



**CAUSE cross Chronology of Chinese:  
A corpus-based analysis of Chinese mono-morphemic causatives**

Yanan Hu & Dirk Speelman

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Lexical  
causatives

Morphological  
causatives



**Transfer of Themes**

Source: [reference]

Target: [reference]

**What do we get thereby?**

- [reference]
- [reference]
- [reference]
- [reference]

**What is the problem?**

[reference]



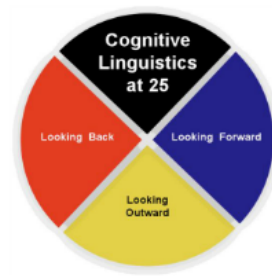
**Application**



**Chinese Analytic Causative Construction**

[reference]

**Chinese  
analytic  
mono-morphemic  
causatives**



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**Foundational Texts**

Thomson, S. & Dixon, R. (1995). *Lexical causatives in English and Chinese*. *Journal of Linguistics*, 31, 1-24.

Li, C. N. (1999). *Lexical causatives in Chinese*. *Linguistics*, 37, 1-24.

**What do we get already?**

- Transitivity
- Valency
- Agentivity
- Control
- Causation

**What to Recenter?**

• Agentivity

• Control

• Causation



**Operational**

• Agentivity

• Control

• Causation



**Chinese Analytic Causative Construction**

• Agentivity

• Control

• Causation

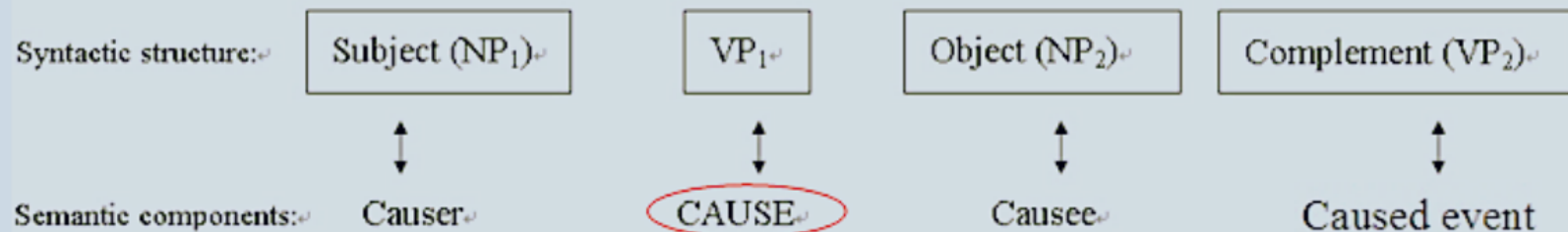
Chinese  
analytic  
mono-morphemic  
causatives

# Chinese Analytic Causative Construction

我 让 客人 围 着 桌子 坐下。  
 Wǒ ràng kè rén wéi zhe zhuō zi zuò xià  
 I CAUSE the guests surround (present tense marker) the table sit down  
 I asked the guests to sit around the table.

NP1 + VP1 + NP2 + VP2

Causer + CAUSE + Causee + Caused event



## Research Target

7 forms of monomorphemic realization:

- 使 shǐ
- 令 lìng
- 让 ràng
- 叫 jiào1
- 教 jiào2
- 给 gěi
- 要 yào

Auxiliary verbs

- How (dis)similar are they?
- What distinguishes them?
- Who, when and where prefer which of them?



# Research Target

7 forms of monomorphemic realization:

- 使shǐ
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Auxiliary verbs

- How (dis)similar are they?
- What distinguishes them?
- Who, when and where prefer which of them?

# Forefathers' Treasure

## Theoretical Background:

Shibatani 1976, Verhagen & Kemmer 1997, Speelman & Geeraerts 2009, Geeraerts 2010, Levshina 2011, etc.

## Methodological Tools:

Statistics for Corpus Linguistics (Speelman 1997), distinctive collexeme analysis (Gries & Stefanowitsch 2004), multinomial logistic regression analysis, motion chart (Hilpert 2011), etc.



# What to Excavate?

## Research Questions:

- Is there change?
- Which is relatively stable?
- How do the so-called Chinese "doen" ("shi") and "laten" ("rang") develop, especially along the continuum of (in)direct causation?



Geeraerts 2010

	synchrony	diachrony
semasiology	polysemous senses/usages of one causal auxiliary ↑ polysemy study	{ meaning change over time } ↑ semantic change
onomasiology	nuances between near-synonyms ↑ synonymy study, variation study	{ lexical preference difference for one concept over time } ↑ expression variation



# Operation

## Materials:

- Sheffield Corpus of Chinese
- The UCLA Chinese Corpus (1st ed)



2,531 observations  
1100BC-2005AD

## Predictors: 18



## Procedures:

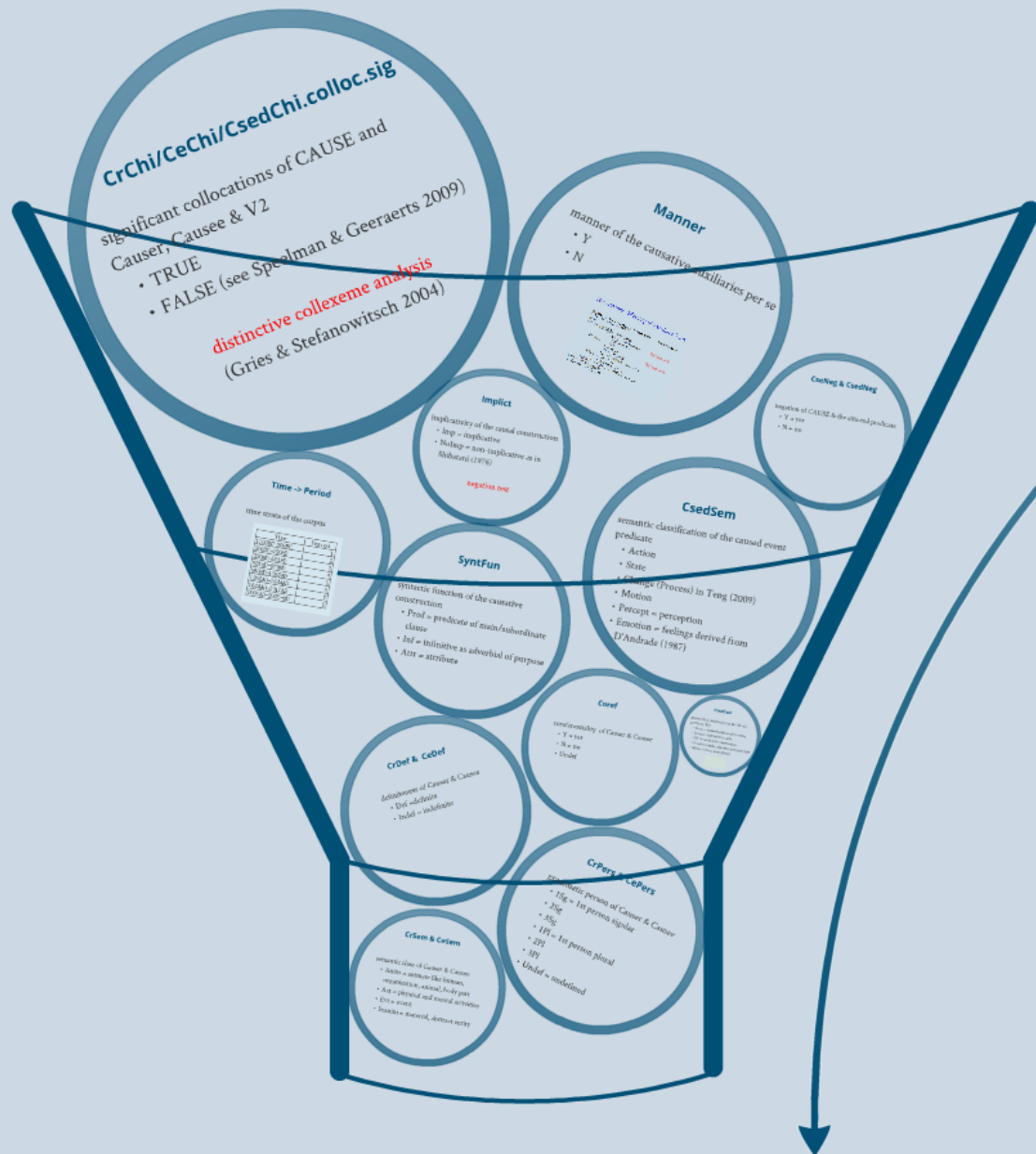
- motion chart (exploratory)
- multinomial logistic regression analysis (confirmatory)





# Predictors: 18

# Proce



• m

• m

re

## CrSem & CeSem

semantic class of Causer & Causee

- Anim = animate like human, organization, animal, body part
- Act = physical and mental activities
- Evt = event
- Inanim = material, abstract entity

- 1P
- 2P
- 3P
- Und

## Coref

coreferentiality of Causer & Causee

- Y = yes
- N = no
- Undef

grammatical c  
predicate (V2)

- Trans = tr
- Intrans = i
- SVC = ser
- Copula = c
- Idiom = id

# CsedCstr

grammatical construction of the effected predicate (V2)

- Trans = transitive/ditransitive verbs
- Intrans = intransitive verbs
- SVC = serial verb construction
- Copula = copula, adjective, past participle
- Idiom = idiom, noun phrase

SVC  
她正在介绍她的好朋友。 | 她正在介绍她的好朋友。  
Dào zhèng jièshào tā de hǎo péng you 。 | tā zhèng jièshào tā de hǎo péng you 。  
Doing (presently) | CAUSE (him) go (now) accompany her - chat  
Doing (presently) him (acc) to chat with her

Copula  
她正在听她的故事。 | 她正在听她的故事。  
Tā zhèng tīng tā de gùshi 。 | tā zhèng tīng tā de gùshi 。  
Happens (now) CAUSE (him) people story  
Happens (now) she listen

Idiom  
她正在听她的故事。 | 她正在听她的故事。  
Tā zhèng tīng tā de gùshi 。 | tā zhèng tīng tā de gùshi 。  
She (acc) (quantifier) is (acc) (quantifier) listen till (adjective) (noun) love. | CAUSE (her) listen about (object) return  
Her (acc) is that (she) (acc) is (acc) till (acc) (noun) her (acc) (acc)

SVC:

朵颐 命 令 似 地 叫 他 过 去 陪 她 聊 天。

Duōyí mìng lìng sì de jiào tā guò qù péi tā liáo tiān

Duoyi imperatively CAUSE him go there accompany her chat

Duoyi ordered him over to chat with her.

Copula:

快 乐 会 让 人 晕 眩。

Kuài lè huì ràng rén yūn xuàn

Happiness will CAUSE people dizzy

Happiness makes one dizzy.

Idiom:

她 害 怕 的 是 这 场 天 降 的 爱 情, 令 她 流 连 忘 返。

Tā hài pà de shì zhè chǎng tiān jiàng de ài qíng, lìng tā liú lián wàng fǎn

She fear (genitive) is this (quantifier) heaven fall (adjectival marker) love, CAUSE her linger about forget return

Her fear is that this heavenly love will make her obsessed.

# CsedSem

semantic classification of the caused event  
predicate

- Action
- State
- Change (Process) in Teng (2009)
- Motion
- Percept = perception
- Emotion = feelings derived from  
D'Andrade (1987)

nate

## Time -> Period

time strata of the corpus

Time	Period
1100BC-206BC	1
206BC-220AD	2
220AD-581AD	3
581AD-979AD	4
860AD-1368AD	5
1368AD-1644AD	6
1644AD-1911AD	7
2000AD-2005-AD	8

synta

cons

- P

c

- I

- A

## CrChi/CeChi/CsedChi.colloc.sig

significant collocations of CAUSE and  
Causer, Causee & V2

- TRUE
- FALSE (see Speelman & Geeraerts 2009)

**distinctive collexeme analysis**

(Gries & Stefanowitsch 2004)

manne  
• Y  
• N

Non-auxiliary Mean  
The Oxford Chinese dictionary  
Oxford University Press, 2010  
A. 1000-1000-1000-1000  
1000-1000-1000-1000



# Operation

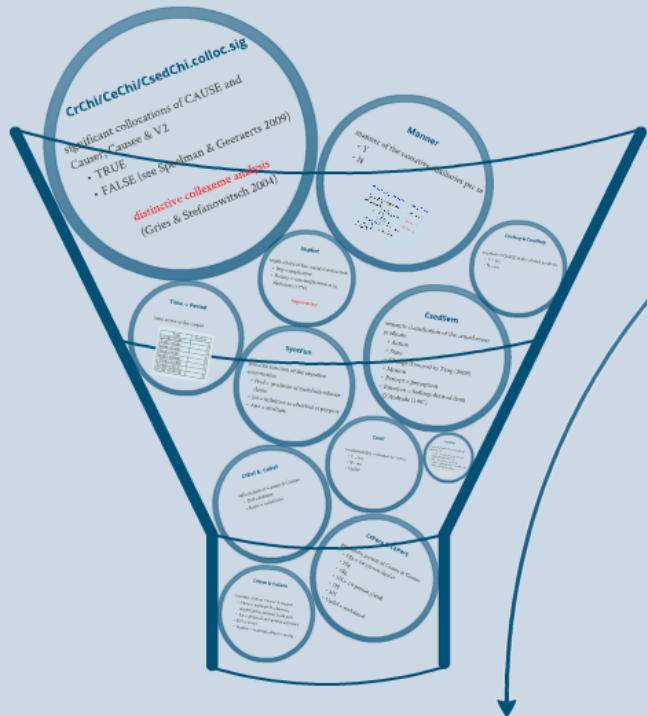
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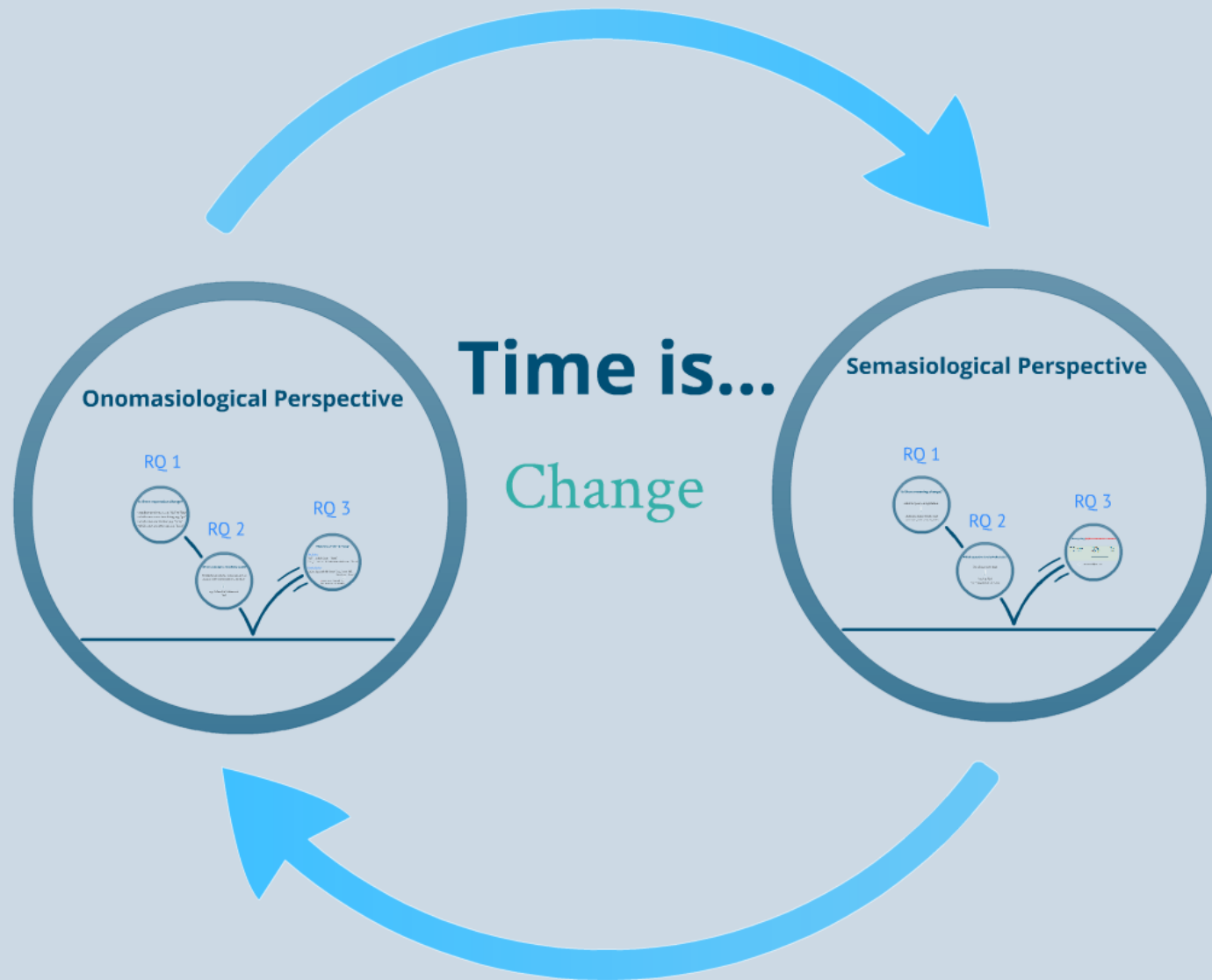


## Procedures:

- motion chart (exploratory)
- multinomial logistic regression analysis (confirmatory)



# Motion Chart



# Time

# Change

## Onomasiological Perspective

### RQ 1

Is there expression change?

- auxiliary preference, e.g. "shì" vs "jǐng"
- which ones come into being, e.g. "jǐng"
- which ones are boosted, e.g. "ràng"
- which ones are given up, e.g. "hào?"

### RQ 2

Which concept is relatively stable?

To express this concept, which causative do language users tend to choose all the time?

e.g. Cíxian, Èixī, Cíxián, Àixī  
"shì"

### RQ 3

Histories of "shì" & "ràng"

Summary:

"shì" = archaic form = "to be"

"ràng" = modern default unmarked form = "to let"

Disclaimer:

Differs slightly from "ràng" over "shì"

"shì" over "ràng"

Source: Journal of Historical Linguistics & Grammars 2009

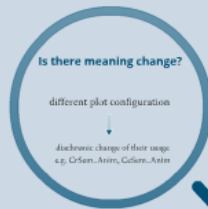
## Is there expression change?

- auxiliary preference, e.g. "shi" vs "ling"
- which ones come into being, e.g. "gei"
- which ones are boosted, e.g. "rang"
- which ones are given up, e.g. "jiao2"

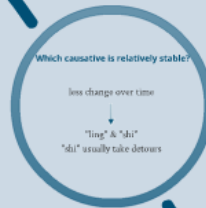
S...

# Semasiological Perspective

RQ 1



RQ 2



RQ 3



# Is there meaning change?

different plot configuration



diachronic change of their usage  
e.g. CrSem\_Anim, CeSem\_Anim

# Time

# Change

## Onomasiological Perspective

### RQ 1

Is there expression change?

- auxiliary preference, e.g. "shì" vs "lǐng"
- which ones come into being, e.g. "jǐ"
- which ones are boosted, e.g. "ràng"
- which ones are given up, e.g. "jiào?"

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Which concept is relatively stable?

To express this concept, which causative do language users tend to choose all the time?

e.g. Cíxian, Èixī, Cíxián, Àixī  
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Disclaimer:

Critic: shì gradually loses "to be" over "shì"

"shì" over "to be"

inspired by Historical Linguistics & Grammars 2001

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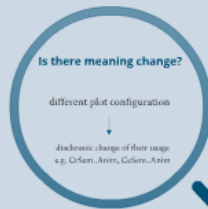
e.g. CrSem\_Evt\*CeSem\_Act  
"shi"



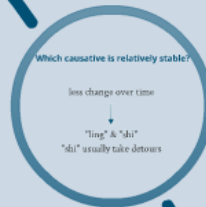
S...

# Semasiological Perspective

RQ 1



RQ 2



RQ 3



## Which causative is relatively stable?

less change over time



"ling" & "shi"

"shi" usually take detours

# Time

# Change

## Onomasiological Perspective

### RQ 1

Is there expression change?

- auxiliary preference, e.g. "shì" vs "jǐng"
- which ones come into being, e.g. "jǐng"
- which ones are boosted, e.g. "ràng"
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### RQ 2

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To express this concept, which causative do language users tend to choose all the time?

e.g. Cíxian, Èixī, Cíxian, Àn  
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"shì" over "to be"

inspired by Historical Linguistics & Grammars 2001

## Histories of "shi" & "rang"

### Similarity:

"shi" = archaic form = "doen"

"rang" = modern default unmarked form = "laten"

### Dissimilarity:

Colloc. sig gradually favors "rang" over "shi".

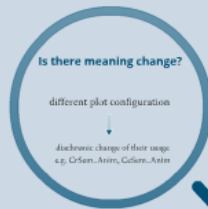
"doen" over "laten"

? reasoning on historical relic  
(Speelman & Geeraerts 2009)

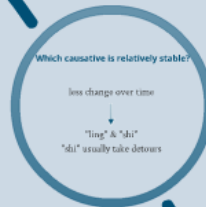
S...

# Semasiological Perspective

RQ 1



RQ 2



RQ 3



## Moving along (in)direct causation continuum

Predictor	Prediction	Developing trace	Endpoint
CrSem	Inanimate causer = direct causation	"shi" anim → inanim "rang" too, but lags behind	"shi", more direct
Coref	Coreference = direct causation	both non-coref → more coref "shi" coref > "rang"	"shi", more direct
CsedCstr	Intransitive (compared to transitive) = direct causation	"shi", smaller percentage to take both trans and intrans "rang" intransitive → transitive a bit more transitive than "shi" in modern times	"shi", more direct; "rang", indirect
	Copula (compared to SVC) = direct causation	"shi", more copulas, fewer SVC "rang", more copulas, more SVC	
	CsedSem	Perception verb (compared to emotion verb) = direct causation	

→ Do these really matter?

# Moving along (in)direct causation continuum

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Coref	Coreference = direct causation	both non-coref → more coref “shi” coref > “rang”	“shi”, more direct
CsedCstr	Intransitive (compared to transitive) = direct causation	“shi”, smaller percentage to take both trans and intrans	“shi”, more direct; “rang”, indirect
		“rang” intransitive → transitive a bit more transitive than “shi” in modern times	
	Copula (compared to SVC) = direct causation	“shi”, more copulas, fewer SVC “rang”, more copulas, more SVC	
CsedSem	Perception verb (compared to emotion verb) = direct causation	“shi” percept → emotion (2 times)	“rang”, a bit more direct (towards different direction)
		“rang” only percept → emotion (not up to 2 times)	



Do these really matter?

# Multinomial Logistic Regression Analysis

```

Multinomial Regression Model (ref="rang")

d$Causatives=relevel(d$Causatives,ref="rang")

fit1=multinom(Causatives~CrSem + CrDef + CrPers +
  CeSem + CeDef + CePers + Coref +
  Manner + CseNeg + CsedCstr + CsedSem +
  CsedNeg + Implicit + SyntFun + Time +
  CrChi.colloc.sig + CeChi.colloc.sig +
  CsedChi.colloc.sig,
  data =d,
  maxit=1000)
  
```



Predictors: Important?

Anova

Model	Sum of Squares	Df	F	Pr(>F)
(Intercept)	1.0000	1	1.0000	0.9999
CrSem	0.0000	1	0.0000	0.9999
CrDef	0.0000	1	0.0000	0.9999
CrPers	0.0000	1	0.0000	0.9999
CeSem	0.0000	1	0.0000	0.9999
CeDef	0.0000	1	0.0000	0.9999
CePers	0.0000	1	0.0000	0.9999
Coref	0.0000	1	0.0000	0.9999
Manner	0.0000	1	0.0000	0.9999
CseNeg	0.0000	1	0.0000	0.9999
CsedCstr	0.0000	1	0.0000	0.9999
CsedSem	0.0000	1	0.0000	0.9999
CsedNeg	0.0000	1	0.0000	0.9999
Implicit	0.0000	1	0.0000	0.9999
SyntFun	0.0000	1	0.0000	0.9999
Time	0.0000	1	0.0000	0.9999
CrChi.colloc.sig	0.0000	1	0.0000	0.9999
CeChi.colloc.sig	0.0000	1	0.0000	0.9999
CsedChi.colloc.sig	0.0000	1	0.0000	0.9999

Levels: Significant?

Level	Sum of Squares	Df	F	Pr(>F)
(Intercept)	1.0000	1	1.0000	0.9999
CrSem	0.0000	1	0.0000	0.9999
CrDef	0.0000	1	0.0000	0.9999
CrPers	0.0000	1	0.0000	0.9999
CeSem	0.0000	1	0.0000	0.9999
CeDef	0.0000	1	0.0000	0.9999
CePers	0.0000	1	0.0000	0.9999
Coref	0.0000	1	0.0000	0.9999
Manner	0.0000	1	0.0000	0.9999
CseNeg	0.0000	1	0.0000	0.9999
CsedCstr	0.0000	1	0.0000	0.9999
CsedSem	0.0000	1	0.0000	0.9999
CsedNeg	0.0000	1	0.0000	0.9999
Implicit	0.0000	1	0.0000	0.9999
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## Multinomial Regression Model (ref="rang")

```
d$Causatives=relevel(d$Causatives,ref="rang")
```

```
fit1=multinom(Causatives~CrSem + CrDef + CrPers +  
CeSem + CeDef + CePers + Coref +  
Manner + CseNeg + CsedCstr + CsedSem +  
CsedNeg + Implicit + SyntFun + Time +  
CrChi.colloc.sig + CeChi.colloc.sig +  
CsedChi.colloc.sig,  
data =d,  
maxit=1000)
```

# Model: Good enough?

pseudo R square

```
> fit1.pR2
      llh      llhNull      G2      McFadden      r2ML      r2CU
-1867.1820104 -3895.2062641 4056.0485074 0.5206462 0.7986172 0.8371700
```

# Predictors: Important?

## Anova

```
> Anova(fit1)
Analysis of Deviance Table (Type II tests)

Response: Causatives
      LR Chisq Df Pr(>Chisq)
CrSem      62.42 18 8.258e-07 ***
CrDef      11.43  6 0.0759486 .
CrPers     70.32 36 0.0005369 ***
CeSem      39.49 18 0.0024445 **
CeDef      10.57  6 0.1025079
CePers    103.79 36 1.717e-08 ***
Coref      20.15 12 0.0643229 .
Manner    417.45  6 < 2.2e-16 ***
CseNeg     14.11  6 0.0284492 *
CsedCstr   39.46 24 0.0244060 *
CsedSem    186.07 30 < 2.2e-16 ***
CsedNeg    25.05  6 0.0003337 ***
Implicit    22.58  6 0.0009511 ***
SyntFun    59.10 12 3.287e-08 ***
Time     1503.53 42 < 2.2e-16 ***
CrChi.colloc.sig  94.26  6 < 2.2e-16 ***
CeChi.colloc.sig  206.99  6 < 2.2e-16 ***
CsedChi.colloc.sig 242.73  6 < 2.2e-16 ***
---
Signif. codes:  0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1
```

	LR	Chisq	Df	Pr(>Chisq)
Time	1503.53	42	<2.2e-16	***
Manner	417.45	6	<2.2e-16	***
CsedChi.colloc.sig	242.73	6	<2.2e-16	***
CeChi.colloc.sig	206.99	6	<2.2e-16	***
CsedSem	186.07	30	<2.2e-16	***
CePers	103.79	36	1.72E-08	***
CrChi.colloc.sig	94.26	6	<2.2e-16	***
CrPers	70.32	36	0.000537	***
CrSem	62.42	18	8.26E-07	***
SyntFun	59.1	12	3.29E-08	***
CeSem	39.49	18	0.002445	**
CsedCstr	39.46	24	0.024406	*
CsedNeg	25.05	6	0.000334	***
Implicit	22.58	6	0.000951	***
Coref	20.15	12	0.064323	.
CseNeg	14.11	6	0.028449	*
CrDef	11.43	6	0.075949	.
CeDef	10.57	6	0.102508	

```
> Anova(fit1)
```









```
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```

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```
---
```

```
Signif. codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1
```

	LR	Chisq	Df	Pr (>Chisq)
Time	 1503.53	42	<2.2e-16	***
Manner	417.45	6	<2.2e-16	***
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SyntFun	59.1	12	3.29E-08	***
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CeDef	10.57	6	0.102508	

# Levels: Significant?

rang vs shi

, , shi

	2.5 %	97.5 %
(Intercept)	26.530350317	29.97251283
CrSemAnim	-0.840626523	0.18438545
...		
CorefY	-0.009365415	0.70745477
...		
CsedCstrIntrans	-0.535536219	0.40467330
CsedCstrSVC	-1.125579358	1.07083698
CsedCstrTrans	-0.672091046	0.11261454
CsedSemEmotion	-0.573517155	0.69330695
...		

✘ (In)direct causation hypothesis

STOP Ni (2012)

?  
· "shi"="doen", "rang"="laten"  
· factors → different type of causality

dCstrSys	1.125519558	1.0108
dCstrTrans	-0.672091046	0.1126
dSemEmotion	-0.573517155	0.6933



**(In)direct causation hypothesis**



**Ni (2012)**



- "shi"="doen", "rang"="laten"
- factors → different type of causality

# What do we get already?



There is CHANGE!



It's hard to say which is stable.



occurrence



different complexions



Witness of development



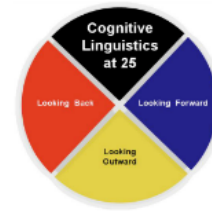
default form



(in)direct causation continuum 







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