Appearances are not skin deep:
a preliminary study of
*de yangzi* in Chinese

Haowen Jiang
Rice University
haowen@rice.edu
• Do appearances matter?
  ➔ Yes, in workplace, business, politics, etc.
  ➔ And also in the epistemology of perception (Lyons 2005: 237)

1. How things look (in part) justifies our perceptual beliefs.

2. How things look (in part) determines whether a given belief is perceptual or inferential (or of other natures).
The Issue

• Structural ambiguity of “NP/VP de NP”

(1) a  ta1men chang2chang2 hui4 xiang3dao4 [huang2 lao3shi1 de] [yang4zi].
   3PL    often    certainly think.of:ACMPL Huang    teacher    DE YANGZI
   ‘They often think of Teacher Huang’s countenance.’ [Referential use]

   b  ta1men chang2chang2 hui4 xiang3dao4 huang2 lao3shi1 [de yang4zi].
   3PL    often    certainly think.of:ACMPL Huang    teacher    DE YANGZI
   ‘It seems that/I guess they often think of Teacher Huang.’ [Non-referential use]

(2) a  [huang2 lao3shi1 de] [hua4], hen3 you3 dao4li3.
   Huang    teacher    DE HUA    very EX    sense
   ‘Teacher Huang’s words make much sense.’ [Referential use]

   b  huang2 lao3shi1 [de hua4], ta1 mei3tian1 dou1 hui4 shui4wu3jiao4.
   Huang    teacher    DE HUA    3SG    everyday    all    certainly take.an.afternoon.nap
   ‘Speaking of Teacher Huang, he takes an afternoon nap everyday.’ [Non-referential use]
• Aims of the present study
• Evidentiality vs. Epistemic Modality
• Functions of the collocation *de yangzi* in (Early) Modern Chinese
• Typological perspective: Japanese, Korean, and Qiang
• **Aims of the present study**
  • Evidentiality vs. Epistemic Modality
  • Functions of the collocation *de yangzi* in (Early) Modern Chinese
  • Typological perspective: Japanese, Korean, and Qiang
Aims

- To investigate the semantic/pragmatic contributions of the collocation *de yangzi* (DYZ) to actual discourse, especially those of the non-referential use of DYZ
- To compare the meanings/functions of DYZ in Modern Chinese with those in Early Modern Chinese, so as to provide diachronic evidence for the development of DYZ
• To argue that the development of DYZ from the referential use to the non-referential use is a case of grammaticalization, rather than of lexicalization, as assumed by Jiang (2004) for *de hua*

• To couch the phenomenon in question in a typological perspective: *appearances* matter in evidentiality and/or epistemic modality
• Aims of the present study
• **Evidentiality vs. Epistemic Modality**
• Functions of the collocation *de yangzi* in (Early) Modern Chinese
• Typological perspective: Japanese, Korean, and Qiang
• Setting the boundary: ‘Evidentials assert the nature of the evidence for the information in the sentence, while epistemic modals evaluate the speaker’s commitment for the statement.’ (de Haan 1999: 1)

• Blurring the boundary: ‘It appears rather obvious that the different manners of acquiring knowledge correspond to different degrees of certainty about the truth of the proposition.’ (Frajzyngier 1985: 250)
• Position held: maintain the conceptual differences between them while at the same time admit their correlations

⇒ As a “functional-conceptual substance domain”, NOT as a purely grammatical, semantic, or modification phenomenon (Boye & Harder 2009)

• Where the difficulty lies: ‘It is sometimes difficult to decide whether a particular particle is mostly modal or mostly evidential in nature.’ (Aikhenvald 2004: 151)
• The solution: Look at language in use, and look into the semantic/pragmatic contributions of a particular formative to the discourse

• Two types of inference-related evidentials (Willet 1988; Aikhenvald 2004)
  inferred: based on circumstantial observable results
  assumed: based on mental reasoning, conjecture, and/or general knowledge
Outline

• Aims of the present study
• Evidentiality vs. Epistemic Modality
• Functions of the collocation *de yangzi* in (Early) Modern Chinese
• Typological perspective: Japanese, Korean, and Qiang
## Corpus overview

### Table 1: Token distributions of DE YANGZI (DYZ) across three corpora

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Corpus</th>
<th>Genre</th>
<th>Referential uses of DYZ</th>
<th>Non-referential uses of DYZ</th>
<th>Total tokens of DYZ</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Modern Chinese</td>
<td>The Chinese Pear Stories (CPS)</td>
<td>Narrative</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td></td>
<td>NCCU Corpus of Spoken Chinese (CUC)</td>
<td>Conversation Narrative</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Modern Chinese</td>
<td>Academia Sinica Tagged Corpus (ASC)</td>
<td>Fiction Play script</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
• Referential use: 5 tokens

physical appearance; looks; countenance
behavioral demeanor; manner; air

(See the handout for examples)
• Non-referential use: 8 tokens

Inferred evidential

1. empirical state of affairs in the real world
2. internal state of animate entities
3. inherent potential of inanimate entities
4. compatibility of two entities in a mental world

(Examples ensue)
16.2 am... erqiè tā de jīngshēn kānqǐlái
PRT and 3SG NMLZ spirit look:INCHO
14.3 nà ge rèn de yànjìng bùxiāng shì gōngzuò...
that CF person NMLZ eye not seem COP work
hǎoxiǎng yì gé niánjì bǐjiào dà de rèn
seem one CF age more large NMLZ person
14.4 bǐjiào chūdùn huānèn mān de zài nà gōngzuò
more dull slow PRT LOC there work
15.1 am kānqǐlái bùxiāng shì... am hén hén hén...
PRT look:INCHO not seem COP PRT very very very
yī zhè ge gōngzuò... kào zhè ge gōngzuò wéishēng de yàngzi
by this CF work depend.on this CF work make a living DE YANGZI
16.1 kěshì kān tā de yàng... tā de chuāngzhù huáng dǎbàn
but look 3SG NMLZ FS 3SG NMLZ dressing apparel
16.2 am nǐ jué... hǎoxiǎng shì yǐ zhè gè... lái kào
PRT 2SG think seem SHI by this CF PURP depend.on
zhè ge chīfàn de yàngzi
this CF eat DE YANGZI

‘Well, and... well, and judging from his spirits, from that guy’s eyes, (he) doesn’t look like he’s working. (He is) much like a relatively old guy, (who) is working there in a dull and slow manner. Well, it doesn’t seem that [DYZ] (he) is very very very... by this job... (that he) makes a living by (doing) this job. But judging from his um... his apparel, well, you’d think it seems that [DYZ] by means of this (job)... (he) depends on this (job) for a living.” (Pear.M05.14-16)
(6) 51.1 nà nà ge zhāi bālè de rén kàndào tā de nàge... yǒu yī liú kōng le

that that CF pluck guava NMLZ person see:ACMPL 3SG NMLZ PF EX one basket empty PFV

52.1 ránhòu
then

52.2 hǎoxiàng hěn būjiē de yàngzi
seem very puzzled DE YANGZI

‘That that guava-plucker saw his um… (saw that) one (of his) baskets has got empty.
And it seems that [DYZ] (he) looks puzzled.’ (Pear.M06.51-52)
en
PRT
6.2 yīnwèi tā hěn pāng
because 3SG very fat
6.3 pá... pā nàgè... nà gè tīzi... nà gè tīzi hěnxiàng
climb climb PF that CF ladder that CF ladder seem
bùkānfūhè de yàngzi
cannot.bear.weight DE YANGZI
‘Well, because he is very fat, climbing... climbing um... that ladder... It seems that [DYZ] that ladder can’t bear (his) weight.’ (Pear.M19.6)
19

compatibility

(8) 22.1 nà tā zhèyàng qízǒu le zhīhòu
       DM 3SG this.way ride.away PFV after

22.2 yǐnwèi nà shuǐguǒ hěn zhòng
       because that fruit very heavy

22.3 wǒ kàn nà jiǎotàchē hǎoxiàng yòu tài dà le
       1SG see that bicycle seem again very big PRT

22.4 tā rén tài xiǎo
       3SG person too small

23.1 hǎoxiàng bù shì hé tā de yàngzi
       seem NEG fit 3SG DE YANGZI

‘And after he rides the bike away like that, because those fruits are very heavy, I think that bike looks too big (for him). He is too small. It seems that [DYZ] (the bike) does not suit (him).’ (Pear.M07.22-23)
• Referential use: 6 tokens

physical appearance; looks; countenance
behavioral demeanor; manner; air
tangible sight; view

(See the handout for examples)
• Non-referential use: 5 tokens

Inferred evidential
1. internal state of animate entities
2. imminent occurrence of an action in a possible world

Assumed evidential
1. empirical state of affairs in the real world that are previously unknown to the speaker
2. state of affairs in the past that were once known to the speaker but are now accessible only through recollections (Examples ensue)
imminent occurrence

(13)  1 ...(0.7) ran2hou4 ... jiu4  zhe4yang4 ... yi2lu4  chang4ge1... zhu2an3quen1...
    then  EMPH  like.this  all.the.way  sing  turn.around
    ran2hou4  zou3 zou3 zou3 zou3 zou3  kuai4  jin4
    then  walk  walk  walk  walk  almost  close
  2  ... kuai4  kao4jin4  sha1tan1  de  shi2hou4
  almost  approach  beach  NMLZ  time
  3  ... na4ge ... mi3qi2  jiu4  cong2  san3  xia4  ...  mao4chu1lai2
     DM  Mickey  EMPH  from  umbrella  bottom  pop.out:VEN
  4  ... yuan2lai2  ta1  zhen1de  shi4  zhe1yang2san3
     as.it.turns.out  3SG  really  COP  sunshade.umbrella
  5  ... ran2hou4  mi3ni2 ... shi4  zuo4  zai4  zhe1yang2san3  shang4mian4  de
     then  Minnie  COP  sit  LOC  sunshade.umbrella  top  PRT
  6  ...(0.7) ran2hou4  ta1men  jiu4 ...  kai1shi3 ...(1.0)  zhun4bei4  yao4  ...
     then  3PL  EMPH  begin  prepare  about.to
        ye3can1  de  yang4zi  a
     picnic  DE  YANGZI  PRT

‘And then, like this (they) sing and turn around all the way. And then (they) keep walking and walking… almost up to… While (they) almost reach the beach, well, Mickey pops out from below the umbrella. As it turns out, that indeed is a sunshade umbrella. And then Minnie is sitting on the sunshade umbrella. And then they begin… preparing for what looks like [DYZ] a picnic.’

(M023-NRT-SM-MF-YY-03)
F1: ...(4.3) ke3shi4 zhe4yang4 lai2hui2 hen3 le4 ye
     but like this make a round trip very tiring PRT
     ‘But making a round trip like this is very tiring.’
F2: .. dui4 a .. suo2yi3 ta1men hui4 bu3 yi4 tian1 jia4
     yes PRT so they will compensate one day leave
     ‘Certainly, so they will (have) one-day leave as compensation.’
F1: .. hon .. a ming2tian1 xiu1jia4 a
     BC PRT tomorrow have a day off PRT
     ‘Hmm, so (he) has a day off tomorrow?’
F2: .. bu4 zhi1dao4 .. ke2yi3 rang4 ta1 zi4ji3 xuan3 de yang4zi
     NEG know can let 3SG self choose DE YANGZI
     ‘(I) don't know. I guess [DYZ] (the employer) would let him choose (which day to be off). (M008-CN-NF-FFM-OYO-290~291)’
1 F2: … o  wo3 you3 yi2 ge jie3jie3 zao3du2 shang4  
    PRT .. 1SG have one CF older.sister matriculate.early get.into  
bei3yi1nu3  
2 ...(1.5) chao1 qiang2 de .. er2qie3 ta1 dou1 bao3chi2  
    super awesome PRT and 3SG all keep  
bei3yi1nu3 qian2 .. quan2 [ban1 qian2 wu5 ming2 de yangzi]  
Taipei.First.Girls.High.School front whole class front five rank DE YANGZI
‘I have an older sister, who matriculated early and was admitted to Taipei First  
Girls High School. (She’s) super awesome! And she was always among the top  
five in (her) class at Taipei First Girls High School, if I remember right  
[DYZ].’
3 F3: [er2qie3 hen3 ke3- .. wo3 dou1 hen3 ke3lian2 o]  
and very FS 1SG all very pitiful PRT  
‘And very… I am very pitiful.’ (M016-CN-NF-FFF-AAA-1188–1189)
• Referential use: 35 tokens

*physical appearance; looks; countenance
behavioral demeanor; manner; air
convention; custom; practice
sample; model; exemplar
a piece of writing; written words or phrases

(See the handout for examples)
• Non-referential use: 1 token

Inference about the imminent occurrence of an action in a possible world based on circumstantial observable evidence

(Example ensues)
(22)  gang1 kua4jin4 men2, zhi3 jian4 deng1kuang1 can3dan4,
    just    stride.in    door    only    see    light    gloomy
  yin3yin3 you3 ge    nu3ren2 na2    zhe    han4jin1zi,
  vaguely    EX    CF    woman    take    IMPF    waistband
  hao3si4 yao4    shang4diao4    de    yang4zi
  seem    about.to    hang.onself    DE    YANGZI

  ‘As soon as (she) entered the door striding over (the doorsill), (she) saw the light was
gloomy (and that) vaguely there was a woman taking a waistband, (who) seemed
[DYZ] about to hang herself.’ (Chap. 111, *Dream of the Red Chamber*)
• There are more cases (9 out of 14) where DYZ co-occurs with some epistemic modal markers, which help to identify the speaker’s evaluation of the proposition, than cases where no such markers are identifiable (5 out of 14).

• When no epistemic modal markers are available, ambiguity arises.

(Examples ensue)
(6) 51.1 nà nà ge zhǎi bālè de rén kàn dào tā de nà ge... yǒu yì lóu kōng le

then
cf. pluck guava NMLZ person see:ACMPL 3SG NMLZ PF EX one basket empty PFV

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seem very puzzled DE YANGZI

‘That that guava-plucker saw his um... (saw that) one (of his) baskets has got empty. And it seems that [DYZ] (he) looks puzzled.’ (Pear.M06.51-52)
(14) F1: ...(4.3) ke3shi4 zhe4yang4 lai2hui2 hen3 le4 ye  
   but like.this make.a.roud.trip very tiring PRT
   ‘But making a round trip like this is very tiring.’
F2: .. dui4 a .. suo2yi3 ta1men hui4 bu3 yi4 tian1 jia4  
   yes PRT so they will compensate one day leave
   ‘Certainly, so they will (have) one-day leave as compensation.’
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   ‘Hmm, so (he) has a day off tomorrow?’
F2: .. bu4 zhi1dao4 . ke2yi3 rang4 ta1 zi4ji3 xuan3 de yang4zi  
   NEG know can let 3SG self choose DE YANGZI
   ‘(I) don't know. I guess [DYZ] (the employer) would let him choose (which day to be off). (M008-CN-NF-FFM-OYO-290–291)
1. Asserting the attributes of the children’s physical appearances

2. Hedging the inference about the internal states of the children
### Table 2: Tokens of DYZ in the referential and non-referential use

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Corpus</th>
<th>referential-use (A)</th>
<th>non-referential use (B)</th>
<th>ref-to-non-ref ratio (A:B)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Modern Chinese</td>
<td>CPS</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1:1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CUC</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1:0.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Combined</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1:1.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Modern Chinese</td>
<td>ASC</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1:0.03</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3: Tokens of DYZ in the referential use

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Corpus</th>
<th>physical appearance</th>
<th>behavioral demeanor</th>
<th>tangible sight</th>
<th>convention</th>
<th>sample</th>
<th>a piece of writing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Modern Chinese</td>
<td>CPS</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CUC</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Combined</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Modern Chinese</td>
<td>ASC</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4: Tokens of DYZ in the non-referential use

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Corpus</th>
<th>Evidentiality</th>
<th>Epistemic Modality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Inference</td>
<td>Assumption</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modern Chinese</td>
<td>CPS</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CUC</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Combined</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Modern Chinese</td>
<td>ASC</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Observations

• The ratio of ref. use to non-ref. use indicates that the non-referential use is a later development, and few cases, if at all, started emerging in E Mod Ch.

• Some senses of the referential use in E Mod Ch have disappeared from Mod Ch, which confirms the intuition.
• DYZ, when used non-referentially, is an evidential marker subsuming both inferences and assumptions, with the direction of spread presumably going from the former to the latter.

• DYZ tends to collocate with epistemic adverbs, which probably gives rise to the overtones of uncertainty associated with DYZ. The overtones are still discernible even when epistemic adverbs are NOT contextually available; hence ambiguity arises.
• Aims of the present study
• Evidentiality vs. Epistemic Modality
• Functions of the collocation *de yangzi* in (Early) Modern Chinese

• **Typological perspective: Japanese, Korean, and Qiang**
Korean *moyang*

Referential: physical appearance

Non-referential:
- inferred (with strong epistemic force)
- assumed (with weak epistemic force)

a. kwaca-nun semo *moyang* i-ta
   cookie-TOP triangular MOYANG COP-PLAIN.S
   ‘Cookies are triangular (in) shape.’ [Referential use]

b. ku-nun suyeng-ul cal ha-nun *moyang*-i-ta
   3SG-TOP swimming-ACC well do-NMLZ MOYANG-COP-PLAIN.S
   ‘He **must** be good at swimming.’ (When visual evidence is available)
   ‘He **seems to** be good at swimming.’ (When no visual evidence is available)
   [Non-referential use] (Courtesy of Jayeon Jeong)
Japanese *yoo(su)*

Referential: physical appearance (*yoosu*)

Non-referential: inferred (with weak epistemic force) (*yoo*)

```
a. kare=wa  kimi=no  yoosu=o  tazune-ta
   3SG.M=TOP 2SG=GEN appearance=ACC ask-PST
   ‘He was looking for you.’ [Referential]

b. kare=wa  karada=o  sinpai  si-te  i-ru  yoo  dat-ta
   3SG.M=TOP body=ACC worry  do-CONV be-PRES YOO COP-PST
   ‘He seemed to worry about his health.’ [Non-referential] (Courtesy of Naonori Nagaya)
```
asserting vs. hedging

a. kare=wa watasi=no ani=no **yoo** da
   3SG.M=TOP 1SG=GEN older.brother=GEN YOO COP
   mayuge=ga totemo koi.
   eyebrows=NOM very thick

   ‘He **looked like** my brother. (He has) very thick eyebrows (just like my brother).’
   [Asserting a similarity]

b. kare=wa watasi=no ani=no **yoo** da to
   3SG.M=TOP 1SG=GEN older.brother=GEN YOO COP COMP
   omot-ta=ga tigau hito dat-ta
   think-PST=CONJ different person COP-PST

   ‘(I think) he **looked like** my brother, but he was not.’ [Hedging a similarity] (Courtesy of Naonori Nagaya)
Inferential “contingent situations” (LaPolla 2003: 72)

a. the: tha  zi.
   3sg  there  exist
   ‘S/he is there.’

b. the: tha-zi-m-tan  ṇuə.
   3sg  there-exist-NMLZ-appearance  cop
   ‘S/he might be there.’
Conclusion

• While instances of the ref. use can occur either in the IU-medial or IU-final position, those of the non-ref. use only occur in the IU-final position, i.e. the “right” periphery for evidentials/modals

• DYZ is called for when P involves:
  1. non-future or timeless state, esp. state that cannot possibly known to S
  2. immediate future action
  3. subjective assessment or evaluation
Conclusion (cont.)

• From a typological point of view, languages differ as to whether a particular inferential maker, if there is any, subsumes inferences or assumptions (or other types) and what epistemic force is associated with the inferential. Crucially, the two parameters do not necessarily coincide.

• The recruitment of MNZN and a lexical noun meaning “appearance” in marking inferences is not an isolated phenomenon in Mandarin, but obtains in other Asian languages too.
Acknowledgements

• Dept of Linguistics, Rice University
• Chinese Pear Stories
• NCCU Corpus of Spoken Chinese
• Academic Sinica Corpus of Early Modern Chinese
• My colleagues: Naonori Nagaya (for Japanese data) and Jayeong Jeong (for Korean data)
Thank y’all!

Appearances are deeper than what you thought!