sometimes 进去 may be used, but it is far more uncommon and 进来 is very rare. In an article, “The potential markers in Mandarin” by John H-T. Lu²⁴, it is stated that 下去 is the *only* compound directional complement that can be used with 吃. The use of 进来 (*jinlai*, in-come) in this sentence is to emphasise that it is “I”, the speaker, who is doing the “eating” of stocks, and 进来 can thus be regarded metaphorically in this sentence, at least as a part of a verbal expression.

下来 (*xialai*, down-come) can also be used in the above sentence, meaning more or less the same as 进来, but 下去 and 进去 cannot be used, as they would indicate actual eating.²⁵

7) 他 这 条 小命 算是 捡 回来 了。
 ta zhe tiao xiaoming suanshi jian huilai le
 he this CL life consider to be pick up return-come CRS
 His life is considered saved / (we) consider his life saved.
 (Gao, personal communication)

As in the previous example, the verb must be considered a metaphor; there is little debate whether or not a life is a physical object that can be picked up. Since it is not actually picked up, talking about what direction in which it is picked up makes no sense. Thus, 回来 must be considered metaphorical. But since it cannot be picked up in the first place, we must consider the whole expression 捡回来 as a metaphor.

It is interesting to note that this metaphor correlates to the English “bring someone *back* to life”. Oppositely, when someone dies, one can say:

²⁴ Published in Journal of the Chinese Language Teachers Association, Vol XI, no.2 - May 1976.

²⁵ Gao, personal communication.

他 去 世 了
ta qu shi le
he go (away) world PFV/CRS
He passed *away*.

And one can even say:

他 回 去 了
ta hui qu le
he return go PFV/CRS

He passed away. (Literally: He returned (away from speaker)).

We observe that in both English and Chinese, life is “here”, death is “away”. 回来, to return, can be said to be a general, or “litteral”, metaphor as it describes a return to a previous state, and it seems obvious that it is related to the “passing from one state to another” metaphors indicated by 过来 (see page From undesirable to desirable state74) and 过去 (see page 79).

8) 话 又 说 回来 了,
hua you shuo huilai le
speech again say back-come ASP

你 这 么 做 也 有 问 题。
ni zheme zuo ye you wenti

On the other hand, there’s also a problem with you doing it that way.

(Gao, personal communication)

话又说回来 is a phrase used in colloquial Chinese that often has to do with correcting or amending something one has said earlier, and it can be translated into something like “to correct what I just said...”, “but then again...”, etc. In this way “回来 (*huilai*, return-back)” is what is happening with the conversation, or rather the topic of the conversation, as a result of 说 (*shuo*, say). As what is returning back to the speakers (or to the original topic) is the topic of the conversation (or a new argument), 回来 is not describing spatial motion or direction,

but rather the abstract idea of “talking oneself back” to a previous topic in the conversation in order to correct a previously made statement, and must be considered metaphorical.

9) 这 个 要 求 他 也 跟 我 提 过,
zhe ge yaoqiu ta ye gen wo ti guo
this CL request he too with me raise EXP

不过 让 我 一 句 话 给 顶 回 去 了。
buguo rang wo yi ju hua gei ding huiqu le
but let I one sentence speech give push return-go PFV
(with the head)

He came to me with this request as well, but I rejected him “with one sentence”.

(Gao, personal communication)

In this sentence the whole expression 顶回去 (*ding huiqu*, push back away from speaker) must be considered metaphorical, as there is no actual pushing going on, but a “verbal pushing” performed by “one sentence of mine”. It is, of course, obvious that a sentence cannot push anyone away, but even if it did, the meaning of 顶 (*ding*, push) is not the action of pushing, but to decline a request. It is, however, safe to say that if there is no pushing, there is no spatial displacement going on. Thus, 回去 must in this case be regarded metaphorically as a part of the (in this case) metaphorical expression 顶回去.

8.2 上来 - shanglai

上 (*shang*, up) is one of two type 2 verbs that indicate movement in an upward direction; the other one is 起 (*qi*, upwards). The difference between the two is that 上 has a clear ending point, while 起 does not.²⁶ While 上 can be combined with both type 2 verbs, 起 can only be combined with 来.

²⁶ McElvenny(2006: 29)

It seems 上来, used metaphorically, is a relatively loose combination of V₂ and V₃, where 上 has the most prominent role. In many cases when indicating “addition” and “achievement” 来 plays a minor part and is sometimes not even necessary.

8.2.1 Addition, increase

上来 can indicate an addition of something to something else. The meaning of addition lies with 上. Whether it's 上来 or 上去 that is used depends on what one wants to focus on. When 上来 is used, the focus is on the main object or entirety²⁷.

10) 这 - 个 名 - 单 上 的 人 还 不 够,
 zhe ge ming dan shang de ren hai bu gou
 This CL name list up ASC person still not enough

能 不 能 再 补 上 来 几 个。
 neng bu neng zai bu shanglai ji ge
 can not can again supply up-come some CL

The people on this list are still not (many) enough, can you add some more?

(Liu et al., 2007)

In this case the focus is on the name list (名单). If 补上来 had been replaced with 补上去, the name list would have been somewhere else than with the speaker and would not be the object of focus.

Used in this way 上来 is actually less common than just using 上 alone²⁸. Other verbs used with 上 to indicate increment are 加 (*jia*, add), 填 (*tian*, fill) and 添 (*tian*, add/increase). Conversely, 下降 (*xiajiang*, decline / lit. down-decend) can be used to describe a decline in temperature, demand, importance, etc., while 高 (*gao*, high) and 低 (*di*, low) are often used to describe amounts, as in salary, temperature, etc. These are all part of the underlying metaphor “more is up; less is down”, which we find in English as well: The number of books printed each year keeps going *up*. His draft number is *high*. My income *rose* last year. The amount of

²⁷ Liu et al.(2007:551)

²⁸ Liu et al.(2007:552)

artistic activity in this state has gone *down* in the past year. The number of errors he made is incredibly *low*. His income *fell* last year. If you're too hot, turn the heat *down*.²⁹

8.2.2 Hierarchy of authority

上来, 上去, 下来 and 下去 can all indicate a passage (of information, documents, etc.) within a hierarchy of authority. Since they are so closely related we will discuss them together below.

上 (*shang*, up) and 下 (*xia*, down) indicate superiority and inferiority respectively, while 来 (*lai*, towards speaker) and 去 (*qu*, away from speaker) indicate where the speaker is positioned in relation to said authority. If something is passed to the speaker from a lower authority, what is passed on is 上来-ing; coming up towards the speaker from the lower position of authority. Oppositely, if something is passed on from the speaker to a lower position, what is passed on is 下去-ing; going away from the speaker towards the lower position of authority. In short, 上来, 上去, 下来 and 下去 function in the same way they would when describing direction of physical displacement, only that in this case the “direction” they indicate is of displacement within the metaphorical space of authority. Consider the examples below:

11) 干事	说	花名册	是	按	各	分	场
ganshi	shuo	huamingce	shi	an	ge	fen	chang
secretary	say	register	be	according to	each	divide	field

报	上	-	来	的	名字	编	的。
bao	shang	lai	de		mingzi	bian	de
report	up	come	ASC		name	edit/compile	NOM

The secretary said the register is compiled according to individual locations' reports.
(Gao, 2005)

²⁹ Lakoff/Johnson(2003:15-16)

12) 名单 我们 早就 报 上去 了。
 mingdan women zaojiu bao shangqu le
 name list we long ago report up-away PFV
 We reported/submitted the name list long ago.
 (Gao, 2005)

13)
 我 已经 把 入 党 申请 书 交 上去 了。
 wo yijing ba ru dang shenqing shu jiao shangqu le
 I alreadyBA enter party apply for document deliver up-away PFV
 I already handed in the Party membership application.
 (Gao, 2005)

Note: 交上 is in itself an expression that means to present something to a superior.

14) 期中 考试 卷子 发 下 来 了。
 qizhong kaoshi juanzi fa xia lai le
 mid-term exam exam paper send down come CRS/PFV
 The exam papers for the mid-term exam were handed out.
 (Gao, 2005)

15) 卷子 发 下去 了 吗?
 juanzi fa xiaqu le ma
 examination paper distribute down-away PFV Q
 Are the examination papers handed out?
 (Gao, 2005)

All these examples clearly correlates with the underlying cognitive metaphor “having control or force is up; being subject to control or force is down”, that we find in English as well: I have control *over* her. I am *on top of* the situation. He’s in a *superior* position. He’s at the *height* of his power. He’s in the *high* command. He’s in the *upper* echelon. His power *rose*.

He ranks *above* me in strength. He is *under* my control. He *fell* from power. His power is on the *decline*. He is my social *inferior*. He is *low man* on the totem pole.³⁰

Other words with 上 and 下 that support this underlying metaphor include (but are not limited to):

上级, <i>shangji</i>	higher level/authority (lit. up grade)
上头, <i>shang tou</i>	higher authorities (lit. up head)
下令, <i>xia ling</i>	give orders (lit. descend command)
下贱, <i>xia jian</i>	of humble origin, low in social status (lit. down cheap)
部下, <i>bu xia</i>	troops under one's command / subordinate (lit. unit/troop down)
傲上恤下, <i>ao shang xu xia</i>	stand firm before superiors and be kind to inferiors (lit. proud up sympathize down)
巴高望上, <i>ba gao wang shang</i>	seek higher social status (lit. cling to high hope (for) up)

8.2.3 Accomplishment

上来 can indicate accomplishment. This use of 上来 seems to be connected to verbs that have to do with using one's voice and it is often used in its potential form (and rarely in its non-potential form). The accomplishment often has to do with whether or not one is able to answer or say something based on one's knowledge. Since knowledge is what's "coming up", we can relate this to 起来 as in 想起来 (*xiang qilai*, remember), page 64. They are both part of the underlying "conscious is up".

- 16) 这 个 问 题 太 难, 我 答 不 上 来。
 zhe ge wenti tai nan wo da bu shanglai
 this CL question too difficult I answer not up-come
 This question is too difficult, I'm unable to answer.
 (Liu et al., 2007).

³⁰ Lakoff/Johnson(2003:15)

17)你 家 在 哪 儿? 我 可 说 不 上 来。
 ni jia zai na er wo ke shuo bu shanglai
 you home at where NS I actually say not shanglai
 Where is your home? I really can't tell.
 (Liu et al., 2007)

18)我 刚 认 识 他 不 久,
 wo gang renshi ta bu jiu
 I just know he not long time
 还 叫 不 上 他 的 名 字 来。
 hai jiao bu shang ta de mingzi lai
 I just got to know him recently, I still don't know his name.
 (Liu et al., 2007)

19)五 爷 说 不 上 来 有 什 么 不 对,
 wu ye shuo bu shang lai you shenme bu dui
 five father say not up come have some not right
 却 总 觉 得 有 点 不 正 道。
 que zong juede you dian bu zhengdao
 however always think be a bit not genuine
 Fifth Master³¹ couldn't say exactly what was wrong, but he always suspected
 something to be awry.
 (Gao, 2005 / Lao She: Teahouse (老舍: 茶馆))

In examples 16) - 19) above, we see that 上来 in 说不上来, 答不上来 and 叫不上来 indicates the (in)ability to say something; not because the speaker is physically unable to, but because he/she doesn't know what to say, what the answer is, etc. 说不出来 is very similar and can mean the same thing, that the speaker lacks the knowledge needed to say something, but 说不出来 can also mean that the speaker knows the answer, but does not want to share it, or rather, cannot get oneself to say it.³² 说不出来 can also indicate that the speaker knows

³¹ 马五爷, Fifth Master Ma, is a character in Lao She's "Teahouse".

³² Li, personal communication.

what to say, but is somehow unable to form the correct sentence, to utter the words or even open his mouth.³³ Meaning that the speaker doesn't want to say something, one can in colloquial Chinese also say 说不出口 (*shuo bu chu kou*, does not want to say/ could not bring oneself to say [lit.: say not out mouth]).³⁴

In many cases 说不上 has the same meaning as 说不上来 (as in example 18)), but 说不上来 is used in cases where it is followed by a dependent clause, as in example 19).³⁵ This establishes 上 as the prominent part of the compound used in this way.

Not on potential form:

20) 问	他	碑庙	地方	都	有	些	什么	中草药,
wen	ta	bei miao	difang	dou	you	xie	shenme	zhongcaoyao
ask	he	Beimiao	area	all	have	some	what	Ch. herbal medicine

他	一	气	答	上来	二十	多	种。
ta	yi	qi	da	shanglai	ershi	duo	zhong
he	one	breath	answer	up-come	twenty	many	kind

When I asked him what Chinese herbal medicines there are in the Beimiao area, he answered over twenty types in one go.

(Gao, 2005)

Gao(2005) says that 说上来 indicating an emergence of a new situation or object is related to 上 indicating augmentation/increase, but this seems like a speculation rather than fact.

As mentioned above, the accomplishment indicated by 上来 has to do with knowledge. We can also guess that 上 indicates that the knowledge is metaphorically “above” the speaker and reaching this knowledge is therefore a victory or achievement. This is mere speculation, of course, but we can find support for this in expressions like 买上 (*mai shang*, buy/manage to buy [lit.: buy up]). While often translated simply as “to buy”, 买上 indicates that what is

³³ Wang, personal communication.

³⁴ Li, personal communication.

³⁵ Wang, personal communication.

bought is something the buyer can only just afford, or of a certain economical importance. As an example, in earlier times when bicycles were relatively uncommon and unobtainable for the common man, one could “买上” a bicycle, but now that “everyone” has one, no one would say that they “买上” a bicycle. Conversely, 买下 (*mai xia*, lit.: buy down) can be used to indicate that what is bought was of little importance and a person using 买下 could come across as somewhat arrogant.³⁶ 上 and 下 may in these cases be related to the hierarchy of authority/status in section 8.2.2 above.

Other examples of 上 indicating achievement is 考上 (*kao shang*, pass an entrance examination) [lit: study/take test up]) and 吃上 (*chi shang*, manage to eat [lit.: eat up]). The former can be considered an achievement of something “above” the student, as in 考上大学 (*kao shang daxue*, be admitted to a university), while the latter is clearly not. E.g. 他吃上三碗饭 (*ta chi shang san wan fan*, he ate [/managed to eat] three bowl of food) has nothing to do with eating expensive food, but simply manage to eat as much as three bowls of it.

8.2.4 (Used as a verb:) Beginning or “flaring up”

上来 used on its own has another metaphorical meaning and although 上来 in these cases are not used as a verb complement, we consider it worth mentioning, since we can relate it to the “start is up; end/stop is down” metaphor that is later represented by 起来 and 下来. In the examples below we can translate 上来 with “to start” or “flare up” and it often has to do with human emotions or personality traits.³⁷

21)

他的 牛脾气 一 上来， 谁 的 话 也 不 听。
ta de niupiqi yi shanglai shei de hua ye bu ting
he GEN stubbornness once up-come who ASC speech all not listen

Once his stubbornness flares up, he won't listen to anyone.

(Zhu, 2005)

³⁶ Gao, personal communication (2008).

³⁷ Zhu(2005:93)

22)

你 看 吧, 一 定 是 他 的 烟 癮 又 上 来 了。

ni kan ba yiding shi ta de yan yin you shanglai le

you look BA surely be he GEN smoke addiction again up-come CRS

Just look (at him), surely that's his smoke addiction flaring up again.

(Zhu, 2005)

23) 喝 了 这 种 酒, 酒 劲 儿 一 上 来

he le zhe zhong jiu jiu jin'er yi shanglai

drink CRS this type wine/ "kick" once up-come

alcoholic beverage (from alcohol)

可 不 舒 服 了。

ke bu shufu le

entirely not comfortable CRS

When you drink this kind of drink, once the alcohol kicks in it's not at all comfortable.

(Zhu, 2005)

8.3 上去 - shangqu

上去, like 上来, can indicate addition or increment and authority. 上去 also has a very specific use; to indicate appraise.

8.3.1 Addition, increase

Please see "Addition, increase" under 上来, page 26.

8.3.2 Appraise

Used in this way 上去 is a "fixed" unit and cannot be split up.

24) 看 上 去 挺 不 错 的。

kan shangqu ting bu cuo de

look up-go quite not wrong NOM

That looks good.

(Gao, 2005)

In this case 上去 indicates an evaluation of a situation or an object based on a visual impression from the action 看 (*kan*, look).

The observant reader will later notice that this meaning of 上去 is very similar to the meaning of 起来 (*qilai*, up-come) with the same verb, 看 (*kan*, look) in section 8.6.4; both 看上去 and 看起来 mean “it looks as if” or “it seems”.

They are indeed similar and are in many cases interchangeable, like in example (25), (26) and (27)) below:

25) 他 看 [起来 / 上去] 有 点 累
ta kan qilai / shangqu you dian lei
he looke up-come / up-go be a bit tired
He looks a bit tired.

Assumption about the weather based on the appearance of the sky:

26)
天 阴 得 厉害, 看 [起来 / 上去] 要 下 雨
tian yin de lihais kan qilai / shangqu yao xia yu
sky cloudy CPL terrible look up-come / up-go will fall rain
The sky is terribly clouded, it looks like it's going to rain.

Guessing someone's age based on their appearance:

27) 看 [起来 / 上去] 他 有 四十 多 岁
kan qilai / shangqu ta you sishi duo sui
look up-come / up-come he be forty more years
He looks like he is over 40 years old.

In the previous three examples both 看起来 and 看上去 can be used and they have the same meaning. In all of these examples the evaluation or assumption is made based on something that can be physically seen and in this lies the subtle difference between 看起来 and 看上去: 看上去 is only an assumption based on what can be physically seen, while 看起来 can also be

used in a more abstract way, where the assumption is not made based on something that can be physically seen, but rather on a situation or circumstances:

28)

已经 七 点 多 了, 看 起来 他 今天 不 来 了
yijing qi dian duo le kan qilai ta jintian bu lai le
alreadyseven o'clock much CRS look up-come he today not come CRS
It's already past seven o'clock, it looks like he's not coming today.

Here the assumption that “he” is not coming is based merely on the fact that the time is past seven, a time implied to be too late for the speaker to find it likely that “he” will arrive – which is a situation that can be perceived and not something that can be seen. It can thus even be argued that the whole expression 看起来, and not only the directionally complement 起来, is metaphorical. But the point is, in example 28) 看上去 cannot be used, simply because there is nothing visual to draw a conclusion or assumption from.

Also, only 看上去 can be used in situations where you look at something from a lower position, of course, as in example (#) below, but then 上去 is not used metaphorically.³⁸

从山脚看上去, 山顶的亭子只能看出个轮廓 = looking up from the foot of the hill, one can only see the outline of the pavilion on the mountain top.

29)

听 上去 还 真 像 想 那么 一 回 事 儿
ting shangqu hai zhen xiang xiang name yi hui shi er
listen up-og also true resemble think so one return matter NS
It sounds really reasonable.

(Gao, 2005)

As with 看上去 and 看起来, 听上去 and 听起来 are very similar, but they, too, have a slight difference in usage. In most cases they are interchangeable, but in the same way that 看上去 can only be used in a situation where there is an immediate reaction to something that can be

³⁸ http://www.inter-china.co.kr/community/lecturer/read.asp?lecturer_idx=8&search_field=subject&search_text=&goto_page=1&board_idx=596. Visited October 2008.

physically seen, 听上去 can only be used in situations where there is an immediate reaction to something that is actually heard. If, for instance, someone has read somewhere about something that will make life less convenient, like strict regulations on when you're allowed to use your car or how much water you can use, and later tell a friend about what they have read, they can say:

30) 这 件 事 听 起来 很 麻烦 了
zhe jian shi ting qilai hen mafan le
this CL matter listen rise-come very inconvenient CRS
This matter sounds inconvenient.

This would be an appropriate way to put it despite the fact that there has been no hearing involved at all, as the speaker obtained the information from reading. 听上去 cannot be used in this way.³⁹

8.3.3 Hierarchy

上来, 上去, 下来 and 下去 can all indicate a passage (of information, documents, etc.) within a hierarchy of authority. 上 (shang, up) and 下 (xia, down) indicate superiority and inferiority respectively, while 来 (lai, towards speaker) and 去 (qu, away from speaker) indicate where the speaker is positioned in relation to said authority. If something is passed on from the speaker to a higher authority, what is passed on is 上去-ing; going up away from the speaker towards the higher position of authority.

For examples and more information about this use of 上去, see 上来 – shanglai, page 27.

8.4 下来 – xialai

下来 is used with many verbs that represent the “down” part of various up/down oriented underlying metaphors, e.g. “dark is down”, “stop is down”, and in most of these cases the opposite (the “up” part of the same underlying metaphor is represented by verb + 起来, as in “light is up” and “start is up”. What is quite interesting to note is that 下来 and 起来 in many

³⁹ Wang Qi, personal communication.

cases seem to have more or less the same grammatical function, only with different verbs. And which compound directional complement is used with what verb seems to be a matter of semantics, as the verbs are semantical opposites corresponding to the underlying metaphors.

In several of the examples below, 来 is optional, which suggests that 下 is the prominent part of the compound as a spatial metaphor.

That 下来 is very commonly used in the “down” part of various up/down oriented underlying metaphors further indicates that 下, indicating a downward motion, is the more important part in forming spatial metaphors.

8.4.1 Completion of action

To say that 下来 can indicate a completion of action is perhaps a bit too generic a term for how 下来 functions with the verbs in this section, but in lack of a better term under which to arrange them “compl.o.a” will have to suffice. Among the examples below, the verbs preceding 下来 are mostly activity verbs like 写 (*xie*, write) and 停 (*ting*, stop).

31) 请 把 你们 的 名字 写 下来。
qing ba nimen de mingzi xie xialai
please BA you (pl) GEN name write down-come
Please write down your names.
(Zhu, 2005)

It may not be obvious that this sentence is metaphorical, as one can imagine “down” being the physical direction in which someone would be writing. We will, however, argue that it is metaphorical, as one could still “write down” something while lying on the back with a pen and paper above one’s head or holding a pen and paper up against a wall. The same argument goes for the two next examples.

32) 老师 的 话 我们 都 记 下来。
laoshi de hua women dou ji xialai
teacher ASC speech we all note down-come
We note down everything the teacher says.
(Zhu, 2005)

33) 赶快 把 他 说 的 样子 画 下来。
gankuai ba ta shuo de yangzi hua xialai
quickly BA he say ASC appearance draw down-come
Quickly draw the pattern/shape he described.
(Zhu, 2005)

34) 报告 已经 录 下来 了
baogao yijing lu xialai le
speech already record down-come PFV
The speech has been tape-recorded.
(Hanyu da cidian)

Examples 31) - 34) above have to do with storing some kind of information and we can generally say that “storing is down”. “Restoring is up” is discussed in section 8.6.5. We can also note that we in English say “write *down*”, “note *down*” and “draw *down*”.

35) 高 速 行 驶 的 列 车 终 于 停 了 下 来。
gao su xingshi de lianchezongyu ting le xialai
high speed perform ASC train finally stop CRS down-come
The high speed train finally stopped.
(Zhu, 2005)

Stopping is the opposite of starting, which is the meaning of 起来 after action verbs (see page 48), and so we have that “start is up; stop is down”. The next two examples can be said to be semantically related as they indicate a transition from motion/activity to inactivity.

36)

严 班 长 手 上 的 竹 篙 慢 下 - 来 了 。

yanbanzhang shou shang de zhu gao man xia - lai le

Yan team leader hand up/in ASC bamboo boat pole slowdown come LE

The bamboo boat pole in team leader Yan's hands slowed down.

(Gao, 2005)

37) 贝蒂 在 野狼 谷 定居 下来 了

bei di zai yelang gu dingju xialai le

Bei Di in Yelangvalley settle down down-come PFV

Bei Di settled down in Yelang valley.

(Gao, 2005)

Examples ## below have to do with separating objects from one another. We will later see that 起来 is used with verbs that have to do with bringing objects together. The underlying metaphorical concept is “Bringing together is up; separating is down”.

38) 因为 太 热, 他 把 帽子 脱 下来。

yinwei tai re ta ba maozi tuo xialai

because too hot he BA hat take off down-come

Because it was too warm, he took off his hat.

39) 电灯 坏 了, 所以 他 把

diandeng huai le suoyi ta ba

electric lamp bad PFV so he BA

灯泡 拔 下来 检查。

dengpao ba xialai jiancha

light bulb remove down/come inspect

The electric lamp broke, so he took out the light bulb and inspected it.

40)他 用 力 把 窗帘 拽 下来。
 ta yong li ba chuanglian zhuai xialai
 he use force BA window curtain pull down-come
 He exerted himself pulling away the window curtain.

Examples 41) - 44) below have to do with preserving (through time) and are thus connected to the concept that time moves downward.

41)
 中华民族 传统 的 美德 应该 继承 下来
 zhonghua minzu chuantong de meide yinggai jicheng xialai
 Chinese nation tradition ASC virtue should forward down-come
 The virtue of Chinese traditions should be passed on (to later generations).

42)这 是 妈妈 给 我们 留 下来
 zhe shi mama gei women liu xialai
 this be mom give we remain down-come
 的 最 宝贵 的 礼物。
 de zui baogui de liwu
 ASC most precious ASC gift
 This is the most precious gift mom left/gave us.
 (Zhu, 2005)

43)古代 流传 下来 的 寓言
 gudai liuchuan xialai de yuyan
 antiquity hand down down-come ASC fable
 Fables handed down from ancient times.
 (Hanying da cidian)

44)他 把 旅行 后 的 纪念品 保存 下来。
 ta ba lüxing hou de jinianpin baocun xialai
 he BA travel after ASC souvenir keep down-come
 He stored away the souvenirs from his travels.

8.4.2 Gradual development of a condition

Grammatically, 下来 in the below sentences indicate a gradual development of the condition described by the preceding stative verb/adjective. Semantically speaking the stative verbs have to do with a transition to a more passive state.

45) 屋 里 终 于 安 静 下 来 了。
wu li zhongyu anjing xialai le
house inside at last calm down-come CRS/PFV
At last it was quiet in the house.
(Zhu, 2005)

(Wenlin⁴⁰, a software for learning Chinese, lists 安静下去 with the same meaning as 安静下来, but in all the examples considered for this study, the former meant “to continue to be quiet”, and not “become quiet”. This does not, of course, rule out the possibility that 安静下去 may have the same meaning as 安静下来, but it is an indication that it is less commonly used this way.⁴¹)

46) 我 的 心 始 终 没 有 平 静 下 来。
wo de xin shi zhong mei you pingjing xialai
I GEN heart/mind start end not have calm down-come
From beginning to end my mind could not calm down.
(Zhu, 2005)

47) 一 阵 激 烈 的 狗 吠 狼 嗥 之 后,
yi zhen jilie de gou fei lang hao zhihou
one CL intense ASC dog bark wolf howl after

⁴⁰ Version 3.4.1. Web page: www.wenlin.com.

⁴¹ (A search on google's search engine (www.google.com, March 2010) returns 1 630 000 results for “安静下来”, and only 136 000 for “安静下去”).

周围 又 寂静 下来。
 zhouwei you jijing xialai
 vicinity again quiet down-come

After a burst of dog barking and wolf howls the surroundings quieted down again.
 (Gao, 2005)

We notice that the English translation includes expressions like “calm *down*” and “quiet *down*”, indicating the same metaphorical direction as in their Chinese counterparts. The following example is related in meaning.

48) 他 的 声音 慢慢 低 了 下来
 ta de shengyin manman di le xialai
 he GEN voice slowly low CRS down-come
 His voice trailed off.
 (Hanyu da cidian)

Oppositely, if his voice got louder, one could replace 低了下来 in the above example with 高了起来 (*gao le qilai*, lit. high CRS up-come), which indicates the underlying concept that “loud is up; calm/quiet is down”.

The two following examples are part of the underlying metaphor “light is up; dark is down”, which is the same in both English and Mandarin. 下来, indicating a downward motion (towards speaker), is used to indicate the process of going from light to dark. English has correspondent expressions like “the night *descended* on the forest” and “darkness *fell*”. The opposite side of the underlying metaphor, the process of going from dark to light, is indicated by 起来 (*qilai*, up towards speaker), indicating the opposite metaphorical “direction”. This also correlates with English expressions like “light *up*” and “brighten *up*”. For examples and more information on this use of 起来, see section 8.6.2.

49) 显示器 黑 下来 了
 xiashiqi hei xialai le
 monitor black down-come CRS/PFV

The monitor went black.

50) 天 暗 了 下来, 看 来 又 下 雨 了。
tian an le xialai kan lai you xia yu le
sky dark PFV down-come look come again fall rain CRS
The sky has darkened, it looks like it's going to rain again.
(Zhu, 2005)

On a sidenote, 看来 in this example, meaning “it looks like”, is mentioned under section 8.68.6.4 in relation to 看起来 (*kan qilai*, it looks like).

8.4.3 Hierarchy

上来, 上去, 下来 and 下去 can all indicate a passage (of information, documents, etc.) within a hierarchy of authority. 上 (*shang*, up) and 下 (*xia*, down) indicate superiority and inferiority respectively, while 来 (*lai*, towards speaker) and 去 (*qu*, away from speaker) indicate where the speaker is positioned in relation to said authority. If something is passed to the speaker from a higher authority, what is passed on is 下来-ing; coming down towards the speaker from the higher position of authority.

For examples and more information about this use of 下来, see 上来 – shanglai, page 25.

8.4.4 (Used as a verb:) “Come to an end”

After “time nouns” 下来 can indicate the end of a period of time. Used in this way 下来 is not a complement to a verb, of course, but a verb. It is, however, worth including due to its close ties to the notion that time in Mandarin moves downward and the similarity to the meaning of 下来 in examples 41) - 44). 下去 and 起来, which typically indicate continuation and start of action respectively, cannot be used in this way⁴².

51) 半 年 下来, 她 已经 瘦 了 10 公斤。
ban nian xialai ta yijing shou le 10 gongjin

⁴² Gao(2005)

half year down-come she already thin CRS 10 kilo
After half a year she had already lost ten kilos.
(Gao, 2005)

In example 51) 下来 indicates the end of a period that has already passed, but it can also be used to indicate the end of a period that has not yet passed, as in the example below.

52) 如果 你 努力 看 书, 那么 一 个 月 下来,
ruguo ni nuli kan shu name yi ge yue xialai
if you try hard look book then one CL month down-come

你 就 能 有 很 大 进 步。
ni jiu neng you hen da jinbu
you already can have very big progress
If you study hard, then after a month you will already have progressed a lot.
(Li, personal communication)

8.5 下去 - xiaqu

As mentioned earlier, in the Chinese language and apparently also in the Chinese way of thinking, time moves downward, and the metaphorical uses of 下去 are mainly related to time.

8.5.1 Continuation of action or condition

下去 can indicate continuation of actions and conditions after a majority of action verbs and static verbs/adjectives respectively. When used in this way, 下去 is a particular case in that its grammatical function and metaphorical meaning is the same. The only other directional verb complement that functions like this is 起来 indicating start of action or condition (see section 8.6.1 and 8.6.2).

Considering the metaphorical concept that time is moving downward, it seems logical that continuation from the present and into the future is “moving” down and away. If the speaker is located on a vertical time line, time above and coming down towards him is past (until it

arrives his location, at which point the time is “now”) and time moving further down below and away from him is the future.

After action verbs:

53) 你们 不 要 停, 唱 下去, 唱 下去!
nimen bu yao ting chang xiaqu chang xiaqu
you (pl) not want stop sing down-go sing down-go
Don't stop, keep singing, keep singing.
(Zhu, 2005)

54) 别 打搅 他, 让 他 说 下去。
bie dajiao ta rang ta shuo xiaqu
don't disturb he let he talk down-go
Don't disturb him, let him keep talking.
(Zhu, 2005)

55) 明年, 我 还 要 在 这儿 学习 下去。
mingnian wo hai yao zai zhe'er xuexi xiaqu
next year I still will at here study down-go
I'm still going to study here next year.
(Zhu, 2005)

56) 我们 不 能 再 这样 等 下去 了。
women bu neng zai zheyang deng xiaqu le
we not can again this way wait down-go CRS
We can't keep waiting like this again.
(Zhu, 2005)

After stative verbs/adjectives:

57)
再 这样 热 下去, 我 可 受 不 了 了。
zai zheyang re xiaqu wo ke shou bu liao le
again like this hot down-go I can endure not <ability> CRS

If it keeps being this hot, I can't take it.

(Zhu, 2005)

58) 天气 不 能 再 冷 了,

tianqi bu neng zai leng le

weather not can again cold CRS

再 冷 下 去 会 冻 死 人 的。

zai leng xiaqu hui dong si ren de

again cold down-go will freeze death people NOM

The weather must not get any colder; if it keeps on getting colder people will freeze to death.

(Zhu, 2005)

59)

你 不 能 再 瘦 了, 再 瘦 下 去 就 麻 烦 了。

ni bu neng zai shou le zai shou xiaqu jiu mafan le

you not can again thin CRS again thin down-go then trouble CRS

You can't get any thinner, if you keep getting thinner it's not good for you.

(Zhu, 2005)

下去 can also mean “continue” when used as a verb (see section 8.5.3 below).

8.5.2 Hierarchy

上来, 上去, 下来 and 下去 can all indicate a passage (of information, documents, etc.) within a hierarchy of authority. 上 (shang, up) and 下 (xia, down) indicate superiority and inferiority respectively, while 来 (lai, towards speaker) and 去 (qu, away from speaker) indicate where the speaker is positioned in relation to said authority. If something is passed to the speaker from a lower authority, what is passed on is 上去-ing; going away from the speaker towards the higher position of authority.

For examples and more information about this use of 上去, see section 8.2.2, page 27.

8.5.3 (Used as a verb:) Continue

On its own as a verb 下去 can mean “to continue”, which is, of course, closely related to its meaning as a verb complement indicating the continuation of the action or condition described by the preceding verb.

60) 你 这样 下去 会 进 监狱 的
ni zheyang xiaqu hui jin jianyu de
you like this continue can enter prison NOM
If you go on like this you will be put into prison.
(Hanying da cidian)

8.5.4 Appraise (potential form)

Used with certain verbs, like 看 (*kan*, look), 说 (*shuo*, say) and 听 (*ting*, listen), verb+下去 can express the speaker’s evaluation of a situation. 下来” cannot be used to express appraise in this way. 看下去 (*kan bu xiaqu*, cannot continue to watch), for instance, may be used in several situations⁴³. E.g. cannot continue reading a book because it’s too hard to understand, cannot continue to watch because something is embarrassing or if something is unreasonable. The action described by the verb, in this case “to look/watch” is not necessarily meant literally. To be unable to watch because something is unreasonable may be literally true, as if one watched someone beat a child, or not literally true, as if one knows of a corrupt official who abuses his power and think that it has gone far enough.⁴⁴

8.6 起来 - qilai

起来 is one of the most common metaphorically used compound directional complements and it also has a variety of metaphorical meanings. Though, as we will see in the examples below, many of the different variations are closely related and may in some cases be regarded as subgroups of each other.

⁴³ Gao(2005).

⁴⁴ Li, personal communication.

起, like 上, describes motion in an upward direction, but 起 is more speaker oriented in that it most often describes motion from ground level to eye height. And unlike 上 it has no specific ending point.

下来 often comprises the opposite metaphorical direction in underlying concepts where 起来 is the “up” part of the metaphor, as in “light is up; dark is down” and “start is up; stop is down”.

It also seems natural to contrast 起来 indicating start and 下去 indicating continuation. They can both be used with any grammatical type of verb, and like 下去 (indicating continuation), 起来 indicating start is a particular case in that its grammatical function and metaphorical meaning is the same.

起来 can in some cases be split up without any significant change of meaning. In most cases 来 is the part that is optional, e.g. 唱起(来) (*chang qi(lai)*, begin to sing) and 想起(来) (*xiang qi(lai)*, to remember), which are both representations of up/down oriented metaphor, but 看起来 (*kan qilai*, looks/seems like) can in most cases be interchanged with 看来, excluding 起.

In up/down oriented metaphors, 起 is naturally the more significant part of the compound. There are other words (besides verb complements) in Mandarin which include 起 and have meanings that correlate to the metaphorical use of 起来. These will be mentioned under the appropriate subsections below.

8.6.1 Start of action

To indicate the start of an action or condition is a very common use 起来 and is often one of the first metaphorical uses of compound directional complement encountered by foreign students of Mandarin.

This use of 起来 conforms to the general cognitive metaphor in Mandarin that “start is up; end/stop is down”. Conversely, 下来 is used with verbs like 慢 (*man*, slow down) and 停 (*ting*, stop). What is important to note, however, is that although 下来 used with verbs like 慢

and 停 can indicate a slowing down or stop, this use is very specific in combination with said verbs and 下来 indicates the result of the verbs rather than the stopping or slowing down. 起来 used as “to start an action”, on the other hand, is much more generic and can be used with most action verbs. Though, as we will see in this section about 起来 (and in the section about 下来), 下来 is often used as the opposite of 起来 within general cognitive metaphors (as in the above “start is up; end/stop is down”).

In the following we will find examples of start of action or condition as well as “process of starting”, or rather start of action/condition followed by a gradual development.

Start of action:

61) 怎么 好好 地 忽然 哭 起来 了?
 zenme haohao de huran ku qilai le
 how earnestly ADV suddenly cry up-come CRS
 How can you start crying (so) suddenly?
 (Gao, 2005)

62) 别 人 没 来, 他 就 吃 起来 了。
 bie ren mei lai ta jiu chi qilai le
 other people not come he then eat up-come PFV
 When the others didn't show up, he started eating.
 (Zhu, 2005)

63) 这 雨 昨天 刚 停, 今天 又 下 起来 了。
 zhe yu zuotian gang ting jintian you xia qilai le
 this rain yesterday just stop today again fall up-come CRS/PFV
 The rain stopped only just yesterday, today it started raining again.
 (Zhu, 2005)

64)

我 刚 一 进 门， 电话 就 响 起来 了。
wo gang yi jin men dianhua jiu xiang qilai le
I just (here:) as enter door telephone right sound up-come CRS/PFV
Just as I entered the door, the phone started ringing.

(Zhu, 2005)

65) 后来， 他 竟 不好意思 起来。
houlai ta jing buhaoyisi qilai
afterward he eventually feel embarrassed up-come
Later, he eventually felt embarrassed.
(Gao, 2005)

Since 起来 expresses start or beginning of an action, “verb+起来” is often combined with “一” (yi, one, here: as) to make up the structure “一+verb+起来” (= as soon as <verb>, ...) as in:

66) 你 看， 一 说 起来， 我 这 手
ni kan yi shuo qilai wo zhe shou
you look as say up-come I this hand

还 在 打 哆嗦 呢。
hai zai da duosuo ne
also then get shiver REx
Look (/you see), as soon as I start talking, my hand also (this hand of mine) starts to shake.
(Gao, 2005)

In the examples above, 起来 expresses beginning of an action (61) - 64), 65) and 66)) or condition (example 65)); relatively sudden changes from a static state, e.g. start crying, start raining, start ringing and start talking, which describes a change of conditions that takes place

within a short period of time. The examples above also demonstrate the variety of verbs that can be used with 起来.

There are various words with 起 in them that have to do with beginning or start. Below are some of them.

起初 *qichu*, at first, originally.

起先 *qixian*, at first, in the beginning, originally.

起身 *qishen*, start (a journey).

起身 literally means “raise body”, which may be suggestive of how 起 came to indicate beginning or start; you start your journey by getting up. With this in mind, consider the next three words.

起航 *qihang*, start a journey (of ships/planes/etc.). Literally “raise boat”.

起点 *qidian*, starting point. Literally “raise point”. The point where one rose, the point where one starts (a journey, a task, etc.).

起步 *qibu*, start (a task). Literally “raise step”.

起源 *qiyuan*, originate (verb), origin (noun).

源 can also mean “source” on its own. It is interesting to note that 源 can be combined with the other part of 起来 to form a word that means more or less the same:

来源 *laiyuan*, origin, source.

8.6.2 Start of change of condition (gradual development of condition)

The function of 起来 in this section is actually the same as in the previous section and the only difference in semantic meaning is related to the type of verb used. So the choice to make this a separate section has more to do with arrangement preferences than grammatic functions, and most of all a desire to make it more easily comparable to 下来, which in many cases has a similar function of describing gradual development of a condition, but in the metaphorically opposite direction.

In the following examples, 起来 indicates a process, something starting to happen; or more specifically, the start of a change of a condition over time. The verbs used with 起来 in this way are more static verbs, so-called condition verbs or simply adjectives.

67) 这 几 天, 天气 渐渐 暖和 起来 了。
 zhe ji tian tianqi jianjian nuanhuo qilai le
 this few day weather gradually warm up-come CRS

These last few days, the weather has gradually become warmer.

(Zhu, 2005)

68)

北京 的 夏天 热 起来 可 够 人 受 的。
 Beijingde xiatian re qilai ke gou ren shou de
 BeijingGEN summer hot up-come may enough people suffer NOM

(When) the Beijing summer gets hot, it's (hot) enough to make people uncomfortable (suffer).

(Zhu,2005)

In Mandarin, as in English, “warm is up; cold is down”. In English there are expressions like “heat *up*” and “cool *down*”, in Mandarin 下来 is used with verbs like 冷 (*leng*, cold) to express the process of getting cold, the opposite of the above 暖和起来 and 热起来. Granted, one can perfectly well say “冷起来”, but it is less common⁴⁵ and indicates a more sudden change than “冷下来”, which indicates to a larger degree the process of getting cold⁴⁶. One can say that “冷起来” indicates that it's starting to get cold and “冷下来” indicates the process from warm to cold⁴⁷, but for most practical purposes they are interchangeable.

⁴⁵ A search in google online search engine (www.google.com / April, 2010) returns approx. 253 000 hits for “冷下来” and approx. 105 000 hits for “冷起来”. Although this is far from solid evidence, it indicates a clear tendency towards “冷下来” as the preferred expression.

⁴⁶ Wang Qi, personal communication.

⁴⁷ Li Xiaochan, personal communication.

69) 我们 的 组织 壮大 起来 了。
 women de zuzhi zhuangda qilai le
 we GEN organisation expand/grow up-come CRS/PFV
 Our organisation grew stronger.
 (Zhu, 2005)

This example is an example of the earlier mentioned “more is up; less is down”.

70) 春天 到 了, 人们 又 该 忙 起来 了。
 chuntian dao le renmen you gai mang qilai le
 spring arrive ASP people again should busy up-come CRS
 Spring has arrived and people should start getting busy again.
 (Zhu, 2005)

71) 三 天 部队 饭 一 吃, 芦花 的 脸色
 san tian budui fan yi chi lu hua de lianse
 three day army food as eat Lu Hua GEN complexion
 稍稍 红润 起来 了。
 shaoshao hongrun qilai le
 slightly rosy up-come CRS
 After three days of eating food with the other soldiers, the colour started to return to
 Lu Hua’s face.
 (Gao, 2005)

It’s less obvious which general metaphor, if any, this last example best fits in with, but we can note that in English one could say “the colour *rose* in his cheeks”, using the same verb, “rise”, as in the verb complement used in Mandarin (起 = rise/raise).

In the following examples 起来 is used with static verbs/adjectives that have to do with brightening, and they demonstrate the underlying metaphor that “light is up; dark is down”, which is the same in both English and Mandarin. Expressions like “light *up*” and “brighten *up*” are examples of light being up in English. The directional complement used with words

like 黑 (*hei*, dark) and 暗 (*an*, dark/dim) to express the process of darkening is 下来 (*xialai*, down towards speaker), indicating the opposite metaphorical “direction”. This also correlates with English expressions like “the night *descended* on the forest” and “darkness *fell*”. For examples and more information on this use of 下来, see 8.4, page 36.

72) 天 亮 起来 了, 不 会 下 雨 了。
 tian liang qilai le bu hui xia yu le
 day light up-come CRS/PFV not will down rain CRS
 The day got brighter, it won't rain (again).
 (Zhu, 2005)

73) 这 回 画 - 面 清楚 起来 了。
 zhe hui hua mian qingchu qilai le
 this CL picture surface distinct up-come CRS
 The TV screen became clear.
 (Zhu, 2005)

74) 烛 - 光 使 房间 渐渐 亮 了 起来。
 zhu guang shi fangjian jianjian liang le qilai
 candle light make room gradually light CRS up-come
 The candle light made the room gradually brighter.
 (Zhu, 2005)

75) 阳光 渐渐 地 变得 鲜艳 起来。
 yangguang jianjian de biande xianyan qilai
 sunlight gradually ADV become bright-coloured up-come
 The sunlight gradually became bright-coloured.
 (Gao, 2005)

After verbs that represent an underlying metaphor, like “warm is up” and “light is up”, 起来 can be said to have two meanings at once; the beginning of the change of condition and the representation of the underlying metaphor.

Gao(2005) says that after “momentary verbs”, like 藏 (*cang*, hide), “躲 (*duo*, avoid/hide)”, “收 (*shou*, gather)” etc., 起来 expresses both beginning and completion (result) of the action (we will look at this in the next section); after “durational verbs”, like “笑 (*xiao*, laugh)”, “打 (*da*, beat/hit)”, “哭 (*ku*, cry)” etc. 起来 only expresses the beginning of an action, and after adjective it only expresses the beginning of a change of a condition. More or less all the examples in this section are examples of such changes in condition taking place over a longer period of time, where 起来 is placed after an adjective, and they support Gao’s claim. It can be argued that 起来 indicates completion of a condition in these cases as well, since the result of the adjective + 起来 is a new condition, e.g. in example 71), Lu Hua’s face is rosy as a result of the change (from a condition of “non-rosiness”), and in example 67) the weather is now warm as a result of the change in temperature, but on the other hand, the change hasn’t necessarily ended; the weather could get even warmer, and we can even imagine that Lu Hua’s face could get “rosier”. In the next section we will look at examples with the previously mentioned “momentary verbs” and see that in those cases there is a definite completion of the action.

It is interesting to observe that 下来 after adjectives can have a very similar grammatical meaning to what 起来 has in the examples above, namely a gradual change in condition. As mentioned above, the directional complement used is determined by the verb/adjective; some adjectives go together with 下来 and some go together with 起来, and they are often opposites in various general cognitive metaphors, e.g. “light is up; dark is down”, “warm is up; cold is down”, “start is up; end/stop is down”. For a comparison, see section 8.4, page 36.

8.6.3 Completion of action

In the previous section 起来 was used together with action verbs to indicate start of action and with adjectives to indicate development of a condition. In this section most of the verbs are so-called “momentary verbs” and 起来 following these verbs indicates a completion of the action described by the verb rather than a start or progress of the action. It can be argued that the completion of the action is a necessity that lies in the nature of the momentary verbs rather than in a specific use of 起来. After all, to say “start to hide” or “start to lock up” seem meaningless since “hide” and “lock up” have an implicit “binary” condition connected to

them; you are either hidden or you are not, you are either locked up or you are not. Still, 起来 takes on a slightly different meaning after these verbs and therefore it seems natural to discuss them in a separate section.

76) 她 肯定 是 躲 起来 了。
 ta kending shi duo qilai le
 she definitely be hide raise-come CRS/PFV
 She has definitely gone into hiding.
 (Gao, 2005)

77) 你 把 东西 藏 起来 干 什么?
 ni ba dongxi cang qilai gan shenme
 you BA thing hide up-come do what
 What are you doing hiding those things?
 (Zhu, 2005)

78) 芦花 的 妈妈 被 高天禄 关 起来 了,
 lu hua de mama bei gao tianlu guan qilai le
 Lu Hua GEN mother by Gao Tianlu shut up-come CRS/PFV
 要 活活 饿 死 她!
 yao huohuo e si ta
 want while still alive hungry death she
 Lu Hua's mother has been locked up by Gao Tianlu, he wants to starve her to death!
 (Gao, 2005)

79) 她 把 解 下来 的 一 条 辫绳
 ta ba jie xialai de yi tiao biansheng
 she BA separate down-come ASC one CL rope
 珍重 地 包 起来, 放 进 挎包。
 zhengzhong de bao qilai fang jin kuabao
 cherish ADV wrap up-come put enter satchel
 She carefully wrapped up an unfastened rope and put it in the bag.
 (Gao, 2005)

This is incidentally also an example of 下来 indicating separation, which is the opposite of bringing together, which is what most of the examples in this section are related to. And so we have “bringing together is up; separating is down”. (For “separating is down”, see section 8.4, page 36).

Some may find it interesting to note the apparent counter-intuitivity in using 起来 with such verbs as 关 (*guan*, hide), 躲 (*duo*, avoid/hide) and 藏 (*cang*, hide), as these verbs that imply some kind of disappearance of an object or person and are paired with 起来, which literally means “rise/up towards speaker”, which is the opposite of what one would expect to be connected to something that is doing the exact opposite, going away (and down, according to Gao(2005), which says that one of extended meanings of 下 (*xia*, down) is to express departure or disappearance and explains this with 下 indicating “down into a cognitive space” and out of sight). However, although it seems obvious that the metaphorical use of directional verb complements in most cases are based on our experience of the world around us, we also know that trying to determine why a given language considers an action or phenomenon to take on a given direction. But before we go any further, let us compare some expressions in the examples above with their English counterparts. The English translation of 关起来 in example 78) is “to lock *up*” and 包起来 in example 79) is translated “wrap *up*”, which both fit the “Mandarin direction”.

On a sidenote: “关起来” and “关上” can both be used to say “close the door”, as in “把门关起来” and “把门关上”. Only 起来 can be used to “lock someone up”, as in “把他关起来” = “lock him up” (one cannot say *把他关上), while only 上 can be used to turn off a machine or apparatus as in “把收音机关上” = “turn off the radio” (one cannot say *把收音机关起来).⁴⁸

The following examples all conform to “bringing together is up; separating is down”.

⁴⁸ Li, personal communication.

80) 下 课 了, 把 东 西 收 起 来 吧。

xia ke le ba dongxi shou qilai ba

down class CRS BA thing gather up-come SA

Class is finished, gather (your) things.

(Zhu, 2005)

81)

快 把 同 学 们 集 合 起 来, 我 们 该 出 发 了。

kuai ba tongxue men jihe qilai women gai chu fa le

quick BA schoolmate gather up-come we should set out CRS

Gather the fellow students quickly, we should get going.

(Zhu, 2005)

This one is similar to the example with 包 (*bao*, pack), as the verbs are quite synonymous.

Packing involves gathering objects.

82) 快 把 钱 装 起 来, 别 让 他 们 看 见。

kuai ba qian zhuang qilai bie rang tamen kanjian

quick BA money pack out-come don't let them catch sight of

Quick, pack up the money, don't let them catch sight of it.

(Zhu, 2005)

83) 你 还 是 把 头 发 系 起 来 好 看。

ni haishi ba toufa xi qilai hao kan

you had better BA hair tie up-come good look

You should tie up your hair nicely (/so that it looks nice).

(Zhu, 2005)

84) 宋 惠 珊 有 十 几 张 存 折,

song hui shan you shi ji zhang cunzhe

Song Huishan have ten few CL bankbook

加 起 来 总 共 五 六 千。

jia qilai zongong wu liu qian

add raise-come altogether five six thousand

Song Huishan has between ten and twenty bankbooks, (which) adds up to five-six thousand altogether.

(Gao, 2005)

This last example is also an instance of “more is up; less is down”. On a sidenote, the difference between 加起来 and 加上 is that the former is used when combining two specific amounts, numbers, etc. together while 加上 is used when adding an amount or number to another non-specific amount (as in “add two more spoons of sugar to the tea”).

A very common word that has 起 in it and has to do with “bringing together is up” is 一起 (*yiqi*, together), which literally means “one raise”.

8.6.4 Appraise/evaluation

After certain “sense verbs”, 起来 indicates an assumption or evaluation of a situation based on the sense verb used. Gao(2005) says this meaning is connected to the meaning of 起来 expressing start/beginning of an action: when 起来 marks the beginning of an action, people can often calculate or evaluate the result of the action.

85) 看 起来, 今天 不 会 再 下 雪 了。
kan qilai jintian bu hui zai xia xue le
look raise-come today not will again down snow CRS
It looks like it's not going to snow again today.
(Zhu, 2005)

看起来 is very common in colloquial Chinese and is special in that the assumption or evaluation is very loosely based on 看 (*kan*, look). In some cases the assumption or evaluation is not based on something that is physically seen, but rather a logical conclusion. For examples and a more elaborate explanation, see 上去 – shangqu, page 33.

86) 这 听 起来 是 个 好 主意。
zhe ting qilai shi ge hao zhuyi
this listen raise-come be CL good idea

That sounds like a good plan.

(Gao, 2005)

87)

他	那	豆腐脑	确实	不	愧	家传,
ta	na	doufu nao	queding	bu	kui	jiachuan
he	that	jellied beancurd	definitely	not	ashamed	family tradition

吃	起来	就是	比	别的	摊点儿	好。
chi	qilai	jiushi	bi	bie de	tan dian'er	hao
eat	raise-come	be	compare	other	booth	good

That jellied beancurd dish of his really lives up to the family traditions, it tastes better than (the same dish at) the other booths.

(Gao, 2005)

As mentioned above, 看起来 (*kan qilai*, looks/seems like) in particular and also 听起来 (*ting qilai*, sounds like) are very common in colloquial Chinese and the former can almost be regarded as a fixed expression. With other verbs, like 吃 (*chi*, eat) in example 87), there is still an evaluation or assumption based on the verb, but it seems less obvious, and as we will see in the following, we can have this evaluation with verbs that don't have to do with senses at all.

On a sidenote:

A very similar meaning to 看起来 and 听起来 can be obtained by using 上去 (*shangqu*, up-go) after the same verbs. For a comparison of 看起来/看上去 (both: “looks like”) and 听起来/听上去 (both: “sounds like”), see 上去 – shangqu, page 33.

Zhu(2005) claims that 起来 can mean “...的时候” (... *de shihou*, at the time of...) and, in many cases, that is a good way of looking at it. However, we will argue that the function of 起来 in the following is the same meaning of evaluation that we have just discussed above.

In the examples above 起来 is a complement to “sense verbs” and in the following examples it is not. It is easy to imagine an evaluation based on something one has seen, heard, smelled

or tasted. It is not particularly hard to imagine an evaluation based on something one has done, either, but verbs like 做 (*zuo*, do), 穿 (*chuan*, wear) and 唱 (*chang*, sing) in the examples below may be hard to regard as basis for evaluation. From an English speaker's point of view it is easier to translate examples with sense verbs. You can say: it *looks* like, it *sounds* like, it *smells* like and it *tastes* like; you cannot say: it *does* like, it *wears* like and it *sings* like. And, admittedly, the “at the time of ‘verbing’” is not a bad translation in many cases, and it's hard to ignore the whole time aspect all together. Still, we will argue that the examples in the following are related to appraisal.

88)

这	件	事	说	起来	容易,	做	起来	难。
zhe	jian	shi	shuo	qilai	rongyi	zuo	qilai	nan
this	CL	matter	say	raise-come	easy	do	raise-come	difficult

This matter seemed easy when talked about, but turned out to be hard when done.

(Zhu, 2005)

This is an example where it is hard to ignore the time relation. It is still quite obvious that there is an evaluation in this example, as we must assume that the matter at hand wasn't actually easy when it was mentioned, and then difficult when done, it only seemed easy at the time. But it is also quite obvious that this assumption wasn't made based on 说 (*shuo*, to say), as an assumption based on one's own utterance would be a logical contradiction, but rather at the time it was said.

A translation like the common saying “it's easier said than done” would break the connection to both time and assumption, as what is easy is no longer connected to the matter at hand, but rather the act of talking about it, as in “to talk about it is easy, to do it is difficult”, and that would be to oversimplify the meaning of 说起来 and 做起来 in the above sentence. This is illustrated by the next example:

89)这	件	衣服	看	起来	很	漂亮,
zhe	jian	yifu	kan	qilai	hen	piaoliang
this	CL	clothing	look	raise-come	very	pretty

穿 起来 并不 舒服。
chuan qilai bing bu shufu
wear raise-come not at all comfortable

This piece of clothing looks pretty, but isn't comfortable at all when worn.
(Zhu, 2005)

This sentence does not merely mean “this piece of clothing is nice to look at, but uncomfortable to wear”. That the item of clothing is uncomfortable is an evaluation made on the basis of having tried it on and not merely a statement of the “fact” or assumption that it is uncomfortable to wear. If someone has been told that a shirt, for instance, is uncomfortable to wear, they cannot say that it is uncomfortable by using 穿起来不舒服, and two different people’s opinion about the same shirt might differ after they have both tried it on, and in that case one person could say that the shirt 穿起来不舒服 (not comfortable when worn) and the other could say that the shirt 穿起来很舒服 (comfortable when worn). In other words, that the shirt is comfortable (or not) is not simply a statement, that the shirt is comfortable to wear, but it is an evaluation based on the personal experience of having worn it.⁴⁹

Also, if one wants to express an assumption about whether or not the shirt is comfortable to wear based on how it looks, one would not use 穿起来, but instead use a sentence with 看起来 or 看上去 (both: looks like).

So, 穿起来 expresses an evaluation based on the action of actually wearing the piece of clothing in question. This means that the meaning of 起来 in this sentence has more to do with appraisal than time. Moreover, it can be argued that to translate 穿起来不舒服 with “not comfortable when worn” does not necessarily have much to do with time per se, but expresses more or less the same evaluation. In other words, it is implied that the speaker thinks that the shirt, for instance, is uncomfortable after having tried it on, not that it was uncomfortable at a specific time when he/she wore it. The difference in meaning is in any case very slight, and we think it is safe to say that the meaning of 起来 in such sentences is to express appraisal, but that it is also slightly connected to the time aspect.

⁴⁹ Wang Qi, personal communication.

90) 这 首 歌 听 起来 好 - 听,
zhe shou ge ting qilai hao ting
this CL song listen rise-come good listen

可 唱 起来 却 不 容易 呀!
ke chang qilai que bu rongyi ya
but sing raise-come however not easy SUR

This song sounds good (when listened to), but when sung, on the other hand, it turns out it's difficult to sing.

(Zhu, 2005)

This sentence is very similar to example (89)) in that there is both a sense verb (听, *ting*, listen) with 起来 and an action verb (唱, *chang*, sing) with 起来. In (89)) it seems quite obvious that 起来 in 看起来 indicates an appraisal based on the action of seeing (看). In (90)), although it is also quite obvious that 起来 in 听起来 indicates an appraisal based on the action of listening (听), it can be argued that even 听起来 in this case is time related and means “when listened to”, since it sounds less natural to say “this song sounds like it's pleasant to hear”. But the reason why the sentence has 听起来 and not simply says 这首歌很好听 (this song is pleasant to hear), is a means of stressing the difference between the first part of the sentence and the last. “Verb1 + 起来 A, verb2 + 起来 B” is a prevalent sentence structure that is often translated with “while A, still B”.

In any event, 唱起来 in this sentence can be regarded in the exact same way as 穿起来 in (89)); that the song is not easy to sing is an evaluation based on the personal experience of having tried to sing it.

In general we can say that this use of 起来 indicates evaluation based on the experience of having “verbed”, or translate it with “in terms of 'verbing’”.

8.6.5 Remember, “raise into consciousness”

起来 may be used with “verbs of remembrance” to indicate recollection or remembrance.

91) 我 想 起来 了, 你 是 大卫。
wo xiang qilai le ni shi dawei
I think up-come CRS you be David.
I remember, you are David.
(Zhu, 2005)

92)
他 想 了 半 天 也 没 想 起来 我 是 谁。
ta xiang le ban tian ye mei xiang qilai wo shi shei
he think PFV half day also not think up-come I be who
He thought for a really long time and could still not remember who I am.
(Zhu, 2005)

想起来 is a common way of saying that one remembers something. 想 generally means “to think” or “to consider” and unlike the verbs in the examples below, does not by itself mean “to remember”. It may be interesting to compare 想起来 to 想出来 (*xiang chulai*, think up/figure out) discussed under section 8.7. The latter literally means “think out towards speaker” and is an emergence of an idea, an idea coming *towards* the speaker *out* of the thinking process, while 想起来, which literally means “think up towards speaker”, is a recollection of a memory, something that comes *up* from a cognitive hiding place *towards* the speaker.

93) 你 回忆 起来 他 是 谁 了 没 有?
ni huiyi qilai ta shi shei le mei you
you recall up-come he be who CRS not have
Do you recall who he is or not?
(Zhu, 2005)

94) 他 还 记得 起来 我 吗?
 ta hai jide qilai wo ma
 he still remember up-come I Q

Does he still remember me?

(Zhu, 2005)

Both 回忆 in example (93)) and 记得 in example (94)) means “to remember” and, although 起来 is undoubtedly metaphorical, as there is no spatial displacement connected with remembrance, it may be difficult to immediately see the function of 起来 in these sentences. This has to do with how an English speaker understands remembrance. An English speaker would say that remembrance is binary; you either remember something, or you don't. The Chinese seem to think of remembrance as a process; an attempt to remember. And the function of 起来 is to indicate the completion of this process, to successfully have raised the memory up into the open from the depths of a cognitive space. If 起来 had been left out of the sentences in example (93)) and (94)), we would not be talking about remembering something that had temporarily been forgotten, but a process of remembering that was never halted: it was never forgotten in the first place.⁵⁰ If one cannot remember something, one could say:

95) 我 回忆 不 起来
 wo huiyi bu qilai
 I remember not up-come

I can't remember.

We can consider the meaning of this sentence to be something like “I am trying to remember, but I am unable to complete the process”.

起来 seems like a logical directional complement to use for indicating remembrance.

Considering one of the English cognitive metaphors mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, “conscious is up; unconscious is down” and what we mentioned earlier in this chapter about 下 (*xia*, down) indicating “down into a cognitive space” (Gao, 2005), it is consistent with this view that 起 (*qi*, rise/up) indicates a transfer from the unconscious to the conscious; bringing the memory out from inside the cognitive container below and up into the conscious

⁵⁰ Wang, personal communication.

space above. Also, if we consider remembrance an emergence of a memory, the use of 来 (*lai*, come/motion towards speaker) is consistent with the emergence aspect we have seen connected to 来 in other examples, like in 出来 (see page 66).

If we want to look at “raising a memory into consciousness” as restoring a memory, 起来 used with these verbs may also be part of a cognitive metaphor “restoring is up; storing is down” and thus related to 恢复 (*huifu*, restore) + 起来. As with many other general cognitive metaphors, the opposite (“storing is down”) is represented by verbs combined with 下来: 记下来 (*ji xialai*, make a note of/ write down), 录下来 (*lu xialai*, record), 写下来 (*xie xialai*, write down). For more on this, see 下来, page 36.

8.7 出来 – *chulai*

The concrete meaning of 出来 is to exit (something) in the direction of the speaker, or a reference point specified by the speaker. Its metaphorical meanings are closely related to its concrete meaning in that they indicate the revelation or emergence of something from a cognitive container, if you will, through recognition or an act, particularly actions involving senses.

8.7.1 Realisation (distinguish between people and things)

出来 after certain verbs can indicate a realisation based on the action described by the preceding verb. These verbs are often verbs of sense, like hearing and sight, or verbs that imply use of senses, like “to search” and “to recognise”. In general, this metaphorical meaning of 出来 is “to find out or realise (something) through the action described by the preceding verb”.

96) 你 看 得 出 来 这 是 谁 的 字 吗?
ni kan de chulai zhe shi shei de zi ma
you look obtain out-come this be who GEN character Q
Are you able to see whose characters (whose writing) these are?
(Zhu, 2005)

This is not merely a matter of seeing per se; a more accurate translation would perhaps be “are you able to find out whose characters these are by looking at them?”. 看出来 indicates an emergence of an understanding or realisation as a result of the action, which in this case is to look.

In the following example with the same verb (看 *kan*, to look), the meaning is similar, but slightly different. If you point out to someone that they have a stain on their shirt, an appropriate response could be:

97) 我 怎么 看 不 出来?

wo zenme kan bu chulai

I how look not out-come

How could I have missed that? (How could I not have noticed?).⁵¹

In the case with the characters in example 96) there was a question of finding out something by looking at it. In this example, the person in question had failed to notice that his/her shirt was stained. If we want to be picky we could say that the person failed to realise that the shirt was stained by looking at it, and that 看出来 has the exact same meaning in both examples, but for all practical purposes we can judge it unlikely that the person’s meaning is “I noticed the stain on my sweater, but failed to realize what it was”.

Similarly, 听出来 can have two slightly different meanings. Consider examples 98) and 99) below:

98) 我 听 出来 了, 你 是 妈 丽。

wo ting chulai le ni shi ma li

I listen out-come CRS you be Ma Li

I hear it now, you are Ma Li.

(Zhu, 2005)

⁵¹ Li, personal communication.

99)

我 听 出 来 了, 我 听 出 来 你 是 在
wo ting chulai le wo ting chulai ni shi zai
I listen out-come CRS I listen out-come you be just now
骂 我, 我 知 道 你 心 里 在 恨 我,
ma wo wo zhidao ni xin li zai hen wo
scold I I know you heart inside just now hate I
所 以 你 嘴 上 就 骂 我 了。
suoyi ni zui shang jiu ma wo le
so you mouth up (=in) just scold I CRS

I hear (and understand) you, I understand (from hearing what you said) that you are mocking me, I know deep down you really hate me and that's why you're mocking me.

(Yu Hua – Xu Sanguan *Mai Xue Ji*)

听出来 means realisation or understanding from listening and these two examples demonstrate the two different kinds of realisation that can be related to listening. In example 98) “I” realises that the person he/she is talking to is Ma Li, based on the sound of her voice. This sentence is likely to be used over the phone or perhaps if someone hears a familiar voice out in the hallway from her office and looks to confirm that it is, in fact, Ma Li who’s talking out in the hallway. This realisation of recognising someone from the sound of their voice is a realisation directly connected to the act of listening, without the need of much reasoning. Still, even in this case, there is a certain indirect relation to the sound listened to, as there is a recognition based on the additional information from having heard the person’s voice before. If, for instance, one was talking to someone on the phone with bad reception, where it’s a question of whether or not one is able to hear the sound (no thought process/recognition needed), one would not use 听出来, but 听(不)清楚 (*ting (bu) qingchu*, can(not) hear clearly). If one does not hear *who* is on the other end or if there is one word one does not hear clearly, 听出来 can be used. This is related to the meaning of 出来 indicating ability to distinguish between people and things, as discussed earlier in this section.

Example 99) is taken from a scene in a fiction novel where a couple is having an argument, and it demonstrates another kind of realisation based on 听 (*ting*, listen); a realisation of

meaning hidden in between words. An argument, which is the context of said example, is normally not a situation where it's hard to pick up on aggressive feelings communicated by the person you are arguing with, but the same is true for more subtle hints in any conversation. Contrary to the realisation in example 98), this kind of understanding is not directly connected to what one hears, but is a result of reasoning based on information in what one hears. In this way, this meaning of 听出来 is closely related to 想出来 (*xiang chulai*, think up/figure out) in example 103) in that it is a result of a thinking process.

100) 他 没 有 认 出 来 我 是 谁。
 ta mei you ren chulai wo shi shei
 he not be recognise out-come I be who
 He didn't recognise me.
 (Zhu, 2005)

This sentence may seem odd to an English speaker, but similar to the previous examples, this sentence indicates the (lack of) emergence of a realisation as a result of the “recognising”.

101) 现在 请 大家 把 这 段 文字
 xianzaiqing dajia ba zhe duan wenzi
 now please everyone BA this CL character
 中 的 错 误 找 出 来。
 zhong de cuowu zhao chulai
 amount ASC error search out-come
 Now, everyone, please find the erroneously written characters (among these characters).
 (Zhu, 2005)

102) 我 尝 出 来 了, 这 是 茅 台 酒。
 wo chang chulai le zhe shi maotaijiu
 I taste out-come CRS this be maotai (liquor)
 I tried the flavour (of it) and this is maotai.
 (Zhu, 2005)

In this example “I” finds out that the drink in question is maotai by tasting it.

In all the above examples it is quite obvious that 出来 indicates a realisation. The probable physical explanation for this use of 出来 is also quite obvious; something that is revealed to you comes *towards* you *out* from its “hiding place”. We see the same cognitive metaphor in the English language: find *out*, the realisation *came* to me, figure *out*.

8.7.2 Emergence, production (into existence)

This second meaning of 出来 is closely related to the previous “emergence of realisation”, but the emergence in the following examples are less abstract and what is emerging may even be concrete objects.

- 103) 我 想 出来 一 个 好 办法。
wo xiang chulai yi ge hao banfa
I think out-come one CL good method
I have figured out a good method.
(Zhu, 2005)

想出来 means to come up with some idea or solution as a result of thinking. This may sound very similar to the use of 出来 as realisation and it may indeed be argued that 想 is very similar to a verb that has to do with the senses, like 看 (*kan*, look) and 听 (*ting*, listen). In addition, of the examples that have to do with emergence, this example is by far the most abstract. The reason why we have chosen to file 想出来 under “emergence” and not “realisation” is that 想 is not a verb directly connected to the senses and, contrary to the use of 出来 indicating realisation, what is emerging (be it an idea, a plan or even some kind of realisation) is not a result of an external impression, but originates from the person himself.

- 104) 好 的 产品 不 是 只 靠 先进
hao de chanpin bu shi zhi kao xianjin
good ASC product not be only rely on advanced
的 技术 就 能 生产 出来
de jishu jiu neng shengchan chulai
ASC technology simply can produce out-come

(In order to) produce good products, (one) doesn't just rely on advanced technology.

105)

他 创造 出来 一 种 很 好 的 学 习 方 法。

ta chuangzai chulai yi zhong hen hao de xuexi fangfa

he produce out-come one kind very good ASC study method

He came up with a very good learning method

生产 in example 104) and 创造 105) both mean “to produce”, but the latter is often used about abstract concepts, as shown in the example above.

106) 把 你 的 名 字 写 出 来。

ba ni de mingzi xie chulai

BA you GEN name write out-come

Please write down your name.

(Zhu. 2005)

The observant reader may have noticed the similarity between this last example and example 31) (page 37) and asked him or herself what the difference between 写出来 and 写下来 is. While the two are quite similar and describe the same action, 写出来 describes more of a mental process, while 写下来 is more of a physical process. If you cannot 写出来 your name, you may have forgotten it, or you don't remember the characters with which to write it, etc. If you cannot 写下来 your name, it's more likely that you have injured your hand or otherwise impaired your physical ability to write your name. This further illustrates the “mental emergence” aspect of 出来, and we can see that this fits in with the underlying “Consciousness is here; unconsciousness is away”, which we find represented by 过来 (*guolai*, pass-come), page 74, and 过去 (*guoqu*, pass-go), page 79, but while 过来 and 过去 describe passing in opposite directions, towards and away from consciousness, 出来, as in example 103), describes coming out into consciousness from the thinking process (想).

8.7.3 Unexpectedness (exceeding expectations)

Zhu(2005) says that 出来 often expresses that an amount or some kind of range or amount is exceeded. It is correct that when used this way, 出来 is often used as a complement to an adjective, has a comparative meaning and often has to do with elements of amount, but we will argue that what is exceeded is expectations, not range or amount. Consider the examples below:

107)

今天	比	昨天	多	出来	200	块	钱。
jintian	bi	zuotian	duo	chulai	200	kuai	qian
today	compare	yesterday	much	out-come	200	Ch. yuan	money

There is 200 yuan more (here) today than there was yesterday (and that was unexpected).

(Zhu, 2005)

To say “there is 200 yuan more (here) today than there was yesterday” we could simply remove 出来 and say 今天比昨天多了 200 块钱. 出来 indicates that it was unexpected to find 200 yuan that wasn’t there yesterday, like if one was counting money and it turned out to be 200 yuan more than you expected it to be.⁵²

108) 这 根 比 那 根 长 出来 一些。
zhe gen bi na gen chang chulai yi xie
this CL⁵³ compare that CL long out-come a little

This one is a little longer than that one (and that was unexpected).

(Zhu, 2005)

To say “this one is a bit longer than that one”, one could perfectly well remove 出来 and say 这根比那根长了一些. In the example above, 出来 indicates that it was surprising to find that one of the objects was longer than the other.⁵⁴

⁵² Wang, personal communication.

⁵³ (根 is a measure word for long objects)

⁵⁴ Wang, personal communication.

- 109) 这 孩子 今年 又 高 出 了 不 少。
 zhe haizi jinnian you gao chu le bu shao
 this child this year again tall out PFV not little
 Again (even more) this year this child has grown by a lot (grown by an
 unexpected amount).
 (Zhu, 2005)

As in the two previous sentences, if we remove 出 and say 这孩子今年又高了不少, it would mean “again (even more) this year this child has grown by a lot”, and 出 indicates that the amount by which the child has grown exceeds the expectations of the speaker. The sentence in 109) would be appropriate if, for instance, the speaker met the child for the first time in a long while, and discovered that the child had grown by a surprising amount since the last time he/she saw it, but the same sentence would not be appropriate if the speaker saw the child often and were to tell someone that he or she had grown by a lot this year, since the observation would not be unexpected. In that case, one would use the sentence without 出.⁵⁵

As shown above, the English translations do not convey the full meaning of the sentences, or more particularly, the meaning of 出来. All of these sentences compare one amount to another, and yes, they exceed the previous amounts, but 出来 indicates the surprise that the amount that is exceeded, not the fact that the amount in itself is exceeded. We have seen that if we remove 出(来), the comparative meaning is still there (as is, of course the exceeding of amount), so it is clear that 出来 does not have anything to do with the comparative meaning as such, but brings the element of surprise (from the speaker’s point of view).

The following sentence is an example of 出来 indicating surprise without any comparative meaning or exceeding of amount involved:

- 110) 我 还 想 - 着 你 不 会 那么 好意思,
 wo hai xiang zhe ni bu hui name hao yisi
 I still think DUR you not can this/so have the nerve

⁵⁵ Wang, personal communication.

谁 知道 你 真 能 干 出来!
shei zhidao ni zhen neng gan chulai
who know you real can do out-come

I didn't think you would have the nerve, who would have guessed that you would really do it.

(Gao, 2005)

In this case 出来 is a complement to a verb, 干 (*gan*, do) and not an adjective like in the previous examples, and the unexpectedness is in this case connected to the verb, to what is done, and not an exceeding of an amount connected to an adjective. This kind of unexpectedness is often related to something negative, as in “how could you do such a thing?”.

About “surprise or exceeding unexpectations”; if we turn it around a bit, we can say that a surprise is in extension a (sudden) realisation, or even a sudden emergence of a realisation. Thus regarded, this metaphorical meaning of 出来 is related to its other metaphorical meanings.

8.8 过来 - *guolai*

过 means “to pass” or “to traverse” in a wide sense, but has in most cases to do with movement pertaining to a horizontal plane. So far, we have talked about metaphors oriented in the up/down direction, where the words indicating motion in an upward direction (上, 起) and downward direction (下) constitute the part that is correspond with the metaphorical “direction”. 过 does not in itself indicate a direction of motion, so 来/去 is the only part of the compound that does. And in the meaning of going to from undesirable to desirable state and vice versa when it comes to consciousness and unconsciousness, life and death, etc, 过来 and 过去 indicate metaphorical passing in opposite directions. When it comes to traversing abstract obstacles, 过来 and 过去 are quite similar.

8.8.1 From undesirable to desirable state

Zhu(2005) says that the state in question often has to do with people's life or reputation. Example (#*huifu*) below has to do with reputation, but 过来 has to do with the verb 恢复

(*huifu*, recover) and not so much with what is being recovered. That it has to do with people's life is often correct, but we would like to generalise a bit more and call it "consciousness" or "conscious presence", as it is used with waking up, coming to (out of a coma, etc.); consciousness (and life) is "here" (at the location of the speaker), unconsciousness (and death) is away from the speaker. As we have mentioned before, in English "conscious is up; unconscious is down" in most cases, but there are also English expressions like "coming to" and "come back to life", "come out of a coma", etc. that are not part of an up/down oriented metaphor. 过来 is not limited to consciousness and health, as we can see from examples 114) and 115); but indicates a passing of a metaphorical obstacle into a desirable state.

111) 他 连续 昏迷 了 几 天,
 ta lianxu hunmi le ji tian
 he continuous faint PFV several day
 今天 终于 醒 过来 了。
 jintian zhongyu xing guolai le
 today finally wake pass-come CRS

He has been in a coma for several days in a row, today he finally woke up.
 (Zhu, 2005)

Coming out of a coma back to consciousness (a desirable state) is "passing" towards the speaker. The opposite is "passing" away from the speaker. Compare example 123) - 125) in section 8.9.1.

112)
 是 几 个 大夫 连 手 把 您 抢 救 过来 的。
 shi ji ge da fu lian shou ba nin qiang jiu guolai de
 be severalCL doctor join hand BA you snatch rescue pass-come NOM

There were several doctors who joined hands to save you.

(Zhu, 2005)

113) 谢 天 谢 地, 你 总算 活 过来 了。
 xie tian xie di ni zongsuan huo guolai le
 thank heaven thank earth you finally live pass-come CRS

Thank goodness, you survived in the end. (*came back to life.*)
(Zhu, 2005)

Life is here, death is away. Compare example 126), page 80. It is also interesting to compare with example 7), page 23, where 回来 (*huilai*, return-come) is used to indicate that a person's life has been returned to the metaphorical location of the speaker.

114) 你们 必须 把 自己 错误 纠正 过来 了。
nimen bixu ba ziji cuowu jiuzheng guolai le
you (pl) must BA own error correct pass-come CRS
You must correct your own mistakes.
(Zhu, 2005)

115)
我们 应该 帮助 他 把 名誉 恢复 过来。
women yingai bangzhu ta ba mingyu huifu guolai
we should help he BA reputation recover pass-come
We ought to help him regain his (good) reputation.
(Zhu, 2005)

The last two examples don't have to do with health or consciousness, but otherwise have to do with a transition to a desirable situation.

8.8.2 Successfully traversing an obstacle

It can be argued that this meaning of 过来 is the same as the above transition from undesirable state to desirable state, as it is difficult to imagine such a transition without traversing an obstacle. Oppositely, successfully traversing an obstacle will most likely result in a desirable situation. In the following examples, the traversing of an obstacle is more clear than the result being a desirable situation (although the result is a *more* desirable situation than before, it is not really desirable per se), but the main reason for dividing the two is to more clearly point out the similarities and differences between 过来 and 过去 (page 79). Since 过来 and 过去 used like this have quite similar meanings, it seems the passing or traversing is more important than in which direction it is being done. Thus, having this

meaning, 过 is the more significant part of the compound. 来 and 去 can almost be regarded as aspect markers.

- 116) 刚 离婚 时 也 挺 难受,
gang lihun shi ye ting nanshou
just divorce time also quite unhappy
可是 哥哥 挺 过来 了。
keshi gege ting guolai le
but elder brother endure pass-come PFV

The time right after the divorce he was very unhappy, but my elder brother managed to get through it.

(Gao, 2005)

117)

- 大 风 大 浪 都 闯 过来 了, 我 不 怕!
da feng da lang dou chuanguolai le wo bu pa
big wind big wave all rush pass-come CRS I not afraid.

I have managed to get through all great storms (=problems), I'm not afraid.

(Gao, 2005)

118)

- 最 困难 的 日子 终于 熬 过来 了
zui kunnan de rizi zhongyu ao guolai le
most difficult ASC day/time at last endure pass-come CRS

(We, I, etc) have finally managed to get through this difficult time.

(Gao, 2005)

A common word in Mandarin that is related to this meaning of 过来 (and the equivalent meaning of 过去, page 81) is 难过 (*nanguo*, have a hard time / feel sad), which literally means “difficult pass”, or “difficult to traverse”.

8.8.3 Ability to accomplish (potential form)

In its potential form, 得/不 + 过来 indicate whether or not it is possible to successfully traverse an obstacle and thus has no further metaphorical meaning than its non-potential form. However, its potential form is included to illustrate the slight difference between 得/不 + 过来 and 得/不 + 过去 (see page 82), as well as point out that on potential form 过来 can also be used with stative verbs.

One can, for instance, say 忙不过来 (*mang bu guolai*, too busy to manage), but not *忙过来 (*mang guolai*). The latter does not fit into the above meaning(s) of 过来 and semantically makes little sense (it would mean something like “manage to ‘busy’ oneself through...”), but on potential form it simply means “busy to the degree that one cannot successfully traverse obstacle (= get by)”.

119)

这么多孩子我一个人照顾不过来。
zheme duo haizi wo yi ge ren zhaogu bu guolai
like this many child I one CL person look after not pass-come
I cannot look after so many children on my own.

(Zhu, 2005)

120) 老师留那么多作业
laoshi liu na me duo zuo ye
teacher leave like that much homework
一晚上做得过来吗?
yi wan shang zuo de guola ma
one evening do <ability> pass-come Q

The teacher gave us so much homework, can we manage to do all of it in one evening?

(Zhu, 2005)

121)

那么 多 书 我 一 个 人 可 拿 不 过来。
na me duo shu wo yi ge ren ke na bu guolai
like that many book I one CL person actually hold not pass-come
I can't carry that many books on my own.
(Zhu, 2005)

过来 on potential form can indicate the ability to get through a “quantitative obstacle”; 过去 cannot be used this way⁵⁶:

122) 书 太 多 了, 我 实在 看 不 过来。
shu tai duo le wo shizai kan bu guolai
book too many CRS I really look not pass-come
The books are too many, I really can't manage to read them all.
(Gao, 2005)

Conversely, the same sentence with 过去 is incorrect: *书太多了, 我实在看不过去 (Gao, 2005).

8.9 过去 - guoqu

过去 indicates passing in the opposite direction of 过来. As mentioned under 过来, they have both similarities and differences. In the transition from “desirable state to undesirable state” and vice versa, they work as opposites, while they have similar meanings when used to indicate ability to get through a difficult situation, etc. For more information, compare with 过来.

8.9.1 From desirable state to undesirable state

Most commonly used with verbs like 睡 (*shui*, sleep), 昏 (*hun*, faint), 晕 (*yun*, faint) 过去 forms the opposite of 过来, which indicates consciousness. The two compounds indicate metaphorical passing in opposite directions and unconsciousness is away from the speaker.

⁵⁶ Gao(2005)

123) 她 又 晕 过去 了。
 ta you yun guoqu le
 she again faint pass-go CRS
 She fainted again.
 (Zhu, 2005)

124) 你 看, 他 刚 睁 了
 ni kan ta gang zheng le
 you look he just open eyes PFV

几 下 眼 就 睡 过去 了。
 ji xia yan jiu shui guoqu le
 few down eye already sleep pass-go CRS

Look, he just opened his eyes for a few moments and now he's already asleep
 (again).
 (Zhu, 2005)

125)

听 了 这 话, 我 一下子 就 昏 过去 了。
 ting le zhe hua wo yi xiazi jiu hun guoqu le
 listen CRS this speech I all of a sudden just faint pass-go PFV
 Listen to me, I just fainted all of a sudden.
 (Zhu, 2005)

Examples 123) - 125) above have to do with loss of consciousness. If we compare them to example 111) in section 8.8.1, it becomes clear that “consciousness is here; unconsciousness is away”. The slightly depressing example below has to do with a bit more permanent loss of consciousness:

126)

她 每天 都 希望 自己 可以 睡 死
 ta meitian dou xiwang ziji keyi shui si
 she every day all hope oneself can sleep die

过去, 永远 不 要 再 醒 来。
guoqu yongyuan bu yao zai xing lai
pass-go always not will again wake come
Everyday she wishes she could die in her sleep and never wake up again.

Upon comparison with examples 112) and 113), it also becomes evident that “life is here; death is away”.

8.9.2 Traversing an obstacle

In much the same way as 过来, 过去 can also mean to get through a difficult situation, but there seems to be a difference in that 过来 is often used if the difficult situation has already been taken care of, while 过去 is often used about an imagined situation or a situation that has not yet happened.

In lack of better sources, here are two examples taken from a transcript of the Chinese translation of the American TV show “Friends”. They both have the same main verb.

127) 他 是 大人 了, 他 能 熬 过去 的。
ta shi daren le ta neng ao guoqu de
he be adult PFV he be able endure pass-go ASC
He's a big boy, he'll get over it.

The context is a conversation where one of the characters is discussing with a friend whether or not to break up with her boyfriend (the breaking up has not taken place yet). In the next example one of the characters asks another how he handled being left by his girlfriend.

128) 你 是 怎么 熬 过来 的?
ni shi zenme ao guolai de
you be how endure pass-come ASC
How did you get through it?

8.9.3 Ability to accomplish (potential form)

While 不/得 + 过来 often has to do with ability to overcome a situation because of a physical or otherwise external obstruction, 过去 on its potential form often has to do with some kind of personal evaluation or moral assessment. Gao(2005) says that 过来 cannot express such personal evaluation.

- 129) 这样 做 有 点 儿 说 不 过去 吧?
zheyang zuo you dian er shuo bu guoqu ba
like this do be a bit NS say not passgo SA
Doing this is a bit embarrassing (/not morally right), isn't it?
(Gao, 2005)

- 130) 她 又 吵 又 骂, 站 在 一 旁 的
ta you chao you ma zhan zai yi pang de
she both quarrel and curse stand at one side ASC
老张 实在 听 不 过去 了。
lao zhang shizai ting bu guoqu le
Lao Zhang indeed listen not pass-go CRS
She yelled and cursed, and Lao Zhang, who stood beside her, really couldn't stand listening to her anymore. (Because what "she" said was too emotionally painful to listen to).
(Gao, 2005)

- 131) 这 衣服 款式 还 看 得 过去,
zhe yifu kuanshi hai kan de guoqu
this clothing elegance also look achieve pass-go
就 是 颜色 不 太 好。
jiu shi yanse bu tai hao
just be colour not too good
The clothes' style is okay (acceptable), it's just that the colour isn't very nice.

8.10 进去 - jinqu

进去 is not commonly used metaphorically, but the few examples listed below seem closely related to the concrete meaning of the compound.

132)

离婚 是 你 我 两 个 人 的 事 儿, 何苦
lihun shi ni wo liang ge ren de shi er heku
divorce be you I two CL person ASC matter NS unnecessarily
把 老爷子 也 扯 进去 呢?
ba laoyeze ye che jinqu ne
BA “the old man” too pull in-go REx

The divorce is a matter between you and me, it's quite unnecessary to drag my old man *into* it.

(Gao, 2005)

133)

因为 “老秃山” 一 役 出现 了 许多
yinwei lao tushan yi yi chuxian le xuduo
because “Old Bare Hill”⁵⁷ one campaign emerge PFV many
英雄 功臣, 不 可能 都 写 进去。
yingxiong gongchen bu keneng dou xie jinqu
hero meritorious statesman not possible all write in-go

Because the “Old Bare Hill” campaign produced so many heroes, there is no way I can write all of them down here (*into* the book).

(Gao, 2005)

134)

没 了 羞耻, 什么 大道理
mei le xiuchi shenme dadaoli
(have) not CRS shame any principle

⁵⁷ “老秃山” is the name of a campaign in a war against American forces during the early 1950's.

也 听 不 进 去 了。
ye ting bu jinqu le
at all listen not in-go CRS

(He) has no shame, he's not able to take *in* a single (moral) principle.

(Gao, 2005)

8.11 出去 - chuqu

出去 is not commonly used metaphorically. In example 135) below it can be argued that 出去 indicates actual direction, while in example 136) the verb itself must also be regarded as a metaphor since an apology is not something one can "pour out".

135)

经 他 的 手 介绍 出 去 的 稿 子，
jing ta de shou jieshao chuqu de gaozi
undergo he GEN hand introduce out-go ASC manuscript
可 以 说 是 不 计 其 数 了。
keyi shuo shi bujiqishu le
may say be innumerable CRS

The manuscripts introduced by him (*out to* the world), can be said to be innumerable.

(Gao, 2005)

136)

我 把 我 所 知 道 的 道 歉 话 全
wo ba wo suo zhidao de daoqian hua quan
I BA I that which I know ASC apologize speech completely
倒 了 出 去，只 差 下 跪 了。
dao le chuqu zhi cha xiagui le
pour PFV out-go only lack kneel CRS

I have "poured *out*" all the apologies that I know, except for kneeling down (in front of you).

(Gao, 2005)

9 Conclusion/summary

9.1.1 General underlying metaphors

Directional complements used as metaphors in Mandarin are representations of larger underlying metaphors or cognitive concepts. Directional complements are not the only part of the language that are instances of these underlying concept; on the contrary, as we have discussed in preceding chapters, we find that underlying metaphors are represented by various other grammatical groups, e.g. nouns and verbs, as well as directional verb complements. In most cases these underlying metaphors are consistent in that one phenomenon represented by a certain direction in most cases has the opposite phenomenon represented by the opposite direction.

Let us have a look at the general concepts and their instances found in this study. Below is an attempt at arranging them into three groups.

Time moves downward:

“Start is up; end/stop is down”.

“Continuation is down (and away)”.

“Past is up; future is down”.

More “physical” metaphors:

(most of these are metaphors pertaining to a plane and have to do with an abstract presence being “here”):

“Emergence is out” (this is also part of “conscious is here”, as in 想出来).

“Consciousness is here; unconsciousness is away”.

“Consciousness is up” (as in 想起来 and 说不上来 [knowledge cannot come up]).

“Life here; death is away”.

“Surprise is out (towards speaker)”.

“Authority is up; inferiority is down” or “Having control or force is up; being subject to control or force is down”.

“Restoring is up; storing is down” (also has to do with “consciousness is up”, as in 想起来).

“Bringing together is up; separating is down”.

Active is up; passive is down:

“Light is up; dark is down”.

“More is up; less is down”.

“Warm is up; cold is down”.

“Loud is up; calm is down”.

There are several ways to group these metaphors that would make sense. For instance, we could group them in “planar” and up/down oriented metaphors. The planar ones all suggest presence, whether it is something physical or abstract that is coming into being or someone’s consciousness returning to “here”. But regardless of how we arrange them, the important thing is that we recognise that there is an underlying system that governs these spatial metaphors.

9.1.2 Universality

We have found that spatial metaphors for abstract concepts, like time, can be found in most languages. The Chinese language has a series of basic spatial metaphors that function much in the same way as do spatial metaphors in the English language⁵⁸; in most cases the same phenomena are even represented by the same direction in both languages, e.g. “more is up; less is down”, “warm is up; cold is down” and “light is up; dark is down”. This supports the idea that these spatial metaphors and underlying concepts are based in how we perceive the world around us, but more importantly it tells us that the same kind of underlying cognitive metaphors are present in both languages. Moreover, the metaphors based on the underlying concepts are, like metaphors in a Western context, not literally true: 下起雨来 (*xia qi yu lai*, starts to rain), which literally means “fall up rain come” has nothing to do with rain moving upwards, as 起 seems to indicate. This means that the apparent lack of metaphors in Chinese poetry, as proposed by Stephen Owen and Pauline Yu, has nothing to do with a general lack of metaphors (of which there are, in fact, many) in the Chinese language, but is most likely a cultural preference in a poetic context.

⁵⁸ The syntactical similarities and differences have been discussed in section 7.1.

9.1.3 Grammatical function vs. semantic function

起来 and 下去 play a special role as 起来 can mean “to start ‘verbing’” with “all” action verbs and 下去 can mean “to continue ‘verbing’” with “all” action verbs. In other words, their grammatical role and their metaphorical semantic value are the same. Oppositely, there is no directional verb complement that generally means “to stop ‘verbing’” or “discontinue ‘verbing’” with the same action verbs. 起来 alone represents “start is up”, regardless of the preceding verb, while “end/stop is down” is represented by 停下来 where the meaning of “stop” lies with the verb, not the complement. 下来’s grammatical role in this case is to indicate completion of the action (the stopping), which is not a role unique to 下来. 下来 is a preferred complement to “to stop” because it makes more sense semantically.

In the same way, after state verbs 起来 and 下来 can have the exact same grammatical meaning; to indicate gradual transition from one state to another. Which one is used depends entirely of the semantic meaning of the verb and the underlying metaphor, e.g. “light is up; dark is down”, “loud is up; quiet is down”, etc.

9.1.4 About the compound constituents

Most of the underlying metaphorical concepts are oriented in the up/down direction, represented by 上, 下 and 起 combined with 来 and 去. Planar metaphors are represented by 过 + 来/去 and in part 出来.

In up/down oriented metaphors, 上, 下 and 起 are naturally the most significant part of the underlying metaphor and the role of 来 and 去 are often more vague. It seems like 来 indicates finality more often than does 去, but that is at this point an educated guess at best. In some cases, e.g. 下去 (continue) and 下来 meaning “from past to present”, 下 indicates the “direction” of time in Mandarin and since past is up, what is coming towards the speaker comes from the past (which is up) and what is going away from the speaker and into the future (which is down). A more clear exception from this vague role is the more particular metaphor “authority is up; inferiority is down”, where 来 and 去 function exactly the way they do when used non-metaphorically.

When it comes to planar metaphors, 来 and 去 play a more important role. Combined with 过, which does not in itself hold any directional value, 来 and 去 naturally play more prominent roles, as in “life and consciousness is here; death and unconsciousness is away”, where they indicate metaphorical motion in opposite directions. The exception is 过来 and 过去 used to indicate a passing of an abstract obstacle, where the passing itself seems to be most important and the direction of the passing seems less important.

The Chinese language is in many ways different from the English language, not to mention other cultural and philosophical differences between East and West. It has even been claimed that the Chinese language lacks metaphor in the Western sense of the word. It is therefore interesting to discover that such a basic part of the language as spatial metaphors – and in extension a way of thinking about basic concepts – can not only be found in both Chinese and English (and others), but the various metaphors are in many cases the same. For a language (and culture) that is often regarded as exotic and “mystical”, Chinese, at least in this regard, is not as different as one might think.

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