Sinitic adnominalisers GE vs DE: nominal microvariation in event structure:
Research has shown that despite similarities as adnominalisers in the nominal domain (Sio (2011)), GE in southern Chinese dialects (e.g Cantonese 嘅) and DE in northern Chinese dialects (e.g. Mandarin 的) show microvariations as DE is permitted in the subject position of verbs denoting activity while GE is not (1a), even though both are allowed in object position (1b):

1a) 他   的   老師   當   得   好   佢   嘅   老師   做   得   好
     ta   de   laoshi dang de   hao / *kui ge   lousi zo   dak   ho
     he   DE   teacher serve DE   good he   GE   teacher do   DAK   good
     'He serves well as a teacher.' (Tang (2011:149-150))

1b) 他   當   他   的   老師   /   佢   做   佢   嘅   老師
     ta   dang ta   de   laoshi /   kui zo   kui   ge   lousi
     he   serve he   DE   teacher   he   serve he   GE   teacher
     'He does his job as a teacher.' (Tang (2011:151))

Formal analyses since Huang (2008) posit a light verb projection DO for activity verbs like Mandarin *dang* and Cantonese *zo* 'to serve as' and this selects a gerundival phrase (GP) headed by DE and GE respectively, and Tang (2008, 2009) argues that DE and GE display differential patterns of head movement in which the embedded verb in GP may adjoin to DE but not to GE, which suggests that DE is more grammaticalized than GE (Tang (2011:151)). However, Tang does not explain the subject/object asymmetries (1a-b) or the fact that alternative nominal elements such as classifiers can be used in subject position in southern dialects (2a) and certain dialects permit GE as long as it denotes skill and not result (2b):

2a) 佢   手   字   寫   得   好   靚
     kui sau   zi   se   dak   ho   leng
     he   CL   character   write DAK   very beautiful
     'His writing of characters is very beautiful.' (Cantonese) (Tang (2009:245))

2b) 佢   個   籃球   打   得   蠻   好   佢   個 老師   當   得   好
     ku   ge   lankau   da   dak   man   ho / #ku ge losi   dang dak   ho
     he   GE   basketball play DAK   quite good he GE teacher serve DAK   good
     'He plays basketball quite well.' / (intended) 'he serves well as a teacher.' (Shaodong dialect) (Tang (2009:245))

This paper proposes that different nominal elements denote different types of nominalization in Sinitic, and while the GP in the complement of DO may be headed by general adnominalisers DE and GE in denoting events, the subject in the specifier of DO is subject to selectional restrictions (Hu (2016)) and should be non-delimited as activities are atelic (Tenny (1994)). The differential behaviour of DE and GE hence finds support from their historical origins as DE is generally analysed as a predicational linker which arises from nominal apposition in Medieval Chinese (Yap et al (2010), cf den Dikken (2006)) whereas GE is derived from classifier GE which has quantifying and individualizing force (Li and Bisang (2012)), which explains why DE and not GE may be used for marking event nominals in SpecDO.

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