<p style="text-align:center">Formation of Chinese clefts: microparametric 'lateral' grammaticalization</p>

Chinese cleft constructions typically consist of a matrix copula verb (ex. 1a-c)) selecting an embedded clause headed by a particle homophonous with the adnominaliser (e.g. Mandarin 是 *shi…* 的 *de* and its dialectal correspondences), and although northern varieties permit an alternation between sentence-final *de* (VOde) and sentence-medial *de* in the form of a verbal suffix intervening between the verb and its object (VdeO) (ex. 2a)) (Simpson and Wu (S&W) (2002), Paul and Whitman (P&W) (2008)), southern dialects utilize *ge*-forms which typically occur only in sentence-final position (VOge) and not elsewhere (*VgeO) (ex. 2b)), which yields a clear and sharp divide between northern (*de*) and southern (*ge*) Chinese cleft formation with significant microparametric variation (Tang (2011), Sio (2011)). In this paper, it is proposed that these differences can be traced back to the historical origins of *de* as a phrase-final nominalizer (*de* 的 < *di* 底 < *zhe* 者) (Lu (1943), Liu (2008), Aldridge (2008), Yap et al (2010)) and those of *ge* as a classifier (*ge* 個) (Cao (1995)) respectively, which give rise to different cleft constructions due to their differences in inherent deixis. This constitutes empirical support and refinement to S&W's (2002:196-199) influential 'lateral' grammaticalization which argues that *de* undergoes 'lateral' reanalysis from being an adnominaliser (D) to a past-tense suffix (T(past)), since *de* and *ge* do show 'lateral' reanalysis from nominal to clausal and their differences give rise to a sophisticated variationist account of 'lateral' grammaticalization.

It has recently been shown that Chinese cleft constructions are formed in the Medieval period where copula *shi* selects nominalized relative clauses which are reanalysable as cleft clauses (Long and Xiao (2009, 2011), Zhan (2012), Han (2012)), especially in contrastive contexts where focus is prominent (ex. 3a)) and the nominal interpretation of *de*/*ge* is weakened by the omission of a nominal complement (ex. 3b)). In sentence-medial position, on the other hand, *de* and *ge* differ in terms of referentiality, since the former in being reanalyzed from phrase-final nominalizer to linker (Liu (2008), Yap et al (2010), cf den Dikken (2006)) does not necessarily denote definiteness and may hence be reanalyzed as a verbal suffix denoting past tense, especially when it is used with generic and non-realis nominal complements which weaken its nominal interpretation (ex. 3c-d)) while the latter does denote definiteness as a determiner (Li and Bisang (2012)) and hence pre-empts reanalysis as a clausal element as it always selects specific and known nominal complements which makes its deictic force harder to suppress (ex. 3e)). These microparametric variations in the nominal hierarchy between *de* (n) and *ge* (CL (+D)) hence yield different cleft constructions in northern (VOde/VdeO) (ex. 2a)) and southern (VOge/*VgeO) dialects (ex. 2b)), and while both *de* and *ge* seem to undergo 'lateral' categorial reanalysis from nominal to clausal, their differences in deixis give rise to different types of 'lateral' grammaticalization where the two northern variants (VOde/VdeO) form inverse correspondences between the nominal and clausal domains where higher and lower clausal elements like VOde and VdeO (CP/TP) are reanalyzed from lower and higher nominalisers (nP/DP) respectively, and *ge*, which is inherently definite as a determiner, can only be reanalyzed in clause-final position (VOge) and not elsewhere (*VgeO). Furthermore, southern Chinese *ge*, in addition to being 'laterally' reanalyzed from nominal to clausal, shows signs of being merged relatively low in the hierarchy of C-elements in the inventory of Chinese sentence-final particles (SFP) (cf Paul (2015)) and can also combine with other SFPs in forming composite particles (*gaa3, gaa*4, *gak*3, *ge*2 (Fung (2000), Li (2006)), which entails further layers of C features and renders it a unique form of 'lateral' grammaticalization.

Examples:

1a) ni   shi   bu   shi   zuotian   lai   de
    you   COP   NEG   COP   yesterday   come   DE
    'Is it or is it not yesterday that you came?' (S&W (2002:196))

1b) you/bu   shi   ta   jiejie kai   de   men
    again/NEG   COP   his   sister open   DE   door
    'It was again/not his sister who opened the door.' (P&W (2008:439))

1c) hui   shi   wo   mingtian   zai   gongyuan-li   yao   jian   ta   de
    FUT.AUX   COP   I   tomorrow   at   park-LOC   FUT.AUX   see   him   DE
    'It will be I who will see him in the park tomorrow.' (modified from Cheng (1983:76))

2a) wo   shi   zuotian   mai   piao de   /   wo   shi   zuotian   mai   de   piao
    I   COP   yesterday buy   ticket DE   I   COP   yesterday buy   DE   ticket
    'It was yesterday that I bought the ticket.' (S&W) (2002:169))

2b) kui   hai   kamyat   maai sue   ge   /   *kui   hai   kamyat   maai ge   sue
    he   COP   yesterday   buy   book GE   he   COP   yesterday   buy   GE   book
    'It was yesterday that he bought the book.' (Cantonese, Lee and Yiu (1998))

3a) fei   shi   pusa   xingcang   ;   ci   shi   sumen   zuo   di
    NEG   COP   divine.beings   behaviour   this COP   laymen   do   DE
    'This is not the behaviour of divine beings; this is the doings of laymen.' > '… it was laymen who did this.'
    (*Dunhuang bianwenji* 敦煌变文集)

3b) ni   shi   xiaode   ge   (ren)
    you   COP   understand   GE   person
    'You are the one who understands.' > 'You do understand.' (broad focus) (*Shange, Duyang* 山歌，篤癢)

3c) niang   yuan   shi   qinao-shang   qi   de   bing
    Mother   originally COP   angry-LOC   contract   DE   illness
    'As for my mother, it was originally illness that was contracted via anger.' > 'It was via anger that my mother originally
    contracted illness.' (*Jinping meici hua* 金瓶梅詞話)

3d) Wukong   ni   shi   na   shi   xiu-lai   de   yuanfa?
    Wukong   you   SHI   which   life   obtain-AFF DE   karma
    'Wukong, as for you, it was the karma of which life that was obtained?' > 'Wukong, which life did you obtain your karma?'
    (*Xiyouji* 西游記)

3e) jie   shi   you   ge   bing /   que   shi   shengren   shuo   ge   yingzi
    all   COP   have GE   illness   but   COP   saint   mention   GE   shadow
    'They all have an illness' /   'But it was the shadow mentioned by saints.' (*Zhuzi Yulei* 朱子語類)

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