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Topics in Chinese Syntax:
Word Order in Synchrony and Diachrony

by

Xiaoling Hu

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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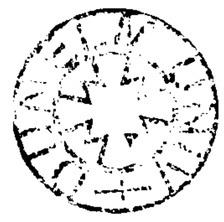

18 OCT 2000

ABSTRACT

This thesis explores some fundamental topics concerning word order change in the history of the Chinese language from synchronic and diachronic perspectives.

The principal original findings of this work are as follows. First of all, a telicity hypothesis is proposed for the *ba*-construction that states that telicity is a necessary condition on the verbs allowed in the *ba*-construction. It is argued that the telicity property was first acquired when the main verb in the *ba*-construction started to take on NP objects, PP complements and verbal particles in late Old Chinese. As a necessary condition, telicity was established in early Middle Chinese when the verb started to take aspect markers such as the perfective *-le*. The telicity hypothesis provides a straightforward account of the fact that verbs without "measuring out" constituents are incompatible with the *ba*-construction. It also provides a better account of the use of the resultative construction in the *ba*-construction.

Second, in investigating object preposing in focus-SOV order in Archaic and Modern Chinese, an empty Agr hypothesis is proposed for the Infl structure of Chinese. As the language lacks overt agreement morphology, Agr is phonologically empty with the subject licensed in its Spec at S-structure. As modals in Chinese form a functional category AUX, they are realised in Tense.

Third, the focus-SOV sentences in Archaic and Modern Chinese are divided into two major types: overt and covert. The two-way division makes it possible to distinguish between focus-SOV sentences with overt focus markers and those without from a structural point of view in a uniform manner. It is argued that the object preposing construction in focus-SOV order in the history of Chinese involves adjunction to VP when AUX is absent and adjunction to TP when AUX is present.

Fourth, an original text count is conducted of the distribution of prepositional and postpositional PPs in different stages of the Chinese history. The findings support the claim that Chinese is prepositional in keeping with its general character as an SVO language. A telicity analysis is proposed for the meaning shift in the use of PPs like *zai* in Modern Chinese that suggests that the position of PPs is sensitive to a telicity effect: telic verbs select postverbal PPs of direction whereas atelic verbs select other PPs.

Finally, two historical pathways are presented along which the passive morpheme *bei* in Chinese became grammaticalized into an auxiliary when immediately preceding the verb and an adposition when marking the agent in preverbal position.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Inspired by the pioneering work of Greenberg (1966) on language universals, abundant research, including Lehmann (1971), has been carried out not only on typology but also on diachrony.

Studies on syntactic change in Chinese began to appear in China in 50s. The publication of works by Lü (1955), Wang (1958), Ota (1958), and Zhu (1957, 1958) are considered 'pioneering' (Peyraube 1996). In 70s, there was a general belief among historical linguists working on Chinese (Tai 1973, 1976; Li 1975; Li & Thompson 1974, 1975, 1976, 1978, 1981; Hashimoto 1976; Huang 1978, etc.) that Chinese has been undergoing a word order change from SVO (Subject-Verb-Object) to SOV over the past two millennia. Their hypothesis, mainly Li & Thompson's (1974), is as follows. Pre-Archaic Chinese (Pre-AC hereafter, 1200 BC) was an SOV language. It started changing to SVO between 1000 and 300 BC (Archaic Chinese, AC for short) and then shifting back to SOV again (Modern Chinese, MC for short), the last stage being still in progress: SOV > SVO > SOV. MC is assumed to be becoming an SOV language.

The 80's witnessed the resurfacing of the discussion of the Chinese word order problem within the framework of Government and Binding theory where the issue of directionality parameters was raised (Travis 1984; Koopman 1984; Li 1985; Huang

1982; and Peyraube 1988, 1989). Sun & Givón's (1985) text-based quantified study show that Chinese is strictly an SVO language and that OV order is an emphatic / contrastive discourse device.

Recently, the controversy arose again when Sun (1996) argues from a diachronic perspective that Chinese is SVO (Mulder & Sybesma 1992) and stressed that the grammaticalization process has played an important role in syntactic changes in the language.

My thesis intends to explore some topics concerning the evolution of Chinese syntax from synchronic and diachronic perspectives. They include some fundamental syntactic constructions such as the *ba*-construction, the positional changes of PPs, grammaticalization of the passive morpheme *bei* and the focus-SOV (in contrast with the *ba*-SOV) order in the history of the Chinese language. The study is based on various written texts representative of the vernacular languages used in different periods of Chinese history to ensure that it considers the nature of some mechanisms of language change and helps improve the understanding of Chinese syntax. The current chapter is organised as follows. In Section 2, I will introduce the notion of grammaticalization as well as grammaticalization chains. Section 3 sets out the chronological framework of the Chinese language. Section 4 presents an outline of the thesis.

1.2 A note on grammaticalization

Zheng & Mai (1964) and Sun (1996) observe that the notion of grammaticalization *xuhua* started to be used by Sinologists in China from as early as Middle Chinese (MdC). For instance, Zhou Boqi, a Sinologist in the Yuan Dynasty (1280-1368), explains that "present-day grammatical words were all substantive words in ancient

times" (cited in Sun 1996:11). In the West, not until 1912 did the notion of grammaticalization begin to be used. Meillet (1912) was the first to use the term in his paper entitled "Linguistique historique et linguistique générale". He views grammaticalization as a diachronic process that leads to lexical items (nouns, verbs, etc.) evolving into grammatical ones (prepositions, affixes, etc.). Following Kurylowicz (1965, 1975), Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer (1991b) view grammaticalization as "where a lexical unit or structure assumes a grammatical function, or where a grammatical unit assumes a more grammatical function" (1991b:2).

In Newmeyer (1998), grammaticalization is characterised as consisting of three major components: "morphosyntactic reanalysis, certain types of semantic change, and phonetic reduction" (1998:226-7). As regards morphosyntactic reanalysis, it "involves an increase in grammatical function" (Newmeyer 1998:228) of a structure or element. The list in (1) is generally taken to show an order of increasing grammatical function:

1) a. lexical categories

   b. functional categories and pronominal elements

   c. clitics

   d. derivational affixes

   e. inflectional affixes

For instance, in Old French, there was a noun *pas* meaning 'step'. But it was grammaticalized in the seventeenth century and has become a negative particle used in the negative construction in Modern French.

When reanalysis occurs, there is always other change. One important change is semantic that involves "meaning loss or 'bleaching'[1]" (Hopper & Traugott 1993:68). One of the most cited examples in the literature is English *do*. Its grammaticalization involves a former causative *do* becoming an empty syntactic *do*.

Since 1980s, many linguists working on grammaticalization have concentrated their attention on "the cognitive motivations" behind meaning changes (Hopper & Traugott 1993:68). These motivations involve metaphorical processes (Bybee & Pagliuca 1985; Claudi & Heine 1986; Sweetser 1990) and metonymic processes (e.g. Traugott & Hönig 1991; Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer 1991a). One example of meaning change associated with metaphoric process is the development of the English auxiliary *have* as illustrated in (2). *Have* in English was originally a full lexical verb of possession as in (2a). Then it takes on some sense of obligation as in (2b). Later *have to* functions as an auxiliary marker of obligation as in (2c) and (2d).

2) a. I have a letter to mail.

b. I have a letter to write

c. I have to write a letter.

d. What are you doing tonight? Oh, I have to go to a party.

(Examples from Fleischman 1982, cited in Newmeyer 1998:229)

Bybee & Pagliuca (1985:73) suggest that "The obligation sense of *have to* predicates certain conditions on a wilful agent: X is obliged to Y. The epistemic sense is a metaphorical extension of obligation to apply to the truth of a proposition: X (a proposition) is obliged to be true."

[1] The term 'bleaching' was first used by Gabelentz (1891:241).

There is another change that occurs with reanalysis. It is referred to as "the phonetic reduction (or 'erosion') of the element involved" (Newmeyer 1998:231). For instance, in Modern Greek, there is a future tense morpheme *tha*. It originates from its older form *thelô ina* 'I wish that'. The structure in (3) illustrates the process during which the phonological form is shortened, resulting in the reduction of phonological substance.

3) thelô ina > thelô na > thena > tha

(Meillet 1912:145)

Changes involving the ordering of syntactic constructions such as a clause or a phrase are also referred to as grammaticalization (Newmeyer 1998). For instance, Li & Thompson (1976a) argue that in Chinese serial verbs such as *ba* 'take' could be reanalysed as an adposition marking the direct object of the verb as shown in (4).

4) zui *ba* zhu-gen zi-xi kan.

drunk BAdogwood-tree careful look

'While drunk,

(a) I took the dogwood tree and carefully looked at it.' (*ba* = 'take')

(b) I carefully looked at the dogwood tree.' (*ba* = accusative case)

(AD800, *Dufu*, Li & Thompson 1976a:485)

The English translation in (4b) shows that there is a reanalysis of the former verb *ba* 'take' as an adposition marking the direct object of the verb. As a result, a serial verb construction as shown by the translation in (4a) collapses into a single verb construction as in (4b).

I will discuss the evolution of the *ba*-construction and grammaticalization of the grammatical morpheme *ba* in Chapter two. In Chapter four the grammaticalization of

the passive morpheme *bei* will be introduced with emphasis on the pathways through which *bei* evolved over the past 2000 years in the history of the Chinese language.

1.3 Grammaticalization chains

Heine & Claudi (1986) view grammaticalization as an evolutionary continuum. Lehmann (1985) observes that there is cross-linguistic evidence that although many forms of expressions cannot be placed squarely into categories like verbs, nouns, adpositions, clitics or affixes, they can be identified by a "cline" (Hopper & Traugott 1993:6) in respect of their morphological complexity. The cline has both diachronic and synchronic implications. From a diachronic perspective, the cline reflects a pathway through which forms change. From a synchronic perspective, a cline is usually conceived as a "continuum": the establishment of a sequence of changes. At one end of this sequence there is a lexical form and at the other end there is a grammatical form, for instance. The cline or continuum is regarded as "having certain focal points where phenomena may cluster" (Hopper & Traugott 1993:7). It is suggested (Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer 1991a:222) that the internal structure or relational patterns of clines or continuums are called "grammaticalization chains."

Take the French future (*nous*) *chanterons* 'we will sing' for example (Hopper & Traugott 1993:9). It can be traced back to its Latin origin, *cantabimus*, that is a morphological future. After many centuries of evolution, it was replaced by *cantare habemus*, a periphrastic future. It is observed that there is a Pre-Latin verb *b^humos* 'we are' in the periphrastic future. The verb has its source in Indo-European and is conceived of as an earlier periphrastic form **kanta b^humos*. Now French *nous chanterons* is being replaced by *nous allons chanter* meaning 'we are going to sing.' This evolution process can be accommodated in the following sequence:

1) Pre-Latin Latin French

*?

*kanta b^humos → cantabimus

cantare habemus → chanterons

allons chanter → ?

(Hopper & Traugott 1993:10)

The sequence of changes shown above represents the grammaticalization chains with the French future (*nous*) *chanterons* 'we will sing.' The grammaticalization chains with the morpheme *zai* 'at' in Chinese will be presented in the same spirit in Chapter three.

1.4 Chronological framework and historical data

Basically I adopt Sun's (1996) chronological division of four periods in the history of Chinese but differ from him in three aspects. First, instead of using both Chinese and Mandarin interchangeably to refer to Mandarin Chinese, I use Chinese only throughout my thesis to avoid causing unnecessary confusion about the language under discussion. Second, I extend the Ancient Chinese (AC) period from 700BC-200AD rather than 500BC-200AD (Sun 1996:3) because I include *Shujing* (The Book of History), one of the Five Classics in the Chinese literature, in this period. There are two reasons for this. As the earliest collection of Chinese prose, *Shujing* is written in the form of speeches made by various kings and ministers of the classic Three Dynasties, several centuries before 221 BC. The language is representative of the vernacular of that period. On the other hand, although the events in *Shujing* are arranged in chronological order over two thousand years before the century, the last event recorded in the text occurred in the state of Qin in 626 BC (Idema & Haft

1997:76). I therefore mark the beginning of AC at 700BC to include *Shujing*. This leads to the third aspect in which my chronological division differs from Sun's. According to my division, the period before 700BC will be regarded as Pre-AC. This period is generally assumed to be characteristic of the language of the oracle bone inscriptions (cf. Dobson 1958, 1961, 1967; Wang 1958; Peyraube 1996). This also shows why *Shujing* is more suitable to be included in AC rather than Pre-AC. Therefore, we have

(a) Archaic Chinese (AC, 700BC- AD200)

(b) Old Chinese (OC, AD200-1000)

(c) Middle Chinese (MdC, 1000-1900)

(d) Modern Chinese (MC, 1900-present).

However, it does not follow that there is clear distinction between these periods. Very often, I will use early AC, late AC or mid AC to specify different times in a given period. In the following, I will give a brief introduction to the historical data used in the thesis.

Apart from texts from *Shujing* 'Book of history', examples in AC (700BC-AD200) are taken from *Zuozhuan* 'Zuo's commentary', *Lunyu* 'The analects', *Mengzi* 'Mencius' and *Shiji* 'Historical records'. *Zuozhuan* (500BC) is one of the commentaries on *Chunqiu* 'Annals of Spring and Autumn' which is referred to as one of the Five Classics in the Chinese literature. As historical prose supposedly written by wise statesmen and scholarly masters, *Zuozhuan* is regarded as "a perfect expression of the Way in both form and content" in this period (Idema & Haft 1997:54). *Lunyu* 'The analects' (500BC) is the most important philosophical work of the Confucius school. It is a collection of teachings of Confucius, sayings of his disciples and short dialogues

between them. It has been as widely read in China throughout the ages as the Bible has been in the West (Radice 1979). *Mengzi* 'Mencius' (300BC) contains saying of Mencius, second only to Confucius in importance in the Confucianism, and the conversations he had with rulers or other contemporaries of the time on different subjects. The exchanges are much more lengthy than those in *Lunyu* with sustained discussions and articulated ideas. The writing shows such superb literary skills (Lau 1970) that it became the model for prose writers of later periods as well as one of the criteria for the judgement of prose writing (Lai 1964:40). *Lunyu* 'The analects' and *Mengzi* 'Mencius' are considered two of the Four Books belonging to the Classics in the history of Chinese literature. *Shiji* 'Historical records' was written by Sima Qian (145-87?BC), a great historian and "the best prose writer" (Lai 1964:83). It is the first book of Chinese history ranging from the earliest times until the reign of Emperor Wu (140-87BC) with a time span of 2,597 years. Since the language of these texts closely resembles the vernacular of the period, they are considered to be representative texts of AC.

The main data in OC are taken from the most famous collection of anecdotes, *Shishuo xinyu* 'A new account of tales of the world', by Liu Yiqing (AD403-444). It records several hundred anecdotes about popular men of letters of the third and fourth centuries in thematic order in terms of virtues and vices. It presents a vivid picture of aristocratic society at the time. Late OC (700-1000), which roughly corresponds to the Tang dynasty (618-906), is known as an era of the development of modern-style poetry in the history of Chinese literature. According to Idema & Haft (1997), *Tang shi sanbai shou* 'Three hundred Tang poems', an anthology on which many Western studies and translations were based, has remained a proverbial favourite in China since

its compilation in the mid-eighteenth century (1997:126). For instance, there are poems by well-known poets such as Li Bai (701-762), Du Fu (712-770) and Bai Juyi (772-846). But, of course there is no lack of data from prose of the time. There are, for example, *Liuhedongji* 'Collection of liuhedong' by Liu Zongyuan (773-819), a famous writer of late OC and *Xin wudai shi* 'New history of the Five Dynasties' by Ouyang Xiu (1007-1072), a famous statesman, poet and prose writer of the time (Idema & Haft 1997:81).

MdC (1000-1900), especially from mid MdC (1368-1911), is the golden age of Chinese novels. Data in this period come from the following sources: *San yan* 'Three words' published by Feng Menglong (1574-1646), the greatest authority on popular stories in the Ming Dynasty (1368-1643). *San yan* is the collective title of three collections of forty episodes each. They are *Gujin xiaoshuo* 'Stories of past and present', later on referred to as *Yushi mingyan* 'Enlightened words to instruct the world' (published in 1620/1621); *Jingshi tongyan* 'Universal words to alarm the world' (published in 1624); and *Xingshi hengyan* 'Lasting words to awaken the world' (published in 1627). Although they were published in early sixteenth century, they were the preserved versions of *Huaben* 'novella' presumably originated in a period between 1250-1627 (Hanan 1973). Therefore, these collections are actually representative of the language in early and mid MdC. There are also novels such as *Shuihu zhuan* 'All men are brothers', *Xiyou ji* 'The journey to the West' and *Honglou meng* 'Dream of the red chamber'. *Shuihu zhuan*, said to be revised by Luo Guanzhong (?-?), is a collection of popular story-tellers' accounts of Song Jiang, the hero of 'All men are brothers' and his gang of bandits at the end of the Southern Song dynasty (1127-1276). *Xiyou ji* 'The journey to the West', written by Wu Chengen

(1500-1582) between 1570-1580, is a fascinating, but not modern-time fictional, novel recording a pilgrimage the Chinese monk Xuanzang (600-664) undertook to India to collect sutras. Foreseeing the trip was full of dangers, Xuanzang was accompanied by supernatural helpers in the form of a horse, a monk, a pig and a monkey. *Shuihu zhuan* and *Xiyou ji* are regarded as two of the Four Great Amazing Novels written in mid MdC (Idema & Haft 1997). *Honglou meng* 'Red chamber dream' is written by Cao Xueqin (1715-64) in a lively style. The passages and dialogues are very descriptive. Since the language is based on eighteenth-century Beijing usage, it is very close to the modern spoken language. But it provides empirical evidence for the language spoken at that time.

1.5 Organisation of the thesis

The thesis is composed of six chapters. They are organised as follows. Chapter two presents an analysis of word order changes in Chinese. I basically agree with Sun (1996) in assuming that Chinese is SVO but depart from him in arguing, along with Wang (1958) and Peyraube (1996) (cf. Sun 1996), that the *ba*-construction is the consequence of the grammaticalization from the serial verb *ba* 'take'. I will propose a telicity analysis for the *ba*-construction. Based on some unnoticed facts in the development of the construction, I will argue that telicity is a necessary condition on verbs allowed in the *ba*-construction. I will suggest that the condition was first acquired in late OC when the main verb in the *ba*-construction started to take on NP objects, PP complements and verbal particles. This necessary condition was established in early MdC when the verb started to take aspect markers such as the perfective *-le*. The telicity hypothesis will provide a straightforward account of the

fact that verbs without 'measuring out'[2] (Tenny 1987) constituents are incompatible with the *ba*-construction. In this Chapter, two major analyses are presented. Two main issues discussed are the evolution of the *ba*-construction and the positional changes of PPs in the history of the Chinese language. Li & Thompson (1974) basically argue that Chinese is drifting from SVO in AC towards SOV in MC. The process is nearing completion. Their main evidence comes from the emergence of the *ba*-construction and the positional changes of PPs from AC to MC. Sun (1996) argues against Li & Thompson and holds that Chinese is an SVO language. He claims that the *ba*-construction is the result of lexical replacement of an adposition *yi* in AC by *ba* in MdC and treats the positional changes of some PPs in Chinese as a case of parameter setting. In discussing the positional changes of PPs in Chinese, I will also propose a telicity analysis for the meaning shift in the use of some adpositions like *zai* in MC in preverbal and postverbal positions. I will suggest that the position of PPs in MC is sensitive to telicity: telic verbs select postverbal PPs of direction whereas atelic verbs select other PPs.

In Chapter three, I examine in detail the positional changes of PPs in the history of Chinese. I will start off by establishing that a word class called 'localizers' in Chinese are not postpositions but nouns, following Li (1991). Their post-nominal use functions to turn a common noun into a place or time noun. I will then present the results from a text count I have conducted of the distribution of prepositional and postpositional PPs in different periods of the Chinese history. The findings provide further support to the claim that Chinese is consistently prepositional (Dryer 1991; cf. Greenberg 1963; Hawkins 1980). The distribution of two most frequently-used adpositions in AC, *yi*

[2] It is observed that the Chinese data shows that even e.g. *–le*, not only direct objects, suffices to "measure out" a telic verb.

and *yu*, is discussed. Ample data will be presented in support of Sun's (1996) claim that PPs in AC are not predominantly postverbal and that there is in fact no predominant position for PPs in that period. Although Li & Thompson (1974) draw attention to the contrastive features of PPs in AC and MC, there is no evidence for their claim that PPs in AC are predominantly postverbal. In Section 3.4, an attempt will be made to establish grammaticalization chains with the morpheme *zai* in MC.

In Chapter four, I explore the historical pathways along which the passive morpheme *bei* in Chinese became grammaticalized into both an auxiliary passive marker when immediately preceding the verb and an adposition when marking the agent in preverbal position. I will propose that the grammaticalization of the passive morpheme *bei* has taken two different paths, one from lexical verb to auxiliary and the other from lexical verb to adposition. I will show that in late AC, an auxiliary and an adposition *bei* started splitting off from the same passive verb *bei* 'suffer'. The process proceeded for the auxiliary *bei* but was slowed down for the adposition *bei* probably because of the common use of the adposition *wei* as an agent marker in the passive construction from late AC to mid OC. In mid OC, the use of *bei* as an agent marker further developed. Strong evidence will be shown that the grammaticalization process of *bei* started in late AC and was not completed for adposition *bei* until late MdC and for auxiliary *bei* until early MC (Sun 1996; cf. Wang 1958; Tang 1988; Peyraube 1996).

In Chapter five, I investigate the issue of object preposing in focus-SOV order in AC and MC. Ernst (1994) proposes a functional head Fin(ite) [+finite] in Infl of Chinese (cf. Huang 1989). It is phonologically empty with the subject licensed in the Spec of its projection at S-structure. Ernst argues that there is neither Agr nor Tense

in Chinese and the empty Infl takes AuxP or VP as its complements. A natural question that arises with the claim is that of whether modals exist in Chinese. To solve the question, following Ernst (1994), I will propose an empty Agr hypothesis for the Infl structure for Chinese which proposes that there are functional heads Agr and Tense in Chinese. Since the language lacks overt agreement morphology, Agr is phonologically empty with the subject licensed in its Spec at S-structure. As modals in Chinese form a functional category AUX (Emonds 1976; cf. Huang 1989), they are realised in a Tense node that is lexically specified for modals (Chomsky 1970; 1986).

Following Gao (1994), Ernst & Wang (1995) argue that the focus-SOV order in Chinese involves adjunction of objects to VP, the VPA hypothesis. Adopting the empty Agr hypothesis and Ernst & Wang (1995), I will propose a revised VPA hypothesis that states that the preposed object in focus-SOV order in MC is adjunction to VP and TP, whereas the preposed object in focus-SOV order in AC is adjunction to VP only. To assist the discussion, I classify the object preposing constructions in focus-SOV order in MC and AC into two major types: an overt type and a covert type. The new division makes it possible to account for the object preposing facts in focus-SOV order in MC and AC in a uniform manner. The investigation provides support for the claim that the basic word order of Chinese is SVO (Light 1979; Mulder & Sybesma 1992; Sun 1996) and that the focus-SOV in both MC and AC is an emphatic / contrastive discourse device (Sun & Givón 1985 for MC).

Chapter six will summarise the major issues covered in this thesis and give an overview of the proposals put forward throughout the thesis.

CHAPTER 2

ANALYSIS OF WORD ORDER CHANGES IN CHINESE

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents analyses of word order change phenomena in Chinese with special reference to the development of the *ba*-construction and the positional changes of PPs in the language.

In the 1970's, there was a heated debate on word order change in Chinese among historical linguists working on the language (Tai 1973, 1976; Li 1975; Li & Thompson, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1978, 1981; Hashimoto 1976; Huang 1978; Light 1979, etc.). Li & Thompson (1974) claim that Chinese has been undergoing a word order change from SVO (Subject-Verb-Object) to SOV (Subject-Object-Verb) over the past two millennia. They believe that this change is nearly complete and MC (1900-present) is becoming an SOV language.

The evidence Li & Thompson give for their word order change hypothesis mainly involves the development of the *ba*-construction that is closely related to the fronting of object to preverbal position. Li & Thompson regard it as a new SOV word order in MC and assume that it is replacing existing SVO sentences in the language. As the language is supposed to move towards OV type, it would be expected that the change might cause some repercussion in the syntax, such as the positional changes of PPs from postverbal position in AC to preverbal position in MC (Travis 1984). However, Sun (1996) holds an entirely different view, namely, that MC is strictly SVO (Sun &

Givón 1991; Mulder & Sybesma 1992). He argues that the *ba*-construction does not represent a new word order but is a replacement of a similar construction marked by an adposition *yi* in AC. He also argues that the grammaticalized morpheme *ba* in MC is a marker of 'high transitivity'. As for the positional changes of some PPs from AC to MC, Sun treats this as a case of parameter setting. Following Huang (1991), Sun claims that although PPs in AC can be both preverbal and postverbal, PPs in MC are basically preverbal.

In this chapter, I will concentrate on two major issues in this debate: the development of the *ba*-construction and positional changes of PPs in the history of Chinese. I will review previous analyses of the word order change phenomenon in Chinese with special reference to Li & Thompson's (1974, 1975) and Sun's (1996) arguments in the following manner. Section 2 gives a brief introduction to the development of the *ba*-construction in Chinese history. I will propose a telicity analysis of the *ba*-construction based on the observation of some unnoticed facts during the evolution of the grammatical morpheme *ba*. The basic idea is that telicity is a necessary condition on the verbs allowed in the *ba*-construction in Chinese. Section 3 presents Li & Thompson's and Sun's analyses of the *ba*-construction. Section 4 gives a brief introduction to the syntactic positions of PPs in the history of Chinese. Section 5 presents Li & Thomspon's and Sun's analyses of the PPs in Chinese history. Section 6 sums up the problems with previous analyses concerning these two major issues.

2.2 The *Ba*-construction

This section is devoted to a brief introduction to the development of the *ba*-construction in the history of Chinese. The morpheme *ba* used to be a full lexical verb meaning 'take hold of' in AC as shown in (1):

1) zuo shou **ba** qi xiu. (AC, *ZGC*)

left hand hold his sleeve

'The left hand held his sleeve.'

The historical development of the morpheme *ba* has been closely linked with the morpheme *jiang* in the literature. *Jiang* was also a verb in AC meaning 'conduct, lead or give' as shown in (2):

2) wu **jiang** da che. (AC, *SIJ*) (W:410)

not conduct big cart

'Do not drive the cart.'

Although *ba* and *jiang* are interchangeable in many contexts, there are major differences between the two. First of all, according to Sun (1996), Zhu (1957) observes that in the earliest stages of grammaticalization, unlike *ba*, *jiang* was rarely used in the serial verb construction before mid OC (AD700). Second, after mid OC, *jiang* started to be used in the serial verb construction as V1 in a sequence of 'V1+NP+V2+NP/PP' rather than the 'V1+NP+V2' construction in which *ba* occurred. Third, in MC, *ba* is used in both spoken and written forms but *jiang* is only used in the written form though it is *jiang* not *ba* that is more commonly used in Modern Cantonese (Sun 1996). However, *ba* and *jiang* will be treated in the same manner in the following discussion and glossed as *ba* only.

It is observed in the literature that in late AC and early OC, *ba* and *jiang* were used as V1 in two serial verb constructions (Chu 1957; Li & Thompson 1974; Peyraube 1989, 1996; Sun 1996)). One is 'S+V1(*ba/jiang*) +O1+V2+O2' in which *ba* is used as V1. O1 is the object of V1 and O2 is the object of V2. This is shown in (3).

3) S+V1 *ba*+O1+V2(+O2)

a. Yu qing **ba** tian zhi ruiling yi zhen you Miao.

Yu himself take heaven REL mandate for conquer PRT Miao

(AC, *MZ*)

'Yu himself took the mandate of heaven to conquer Miao.'

b. yushi ji **jiang** ci jian wang jian Chu wang

then immediately take female sword go see Chu prince

(AC, *SSJ*)

'(He) then immediately took the female sword to go to see the Prince of Chu.'

The other is 'S+V1 *ba*+O+V2' in which *ba* is still used as V1. But O is the object of both V1 *ba* and V2, due to the semantics of V1 *ba* that allows its object to be affected by the action of another verb (Peyraube 1996). This is shown in (4):

4) S+V1 *ba*+O+V2

Shi ju wu ren shi yin **ba** jian kan.

poem sentence no man appreciate should hold sword see

(OC, *YH*)

'Since no one appreciates poetry, I have to hold the sword to contemplate it.'

In (3a), O1 *tian zhi ruiling* 'heaven's mandate' is the object of V1 *ba*. O2 *Miao* 'the State of Miao' is the object of V2 *zhen* 'conquer'. However, in (4), O *jian* 'sword' is the object of both V1 *ba* and V2 *kan* 'see'.

In late OC (AD700-1000), *ba* and *jiang* began to go through a grammaticalization process during which their original verbal meaning was weakened and they gradually turned into preverbal adpositions marking objects (Wang 1958; Li & Thompson 1974; Peyraube 1985, 1989, 1996; Sun 1996). The evidence comes from OC examples like

(5). In (5), two versions of the translation suggest two possible meanings for the same sentence:

5) zui **ba** zhu-gen zixi kan. (OC, *DF*)

drunk BA dogwood-tree carefully look

'While drunk,

a. I took the dogwood tree and carefully looked at it.

b. I carefully looked at the dogwood tree.

(Li & Thompson 1976)

Such contexts invite a reanalysis of the former verb *ba* 'take hold of' as an adposition marking the direct object of the verb. What happened here is actually a diachronic change, as observed by Li & Thompson (1974) and Peyraube (1996), where a serial-verb construction such as 'S+V1 *ba*+O+V2' in (4) and (5a) became a single-verb construction 'S+PP+O+V' as in (5b). The serial verb *ba/jiang* is described as developing into an adposition marking the object.

However, the change was not obligatory during this transitional period. Alongside its newly-developed use as a preverbal object marker as in (6), *ba/jiang* is still commonly used as a verb meaning 'take hold of' as in (7).

6) mo **ba** Hangzhou cishi qi. (OC, *BJY*)

not BA Hangzhou magistrate deceive

'Do not deceive the magistrate of Hangzhou.'

7) zui **ba** hua kan yi zi-shang (ibid.)

drunk hold flower watch more self-hurt

'Drunk, I look at the flower whilst holding it, even more broken-hearted.'

Sun (1996) observes that in late OC, *ba/jiang* developed other uses such as marking instrument as in (8), attitude in (9) and a theme in a spatial expression in (10) as well as marking direct object as in (11). Besides these uses, examples like (8-11) actually display a further development that the *ba*-construction went through in late OC. The verbs in the construction began to take another overt object complement, e.g. *xin* 'signal' in (8) and *jin* 'gold' in (9), a PP of destination *yu yao-xia* 'into the waist band' in (10), and a verbal particle *qu* 'go' in (11).

8) **jiang** ci chaya wei xin (OC, *LDFBJ:171*)

BA this tea-sprout be signal

'Use this tea-sprout as a signal.'

9) **jiang** tuo yu jin. (OC, *BWWM*)

BA copper regard gold

'(Someone) regards copper as gold.'

10) **jiang** zhu cha yu yao-xia. (OC, *DH:WZX*)

BA bamboo stick into waist-down

'Stick the bamboo into the waist band.'

11) **ba** ta tangyin jiang-qu. (OC, *ZTJ:5/73/1*)

BA his seal take-go

'Take away his seal.'

In this section, an introduction of the early development of *ba/jiang* has been given. Before proceeding, I'd like to draw the attention to some unnoticed facts that lead to the telicity hypothesis to be described in the next section.

2.3 The telicity hypothesis

Note that in late AC and early OC, the verbs in the *ba*-construction are mostly monosyllabic; in other words, they are not followed by complements of any sort or 'measuring out' constituents (Tenny 1987). But the above examples show that in late OC, the verbs in the *ba*-construction started to take on other constituents, e.g. object complements, PPs and verbal particles, that measure out telic verbs. Based on this observation, I propose that this actually show that verbs in the *ba*-construction in late OC started acquiring an important semantic property: telicity. This is reflected in the selections of these 'measuring out' constituents that produce a different type of verb that involves "a change of state that constitutes the outcome, or goal, of the event" (Smith 1997:19). The event predicated by the verb becomes "temporally bounded" (Szeto 1988:271). The above data also shows that so far, object complements, PPs and verbal particles can be used to 'measure out' telic verbs in Chinese.

Smith (1997) holds that events can be classified as being telic or atelic. Telic events are characterised by having a change of state that has a natural final endpoint (Smith 1997:19). But atelic events only depict processes. The distinction between telic and atelic events is reflected in whether "a change of state occurs and the event is complete" (Garey 1957:106). Take (6-7) for example. There are two verbs in these two sentences, *qi* 'deceive' in (6) and *kan* 'see' in (7). These two verbs both describe atelic events that denote processes and do not have an end point in a sense that the process can stop at any point. By contrast, the events in (8-11) are telic in nature because they all have an outcome of the kind. Therefore, the choices of direct object, PPs and verbal particles have actually turned the previous atelic verbs into telic ones.

In MdC, the morpheme *ba/jiang* was mainly used as a marker of direct object as shown in (12) and instrument as shown in (13-14). So far as the verbs allowed in the *ba*-construction are concerned, direct objects, PPs and verbal particles continue to 'measure out' telic verbs. For example, the verbs in (12) are followed by a verbal particle *xia* 'down' in the first half of the sentence and *kai* 'open' in the second half of the sentence. Both particles give the events in (12) "a natural final endpoint" (Smith 1997:19). This is also the case with (13) and (14). The verb in (13) is followed by a PP *yu ni zhe xianshi baoqiong gui* 'to you, such a disgraceful poor wretch' while the verb in (14) by a direct object *lei* 'tear'.

12) Lincong bian **ba** huaqiang he hulu fang xia, **jiang** nei tiao xubei
Lincong then BA spear and bottle-gourd put down BA that CL quilt
da kai.
make open (MdC, *SHZ*)
'Lincong then put down the spear and the bottle-gourd and spread the quilt.'

13) wo zi daoyun **ba** ge nuer jia yu ni zhe xianshi baoqiong gui.
I self unlucky BA CL daughter marry to you this disgraceful poor ghost
(MdC, *RLWS:3.21*)
'I had to admit that I was down on my luck marrying my daughter to you, such a disgraceful poor wretch.'

14) ta **ba** shou shi lei mangmangde ben jinqu le. (MdC, *XSHY:1.6*)
she BA hand wipe tear hastily run inside Asp
'She wiped away tears with her hands and ran hurriedly inside the house.'

It is observed (Mei 1981; Sun 1996; Peyraube 1996) that in early MdC, aspect markers such as *-le* and *-zhe* developed. At the same time, the verb in the *ba*-

construction starts to select perfective aspect markers *-le* as in (15) and progressive aspect marker *zhe* as in (16).

15) Lincong yijiu **ba** men suo-*le*, wang na gu miao li lai.

Lincong as-usual BA door lock-Asp toward that old temple inside come

(MdC, *SHZ*)

'Lincong locked the door as usual and walked toward the old temple.'

16) you ziji ... **ba** huaqiang tiao-*zhe* hulu. (MdC, *SHZ*)

again self BA spear carry-Asp bottle-gourd

'Again (he) himself used the spear to carry the bottle-gourd.'

So far in addition to direct objects, PPs and verbal particles, aspect markers can also 'measure out' telic verbs. I therefore propose that this development in early MdC establishes that telicity has become a necessary condition for the verbs allowed in the *ba*-construction and the choice of aspect markers signals the completion of the acquisition process of this telicity condition. The evidence in support of this claim is that the verbs lacking 'measuring out' constituents are no longer compatible with the *ba*-construction in this stage of its development (cf. Lü 1955; Sun 1996).

The use of *ba/jiang* as an instrument marker was fairly common in MdC. For instance, a text count which I undertook using Chapter 4 of *Xinshi henyan* (*XSHY* for short), a sixteenth-century novel, shows that 37% of instrument marking is done by *ba/jiang* as illustrated in the following examples.

17) zhongren dou **jiang** hao yan quan jie. (MdC, *JSTY:24*)

everybody all BA good words persuade solve

'Everybody tried to persuade (them) with nice remarks.'

18) Tianda **ba** shou yi tui. (MdC, *XSHY*)

Tianda BA hand once push

'Tianda pushed once with his hands.'

But this use of *ba/jiang* declined in late MdC. Ohta (1958) and Sun (1996) assume that it is due to the more and more common use of *yong* and *na*, two preverbal instrument markers at that time. Let us take (20) for an example. In (20), both *ba* and *yong* are used in preverbal position. But the use of *yong* excludes the possible ambiguity in communication caused by having to use *ba* as an object marker as well as an instrument marker in the same sentence.

19) zai **yong** cha jiu jiao dian. (MdC, *XSHY:4.88*)

again with tea wine sprinkle offer-sacrifice

'Pay respect to the dead with tea and wine.'

20) Wangjiang **ba** zhuantou wapian **yong** bu baoguo jia cong yinliang,

Wangjiang BA brick tile with cloth wrap fake serve-as silver

fang zai pi xiang li.

put at leather chest inside (MdC, *JSTY:24*)

'Wangjiang wrapped broken bricks and tiles with pieces of cloth so that they looked like silver and then put them in leather chests.'

The grammaticalization of *ba* was not complete until early MC (Sun 1996:73). One of the main reasons is that *ba* was still used as a verb in late MdC. In (21), *ba* is used to mean 'hold'. Examples like (22) and (23) show a common use of *ba* in a V1+V2 serial verb construction that first occurred in late AC (Peyraube 1986). In this serial verb construction, V1 can be any verb including *ba* 'hold'. But V2 must be the verb *yu* meaning 'give'. This V1+V2 sequence can be followed by a NP object and

another verb complement as illustrated in (22). Alternatively, V1 takes the direct object while V2 takes the indirect object as illustrated in (23).

21) Zhangwei **ba** jiao bu zhu fan jindou die dao.

Zhangwei hold foot not steady turn somersault fall down

(OC, *XSHY:1*)

'Zhangwei couldn't hold himself still, ran a somersault and fell down.'

22) Xuwu sui qu chu yi juan ceji **ba-yu** zhongren guankan.

Xuwu then take out a CL record hold-give everyone see

(MdC, *XSHY:2*)

'Xuwu then took out a copy of record and showed it to everyone.'

23) lao shen **ba** ge shi xin **yu** ni. (MdC, *XSHY:3*)

old body hold CL genuine information give you

'I (an old woman) would give you some genuine information.'

In MC, *jiang* is used only in literary contexts. As to *ba*, apart from its limited use as a verb meaning 'take hold of' in fossilised phrases like *ba men* 'hold the door' as in (24), it is mainly used as a grammaticalized morpheme in the following four sequences. First, there is a sequence of "S+*ba*+O+V+*le* (Asp)/*PRT*" as illustrated in (25-26). In (25), the preverbal NP after *ba* (*ba* NP) is the object of the transitive verb *da-le* 'beat'. The *ba* NP in (26) is the object of the verb *chi-wan* 'finished eating'.

24) bie lao **ba**-zhe men!

not always hold-Asp door

'Don't hold the door all the time!' (Chao, 1968:765)

25) ta **ba** Lisi da-le. (S+*ba*+O+V+*le/PRT*)

he BA Lisi beat-Asp

'He beat Lisi.'

26) ta mei you **ba** fan chi-wan.

he have not BA meal eat-finish

'He did not finish eating the meal.'

Second, there is a sequence of "S+*ba*+O+V+PP (Res/Freq)" as illustrated in (27-28). In (27-28), the verb takes a PP complement of direction (27) and an adjunct phrase of frequency (28).

27) ta **ba** haizi song dao xuexiao. (S+*ba*+O+V+PP)

he BA child send to school

'He sent the child to school.'

28) Lisi **ba** ta jiaoxun-le yi-dun.

Lisi ba him teach-lesson-Asp one-CL

'Lisi taught him one good lesson.'

Third, there is a sequence of "S+*ba*+O+V+*de* (Res)+clause" as in (29). The verb in (29) takes an adjunct clause of result headed by the resultative particle *de* 'get'. Zou (1993) claims that there is a causative relation between the subject NP and the object *ba* NP; namely, the subject *neijian shi* 'that matter' causes the object *ba* NP *ta* 'him' to become so scared as not to be able to sleep.

29) neijiang shi **ba** ta xia-**de** shui-bu-zhao. (S+*ba*+O+V+*de*+clause)

that matter BA him scare-*de* sleep-not-obtain

'That matter scared him so much that he couldn't sleep.'

Finally, there is a sequence of "S+*ba*+O1+V+O2" as illustrated in (30). The main verb in (30) takes an overt NP object. Zou (1993) claims that there is a partitive relation between the preverbal O1 and postverbal O2, i.e., O1 represents a whole entity and O2 a part of it. For example, in (30), O2 *pi* 'skin' is part of the whole *juzi* 'orange'.

30) wo **ba** juzi bo-le pi. (S+*ba*+O1+V+O2)

I BA orange peel-Asp skin

'I peeled the skin of the orange.'

In fact, Blake (1994:165) observes that the evolution of serial verbs into adpositions of grammatical function is a common phenomenon in the languages of West Africa, New Guinea, Southeast Asian and Oceania. For example, a similar example like *ba* deriving from a serial verb meaning 'take hold of' in Chinese can be found in *Gã*, a Benue-Kwa language of West Africa. In *Gã*, there is an object marker *kɛ* (assigning accusative case) which also derives from a serial verb meaning 'take' as shown in (31) (Lord 1982). The sentence literally means something like 'She took a book [and] laid [it] down.'

31) È **kɛ** wòlò ŋmè-sï.

she ACC book lay-down

'She put down a book.'

(Lord 1982:287, cited in Hopper & Traugott 1993:90)

I can now summarise the grammaticalization of the morpheme *ba/jiang* in the history of the Chinese language. *Ba/jiang* used to be full lexical verbs meaning 'take hold of, conduct, lead or give' in AC. In late AC and early OC, *ba/jiang* started to evolve into a preverbal object marker. In late OC, *ba/jiang* developed other uses such as marking instrument, attitude and a theme in a spatial expression. I have suggested

that in late OC, the verbs in the *ba*-construction developed to the effect that they became subject to a telicity effect, a new property that is not available in early OC. That is, they require an obligatory 'measuring out' (Tenny 1987) constituent with *ba/jiang*. At the early stage of the development, the telicity effect is realised by choices of overt NP objects, PPs or verbal particles. As a result, in MdC, verbs without 'measuring out' constituent are no longer compatible with the *ba*-construction. In early MdC, the verbs began to select aspect markers such as the perfective *-le* and progressive *-zhe*. This forms strong evidence for the claim that the telicity effect, a necessary condition on the verb allowed in the *ba*-construction, is established in early MdC. The use of *ba* as an instrument marker fell out of use in late MdC owing to the common use of *yong/na*, the other two instrument markers, at that time. The grammaticalization of *ba* into a grammatical morpheme is assumed to be complete in early MC (Sun 1996). In MC, *ba* is mainly used to mark the object in constructions in the following sequences:

a. S+*ba*+O+V+*le* (Asp)/*PRT*;

b. S+*ba*+O+V+PP (Res/Freq);

c. S+*ba*+O+V+*de* (Res)+clause and

d. S+*ba*+O1+V+O2.

I now turn to previous analyses concerning the development of the *ba*-construction in the next section.

2.4 Previous analyses of the *ba*-construction

In this section, I will concentrate on two major analyses of the *ba*-construction in the literature. They are Li & Thompson (1974, 1975) and Sun (1996).

2.4.1 Li & Thompson (1974, 1975)

Li & Thompson (1974) regard the development of the *ba*-construction as crucial evidence for their word order change hypothesis as it mainly concerns the placement of objects in preverbal position in MC. They treat *ba* in MC as an objective case marker triggering the fronting of the object to the preverbal position as shown in (b) of (32-33) in contrast with the corresponding SVO non-*ba* sentences in (a).

32) a. ta da-le Lisi.

he beat-Asp Lisi

b. ta **ba** Lisi da-le.

he BA Lisi beat-Asp

'He beat Lisi.'

33) a. ta piping-le Zhangsan.

he criticise-Asp Zhangsan

b. ta **ba** Zhangsan piping-le.

he BA Zhangsan criticise-Asp

'He criticised Zhangsan.'

Li & Thompson (1974) view the *ba*-construction as an emerging SOV word order in MC that is at the moment replacing existent SVO sentences in the language. Their arguments are as follows.

First, when the main verb in a sentence is polysyllabic, the *ba*-construction like (33b) tends to be preferred to the canonical SVO (33a). If this were the case with polysyllabic verbs in MC, then the sentences with the *ba*-construction in (b) of (34-35) would be expected to be not only grammatical but also preferred. However, this prediction is not borne out. The verbs in (34-35), unlike *da* 'beat' and *piping* 'criticise'

in (32-33), are psychological predicates. Being verbs of experiencing, they are stative in nature and do not posses a "disposal" meaning (Wang 1958), so they are not allowed in the *ba*-construction. There is a difference in the semantic relationship between the verb and the object in 'beat Lisi' in (32) and 'saw Lisi' in (34) for instance. In the former, the object is "handled", or "disposed of" (Wang 1958) through the action of the verb; that is, the object is "affected" (Lord 1982, Hopper 1986a). In the latter, however, the object is in no way "affected" in the same sense.

34) a. ta kanjian-le Lisi.

he see-Asp Lisi

'He saw Lisi.'

b. *ta **ba** Lisi kanjian-le

he BA Lisi see-Asp

35) a. ta zhidao-le zhejian shi.

he know-Asp this matter

'He knew this.'

b. *ta **ba** zhejian shi zhidao-le

he BA this matter know-Asp

It therefore is clear that not all sentences with polysyllabic verbs can employ the *ba*-construction as a preferred SOV form. Also, it does not seem that the polysyllabicity effect is the key factor affecting the grammaticality of (b) sentences in (34-35). It is more likely the type of verbs used in the construction that makes the difference. Namely, verbs of experiencing are not allowed in the *ba*-construction.

Second, Li & Thompson claim that many SVO sentences with monosyllabic verbs would also prefer to use the *ba*-construction now. Their example is (32) in which the

main verb is a monosyllabic verb *da* 'beat'. Although they also mention the monosyllabic verb *ai* 'love', they do not provide any example. This prediction again is not borne out. In (36-38), all the main verbs are monosyllabic but none of them seems to be compatible with the *ba*-construction.

36) *ta **ba** Lisi ai le

he BA Lisi love Asp

37) *ta **ba** qian you le

he BA money have Asp

38) *ta **ba** pengyou xiang le

he BA friend miss Asp

In fact, contrary to Li and Thompson's prediction, monosyllabic verbs are hardly allowed in the *ba*-construction in MC though they were in late AC and early OC. This can be shown in (39) even though the verb is active in nature. Hopper & Traugott (1993:91) observe that these kinds of constraints exist in MC. They can be traced back to the origin of this grammatical morpheme, the lexical verb *ba* 'take hold of'; in other words, only objects that can be 'taken hold of' or 'disposed of' or 'affected' can be used in the *ba*-construction. This offers an explanation from a diachronic point of view. From a synchronic point of view, there seems to be a more straightforward explanation for the difference between (32b) and (39b). It is the telicity effect analysis I suggest in the last section. By this analysis, the difference between (32b) and (39b) can be accounted for by the lack of a telicity property of the verb in the latter but not in the former. In the case of (32b), the telicity property of the verb is facilitated by the choice of the perfective aspect marker *-le* at the end of the verb. In contrast, the verb

da 'beat' in (39b) does not denote "a temporal boundedness" (Sun 1996:53) therefore it is atelic. (See more discussions on telicity in Section 2.3.2.)

39) a. ta da Lisi.

he beat Lisi

'He beat Lisi.'

b. *he **ba** Lisi da.

he BA Lisi beat

So far it is clear that not all sentences with polysyllabic verbs in MC prefer the *ba*-construction; verbs of experiencing are not allowed in the *ba*-construction; and monosyllabic verbs are not allowed in the *ba*-construction, either.

Thirdly, Li & Thompson assume that with the emergence of the *ba*-construction, the preverbal position would become the only possible position for object in MC. If we follow their prediction, we would expect existing SVO sentences in Chinese to have the corresponding *ba*-constructions at least as an option. Also in a language undergoing a change from SVO to SOV, it would be expected to find a steadily increasing number of SOV sentences. However, this prediction is hardly borne out. I will examine different types of SVO sentences in MC in the following in order to show this.

i. SVO sentences with the progressive aspect marker *zai*:

40) a. ta zai piping Lisi.

he *zai* criticise Lisi

'He is criticising Lisi'

b. *ta **ba** Lisi zai piping.

he BA Lisi *zai* criticise

c. *ta zai **ba** Lisi piping.

he *zai* BA Lisi criticise

41) a. tamen zai he kafei.

they *zai* drink coffee

'They are drinking coffee.'

b. *tamen **ba** kafei zai he.

they BA coffee *zai* drink

c. *tamen zai **ba** kafei he.

they *zai* BA coffee drink

ii. SVO sentences with negative particles such as *mei-you* 'not-have' in (42) and *bu* 'not' in (43):

42) a. wo **ba** ta piping le.

I BA him criticise Asp

'I criticised him.'

b. *wo **ba** ta mei-you piping-le.

I BA him not-have criticise-Asp

c. *wo mei-you **ba** ta piping-le.

I not-have BA him criticise-Asp

43) a. ta **ba** Lisi da-le.

he BA Lisi hit-Asp

'He hit Lisi.'

b. *ta **ba** Lisi bu da-le.

he BA Lisi not hit-Asp

c. *ta bu **ba** Lisi da-le.

he not BA Lisi hit-Asp

iii. SVO sentences with auxiliary verbs such as *yao* 'will' in (44) and *hui* 'can' in (45):

44) a. laoban yao jiegu Lisi.

boss will fire Lisi

'The boss will fire Lisi.'

b. *laoban **ba** Lisi yao jiegu

boss BA Lisi will fire

c. *laoban yao **ba** Lisi jiegu

boss will BA Lisi fire

45) a. ta hui kai che.

he can drive car

'He can drive a car.'

b. *ta **ba** che hui kai

he BA car can drive

c. *ta hui **ba** che kai

he can BA car drive

iv. SVO sentences with preverbal PPs of place marked by the adposition *zai* 'at' in (46) and the comitative marked by *geng* 'with' in (47):

46) a. Lisi zai wo jia chi fan.

Lisi at my home eat meal

'Lisi had his meal at my house.'

b. *Lisi **ba** fan zai wo jia chi.

Lisi BA meal at my home eat

c. *Lisi zai wo jia **ba** fan chi.

Lisi at my home BA meal eat

47) a. ta geng women qu-le Beijing.

he with us go-Asp Beijing

'He went to Beijing with us.'

b. *ta **ba** Beijing geng women qu-le.

he BA Beijing with us go-Asp

c. *ta geng women **ba** Beijing qu-le.

he with us BA Beijing go-Asp

v. SVO sentences with clause complements:

48) a. ta shuo ta piping-le Lisi.

he say he criticise-Asp Lisi

'He said that he criticised Lisi.'

b. *ta **ba** ta piping-le Lisi shuo.

he BA he criticise-Asp Lisi say

c. *ta **ba** Lisi shuo ta piping-le.

he BA Lisi say he criticise-Asp

49) a. wo zhidao Lisi shuo fayu.

I know Lisi speak French

'I know that Lisi speaks French.'

b. *wo **ba** Lisi shuo fayu zhidao.

I BA Lisi speak French know

c. *wo **ba** fayu zhidao Lisi shuo.

I BA French know Lisi speak

vi. SVO sentences with verbal quantifiers (Huang 1997) occurring before the postverbal object NP:

50) a. ta shui-le liang tian jiao.

he sleep-Asp two day sleep

'He slept for two days.'

b. *ta liang tian **ba** jiao shui-le.

he two day BA sleep sleep-Asp

c. *ta **ba** jiao shui-le liang tian.

he BA sleep sleep-Asp two day

51) a. Lisi kan-le shi ci dianying.

Lisi see-Asp ten time film

'Lisi went to the cinema ten times.'

b. *Lisi shi ci **ba** dianying kan-le.

Lisi ten time BA film see-Asp

c. *Lisi **ba** dianying kan-le shi ci.

Lisi BA film see-Asp ten time

vii. Double-object constructions:

52) a. wo wen-le ta yi-ge wenti.

I ask-Asp him one- CL question

'I asked him a question.'

b. *I **ba** yi-ge wenti wen-le ta.

I BA one- CL question ask-Asp him

53) a. ta chi-le Lisi yi-dun fan.

He eat-Asp Lisi one- CL meal

'He ate one meal at Lisi's.'

b. *ta **ba** yi-dun fan chi-le Lisi.

he BA one- CL meal eat-Asp Lisi

viii. Serial verb constructions:

54) a. ta qing Lisi kan dianying.

he invite Lisi see film

'He invited Lisi to go and see a film.'

b. *ta **ba** Lisi qing kan dianying.

he BA Lisi invite see film

c. *ta **ba** dianying qing Lisi kan.

he BA film invite Lisi see

ix. Coordinate constructions:

55) a. ta bangzhu Lisi, Lisi ye bangzhu ta.

he help Lisi Lisi also help him

'He helps Lisi and Lisi also helps him.'

b. *ta **ba** Lisi bangzhu, Lisi **ba** ta ye bangzhu.

he BA Lisi help Lisi BA him also help

x. Comparative constructions with *bi* (unglossed) literally meaning 'compare' as a comparative pivot:

56) a. ta xuexi yingyu bi wo yonggong.

he study English *bi* I diligent

'He studies English harder than me.'

b. *ta **ba** yingyu xuexi bi wo yonggong.

he BA English study *bi* I diligent

xi. Topicalized constructions:

57) a. neizuo fangzi, tamen jueding yongzuo xuexiao.

that building they decide use-as school

'As for that building, they decided to use it as a school.'

b. *neizuo fangzi, tamen **ba** xuexiao jueding yongzuo.

that building they BA school decide use-as

From the above sets of data, it is clear that the *ba*-construction cannot occur as an alternative to at least eleven types of SVO sentences in existence in MC, namely, SVO sentences with

a. progressive aspect marker *zai* in (40-41);

b. negative particles such as *mei-you* 'not-have' and *bu* 'not' in (42-43);

c. auxiliary verbs such as *yao* 'will' and *hui* 'can' in (44-45);

d. preverbal PPs of place, the benefactive and the comitative in (46-47);

e. clause complements in (48-49) and

f. verbal quantifiers occurring before the postverbal object NP in (50-51).

Neither can the *ba*-construction be an alternative to SVO sentences with

g. double-object constructions in (52-53);

h. serial verb constructions in (54);

i. coordinate constructions in (55);

j. comparative constructions in (56) and

k. topicalized constructions in (57).

Examples like (54-57) actually provide evidence for Li & Thompson's (1978:236) observation that "in complex constructions, such as serial verb construction, the word

order SVO is fairly rigid." Therefore, there is no evidence in support of the claim that SVO sentences are being replaced by the *ba*-construction (an SOV order) so that the preverbal position would become the only possible position for the object in MC. It is also clear that the *ba*-construction is not an unmarked order and its usage is highly restricted by constraints such as the ones mentioned above.

The real role of the *ba*-construction is quite different. Since Chinese is deprived of morphological markers, the word order plays an important role in determining the definite and indefinite properties of nouns (Mullie 1932, Li 1970, Chao 1968, Li & Thompson 1975). In MC, a bare NP such as *che* 'car' can have either definite or indefinite reading depending on its position in relation to the verb. The preverbal NP tends to have a definite reading while the postverbal NP tends to have an indefinite reading. This is shown in (58-60):

58) ta mai-le che.

he sell-Asp car

'He sold a car.'

59) ta che mai-le.

he car sell-Asp

'He sold the car.'

60) che, ta mai-le.

car he buy-Asp

'As for the car, he sold it.'

There are actually three different types of sentences here: SVO (58), focus-SOV (59) and OSV (60). The postverbal *che* 'car' in the SVO (58) is indefinite. But the

preverbal *che* 'car' in the focus-SOV (59) is definite and has a contrastive reading (Li & Thompson 1981) as shown in (61):

61) ta che mai-le keshi fangzi mei mai.

he car sell-Asp but house not sell

'He sold the car but did not sell the house.'

The OSV (60) is a topicalized construction with the object NP *che* 'car' fronted to sentence-initial position. As a topic is definite by definition (Li & Thompson 1978:227) and occupies preverbal position, the preverbal NP *che* 'car' in (60) has a definite reading. In the *ba*-construction shown in (62), only the definite reading can be obtained for the *ba* NP, as shown by the impossible interpretation in (62b).

62) ta **ba** shu mai-le.

he BA book sell-Asp

a. 'He sold the book.'

b. *'He sold a book.'

Since the *ba* NP is placed in preverbal position, it seems natural to have a definite reading. However, Li & Thompson (1975) question the availability of this definite reading reserved for the *ba* NP in MC. They note that *ba* is more and more associated with NPs preceded by the indefinite determiner *yi* 'one' usually followed by a classifier, resulting in the loss of definite reading. Their examples are in (63-64):

63) ta **ba** yi-ge haizi da-le yi-dun.

he BA one-CL child hit-Asp one-CL

'He spanked one child once over.'

64) wo **ba** yi-jian shiqing wang-le.

I BA one-CL matter forget-Asp

'I forgot one thing.'

Li & Thompson argue that since Chinese is drifting towards SOV and the preverbal position is becoming the only possible position for object, the loss of definiteness which used to distinguish between preverbal NPs and postverbal NPs should be regarded as a natural consequence of this diachronic drift.

However, the indefinite analysis of *ba* NP in (64) and (64) seems problematic. In discussing the *ba*-construction, Chao (1968:76f) argues that "It is, however, not so much the subject or object function that goes with definite or indefinite reference as position in an earlier or later part of the sentence that makes the difference. Thus, by the use of the pre-transitive *ba* an object is moved farther ahead and is made more suggestive of a definite reference (Chao 1968:76f)." In Li & Thompson (1975), it is hypothesised that "Nouns preceding the verb tend to be definite, while those following the verb tend to be indefinite" (Li & Thompson 1975:170). These quotes suffice to show that the *ba* NP is designated to be definite. Then the problem is how to explain the use of the indefinite determiner *yi* 'one' before the *ba* NP in (63-64). I suggest that the *ba* NP preceded by *yi* in (63-64) could be regarded as a type of definite NP, one of a definite set, though the particular ones mentioned in the sentences may not be. The referent of this definite set is accessible to the speaker though not necessarily to the hearer. For instance, *yi-ge haizi* 'one child' in (63) is referred to as one of the children that the speaker *ta* 'he' knows; *yi-jian chiqing* 'one thing' in (64) is referred to as one of the things that the speaker *wo* 'I' should have remembered. This is actually in accord

with one of the constraints on the *ba* NP that it must be definite even though it is marked by an indefinite determiner *yi* 'one'.

In this section, I have presented Li & Thompson's (1974, 1975) analysis of the *ba*-construction. Ample evidence has been presented to show that the *ba*-construction in MC is not an unmarked order in MC. The use of the *ba*-construction is very much limited by some co-occurrence constraints such as the telicity effect on the verbs that are allowed in the *ba*-construction, and the requirement for the definiteness of the *ba* NP. I have also examined eleven types of SVO sentences in MC to show that the SOV *ba*-construction is hardly an alternative to the existing SVO sentences in MC, let alone the preverbal position becoming the only possible position for direct objects in the language. However, there is nothing in Li & Thompson's theory that can give a satisfactory treatment of the above facts. This naturally leads one to be dubious about their Chinese word order change hypothesis, which is not well-grounded considering the ample empirical evidence presented in this section.

2.4.2 Sun (1996) and Sun & Givón (1985)

Sun (1996) disagrees with Li & Thompson and argues that MC is strictly an SVO language (Light 1979; Sun & Givón, 1985; Mulder & Sybesma 1992). Sun & Givón 's (1985) text-based quantified study shows that VO is the predominant order in both the written and spoken texts that they investigate: 94% in the written texts and 92% in the spoken texts. The very limited distribution of OV order suggests that it is an emphatic / contrastive discourse device (Sun & Givón 1985:329) which is unrelated to the distinction between definite and indefinite objects. They observe that OV is closely associated with overt markers like *ba/jiang* as shown in (65) and (66). In the absence

of *ba/jiang*, OV may involve some other contrastive / emphatic markers such as *lian* 'even', *dou* 'all' or the negative particle *bu* 'no' as shown in (67) and (68):

65) zhi jian ta **ba** yi-shu dian-ran de xiang-huo kou-han yi-zhi.
only see he BA one-CL light-burn REL fragrant-fire mouth-hold one-CL
'He only saw that he bit off a single stick from a bunch of burning incense.'

66) Wan Shengshi mang **jiang** dianwen neirong eyaode shuo-le shuo.
Wan Shengshi quickly BA telegram content briefly say-Asp say
'Wang Shengshi immediately summarised the contents of the telegram.'

67) ta **lian** fan **dou** hai gu bu shang chi.
he even food all still attend not up eat
'He did not even have the time to eat.'

68) Zhang Xun **lian** yan-pi **dou mei** tai yi-xia.
Zhang Xun lian eye-skin all no lift one- CL
'Zhang Xun did not even raise his eyes once.'

In Sun (1996), there are two main proposals. First, following Zhu (1957) and Chen (1983), Sun (1996) argues that the *ba*-construction in MC is not a new word order but a replacement of a similar construction marked by an adposition *yi* in AC (cf. Ye 1988a; Mei 1990). In other words, *ba* is assumed to have come from *yi* by a simple lexical replacement. *Yi* in AC was an adposition meaning 'with' indicating instrument (Ohta 1958). PPs headed by *yi* can be found in both preverbal and postverbal positions. In examples like (69), the PP *yi ming li* 'with people's labour' occurs in preverbal position; in example (70), the PPs *yi li* 'with rites' and *yi zhong* 'with loyalty' occur in postverbal position.

69) Wen wang **yi** ming li wei tai wei zhao.

Wen emperor with people labour build tower build pond

(AC, *MZ:LHWS*)

'The emperor of Wei used the labour of the people to built the tower and pond.'

70) jun shi cheng **yi** li cheng shi jun **yi** zhong.

emperor employ subject with rites subject serve emperor with loyalty

(AC, *LY:BY*)

'The emperor should employ the services of his subjects in accordance with the rites; a subject should serve his emperor with loyalty.'

The evidence for Sun's argument that *ba* replaces *yi* comes from AC example (71) and MC example (72). In (71), the PP of instrument is placed in preverbal position and in (72), the phrase of the similar function is also placed in preverbal position. Sun thus claims that the instrumental *yi*-form in AC has been replaced by the *ba*-construction in MC.

71) Yao **yi** tianxia yu Shun. (AC, *MZ:WZS*)

Yao with world give Shun

'Yao gave the world to Shun.'

72) Yao **ba** tianxia gei Shun. (MC)

Yao BA world give Shun

'Yao gave the world to Shun.'

Sun's lexical replacement analysis of *ba* has met with some criticism. From a synchronic point of view, Peyraube (1988) argues that when *ba* first appeared, it was used in a "V1 (*ba*)+O+V2" verb-final form. There was no indirect object or any other locative or resultative complement following V2 as shown in (73):

73) (S) + V1(*ba*) + O + V2

zui **ba** zhuyu zixi kan (OC, *DF*)

drunk take dogwood careful look

'Drunk, (he) took the dogwood and carefully looked (at it).'

However, the *yi*-form occurred in double object sentences marking the direct object as in (74a) or sentences with a postverbal locative complement as in (74b).

74) a. Chengzi **yi** Shizi zhi yan gao Mengzi. (AC, *MZ:GSCX*)

Chengzi with Shizi REL words tell Mengzi

'Chengzi told what Shizi said to Mengzi.'

b. **yi** yongqi wen yu zhu hou. (AC, *SJ:LPLXRLZ*)

with courage well-known among duke prince

'(He) was well-known for his courage among princes and dukes.'

Peyraube (1988) also observes that when the *ba*-form began to be used, the *yi*-form was already out of use apart from in literary texts. Therefore, it seems implausible for the *yi*-form to serve as an analogical model for the *ba*-form.

Now let us look at Sun's second proposal. Following Chao (1968), who was the first to relate the *ba*-construction to the notion of transitivity, Sun (1996) argues that *ba* is "a marker of high transitivity, indicating the entire affectedness of the discourse entity it marks by the event" (Sun 1996:51). Sun (1996) follows an approach taken in Hopper & Thompson (1980:251) who consider transitivity "a central property of language use" and argue that it is closely associated with discourse or pragmatics. In other words, discourse or pragmatics plays an important role in defining the properties of transitivity. Therefore, apart from the presence of the object of the verb and the affectedness of the subject on the object, transitivity also involves the referential

properties of the object NP and the temporal structure of the VP at the morpho-syntactic level. It is the interaction between these properties that determines the degree of transitivity.

Adopting Hopper & Thompson's approach and following S. Lu (1955) and G. Mei (1978), Sun (1996) first recognises two distributional properties of the *ba*-construction in MC: the referential property of the *ba*-NP and the temporal boundedness of the verb in the *ba*-construction.

As for the referential property of the *ba*-NP, it is generally assumed in the literature that the *ba*-NP has to be definite as illustrated in (62) repeated here as (75).

75) ta **ba** shu mai-le.

he BA book sell-Asp

a. 'He sold the book.'

b. *'He sold a book.'

As for the verb in the *ba*-construction, Sun (1996) observes that there is a co-occurrence constraint on the main verb in MC. The verb cannot occur in the *ba*-construction in its bare form as shown by the ungrammaticality of the example (b) in (76-78). It has to co-occur with either the perfective aspect marker *-le* as in (76a) or numeral quantifiers like *yixia* 'once' as in (77a) or other resultative particles like *wan* 'finish' in (78a). In other words, the verb in the *ba*-construction must show some temporal boundedness (Sun 1996:53): having a starting point as well as an endpoint (Smith 1991). This is in fact correctly predicted by the telicity analysis I have suggested above.

76) a. ta **ba** pingguo chi-le.

he BA apple eat-Asp

'He ate the apple.'

b. *ta **ba** pingguo chi.

he BA apple eat

77) a. ta **ba** tou tai-le yixia.

he BA head lift-Asp once

'He lifted his head once.'

b. *ta **ba** tou tai

he BA head lift

78) a. wo yiding yao **ba** shu kan-wan.

I must want BA book read-finish

'I must finish reading the book.'

b. *wo yiding yao **ba** shu kan.

I must want BA book read

Sun (1996) further argues that the *ba*-construction has to show the physical completion of a process of change to such an extent that the actual effect of the verb on the preverbal *ba* NP not only has a starting point but also a completion point. He draws evidence from an observation conceiving a contrast in grammaticality first made by Tai (1984) and illustrated in (79) and (80). According to Sun, (79) is ungrammatical simply because the total completion of this changing process, i.e., eating up of the soup, is not available as the second half of the sentence indicates. But there is no such constraint on the corresponding non-*ba* sentences like (80).

79) *ta **ba** tang he le, keshi mei he-wan.

he BA soup drink Asp but not drink-finish

80) ta he le tang le, keshi mei he-wan.

he drink Asp soup ASP but not drink-finish

'He has eaten the soup but did not finish (it).'

I suggest that the ungrammaticality of (79) can be better explained by the telicity analysis I have proposed in Section 2.2. Under the telicity analysis, there is a necessary condition on the verb used in the *ba*-construction that requires it to be telic. This condition is met in the first half of the sentence (79) and realised on the selection of the perfective morpheme *-le* that expresses a telic event. Since the first half of (79) semantically conveys the completion of a changing process, it is not compatible with an assertion that the event may proceed as the second half of the sentence does. Therefore, this meaning clash results in the unacceptability of the whole sentence.

As to the grammatical non-*ba* sentence (80), the telicity analysis can simply say that such a necessary condition, telicity, does not hold of constructions other than the *ba*-construction. In other words, (79) provides further evidence for the analysis that states that telicity is a necessary condition on the verbs used in the *ba*-construction.

Further evidence for the telicity analysis comes from the following two sets of examples. The first set of data involves the occurrence of achievement verbs such as *si* 'die' and *ren* 'recognise' in the *ba*-construction as in (81) and (82). In Zou (1993), examples like (81-82) are regarded as the causative *ba*-construction with a causer-causee relation between the preverbal NP (*ba*-NP) and the sentential subject. "The latter causes something to happen to the former" (Zou 1993:717). If Zou is correct, *ta* 'he' in (81), for example, is the one who causes the death of his father. However, this prediction is not borne out as shown by the English translation. This naturally leads one to be dubious about this so-called causer-causee analysis.

81) ta **ba** fuqin si-le.

he BA father die-Asp

'He lost his father.'

82) ta **ba** haizi ren-le.

he BA child recognise-Asp

'He acknowledged the child.'

Instead, the telicity analysis can provide a better explanation for these examples and excludes the unnecessary complexity that arises in accounting for the causative relationship between the subject and the *ba* NP (Zou 1993). Smith (1997) states that achievements are instantaneous events that result in a change of state (1997:30). One of the major properties they have is being telic. Since *si* 'die' and *ren* 'recognise' are such verbs, they are simply predicted by the analysis to be allowed in the *ba*-construction.

The second set of data involves the use of the resultative construction in the *ba*-construction. In both examples (83) and (84) a resultative phrase headed by the resultative particle *de* is added to the verb: *zhan-bu-qi-lai* 'can't stand up' in (83) and *fen-sui* 'break in pieces' in (84). They are also regarded as examples of the causative *ba*-construction in Zou (1993). He argues that the preverbal NP (*ba*-NP) is the logical subject of both the matrix verb phrase and the embedded clauses. The relation between the preverbal NP and the subject of the matrix clause remains a causer-causee relation (Zou 1993:718). Then there is a need to explain how the logical subject of both the matrix VP and the embedded clause ends up being in preverbal position but after *ba*. For this, the causer-causee analysis obviously fails to provide an answer.

Again the telicity analysis can give a better account. Examples like (83-84) show that "The entity undergoing a change of state is the direct object of the verb" (Levin & Rappaport 1995:53). In this case, they are *ta* 'he' in (83) and *hua ping* 'flower vase' in (84).

83) nei-ping jiu **ba** ta zui de zhan-bu-qi-lai.

that-CL wine BA him drunk DE stand-not-get-up

'That bottle of wine got him so drunk that he could hardly stand up.'

84) Lisi **ba** hua ping da de feng-sui.

Lisi BA flower vase beat DE piece-break

'Lisi broke the vase to pieces.'

However, notice that without the resultative phrase, the sentences would be ungrammatical. Examples like (85) and (86) illustrate this. It is not only because unmodified verbs are not allowed in the *ba*-construction but also because, more importantly, the verbs without the resultative phrases lack the telicity property, a necessary condition on the occurrence of verbs in the *ba*-construction.

85) a. *nei-ping jiu **ba** ta zui.

that-CL wine BA him drunk

b. *Lisi **ba** hua ping da.

Lisi BA flower vase beat

The addition of the resultative phrase to the verb in (85) actually renders the events telic as shown by the grammatical (83) and (84). Therefore, the difference between (83-84) and (85) is not only correctly predicted but also can be straightforwardly accounted for by the telicity hypothesis. All we need to say is that

telicity, a necessary condition on the verb in the *ba*-construction, is available in (83-84) but unavailable in (85).

Recall that Sun's (1996) high transitivity analysis of *ba* holds that "*ba* is a marker of high transitivity, indicating the complete affectedness of the discourse entity it marks by the event (Sun 1996:51)." In other words, the event predicated in the *ba*-construction should have a starting point as well as an endpoint (Smith 1991). If we follow Sun's assumptions, we would expect that *zai*, a progressive aspect marker, cannot be used in the *ba*-construction simply because it denotes an ongoing activity rather than a change of state which has both a starting point and an endpoint. This prediction, however, is not borne out. Examples like (86) turn out to be not only grammatical but also perfectly acceptable where the progressive aspect marker *zai* nicely fits in with the *ba*-construction.

86) ta **zai ba** nei-ben shu fanyi-cheng zhongwen.

he *zai* BA that-CL book translate-become Chinese

'He is translating that book into Chinese.'

Although Sun's high transitivity analysis appears to account for a certain number of data, it still needs to be considered more carefully in order to cover a wider range of data like (86). I will show that the telicity hypothesis may provide an account of this in the next subsection.

2.4.3 A marked progressive construction in Chinese

Recall that the telicity hypothesis holds that telicity is a necessary condition on the verbs allowed in the *ba*-construction. It therefore correctly predicts that sentence (87) is grammatical. In (87), the verb phrase *fanyi-cheng zhongwen* 'translate into Chinese'

denotes a telic event that involves a change of state that has a natural endpoint (Smith 1997:19).

87) ta **ba** nei-ben shu fanyi-cheng zhongwen.

he BA that-CL book translate-become Chinese

'He translates that book into Chinese.'

It also correctly predicts that sentences like (88) are ungrammatical. In (88), there is a progressive aspect marker *zai* occurring before the verb. According to the telicity hypothesis, the affixation of *zai* on the verb *fanyi* 'translate' eliminates the telicity property on the verb and turns the event into an ongoing activity. As non-telic verbs are incompatible with the *ba*-construction, the sentence is out.

88) *ta **ba** nei-ben shu **zai** fanyi-cheng zhongwen.

he BA that-CL book *zai* translate-become Chinese

Now we have sentences with the progressive aspect marker *zai* and the *ba*-construction as in (86) and (88). But one is in and the other is out. Before I try to account for this difference including the problem (86) raises, I will introduce the "principle of external override" developed in Smith (1997). "The principle holds for clashes between the temporal feature values of a verb constellation and those of forms external to it. By this principle, the feature value of an external form overrides the value of the verb constellation" (Smith 1997:53). By external forms, it is meant "explicit morphemes, adverbials of different kinds and aspectual viewpoints" (Smith 1997:52).

Example (45) in her Chapter three is cited here as (89). According to Smith, the verb constellation in (89) is Semilfactive and its temporal feature value is Instantaneous. But the temporal feature value of the postverbal adverbial is Durative.

A clash results. In this clash, the feature value of the external form overrides that of the verb constellation. In the case of (89), the sentence is interpreted as having "the shifted situation type value of an Activity" (Smith 1997:53). This can be illustrated by the 'multiple-level activity reading' in sentence (89). In other words, the sentence cannot be taken to refer to one single cough as would be the case with 'Mary coughed'. Smith (1996) assumes that this reading is triggered by this feature value clash.

89) Mary coughed for an hour. (Multiple-level Activity)

Further evidence is provided in example (47) in her Chapter three that is cited here as (90). In (90a), there is a telic verb with an atelic adverbial; in (90b) there is an atelic verb with a telic adverbial. According to Smith, these sentences also involve a shift in situation type (Smith 1997:53). The ultimate situation type is determined by the temporal feature value of the adverbials because the principle states that "the feature value of an external form overrides the value of the verb constellation" (Smith 1997:53). Therefore, (90a) is taken as an Activity and (90b) as a telic event having an unclear goal.

90) a. John walked to school for ten minutes.

b. Mary sang in ten minutes.

Now let us return to the Chinese sentences in (86). Following the principle of external override, I propose that *zai* in (86) can be taken as "an external form" (in Smith's terminology) to the main verb constellation of the sentence. Then the Chinese sentence (86), like the English examples in (89) and (90), also exhibits a temporal feature value clash. Namely, the main verb phrase *fanyi-cheng zhongwen* 'translate into Chinese' is telic with a stated goal specified in the choice of verbal particle *cheng*

'become' and the NP object *zhongwen* 'Chinese' but the external aspectual viewpoint explicited by *zai* is Progressive. In this case, according to the principle of external override, the feature value of the external form, the Progressive viewpoint of *zai*, overrides that of the verb constellation, the situation type of change of state with a stated outcome. Therefore, as the English translation of sentence (86) indicates, the sentence has the shifted situation type of imperfective viewpoint, denoting an ongoing activity. There is evidence for this in the second half of the sentence in (91).

91) ta **zai ba** nei-ben shu fanyi-cheng zhongwen kenshi hai mei fanyi-wan.

he *zai* BA that-CL book translate-become Chinese but still not translate-end

'He is translating that book into Chinese but hasn't finished yet.'

Meanwhile, the principle requires that the feature value clash should trigger some kind of multiple-level reading of the sentence. This correctly predictes what happens to (86). The sentence cannot be taken as presenting a single telic event with a single outcome. There are multiple-level telic events going on here. Each event involves the individual *ta* 'he' and a part of the book translated into Chinese in a telic relation. In other words, the endpoint of each event is "visible in its entirety" (Smith 1997:152) with instants of time preceding and following it though at the time of the utterance of the sentence, the whole event is still in progress.

So far the problem presented by (86) for Sun's high transitivity analysis has disappeared under the telicity analysis and the principle of external override (Smith 1997). Now we look at the difference between (86) and (88). Although both sentences contain a progressive aspect marker *zai* and the *ba*-construction, they differ in their grammaticality. I propose that it is the distributional difference of *zai* in these two sentences that makes the difference here. In (86), *zai* is placed before *ba* in

preverbal position, whereas in (88) *zai* immediately precedes the verb. I suggest that when *zai* is placed before *ba* in preverbal position, it constitutes an external form to the verb constellation. But this condition is unavailable in (88) where *zai* is prefixed to the verb and therefore inside the verb constellation. This is why (88) is ruled out.

In this section, I have reviewed Li & Thompson's (1994) and Sun's (1996) analyses of the development of the *ba*-construction. I have proposed a telicity analysis for the *ba*-construction and argued that telicity is a necessary condition on the verbs allowed in the *ba*-construction. It has been shown that this analysis is better than Sun's (1996) high transitivity analysis in accounting for an observation concerning a contrast in grammaticality as shown in (79-80) first made by Tai (1984) and discussed in Sun (1996). It has also been shown that alongside the principle of external override (Smith 1997), the telicity analysis is able to account for a marked progressive construction in Chinese involving the co-occurrence of the progressive aspect marker *zai* before *ba* in preverbal position as shown in (86). The telicity analysis is also superior to Zou's (1993) causer-causee analysis in accounting for the so-called causative *ba*-construction in Chinese.[1]

Now let us turn to the positional changes of PPs in the history of Chinese.

[1] It seems that there is possibility of structurally locating telecity (e.g. *ba*) in a SPEC-HEAD functional category projection. In the author's joint paper on The Mandarin Chinese *ba*-construction revisited: a minimalist approach (1999), a different line of research is explored. It is hypothesized that there is a non-substantive category *v* in Mandarin Chinese, adopting the Larsonian VP-shell proposed by Chomsky (1995). It is proposed that *ba* is a morphological manifestation of *v* with a [+strong] D-feature that needs to be eliminated before Spell-Out by a syntactic category bearing [D] in the label. By postulating this, postverbal elements such as floating numeral quantifiers (NQs) and possessive DPs can be readily accounted for. In other words, they remain in the base position, after a syntactic category with [D] in the Obj position is attracted by a strong feature of *v*, and it raises to the outer Spec of *v*P. It is argued that *ba* is morphologically dependent, and thus needs a host. More specifically, it is claimed that *ba* is a clitic that adjoins to Obj at PF. See Oga, Hu & Ayano (1999) for more details.

2.5 Syntactic positions of PPs in the history of Chinese

In this section, I will give a brief introduction to the other major issue: the syntactic positions of PPs in AC and MC, as it is one of the major arguments Li & Thompson (1974) use for their word order change hypothesis. Detailed discussion of PPs in the history of Chinese will be presented in Chapter 3. In AC, PPs can occur in both preverbal and postverbal positions. Let us look at preverbal PPs first.

2.5.1 Preverbal PPs in AC

The following examples show that in preverbal position, PPs can be used to mark time (92), instrument (93), cause (94), the benefactive (95) and the comitative (96):

92) zi **yu** shi ri ku ze bu ge. (AC, *LY:SE*)

master at that day cry and not sing

'The Master cried on that day and therefore did not sing.'

93) Junzi **yi** zhong gu dao zhi **yi** qin se le xin.

Gentleman with bell drum express feeling with violin zither enjoy mind

(AC, *XZ:LL*)

'Gentlemen express their feelings with bells and drums, and enjoy themselves with violins and zithers.'

94) Han zu shi wan yu ren jie ru Sui shui Sui shui **wei** zhi

Han soldier ten ten-thousand more person all enter Sui river Sui river for this

bu liu. (AC, *SJ:XYBJ*)

not flow

'More than 100,000 soldiers fell into the River Sui. Because of this, the River Sui couldn't flow properly.'

95) cheng qing **wei** wang yan yue. (AC, *MZ:LHWX*)

subject beg for emperor talk music

'May I, his liege, tell Your Majesty something about music.'

96) gongzi **yu** Wei wang bo. (AC, *SJ:XLJLZ*)

prince with Wei emperor play-chess

'The prince played chess with the Emperor of Wei.'

2.5.2 Postverbal PPs in AC

The following examples show the use of postverbal PPs in AC. In AC, postverbal PPs can be used to mark location (97), instrument (98) and the benefactive (99):

97) Ji shi lu **yu** Tai shan. (AC, *LY:BY*)

Ji family sacrifice at Tai mountain

'The Ji family offered sacrifices at Mount Tai.'

98) tian-xia ni yuan zhi **yi** dao; sao ni yuan zhi

heaven-under drown help it with virtue sister-in-law drown help her

yi shou. (AC, *MZ:LLS*)

with hand

'When the world is drowning, help it with promoting virtue; when the sister-in-law is drowning, can we help her with hands.'

99) Qi Jing gong wen zheng **yu** Kongzi. (AC, *LY:YYP*)

Qi Jing duke ask politics to Kongzi

'The duke Jing of Qi asked Kongzi about politics.'

The adposition *yu* makes up 87% of the postverbal PPs in AC texts investigated in Sun (1996:18). Apart from the uses shown above, *yu* can also be employed in

comparative constructions and passive constructions. In example (100), *yu* is used to mark the comparative construction in postverbal position. Example (101) shows the use of *yu* in a passive construction in postverbal position.

100) ke zheng meng **yu** hu ye. (AC, *LJ:TG*)

severe government vigorous than tiger EXCL.

'Severe government is worse than a tiger.'

101) Kongzi bu yue **yu** Lu Wei. (AC, *MZ:WZS*)

Kongzi not like by Lu Wei

'Kongzi was disliked by the rulers of the states of Lu and Wei.'

In the next subsection, I will give a brief account of the decline of postverbal PPs in the history of Chinese. Detailed discussion will be given in Chapter 3.

2.5.3 Decline of postverbal PPs in the history of Chinese

Postverbal PPs started to disappear in late AC. Since *yu* is the most frequently used adposition in postverbal position in AC and OC, the decline of postverbal PPs is inevitably related to the uses of *yu*. According to Sun (1996) (cf. Wang 1958), the first postverbal PPs that disappeared are passive PPs marked by *yu* in late AC. One of the main reasons suggested in Peyraube (1996) is that the use of *yu* as a postverbal passive marker makes it impossible to suppress the agent in a passive construction as shown in (101).

In late OC and early MdC, the use of *yu* as an object marker in the double-object construction declined. Peyraube (1986) argues that it is due to the emergence of a V1+V2 serial verb construction in late AC. I briefly mentioned this V1+V2 serial construction in Section 2.2. To recapitulate, V1 can be any verb but V2 must be the

verb *yu* meaning 'give'. This V1+V2 sequence is sometimes followed by the indirect and direct objects as illustrated in (102). But sometimes V1 takes the direct object while V2 takes the indirect object as illustrated in (103). V1 and V2 are in italic in the examples.

102) er hou *feng* *yu* qi nü cai. (AC, *SJ:SMXRLZ*)

and thick divide give his daughter fortune

'... and generously gave her daughter a fortune.'

103) di ling *qu* gu *yu* zhi. (OC, *SSXY:HS*)

emperor order take drum give him

'The Emperor ordered that (someone) take the drum and give it to him.'

In OC, *yu*, as a postverbal source/location marker, was gradually replaced by a preverbal adposition *zai* as shown in (104). *Zai* is unglossed in the following examples.

104) ji **zai** fu xia ran, dou **zai** fu zhong qi. (OC, *SSXY:WX*)

stem ZAI wok under burn bean ZAI wok inside cry

'Stems are burning under the wok whereas beans are crying inside the wok.'

Yu, as a comparative pivot, was replaced by *ru* and *si* in OC as in (105) which were eventually replaced by the preverbal *bi* in MdC as in (106).

105) ta re ru huo wo leng **ru** bing. (OC, *YLDISZJZ:XST*)

he hot ru fire I cold RU ice

'He is as hot as fire while I am as cold as ice.'

106) lian chen chuihua **bi** chuihua. (MdC, *QPSTHB*)

face set-off flower BI flower

'(One's) face sets off the flowers just like the flowers.'

So far the distribution of PPs in AC has been introduced. The decline of postverbal PPs in different periods is briefly discussed in Subsection 2.4.3. In the next subsection, we look at the distribution of PPs in MC.

2.5.4 Distribution of PPs in MC

Generally speaking, PPs in MC are mostly preverbal as shown in (109-115) where they denote object, location, time, instrument, the benefactive, the comitative, cause, source, and attitude.

107) ta xiang **ba** neixie shu gei haizimen. (object)

he want with that book give children

'He wants to give the book to the children.'

108) ta **zai** feijichang gongzuo. (location)

he at airport work

'He works at an airport.'

109) tamen mei tian **dao** qi dian chi fan. (time)

they every day by seven o'clock eat food

'They eat dinner at seven every day.'

110) ta **yong** zuo shou xie zi. (instrument)

he with left hand write character

'He uses his left hand to write.'

111) ta yizhi **gei** haizi mai shu. (benefactive)

he always for child buy book

'He always buys books for the child.'

112) bie **gen** ta kai wanxiao. (comitative)

not with him open joke

'Don't joke with him.'

113) ta **wei** sheme qu le meiguo? (cause)

he for what go Asp America

'Why did he go to America?'

114) ta gang **cong** guowai huilai. (source)

he just from abroad return

'He has just returned from abroad.'

115) ta **dui** neijian shi hen shengqi. (attitude)

he towards that matter very angry

'He is very angry about that matter.'

Preverbal PPs are also used in comparative constructions and passive constructions.

116) ta **bi** jiejie piaoliang. (comparative)

she in-comparison-with elder-sister pretty

'She is prettier than her elder-sister.'

117) ta **bei** jingcha daibu-le. (passive)

he by police arrest-Asp

'He was arrested by the police.'

But not all PPs occur obligatorily in preverbal position. In some cases, PPs occur in postverbal position. For instance, when *yu* is used as a comparative pivot in comparative constructions like (118), it can only occur in postverbal position:

118) renming de liyi (***yu** yiqie) gao **yu** yiqie.

people REL interest than everything high than everything

'People's interest should be of the utmost priority.'

In other cases, PPs can be either preverbal or postverbal. Take the adposition *gei* for example. It can occur in either preverbal or postverbal position. But there is a difference in meaning depending on the position it occupies in the sentence. According to Li & Thompson (1975), in preverbal position, *gei* marks the benefactive as in (119) whereas in postverbal position, *gei* marks the recipient as in (120).

119) ta **gei** wo mai chezi.

he for me sell car

'He sells cars for me.'

120) ta mai **gei** wo chezi.

he sell for me car

'He sells cars to me.'

It is also the case with the adposition *zai* 'at'. When used to mark location, it can occur in preverbal position as in (108) and in postverbal position as in (121):

121) ta zhu **zai** lundun.

he live at London

'He lives in London.'

It is observed (Li & Thompson 1975; Tai 1976; Travis 1984) that in some cases where *zai* is used with an activity verb, there is a difference in meaning depending on the position *zai* occupies in a sentence. Postverbal *zai* marks direction whereas preverbal *zai* marks location as shown in (122-123):

122) Zhangsan tiao **zai** zhuozi-shang.

Zhangsan jump at table-on

'Zhangsan jumped onto the table.'

123) Zhangsan **zai** zhuozi-shang tiao.

Zhangsan at table-on jump

'Zhangsan is jumping on the table.'

However, the direction vs. location analysis does not seem to be the full story. A closer look at the verbs in (122-123) seems to reveal a fact that the position of PPs seems to be sensitive to a semantic property: telicity. Note that there are actually two different types of verbs involved here: telic in (122) and atelic in (123). It seems that telic verbs select postverbal PPs of direction whereas atelic verbs select other PPs (cf. Huang 1990[2]; Travis 1984[3]). I therefore come to the conclusion that Chinese shows that complements of various types permit the telicity condition to be satisfied.

There is evidence for the claim. First, it is known that telic verbs are bounded in time and therefore cannot occur with durative phrases but atelic verbs can. This can be proven by the ungrammatical (124) in contrast with the grammatical (125). The durative phrase *ban ge xiaoshi* 'half an hour' is incompatible with the telic verb in (124) but compatible with the atelic verb in (125).

124) *Zhangsan tiao **zai** zhuozi-shang ban ge xiaoshi.

Zhangsan jump at table-on half CL hour

[2] Huang (1990) claims that in Chinese "complement PPs must be to the right of the verb; adjunct PPs must be to the left of the verb."

[3] In discussing PPs in Modern Mandarin Chinese, Travis (1984) claims that "pre-verbal PPs are not subcategorized for while post-verbal PPs are."

125) Zhangsan **zai** zhuozi-shang tiao-le ban ge xiaoshi.

Zhangsan at table-on jump-Asp half CL hour

'Zhangsan was jumping on the table for half an hour.'

Second, it is known in the literature (Dowty 1979, Levin & Rappaport 1995, to name a few) that there are syntactic processes by which telic verbs can be produced out of verbs that are inherently activity verbs (Levin & Rappaport 1995:57). In the case of (122), the telic verb is realised by a resultative PP *zai zhuozi-shang* 'onto the table' internal to the VP headed by *tiao*, an inherently activity verb.

Third, in (126) the PP of direction *dao di-shang* 'to the ground' is compatible with the verb *tiao* 'jump' because it is telic and selects a postverbal PP of direction. However, (127) is ungrammatical. By the telicity analysis, it is simply because the telic verb selects a wrong postverbal PP of source.

126) Zhangsan **cong** zhuozi-shang tiao **dao** di-shang.

Zhangsan from table-on jump to ground-on

'Zhangsan jumped from the table to the ground.'

127) *Zhangsan **dao** di-shang tiao **cong** zhuozi-shang.

Zhangsan to ground-on jump from table-on

Therefore, it seems plausible to claim that the use of PPs with activity verbs is consistent with the telicity effect. This can be further supported by the placement of PPs of time marked by *yu* 'at' as shown in (128-129). Since the verb *biye* 'graduate' is atelic, therefore, whether PPs of time are preverbal or postverbal does not make any difference in the semantic meaning they carry.

128) ta **yu** 1997 nian biye.

he at 1997 year graduate

'He graduated in 1997.'

129) ta biye **yu** 1997 nian.

he graduate at 1997 year

'He graduated in 1997.'

It is also the case with *yu* as a recipient marker. It can occur in both preverbal and postverbal positions without difference in meaning as shown in (130-131):

130) tade jianyi you li **yu** gongsi de fazhan.

his suggestion have benefit to company REL development

'His suggestion is beneficial for the development of the company.'

131) xingshi **yu** women you li.

situation to us have benefit

'The situation is beneficial to us.'

To account for the above data in (128-131), the direction vs. location analysis would have to stipulate that when used with an activity verb, the preverbal *zai* marks location whereas the postverbal *zai* marks direction. However, the same principle does not hold of the adposition *yu* even if it is also used with an activity verb as in (128-139) and when it is used with verbs of existence as in (130-131). Under the telicity analysis, these examples are correctly predicted in a straightforward manner. The positional difference of PPs in (128-129) and (130-131) does not encode meaning difference simply because the verbs are not telic. Therefore, the telicity effect is irrelevant.

The fact that the telicity effect does not hold of verbs of existence can be further supported by the use of the adposition *zai* with the verb *you* 'have'. In this case, the *zai*-phrase can be either preverbal or postverbal and there is no difference in the meaning it carries. *Zai* in both (132) and (133) marks location.

132) ta you pengyou **zai** Beijing.

he have friend at Beijing

'He's got friends in Beijing.'

133) ta **zai** Beijing you pengyou.

he at Beijing have friend

'He's got friends in Beijing.'

In this section, the distribution of PPs in AC and MC respectively has been presented. In discussing the use of postverbal PPs of direction, such as the *zai*-phrase, with an activity verb, I have argued that there is a telicity effect affecting their uses, namely, telic verbs select postverbal PPs of direction whereas atelic verbs select other PPs. Three arguments have been presented for the telicity analysis. Ample evidence has been shown to support the telicity analysis over the direction vs. location analysis (Li & Thompson 1975; Travis 1984).

2.6 Previous analyses of PPs in AC and MC

In this section, I will concentrate on two major analyses of the positional changes of PPs in AC and MC, namely Li & Thompson's (1974) and Sun's (1996).

2.6.1 Li & Thompson (1974)

Li & Thompson (1974) argue that there is a general shift of PPs from postverbal position in AC to preverbal position in MC. Their evidence comes from examples like (134):

134) $[_{VP}$ V PP$]$ → $[_{VP}$ PP V$]$

(AC) (MC)

a. chu **yu** you gu (AC, *MZ*)

emerge from dark valley

b. **cong** you gu chulai (MC)

from dark valley emerge

Both sentences contain an adjunct PP of location/source. It is postverbal in AC but preverbal in MC. Li & Thompson, therefore, conclude that PPs in AC are predominantly postverbal whereas PPs in MC are predominantly preverbal.

The claim is problematic in several ways. First, Li & Thompson base their argument on a small amount of data which can hardly be used as evidence for the strong claim they make for the PPs in AC. For instance, in the AC example (135), the PP of goal occurs in postverbal position. But its counterpart in MC cannot occur in preverbal position as the ungrammaticality of (136b) shows.

135) Li wang liu **yu** Zhi. (AC, *XZ:CX*)

Li emperor exile to Zhi

'Emperor Li was exiled to Zhi.'

136) a. Li wang bei-liufang **dao** Zhi. (MC)

Li emperor PASS-exile to Zhi

'Emperor Li was exiled to Zhi.'

b. *Li wang **dao** Zhi bei-liufang.

Li emperor to Zhi PASS-exile

Second, in a study of the distribution of PPs in two AC books *Zuozhuang* (Zuo's commentary, 500BC) and *Shiji* (Historical records, 100BC), He (1984, 1985) observes that the obligatory occurrence of preverbal PPs amount to 64% in the former and 80% in the latter. It is also found that preverbal position is actually the obligatory position for the absolute majority of adpositions in both texts. This obviously forms strong evidence against Li & Thompson's claim that PPs in AC are predominantly postverbal. In a text-count of occurrence frequency of PPs in two AC texts taken from *Zuozhuan* (Zuo's commentary, 500BC) and *Mengzi* (Mencius, 300BC) respectively, Sun (1991) observes that preverbal and postverbal PPs are equally distributed in the two texts, 50% in the former and 45% in the latter. Sun's findings present further evidence against Li & Thompson's postverbal hypothesis of PPs in AC. Sun (1996) also notes that while most adpositions had at least one occurrence in preverbal position, only half of them had occurrences in postverbal position. Sun, therefore, claims that there is no dominant position for PPs in AC.

Third, it is clear that not all the postverbal PPs in AC can find preverbal counterparts in MC. Although the majority of PPs in MC are preverbal as shown in section 2.4.2, this does not constitute evidence that the postverbal position is the predominant position for PPs in AC. In addition, even if there are some changes in syntactic positions of PPs from AC to MC, for example, PPs of location/source as illustrated in (105), it does not follow that all PPs in AC underwent similar changes in MC.

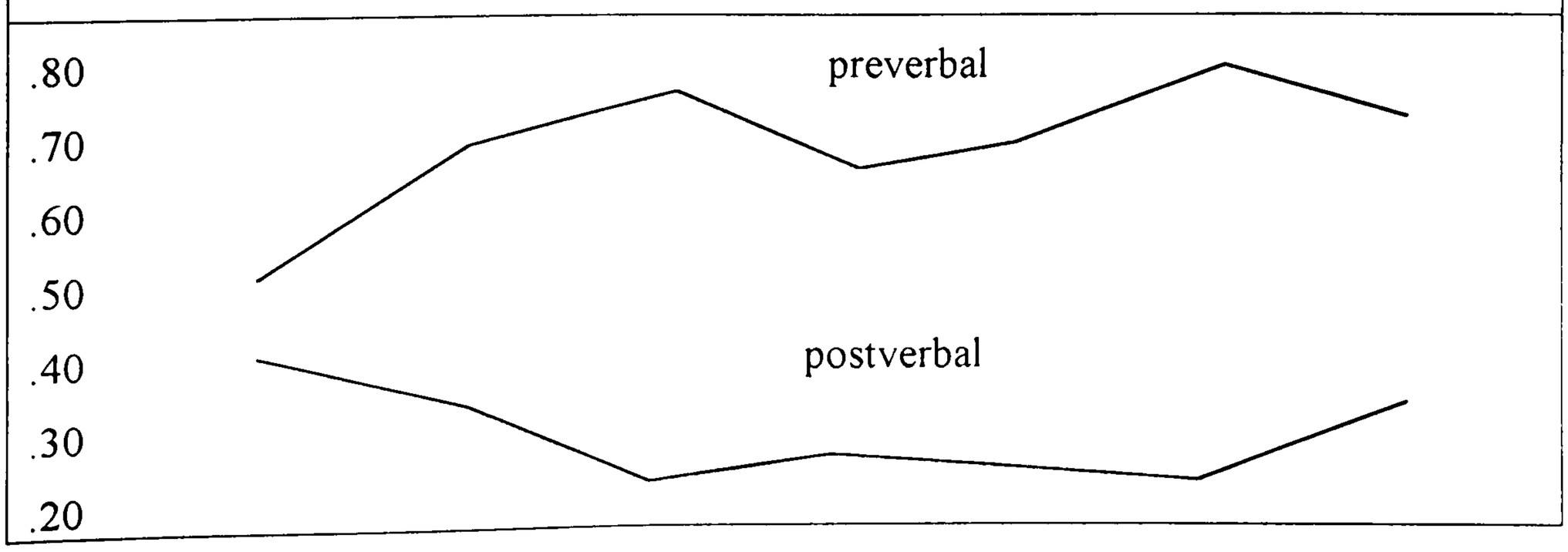
2.6.2 Sun (1996)

As shown above, He (1984, 1985) and Sun (1996) argue that the predominant position for PPs in AC is not postverbal. Sun (1996) further argues that there is no predominant position for PPs in AC.

As for the positional changes of some PPs from AC to MC, Sun (1996) treats it as a case of parameter setting from [V'+adjunct] to [adjunct+V']. Following Huang (1991), Sun claims that although PPs in AC can be both preverbal and postverbal, PPs in MC are basically preverbal. The parameter [V'+adjunct] -> [adjunct+V'] is said to have been set by late MdC (1900). Sun (1996) examines the historical texts from different periods and counts the frequency of preverbal and postverbal PPs. The results are presented in his Table 2.4 reproduced here as Table 2.1.

Table2.1. The Frequencies of Preverbal and Postverbal PPs
per 1,000 Characters

	100BC	AD500	900	1200	1400	1800	1986
preV	27.55	20.67	17.74	18.69	5.71	20.77	17.71
postV	22.45	10.33	6.26	8.31	2.29	6.23	7.29



(*Table 2.4*, Sun 1996:48) (preV - preverbal; postV - postverbal)

From Table 2.1, it can be seen that in late AC and early OC (200BC- AD600), the frequency of postverbal PPs essentially dropped approximately 10% when postverbal

PPs fell out of use in marking the passive construction. After the most-frequently-used postverbal adposition *yu* was no longer used to mark the direct object in late OC (before 1100), there was a further 10% reduction. Over a period from late OC to late MdC (900-1800), there is no significant decline in the occurrence frequency of postverbal PPs though postverbal PPs were more and more unlikely to be used to mark location/source as well as the comparative construction. In the meanwhile, preverbal PPs seem to show a steady rise, especially from early MdC. Sun (1996) argues that the new parameter was not set at that time because postverbal PPs were still used in marking location/source and the comparative. Sun suggests that the new parameter [V'+adjunct] -> [adjunct+V'] was set in late MdC (1900), which is shown in the Table when the frequency of postverbal PPs dropped to less than 30%, whereas that of preverbal PPs rose to about 80%.

Lightfoot (1979, 1991) holds that changes such as a new parameter setting are "catastrophic in nature" (Lightfoot 1991:166). He regards categorial reanalysis as "a sudden, cataclysmic, wholesale restructuring" (Lightfoot 1979:122) and as a consequence of the Transparency Principle (Lightfoot 1979:114) that explains why radical re-analysis takes place. The basic idea is that there are mainly two phases in diachronic changes. During the first phase, a number of unrelated changes occur simultaneously to the effect that the existent structures become more and more opaque. However, there is "a tolerance level" for such "opacity". Once it is reached, a radical re-analysis takes place. This forms the second phase during which the initial structures become more and more "transparent, easier to figure out and 'closer' to their respective surface structures" (Lightfoot 1979:129). The occurrence of the re-analysis is predicted by the Transparency Principle.

Lightfoot draws evidence from the changes that happened to auxiliary verb constructions in early Modern English. He argues that "in Old English *can, could, may might, must, shall, should, will, would, do, did* behaved exactly like normal verbs" (Lightfoot 1982:159). However, by Early Modern English (early 1600) changes had occurred. Certain constructions such as question inversion, negative without *do*, verbs like *can* or *may* used as transitive verbs taking NP complements or *to*-infinitive complements disappeared all of sudden simultaneously. This invites a reanalysis of a subset of the main verbs such as *may*, *can*, *shall*, *do*, etc., as a new category: Aux. He argues that this process was complete by Early Modern English.

Lightfoot's (1979, 1991) view has been challenged in some fundamental ways from the perspective of grammaticalization. Hopper and Traugott (1993) argue that "changes are shown to be gradual" (Hopper & Traugott 1993:207). There is evidence from the development of object marking in Persian for instance. In Modern Persian, there is a suffix *-râ* on the direct object of the verb as shown in (138):

137) Ketâb-râ mi-xân-ad.

book-ACC CONTIN-read-3SG

'He's reading the book.'

(Bossong 1985:63 cited in Hopper & Traugott 1993:158)

The evolution of this suffix can be traced back to Old Persian (700BC) when a noun *râdiy* 'goal, purpose' was used as an object marking postposition. This noun form was then reduced to *-raδ* and became a postposition in Middle Persian marking dative-benefactive object. It was occasionally used to mark definite accusative objects but never used to mark indefinite objects. The suffix *-râ* was first used as a definite accusative marker in New Persian (from 900 on). According to Bossong (1985), the

grammaticalization of *-râ* into an object marking suffix was complete by Classical New Persian (1200-1400), during which *-râ* is used in marking all dative and dative-like objects (benefactive, possessive, experiencer) as well as all definite accusative objects. In Modern Persian, *-râ* has become further grammaticalized such that it can be used on a wider range of NPs whether they are animate or definite though its use on dative-like indirect objects has dropped out. Now, except for some fossilised expressions, *-râ* is used on direct objects only. According to Hopper & Traugott (1993), the evolution of object marking in Persian over a period of more than 2,000 years does not seem to contribute to characteristics posited for parameter settings in Lightfoot (1979, 1991).

According to Sun (1993), some postverbal PPs were replaced by different preverbal PPs at different times in a gradual manner over the past 2,000 years in the Chinese language. This provides evidence for Hopper & Traugott's (1993) claim that changes such as a parameter setting are gradual. Sun also claims that the setting of the parameter from [V'+adjunct] -> [adjunct+V'] in Chinese over the last 2,000 years reflects Hopper & Traugott's (1993) unidirectional hypothesis of grammaticalization. It states that "unidirectionality results not from cognitive strategies (Bybee 1985) alone but also from discourse production strategies in which speakers and hearers negotiate communication" (Hopper & Traugott 1993:207). In AC, the postverbal adposition *yu* was used to mark the passive construction as shown in (86) repeated here as (139):

138) Kongzi bu yue **yu** Lu Wei. (AC, *MZ:WZS*)

Kongzi not like by Lu Wei

'Kongzi was disliked by the rulers of the states of Lu and Wei.'

However, when the passive construction was no longer marked by postverbal PPs in late AC and early OC (200BC-AD600), the use of postverbal PPs dropped by about

10%. According to Hopper & Traugott (1993) and Sun (1996), this is due to the fact that the linguistic property that the postverbal PPs in AC demonstrated of identifying the agent in a passive construction no longer served communicative purposes. This therefore resulted in the elimination of this particular property structurally manifested by the positional change of [V'+adjunct] -> [adjunct+V'].

2.7 Summary

In this chapter, two major issues concerning the word order change facts in Chinese have been discussed, i.e., the *ba*-construction and the syntactic positions of PPs in the history of Chinese. And two major analyses of these two issues have been presented. From the development of the *ba*-construction, it is shown that *ba* used to be a verb meaning 'take hold of' in AC. It was then grammaticalized into an adposition marking object in preverbal position in late OC. In MdC, *ba* developed other uses as a marker of attitude, instrument and indirect object in a dative construction. The use of *ba* as an instrument marker declined in late MdC due to the more popular use of *yong/na*, the other two instrument markers, at the time. The grammaticalization of *ba* into a grammatical morpheme is assumed to be complete in early MC (Sun 1996). In MC, *ba* is mainly used as a grammaticalized morpheme marking object in the so-called *ba*-construction.

Li & Thompson (1974) argue that the *ba*-construction presents a new word order in MC and leads to the language becoming SOV. However, strong evidence has been presented to show that the *ba*-construction is not an unmarked word order in Chinese, as it is highly constrained by requirements for the definiteness of the *ba*-NP and constraints on the types of verbs that can be used, etc. I have listed eleven types of existent SVO sentences in MC to show that the *ba*-construction can hardly be

compatible with any of them. Coupled with the fact that complex constructions in MC are rigidly SVO, there is hardly any evidence in support of Li & Thompson's (1974) word order change hypothesis for the Chinese language.

Sun (1996) argues that the *ba*-construction is a replacement of the *yi*-construction in AC. However, Peyraube (1988) observes that when the *ba*-form began to be used, the *yi*-form was already out of use apart from in the literary texts. Therefore, it does not seem possible for the *yi* form to serve as an analogical model for the *ba*-construction. Sun (1996) further argues that *ba* is a high transitivity marker. Again, there seems to be some problem. For example, the high transitivity hypothesis has to be reconsidered in order to explain why *zai*, a progressive marker, can be used with the *ba*-construction.

I have proposed an analysis for the *ba*-construction. It states that telicity is a necessary condition on verbs allowed in the *ba*-construction. I suggest that this condition is first acquired in late OC when the main verb in the *ba*-construction started to take on NP objects, PP complements in late OC and verbal particles in MdC. This necessary condition on the verb in the *ba*-construction is established in early MdC when the verb started to take aspect markers such as the perfective *-le*. It has been shown that the telicity analysis is superior to Sun's high transitivity analysis in two ways. It makes it possible to account for the fact that pure intransitives are incompatible with the *ba*-construction in a straightforward manner. It also offers a better explanation for a pair of sentences displaying a contrast in grammaticality as shown in (80-81), first observed in Tai (1984) and then discussed in Sun (1996). The telicity analysis also offers better account than Zou's (1993) causer-causee analysis of the so-called causative *ba*-construction in Chinese.

As for the positional changes of PPs in the history of Chinese, especially in discussing the use of some MC adpositions like *zai* in preverbal and postverbal positions, I have proposed an analysis that suggests that the position of PPs in MC is sensitive to a semantic property: telicity. In other words, telic verbs select postverbal PPs of direction whereas atelic verbs select other PPs (cf. Huang 1990). The strong evidence for the claim is that preverbal PPs with *zai* mark location whereas postverbal PPs with *zai* mark direction. The claim also makes it possible to account for the many similar facts related to the position of PPs in MC in a uniform manner. I have therefore come to the conclusion that Chinese shows that complements of various types permit the telecity condition to be satisfied.

Li & Thompson (1974) claim that PPs in AC are predominantly postverbal and PPs in MC are predominantly preverbal. However, the text count by He (1984, 1985) and Sun (1991, 1996) argue convincingly that there is no such a period in the history of Chinese, especially AC, during which PPs are predominantly postverbal, thus rendering Li & Thompson's postverbal hypothesis for PPs in AC untenable. Sun (1996) views the positional changes of some PPs in the history of Chinese as the result of a parameter setting from [V'+adjunct] -> [adjunct+V']. He takes this as evidence against an approach developed in Lightfoot (1979, 1991) and Kroch (1989a, 1989b) that views changes involving parameter settings as "catastrophic in nature" (Lightfoot 1991:166).

CHAPTER 3

POSITIONAL CHANGES OF PPS IN THE HISTORY OF CHINESE

3.1 Introduction

This chapter serves two purposes. On the one hand, one of the main arguments that Li & Thompson hold in support of their word order change hypothesis for Chinese concerns the positional changes of PPs in the history of Chinese. Their basic idea is that PPs in AC are predominantly postverbal and PPs in MC are mostly preverbal. They claim that the word order change in Chinese from SVO to SOV over the past few thousand years has been accompanied by this positional changes of PPs from postverbal position in AC to preverbal position in MC. Since there is ample empirical evidence against their claim, it therefore is necessary to devote a chapter to the issue. On the other hand, it is known that one of the generalisations made about SVO languages is that they are prepositional (Greenberg 1963; Hawkins 1980, 1983; Dryer 1991). It is also known (Dryer 1991) that 77% of SVO languages are prepositional whereas 93% of SOV languages postpositional. It therefore would be of significance to present new findings from an original quantitative analysis I have made that show that Chinese has been consistently prepositional (Dryer 1991; cf. Greenberg 1963; Hawkins 1983).

This chapter is organised in the following manner. In Section 2, I follow Li (1991) in establishing that a word class called 'localizer'(Chao 1968) in Chinese are nominal expressions used to change a common noun into a place/time noun. Then the results from an original text count I have conducted will be presented of the historical

texts in different periods of Chinese history in terms of the distribution of prepositional and postpositional PPs over the past 2,500 years. The findings constitute strong evidence for the claim that Chinese has always been prepositional (Dryer 1991; cf. Greenberg 1963; Hawkins 1983). In Section 3, following the line of thoughts in Sun (1996) [1], a more systematic examination of distrubtions of PPs in different stages of the Chinese language will be presented. I basically follow Sun (1996) who argues that the predominant position for PPs in AC (500BC-AD200) is not postverbal (He 1984; Sun 1991) and that there is in fact no predominant position for PPs in that period. However, I depart from him in the following aspects. First, in discussing *yi*, the most frequently used preverbal adposition in AC, Sun (1996) argues that it underwent a lexical replacement process in late OC and early MdC. Ample evidence from the vernacular texts in late MdC (1700) will be presented to show that there could not have been such a process taking place during late OC and early MdC. Second, Sun (1996) claims that as a result of this lexical replacement, *yi* fell out of use in MdC (AD1000-1900) and therefore is no longer in use in MC. Evidence will be shown that in written texts in MC, the preverbal *yi* is still commonly used to mark instrument, manner and cause in preverbal position and to mark instrument, the dative construction and the attitudinal construction in postverbal position (Wang 1980; Lü 1984). Third, attention will be drawn to an unnoticed property of *yi* in a *yi*+V or adj.+*yi*+V form in AC, which invites a reanalysis of *yi* as a purposive marker. In discussing the grammaticalization of the adposition *zai* in late OC and early MdC (AD700-1300), I disagree with Peyraube (1996) who argues that there involved a 'process of lexical unification (between *zhuo*, *zai* > *zai*)'. Arguments will be presented in support of my claim that the lexical unification analysis is implausible.

[1] Also see Sun (1996) for the distributions of PPs in the history of Chinese.

Section 4 is devoted to a discussion of the grammaticalization process the MC adposition *zai* has gone through, which is followed by another section on the establishment of its grammaticalization chains. Section 6 forms a summary.

3.2 Prepositions and postpositions

In order to see whether Chinese is prepositional or postpositinal in recorded history, an original text count has been conducted of the distribution of prepositions and postpositions in the historical texts in different periods of Chinese history. However, before I present the findings, it is worth noting a word class called 'localizer' in Chinese in the following subsection. This discussion is important because the classification of these particles will have impact on the quantitative analysis of the data collected.

3.2.1 Localizers in Chinese

According to Chao (1968), localizers such as *shang* 'on', *xia* 'under', *li* 'in' and *wai* 'outside' usually express the (spatial and temporal) locations of things. He regards them as postpositions because they can be placed after the nominal expressions in a sequence of NP+localizer as shown in (1):

1) a. zuozi *shang*

table on

'on the table'

b. yizi *xia*

chair under

'under the chair'

Li (1991), however, argues that the localizers are not postpositions but nominal expressions. The evidence for her claim is as follows. First, she observes that

NP+localizer expressions share distributional properties with NPs rather of PPs. For instance, they can occur in subject, object and [__*de* N] positions as the localizer *xia* 'under' in (2) shows. *De*, unglossed, is a relative marker and the dash indicates the position where NP+localizer expressions can occur.

2) a. yizi-*xia* hen ganjing. subject

chair-under very clean

'It is very clean under the chair.'

b. ni xian jiancha yizi-*xia*. object

you first examine chair-under

'You examine the area under the chair first.'

c. yizi-*xia* de mao [__*de* N]

chair-under DE cat

'the cat under the chair'

(Li 1991:4)

Li points out that the occurrence of NP+localizer in the [__*de* N] position is revealing because the [__*de* N] position is where PPs are not allowed. This can be shown in (3).

3) a. *[dui ta] de hua

to him DE words

'words to him'

b. dui ta shuo de hua

to him say DE words

'words said to him' (Li 1991:5)

Second, she observes that if the NP+localizer is used as an adjunct denoting location or time, then the preverbal locative adposition *zai* has to be used. Examples in (4) illustrate this.

4) a. *ta bu neng jia-*li* gongzuo.

he not can home-in work

b. ta bu neng **zai** jia-*li* gongzuo.

he not can at home-in work

'He cannot work at home.'

Li (1991) thus concludes that localizers in Chinese are not postpositions and they are used to change a common noun into a place noun. The NP-localizer expressions are thus NPs not postpositional phrases.

I will present more evidence here in favour of Li's claim. According to Chao (1968:621), localizers in Chinese are "substantive in form". They can be used on their own and occur in positions where NPs are found. There are three pieces of evidence for this. First, the localizers *shang* 'up' and *xia* 'under' in (5) and *zuo* 'left' and *you* 'right' in (6) can act as the subject of a sentence.

5) *shang* you tiantang *xia* you Su Hang.

up has heaven below has Suzhou Hangzhou

'Above there is heaven; below there are Suzhou and Hangzhou.'

6) *zuo* ye bu shi *you* ye bu shi.

left also not is right also not is

'Neither the left nor the right is all right' -- 'There is no pleasing him.'

(Chao 1968)

Second, they can be used to modify nouns as shown by the use of *wai* 'outside' in (7a) and *nei* 'inside' in (7b) before *ren* 'person'. Examples in (8) show that ordinary nouns like *yingyu* 'English' in (8a) and *shu* 'book' in (8b) have the same behaviour.

7) a. ta bu shi *wai* ren.

he not is outside person

'He is not an outsider.'

b. ta shi Zhangsan de *nei* ren.

she is Zhangsan REL inside person

'She is Zhangsan's wife.'

8) a. ta shi *yingyu* laoshi.

he is English teacher

'He is an English teacher.'

b. zhe shi tade *shu* zhuo.

this is his book desk

'This is his writing desk.'

Third, like nouns, they can be preceded by relative clauses introduced by relative markers such as *zhi* in (9) and by adpositions such as *yi* in (10).

9) shi gongli *zhi wai*.

ten kilometre REL outside

'an area ten kilometres away'

10) wu nian *yi* *nei*

five year with inside

'within five years'

Since localizers do not have the behaviour and distribution of PPs, but rather, display nominal behaviour, it is correct to treat them as nouns. It, therefore, is more plausible to follow Li (1991) and maintain that localizers in Chinese are not postpositions but nouns and their post-nominal use changes a common noun to a place or time noun. Therefore, a sequence of NP+localizer will not be treated as an instance of a postpositional phrase and included in the text count of postpositions for reasons given above. For instance, the adposition *yi* in examples like (11) and (12) will be treated as a postposition used in preverbal position.

11) jang he *yi* zhan? (AC, *ZZ*)

commander what with fight

'With what is the commander going to fight?'

'How is the commander going to fight?'

12) ru jang he *yi* shi tian di? (OC, *LZY*)

I will what with see sky earth

'What shall I do to face the world?'

The sequence of '*zai*+NP+localizer' in (13) and (14) will be classified as a PP headed by the preposition *zai* and counted as an instance of a prepositional phrase.

13) Jiashe deng *zai* xi jie men wai. (MdC, *HLM*)

Jiashe wait at west street gate outside

'Jiashe is waiting outside the West Street Gate.'

14) ta yang shui *zai* yao yi shang. (MC, *RS:XW*)

he face-up sleep at rocking chair on

'He is lying face up on the rocking chair.'

So far I have presented two different views on a word class 'localizer' in Chinese. Ample evidence has been illustrated to support Li's (1991) proposal that localizers in Chinese are not postpositions but nouns and their post-nominal use turns a common noun into a place or time noun. This is the approach I take here.

In the next subsection, new findings will be presented from an original text count I have conducted of the distributions of prepositions and postpositions in different periods of the development of the Chinese language.

3.2.2 Distribution of prepositions vs. postpositions

The data that I have collected for the quantitative analysis are taken from vernacular texts representative of four different periods in Chinese history: AC (700BC-AD200), OC (AD200-1000), MdC (1000-1900) and MC (1900-present) respectively. They are listed in Table 3.1.

I have counted the occurrence of prepositions and postpositions in each text and show the results in Table 3.1. For instance, in early AC text *Jinxiangong yu Jinwengong* in *Zuozhuan* (500BC), there are a total of 136 adpositions. Among them, 117 are prepositions and 19 are postpositions, amounting to 86% and 13.9% respectively of the total occurrence of adpositions in the text. The findings in Table 3.1 are summarised in Figure 3.1. The numbering on the left-hand side of Figure 3.1 indicates the percentage. Those at the bottom of the Figure indicate year. The blank area inside the Figure represents the coverage of prepositions whereas the dark area represents the coverage of postpositions. Figure 3.1 shows that Chinese has been consistently prepositional in its recorded history.

Table 3.1 Data sources for the text count of the distribution of prepositions (Prep) and postpositions (Postp) in Chinese history

Historical Period	Year	Source (Names of books in italics)	Prep		Postp	
			No.	%	No.	%
AC	500BC	*Zuozhuan: Jinxiangong yu Jinwengong*	117	86%	19	13.9%
	300BC	*Mengzi: Wanzhang Shang*	127	98.4%	2	1.5%
	100BC	*Shiji 55:Liuhoushijia 25*	141	95.9%	6	4%
	AD200	Chaozhi: *Zeng Baimawangbiao*	19	95%	1	5%
OC	400	Liu Yiqing: *Shishuo Xinyu: Guijian 10*	62	93.9%	4	6%
	600	Luo Bingwang: *Dai Lijingye Chuan Xi Tianxia Wen*	11	91.6%	1	8.3%
	800	Liu Zhongyuan: *Liuhe Dongji 8*	42	93.3%	3	6.6%
	1000	Ouyang Xiu: *Jianglinji Wenji Xu*	22	100%	0	0%
MdC	1100	Li Qingzhao: *Jinshilu Houxu*	33	100%	0	0%
	1300	Feng Menglong: *Yushi Mingyan 12*	79	98.7%	1	1.2%
	1500	Wu Chengen: *Xiyou Ji*	98	98.9%	1	1%
	1700	Cao Xueqin: *Honglou Meng 18*	81	98.7%	1	1.2%
MC	1920	Rou Shi: *Xiwang*	56	100%	0	0%
	1950	Zhao Shuli: *Jinzi*	61	100%	0	0%
	1980	Bing Xin: *Wo daole Beijing*	49	100%	0	0%

From Table 3.1, it can be seen that early AC (500BC) seems to be the only period of Chinese history when postpositions are in common use. Even then, the occurrence of postpositions only shows a 13.9%. From the historical texts investigated, it is found that in late AC, the use of postpositions declined fast. From early OC onwards, there is only occasional use of postpositions for emphatic purposes such as the use of instrumental postposition *yi* 'with' in *he yi* 'what with' meaning 'with what' in

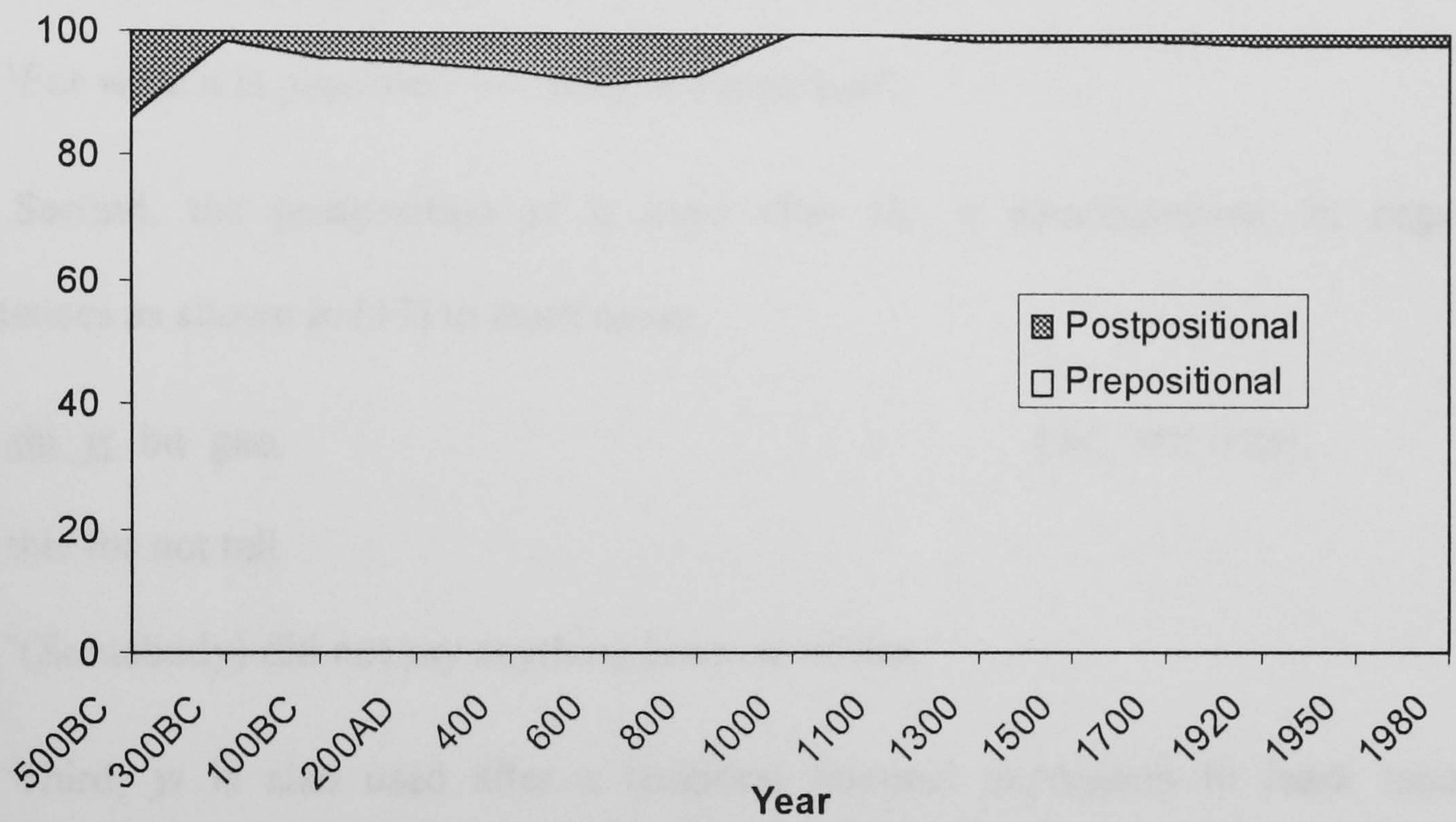


Figure 3.1 Distribution of Prepositions and Postpositions in Different Periods of Chinese History

Shishuo xinyu (*SSXY*), a popular novel in OC.

It is clear from Figure 3.1 that prepositions form absolute majority of the adpositions in all periods of Chinese history. The findings therefore constitute strong evidence for the claim that Chinese has been always prepositional (Dryer 1991; cf. Greenberg 1963; Hawkins 1983).

As observed by Sun (1996), the postpositions occur in preverbal position. They are mainly used in three types of sentences. First, they occur in questions as shown in

(15) and (16) where the postpositions *yi* and *wei* follow the question word *he* 'what'. Postpositional phrases are underlined.

15) he *yi* shi jun? (AC, *ZZ:JXGYJWG*)

what with serve emperor

'With what do I serve Your Majesty?' -- 'How do I serve Your Majesty?'

16) he *wei* er ke? (*ibid.*)

what for and possible

'For what it is possible?' -- 'Why is it possible?'

Second, the postposition *yi* is used after *shi*, a demonstrative, in negative sentences as shown in (17) to mark cause.

17) shi *yi* bu gao. (AC, MZ:*WZS*)

this for not tell

'(Somebody) did not say anything because of that.'

Third, *yi* is also used after a temporal nominal expression to mark time in preverbal position as shown in (18).

18) ruo Jin jun zhao *yi* ru ze bizi xi *yi* si.

if Jin emperor morning at enter then me evening at die

(AC, *ZZ:XG 15th Year*)

'If the Emperor of Jin entered in the morning, then I would die in the evening.'

In late AC, apart from the third use of postpositions in marking time, postpositions are still used in questions and negative sentences. For instance, postpositions *wei* 'for' is used after *he* 'what' in (19) and *suo*, a demonstrative pronoun, in (20) respectively.

19) bi he *wei* zhe. (AC, *SJ:LHSJ*)

you what for person

'What are you?'

20) bu zhi suo *wei*. (*ibid.*)

not know it for

'do not know what for'

The use of postpositions in questions is still found in mid MdC (1300). For instance, the postposition *yi* 'for' is used after *he* 'what' in (21).

21) qing he *yi* du ai ci zuo. (MdC, *YSMY*)

you what for only love this poem

'Why do you love this poem only?'

22) wei qing sheng su gong *yi* si shang.

only diligence carefulness seriousness humbleness with serve majesty

(MdC, *HLM*)

'Serve His Majesty with diligence, carefulness, seriousness and humbleness only.'

The data in Figure 3.1 shows that from late OC and early MdC, virtually no use of postpositions can be found. It can be seen that there is no period in the Chinese history during which postpositions abound. The findings illustrated here provide strong evidence for the claim that Chinese has been prepositional.

In this section, I have reviewed two analyses of the 'localizer' in Chinese. Further evidence has been presented in support of Li's (1991) claim that localizers in Chinese are not postpositions but nominal expressions. The findings from my text count of distribution of prepositions and postpositions in the history of Chinese have

been presented. The data strongly suggests that Chinese has been consistently prepositional. We now turn to a detailed systematic examination of the distribution of PPs in the history of the Chinese language.

3.3 Distribution of *yi* and *yu*

In the following sections, I will concentrate on the distribution of two most frequently used adpositions, *yi* and *yu*, in different periods of Chinese history. Special attention will be given to the position they occupy in relation to the verb. Let us look at *yi* first.

3.3.1 Yi

Yi is one of the most frequently used adpositions in AC. Sun (1996) observes that the distribution of *yi* amounts to 47% (90 out of 193) of the total frequency count of the adpositions in the two texts he investigates (Sun 1996:18). It is also a very flexible adposition so far as its syntactic position is concerned. The *yi*-phrase can occur in both preverbal and postverbal positions. It is mainly used as an adposition that marks instrument. In the following two examples, the same PP of instrument *yi yang* 'with sheep' occurs after the verb in (23) but before the verb in (24). The two examples are taken from the same text and are only eight sentences apart from each other. *Yi* is left unglossed in the following examples.

23) ruo wu zui er jiu si di gu **yi** yang yi zhi.
as-if no crime but go dead place thus YI sheep exchange it

(AC, *MZ:LHWS*)

'It was like putting an innocent man to death; therefore, (I) exchanged it with a sheep.'

24) wu fei ai qi cai er yi zhi **yi** yang ye. (AC, *MZ:LHWS*)

I not love its fortune so exchange it YI Sheep PRT

'I exchanged it with a sheep not because I begrudged the expense.'

Here are some more examples of *yi* as an instrument marker in both postverbal and preverbal positions:

25) Qi Jin gong tian zhao yuren **yi** jing. (AC, *MZ:WZX*)

Qi Jin duke hunt summon gamekeeper YI pennon

'Duke of Jing of Qi went hunting and summoned his gamekeeper with a pennon.'

26) Wen wang **yi** ming li wei tai wei zhao.

Wen emperor YI people labour build tower build pond

(AC, *MZ:LHWS*)

'The Emperor used the labour of people to build his tower and pond.

In marking instrument, the adposition *yi* can be missing as shown in (27-28):

27) zi yu [ ] shou yuan tian-xia hu. (AC, *MZ:LLS*)

master wish [YI] hand help heaven-under Q.

'Do you wish to help the world (with) your hands?'

28) si ma qie mai zhi [ ] wu bai jin kuang shen ma hu.

dead horse still buy it [YI] five hundred gold let-alone live horse Q.

(AC, *ZGC:YC*)

'A dead horse was still bought with five-hundred gold, let alone a live horse.'

There is evidence for the missing adposition *yi* here. Take (27) for example. In the same text, there is a sentence as shown in (29) where *yi* is used as an instrument marker. From (29), (27) can be reconstructed to be (30) where the missing *yi* can be deduced.

29) tian-xia ni yuan zhi **yi** dao; sao ni yuan zhi

heaven-under drown help it YI virtue sister-in-law drown help her

yi shou. (AC, *MZ:LLS*)

YI hand

'When the world is drowning, help it with promoting virtue; when the sister-in-law is drowning, we can help her with hands.'

30) zi yu **yi** shou yuan tian-xia hu.

master wish YI hand help heaven-under Q.

'Do you wish to help the world with your hands?'

In some cases, the object of *yi* can be dropped. For instance, in (31), from the context, the object of *yi* can be identified with *shen* 'body' but for some reason it is placed immediately after the subject *Zheng*. According to Yang (1955), the second half of (31) can be reconstructed as (32).

31) lao mu zai Zheng shen wei gan **yi** [ ] xu ren ye.

old mother be-alive Zheng body not dare YI promise people PRT

(AC, *SJ:CKLZ*)

'(My) old mother is still alive. That is why Zheng does not dare to promise myself to anybody.'

32) Zheng wei gan **yi** *shen* xu ren ye.

Zheng not dare YI body promise people PRT

'Zheng does not dare to promise myself to anybody.'

Sun (1996) observes that *yi* in preverbal position is also used as a postposition marking instrument as in (33) and time in (34).

33) Chu zanshi wu bu yi **yi** dang shi. (AC, *SJ:XYBJ*)

Chu soldier no not one YI regard ten

'Every fighting soldier from the State of Chu was equal to ten.'

34) ruo Jin jun zao **yi** ru ze bizi xi **yi** si.

if Jin emperor morning YI enter then female-servant evening YI die

(AC, *ZZ:XG 15th Year*)

'If the Emperor of Jin entered in the morning, then I, your servant, would die in the evening.'

Following Yü (1987), Sun (1996) attributes the occurrence of postpositions in AC to the word order of the Sino-Tibetan languages. DeLancey (1987) observes that Tibeto-Burman languages are basically SOV and postpositional except for Karen. It follows that the Proto-Sino-Tibetan, a member of the Tibeto-Burman group, is SOV and postpositional. Sun therefore treats postpositions in AC as remnants of the older SOV order in Sino-Tibetan syntax. I hold a different view (see Section 5.7 for detail).

Yi in AC also has many derived uses. In preverbal position, *yi* can be used to mark time, cause, manner and accompaniment.

35) Wen **yi** wu yue wu ri sheng. (AC, *SJ:MCJLZ*)

Wen YI five month five date born

'Wen was born on the 5th of May.' (time)

36) Guan fu **yi** ci ming wen tian xia. (AC, *SJ:WQWAHLZ*)

Guan person YI this name known heaven under

'Guan is well-known all over the world because of this.' (cause)

37) junzi bu **yi** yan ju ren bu **yi** ren fei yan.

gentleman not YI word recommend man not YI man dismiss word

(AC, *LY:WLG*)

'The gentleman does not recommend a man on account of what he says, neither does he dismiss what is said on account of the speaker.' (manner)

38) Gongzhiqi **yi** qi zu qu Yu. (AC, *SJ:JSJ*)

Gongzhiqi YI he clan go Yu

'Gongzhiqi led his clansmen to Yu.' (accompaniment)

Peyraube (1996) observes that the preverbal *yi* is also used to mark the direct object in what he calls the 'dative construction' in the sequence of 'S+*yi*+DO+V+IO' (DO stands for direct object and IO for indirect object) (also Yang 1955; Lü 1966; Sun 1996). I will use this term in the following discussion. This dative construction involves verbs like *yu* 'give', *gao* 'tell', *bao* 'report', *yu* 'speak' and *ci* 'bestow', etc. that are subcategorised for two objects. The direct object can be marked by *yi* in preverbal position. This is illustrated in (39-40).

39) tianzi bu neng **yi** tian xia yu ren. (AC, *LY:XJ*)

emperor not can YI heaven under give man

'The Emperor cannot give the Empire to a man.'

40) yushi Xiangbo ju **yi** Peigong yan bao Xiang wang.

then Xiangbo all YI Peigong words report Xiang emperor

(AC, *SJ:XYBJ*)

'Then Xiangbo reported all that Peigong said to Emperor Xiang.'

In fact, *yi* as a direct object marker is not obligatorily preverbal. It can be placed postverbally as the first half of the following sentence shows:

41) wang yu Bao **yi** hao yue Bao wei you **yi** dui.

emperor speak Bao YI fond music Bao not have YI answer

(AC, *MZ:LHWX*)

'The Emperor told Bao his fondness for music and Bao did not have anything to say.'

Notice that there is another *yi* in the second half of sentence (41). Sun (1996) takes it as an adposition that has a zero "anaphora" (Sun 1996:19) which is co-referential with the object of the postverbal *yi* in the first half of the sentence. However, a closer look at the preverbal *yi* in the second half of the sentence would reveal an unnoticed property of this *yi*. It is followed by the verb *dui* 'answer' and seems to be playing a similar role that the infinitival marker *to* in English does in introducing a purposive clause like 'to comfort her' in *He said this to comfort her.* There are actually many occurrences of this kind of *yi*-V form in AC. For example, in (42), *yi* is followed by a non-finite clause and introduces a purposive clause *yi fa Guo* 'to attack the State of Guo':

42) Jin ren yi Cuiji zhi bi yu Qucan zhi cheng xie dao yu Yu **yi** fa

Jin man with Cuiji REL jade and Qucan REL horse borrow road to Yu YI attack

Guo.

Guo

(AC, *MZ:WZS*)

'Jin offered the jade of Cuiji and horses of Qucan in exchange for permission to send troops through the territory of Yu to attack the State of Guo.'

The reanalysis of *yi* as a purposive marker can be further supported by the occurrence of a sequence of 'adj.+*yi*+V' form, for instance, in the following examples in AC and OC:

43) zhong pan qin li nan **yi** ji ye.

mass rebel friends leave difficult YI help PRT

(AC, *ZZ:Y4*)

'The masses are in rebellion and my friends are deserting me, it is difficult to help.'

44) tianzi you yi wei wang wang-taihou yi fu Han,

emperor again with become king queen-mother already attach Han

du Lujia wei luan, bu zu **yi** xing bing,

only Lujia become rebel not enough YI gather army

yu shi Zhuangcan yi er qian ren wang shi.

wish dispatch Zhuangcan yi two thousand person go use

(AC, *SJ:NYLZ*)

'Again, because the Queen mother has already surrendered to Han and Lujia is in rebellion, the Emperor is not powerful enough to start a war. He therefore wants to send Zhuangcan there with two thousand men.'

45) yuan yi tan shang tian mao cai **yi** huan huo.

wish with pond upon field business wealth YI alleviate disaster

(OC, *LZY:GMTJ*)

'(I) wish to allieviate the disaster with my business and wealth on the Pond.'

The reanalysis seems to be plausible for two reasons. First, the frequent occurrences of *yi*+VP and adj.+*yi*+VP in AC forced this reanalysis to take place. Second, the fact that the object of *yi* can be dropped as shown above leaves *yi* stranded before the verb, which makes it possible for the emergence of the *yi*-VP form as illustrated above. The reanalysis of *yi* as a purposive marker also reveals another new property of *yi*, that of being a purposive marker introducing a non-finite purposive clause in AC.

The purposive marker *yi* has survived into MC and is still used in written texts. This can be illustrated by the following example from MC:

46) women yingai tuanjie pengyou **yi** gongji zhenzhengde diren.

we must unite friends YI attack genuine enemy

'We must unite our friends to attack our genuine enemies.'

(Lü 1984:540)

Yi in preverbal position can also be used with the verb *wei* 'regard, consider' to mark an attitudinal construction in the form of '*yi* ... *wei*...' in AC as shown in (47-48) meaning 'consider someone or something to be' or 'regard someone or something as'.

47) Yao **yi** bu de Shun **wei** ji you. (AC, *MZ:TWGS*)

Yao YI not get Shun regard self worry

'Yao's only worry was that he should fail to find someone like Shun.'

48) Xiang ri **yi** sha Shun **wei** shi. (AC, *MZ:WZS*)

Xiang day YI kill Shun regard matter

'Xiang devoted himself everyday to plotting against Shun's life.'

In OC (AD200-1000), *yi* is still commonly used in preverbal position as a marker of instrument, time, manner, cause and the comparative as shown below:

49) Huan **yi** shou jin yan lei. (OC, *SSXY:RD*)

Huan YI hand towel cover tears

'Huan wiped away his tears with his handkerchief.' (instrument)

50) Weixima **yi** Yongjia liu nian sang. (OC, *SSXY:SS*)

Weixima YI Yongjia six year die

'Weixima passed away in the sixth year of Yongjia.' (time)

51) Minggongfang **yi** xiao zhi tian xia. (OC, *SSXY:RD*)

Minggongfang YI filial-devotion rule heaven under

'Minggonfang rules the kingdom with filial devotion.' (manner)

52) shi **yi** ci ding Hua Wang shi you li. (OC, *SSXY:DX*)

world YI this determine Hua Wang REL good bad

'The society determined the relative merits of Hua and Wang by this incident.'

(cause)

53) shi lun **yi** Ying bi Dengbodao. (OC, *SSXY:PZ*)

current discussion YI Ying compare Dengbodao

'The current account compared Ying to Dengbodao.' (comparative)

Bennett (1981) observes that in early OC (AD200-500), the preverbal *yi* is used to mark the theme object in a spatial construction as shown in (54):

54) jia ren chang **yi** qin zhi lingchuang shang. (OC, *SSXY:SS*)

family people often YI zither place spirit-bed on

'Members of the family often placed a zither on the bier.'

Yi as an instrument marker can also occur in postverbal position in OC as shown in (55):

55) Huan ji shang **yi** er bi. (OC, *SSXY:YY*)

Huan immediately reward YI two female-slave

'Huang immediately rewarded (him) with two female slaves.'

The *yi*...*wei* form continued to be used in marking the attitudinal construction in OC as shown in (56-57):

56) yi **yi** he **wei** ti yi **yi** gan **wei** ti.

change YI what regard theme change YI feeling regard theme

(OC, *SSXY:WX*)

'What is the main theme of the Book of Changes? Feeling is the main theme of the Book of Changes.'

57) cheng wen wang zhe **yi** tian xia **wei** jia.

your-servant hear emperor person YI heaven under regard home

(OC, *SSXY:YY*)

'Your servant has heard that emperors take the world as their home.'

Sun (1996) observes that in late OC (AD700-1000), two different preverbal adpositions *ba* and *jiang* were used in replacement of *yi* (cf. Ohta 1958; Her 1990). *Jiang* is used to mark the instrument in (58) and to mark the direct object in (59); in (60), *ba* is used with the verb *wei* 'regard' to mark an attitudinal construction:

58) **jiang** mao sai kou. (OC, *HYZ*)

JIANG hat fill mouth

'... stuff the mouth with the hat.'

59) mo **jiang** tian-nu yu shamen (OC, *BW*)

not JIANG heaven-girl give monk

'Do not give the monks the beauties.'

60) bian **ba** jiangshan **wei** ji you. (OC, *QYD*)

then BA river-hill regard self possess

'Then, (somebody) regards the land as his possession.'

(Sun 1996:21)

In early MdC (1300-1400), *ba* and *jiang* are further replaced by two other adpositions *na* and *yong* marking an instrument in preverbal position. The following examples are from Ohta (1958):

61) wo **na** yikuai zhuantou da-de na gou jiao. (MdC, *KTJ:1*)

I NA one brick hit-obtain that dog bark

'I hit the dog with a brick till it barked.'

62) **na** na da bangzi zhuoshide da shang yiqian xia.

NA that big stick really hit up one-thousand time

(MdC, *ZBE:2*)

'Really beat up (something) with that big stick.'

Sun (1996) therefore comes to the conclusion that there were lexical replacements of *yi* by *ba* and *jiang* in late OC and then by *na* and *yong* in early MdC. As a result, the *yi*-form declined in OC and fell out of use in MdC and therefore no longer exists in MC.

3.3.2 Problems with the lexical replacement analysis

The lexical replacement analysis seems dubious for three reasons. First of all, if there had been lexical replacements in late OC and early MdC, we wouldn't expect to find the predominant use of *yi* as an instrument marker in the vernacular texts in late MdC (1700), almost half a century after the so-called lexical replacements had taken place. The evidence comes from *Xingshi henyan* (*XSHY*), a popular novel written during that period. In Episode Four, there are sixteen occurrences of instrumental PPs, out of which nine (= 56%) are marked by *yi* as exemplified in (63-64), five marked by *ba* as in (65), only one by *jiang* as in (66) and one marked by *yong* as in (67):

63) Qiuxian ... yu you xi zhi **yi** zu fu zhi.

Qiuxian meet have drooping branch YI bamboo support it

(MdC, *XSHY:4*)

'When Qiuxian saw any drooping branches, he would support them with a bamboo stick.'

64) ge fa **yi** da gong. (MdC, *XSHY:4*)

every punish YI big wine-vessel

'Everyone got punished with a big wine-vessel.'

65) na puoluo hu ... **ba** ni jia nie ge genger hong ta.

that poor household BA soil fake mould a root fool he

(MdC, *XSHY:4*)

'Some poor people faked a pot plant with soil to fool him.'

66) xiao zi jiu **jiang** zhe hua quan ta. (MdC, *XSHY:4*)

small son then JIANG this word persuade he

'I then persuaded him with these words.'

67) Qiuxian ... zai **yong** cha jiu jiao dian. (MdC, *XSHY:4*)

Qiuxian ... again YONG tea wine spray offer-sacrifice

'Qiuxian ... also sprayed and offered sacrifice with tea and wine.'

Yi in (63) is placed in preverbal position. In (64), the transitive verb *fa* 'punish' is used in a passive sense with the postverbal *yi* used to mark instrument. Examples like (63-67) suffice to show that there couldn't have been such processes of lexical replacements ever taking place during late OC and early MdC so far as the use of adposition *yi* is concerned.

Second, although in late OC, *ba* and *jiang* were used to mark instruments, they did not replace *yi* as instrument markers. Their use as instrument markers was probably independent of the development of *yi* for two reasons. On the one hand, their use in marking instruments declined very fast. For instance, *jiang* was replaced by two other adpositions *na* and *yong* in early MdC. On the other hand, as I showed in Chapter two, in late OC the serial verbs *ba* and *jiang* started to be grammaticalized into adpositions marking the direct object; see (6) in Chapter two. This may explain why these two adpositions are no longer used to mark instruments in MC.

Third, in written texts in MC, the preverbal *yi* is still commonly used as an instrument marker in preverbal position (Wang 1980) as shown in the following examples.

68) **yi** tudi feng gei nongming.

YI land divide to peasant

'Share out the land among the peasants.' (Wang 1980:336)

69) women yao **yi** shiji xingdong jiuyuan zai qu renming.

we must YI realistic deed rescue disaster area people

'We must help the people in disaster areas with our own deeds.'

70) ta bu gai **yi** jia luan zhen.

he not must YI fake mix genuine

'He shouldn't mix the genuine with the spurious".'

Lü (1984) observes that in MC, *yi* is still used to mark manner as in (71) and cause as in (72):

71) pingjun mei hu **yi** si kou ren jisuan.

average every household YI four mouth people count

'An average household is counted as having four people.'

72) Anhui Qimen xian **yi** sheng can hong cha zhuming.

Anhui Qimen county YI abundant produce red tea famous

'The Qimen Country in Anhui (China) is well known for producing abundant black tea.'

Recall that in AC, the preverbal adposition *yi* can also be used to mark the direct object in a dative construction in a sequence of 'S+*yi*+DO+V+IO' as shown in (39-40), as observed by Peyraube (1996). Lü observes that in MC, *yi* can still be used to mark the direct object of verbs of giving. But the *yi*-phrase must be placed in postverbal position in a sequence of 'S +V(give)+IO+*yi*+DO '. This is illustrated in (73).

73) a. tamen gei qinluezhe **yi** zhimingde daji.

they give invader YI deadly blow

'They gave the invaders a deadly blow.'

b. *tamen **yi** zhimingde daji gei qinluezhe.

they YI deadly blow give invader

Yi can also be omitted. As a result, the sentence becomes a double-object construction without any overt markers (Lü 1984:539) as shown in (74):

74) tamen gei qinluezhe zhimingde daji.

they give invade deadly blow

'They gave the invaders a deadly blow.'

It is further observed that when used with monosyllabic verbs such as *wei* 'circle' and *chen* 'multiply', *yi* marks an instrument in postverbal position:

75) si zhou wei **yi** hong qiang.

four surrounding circle YI red wall

'The area is surrounded with red walls.'

76) liu cheng **yi** wu dengyu sanshi.

six multiply YI five equal thirty

'Six times five is thirty.'

The preverbal *yi*, together with the verb *wei* 'regard', is still used to mark the attitudinal construction meaning 'regard ... as' as shown in (77):

77) zhe men kecheng **yi** jiangzuo **wei** zhu.

this CL course YI lecture regard main

'This course is mainly composed of lectures.'

Na and *yong*, on the other hand, as markers of instrument, are more frequently used in the spoken language in MC as in (78). But unlike *yi*, *na* and *yong* can only occur in preverbal position as the ungrammaticality of sentence (b) shows.

78) a. zhe keyi **na/yong** chi liang.

this may NA/YONG ruler measure

'This can be measured with a ruler.'

b. *zhe keyi liang **na/yong** chi.

this may measure NA/YONG ruler

The above three arguments suffice to show that the use of *yi* was never discontinued in late OC (AD700-1000) and early MdC (1300-1400) and that the lexical replacement hypothesis is unnecessary. The fact that the adposition *yi* has always been productive can be further supported by Sun's (1996) frequency count of the use of *yi* in historical texts in different periods. His findings show that a

remarkable 29% of all adpositions are *yi* in early MdC in contrast with 14% around late AC (100BC) and 24% around mid OC (AD500). Nonetheless, the usage of *yi*, or distribution, is somewhat more limited in MC.

From the distribution of *yi* in different periods of Chinese history, it is clear that the postverbal position is far from being the only position for PPs in AC. It is also clear that the preverbal position for PPs is not a new phenomenon in MC but has always been available in the history of the Chinese language. I now turn to the most frequently used adposition in AC, *yu*, in the next section.

3.3.3 Yu

There are in fact two different adpositions *yu* in AC (700BC-AC200): yu_2 (with three strokes in written form) and yu_3 (with eight strokes). It is generally acknowledged (Wang 1958) that yu_2 was the older form of yu_3. In the oracle bone scripts in Pre-AC (before 700BC), only yu_2 was used. In AC, yu_2 and yu_3 were both used to mark location as in (79-80), time as in (81-82), and in the passive construction 'S+V+*yu*+NP' marking location and agent as in (83-84):

79) Shun liu Gongong **yu_2** Youzhou. (AC, *MZ:WZS*)

Shun exile Gonggong at Youzhou

'Shun exiled Gonggong to Youzhou.'

80) chen bu gan zai zhi **yu_3** shu. (AC, *SJ:FSCZLZ*)

subject not dare write it in book

'I do not dare to write it in the book.'

81) wo shi ke zhi **yu_2** jinri xiu. (AC, *SHJ:JS*)

I therefore can achieve to today happy

'I, therefore, have achieved so much and be so happy today .'

82) zi **yu$_3$** shi ri ku ze bu ge. (AC, *LY:SE*)

master on that day cry so not sing

'The Master cried on that day so he did not sing.'

83) Liwang liu **yu$_2$** Zhi. (AC, *XZ:CX*)

Liwang exile at Zhi

'Liwang was exiled at Zhi.'

84) Bao jian **yu$_3$** wang. (AC, *MZ:LHWX*)

Bao see by emperor

'Bao was received by the Emperor.'

Example (85) shows the two *yu*s used in a parallel manner. They both mark location in postverbal position.

85) Yi zhang **yu$_3$** Chu you xue **yu$_2$** Qin. (AC)

Yi grow-up at Chu travel study at Qin

'Yi was born in Chu and travelled and studied in Qin.'

It is observed that wherever *yu*$_2$ is used, *yu*$_3$ can be used, too. But *yu*$_3$ developed some other uses where *yu*$_2$ can not appear. For instance, *yu*$_3$ can be used in a comparative construction 'S+Adj.(Adjective)+*yu*+NP' but *yu*$_2$ can not. This is shown in (86-87):

86) Ji shi fu **yu$_3$** Zhou gong. (AC, *LY:XJ*)

Ji family rich than Zhou duke

'Ji family is richer than the duke of Zhou.'

87) ke zheng meng **yu$_3$** hu ye. (AC, *LJ:TG*)

severe government fierce than tiger PRT

'Severe government is worse than a tiger.'

Although there are cases in which *yu*$_2$ cannot be used, *yu*$_2$ and *yu*$_3$ basically are identical in meaning wherever they occur. Therefore I will use *yu* only in the following discussion.

Yu is a multi-functioned adposition. It is the most frequently used adposition in AC (700BC-AD200). It can be used to mark location, time, cause, manner, goal, attitude, object, source, and goal. It can also be used in passive, comparative, and double-object constructions. In most cases, the *yu*-phrase occurs in postverbal position though there are preverbal occurrences in some cases. According to Sun (1996), the use of *yu* in postverbal position actually constitutes the absolute majority of the postverbal PPs in AC. Let us look at the postverbal usage of *yu* first. *Yu* will be left unglossed in the following examples.

3.3.3.1 The postverbal use of *yu*

The postverbal *yu* can be used to mark location in (88), object in (89), cause in (90), manner in (91), goal in (92) and recipient in (93):

88) Qi Xuan wang jian Mengzi **yu** xue gong. (AC, *MZ:LHWX*)

Qi Xuan emperor see Mengzi YU snow palace

'The Emperor Xuan of Qi met Mengzi in the Snow Palace.'

89) Zhao qi gan liu bi er dezui **yu** dawang hu?

Zhao how dare keep jade and offend YU emperor Q.

(AC, *SJ:LPLXRLZ*)

'How could the State of Zhao dare to retain the jade and offend the Emperor?'

90) Qi shi Guanzhong ping Xu **yu** Zhou. (AC, *SJ:QTGSJ*)

Qi send Guangzhong suppress Xu YU Zhou

'Qi sent Guangzhong to put down Xu for Zhou.'

91) junzi yu na **yu** yan er min **yu** xing. (AC, *LY:LR*)

gentleman wish halt YU speech and quick YU action

'Gentlemen wish to be halting in speech but quick in action.'

92) he nei xiong ze yi qi min **yu** he dong.

river inside scary then move its people YU river east

(AC, *MZ:LHWS*)

'If (the area) surrounded by the river becomes scary, move the people there to the east of the river.'

93) Gongboliao su Zilu **yu** Jisun. (AC, *LY:XW*)

Gongboliao slander Zilu YU Jisun

'Gongboliao slandered Zilu to Jisun.'

The postverbal *yu* can also be used in the passive construction in a sequence of 'S+V+*yu*+NP.' It is used to introduce agent as shown in (94-95) and to introduce location as shown in (96-97):

94) lao xin zhe zhi ren lao li zhe zhi **yu** ren.

work mind person rule people work muscle person rule YU people

(AC, *MZ:TWGS*)

'Those who use their minds rule; those who use their muscles are ruled.'

95) bing puo **yu** Chengshe di duo **yu** Liu shi. (AC, *HS:JYZ*)

army break YU Chengshe land take YU Liu family

'The army was defeated by Chengshe and the land was seized by Liu's family.'

96) Liwang liu **yu** Zhi. (AC, *XZ:CX*)

Liwang exile YU Zhi

'Liwang was exiled to Zhi.'

97) Zi wei **yu** Kuang. (AC, *LY:ZH*)

master seize YU Kuang

'The Master was seized at Kuang.'

The postverbal *yu* is also used in the comparative construction in the order of 'S+sV (stative verb)+*yu*+NP' in AC as shown in (98-99):

98) Ji shi fu **yu** Zhou gong. (AC, *LY:XJ*)

Ji family rich YU Zhou duke

'Ji is richer than Zhou.'

99) mo liang **yu** mouzi. (AC, *MZ:LLS*)

nothing good YU pupil

'Nothing is more ingenuous than the pupils of one's eyes.'

So far the postverbal use of *yu* has been introduced. In the next subsection we will look at the preverbal use of *yu*.

3.3.3.2 The preverbal use of *yu*

Yu in preverbal position can be used to mark attitude as shown in (100):

100) jin wu **yu** ren ye ting qi yan er guan qi xing.

now I YU people PRT listen his word and observe his behaviour

(AC, *LY:GYC*)

'As to people, now I listen to them but observe what they do.'

Sun (1996) observes that in AC, the preverbal *yu* was also used as a postposition though it was rare. Example (101) shows the postpositional use of preverbal *yu* marking location:

101) yan suo wei shi **yu** nu shi **yu** se. (AC, *ZZ:SG19*)

saying so say room YU anger market YU colour

'As the saying goes: when one gets angry at home, he shows the angry look in public.'

There are also cases where *yu* occurs in both preverbal and postverbal positions. For instance, it has already been shown in (81-82) above that in marking time, the *yu*-phrase can occur in either preverbal or postverbal position. *Yu* in preverbal and postverbal positions can also be used to indicate source as shown in (102-103):

102) Pangmeng xue she **yu** Yi. (AC, *MZ:LLX*)

Pangmeng learn archery YU Yi

'Pangmeng learnt archery from Yi.'

103) **yu** Yu yu gai shi. (AC, *LY:GZZ*)

YU Yu I correct matter

'It is from Yu that I have learned to make this change.'

3.3.4 The decline of *yu*

The use of *yu* began to decline in late AC (200BC- AD200) and early OC (AD200-500). The major pieces of evidence come from the decline of its use in marking location/source and the decline of its use in comparative, passive and double-object constructions.

3.3.4.1 Location/Source

In this section, I basically follow Peyraube's (1996) line of thought. However, in discussing the locative verbs *zai* and *zhuo*, I depart from him in arguing that the lexical unification analysis for the two verbs does not seem necessary. Instead, I

propose that what happens to *zai* and *zhuo* in late OC is actually a lexical replacement process of the latter by the former.

As has been shown, in AC, the adposition *yu* was used to indicate a general location in postverbal position as in (104-105):

104) Penchenghao shi **yu** Qi. (AC, *MZ:JXX*)

Pengchenghao office YU Qi

'Penchenghao took office in Qi.'

105) ba yi wu **yu** ting. (AC, *LY:BY*)

eight rows-of-eight-dancers dance YU courtyard

'Eight rows of eight dancers performed in the courtyard.'

In late AC, the locative *yu* was found to also occur in preverbal position. Peyraube (1996) observes that in late AC and early OC, *yu* showed almost equal distribution in both preverbal and postverbal positions in the Buddhist texts.

106) **yu** kong zhong zuo yinyue (AC, *DXBRJ:TS224*)

YU air in make music

'In the air, (they) made music.'

He also notices that the locative adposition *yu* can be used to indicate a general location in either postverbal or preverbal position as illustrated in (104) and (106). But it is always the postverbal *yu* that was used to indicate a resultative location, for example:

107) wu yu li gong **yu** he bei shi qing yan yu **yu** jiang

I wish establish merit YU river north send you extend reputation YU river

nan.

south

(OC, *SSXY:YY*)

'I wish to establish myself to the north of the Yangtze River and have you extend my reputation to the south of the River.'

However, *yu* was not the only adposition in AC to indicate location. Another adposition *zai* was also used in marking location (Dobson 1962; Huang 1978; Li 1980). *Zai* could occur in both preverbal and postverbal positions as shown in (108-109):

108) zi **zai** Qi wen Shao. (AC, *LY:SE*)

master ZAI Qi hear Shao

'The Master heard the music of Shao at the state of Qi.'

109) Yu wang jian zhi ze geng **zai** ye. (AC, *ZZ:TD*)

Yu go see him then plough ZAI field

'Yu went over to see him and he was ploughing in the field.'

The morpheme *zai* used to be a full lexical verb meaning 'be at' as exemplified in (110-111):

110) Jin hou **zai** wai shijiu nian e. (AC, *ZZ:XG 28th Year*)

Jin duke be-at outside nineteen year PRT

'The Duke of Jin was away from home for nineteen years.'

111) shi cheng **zai** wo. (AC, *MZ:TWGS*)

this indeed be-at me

'It does, indeed, rest with me.'

Peyraube (1996) observes that the grammaticalization of *zai* from a locative verb to a locative adposition did not begin until late OC and early MdC (AD700-1300) when a 'process of lexical unification (between *zhuo*, *zai* > *zai*)' was completed

(Peyraube 1996:185). The lexical unification process involves a locative verb *zhuo* 'attach to or place'. It was used in a serial verb construction 'V(+NP)+*zhuo*+NP'. According to Peyraube (1996), Mei (1988) observes that there were two types of verbs that co-occur with *zhuo*: stative as in (112) and dynamic as in (113):

112) Zhangwen shang xiao zai **zhuo** che zhong ... Wenruo yi xiao
Zhangwen still small carry ZHUO carriage in Wenruo also small
zuo **zhuo** xi qian.
sit ZHUO knee front

(OC, *SSXY:DX*)

'Zhangwen was still young and was carried in the carriage; Wenruo was also young and sat on his knees.'

113) fu mi yi dou song **zhuo** si zhong.
carry-on-the-back rice one bushel deliver ZHUO temple in

(OC, *LDJJ:TS3*)

'(He) carried one bushel of rice on his back and delivered it to the temple.'

According to Mei (1988), when used with a stative verb such as *zai* 'carry' and *zuo* 'sit' as in (112), *zhuo* was identical in meaning to the adposition *zai* 'at' in MC. But when used with a dynamic verb such as *song* 'deliver' as in (113), *zhuo* was similar in meaning to the adposition *dao* 'to' in MC. Peyraube (1996) observes that this postverbal *zhuo*-form did not come into use until early OC and fell out of use in early MdC. During this period of time, *zhuo* and *zai* were both used in marking location with *zhuo* marking resultative location only in postverbal position and *zai* marking general location mostly in preverbal position. Then the use of *zhuo* began to decline and *zai* replaced *zhuo* in marking resultative location in postverbal position in addition to its preverbal use in marking general location. This is assumed to show the

completion of the so-called lexical unification and signals the grammaticalization process of *zai* from a locative verb to a locative adposition.

I depart from Peyraube (1996) in arguing that the lexical unification analysis does not appear very convincing for three reasons. First, *zhuo* as a locative verb did not come into use until early OC while *zai* as a locative verb originated in early AC. It is, therefore, very unlikely that the grammaticalization of *zai* in AC would be hindered by the locative verb *zhuo* in early OC. Second, at the time when *zhuo* began to appear in serial verb constructions in early OC, *zai* was already very commonly used as a locative marker in both preverbal and postverbal positions. This can be supported by Peyraube's text-count study of the mid OC texts, *Shishuo Xinyu*, in which there are 104 occurrences of *zai* as a locative marker with 91 in preverbal position and 13 in postverbal position. By contrast, there were only seven occurrences of *zhuo* in postverbal position in the same text. Finally, according to Peyraube (1996), the locative verb *zhuo* started off as a serial verb and was used as a second verb in a serial verb construction "V(+NP)+*zhuo*". But when *zai* was a locative verb, it was not used in a serial verb construction as examples like (114) show, neither preceded nor followed by any other verb of destination as was the case with *zhuo* (Wei 1993).

114) qian zhang zhi xian ji **zai** bi tan. (OC, *ZTJ:2.088.4*)

thousand piece REL thread store ZAI green pond

'Thousand of pieces of threads are stored in the green pond.'

This, however, does not exclude the possibility that the further evolution of *zai* as a resultative location marker in postverbal position as shown in (114) in OC could occur by analogy to the locative verb *zhuo* which was used in postverbal position to mark a resultative location only.

Therefore, following Peyraube (1996), I propose that *zai*, originally a full lexical verb meaning 'be at' in early AC, became grammaticalized into an adposition replacing *yu* marking general location in preverbal position in mid AC. From late OC (around 1000), it started to be used in postverbal position in replacement of both postverbal *yu* and *zhuo* in marking resultative location. In MC, *zai* is used to mark general location in preverbal position and to mark a resultative location in postverbal position (see my telicity analysis of this fact in Chapter 2).

Now we return to the discussion of decline of *yu*. Although in OC, the use of *zai* as a location marker was developing, the locative *yu* was still very common in both preverbal and postverbal positions, for example,

115) Yu gong bu zhi hu **yu** lie chang jian Qizhuang.

Yu duke not know suddenly YU hunting ground see Qizhuang

(OC, *SSXY:YY*)

'Duke Yu did not know and suddenly saw Qizhuang on the hunting grounds.'

116) Jin Wu di jiang wu **yu** Xuanwu chang. (OC, *SSXY:SJ*)

Jin Wu emperor speak military YU Xuanwu ground

'Emperor Wu of Jin held a military review on the Xuanwu Grounds.'

117) Yin **zai** qie fang shu mian. (OC, *SSXY:YY*)

Yin ZAI concubine room book rest

'Yin was taking a siesta in the apartment of a concubine.'

118) Xuxuandu yin **zai** Yongxing nan you xue zhong.

Xuxuandu live-in-solitude ZAI Yongxing south secluded cave in

(OC, *SSXY:SS*)

'Xuxuandu was living in solitude in a secluded cave south of Yongxing.'

Chao (1958) observes that in OC, the adposition *zai* was used with locative particles such as *zhong* 'middle', *li* 'in or inside', *hou* 'behind', *xia* 'under or below' and *qian* 'front' in forming '*zai* + NP + *zhong* / *li* / *hou* / *xia* / *qian*' phrases in marking different locations. They mean 'in the middle of' as in (119) and 'at the back of' as in (120), for example, which is obviously more specific in identifying location.

119) Xuxuandu yin **zai** Yongxing nan you xue **zhong**.

Xuxuandu hide ZAI Yongxing south secluded cave middle

(OC, *SSXY:SS*)

'Xuxuandu was living in retirement in a secluded cave south of Yongxing.'

120) mu Wang furen **zai** bi **hou** ting zhi. (OC, *SSXY:WX*)

mother Wang lady ZAI wall behind listen it

'The mother, Lady Wang, was behind the wall listening to them.'

It is perhaps due to this fact that a process of lexical replacements of *yu* by *zai* took place. These locative forms headed by *zai* have survived through OC and MdC and are still used in MC.

So far we have discussed the gradual replacements of the adposition *yu* by *zai* in marking location in OC. This process does not seem to involve any change in the syntactic positions of these two PPs: *yu* could occur in both preverbal and postverbal positions and so could *zai*, though the two PPs show slightly different functions with respect to the positions they occupy in the sentence. *Yu* mainly occurred in postverbal position. It could be used to indicate a general location in both preverbal and postverbal position though only postverbal *yu* was used to indicate a resultative location. *Zai* mainly occurs in preverbal position. In preverbal position it is used to indicate a general location whereas in postverbal position it is used to indicate a

resultative location. Peyraube (1996) observes that it was during mid MdC that the lexical replacement of *yu* by *zai* was finally completed.

3.3.4.2 Comparative construction

In postverbal position, *yu* could be used in a comparative construction in the order of 'S+sV(stative verb)+*yu*+NP' in AC as shown in (100-101) repeated here as (121-122):

121) Ji shi fu **yu** Zhou gong. (AC, *LY:XJ*)

Ji family rich YU Zhou duke

'Ji is richer than Zhou.'

122) mo liang **yu** mouzi. (AC, *MZ:LLS*)

nothing good YU pupil

'Nothing is more ingenuous than the pupils of one's eyes.'

Sun (1996) observes that along with *yu*, there existed another adposition *guo* that was used in the comparative construction. So we find examples like (123):

123) You ye hao yong **guo** wo. (AC, *LY:GZC*)

You PRT fond courage GUO I

'You have a greater love for courage than I do.

Yu and *guo* continued to be used in the comparative construction in OC (AD200-1000) as shown in (124) and did not fall out of use until MdC (1000-1900).

124) kuangfei baoju gu dang qing **yu** tian xia zhi bao er.

baskets food so sure light YU heaven under rel. treasure PRT

(OC, *SSXY:YY*)

'Food wrapped and placed in baskets is surely lighter than the treasures in the world.'

Example (125) shows the use of *yu* and *guo* in a parallel manner in late OC in marking the comparative:

125) pin **yu** Yangzi liang san bei, lao **guo** Ronggong liu qi nian.

poor YU Yangzi two three times old GUO Ronggong six seven year

(OC, *BJY*)

'Poorer than Yangzi by two or three times; older than Ronggong by six to seven years.'

This comparative construction was eventually replaced by another comparative construction in MC marked by an adposition *bi* meaning 'in comparison with' in the order of 'S+*bi*+NP+sV' (Peyraube 1989) as shown in (126-127). There are actually two changes involved here. One is that the *yu/guo*-phrase has been replaced by the *bi*-phrase; the other concerns the changes in word order: the *yu/guo*-phrase occurs in postverbal position but the *bi*-phrase occurs in preverbal position:

126) ta **bi** wo you qian.

he BI me have money

'He is richer than me.'

127) Lisi **bi** ta congmin.

Lisi BI him intelligent

'Lisi is more intelligent than him.'

The morpheme *bi* was originally a full lexical verb meaning 'compare' in AC as shown in examples (128-131):

128) yu zhe qie xiu yu she zhe **bi**. (AC, *MZ:TWGX*)

chariot person even ashamed with shoot person compare

'Even a charioteer is ashamed of being compared with an archer.'

129) er he ceng **bi** yu yu Guanzhong. (AC, *MZ:GSCS*)

you what ever compare me with Guanzhong

'Why do you compare me with Guanzhong?'

In fact, *bi* still retains its verbal status in MC as shown in the following examples:

130) rang tamen lia **bi**-yi-**bi**.

let them two compare-one-compare

'Let them two have a match.'

131) wo yao geng ta **bi** xiangqi.

I want and he compare chess

'I want to have a chess game with him.'

From the above examples, it is clear that when *bi* is used as a verb, it can be transitive as in (129) and (131) or intransitive as in (128) and (130). Notice, however, that we don't find instances of the VP headed by *bi* followed by any other VP as in (126) or an AdjP like *congmin* 'clever' as in (127). Therefore, *bi* in (126-127) cannot be a verb. We can also use the perfect aspect marker *-le* to test whether *bi* in (126-127) is an adposition. The aspect marker *-le* can be used after *bi* in (130-1317) because *bi* is a verb as shown in (132-133):

132) rang tamen lia **bi-le**-yi-**bi**.

let them two compare-Asp-one-compare

'They two have had a match.'

133) wo geng ta **bi-le** xiangqi.

I and he compare-Asp chess

'I've had a chess game with him.'

But *-le* cannot occur after *bi* in (126-127) as shown by the ungrammaticality of (134-135). This suffices to show that the preverbal *bi* in (126-127) is no longer a verb.

134) *ta **bi-le** wo you qian.

he BI-ASP me have money

135) *Lisi **bi-le** ta congmin.

Lisi BI-ASP him intelligent

It is, therefore, desirable to reanalyse *bi* in (126-127) as an adposition marking the comparative rather than a verb meaning 'compare'.

In addition, according to Sun (1996), Zheng (1985) observes that in OC, *bi* began to be used as an adposition meaning 'like' in the simile construction, which might serve as a premise for *bi* to be eventually associated with the comparative construction in MC. The evidence comes from the following examples in which *bi* and *tong*, an adposition meaning 'like', were used in a parallel manner introducing similitude.

136) **tong** ke shi yu yin yu qiongjiang **bi** han miao dai

TONG thirsty man desire drink at wine BI dry seedlings await

mu yu chun yu.

wash with spring rain

(OC, *DHBW: 544*)

'(They are) like thirsty men who desire to drink wine, (and) like dry seedlings who await washing in the spring rain.'

3.3.4.3 Passive construction

Since the detailed discussion of the passive construction with the adposition *yu* will be presented in Section 4.2.1, Chapter Four, this subsection gives a brief

summary only. The passive construction with the *yu*-form occurs in a sequence of NP+V+*yu*+NP with the adposition *yu* marking the agent in postverbal position. Its use started to decrease in late AC (200BC-AD200), partly because of the development of other passive constructions in AC and OC and partly because of the two possibilities suggested in Peyraube (1996:175). One is due to the multi-functions of the adposition *yu*, which might cause ambiguity in meanings. The other is the impossibility of dropping the agent of the action in the use of the passive construction with the *yu*-form.

3.3.4.4 Dative construction

In Peyraube (1996), the dative construction in AC is broken down into three types. The first type involves the sequence of 'V+IO+DO' (IO-indirect object; DO-direct object) as shown in (137) with nothing intervening in between IO and DO. The second type involves the sequence of 'V+DO+*yu*+IO' as shown in (138) with the adposition *yu* introducing IO in postverbal position. The third type involves the sequence of '*yi*+DO+V+IO' as shown in (139) with the adposition *yi* marking DO in preverbal position.

137) V + IO + DO

bu neng shi tian [yu zhi tianxia]. (AC, *MZ:WZS*)

not can make heaven give him heaven

'(The sovereign) cannot make Heaven give him the throne.'

138) V + DO + **yu** + IO

tianzi neng [jian ren **yu** tian]. (AC, *MZ:WZS*)

emperor can recommend man YU heaven

'Emperor can recommend a man to Heaven.'

139) **yi** + DO + V + IO

Yao [**yi** tianxia yu Shun]. (AC, *MZ:WZS*)

Yao with world give Shun

'Yao gave the throne to Shun.'

Of the three, only Type 1 is still being used in MC with the main verb being a transitive verb subcategorised for two internal arguments, for example:

140) V + ID + DO

wo [**gei** haizi liwu].

I give child present

'I gave the child a present.'

In this section we discuss the decline of Type 2 only because it is this type of dative construction that involves the adposition *yu* in postverbal position. Type 3 was already dealt with in Section 3.3.1, which is mainly concerned with the adposition *yi*.

According to Sun (1996), the Type-2 dative construction fell out of use around late OC (AD800-1000) and early MdC (1000-1500). Peyraube (1986) observes that its decline could be related to the occurrence of a V+V serial verb construction with the morpheme yu_1 (It is a different character from the adpositions yu_2 and yu_3 discussed in Section 3.3. and has 13 strokes in written form). In AC, yu_1 was used both as a verb meaning 'give' as shown in (141) and as an adposition marking the comitative in postverbal position as shown in (142):

141) Wen gong **yu**$_1$ zhi chu. (AC, *MZ:TWGS*)

Wen duke give him place

'Duke of Wen gave him a place.'

142) jin wang **yu**$_1$ baixing tong le. (AC, *MZ:LHWX*)

today emperor YU people together enjoy

'Today the emperor shares his enjoyment with the people.'

It is observed in Wang (1958) and Peyraube (1986) that in late AC and early OC (206BC-AD220), V+V serial verb constructions began to emerge. One of them involves the verb *yu*$_1$ 'give.' This V+V serial is formed by a verb as the first verb and *yu*$_1$ 'give' as the second verb. For example, the V+V form in (143) consists of *fen* 'divide' as the first verb and *yu*$_1$ 'give' as the second verb. They are then followed by the indirect object *qi nu* 'his daughter' and then the direct object *cai* 'wealth.'

143) er hou **fen** **yu**$_1$ qi nu cai (AC, *SJ:SMXR*)

and thick divide give his daughter wealth

'and generously gave his daughter wealth.'

Also, both verbs in this V+V serial could take objects. In example (144), the first verb *qu* 'fetch' takes the direct object *gu* 'drum' and the second verb *yu*$_1$ 'give' takes the indirect object *zhi* 'him':

144) di ling **qu** gu **yu**$_1$ zhi. (OC, *SSXY:HS*)

emperor order fetch drum give him

'The emperor had someone fetch a drum and gave it to him.'

145) qing jun **yu**$_1$ wo shuo youlai. (OC, *DHBWII*)

please sir YU me say cause

'Would you please tell me why?'

According to Peyraube (1986), in late OC and early MdC, the verb *yu*$_1$ started to go through a grammaticalization process and became a preposition marking

benefactive in preverbal position as in (145). However, this grammaticalization process seems to be very unlikely for two reasons.

First, while *yu*$_1$ was used as a verb of giving in AC, it was also used as an adposition marking the comitative as shown in (146):

146) jing wang **yu**$_1$ baixing tong le. (AC, *MZ:LHWX*)

today emperor YU people together enjoy

'Today the Emperor shares his enjoyment with his people.'

Therefore, the use of *yu*$_1$ as a benefactive marker could well be derived from its comitative usage. Second, there is no drastic change of syntactic position happening here. Both comitative and benefactive usages of *yu*$_1$ share the same preverbal position in the sentence. Therefore, I propose that there does not seem to be any need for a grammaticalization analysis here.

Sun (1996) observes that in early MdC, *yu*$_1$ was replaced by another adposition *gei* in MC occurring in both preverbal and postverbal positions. The morpheme *gei* in MC is both a verb meaning 'give' as shown in (147) and an adposition marking benefative in both postverbal and preverbal positions as in (148) and (149). But when the *gei*-phrase occurs in preverbal position, it has two possible interpretations as the English translation in (149) shows:

147) wo **gei** haizi yiben shu.

I give child one book

'I gave the child a book.'

148) ta da dianhua **gei** Lisi.

he make phone-call GEI Lisi

'He makes phone calls to Lisi.'

149) ta **gei** Lisi da dianhua.

he GEI Lisi make phone-call

a. 'He makes phone calls to Lisi.'

b. 'He makes phone calls for Lisi.

So far I have presented a detailed discussion of the positional changes of two adpositions, *yi* and *yu*, in the history of Chinese over the past 2,000 years. The distributions of the adposition *yi* in different periods show that the preverbal use of PPs is not a new word order in MC but has been available throughout the Chinese history. So far as the adposition *yu* is concerned, although many of its uses are postverbal, it still exhibits preverbal occurrences. This therefore can hardly be used as evidence for Li & Thompson's (1974) claim that PPs in AC are predominantly postverbal. The detailed examination of the distribution of these two most-frequently-used adpositions further supports the view that Chinese has been and is prepositional (Dryer 1991; cf. Greenberg 1963; Hawkins 1980, 1983).

3.4 Grammaticalization of *zai*

This section is intended to show that the development of the morpheme *zai* in MC is a story of grammaticalization. After about 2,000 years of evolution, *zai* still exhibits a great variety of uses that serve different functional purposes. This reflects one of Hopper's (1991) principles of grammaticalization, 'layering', which states that 'Within a functional domain, new layers are continually emerging. As this happens, the older layers are not necessarily discarded, but may remain to coexist with and interact with the newer layers' (Hopper 1991:22).

Recall that the morpheme *zai* used to be a full lexical verb in AC (700BC-AD200). It could be used as an intransitive verb meaning 'be alive' (*Shuowen Jiezi,* 'Shuowen Dictionary' 100BC), and 'exist' (*Guangyun*) as in (150-151):

150) suowei dao wu hu **zai**. (AC, *ZHZ:ZBY*)

so-called way PRT PRT exist

'Where is the so-called Way?'

151) fu **zai** guan qi zhi fu mei guan qi xing.

father be-at observe his ambition father no observe his behaviour

(AC, *LY:XE*)

'Observe what a man has in mind when his father is alive, and observe what he does when his father is dead.'

It could also be used as a verb meaning 'be at', 'lie in', 'greet' and 'inspect' as shown in (152-155):

152) **zai** xia wei er bu you. (AC, *Y:Q:WY*)

be-at below seat and not worry

'(When one) stays in lower position, there is nothing to worry about.'

153) da xue zhi dao **zai** ming ming de. (AC, *LJ:DX*)

great learning REL way lie-in understand clear virtue

'Great learning relies on understanding the genuine virtue.'

154) wu zi du bu **zai** guaren. (AC, *ZZ:XG 26th Year*)

I son alone not greet me

'My son alone didn't greet me.'

155) shi shang bi **zai** shi han nuan zhi jie shi xia wen suo shan.

eat up must inspect see cold warm REL season eat down ask so meal

(AC, *LJ:WWSZ*)

'Those who eat above must inspect what to eat in the cold and warm seasons; those who eat below ask what to have for meals.'

Zai was grammaticalized into an adposition indicating time and location in mid AC (500BC) as shown in (156-157). It could occur in both preverbal and postverbal positions.

156) fan you di mu ming zhe wu **zai** si shi.

all have land herd peasant person work at four time

(AC, *GZ:MM*)

'Those who have land and herds work according to the four seasons.'

157) zi **zai** Qi wen Shao. (AC, *LY:SE*)

master at Qi hear Shao

'The master heard the music of Shao at the state of Qi.'

In late OC (before 1000), *zai* started to be used in postverbal position instead of the postverbal *yu* and *zhuo* to mark resultative location, as presented in the last section. In MdC, *zai* was further grammaticalized into an affix marking progressive aspect. It can be prefixed on the verb and can also be separated from the verb by an adjunct phrase. For instance, in (158) *zai* immediately precedes the verb whereas in (159), in between *zai* and the verb there is a concomitant phrase headed by the adposition *he* 'with'. These two examples are cited in Li (1953:167-8).

158) na Xunmei ruoshi hai **zai** yingkao, xian di liuyi
that Xunmei if still zai take-exam worthy younger-brother look-out
kankan. (MdC)
watch
'If Xunmei was still taking the exam, would you please watch out for me?'

159) tamen shi chui ji luo shen **zai** he ji zhang zhuo de ji liu
they are tie hair naked body ZAI with fast rise Asp REL swift current
jiezhang.
fight (MdC)
'They were all naked with their hair tied up on their heads, fighting against the fast-rising currents.'

Gao (1951) observes that in AC, progressive aspect ("momentary aspect" in Dobson's terminology, 1959) was determined by the use of such markers as *zheng*, *fang*, and *ding* as shown in (160-162). These three markers all carry the meaning of 'at the moment, at present' and will remain unglossed in the following examples.

160) wo si Shen **zheng** yu Tao. (AC, *SJ:WDJ*)
I think Shen ZHENG worry Tao
'I think that Shen is at the moment worried about Tao.'

161) Chen Huan gong **fang** you chong yu wang. (AC, *ZZ:11.3*)
Chen Huan duke FANG have favour to emperor
'Duke Huan of Chen is at the moment in favour with the Emperor.'

162) tian zi chun qiu **ding** sheng. (AC, *HS:JYZ*)
heaven son spring autumn DING prosperous
'The Emperor is now in the prime of manhood.'

In OC, the use of *fang* and *ding* declined but *zheng* was still used before the verb as a progressive marker.

163) chengxiang shang xia yue zhi Shitou kan Yugong.
minister once summer month arrive Shitou visit Yugong
Yugong **zheng** liao shi. (OC, *SSXY*)
Yugong ZHENG handle matter
'In one summer month, the Minister went to visit Yugong at Shitou. Yugong was at that moment busy with his work.'

In MC, the morpheme *zai* has diversified uses with different functions. First, it still retains its use as a full lexical verb. As an intransitive verb, it means 'exist or be alive' (164-165). As a transitive verb it means 'be at or stay at' as in (166) or 'rest with or lie in' as in (167):

164) zhege wenti hai **zai** bing mei you jiejue.
this problem still exist and not have solve
'The problem still exists and is not solved yet.'

165) tade zhufu jiying bu **zai**-le.
his grandpa already not be-alive-Asp
'His grandpa has died already.'

166) tade fumu **zai** nongchun.
his parents stay-at country
'His parents are in the country.'

167) shi **zai** ren wei.
matter rest-with human effort
'Human effort is the decisive factor.'

Second, it can be used as an adposition denoting time (168) and location (169) in either preverbal or postverbal position:

168) nei shi fasheng **zai** qu nian.

that matter happen ZAI last year

'It happened last year.'

169) ta **zai** Beijing chusheng.

he ZAI Beijing born

'He was born in Beijing.'

As shown above, when *zai* is used with a motion verb, it indicates general location in preverbal position but resultative location in postverbal position as shown in (170) and (171):

170) Zhangsan **zai** zhuozi-shang tiao. (location)

Zhangsan at table-on jump

'Zhangsan is jumping on the table.'

171) Zhangsan tiao **zai** zhuozi-shang. (direction)

Zhangsan jump at table-on

'Zhangsan jumped onto the table.'

Lu (1958) observes that when used with stative verbs such as *zuo* 'sit' and *zhu* 'live', the *zai*-phrase also tends to occur in postverbal position and indicates a general location.

172) ta zuo **zai** nar.

he sit at there

'He's sitting over there.'

173) ta zhu **zai** Beijing.

he live at Beijing

'He lives in Beijing.'

Lu further observes that when used with verbs bearing a passive meaning, the *zai*-phrase is also placed in postverbal position but indicates a resultative location.

174) tade shouru dou yong **zai** mai shu shang.

his salary all use at buy book on

'His salary is all spent on buying books.'

175) zi xie **zai** heiban shang.

word write at blackboard on

'Words are written on the blackboard.'

Third, it can also be used as an affix. For instance, it can be used as a progressive aspect marker prefixed on a verb as shown in (176). In this case, it is regarded as an agglutinative affix since it is morphologically bound, though it can occur in the A-not-A form such as *zai-bu-zai* in (177-178):

176) a. ta **zai**-youyong.

he ZAI-swim

'He is swimming.'

b. ta **zai**-bu-**zai**-youyong?

he ZAI-not-ZAI-swim

'Is he swimming or not?'

177) a. ta dangshi **zai**-chang.

he at-that-time ZAI–scence

'He was at the scence at that time.'

b. ta dangshi **zai**-bu-**zai**-chang?

he at-that-time ZAI-not-ZAI-scene

'Was he at the scene at that time or not?'

Zai can also be used with another morpheme in forming verbs as shown in (179-180) or adjectives as shown in (181-182). In this case, it is regarded as a fusional affix that is morphologically so bound that nothing can be inserted between it and another morpheme with which it forms new words.

178) a. Ta shi **zai**-tao fan.

he is ZAI-run criminal

'He is a criminal at large.'

b.*Ta shi **zai**-bu-**zai**-tao fan.

he is ZAI-not-ZAI-run criminal

179) a. neige dang shi **zai**-ye dang.

that party is ZAI-wide party

'That party is not in office.'

b. *neige dang shi **zai**-bu-**zai**-ye dang.

that party is ZAI-not-ZAI-wide party

So far I have discussed the grammaticalization of the morpheme *zai* in Chinese as well as its diversified use in MC. In the next section, the grammaticalization chains with *zai* will be introduced.

3.5 Grammaticalization chains with *zai*

In this section, I will suggest that the grammaticalization chains with *zai* can be viewed as having five focal points along a path which shows a "cline of grammaticality" (Hopper & Traugott 1993:7).

180) Grammaticalization chains with *zai* in MC

Lexical verb

a. neige wenti hai **zai**, bing mei you jieyue.

that problem still exist and not have solve

'That problem still exists and is not solved yet.'

b. tade zhufu yijing bu **zai**-le.

his grandpa already not be-alive-Asp

'His grandpa has already died.'

Primary adposition (**zai**+NP)

c. ta **zai** Beijing gongzuo.

he ZAI Beijing work

'He works in Beijing.'

d. ta chusheng **zai** 1981 nian.

he be-born ZAI 1981 year

'He was born in 1981.'

Secondary adposition (**zai**+NP+localizer)

e. **zai** zuozi **shang**

ZAI table on

'on the table'

f. **zai** zhe zhong qinghuang **xia**

ZAI this CL circumstance under

'under this circumstance'

Agglutinative affix

g. ta **zai** youyong.

he ZAI swim

'He's swimming.'

h. ta dangshi **zaichang**.

he at-that-time on-the-scene

'At that time he was on the scene.'

Fusional affix

i. **zai** jie nan tao (idiom)

ZAI plunder difficult escape

'To be doomed.'

At the top end of the cline, there is a full lexical verb *zai* that expresses the state of being alive and in existence. It is morphologically free. At the following focal points, there is a grammaticalized adposition. First, there is a primary adposition *zai* with a simple NP complement. Second, there is a secondary adposition *zai* with a NP complement formed by a noun and a locative particle. Finally, there is a tertiary adposition *zai* with a clause complement or a complex NP with a relative clause embedded inside it. At the fifth focal point, there is a more grammatical form, an affix *zai*. When used as an agglutinative affix, it is a prefixed on a verb as a progressive aspect marker. At the bottom end of the cline is a fusional affix *zai*. At this focal point, *zai* is morphologically bound such that the boundary between *zai* and the other morpheme(s) with which it forms a new word or an idiom is entirely opaque.

Synchronically, the grammaticalization chain with *zai* shows that what is originally a lexical verb continues to be a lexical verb in MC. The adposition *zai* is used as a primary adposition with a simple NP complement in either preverbal or postverbal position. As a secondary adposition, *zai* is used with locative particles such as *shang* 'on' and *xia* 'under' denoting more specific location or direction. At the focal point of the agglutinative affix, *zai* becomes morphologically less free.

Although it has to be hosted by a verb head, it can still occur in the A-not-A form. At the bottom end of the chain is a fusional affix *zai*. Unlike the case of the agglutinative affix, the fusional affix *zai* is entirely morphologically bound[2] such that nothing can be inserted in between *zai* and the other morpheme(s) with which a new expression such as an idiom is formed.

Diachronically, the chain shows a 'cline of grammaticality' of the morpheme *zai* in Chinese as follows:

Lexical verb > adposition > agglutinative affix > fusional affix

They also reflect a path through which the morpheme *zai* has evolved over a long period of time. Although the exact date on which *zai* was developed into an affix seems very difficult to determine, it is still possible to trace the origin of its evolution. Take the expression *zai ye* 'not in office' for example. The earliest record of *zai* occurring in the expression was found in AC classic *Shujing* 'The Book of History' (700BC) as shown below:

181) junzi **zai** ye xiaoda **zai** wei. (AC, *SHJ:DYM*)

gentleman be-at wild myself be-at position

'You gentleman is not in office whereas I am in office.'

Obviously, both *zai*s in the example are locative verbs. They take simple NP complements and they are neither preceded nor followed by any other verbs.

3.6 Summary

In this chapter, the results of a text count I have conducted of the historical texts in different periods of the Chinese history have been presented. The findings suffice

[2] These seem to disprove the stereotyping claim that Chinese has no bound morphology. However, the author does not intend to pursue this discussion here.

to support the claim that Chinese is prepositional (Dryer 1991), which is in accord with one of the generalisations made about SVO languages (Greenberg 1963; Hawkins 1983; Dryer 1991). The view is further supported by a detailed examination of the distributions of PPs in the history of Chinese conducted here. Two major adpositions, *yi* and *yu*, have been discussed. It has been shown that *yi* was one of the most frequently used adpositions in AC (700BC-AD200). Although it mainly occurred in preverbal position, it also appeared in postverbal position. It was chiefly used to mark instrument though it had many other uses such as marking time, cause, manner and accompaniment, etc. It was also used in the purposive construction, dative construction, attitudinal construction and comparative construction. In late OC (AD700-1000), some functions of *yi*, for example, the marking of instrument, direct object and attitudinal constructions, were taken over by two preverbal adpositions *ba* and *jiang*. But this did not lead to the drastic decline in the use of *yi* as claimed in Sun (1996). There is evidence that *yi* has never fallen out of use in the Chinese history. In early MdC (1300-1400), *ba* and *jiang* were further replaced by two other preverbal adpositions *na* and *yong* in marking instrument. What is more, contrary to Sun (1996), *yi* is still commonly used in MC, for instance, in marking instrument, manner and cause in preverbal position. When used with verbs of giving, it can mark the direct object in postverbal position. When used with verbs such as *wei* 'regard', it marks an attitudinal construction in preverbal position.

It has also been shown that *yu* was the most frequently used adposition in AC, making up 38% of the occurrence of all the adpositions in the AC texts Sun (1996) investigates. It was also an adposition with multiple functions. In fact, the overwhelming majority of the postverbal PPs in AC should be attributed to the use of *yu*, though there were preverbal occurrences in some contexts. *Yu* was used in

marking location, time, cause, manner, goal, attitude, object, source and goal. It was also used in marking passive, comparative and dative constructions. In late AC (200BC-AD200) and early OC (AD200-500), the use of *yu* started to decline. This was due to the existence of other alternatives. First, a grammaticalized preverbal adposition *zai* started to be used in marking general location, which caused decline in the use of *yu* in early OC in the first place. In mid OC, *zai* became more grammaticalized and replaced *yu* in marking resultative location in postverbal position. Second, the use of *yu* in marking comparative constructions was reduced by the use of another adposition *guo* in OC. The comparative construction with *yu/guo* began to be replaced by an alternative comparative construction marked by *bi* in MdC (1000-1900) that was related to simile constructions in OC. Third, the passive construction with the postverbal *yu*-form dropped out of the language in late AC and early OC (for details of passive constructions, see Chapter 4). Finally, *yu* fell out of use in marking the dative construction around late OC (AD800-1000) and early MdC (1000-5000). Although *yu* is mostly used in postverbal position, it exhibits preverbal functions. This therefore shows there to be little support for Li & Thompson's postverbal hypothesis for PPs in AC. Although in MC most PPs occur in preverbal position, it does not constitute evidence for claiming that postverbal position is the predominant position for PPs in AC.

The establishment of grammaticalization chains with *zai* in MC has both diachronic and synchronic implications. Diachronically, it presents a path through which the morpheme *zai* has evolved over the past 2000 years. *Zai* was originally a full lexical verb in AC (700BC-AD200). It became grammaticalized into an adposition in mid AC (500BC) denoting general location in preverbal position. In late OC (about AD1000), it became more grammaticalized and started to be used in postverbal

position denoting resultative location. Synchronically, it shows the existence of various forms of *zai* in MC reflecting the different functional properties they display in communication. In MC, *zai* can be used as a lexical verb that describes the state of being alive and existent. It can also be used as an adposition denoting place or time. It is also used as a progressive aspect marker prefixed on a verb and with another morpheme to form new words or phrases.

CHAPTER 4

GRAMMATICALIZATION OF THE PASSIVE MORPHEME *BEI* IN CHINESE

4.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the development of the morpheme *bei* as a passive marker as well as an agent marker in the history of the Chinese language. Although it may not seem to have any direct connection to the main theme of this thesis, it is interesting as well as relevant to the topic of the thesis for the following two reasons. On the one hand, the grammaticalization of *bei* as a preverbal agent marker over the past 2,000 years presents further evidence for Sun's (1996) claim that preverbal PPs exist in AC and there is no predominant position for PPs in AC. On the other hand, the grammaticalization of the lexical verb *bei* into a passive marker and an agent marker in the history of Chinese reveals what effect grammaticalization can have on the grammatical status of a morpheme in a language.

In this chapter, I will propose that the grammaticalization of the passive verb *bei* to a passive auxiliary and an adposition has taken two different paths, one from lexical verb to auxiliary and the other from lexical verb to adposition. An attempt will be made to establish two historical pathways along which grammaticalization of the passive marker and the agent marker *bei* has proceeded over the past 2,000 years. Strong evidence will be shown that the grammaticalization of *bei* started in late AC and was not completed until early MC (Sun 1996; cf. Wang 1958; Tang 1988; cf.

Peyraube 1996). The evidence drawn from the evolution of *bei* also shows that preverbal PPs have been in existence ever since AC and that there is no period in AC during which PPs are predominantly postverbal as claimed by Li & Thompson (1974).

In AC (700BC-AD200), the morpheme *bei* was a noun meaning 'blanket' (*Shuowen Jiezi* 100BC) as well as a full lexical verb meaning 'cover, receive and suffer.' In late AC (200BC-AD200) the lexical verb *bei* started to be grammaticalized into a passive auxiliary and an adposition marking agent in preverbal position. The passive auxiliary *bei* became commonly used in early OC (AD200-500). The agent marker *bei* was not commonly used until mid OC (AD500). In late OC and early MdC (1000-1300), the main verb in the *bei*-form passive construction started to take a NP object. This paved the way for the present-day use of *bei* as the main passive marker in MC. In early MC, *bei*, as an agent/actor marker, started to be used before a NP subject in a non-passive construction. In MC, *bei* can be used as a passive auxiliary immediately preceding the verb and as an agent marker in preverbal position.

This chapter is organised as follows. Section 2 is an introduction to the development of passive constructions in the history of Chinese. Section 3 presents the development of the *bei*-form passive construction. Section 4 discusses the grammatical status of *bei* and the historical paths along which *bei* evolved. Section 5 examines the grammaticalization of *bei* in light of the principles developed in Lehmann (1982). Section 6 forms a summary. Before proceeding, it should be mentioned that Chinese, unlike English, does not have overt marking on the verb for voice (or tense). The passive relationship is realised syntactically by means of preverbal auxiliaries, adpositions and changes in word order.

4.2 Passive constructions in the history of Chinese

The passive construction in Chinese did not come into being until early AC (700-500BC). Wang (1958) observes that there are three main passive forms in AC. The first form involves the postverbal *yu* in a sequence 'V+*yu*+agent'. *Yu* is generally regarded as an adposition introducing the notion of agentivity. The second form is related to the preverbal *wei* and appears in a sequence '*wei*+V' that developed further into the *wei*...*suo* form in a sequence '*wei*+agent+*suo*-V' in late AC. Peyraube (1996) suggests that *wei* immediately preceding the verb should be taken as an auxiliary whereas *wei* marking agent should be seen as an adposition. The third form has the preverbal *jian* meaning 'perceive or see' in a sequence '*jian*+V'. *Jian* is generally regarded as an auxiliary that takes a main verb as its complement. Nothing can be inserted between *jian* and its verb complement. The *yu*-form fell out of use at the end of AC (200BC-AD200). The use of the *jian*-form started to decline in mid OC. In late AC, another passive form came into existence; this involves the morpheme *bei* in sequences of '*bei*+V' and '*bei*+agent+V'. During OC (AD200-1000), the *wei*-form and the *bei*-form co-existed as two different passive constructions. The *bei*-form eventually replaced the *wei*-form in late OC and survived as a marked passive construction in MC. These forms will be discussed in depth in the following subsections.

4.2.1 The *yu*-form

The passive construction with the *yu*-form, probably the oldest of the passive constructions (Peyraube 1989), was commonly used in AC (700BC-AD200). It has the structure in (1) in the order of a raised patient NP in subject position, a transitive verb and the adposition *yu* followed by a NP. *Yu* in postverbal position is used to mark the agent. This is illustrated in (2-5). *Yu* will remain unglossed in the following

examples. Complex NPs in (4-5) are in square brackets.

1) NP + V + *yu* + NP

(patient) YU (agent)

2) Kongzi bu yue **yu** Lu Wei. (AC, *MZ:WZS*)

Kongzi not like YU Lu Wei

'Kongzi was not liked by the rulers of the states of Lu and Wei.'

3) [lao xin zhe] zhi ren [lao li zhe] zhi **yu** ren.

work mind person rule people work strength person rule YU people

(AC, *MZ:TWGS*)

'Those who do mental work rule; those who do manual work are ruled.'

4) [zhi **yu** ren zhe] shi ren [zhi ren zhe] shi **yu** ren.

rule YU people person feed people rule people person feed YU people

(AC, *MZ:TWGS*)

'Those who are ruled support; those who rule are supported.'

5) gu nei huo **yu** Zhengxiu wai qi **yu** Zhangyi.

so inside mislead YU Zhengxiu outside bully YU Zhangyi

(AC, *SJ:QYLZ*)

'So (Emperor of Huai) was misled by Zhengxiu at home and was bullied by Zhangyi from abroad.'

As in English, the passive construction with the *yu*-form promotes the patients of the action *Kongzi* (name) in (2) and *lao li zhe* 'people who do manual work' in (3), *zhi ren zhe* 'those who rule' in (4) to the subject position of the sentences respectively. The adposition *yu* is used to mark agents such as *Lu Wei* 'rulers of states of Lu and Wei' in (2), *ren* 'people' in (3-4) and *Zhengxiu* and *Zhangyi* (names) in (5). The

adjunct PP headed by *yu* is placed in postverbal position. However, passivisation in Chinese does not have any effect on the morphology of the verb like *yue* 'like', *zhi* 'rule', *shi* 'feed', *huo* 'mislead' and *qi* 'bully' in (2-5).

Besides marking the agent, *yu* is also used in the passive construction to mark location. Compare the examples in (6-7) to those in (2-5):

6) Teng xiao guo ye jian **yu** Qi Chu. (AC, *MZ:LHWX*)

Teng small state PRT wedge YU Qi Chu

'Teng is a small state wedged between the states of Qi and Chu.'

7) Wu zai zu **yu** Lu. (AC, *ZHZ:SM*)

I again expel YU Lu

'I was expelled to the State of Lu twice.'

The difference between (2-5) and (6-7) is that *yu* in the former heads an adjunct PP and carries the notion of agentivity whereas *yu* in the latter heads an adjunct PP denoting location. The *yu*-form was still in use in late AC as shown in (8-11) though this was the type in (2-5) not (6-7):

8) bing puo **yu** Chengshe di duo **yu** Liu shi. (AC, *HS*)

army defeat YU Chengshe land seize YU Liu family

'The army was defeated by Chengshe; the land was seized by Liu's family.'

9) di nian ba sui zheng shi yi jue **yu** Guang.

emperor year eight year-old politics matter one decide YU Guang

(AC, *HS*)

'The Emperor was eight year old and all the state affairs were decided by Guang.'

10) Lianpo zhe ... yi yongqi wen **yu** zhu hou. (AC, *SJ*)

Lianpo person with courage know YU various nobleman

'Lianpo was well known for his courage among feudal noblemen.'

11) he chang jian ming jing pi **yu** lü zhao qin liu

how ever see bright mirror weary YU often reflection clear stream

dan **yu** hui feng. (AC, *SJ*)

stir YU gentle breeze

'When have we ever seen a bright mirror wearied by frequent reflections or a clear stream stirred up by gentle breezes.'

The passive construction with the *yu*-form started to fall out of use in late AC. As is mentioned in Section 3.3.3.3 in Chapter three, Peyraube (1996:175) suggests two possibilities. First, *yu* is an adposition with a variety of functions. Besides its use in passive constructions, it can be used to express notions of location, direction, cause, goal, and is also used in other constructions like double-object and comparative constructions. Therefore, ambiguity may result. Second, passive constructions are often used to demote an agent, and sometimes 'demotion' is in fact deletion that de-focuses the agent. With the use of the passive marker *yu*, this possibility is not available. This could be the main reason that the *yu*-form fell out of use in late AC.

4.2.2 The *wei*-form

The passive construction with the *wei*-form has the structure in (12) that involves the raising of a patient NP to subject position. Although *wei*, like *yu*, also functions to mark the agent, there is a major difference in the syntactic positions they occupy in relation to the verb. The adposition *wei* is used to mark an agent in preverbal position whereas the *yu*-form occurs in postverbal position. This presents more evidence

against Li & Thompson's (1974) claim that there is a general shift of PPs from postverbal position in AC to preverbal position in MC and that PPs in AC are predominantly postverbal. As regards PPs in passive constructions in the history of Chinese, preverbal PPs occurred as early as AC (700BC-AD200), long before what Li & Thompson (1974) claim to be the case. Let us compare (12) with (1):

12) NP + *wei* + NP + V

(patient) WEI (agent)

13) zhi jiang **wei** sanjun huo. (AC, *ZZ*)

end general WEI army capture

'In the end, the General was captured by the army.'

14) Dao shu jiang **wei** tian xia lie. (AC, *ZHZ*)

Dao learning will WEI world under isolate

'The Dao philosophy will be isolated by the people all over the world.'

In some cases, the agent NP is missing. As a result, *wei* occurs immediately before the main verb as shown in (15) and exemplified in (16) and (17):

15) NP + *wei* + V

(patient) WEI

16) chen yi **wei** ru yi. (AC, *LSCQ:ZL*)

I already WEI humiliate PRT

'I was already humiliated.'

17) Xu zhi fu xiong **wei** chuo yu Chu. (AC, *SJ*)

Xu REL father brother WEI stab at Chu

'Xu's father and brother were stabbed to death at Chu.'

Peyraube (1996:175) suggests that the agent-marker *wei* should be taken as an

adposition (Tang & Zhou 1985; Wei 1994a) but *wei* before the verb should be reanalysed as an auxiliary (Cheung 1976; Chu 1987). There is, in fact, evidence for the reanalysis. In (18), *wei* and *jian*, another passive marker in AC, are used in a parallel manner. *Jian* is generally treated as an auxiliary (see 4.2.4 for details). Since they are both placed immediately before the verb, it seems plausible for Peyraube (1996) to suggest that the auxiliary status of *wei* can be deduced by analogy to that of *jian*.

18) hou zhe **wei** cuo bao zhe **jian** yi. (AC, *HFZ:SN*)

deep person WEI kill slight person JIAN suspect

'Those who were deeply involved were killed; those who were lightly involved were suspected.'

The *wei*-form developed further and was gradually replaced by the *wei...suo* form in late AC.

4.2.3 The *wei* ... *suo* form

The *wei...suo* form was the most commonly used passive construction from late AC to late OC. It has the structure in (19) with a raised patient NP in subject position, a preverbal adposition *wei* introducing the agent and *suo* attached to a transitive verb with a passive reading. The morpheme *suo* here is treated as a clitic attached to a transitive verb with no direct object after it (Wang 1958; Peyraube 1989). It will be glossed simply as *suo* in the following examples with a hyphen between it and the verb it is cliticized to.

19) NP + *wei* + NP + *suo*-V

(patient) WEI (agent)

20) shizi Shensheng **wei** Li ji **suo**-zen.

gentleman Shensheng WEI Li concubine SUO-frame

(AC, *LJ:TGS*)

'A gentleman named Shensheng was framed by concubine Li.'

21) Ying wen Ru ji fu **wei** ren **suo**-sha. (AC, *SJ:XLJLZ*)

Ying hear Ru concubine father WEI man SUO-kill

'Ying heard that concubine Ru's father was killed by somebody.'

22) Yangpu ... **wei** Xuzhi **suo**-fu. (AC, *SJ:KSLZ*)

WEI Xuzhi SUO-seize

'Yangpu ... was seized by Xuzhi.'

Sometimes *wei* is used without *suo* before the verb, resulting in a structure identical to the "*wei*+NP+V" form in (12), exemplified in (23-24):

23) bu **wei** jiu kun. (AC, LY:*ZH*)

not WEI wine strand

'Not to be stranded by wine.'

24) er shen **wei** Song guo xiao. (AC, *HFZ:WD*)

but self WEI Song state laugh

'But he himself was laughed at by the people in the state of Song.'

Sometimes when the agent is not present, *wei* can occur immediately before the verb.

25) fu mu zhongzu jie **wei** cuomo. (AC, *SJ:CKLZ*)

father mother ancestor all WEI stab-death

'Father, mother and all my relatives were stabbed to death.'

26) Ling gong shao chi min bu fu gu **wei** shi yi.

Ling duke young luxurious people not follow so WEI murder PRT

(AC, *SJ:JSJ*)

'The Duke of Ling was young and extravagant and people refused to follow him. As a result, he was murdered.'

There are also cases with *suo* in which the agent is not included. *Wei* therefore immediately precedes *suo*, which is cliticized to the verb.

27) ru shu jie qie **wei suo**-lu. (AC, *SJ:XYBJ*)

you bunch all will WEI SUO-capture

'You bunch of people will all be captured.'

The *wei...suo* form continued to be commonly used in OC (AD200-1000) and MdC (1000-1900) as shown in the following examples:

28) ru shu jie qie **wei suo**-lu. (AC, *SJ:XYBJ*)

you bunch all will WEI SUO-capture

'You bunch of people will all be captured.'

29) shao **wei** Wangdun **suo**-tan. (OC, *SSXY:SY*)

youth WEI Wangdun SUO-admire

'In his youth, he was admired by Wangdun.'

30) Xuyun **wei** Jin Jing gong **suo**-zhu. (OC, *SSXY:YY*)

Xuyun WEI Jin Jing duke SUO-kill

'Xuyun was killed by Jing Duke of Jin.'

31) shen hui dangri bu he **wei** Xingquan **suo**-huo.

deep regret then not harmony WEI Xingquan SUO-mislead

(MdC, *XSHY:3*)

'(Shilao) deeply regretted that he wasn't in good terms with (his god son) at that time because he was misled by Xingquan.'

So far three forms of passive marker *wei* have been introduced. They are summarised as follows:

32) a. NP + *wei* + V

b. NP + *wei* + NP + V

c. NP + *wei* + (NP) + *suo*-V

The use of *wei* in the passive construction started to decline in OC but the *wei...suo* form has survived into MC though it is used only in fossilised phrases in contemporary literary texts.

4.2.4 The *jian*-form

The third passive construction in AC is the *jian*-form. *Jian* is generally regarded as an auxiliary verb meaning 'perceive or see' that takes a main verb as its complement as shown in (33). The fact that nothing can be inserted in between *jian* and the main verb is the main piece of evidence for treating *jian* as an auxiliary. *Jian* remains unglossed in the following:

33) NP *jian* V

(patient) JIAN

34) Pengcheng Gua **jian** sha. (AC, *MZ:JXX*)

Pengcheng Gua JIAN kill

'Pengcheng Gua was killed.'

35) baixing ... bu **jian** bao ... (AC, *MZ*)

people not JIAN protect

'People ... are not protected...'

36) ai ren zhe bi **jian** ai ye. (AC, *MZ*)

love people person must JIAN love PRT

'Those who love others will be loved.'

37) Qi Huan gong ... yu tian xia bu **jian** wei xiu.

Qi Huan duke by world under not JIAN comment ill-behaved

(AC, *XZ*)

'The Duke Huan of Qi was known as a man of ill conduct by the people all over the world.'

With the *jian*-form, other adpositions have to be employed to introduce the agent. For instance, in (38) the adposition *wei* is used to mark the agent in preverbal position.

38) Lieshi **wei** tian xia **jian** shan e. (AC, *ZHZ*)

martyr WEI world under JIAN praise PRT

'Martyrs are praised by the people all over the world.'

Sometime the adposition *yu* is used to mark the agent in the *jian*-form passive construction. But unlike the *wei*-phrase, the *yu*-phrase occurs in postverbal position as shown in (39-40):

39) Wu chang **jian** xiao **yu** dafang zhi jia. (AC, *ZHZ*)

I often JIAN laugh YU expert REL person

'I was often laughed at by experts.'

40) xi zhe Mizixia **jian** ai **yu** Wei jun. (AC, *SJ:LZSHLZ*)

old person Mizixia JIAN love YU Wei emperor

'In the past, Mizixia was liked by Emperor Wei.'

Sun (1996:30) suggests that the *jian*-form fell out of use in AC (before AD200). However, there is evidence that it could have been later than that because in the

vernacular texts in the mid OC (AD500), the *jian*-form was still used as shown in (41) and (42):

41) Yuanyue ...eer **jian** zhu. (OC, *SSXY:CX*)

Yuanyue ... suddenly JIAN kill

'Yuanyue ... was suddenly executed.'

42) Zhangxuan Wu shi zhi xiu yi **jian** yu yu shi.

Zhangxuan Wu gentlemen REL outstanding also JIAN treat by contemporary

(OC, *SSXY:FZ*)

'Zhangxuan, the most outstanding of all the gentlemen in the State of Wu, is also well-respected by all his contemporaries.'

Therefore, it could well be in late OC that the *jian*-form dropped out of use. The decline of the *jian*-form as a passive construction could be related to the development of the more commonly used *wei... suo* form in OC and the emergence of another passive construction, the *bei*-form, to which I am going to turn in the next section.

However, the decline of the *jian*-form could also be related to an observation made in Nankai (1960). Nankai notes that from early OC (AD200-400), *jian* was used as a demonstrative but restricted to the first person singular only. When the demonstrative *jian* was used as the object of a transitive verb, it occurred to the left of the verb as shown below. I will term this form the *jian*-V phrase. In (43), *jian* refers back to *hai* 'me (child)' whereas *jian* in (44) refers back to *wu* 'me':

43) sheng hai liu yue ci fu **jian** bei. (OC, *LM:CQB*)

give-birth me (child) six month kind father JIAN forsake

'Six months after I was born, my kind father forsook me.'

44) wu xiang yu sheng hou he yi **jian** fu? (OC, *JS:LQSZ*)

I each-other meet fairly well what for JIAN let-down

'We've been getting on quite well. Why did you let me down?'

This *jian*-V phrase and the *jian*-form passive construction have identical syntactic representations but they differ in function and meaning. In (43-44), *jian* is a preposed demonstrative object whereas in the *jian*-form passive construction *jian* is a passive auxiliary. It is very likely that this may cause ambiguity in communication. For instance, *ci fu jian bei* in (43) could be taken as 'the kind father was forsaken' rather than 'the kind father forsook me'. I therefore suggest that the need for clear communication could be the main cause for the decline of the *jian*-form in late OC.

So far three main passive constructions in AC have been introduced. They are the *yu*-form, the *wei*-form and the *jian*-form. Let us now turn to another passive construction, the *bei*-form, which appeared in late AC and eventually became a marked passive construction in MC.

4.3 The *bei*-form

In late AC (200BC-AD200), another passive construction appeared. This involves the morpheme *bei* and is therefore termed the *bei*-form. The development of the *bei*-form as a passive construction in MC is another important part of Li & Thompson's (1974) argument for their word order change hypothesis. The importance of this issue will become clearer as we go along in this section. The morpheme *bei* originally was a noun meaning 'blanket' (45) and a full lexical verb meaning 'cover, receive or suffer' in AC as shown in (46-48):

45) **bei** qin yi ye. (*Shuowen Jiezi* 100BC)

bei sleep cloth PRT

'Bei means blanket.'

46) xi **bei** yu Liusha. (AC, *SHJ*)

west cover to Liusha

'The west extends to an area called Liusha.'

47) baixing wu **bei** bin zhi huan. (AC, *ZGC*)

civilian not suffer army REL peril

'Civilians didn't suffer from the perils of wars.'

48) Tang wei tianzi dacheng **bei** e yan er si. (AC, *HS:ZTZ*)

Tang as majesty minister suffer bad word and die

'Tang, a minister at the service of His Majesty, suffered from slander and died.'

Wang (1980:425) observes that it was in late AC (before AD200) that *bei* began to be used as a passive marker. Although examples like (49) could be found in AC texts, Wang treats *bei* in the sentence as a verb rather than a passive marker because the phrase *huichou* 'condemnation' after *bei* is a nominal phrase.

49) hou zhe ru xinfa bo zhe **bei** huichou.

deep person receive punishment slight person suffer condemnation

(AC, *MOZ:GY*)

'Those who were deeply involved received punishments; those who were slightly involved suffered from condemnation.'

When *bei* was used as a passive marker in late AC, it was just like the passive auxiliary *jian* and occurred immediately before the verb rendering a passive meaning. Nothing could be inserted in between *bei* and the verb. In the following examples, *bei*

is glossed simply as *bei* to distinguish its passive usage from its verbal usage.

50) guo yiri **bei** gong... (AC, *ZGC:QC*)

state in-case BEI attack

'In case the state were attacked, ...'

51) Cuo zu yi **bei** lu. (AC, *ZGC:KLLZ*)

Cuo end because BEI kill

'Cuo was eventually killed.'

52) Quyuan Chu xian cheng ye **bei** chan fang zu. (AC, *HS:JYZ*)

Quyuan Chu good civilian PRT BEI slander send exile

'Quyuan was a good civilian of the State of Chu but was slandered and sent to exile.'

53) Shiqing sui yi jin de zhong ran shu **bei** qian.

Shiqing though with caution obtain end but several BEI denounce

(AC, *HS:GSHZ*)

'Although Shiqing ended his life with achievements due to his caution, he was denounced (by the Emperor) on several occasions.'

In some cases, the morpheme *bei* and the auxiliary *jian* are used in a parallel manner as shown in (54-55):

54) xin er **jian** yi zhong er **bei** bang. (AC, *SJ:QYLZ*)

true and JIAN suspect loyal and BEI slander

'(If you are) truthful, (you will) be suspected; (if you are) loyal, (you will) be slandered.'

55) Zengzi **jian**-yi er yin Boqi **bei** zhu er ge. (AC, *HL:GXP*)

Zengzi JIAN-suspect and chant Boqi BEI expel and sing

'Zengzi was suspected so he was chanting; Boqi was expelled so he was singing.'

It can be seen that both *jian* and *bei* occur in preverbal position. They both function as a passive marker, rendering the verb passive in meaning. Peyraube (1996:176) suggests that the functional similarity between *bei* and *jian* could be a reason for a reanalysis of *bei* as an auxiliary introducing the notion of passivity when it occurs immediately before the main verb. With the development of *bei*, the use of *jian* began to decline, which leads to the lexical replacement of *jian* by *bei* in late OC (Wang 1958; Peyraube 1996:177).

Wang (1958) also observes that in late AC, *bei* was used as a passive adposition marking agent though it was not as common as the passive auxiliary. This can be shown in (56):

56) wu yue ershi ri chen **bei** shangshu zhao wen.

five month twenty date I BEI minister summon question

(AC, *CY:BSSB*)

'On 20th May, I was summoned by the Minister to be questioned.'

In mid OC (around AD500), *bei* was mainly used as an auxiliary denoting a passive meaning. For example, in *Shishuo xinyu* (*SSXY*) 'A new account of tales of the World', representative of the vernacular texts in mid OC, a text count I conducted shows that there is a total of 34 occurrences of *bei*. Among them, 26 are passive. Out of these 26, 24 occurrences of *bei* are placed before the verb as a passive marker and two occurrences of *bei* as an agent marker in preverbal position. Examples like (57-60) show the use of *bei* as a passive marker.

57) Kongrong **bei** shou zhong wai huangbu. (OC, *SSXY:YY*)

Kongrong BEI apprehend middle outside panic

'When Kongrong was apprehended, everyone inside and outside the court was panic-stricken.'

58) Yinzhongjun **bei** fei tu Dongyang. (OC, *SSXY:WX*)

Yinzhongjun BEI dismiss walk Dongyang

'Yinzhongjun was dismissed to Dongyang.'

59) Huannanjun **bei** zhao zuo taizi xima. (OC, *SSXY:RD*)

Huannanjun BEI summon serve crown-prince forerunner

'Huannanjun was summoned to serve as equestrian forerunner to the crown prince.'

60) Yuanhu shi cong **bei** ze mian guan. (OC, *SSXY:WX*)

Yuanhu time follow BEI reprimand dismiss post

'When Yuanhu was accompanying (Huan Wen), he was reprimanded and lost his job.'

However, the use of *bei* as a verb meaning 'suffer or receive' was still retained in mid OC as shown in (61-62):

61) Xiahouxuan ji **bei** zhigu. (OC, *SSXY:FZ*)

Xiahouxuan then suffer fetter

'Xiahouxuan was in fetters.'

62) ci zhu ren dangshi bin wu ming hou jie **bei** zhiyu.

these some people then yet no name later all receive recognition

(OC, *SSXY:SJ*)

'At that time, these people were all unknown, but later all were accorded fame and recognition.'

From mid OC, the use of *bei* as a passive adposition became more and more

common. Examples like (63-64) from *SSXY* show the use of *bei* as an adposition marking agent in preverbal position.

63) Niheng **bei** Weiwu zhe wei gushi. (OC, *SSXY:YY*)

Niheng BEI Weiwu degrade become drummer

'Niheng was degraded by Weiwu and became a drummer.'

64) Liang zi **bei** Shujun hai. (OC, *SSXY:FZ*)

Liang son BEI Shujun kill

'Liang's son was killed by Shujun.'

According to Sun (1996), Mei (1991) observes that in OC *bei*, as an agent marker, began to be used with another morpheme *suo* 'so' in the *bei* ... *suo* form. *Suo* is placed immediately before the verb introducing a passive reading as shown in (65) and (66). *Suo* will remain unglossed in the following examples with a hyphen between it and the verb it is attached to.

65) qi di jin **bei** zei **suo**-sha. (OC, *BW:SSJ*)

his younger-brother now BEI bandit SUO-kill

'His younger brother was now killed by the bandits.'

66) fu mu yi wang huo **bei** shubo xiongdi **suo**-mai.

father mother already die someone BEI uncle brother SUO-sell

(MdC, *HLM:58*)

'Her parents all died. She was sold by her uncles and brothers.'

So far we have three types of *bei*-form: *bei* as a passive marker placed immediately before the verb; *bei* as an agent marker followed by a NP in preverbal position; and *bei* as an agent marker followed by *suo*- cliticized on to a transitive verb. They exhibit the same pattern as the passive marker *wei* does:

67) a. wei V

b. wei NP V

c. wei (NP) suo-V

68) a. bei V

b. bei NP V

c. bei NP suo-V

As a result, the *bei*-form and the *wei*-form became the two major passive constructions in OC (AD200-1000). The following examples in (69) are from Tang (1987, cited in Sun 1996) and show parallel use of *bei* and *wei*:

69) a. bu **wei** yuan di zhi **suo**-qinhai (OC, *DBJJ*)

not WEI hate enemy NOM SUO-infringe

'No encroachment by the hateful enemy.'

b. bu **bei** yuan di zhi **suo**-qinrao

not BEI hate enemy NOM SUO-harass

'no harassment by the hateful enemy.'

Although in mid OC, *bei* was used as an agent marker in preverbal position, it was not as commonly used as its contemporary *wei* was. A text count which I undertook using the same book *SSXY* shows that 72% of the demoted agents are marked by the *wei*...*suo* form as shown in (70-74).

70) Xuyun **wei** Jin Jin wang **suo**-zhu. (OC, *SSXY:XY*)

Xuyun WEI Jin Jing emperor SUO-kill

'Xuyun was sentenced to death by Emperor Jing of Jin.'

71) da zhangfu nai **wei** Yuyuangui **suo**-mai. (OC, *SSXY:YH*)

big husband actually WEI Yuyuangui SUO-sell

'The great man was actually sold by Yuyuangui.'

72) Liuyu xiongdi shao shi **wei** Wangkai **suo**-zeng. (OC, *SSXY:CX*)

Liuyu brothers young time WEI Wangkai SUO-hate

'When Liuyu and his younger brother were young, they were hated by Wangkai.'

73) Lupingyuan Heqiao bai **wei** Luzhi **suo**-chan **bei** zhu.

Lupingyuan Heqiao defeat WEI Luzhi *suo*-slander BEI kill

(OC, *SSXY:YH*)

'When Lupingyuan was defeated at Heqiao, he was slandered by Luzhi and sentenced to death.'

The use of *wei* in the passive construction began to decline in late OC. Sun (1996:33) suggests that this could be due to the variant uses of *wei* marking benefactive and cause as shown in (74) and (75):

74) bao Ding **wei** Wenhui jie niu. (AC, *ZHZ:YSS*)

cook Ding FOR Wenhui cut ox

'Cook Ding slaughtered an ox for Prince Wenhui.'

75) xianshen he **wei** diandao yishang. (OC, *SSXY:YY*)

gentleman what FOR upside-down clothes

'Why are you wearing your clothes upside-down?'

According Sun (1996), in a text-count of historical texts in late OC (AD500-1000), Tang (1988) discovers that the use of *bei* in passive constructions amounts to 87% of the total occurrence of passive uses. He thus claims that the replacement of *wei* by *bei* as the most commonly used passive construction was basically completed in late OC.

Wang (1958) observes that from late OC, the *bei*-form passive construction developed further and the main verb began to take a NP object. There seems to be a

whole-part or possessive relationship between the preverbal and postverbal NPs, i.e., either the preverbal NP is the possessor and the postverbal NP is the possessee or the preverbal NP represents the whole whereas the postverbal NP forms a part. The preverbal pronoun whole and the postverbal noun part encode the patient of a transitive verb (Blake 1994:27). In (76) the subject is an empty category (EC).

76) EC chang **bei** lao Yuan tou ge-lü. (OC, *BJY*)

often BY old Yuan steal rhyme-scheme

'(My) prosodic scheme was frequently stolen by Old Yuan.'

77) Jiazheng hai yao da shi, zao **bei** Wang furen baozhu banzi.

Jiazheng still want beat time early BY Wang madam hold birch

(MdC, *HLM:33*)

'When Jiazheng wanted to beat again, the birch was already held down firmly by Madam Wang.'

78) Hetao ... yi **bei** ge-le liangge erduo ... (MdC, *SH:20*)

Hetao ... already BY cut-Asp two ear

'Hetao's two ears were already cut off.'

In (76), the EC subject is the possessor of *ge-lü* 'rhyme-scheme'. In (77), the subject of the sentence *Jiazheng* (name) is the possessor of *banzi* 'birch'. *Liangge erduo* 'two ears' in (78) is the body part of *Hetao* (name). The preverbal *bei* in (76-77) marks the "agent of the passive" (Blake 1994:7). *Bei* immediately preceding the verb in (78) acts as an auxiliary introducing a passive meaning.

Wang (1958) also observes that in early MdC, *bei* was commonly used before the subject of a non-passive sentence as shown in (79-80).

79) **bei** wo yao-duan shengsuo de-dao zheli. (MdC, *SH:65*)

BEI I bite-break rope obtain-arrive here

'I broke the rope with my teeth and got here.'

80) **bei** houxingzhe hua yi tuan da shi zai du nei jianjian hui da.

BEI monkey-king change one ball big stone at belly in gradually become big

(MdC, *DTSZQJSH:6*)

'Monkey King turned into a huge stone and grew bigger and bigger inside the belly.'

Sun (1996:34) treats this type of sentences as ones without overt subject though he takes *bei* here as an actor marker. I suggest that the "subjectless" sentence analysis is not necessary. If these sentences were "subjectless", then the relationship between the NPs in the sentence would be hard to determine as the word order - the only clue for that - would hardly tell us anything. In addition, the status of *bei* before the preverbal NP would be difficult to identify. However, no such problem will arise if we do not treat the sentences as "subjectless". As Sun (1996:34) suggests, since *bei* can be used as an actor marker in the passive construction, its co-occurrence with the actor subject in these sentences shouldn't pose any problem apart from the fact that *bei* is used as an actor marker in non-passive sentences like (79-80).

In the absence of direct evidence for this issue, what I suppose below is basically speculative but not necessarily implausible. If we omit *bei* in sentences (79) and (80), the two sentences still remain equally acceptable with exactly the same meaning as (81-82) show:

81) wo yao-duan shengsuo de-dao zheli.

I bite-break rope obtain-arrive here

'I broke the rope with my teeth and got here.'

82) houxingzhe hua yi tuan da shi zai du nei jianjian hui da.

monkey-king change one ball big stone at belly in gradually become big

'Monkey King turned into a huge stone and grew bigger and bigger inside the belly.'

The only difference between (79-80) and (81-82) is the presence of *bei* before the subject NPs in the former but not in the later. Since *bei* functions as an actor marker, it is still an adposition.

At the first sight, it might be assumed that (79) and (80) with the *bei*-phrase in sentence-initial position are typical instances of the locative inversion construction (Levin & Rappaport 1995). It displays the two properties characteristic of the construction: a non-canonical word order "PP+V+NP" and a PP in preverbal position. There is in fact evidence that locative inversion constructions exist in Chinese as shown in (83) and (84).

83) zai qiang-shang gua-zhe yi mian jingzi. (MC)

AT wall-on hang-Asp one CL mirror

'There is a mirror hanging on the wall.'

84) zai keting-li you liang fu hua. (MC)

AT sitting-room-in have two CL picture

'There are two pictures in the siting-room.'

However, a closer look at the two types of sentences seems to cast doubt on the locative inversion construction analysis of (79-80). First, the locative inversion construction is taken to be the result of positional changes of PP and NP in the canonical word order "NP+VP+PP". This is borne out by (83-84) but not (79-80). Let us look at the distributional features of examples (85-86) as they show the original

positions that the PPs and NPs in (83-84) occupy.

85) yi mian jingzi gua zai qing-shang. (MC)

one CL mirror hang AT wall-on

'A mirror is hanging on the wall.'

86) you liang fu hua zai keting-li. (MC)

have two CL picture AT sitting-room-inside

'There are two pictures in the siting-room.'

Example (85) is a non-inverted version of (83) except that the progressive aspect marker *-zhe* is dropped in the canonical "NP+VP+PP" word order (85). Example (86) is an existential sentence with the verb *you* 'to exist'. Although, this sentence with the verb occurring in sentence-initial position is not precisely the non-inverted version of (84), the NP and PP in the sentence are in their canonical positions. The placement of the verb of existence *you* 'have' in sentence-initial position is, I propose, due to the fact that there is no *there*-insertion construction in Chinese. Therefore, (83) and (84) are shown to be locative inversion constructions.

With respect to (79-80), however, the surface order does not seem to involve any kind of inversion as the NPs marked by the sentence-initial *bei* in these two sentences are the actors of the verbal actions. In other words, the NP complements of *zai* in (79-80) originate in sentence-initial position.

Second, although there are preverbal PPs in both types of sentences, there is a major difference between them. In (83-84), the preverbal PPs are locative PPs and have corresponding postverbal PPs in their non-inverted counterparts (85-86). In (79-80), however, the preverbal PPs marked by *bei* are neither locative nor directional PPs and do not have corresponding postverbal PPs as their counterparts.

Third, in the case of (83-84), it is the postverbal NP that originates as the subject of the verb. In the case of (79-80), however, it is the preverbal NP marked by *bei* that is the subject of the verb.

Finally, the types of the verbs in these two pairs of sentences are different, too. Sentence (83) contains a verb of existence *you* 'to exist' and sentence (84) contains a passive verb *gua* 'to hang'. They both belong to subclasses of unaccusative verbs that are compatible with the locative inversion construction. However, the verb *yao-duan* 'bite-break' in (79) and the verb *hua* 'change' (80) are verbs of change of state that are subject to restrictions on the construction.

From the above arguments, it is clear that sentences (79-80) with PPs headed by *zai* in sentence-initial position cannot be characterised as the locative inversion constructions. They, however, could be analysed as having PP subjects (Jaworska 1986).

In MC, *bei* can be used either before the verb as a passive marker as in (87) or as an agent marker in preverbal position as in (88). The *bei*-form passive construction in MC is termed the *bei*-construction in the following discussion.

87) ta **bei** jiegu-le. (MC)

he BEI fire-Asp

'He was fired.'

88) ta **bei** laoban jiegu-le. (MC)

he BEI boss fire-Asp

'He was fired by the boss.'

In this section, the development of the *bei*-form as a passive construction has been introduced. The morpheme *bei* was originally a noun and a lexical verb in AC

(700BC-AD200). In late AC (before AC200), *bei* started to develop into a grammatical morpheme that denotes a passive meaning as well as an agent marker in preverbal position. *Bei* gradually replaced *jian* and *wei* as a major passive marker in late OC (before 1000). Meanwhile, the main verb in the *bei*-form passive construction began to take a NP object. Wang (1958) observes that in early MdC, *bei* occurred in sentence-initial position marking the actor subject. I have argued that sentences with *bei* in sentence-initial position are neither "subjectless" as claimed by Sun (1996) nor instances of the locative inversion construction. This *bei* here is simply an adposition used to mark agent/actor in preverbal position heading a PP subject in a non-passive construction. In MC, *bei* is mainly used as a passive marker and as an agent marker in preverbal position.

Now let us turn to the discussion of some restrictions on the verb in the *bei*-construction.

4.4 Restrictions on the verb in the *bei*-construction

So far as the main verbs in the *bei*-construction in MC are concerned, there seems to be some co-occurrence constraints on them. For instance, verbs with 'measuring out' phrases are no longer compatible with the *bei*-construction as shown by the unacceptability of (89-90), though this is not observed at early stages of the grammaticalization of *bei*. The AC example (51) and the OC example (57) are repeated here as (91) and (92) for contrast.

89) *ta **bei** qiang (MC)

he BEI rob

90) *nei ben shu **bei** ren jie (MC)

that CL book BEI people borrow

91) Cuo zu yi **bei** lu. (AC, *ZGC:KLLZ*)

Cuo end because BEI kill

'Cuo was eventually killed.'

92) Kongrong **bei** shou zhong wai huangbu. (OC, *SSXY:YY*)

Kongrong BEI apprehend middle outside panic

'When Kongrong was apprehended, everyone inside and outside the court was panic-stricken.'

Semantically the main verb in the *bei*-construction has to be temporally bounded; in other words, there is a telicity requirement on the verb (See my telicity analysis of the *ba*-construction in Section 2.2, Chapter 2). This is reflected by (i) a choice of an aspect marker *-le* suffixed to the verb as shown in (93), or (ii) a choice of resultative/directional particles such as *puo* 'broken' followed by the aspectual marker *-le* as in (94); or (iii) another "choice of XP internal to the VP" (Levin & Rappaport 1995:57), *wei zuzhang* 'as a team-leader' as in (95) giving a resultative reading; or (iv) another choice of direct object, *yi tiao tui* 'one leg' as in (96).

93) ta **bei** qiang-le. (MC)

he BEI rob-Asp

'He was robbed.'

94) zhe chuanghu **bei** da-puo-le. (MC)

this window BEI hit-broken-Asp

'The window was broken.'

95) ta **bei** xuan wei zuzhang. (MC)

he BEI elect as team-leader

'He was elected as a team-leader.'

96) ta **bei** da-duan-le yi tiao tui. (MC)

he BEI beat-broken-Asp one CL leg

'One of his legs was broken as a result of beating.'

Lü (1984) observes that when the main verb in the *bei*-construction takes an NP object, there tends to be a possessive or partitive relationship between the preverbal NP and the postverbal NP. For instance, there is a possessive relationship between *ta* 'he' and the postverbal NP *yi tiao tui* 'one leg' in (96) above and a partitive relationship between *zidian* 'dictionary' and *liang ben* 'two copies' in (97) below.

97) zidian **bei** neixie xuesheng na-zou-le liang ben.

dictionary BEI those student get-go-Asp two copy

'Two of the dictionaries were taken away by those students.'

Chao (1968) observes that, unlike the *ba*-construction, the *bei*-construction allows certain verbs of perception such as *kanjian* 'see', *tingjian* 'hear', *wenjian* 'smell', and *juezhe* 'feel' as in (98):

98) zhe xiaoxi zao **bei** ta tingjian-le. (MC)

this news early BEI him hear-Asp

'This news was heard by him long ago.'

(Chao 1968:705)

Chao also observes that verbs of appearance such as *xia* 'fall' in (99) and certain transitive verbs like *fa* 'develop' in (100) are not compatible with the *bei*-form as the ungrammaticality of the (b) sentences shows. Example (99a) has a verb of appearance *xia* 'fall' and an inverted subject *xue* 'snow'. Sentences (b) in (99-100) show that these two types of verbs do not have passive counterparts with the *bei*-form.

99) a. xia xue le. (MC)

fall snow Asp

'It's snowing.'

b. *xue **bei** xia le.

snow BEI fall Asp

100) a. zuotian ta fa-le gao-shao. (MC)

yesterday he develop-Asp high-fever

'He had a high fever yesterday.'

b. *zuotian gao-shao **bei** ta fa-le.

yesterday high-fever BEI him develop-Asp

Lü (1984) also observes that the *bei...suo* form is still in use in MC though there seems to be a complement requirement on the occurrence of the form. In other words, when the main verb has a complement, the preverbal *suo-* is optional. But when the main verb is monosyllabic, the preverbal *suo-* is obligatory. This can be shown in examples (101-102) with subjects omitted:

101) **bei** haoqi xin (**suo**) qushi (MC)

BEI curious heart (SUO) drive

'driven by a sense of curiosity'

102) **bei** feng xue *(**suo**) zhu. (MC)

BEI wind snow SUO hinder

'hindered by the wind and the snow'

(Lü 1984:57)

In this section, some co-occurrence constraints on the occurrence of the main verb in the MC *bei*-construction have been introduced. It is clear that verbs without

'measuring out' phrases are no longer compatible with the *bei*-construction. Furthermore, the main verb has to be telic in the sense that it has to be followed by measuring out phrases such as an aspect marker *-le* or by resultative/directional particles or by a PP or a direct object. Verbs that are allowed in the *bei*-construction include certain verbs of perception. Verbs that are not allowed in the *bei*-construction include verbs of appearance and certain transitive verbs. The *bei...suo* form has a complement requirement on the verb: when the verb has a complement, the preverbal *suo-* is optional whereas the verb does not have a complement, the preverbal *suo-* is obligatory.

In the next section, the grammaticalization of *bei* will be discussed in further detail.

4.5 Grammaticalization of *bei*

In this section, the grammaticalization process of the morpheme *bei* will be more closely examined. I will propose that the grammaticalization of *bei* as a passive marker and an adposition in MC is not a linear process, e.g., lexical verb → auxiliary → adposition. It takes two different paths, namely lexical verb → auxiliary and lexical verb → adposition. I will argue that the passive marker *bei* before the verb is an auxiliary (Peyraube 1996:177), not a clitic as claimed by Sun (1996), and that the agent/actor marker *bei* in both the passive construction and non-passive sentences is an adposition. I will discuss the evolution of *bei* as a passive marker and an adposition in the following subsections. But before the discussion, let us first look at the starting point of the grammaticalization of *bei*. I will argue that the passive *bei* has developed out of the 'suffer' use of the lexical verb *bei* occurring only in simple SVO sentences (cf. Wang 1958) rather than from a serial verb *bei* as claimed by

Peyraube (1996:178).

4.5.1 The starting point of the grammaticalization process of *bei*

Peyraube (1996:174) treats the development of the *bei*-form passive construction as "an example of analogy and grammaticalization that occurred in serial verb constructions". He claims that just like the MC *ba* (discussed in Section 2.2), the passive *bei* also develops out of the serial verb construction.

To recapitulate, in AC and OC *ba* occurred in the serial verb construction in which it was used as V1 meaning 'take hold of' in a sequence 'S+V1 *ba*+O1+V2(+O2)'. This has been shown in (3a) and (4) in Section 2.2, Chapter two, repeated here as (103) and (104):

103) Yu qing **ba** tian zhi ruiling yi zhen you Miao.

Yu himself take heaven REL mandate for conquer PRT Miao

(AC, *MZ*)

'Yu himself took the mandate of heaven to conquer Miao.'

104) Shi ju wu ren shi yin **ba** jian kan.

poem sentence no man appreciate should hold sword see

(OC, *YH*)

'Since no one appreciates poetry, I have to hold the sword to contemplate it.'

In late OC (AD700), the morpheme *ba* became grammaticalized into an adposition marking the direct object of the verb in a sequence 'S+PP *ba*+O+V' as shown in (7) in Section 2.2 repeated here as (105):

105) mo **ba** Hangzhou cishi qi. (OC, *BJY*)

not BA Hangzhou magistrate deceive

'Do not deceive the magistrate of Hangzhou.'

(Sun 1996:62)

The development of *ba*, therefore, involves a serial verb construction such as 'S+V1 *ba*+O1+V2(+O2)' becoming a single-verb construction 'S+PP *ba*+O+V' (cf. Li & Thompson 1974). During this diachronic process, the serial verb *ba* is grammaticalized into an adposition marking the object in preverbal position.

Now we return to the discussion of *bei*. Peyraube (1996) admits that *bei* was originally a verb used in simple SVO sentences in late AC (500-200BC). However, he speculates that it could well be the case that *bei* occurred in the serial verb construction 'S+V1 *bei*+O1+V2(+O2)' by analogy to the case of *ba*. He cites examples like (106) and takes *bei* in the sentence as V1 in the serial verb construction.

106) xi you Li Zi'ao ... **bei** wu he tun zhi.

once have Li Zi'ao BEI calling crane swallow he

(OC, *DHBWJ: SSJ*)

'Once there was a Li Zi'ao who was swallowed by a calling crane.'

I suggest that the analogous analysis of *bei* is problematic in several ways. First of all, it is dubious that *bei* in example (106) is still a verb. The main reason is that the original 'suffer' or 'cover' meaning of the lexical verb *bei* is obviously unavailable in this case. Instead, *bei* seems to function as a grammatical morpheme marking the agent of the verbal action *tun* 'swallow' rather than as V1 in the serial verb construction. Besides, in late OC (800-900), the use of *bei* as a passive adposition was already very common. Therefore, examples like (106) actually display a diachronic change that invites a reanalysis of *bei* as an adposition marking agent in preverbal position.

Second, if Peyraube's analysis is correct, we would expect to find at least some

evidence for the occurrence of *bei* in the serial verb construction in which *bei* was used as V1. This prediction, however, is not borne out. Examples (47-48), repeated here as (107-108), show the use of *bei* as a verb in AC. In (107), *bei* is used as a transitive verb taking a NP object *bin zhi huan* 'the perils of wars'. In (108), although there is another verb after *bei*, it cannot be taken as V1 in a derivation 'S+V1 *bei*+O1+V2(+O2)' because there is a connective *er* 'and' in between the two verbs. There does not seem to be any evidence that *bei* occurred in the serial verb construction.

107) baixing wu **bei** bin zhi huan. (AC, *ZGC*)

civilian not suffer army REL peril

'Civilians didn't suffer from the perils of wars.'

108) Tang wei tianzi dacheng **bei** e yan er si. (AC, *HS:ZTZ*)

Tang as majesty minister suffer bad word and die

'Tang, a minister at the service of His Majesty, suffered from slander and died.'

Third, although example (106) fails to constitute evidence for Peyraube's serial verb analysis of *bei*, it demonstrates an important stage in the grammaticalization process that *bei* was going through in old OC. That is, the *bei*-form developed further such that the main verb in the passive construction started to take a NP object. This phenomenon is not observed in the development of other passive constructions such as the *jian*-form or the *wei*-form.

In this section, three arguments have been presented to show that Peyraube's (1996) serial verb analysis of *bei* is not founded. Evidence has been shown that the passive morpheme *bei* developed from a verb meaning 'suffer' occurring only in simple SVO sentences (cf. Wang 1958). I conclude, therefore, that "the input of the

grammaticalization process" (Peyraube 1996:178) of *bei* is not the serial verb construction as claimed by Peyraube (1996) but a passive verb 'suffer' which originates from the single verb construction.

4.5.2 Grammaticalization of *bei* as an auxiliary

In this section, I attempt to establish a pathway through which the passive verb *bei* evolves into a passive auxiliary. Recall that in late AC, when *bei* started to be grammaticalized into an auxiliary, it occurred immediately before a transitive verb marking passive. Wang (1958) observes that in late AC and early OC when *bei* was used as a passive marker, it tended to encode a notion of adversity.

109) guo yiri **bei** gong... (AC, *ZGC:QC*)

state in-case BEI attack

'In case the state were attacked, ...'

110) Cuo zu yi **bei** lu. (AC, *ZGC:KLLZ*)

Cuo end because BEI kill

'Cuo was eventually killed.'

111) Quyuan Chu xian cheng ye **bei** chan fang zu. (AC, *HS:JYZ*)

Quyuan Chu good civilian prt BEI slander send exile

'Quyuan was a good civilian of the State of Chu but was slandered and sent to exile.'

112) Shiqing sui yi jin de zhong ran shu **bei** qian.

Shiqing though with caution obtain end but several BEI denounce

(AC, *HS:GSHZ*)

'Although Shiqing ended his life with achievements due to his caution, he was denounced (by the Emperor) for several time.'

Following Wang (1958), Sun (1996) suggests that the notion of adversity originates from the old meaning 'suffer' of the lexical verb *bei* in AC as shown in (113-114):

113) Tang wei tianzi dacheng **bei** eyan er si. (AC, *HS:ZTZ*)

Tang as majesty minister suffer slander and die

'Tang, a minister at the service of His Majesty, suffered from slander and died.'

114) Pingyang hou Chaocan shen **bei** qishi chuang.

Pingyang marquis Chaocan body suffer seventy wounds

(AC, *HS:XHZ*)

'The Duke Chaocan of Pingyang suffered seventy wounds in his body.'

Wang (1958) also observes that in mid OC and MdC, *bei* started marking the passive without carrying a sense of adversity as (115-116) show, though this was not very common:

115) ci zhu ren dangshi bin wu ming hou jie **bei** zhiyu.

these some people then yet no name later all BEI recognise

(OC, *SSXY:SJ*)

'At that time, these people were all unknown, but later all were accorded fame and recognition.'

116) Yuanyue ... shi zuo Xiexuan canjun puo **bei** liyu.

Yuanyue begin serve Xiexuan aide much BEI hospitality

(OC, *SSXY:CX*)

'When Yuangyue first served as Xiexuan's aide, he was treated with considerable deference.'

However, for a lengthy period of time during OC and MdC, the *bei*-form was

mainly used to express adversity as it did in AC, for instance:

117) mo shou Jiange zong kan ju, wen dao Shongzhou yi **bei** wei.

not worry Jiange finally may occupy hear say Shongzhou already BEI surround

(OC, *Dufu Poem*)

'There is no need to worry that Jiange may finally be occupied; it is already said that Shongzhou was already surrounded.'

118) Lie yu zhu jiang jie **bei** bi. (OC, *JS:HFZ*)

Lie and every officer all BEI imprison

'Lie and other officers were all imprisoned.'

119) Jia gong xiang **bei** yuanwang. (MdC, *XSHY:1*)

Jia gentleman before BEI wrong

'Mr. Jia was once treated unjustly.'

120) yi Dongpuo tiancai shangrang san **bei** Jinggong **suo**-qu.

with Dongpuo genius still three BEI Jinggong SUO-embarrass

(MdC, *JSTY:3*)

'Even Dongpuo, who was such a genius, was embarrassed by Jinggong three times.'

In MC, *bei* began to be used more and more as a passive marker without obligatorily encoding the notion of adversity.

121) Jingui **bei** chun li xuan cheng laodong yingxiong.

Jingui BEI village in elect become work hero

'Jingui was elected to be a model worker in the village.'

122) Licheng you **bei** shangji tisheng dao xu shang gongzuo.

Licheng again BEI superior promote to district on work

'Licheng was again promoted by his boss to work in the district office.'

123) nei ben shu **bei** ren jie-zou-le yi ben.

that copy book BEI people borrow-go-Asp one copy

'Somebody borrowed one copy of that book.'

I suggest that the grammaticalization of the passive marker *bei* seems to be a natural consequence of Hopper's (1991) principle of persistence that states:

> When a form undergoes grammaticization[1] from a lexical to a grammatical function, so long as it is grammatically viable some traces of its original lexical meanings tend to adhere to it, and details of its lexical history may be reflected in constraints on its grammatical distribution. (Hopper 1991:22)

In other words, the principle of persistence emphasises the close relationship between the meaning and function of a new grammatical item and the historical meaning of the original lexical item. As has been shown above, the passive marker *bei* was derived from the lexical verb *bei* meaning 'suffer'. Although at early stages of its grammaticalization, i.e., in late AC and early OC, the passive marker *bei* lost its original verbal status and developed a new grammatical function as auxiliary, its original lexical meaning 'suffer' was still sustained by its major use in denoting adversity. During OC and MdC, the passive marker *bei* was occasionally used in sentences that express no adversity but the majority of occurrences of *bei* were closely related to the notion of adversity. Later on, especially in early MC, it is no longer obligatory for the passive marker *bei* to mark adversity. It is, therefore, plausible to say that the passive marker *bei* in early MC has reached its later stage of grammaticalization and has become an auxiliary marking passive before the verb.

Sun (1996:36) treats the passive marker *bei* preceding the verb in MC as a clitic. He compares the use of *bei* with that of an auxiliary *keyi* meaning 'may' and a clitic *dei* meaning 'should'. He argues that since *bei* cannot be used as an answer to a yes-or-no question in (124) just like the clitic *dei* in (125) while the auxiliary *keyi* can as in (126), *bei* should be treated as a clitic rather than an auxiliary. Examples (124-126) are Sun's but the glossary is mine to keep the gloss consistent.

124) ta **bei** pian-le ma?

he BEI fool-Asp Q.

'Was he fooled?'

a. *bei

b. ta **bei** pian-le

he BEI fool-Asp

'He was fooled.'

125) wo **dei** qu ma?

I *should* go Q.

'Should I go?'

a. *dei

b. ni **dei** qu.

you should go

'You should go.'

126) wo **keyi** gen ta qu ma?

I *may* follow him go Q.

'May I go with him?'

a. keyi

[1] Hopper (1991) prefers "grammaticization " to "grammaticalization."

'(You) may.'

The clitic analysis seems to be problematic in several ways. First, whether or not an auxiliary can be used as an answer to a yes-or-no question is not the only way to determine the grammatical status of the morpheme because not all auxiliaries in Chinese have the same distributional properties. For instance, not all auxiliaries can be used as an answer to a yes-or-no question like *keyi* 'may'. The auxiliary *jiang* 'will' is just like *bei* and cannot be used as an answer to a yes-or-no question, as (127) shows. Instead of (127a), a complete sentence (127b) is required:

127) ni mingtian **jiang** qu Yidali ma?

you tomorrow *will* go Italy Q.

'Are you going to Italy tomorrow?'

a. *jiang

b. wo mingtian **jiang** qu Yidali.

I tomorrow *will* go Italy

'I'm going to Italy tomorrow.'

Second, Chao (1968:741-742) treats *dei* as an auxiliary and his examples[2] are (128) and (129). In (128), *dei* occurs in a *bu-V bu* 'not-V not' form the same way as the short form *kee* for the auxiliary *keyi* 'may' does in (129).

128) **bu-der bu** fwutsorng ming.ling

not-may not obey order

'cannot but obey orders'

129) neyg shih **bu-kee bu** kann.

that play not-may not see

[2] The orthography used in Chao (1968) is different from that used here.

'That play mustn't be not seen; you must see that play.'

Finally, as far as Chinese auxiliaries are concerned, adjunct phrases can be inserted in between the auxiliary and its verbal complement. This can be shown in examples like (130) and (131). There is, for instance, a temporal phrase *mingtian* 'tomorrow' in between the auxiliary *jiang* 'will' and the verb *likai* 'leave' in (130) and a manner phrase *manmande* 'slowly' in between the auxiliary *keyi* 'may' and the main verb *chi* 'eat' in (131). This is also true of *bei* as shown in (132) where the preverbal *bei* is separate from the main verb by an adjunct phrase *henhende* 'severely'.

130) ta **jiang** mingtian likai.

he *will* tomorrow leave

'He will leave tomorrow.'

131) ni **keyi** manmande chi.

you *may* slowly eat

'You may eat slowly.'

132) ta **bei**[3] henhende jiaoxun-le yidun.

he BEI severely lecture-Asp once

'He was taught a very good lesson.'

I therefore conclude that it is more plausible to treat the passive marker *bei* preceding the verb as an auxiliary rather than a clitic as claimed by Sun (1996).

In this section, an attempt has been made to establish a pathway that the passive auxiliary *bei* became grammaticalized into a passive auxiliary. As observed by Wang (1958), in late AC and early OC, the passive verb *bei* started to go through a

[3] For some unexplainable reasons, it appears that one can never get the two *bei*s together in the same clause.

grammaticalization process in which its verbal meaning of 'suffer' was weakened and *bei* evolved into a passive auxiliary. However, in earlier stages of its grammaticalization, it was used to encode a notion of adversity that is derived from the antecedent meaning of the passive verb. In mid OC and MdC, *bei* started to show signs of marking passive without encoding a sense of adversity. However, it is not until early MC that *bei* is used as a passive auxiliary without obligatorily encoding the notion of adversity. Therefore, it is plausible to claim that it is in early MC that the grammaticalization of the passive auxiliary *bei* is complete. In addition, evidence has been shown that *bei* immediately preceding the verb can be best analysed as a passive auxiliary.

4.5.3 Grammaticalization of *bei* as an adposition

In late AC, at the same time as *bei* began to be used as a passive auxiliary before a transitive verb, *bei* emerged as an adposition to mark agent in the passive construction. The evidence comes from Wang's (1958) observation that *bei* was used as an adposition as early as late AC marking agent as shown in (56) repeated here as (133) in contrast with (134) in which *bei* is used as a passive auxiliary. In (133), *bei*, as an agent marker, is followed by a NP *shangshu* 'minister' in preverbal position. In (134), *bei* precedes the verb *lu* 'kill' as a passive auxiliary.

133) wu yue ershi ri chen **bei** shangshu zhao wen.

five month 20 date I BEI minister summon question

(AC, *CY:BSSB*)

'On 20th May, I was summoned by the Minister to be questioned.'

134) mu jin zhe meng rong wei yi zhe **bei** lu.

admire pay people achieve glory disobey idea people BEI kill

(AC, *HHS:ZHZ*)

'Those who flattered received honour; those who disobeyed were killed.'

The two examples suffice to show that *bei* started to be grammaticalized into adposition and auxiliary at the same time in late AC. I take this as the starting point of two different paths through which the passive marker *bei* and the adposition *bei* became grammaticalized from the passive verb *bei*. The two processes, however, did not proceed at the same pace. The passive auxiliary *bei* became more and more commonly used and gradually replaced *jian* and *wei*, the other two passive auxiliaries in late OC (Wang 1958; Peyraube 1996). In comparison, the process for the adposition *bei* proceeded more slowly. *Bei* as an adposition did not become commonly used until mid OC. This could be due to the common use of the adposition *wei* as an agent marker in the passive construction from late AC to mid OC as shown in Section 4.2.3.

From mid OC, the use of *bei* as an agent marker became increasingly common. According to Sun (1996), Mei (1991) proposes that this could be attributed to a neutralization process that started in late AC. It mainly concerns the subcategorization frame of two types of compound verbs: V-*sha* type (V-kill) and V-*si* type (V-die). The former requires an actor subject as shown in (135) while the latter requires an experiencer subject as shown in (136):

135) an ben jin **ya-sha** wozhe. (AC, SJ:*WQSJ*)

bank break all press-*kill* sleeper

'The bank gave way killing all the sleeping people.'

136) bai yu ren tan beng jin **ya-si**. (AC, *LH:MY*)

hundred more person mine break all press-*die*

'More than a hundred people were killed in the collapse of the mine.'

Mei observes that the distinction between these two types of verbs became neutralized in late OC (700-1000) as the V-*si* type verb *da-si* 'beat-die' started to take an actor subject rather than an experiencer one as shown in (137):

137) zhuren yu **da-si** zhi. (OC, *TPGJ*)

master want hit-*die* him

'The master wants to beat him to death.'

During this neutralization process, these two types of verbs could no longer distinguish between agent and patient in terms of the subject. For instance, the subject of V-*si* type verb could be either an agent or a patient. Mei argues that the neutralization process actually makes it difficult to reveal the semantic relationships of NPs in a proposition, which may well cause some ambiguity in communication. It was the further development of *bei* as a passive marker in mid OC that helped solve this potential problem by marking out the passive. Evidence comes from examples like (138-139). Both sentences contain V-*si* type verbs. In (138), *bei*, as a passive marker, occurs before the verb *ci-si* 'stab-die' to show that the EC subject is a patient; in (139), *bei*, as an agent marker, occurs in preverbal position to encode the patient EC subject.

138) du zuo tang shang ye **bei** ci-si. (OC, *CYJZ*)

alone sit hall up night BEI stab-die

'Sitting alone in the hall, (he) was stabbed to death at night.'

139) ... **bei** huo shao-si. (OC, *TZBYJ:DZZ IV, 499a*)

BEI fire burn-die

'... was burned to death by fire.'

(cited in Sun 1996:31)

The further development of *bei* as a passive marker could, therefore, be conceived of as an inevitable consequence of this neutralization process (Mei 1991).

Wang (1958) observes the non-passive use of *bei* in early MdC as shown in (75-76) repeated here as (140-141):

140) **bei** wo yao-duan shengsuo de-dao zheli. (MdC, *SH:65*)

BEI I bite-break rope obtain-arrive here

'I broke the rope with my teeth and got here.'

141) **bei** houxingzhe hua yi tuan da shi zai du nei jianjian hui da.

BEI monkey-king change one ball big stone at belly in gradually become big

(MdC, *DTSZQJSH:6*)

'Monkey King turned into a huge stone and grew bigger and bigger inside the belly.'

This use of *bei* as an actor marker can still be found in MC as shown in (142) though it is not very common:

142) yi bu xiaoxin, **bei** liangge zei pao-le. (MC)

once not careful BEI two thief escape-Asp

'How careless! Two thieves ran away.'

As I have proposed in Section 4.4, this type of sentence could probably be treated better as an SVO sentence with *bei* marking the actor subject of the sentence in sentence-initial position. This observation also reveals that *bei* as an agent/actor marker was becoming increasingly common in mid MdC. It, therefore, seems plausible to assume that the grammaticalization of *bei* as an agent marker was completed in late OC (before 1000) (Wang 1958; Tang 1988; Sun 1996; cf. Peyraube 1996).

In sum, I have so far argued that the grammaticalization of *bei* as an auxiliary and an adposition in the Chinese language is not a linear development but takes two different paths. It has been shown that the morpheme *bei* started to become grammaticalized into an auxiliary and an adposition at the same time in late AC. But the two processes proceeded at different paces. The passive auxiliary *bei* became more and more commonly used. But in early stages of its grammaticalization, *bei* was used to denote adversity. It is in the later stages of its grammaticalization, e.g. early MC, that *bei* began to be used as a passive marker before the verb without obligatorily expressing adversity. It therefore is plausible to claim that the grammaticalization of the passive auxiliary *bei* was complete in early MC.

As regards the adposition *bei*, its development was relatively slow. This could be attributed mainly to the common use of *wei* as an agent marker in late AC and mid OC. In mid OC, a neutralisation process that involved two types of compounds verbs V-*sha* (V-kill) and V-*si* (V-die) triggered the further development of *bei* as an agent marker. *Bei* became more and more commonly used as an adposition marking agent in preverbal position in late OC and early MdC. This shows that the grammaticalization of *bei* as a passive adposition was complete in late OC and early MdC (Wang 1958; Tang 1988; Sun 1996, cf. Peyraube 1996). In MC, the morpheme *bei* is used in preverbal position either as an auxiliary denoting a passive meaning or as an adposition marking agent.

4.6 Features of the grammaticalization of *bei*

In this section, the grammaticalization of *bei* as a passive marker and an agent marker in MC will be examined in light of the principles of integrity, paradigmatic variability, and bondedness developed in Lehmann (1985). They are conceived of as being characteristic of grammaticalized forms cross-linguistically (Lehmann 1985).

4.6.1 Integrity

Integrity is defined as "the extent of loss of both semantic and phonological substance" (Sun 1996:78). Lehmann (1985) defines grammaticalization as a process during which linguistic signs lose their integrity. For instance, the grammaticalization of the verb '*go*' to a future *go* in *'be going to'* in English involves the loss of "the sense of physical motion (together with all its likely background inferences)" (Sweetser 1988:392). However, Traugott & König (1991) argue that the loss of semantic meaning only takes place in the later stages of grammaticalization.

The grammaticalization of the passive marker *bei* in MC provides evidence for Traugott & König's argument. The passive marker *bei* in MC was derived from the passive verb *bei* meaning 'suffer' in AC. When *bei* was first used as a passive marker, it encoded a notion of adversity. This shows that during initial stages of grammaticalization of *bei*, a new grammatical meaning - an auxiliary - was added but the original lexical meaning 'suffer' was not lost right away. In other words, in earlier stages of grammaticalization, there is only a shift in meaning, but not loss of meaning (Hopper & Traugott 1993). The lexical meaning 'suffer' continued to constrain the use of the auxiliary *bei* to an extent that *bei* was used to mark adversity in the passive construction. Over time, the meaning 'suffer' was weakened (in Meillet's (1912) term) which was proven by occurrences of the passive marker *bei* used in sentences implying no sense of adversity in OC and MdC. It, however, was only in later stages of grammaticalization of *bei*, i.e., especially in early MC, that the concrete meaning 'suffer' was bleached and *bei* began to be used as a passive marker in constructions where the notion of adversity is optional. Therefore, it can be said that in early MC, the semantic substance of *bei* as a verb is basically lost and *bei* has assumed grammatical features of an auxiliary as a passive marker preceding the verb.

4.6.2 Paradigmatic variability

Paradigmatic variability concerns whether it is possible for a grammaticalized form to be substituted by other synonymous forms.

In spoken MC, the passive adposition *bei* can be replaced by *jiao* 'ask', *gei* 'give' and *rang* 'let' as shown in the following examples. *Jiao* 'ask', *gei* 'give', and *rang* 'let' are glossed simply as *jiao, gei* and *rang* as they function as passive markers only:

143) haoxiang huo ren dei **jiao** si ren guan-zhe si de.
seem live people must *jiao* dead people discipline-Asp like prt
(MC, *LS:HBL*)
'It seems as if people alive had to be disciplined by the dead.'

144) zai ku! yi jia renjia **gei** ni ku wan-le. (MC, *YST:YS*)
again cry one house family *gei* you cry-finish-Asp
'Stop crying! Otherwise the whole family's going to be finished.'

145) zhei hua pianshen you **rang** wo tingjian-le. (MC, *BX:GM*)
this remark happen again *rang* I hear-Asp
'How come that it is I that happened to have heard it!'
(Wang, 1958:436).

Wang (1958), however, observes that in the passive constructions where *jiao*, *gei* and *rang* are used, a sense of adversity tends to be conveyed which was present in passive constructions with *bei* in OC and MdC but is optional in passive constructions with *bei* in MC. In other words, in MC, *bei* has lost this syntactic variability of being substituted by other synonymous morphemes, which accords with a general characteristic of grammaticalized items cross-linguistically.

4.6.3 Bondedness and scope

Lehmann (1985) claims that two more general properties of grammaticalized items include increase in bondedness and reduction in scope. Bondedness refers to the extent to which a morphologically free item becomes a less free or a more bound item through grammaticalization. Scope involves the change in the constituent structure of an item that is grammaticalized as well as the ability of the grammaticalized item to predicate a proposition in the case of a verb.

In AC, when *bei* 'suffer' was a full lexical verb, it was morphologically free and could predicate a proposition by taking a syntactic object. In other words, it could take scope over the predication as shown in (146).

146) Tang wei tianzi dacheng **bei** e yan er si.

Tang as majesty minister suffer bad slander and die

(AC, *HS:ZTZ*)

'Tang, a minister at the service of His Majesty, suffered from slander and died.'

After it is grammaticalized into an auxiliary in MC, it can no longer predicate a proposition. Instead, it becomes part of a VP with a co-occurrence constraint on the main verb of the sentence, i.e., no verb without a measuring out phrase is allowed in the construction, etc., as shown in (89) repeated here as (147). Semantically, the auxiliary *bei* serves as a passive marker introducing the passive reading to the VP.

147) *ta **bei** qiang.

he BEI rob

As for the adposition *bei*, it cannot be stranded and has to be followed by an NP complement. The PP marked by *bei* in preverbal position becomes part of the predicate as in [$_{VP}$ [$_{PP}$ *bei* NP] V] rather than the head of VP. The adposition *bei*

serves as an agent marker in preverbal position in both passive and non-passive constructions as shown in (148-149):

148) qinglue **bei** women da-bai-le. (MC)

invaders BEI us beat-defeat-Asp

'The evaders were defeated by us.'

149) yi bu xiaoxin, **bei** liangge zei pao-le. (MC)

once not careful BEI two thief escape-Asp

'How careless! Two thieves ran away.'

In sum, the features of the grammaticalization of *bei* as a passive auxiliary and an adposition MC have been examined in terms of the principles of integrity, paradigmatic variability, and bondedness proposed by Lehmann (1985). The passive marker *bei* was derived from the passive verb *bei* meaning 'suffer' in AC. When first used as a passive marker, *bei* denotes a sense of adversity, which shows that in early stages of the grammaticalization of *bei* the original meaning of the verb *bei* was not bleached immediately. The loss of semantic substance of the verb *bei* took place in early MC when *bei* became a passive marker not obligatorily used to mark adversity. Second, *bei* can be substituted by other passive markers in spoken MC.

4.7 Summary

In summary, this chapter has been mainly concerned with the evolution of the passive marker *bei* and the agent marker *bei* in the history of the Chinese language over the past 2,500 years.

An introduction has been given to the historical development of passive constructions in Chinese. The use of passive constructions was not begun until early AC. Following Wang (1958), three forms of passive constructions in AC have been

identified: the postverbal *yu*-form, the preverbal *wei*-form and *jian*-form. *Yu* is an adposition used in postverbal position to mark agent. *Wei* followed by a NP is taken to be an adposition used to mark agent in preverbal position whereas *wei* immediately preceding the verb is taken to be an auxiliary giving the verb a passive meaning. The preverbal *jian* is regarded as an auxiliary used immediately preceding the verb to mark passive. Of the three, the *yu*-form is the oldest and fell out of use near the end of AC. The *jian*-form declined in mid OC. The *wei*-form developed further into the *wei...suo* form in late AC. In late AC, the *bei*-form emerged as a passive construction. The *wei*-form and the *bei*-form became two prominent passive constructions in OC. However, the *wei*-form was eventually taken over by the *bei*-form in late OC. Ever since then, the *bei*-form has been a marked passive construction in Chinese.

The evolution of *bei* from a passive verb to a passive auxiliary and an adposition is a history of grammaticalization. In the past 2,000 years the full lexical verb *bei* 'suffer' in AC was grammaticalized into two grammatical morphemes, a passive auxiliary and an agent marker. The changes have taken two different paths. In late AC, an auxiliary and an adposition *bei* started splitting off from the same passive verb *bei* 'suffer'. The process proceeded for the auxiliary *bei* but was slowed down for the adposition *bei* probably due to the common use of the adposition *wei* as an agent marker in the passive construction from late AC to mid OC. It was in mid OC that *bei* developed further as an agent marker. In late OC and early MdC, the main verb in the *bei*-form passive construction began to have a NP object. There is a partitive or possessive relationship between the preverbal NP and the postverbal NP that form the patient of the verbal action. In early MC, the agent marker *bei* was used before an actor subject NP in a non-passive construction. In MC, *bei* can be used either as a

passive marker before a verb or as an agent marker in preverbal position. I have proposed that the grammaticalization of *bei* as a passive auxiliary is complete only in early MC whereas the grammaticalization of *bei* as an agent marker is complete in late OC and early MdC.

The evolution of *bei* once again shows that ever since AC, there have been preverbal PPs and that there is no period whatsoever in AC during which PPs are predominantly postverbal as claimed by Li & Thompson (1974).

CHAPTER 5

FOCUS-SOV ORDER IN CHINESE

5.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses the issue of whether the basic word order of Chinese is SVO with respect to object preposing in focus-SOV order in AC and MC in the language. Following Ernst & Wang (1995), I propose that the existence of focus-SOV order in both AC and MC is the consequence of object preposing, i.e., movement of objects to an adjoined position in VP when AUX is absent and to TP when AUX is present.

I will take as a point of departure Ernst's (1994) analysis of Infl structure for Chinese. Ernst (1994) argues that there is a functional head Fin(ite) [±finite] in Infl in Chinese (cf. Huang 1989). It is phonologically empty with the subject licensed in the Spec of its projection at S-structure. There is neither Agr nor Tense in the language and the empty Infl takes AuxP or VP as its complements. A natural question that arises with the claim is that whether modals exist in Chinese. I will explore this question from a different angle. Following the split-Infl hypothesis (Pollock 1989; Chomsky 1991) and Ernst (1994), I will propose an empty Agr hypothesis for the Chinese Infl structure. It states that there are functional heads Agr and Tense in Chinese. As the language does not have overt inflectional morphology, Agr in Chinese is phonologically empty with the subject licensed in its Spec. Since modals in Chinese belong to a functional category

AUX (Emonds 1976; cf. Huang 1989), Tense is lexically realised in AUX, following Chomsky (1970, 1986).

Ernst & Wang (1995) argue that the focus-SOV order in Chinese involves adjunction of objects to VP, the VPA hypothesis. Following Gao (1994), they posit a [+Focus] feature in the Chinese VP and argue that the preposing of the object is driven by this feature (Ernst & Wang, 1995:237). This is the approach I adopt here basically. In light of the empty Agr hypothesis, a revised VPA hypothesis will be introduced. The preposed object in focus-SOV order in MC will be shown to be adjunction to VP when AUX is absent and adjunction to TP when AUX is present. The object preposing in focus-SOV order in AC will be shown to be adjunction to VP only. What this investigation intends to also show is that the basic word order of Chinese has been SVO and the focus-SOV in both MC and AC is an emphatic / contrastive discourse device (cf. Sun & Givón (1985) on MC).

In a quantified study of contemporary Chinese, Sun & Givón (1985) discover that the distribution of OV orders in MC amounts only to 10% or less in the written and spoken texts they investigate. Their text distribution data also reveals that the OV order is an emphatic / contrastive discourse device. In addition, a comparative study of the language acquisition of native Chinese-speaking children shows no sign of the language undergoing a diachronic change to SOV order. Their findings suffice to support the claim that MC is a strictly SVO language and render Li & Thompson's (1974) word order change hypothesis invalid.

The chapter is organised as follows. Section 2 introduces the Infl structure for Chinese. On the basis of the review of Ernst's (1994) empty Infl hypothesis for Chinese,

the empty Agr hypothesis for the language will be proposed. Section 3 discusses two analyses of object preposing in focus-SOV order in MC. A revised VPA hypothesis will be introduced. Section 4 discusses the [+Focus] feature in the Chinese VP. Section 5 sets out the data on object preposing in focus-SOV order in AC. Section 6 presents an analysis of AC data followed by a section on indefiniteness and contrastive reading as well as facts that are characteristic of object preposing in focus-SOV order in AC. Section 8 introduces the disappearance of object preposing in late OC. Section 9 summarises the discussion in this chapter.

5.2 The Infl structure for Chinese

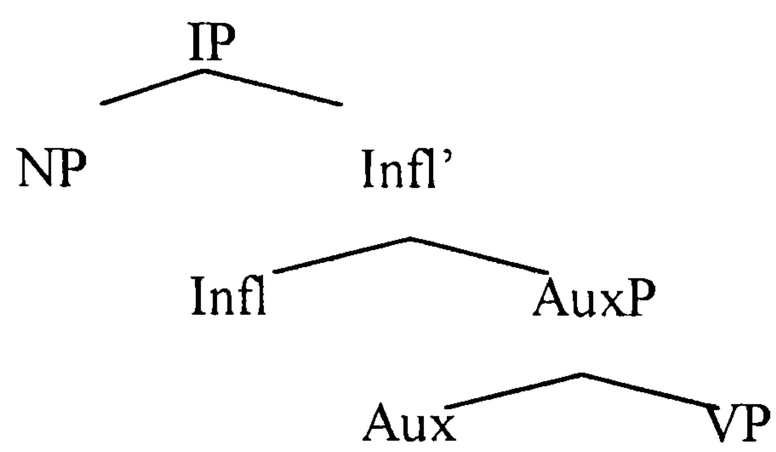
In discussing object preposing in Chinese, I basically adopt Ernst's (1994) Infl structure for the language. But I depart from him in arguing that instead of having an empty Infl, there is a functional head Agr in Chinese that is phonologically empty. There is also a functional node Tense in Chinese and it is lexically realised by modals (AUX) (Chomsky 1970; cf. Chiu 1990; Huang 1990). I review Ernst's (1994) Infl structure for MC and present my arguments for the empty Agr hypothesis in next two subsections.

5.2.1 Ernst's (1994) Chinese Infl hypothesis

Following the VP-internal Subject Hypothesis (Kitagawa 1986, Kuroda 1988, Koopman & Sportiche 1988) that says that subjects are base-generated in Spec of VP but obligatorily move to Spec of IP in the course of the derivation, Ernst (1994) claims that subjects in Chinese are base-generated in Spec of VP (Huang 1993; Chiu 1990). Following Pollock (1989) and Chomsky (1991), Ernst (1994) argues that there is neither Agr nor Tense in Chinese and posits a functional head Fin(ite) [+finite] in Infl for Chinese (cf. Huang 1989). It is phonologically empty with the subject licensed in the

Spec of its projection at S-structure. Following Li & Thompson (1981), Ernst treats Aspect and Modal in Chinese as verbal heads and takes them as two types of auxiliary verbs that head auxiliary VPs (AuxP) (cf. Huang 1990). The empty Infl takes AuxP or VP as its complements. The structure in (1) illustrates this:

1)



Ernst proposes that since Chinese lacks agreement morphology and temporal notions are indicated by adjuncts as shown in (2) and (3), there are no Agr or Tense categories in the language.

2) wo/ta/tamen shi xuesheng

I/he/they be student

'I am a student / he is a student / they are students.'

3) ta qu-nian/ming-nian biyie.

he last-year/next-year graduate.

'He graduated last year / will graduate next year.'

Ernst's claim is misleading in three ways. First, as Tense is lexically specified for modals (Chomsky 1970), Ernst's claim, especially the part concerning the lack of Tense category, may lead one to suppose that there are no modals in Chinese. Second, the treatment of modals as verbal heads may lead one to suppose that modals in Chinese share the same properties as verbs and therefore belong to the same lexical category with verbs. To clarify these two points, evidence will be presented to show that modals not

only exist in Chinese but display properties that verbs do not have. In Chinese, there are modals such as *yao* 'will', *neng* 'can', keyi 'may', *yinggai* 'ought to', *dei* 'must', *gan* 'dare', and *xuyao* 'need' (Chao 1968; Zhu 1982; Huang 1990). They display different properties from those of verbs. For instance, Chao (1968) makes the following observations.

(a) They precede verbs but do not follow verbs.

4) a. ta neng lai.

he can come

'He can come.'

b. *he lai neng.

he come can

(b) Many modals can take pre-modal degree adjuncts like *hen* 'very' or *zhen* 'really' but verbs cannot.

5) a. zhe ge ren *hen* hui shuo xiaohua.

This CL person very can speak joke

'This guy is really good at cracking jokes.'

b. *zhe ge ren *hen* shuo xiaohua

this CL person very speak joke

6) a. ni zhen yinggai duo xiuxi.

you really ought-to much rest

'You really ought to rest more.'

b. *ni zhen xiuxi.

you really rest

(c) Chinese modals such as *dei* 'must' in (7) and *neng* 'can' in (8) cannot take aspect markers though verbs can. In the following examples, '-*le*' in (7) and '-*guo*' in (8) are perfective and experiential aspect markers respectively.

7) a. ta dei mai che.

he must buy car

'He must buy a car.'

b. *ta dei-*le* mai che.

he must-Asp buy car

c. ta mai-*le* che.

he buy-Asp car

'He bought a car.'

8) a. Lisi neng kai che.

Lisi can drive car

'Lisi can drive (cars).'

b. *Lisi neng-*guo* kai che.

Lisi can-Asp drive car

c. Lisi kai-*guo* che.

he drive-Asp car

'He has driven a car before.'

From the above sets of data, especially those in set (c), it is clear that there are modals in Chinese. It is reasonable to propose that modals are not verbs but belong to a

functional category 'AUX' (Emonds 1976) and are in Tense (Chomsky 1970, 1986). The positing of a Tense node in Chinese Infl structure can be further supported by an argument by Ernst (1994). Ernst claims that there is a distinction between finite and non-finite clauses in Chinese. His evidence is that verbs like *zhidao* 'know' and *shuo* 'say' take finite complements whereas control verbs like *bi* 'force' and *xiang* 'want' take non-finite complements (see Sections 5.3.1.3 and 5.3.2.3 for details). There is also a distinction between these two types of complements in terms of the occurrence of AUX in the sentences. For instance, finite complements can take AUX such as *hui/neng/yinggai* 'will/can/must' in (9) whereas non-finite complements cannot. The examples in (9) and (10) illustrate this.

9) ta zhidao Lisi *hui/neng/yinggai* lai.

he know Lisi will/can/should come

'He knows that Lisi will/can/should come.'

10) ta bi Lisi [*e* (**hui/neng/yinggai*) lai].

he force Lisi will/can/should come

'He forces Lisi to come.'

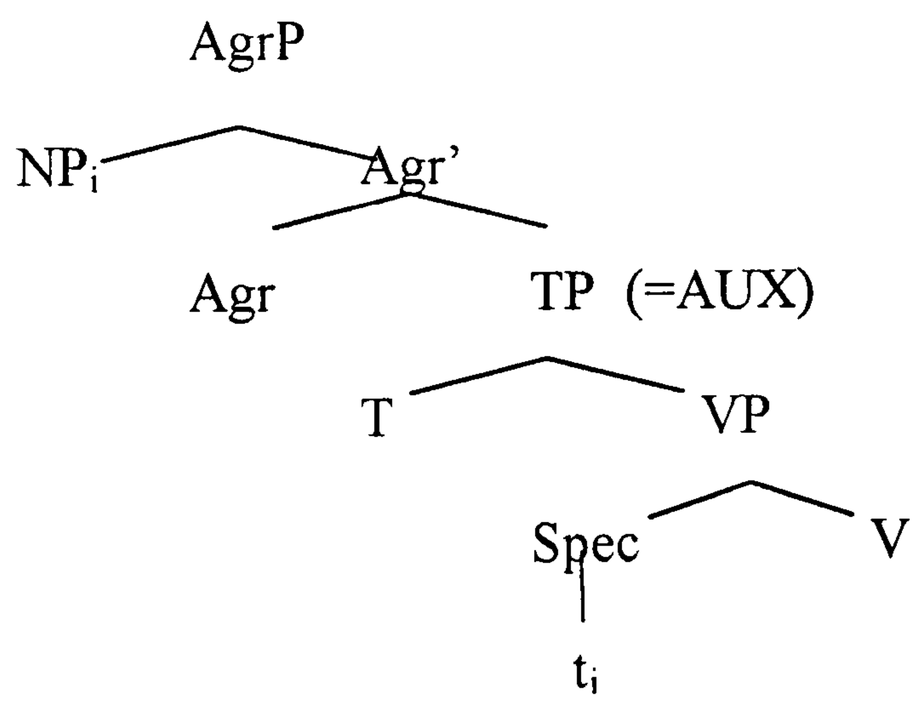
This is in accord with Huang's (1989) generalisation that applies to Chinese and states that "If the subject of a clause is obligatorily null, the clause cannot contain an element of AUX" (Huang 1989:190). Hence, there is reason to argue that there is a Tense node in Chinese that is lexically specified by finite modals (AUX) (Chomsky 1970). This head T takes VP as its complements.

Finally, it is true that there is no (overt) agreement morphology in Chinese. However, there is no reason to suppose that there is no such functional head, especially

when it is not unusual to posit empty functional heads in research on inflectional categories, following the Split-Infl Hypothesis (Pollock 1989; Chomsky 1989, 1991). It therefore is plausible to claim that there is a functional head Agr in Chinese that remains phonologically empty.

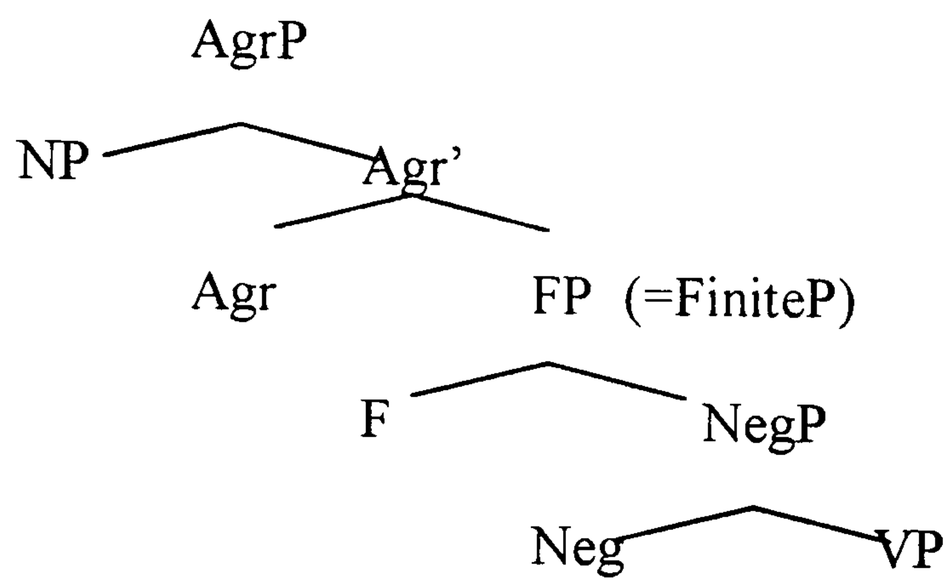
So far, I have proposed that there is an empty Agr in Chinese with the subject licensed in the Spec of its projection at S-structure. It takes TP as its complement that is lexically realised by modals (AUX) (cf. Huang 1989). Tense (=AUX) then takes VP as its complements. I call this the empty Agr hypothesis. I agree with Ernst (1994) that subjects are base-generated in Spec of VP. But I depart from him in arguing that subjects obligatorily move to Spec of empty AgrP in the course of the derivation in Chinese, following the VP-internal Subject Hypothesis (Kitagawa 1986; Kuroda 1988; Koopman & Sportiche 1988). The structure in (11) illustrates this with details omitted.

11)



The structure in (11) is similar to that in (12) proposed by Chomsky (1991) for English:

12)



The empty Agr hypothesis is not just a notional variation but makes available the two functional categories, Agr and Tense, in the Infl structure of Chinese. It also establishes the status of the functional category 'AUX' for modals in the language. The posited hypothesis is superior to Ernst's (1994) empty Infl hypothesis in several ways. First, it predicts the existence and placement of modals in Chinese. Second, it makes it possible to identify the Auxiliary category (AUX) in Chinese and the syntactic properties relevant to AUX. Third, it is more plausible to posit a Tense node in the language that is lexically realised by modals (AUX). Finally, the positing of empty Agr also captures the similarities and differences in Infl structures cross-linguistically in a uniform manner. For example, to account for the difference in Agr heads between Chinese and English, the empty Agr hypothesis simply has to say that Agr is empty in Chinese but not in English.

In the following sub-section, I continue by reviewing in detail Ernst's main arguments for positing an empty Infl in Chinese because they are relevant to the later discussion of object preposing in focus-SOV order in Chinese. More arguments will be presented to show that the empty Agr hypothesis is preferred to the empty Infl hypothesis.

5.2.2 Ernst's (1994) arguments for Infl

Ernst's main argument for positing an empty Infl in Chinese is based on the distribution of certain preverbal adjuncts. In Chinese, there are two types of preverbal

adjuncts: "movable" and "nonmovable" (Li & Thompson's (1981:320) terminology is used here for convenience). The movable type of adjuncts refers to adverbs that can occur freely to the left of the verb, i.e., either before or after the subject, such as temporal expressions like *zuotian* 'yesterday', *mingtian* 'tomorrow' and attitude adverbs like *xianran* 'obviously'. Ernst & Wang (1995) assume that no movement is involved in the placement of this type of adjunct. This is illustrated in (13):

13) a. tamen xianran/zuotian zou-le.
they obviously/yesterday go-Asp
'They left obviously/yesterday.'

b. xianran/zuotian tamen zou-le.
Obviously/yesterday they go-Asp
'Obviously/yesterday they left.'

They can also occur before the topicalized object as in (14a) as well as between the topicalized object and the subject as in (14b).

14) a. mingtian/xianran nei-zhuang fangzi tamen yao chai-le.
tomorrow/apparently that-CL building they want demolish-Asp
'Tomorrow/Obviously, that building, they will pull down.'

b. nei-zhuang fangzi mingtian/xianran tamen yao chai-le.
that-CL building tomorrow/apparently they want demolish-Asp
'That building, they will pull down tomorrow/apparently.'

On the other hand, nonmovable adjuncts are adverbs that can only occur after the subject, such as *dou* 'all' and *yijing* 'already' as in (15), and manner adverbs like *youlimaode* 'politely' and *jingjingde* 'quietly' as in (16):

15) a. haizimen dou/yijing dao-le.

children all/already arrive-Asp

'The children all/already arrived.'

b. *dou/yijing haizimen dao-le.

all/already children arrive-Asp

16) a. ta youlimaode/jingjingde zuo-xialai.

he politely/quietly sit-down

'He sat down politely/quietly.'

b. *youlimaod/jingjingde ta zuo-xialai.

politely/quietly he sit-down

Following Travis (1988), Ernst (1989) and Tang (1990), Ernst (1994) assumes that licensing of elements in nonargument (A'-) positions is constrained and that adjuncts may adjoin to either the X' level or the X" level of the projection of a particular head (Bouchard 1979; Tang 1990; Ernst 1993). His examples are English adverbs *obviously* and *cleverly*. Following the assumption that in English, *had* is in I at S-structure, these two adverbs may adjoin to either I' as in (17a) or I" (=IP) as in (17b) (cf. Emonds 1976; Chomsky 1986; Pollock 1989):

17) a. Obviously/ Cleverly Hortense had refused the favour.

b. Hortense obviously/cleverly had refused the favour.

(Ernst 1994:201)

Since Chinese movable adjuncts can occur freely to the left of the main verb, they are just like English adverbs *obviously* and *cleverly* and can be licensed as AdvP adjoined

either to I' as in (13a) or to IP as in (13b). They have the structures in (18a) and (18b) respectively:

18) a. [$_{IP}$ tamen [$_{I'}$ xianran/zuotian [$_{VP}$ zou-le]]]

they obviously/yesterday go-Asp

b. [$_{IP}$ xianran/zuotian [$_{IP}$ tamen [$_{VP}$ zou-le]]]

obviously/yesterday they go-Asp

In Ernst (1994), this solution is revised. But I discuss nonmovable adjuncts first and will come back to movable adjuncts after that.

Unlike movable adjuncts, nonmovable adjuncts in (15) and (16) can only occur after the subject. In other words, they can only be adjoined to I' as shown in (19a) and (19b) respectively:

19) a. [$_{IP}$ haizimen [$_{I'}$ dou/yijing [$_{VP}$ dao-le]]]

children all/already arrive-Asp

b. [$_{IP}$ ta [$_{I'}$ youlimaode/jingjingde [$_{VP}$ zuo-le-xialai]]]

he politely/quietly sit-Asp-down

However, in some cases, nonmovable adjuncts may occur before modals (AUX in Tense) as shown in (20a) or between modals and main verbs as in (20b):

20) a. haizimen dou/zai keyi qu.

children all/again may go

'The children may all go / go again.'

b. haizimen keyi dou/zai qu.

children may all/again go

'The children may all go / go again.'

In an analysis where modals head Infl with its Spec hosting the subject (L. Huang 1990), nonmovable adjuncts in (20) would be taken as adjunction to I' as in (21a) and to VP as in (21b):

21) a. [$_{IP}$ haizimen [$_{I'}$ dou/zai [$_{I'}$ [$_{I}$ keyi] [$_{VP}$ qu]]]]

children all/again may go

b. [$_{IP}$ haizimen [$_{I'}$ [$_{I}$ keyi] [$_{VP}$ dou/zai [$_{VP}$ qu]]]]

children may all/again go

In other words, nonmovable adjuncts can be licensed if and only if they are adjoined to Infl' or VP but not to IP. According to Ernst (1994), this is not a desirable solution especially when one wants to restrict the distribution of adjuncts to the X" level of lexical categories. To give a unified account of the distribution of adjuncts in Chinese, Ernst posits an empty Infl which takes AuxP or VP complements. In this spirit, the nonmovable adjuncts in (15-16) can be accounted for as adjunction to VP and have the structures in (22):

22) a. [$_{IP}$ haizimen] [$_{I'}$ I [$_{VP}$ dou/yijing [$_{VP}$ dao-le]]]]

children Ø all/already arrive-Asp

b. [$_{IP}$ ta [$_{I'}$ I [$_{VP}$ youlimaode/jingjingde [$_{VP}$ zuo-le-xialai]]]]

he Ø politely/quietly sit-Asp-down

Since AuxPs in Chinese are complements of Infl, it seems plausible to take the nonmovable adjuncts in between the subject and the modal in (20a) as adjunction to AuxP. Since Chinese modals take VP complements, the nonmovable adjuncts in between

the modal and the main verb in (20b) can be taken as adjunction to VP. This can be illustrated in (23a) and (23b) respectively:

23) a. [$_{IP}$ haizimen [$_{I'}$ I [$_{AuxP}$ dou/zai [$_{AuxP}$ [$_{Aux}$ keyi] [$_{VP}$ qu]]]]]

children Ø all/again may go

b. [$_{IP}$ haizimen [$_{I'}$ I [$_{AuxP}$ [$_{Aux}$ keyi] [$_{VP}$ dou/zai [$_{VP}$ qu]]]]]

children Ø may all/again go

Ernst (1994) thus claims that since nonmovable adjuncts always occur after the subject but before the main verb as in (15-16) and (20), they can only be licensed adjoined to verbal heads like AuxP or VP.

Now let us return to the movable adjuncts. With the empty Infl taking AuxP or VP complements, the movable adjuncts in (13) is taken as adjunction to VP as in (13a) and to IP as in (13b). They have the structures in (24).

24) a. [$_{IP}$ tamen [$_{I'}$ I [$_{VP}$ xianran/zuotian [$_{VP}$ zou-le]]]

they Ø obviously/yesterday go-Asp

b. [$_{IP}$ xianran/zuotian [$_{IP}$ tamen [$_{I'}$ I [$_{VP}$ zou-le]]]

obviously/yesterday they Ø go-Asp

By Ernst's empty Infl hypothesis, the distributional difference between movable adjuncts and nonmovable adjuncts in Chinese is that the former can be licensed under both verbal and functional heads whereas the latter can only be licensed under verbal heads.

5.2.3 Problems with Ernst's (1994) arguments

An immediate problem with this analysis concerns the position of Chinese modals. Recall that I have pointed out in the previous subsection that the empty Infl hypothesis might suggest not only that there are no modals in Chinese but also that modals in Chinese belong to the lexical category of verb. I have argued against both suppositions. It is the positing of the empty Agr hypothesis for the Chinese Infl structure that makes it possible to clarify these points. By the empty Agr hypothesis, there are two functional categories Agr and Tense in Chinese. Since Chinese does not have overt inflectional morphology, Agr is phonologically empty. Chinese modals are categorised as AUX and appear in Tense. Now let us see how the distribution of movable and nonmovable adjuncts in Chinese is accounted for under the empty Agr hypothesis.

Recall that like English adverbs *obviously* and *cleverly*, Chinese movable adjuncts can occur freely to the left of the verb, i.e., either before or after the subject. Therefore, they can be licensed as AdvP adjoined either to VP as in (13a) or AgrP as in (13b). They have the structures in (25).

25) a. [$_{AgrP}$ tamen [$_{Agr'}$ Agr [$_{VP}$ xianran/zuotian [$_{VP}$ zou-le]]]

they Ø obviously/yesterday go-Asp

b. [$_{AgrP}$ xianran/zuotian [$_{AgrP}$ tamen [$_{Agr'}$ Agr [$_{VP}$ zou-le]]]

obviously/yesterday they Ø go-Asp

Unlike movable adjuncts, nonmovable adjuncts can only occur after the subject. In other words, they can only adjoin to VP. The examples in (15-16) therefore have the structures in (26).

26) a. [$_{AgrP}$ haizimen [$_{Agr'}$ Agr [$_{VP}$ dou/yijing [$_{VP}$ dao-le]]]]

children Ø all/already arrive-Asp

b. [$_{AgrP}$ ta [$_{Agr'}$ Agr [$_{VP}$ youlimaode/jingjingde [$_{VP}$ zuo-le-xialai]]]]

he Ø politely/quietly sit-Asp-down

But when there is AUX such as *keyi* 'may' in (27), the nonmovable adjunct may occur either before AUX or between AUX and the main verb. By the empty Agr hypothesis, when they occur before AUX, they can be reanalysed as adjoining to TP. But when they occur between AUX and the main verb, they are adjoined to VP. The examples in (20) have the structures in (27).

27) a. [$_{AgrP}$ haizimen [$_{Agr'}$ Agr [$_{TP}$ dou/zai [$_{T}$ keyi] [$_{VP}$ qu]]]

children Ø all/again may go

b. [$_{AgrP}$ haizimen [$_{Agr'}$ Agr [$_{TP}$ [$_{T}$ keyi] [$_{VP}$ dou/zai [$_{VP}$ qu]]]]

children Ø may all/again go

This can be further supported by another observation in Ernst (1994:201) that nonmovable adjuncts such as *cai* 'only then', *you* 'again' and *jiu* 'then' (underlined) may have scope over modals such as *hui* 'will' in (28).

28) Xiaolan mingtian <u>cai</u> hui dao Beijing.

Xiaolan tomorrow only-then will arrive Beijing

'Only tomorrow will Xiaolan arrive in Beijing.' (Ernst 1994:201)

In this way, the empty Agr hypothesis captures both the similarity and the difference between the distributions of movable adjuncts and nonmovable adjuncts in Chinese. Namely, the similarity is reflected in the fact that these two types of adjuncts can both be

licensed under functional heads and verbal heads. What is more, the distributional difference between them boils down to the fact that movable adjuncts can be licensed under AgrP but others cannot.

As has been shown, English and Chinese differ in licensing of adjuncts in A'-positions. While English allows adjunction either to the X' level or the X" level of a projection, Chinese allows adjunction only to the X" level. Ernst's (1994) Chinese Infl hypothesis would suggest that it is because Agr in English is lexicalized while Infl in Chinese is always phonologically empty. The empty Agr hypothesis suggests that the difference can be attributed to the difference in the Infl status of the two languages. While Agr in English is lexicalized, Agr in Chinese is always phonologically empty. This in turn accounts for the licensing of adjuncts at different bar levels in the two languages.

To sum up, this section has introduced Ernst's (1994) Chinese Infl hypothesis which posits an empty Infl head in Chinese with the subject licensed in Spec of IP. He argues that Chinese Infl has neither Agr nor Tense and is not lexicalized. It takes AuxP or VP complements. Under Ernst's Chinese Infl hypothesis, the movable preverbal adjuncts can be licensed adjoined to either VP or IP whereas the licensing of nonmovable adjuncts is restricted to the verbal heads, AuxP and VP. However, it has been pointed out that Ernst's Chinese Infl hypothesis might lead people to suppose that Chinese does not have modals. It might also lead people to assume that Chinese modals belong to the lexical category, verbs. Ample evidence has been presented to show that there are modals in Chinese and they belong to a functional category, AUX. I have argued for the empty Agr hypothesis for the Infl structure in Chinese. It states that there are functional categories

Agr and Tense in Chinese. This Agr is phonologically empty with the subject licensed in the Spec of its projection at S-structure and takes TP as its complement. Tense is lexically realised by modals (AUX) and in turn has VP as its complements. Different arguments have been presented to show that it is more plausible to maintain the empty Agr hypothesis. For instance, the empty Agr hypothesis not only accounts for the distributions of two different types of adjuncts in Chinese but also captures the similarity and difference between them in terms of their distribution. It also makes it possible to account for the difference between English and Chinese in terms of licensing of adjuncts in A'-positions in these two languages in a uniform manner. In the following discussion, the empty Agr hypothesis is adopted instead of the empty Infl hypothesis (Ernst 1994).

In the next section, I present object preposing in focus-SOV order in Chinese and review different analyses of the phenomenon.

5.3 Different analyses of focus-SOV order in MC

The unmarked word order of MC is SVO (Light 1979, Mei 1980, Huang 1982, Sun & Givón 1985, Mulder & Sybesma 1992) as illustrated in (29-30):

29) ta xihuan nei-liang che.

he like that-CL car

'He likes that car.'

30) ta hui chui dizi.

he can blow bamboo-flute

'He can play the bamboo flute.'

Li & Thompson (1981) observe that there is a distinction between definiteness and indefiniteness in terms of the position a NP occupies in relation to the verb. Definiteness is preserved for preverbal position for topics, subjects, and objects. For instance, the topic *nei-liang che* 'that car' in (31) is definite as it is preverbal.

31) a. nei-liang che ta xihuan.

that- CL car he like

'That car, he likes.'

b. *yi-liang che ta xihuan.

one- CL car he like

Subjects may occur either before or after the verb. This is the case with unaccusative verbs. For instance, postverbal subjects can occur with verbs of motion like *lai* 'come' and existential verbs like *you* 'exist' as shown in (32-33). Preverbal subjects have definite reading while postverbal subjects have indefinite reading.

32) a. che lai-le.

car come-Asp

'The car(s) has/have come.'

b. lai-le che.

come-Asp car

'Some car(s) has/have come.'

c. *lai-le nei-liang che.

come-Asp that- CL car

33) a. yuanzi-li you yi-tiao gou.

garden-in exist one- CL dog

'There is a dog in the garden.'

b. zhuozi-shang you shu.

table-on exist book

'There are some books on the table.'

c. *yuanzi-le you nei-tiao guo

garden-in exist that- CL dog

The above contrasting data seem to show that NP movement from object to subject is probably involved.

This is also true of objects. The following sentences show that the unmarked postverbal object has an indefinite reading as in (34a) whereas the three other preverbal objects require a definite reading as (34b-d) show:

34) a. wo mai-le che.

I buy-Asp car

'I bought a car.'

b. wo ba che mai-le.

I BA car buy-Asp

'I bought the car.'

c. che wo mai-le.

car I buy-Asp

'The car, I bought.' (topic)

d. wo che mai-le.

I car buy-Asp

'I bought the car.' (contrastive)

(34b) is a *ba*-construction with the preposed object marked by the grammatical morpheme *ba*. The preposed object is definite. (34c) is a topicalization construction with the object *che* 'car' fronted to the sentence-initial position. The preposed object may have a contrastive reading but it is not obligatory. The preposed object in (34d) is unmarked but has a contrastive focus. There are two types of SOV sentences here: the *ba*-SOV (34b) and the focus-SOV (34d). It is the focus-SOV sentences that is our main concern in this chapter.

So far as the Focus-SOV order like (34d) is concerned, it is generally assumed that they are derived by movement. There are two main analyses for the derivation of the focus-SOV order: the Double Topicalization (DT) hypothesis (Xu & Langendoen 1985; Lee 1986; Tang 1990; Lin 1992) and the VP Adjunction (VPA) hypothesis (Ernst & Wang 1995).

In the following two sections, I review these two analyses. Four arguments from Ernst & Wang (1995) will be presented to support the VPA hypothesis over the DT hypothesis. They are concerned with the distribution of nonmovable preverbal adjuncts, pragmatic correlates between focus-SOV and OSV patterns, extraction of objects from embedded clauses, and the occurrence of objects in between modals and main verbs. A revised VPA hypothesis will be introduced, following the empty Agr analysis of the Infl structure in Chinese. Further argument in support of the revised VPA hypothesis based on the preposing of *wh*-word objects will then be presented in Section 5.3.4.

5.3.1 The DT hypothesis

According to Ernst & Wang (1995), the DT hypothesis suggests that the object *che* 'car' in (34d) is first topicalized to the sentence-initial position, giving (34c). The subject

wo 'I' is then topicalized across the preposed object to the sentence-initial position, resulting in (34d). In other words, under the DT hypothesis, the SOV sentence in (34d) is derived by double topicalization, adjoining both the object and the subject to IP as illustrated in (35):

35) $[_{IP}$ wo$_j$ $[_{IP}$ che$_i$ $[_{IP}$ $[_{Spec}$ e_j] $[_{VP}$ mai-le $e_i]$]]]

I car buy-Asp

To see what the DT hypothesis proposes, let us consider more data from the literature in the following subsections.

5.3.1.1 Distribution of nonmovable adjuncts

In the focus-SOV sentences, the nonmovable adjuncts like *yijing* 'already' and *yizhi* 'always' can only occur after the subject though they are possible either before or after the preposed object:

36) a. Lisi yan yijing bu chou-le.

Lisi cigarette already not smoke-Asp

b. Lisi yijing yan bu chou-le.

Lisi already cigarette not smoke-Asp

'Lisi has already given up smoking.'

c. *yijing Lisi yan bu chou-le.

already Lisi cigarette not smoke-Asp

37) a. ta yifu yizhi ziji xi.

he cloth always self wash

b. ta yizhi yifu ziji xi.

he always cloth self wash

'He always washes clothes himself.'

c. *yizhi ta yifu ziji xi.

always he cloth self wash

According the Ernst & Wang (1995), under the DT hypothesis, sentences (a) in (36-37) are the results of double topicalization, i.e., adjunction of both the object and subject to IP. That objects precede adjuncts is therefore not unexpected. Therefore, sentences (b) would be predicted to be ungrammatical because the preposed objects are not supposed to be preceded by adjuncts after double topicalization has taken place. But the prediction is not borne out. To account for it, DT would have to allow adjuncts to move to the left of the preposed object after the subject has been preposed. It would then be predicted wrongly that sentences (c) are grammatical if adjuncts were allowed to move to the left of the preposed object. In order to account for the ungrammaticality of (c), DT would need to stipulate that when adjuncts move, they could only move across the preposed object not the subject.

5.3.1.2 Pragmatic correlates of focus-SOV and OSV orders

Ernst & Wang (1995) notice that there seems to be a co-occurrence constraint on the use of certain adverbs like *dou* 'all', *ye* 'also' or *bu* 'not' ("emphatic markers" in Ernst & Wang's terminology) in object preposing constructions. The following examples illustrate this.

38) a. ni bu keyi zheyang fan *(ye bu) shi shui *(ye bu) he.

you not may thus meal also not eat water also not drink

'You can't go on like this, neither eating any food nor drinking any water.'

b. Lisi hui-bu-hui nei ben shu *(ye) mai.

Lisi will-not-will that CL book also buy

'Is Lisi also going to buy that book or not?'

c. ta dizi he kouqin *(dou) chui.

he bamboo-flute and mouth-organ all play

'He can play both the bamboo-flute and the mouth-organ.'

But neither the OSV form nor the focus-SOV form is subject to this co-occurrence constraint on the use of *dou* 'all', *ye* 'also' or *bu* 'not' in object preposing constructions as shown below:

39) a. xiaotiqin Lisi hui la.

violin Lisi can pull

'The violin, Lisi can play.'

b. jiu ta neng he.

alcohol he can drink

'Alcohol, he can drink.'

40) a. Lisi xiaotiqin hui la.

Lisi violin can pull

'Lisi can play the violin.'

b. ta jiu neng he.

he alcohol can drink

'He can drink alcohol.'

However, these emphatic markers seem to be more frequently associated with focus-SOV sentences though they are not obligatory for OSV sentences, for instance:

41) a. kele, Lisi he.

cola Lisi drink

'Cola, Lisi drinks.'

b. Lisi kele he, pijiu bu he.

Lisi cola drink beer not drink

'Lisi drinks cola but does not drink beer.

c. Lisi pijiu ye/bu he.

Lisi beer also/not drink

'Lisi also drinks / does not drink beer.'

(41a) is a topicalization construction with the fronted object *kele* 'cola' indicated by intonation and separated from the rest of the clause by a comma. The fronted object *kele* 'cola' may have a contrastive focus but it is optional. (41b) is a focus-SOV sentence in which the contrastive reading is indicated by a strong stress on the preposed object and enforced by the use of the second half of the sentence which is not obligatorily available. In (41c), the contrastive reading is reflected in the use of *ye* 'also' or *bu* 'not'.

According to Ernst & Wang (1995), under the DT hypothesis, the contrastive focus that differentiates between (a) and (b-c) cannot be captured in structural terms because both cases involve IP-adjunction. The only difference between (41a) and (41b-c) is that the former allows single topicalization whereas the latter allows double topicalization. To account for the focus reading of the preposed object in (41b-c), DT is forced to stipulate that double topicalization must be required and this double adjunction to IP requires that an IP-adjoined object be focused.

5.3.1.3 Extraction of objects from embedded clauses

Before discussing the extraction of objects from embedded clauses, a few words about clauses in Chinese are in order. Following Huang (1989) and Li (1990), Ernst (1994) assumes that clauses in Chinese have finite and non-finite distinctions. He argues convincingly that control verbs such as *bi* 'force' and *dasuan* 'plan' take non-finite complements. There are three major pieces of evidence for the argument. First, it is assumed that non-finite clauses tend to lack "an inherent time reference" (Hornstein 1990:146ff) and have a "future orientation" (Wierzbicka 1988:165). Ernst (1994) observes that this is also the case with non-finite clauses in Chinese. The following examples are taken from Ernst (1994:206-7). The sentences in (42) have non-finite clauses and contain a control verb *xiang* 'want'. By contrast, sentence (43) contains the verb *zhidao* 'know' that takes finite complements.

42) a. Jinrong xiang zou.

Jinrong want go

'Jinrong wants to go.'

b. Jinrong mei-you xiang zou.

Jinrong not-have want go

'Jinrong didn't want to go.'

43) Xiaolan zhidao [ta hui zuo / zuo-le].

Xiaolan know he will go go-Asp

'Xiaolan knows that she will leave / left.'

In (42), *zou* 'go' is in a non-finite clause and does not have "an inherent time reference". The time of going in the future is entirely dependent on the time of wanting

in the present as in (42a) and in the past as in (42b). However, the finite complement in (43) has its independent time reference.

Second, following Chomsky (1981), Ernst argues that non-finite clauses have an empty subject PRO as in (42a) exemplified in (44). The [SpecIP] in the non-finite complement is an ungoverned position and no overt subject is allowed in the position as shown by the ungrammaticality of (44b).

44) a. Jinrong xiang [PRO zou].

Jinrong want go

'Jinrong wants to go.'

b. *Jinrong xiang ta zou.

Jinrong want him go

Finally, Huang (1989) argues that the generalisation in (45) applies to Chinese and this is illustrated in (46).

45) If the subject of a clause is obligatorily null, then the clause cannot contain an element of AUX. (Huang 1989:190)

46) a. wo bi Lisi [*e* lai].

I force Lisi come

'I forced Lisi to come.'

b. *wo bi Lisi [*e* hui/neng/yinggai lai].

I force Lisi will/can/should come

c. *wo bi Lisi [*e* lai zhe].

I force Lisi come Asp

It therefore is clear that there is a distinction between finite and non-finite clauses in Chinese. Verbs like *zhidao* 'know' and *shuo* 'say' take finite complements whereas control verbs like *bi* 'force' and *xiang* 'want' take non-finite complements.

Now I discuss the extraction of objects from embedded clauses. Ernst & Wang (1995) discuss the following paradigm that is observed in Lu (1994) (similar observation in Fu 1994). They show extraction of objects (underlined) from embedded finite clauses. (48) shows extraction of objects from embedded non-finite clauses with the control verb *bi* 'force':

47) a. Wangwu shuo Lisi du-wan-le <u>na-ben xiaoshuo</u>.

Wangwu say Lisi read-finish-Asp that-CL novel

'Wangwu said that Lisi finished reading that novel.'

b. Wangwu shuo <u>na-ben xiaoshuo</u> Lisi du-wan-le.

c. <u>naben xiaoshuo</u> Wangwu shuo Lisi du-wan-le.

d. Wangwu shuo Lisi <u>na-ben xiaoshuo</u> du-wan-le.

e. *Wangwu <u>naben xiaoshuo</u> shuo Lisi du-wan-le.

48) a. Wangwu bi Lisi du-wan-le <u>na-ben xiaoshuo</u>.

Wangwu force Lisi read-finish-Asp that-CL novel

b. Wangwu <u>na-ben xiaoshuo</u> bi Lisi du-wan-le.

Wangwu that-CL novel force Lisi read-finish-Asp

'Wangwu forced Lisi to finish reading that novel.'

For the DT approach, there would be no problem accounting for (47b) and (47c), as both sentences are examples of adjunction of object to IP. The difference between them is that the former involves adjunction of an object to the embedded IP whereas the latter

to the matrix IP. (47d) is fine under the DT hypothesis as it could be assumed that double topicalization is involved in the embedded clause with the subject preposed to the left of the topicalized object. As for (48b), it would also be predicted by DT as the matrix IP is the only position for preposed elements to adjoin to. Notice that in the sentence there is a non-finite embedded clause complement *Lisi du-wan-le na-ben xiaoshuo* 'Lisi to finish reading that book' headed by a control verb *bi* 'force'. Ernst & Wang (1995:245) note that non-finite complements are known to be subject to clause union phenomena where matrix and embedded complements together form a single complement and display some properties of a single clause.

However, (47e) seems to be a problem for DT. According to Ernst (1994), with everything else equal, the main difference between (47e) and (48b) seems to be the [+finite] status of the embedded clauses. To account for this, DT would have to say that the matrix subject movement has to be banned if an embedded object has moved across to its left. This is obviously an ad hoc restriction.

5.3.1.4 The preposing of object after modals

This section concerns the preposing of object in relation to modals. Generally speaking, preposed objects occur before modals in focus-SOV sentences as shown in (49) and (50).

49) Lisi xiaotiqin ye hui la.

Lisi violin also can play

'Lisi can also play the violin.'

50) ta qiaokeli bu neng chi.

he chocolate not can eat

'He can't eat chocolate.'

(49) and (50) could be accounted for by the DT hypothesis as an instance of IP-adjunction if and only if it is assumed that modals like *keyi* 'may' head Infl in Chinese and that there is no landing site between subjects and Infl. However, under certain circumstances preposed objects may be to the right of the modal as shown in (51):

51) ni bu neng fan ye bu chi jiao ye bu shui.

you not can rice also not eat sleep also not sleep

'You can't just not eat and not sleep.'

Sentences like (51) would pose some problem for the DT approach as there is a landing site for the preposed object occurring between the subject and the modal that is assumed to be in Infl.

Four arguments have been presented to show that the DT hypothesis fails to provide a satisfactory account of the object preposing phenomenon in Chinese. I turn to the VPA hypothesis in the next section.

5.3.2 The VPA hypothesis

Ernst & Wang's (1995) VPA hypothesis presents an entirely different view of focus-SOV order. For ease of discussion, some examples in (34) are repeated here as (52).

52) a. wo mai-le che.

I buy-Asp car

'I bought a car.'

b. che wo mai-le.

car I buy-Asp

'The car, I bought.' (topic)

c. wo che mai-le.

I car buy-Asp

'I bought the car.' (contrastive)

Ernst & Wang argue that the focus-SOV order in (52c) is derived by preposing the object to an adjoined position in VP rather than IP.

53) $[_{IP}$ wo $[_{I'}$ I $[_{VP}$ che$_i$ $[_{VP}$ mai-le $e_i]$]]]

I Ø car buy-Asp

I agree with Ernst & Wang (1995) that the focus-SOV order is derived by moving the object into an adjoined position in VP. But recall that the empty Agr hypothesis postulates an empty Agr instead of an empty I in the Infl structure of Chinese. The empty Agr takes TP as its complement that is realised by modals (AUX). I therefore follow Ernst & Wang (1995) and propose a revised VPA hypothesis that states that the focus-SOV order in Chinese is derived by preposing the object to an adjoined position in VP rather than AgrP. The following structure illustrates this.

54) $[_{AgrP}$ wo $[_{Agr'}$ Agr $[_{VP}$ che$_i$ $[_{VP}$ mai-le $e_i]$]]]

I Ø car buy-Asp

Let us see how the same sets of data in section 5.3.1 are accounted for under the revised VPA hypothesis and Ernst & Wang's VPA hypothesis.

5.3.2.1 Distribution of nonmovable adjuncts

Under the revised VPA analysis, the focus-SOV sentences (a-b) in (36-37) can be accounted for in a straightforward manner because the focus-SOV order is taken as adjunction of object to VP. Given that constituents adjoined to the same maximal projection have freedom of ordering, it is expected that the preposed object may precede the adjunct and may be preceded by adjuncts. As a result, (36a) and (37b) have the structures in (55a) and (55b) with irrelevant details inside VP omitted:

55) a. $[_{AgrP}$ Lisi $[_{Agr'}$ Agr $[_{VP}$ yan$_i$ $[_{VP}$ yijing $[_{VP}$ bu chou-le e_i]]]]]

Lisi Ø cigarette already not smoke-Asp

b. $[_{AgrP}$ Lisi $[_{Agr'}$ Agr $[_{VP}$ yijing $[_{VP}$ yan$_i$ $[_{VP}$ bu chou-le e_i]]]]]

Lisi Ø already cigarette not smoke-Asp

Sentences (c) in (36-37) are ruled out simply because nonmovable adjuncts cannot be licensed under AgrP.

5.3.2.2 Pragmatic correlates of focus-SOV and OSV orders

Note that the preposed object in focus-SOV patterns tends to bear a contrastive focus that is optional for OSV patterns. While this pragmatic difference is difficult to accommodate in structural terms under the DT hypothesis, the VPA hypothesis claims that the preposed object is in a VP-adjoined position and this position requires contrastive focus while the IP-adjoined position does not (Ernst & Wang 1995:243). This argument is further supported by Tsai's (1994) observation that unlike the fronted objects in the OSV pattern, the preposed objects in the focus-SOV pattern can be indefinite but require some contrastive reading. This is shown in (56) and (57):

56) a. zhe-pian lunwen/*yi-pian lunwen, wo hen xihuan.

this- CL paper one- CL paper I very like

'This paper / *a paper, I like very much.'

b. yi-pian lunwen, wo hai keyi yingfu (liang-pian, na jiu tai duo le.

one- CL paper I still may handle two- CL that then too much PRT

'One paper, I can handle, (two papers, that's too much).'

57) a. wo zhe-pian lunwen xihuan *(na-pian lunwen bu xihuan)

I this- CL paper like that- CL paper not like

'This paper, I like (but that paper, I don't).'

b. wo yi-pian lunwen keyi yingfu *(liang-pian jiu bu xing le).

I one- CL paper can handle two- CL then not possible PRT

'A paper, I can handle (but two papers, I can't).'

(Ernst & Wang 1994:240)

This is exactly like the condition on discourse topic (Gundel 1977; Culicover 1992; Ernst & Wang 1995) in English as illustrated in examples like (58).

58) ??(As for) a paper, it will have to be over ten pages and double space typed.

(= Ernst & Wang's (1995) (14))

5.3.2.3 Extraction of objects from embedded clauses

For ease of discussion, examples (47-48) are repeated here as (59-60). To account for the contrast in grammaticality between (59e) and (60b), Ernst & Wang's (1995) VPA approach proposes an optional feature [+Focus] (see detailed discussion in section 5.4) in the Chinese VP which triggers preposing of some focused element to a VP-adjoined

position and facilitates the contrastive reading. This feature may appear on a matrix VP and trigger object preposing from a non-finite embedded clause complement. This is exactly what is expected of (60b). The ungrammaticality of (59e) is also correctly predicted.

59) a. Wangwu shuo Lisi du-wan-le na-ben xiaoshuo.

Wangwu say Lisi read-finish-Asp that- CL novel

'Wangwu said that Lisi finished reading that novel.'

b. Wangwu shuo na-ben xiaoshuo Lisi du-wan-le.

c. naben xiaoshuo Wangwu shuo Lisi du-wan-le.

d. Wangwu shuo Lisi na-ben xiaoshuo du-wan-le.

e. *Wangwu naben xiaoshuo shuo Lisi du-wan-le.

60) a. Wangwu bi Lisi du-wan-le na-ben xiaoshuo.

Wangwu force Lisi read-finish-Asp that- CL novel

b. Wangwu na-ben xiaoshuo bi Lisi du-wan-le.

Wangwu that- CL novel force Lisi read-finish-Asp

'Wangwu forced Lisi to finish reading that novel.'

There are two reasons for this. One is that the embedded clause is a finite clause and therefore it is fine for the [+Focus] feature in the embedded VP to trigger the preposing of object to its left as (59d) shows. The other reason, I propose, simply falls out from the first one as there is no more feature [+Focus] on the matrix VP to trigger the preposing of object to the left of the matrix VP, therefore the sentence is out.

5.3.2.4 The preposing of object after modals

Recall that the DT hypothesis has a problem with the preposing of objects after modals (Section 5.3.1.4) because there is a landing site for the preposed object between the subject and the modal that is supposed to be in Infl. This problem disappears under the empty Agr hypothesis that postulates an empty Agr taking TP as its complement. Together with the revised VPA hypothesis, (51) is taken as adjunction of object to VP. Example (40), in which the preposed object *xiaotiqin* 'violin' occurs before the modal *hui* 'can', is adjunction of object to TP. They are illustrated in (61a) and (61b) respectively:

61) a. [$_{AgrP}$ ni [$_{Agr'}$ Agr [$_{TP}$ bu neng [$_{VP}$ fan$_i$ ye [$_{VP}$ bu chi e_i] [$_{VP}$ jiao$_i$ ye [$_{VP}$ bu
you Ø not can meal also not eat sleep also not
shui e_i]]]]]]
sleep

b. [$_{AgrP}$ Lisi [$_{Agr'}$ Agr [$_{TP}$ xiaotiqin$_i$ ye [$_{TP}$ hui [$_{VP}$ la e_i]]]]]
Lisi Ø violin also can play

In the last two sections, I have reviewed two major analyses of the object preposing in MC, the DT hypothesis and the VPA hypothesis. A revised VPA hypothesis is introduced. Four considerations have been discussed. They involve the distribution of nonmovable preverbal adjuncts, pragmatic correlates between SOV and OSV patterns, extraction of object from embedded clauses, and the preposing of objects after modals. The revised VPA hypothesis argues that object preposing in the focus-SOV pattern is adjunction to VP whereas that the OSV pattern is adjunction to AgrP. In addition to what has been reviewed above from the literature, in the following section I propose a further

argument in support of the revised VPA hypothesis. This involves the preposing of *wh*-word objects in Chinese.

5.3.3 The preposing of *wh*-word objects

Wh-words in Chinese stay *in-situ* in both matrix and embedded questions. This can be illustrated in (62). *Wh*-words are in italics.

62) a. ta mai-le yi-ben shu.

he buy-Asp one-CL book

'He bought a book.'

b. ta mai-le *sheme*?

he buy-Asp what

'What did he buy?'

c. ni zhidao ta mai-le *sheme*?

you know he buy-Asp what

'Do you know what he bought?'

Wh-words can be used as *wh*-question words in any context. For instance, in (62b) and (62c), the *wh*-words *sheme* 'what' and *shei* 'who' have an interrogative reading. As observed by Huang (1982) and Cheng (1984, 1991), *wh*-words in Chinese can also be used as polarity items when they are placed in the "affective" context (Klima 1964). In other words, when *wh*-words are used in negative sentences, *yes/no* questions, A-not-A questions, or conditional clauses or with the preverbal adverb *dou* 'all', they can be interpreted as quantifiers (Ladusaw 1979). In (63), the *wh*-word *shei* 'who' can be interpreted either as a question word as in (a) or as a quantifier as in (b) because it is within the negation scope.

63) ta bu renshi *shei*?/.

he not know who/anyone

a. 'Who didn't he know?'

b. 'He didn't know anyone.'

When used in *yes/no* questions involving a question particle *ma* as in (64) or A-not-A questions as in (65), *wh*-words like *sheme* 'what' can be interpreted as quantifiers:

64) ni xiang mai *sheme* ma?

you want buy anything PRT

'Would you like to buy anything?'

65) ni xiang-bu-xiang mai sheme?

you want-not-want buy anything

'Would you like to buy anything or not?'

It is also the case with *wh*-words that are used in the context of conditionals as shown in (66):

66) ruguo ni xiang mai *sheme*, ni jiu gen wo shuo.

if you want buy anything you just to me say

'If you want to buy anything, you just let me know.'

Wh-words can also be interpreted as universal quantifiers when used with the nonmovable adverb *dou* 'all' (Cheng 1991). For instance, *shei* 'who' in (67) may only be interpreted as *everyone* and *sheme* 'what' in (68) as *everything*.

67) *shei* dou xihuan Lisi.

everyone all like Lisi

'Everyone likes Lisi.'

68) Lisi *sheme* dou xiang mai.

Lisi everything all want buy

'Lisi wants to buy everything.'

What is relevant to our discussion here is the preposing of *wh*-word objects with the nonmovable adverb *dou* 'all' like (68). Like the NP object, *wh*-word objects can be topicalized to the sentence-initial position as in (69):

69) *shenme* Lisi dou xiang mai.

everything Lisi all want buy

'Everything, Lisi wishes to buy.'

However, in some cases, there seems to be a difference in interpretation between the clause-initial *wh*-word objects and those in the focus-SOV pattern. For instance, the focus-SOV sentence in (70) is ambiguous, i.e., the preposed *wh*-word *sheme* 'what' can be interpreted either as a question word or as a quantifier. But the same *wh*-word in the OSV sentence (71) only has a quantifier reading.

70) ta *sheme* dou xihuan?/.

he what/everything all like

a. 'What does he all like?'

b. 'He likes everything.'

71) *sheme* ta dou xihuan.

everything he all like

'He likes everything.'

The same effects occur regarding the scope of negation. The focus-SOV sentence (72) is ambiguous but the OSV sentence (73) is not.

72) Lisi *sheme* dou mei mai?/.

Lisi anything all not buy

a. 'What didn't Lisi buy?'

b. 'Lisi didn't buy anything.'

73) *sheme* Lisi dou mei mai.

anything Lisi all not buy

'Lisi didn't buy anything.'

Before I discuss this data, a word about *dou* 'all' is in order. It is noted in the literature that *dou* is a preverbal adverb and only quantifies an element to its left. The element it quantifies does not need to be adjacent to it but the quantified element has to have a plural reading (Chao 1968, Li & Thompson 1981, Huang 1982, Cheng 1991).

74) wo (*dou) mai-le (*dou) neixie shu (*dou).

I (all) buy-Asp (all) those book (all)

75) neixie shu wo dou mai-le.

those book I all buy-Asp

'Those books, I bought them all.'

76) wo neixie shu dou mai-le.

I those book all buy-Asp

'I bought all those books.'

In (74) there is no NP that can be quantified by the preverbal *dou* to its left since *dou* needs a plural NP. (75) and (76) show that for an object to be quantified by *dou*, it has to move to a preverbal position but it can be either before or after the subject.

Let us return to the preposing of *wh*-word objects. Take (70) for example. Recall that the DT hypothesis does not distinguish between IP- and VP-adjunction and therefore would find it difficult to account for the different readings between (70) and (71) in structural terms. To do this, it has to stipulate that when the topicalized object is a *wh*-word, the double topicalization requires that the IP-adjoined *wh*-word object display properties of both a question word and a quantifier, causing ambiguity in its interpretation. The revised VPA hypothesis on the other hand makes a distinction between AgrP- and VP-adjunction. Since the *wh*-word object *sheme* 'what' in (70) is to the right of the subject, it is taken as adjunction to VP and has the structure in (77):

77) $[_{AgrP}$ ta$_j$ $[_{Agr'}$ Agr $[_{VP}$ *sheme*$_i$ $[_{VP}$ dou $[_{VP}$ xihuan e_i]]]]]

he Ø what/everything all like

As *dou* 'all' only quantifies elements to its left and requires that the quantified element be plural, the *wh*-word *sheme* 'what' becomes the only element for quantification to take place. *Dou*, therefore, has a narrow scope and the preposed *wh*-word object has two possible interpretations: an interrogative word and a quantifier. The sentence is ambiguous. The same *wh*-word object in (71) is preposed to the sentence-initial position and therefore adjoined to AgrP as the structure in (78) shows:

78) $[_{AgrP}$ *sheme*$_i$ $[_{AgrP}$ ta $[_{Agr'}$ Agr $[_{VP}$ dou $[_{VP}$ xihuan e_i]]]]]

what he Ø all like

In (78), since the subject NP *ta* 'he' is not plural, *dou* has to cross the subject *ta* 'he' to its left to quantify *sheme* 'everything'. In this case, *dou* has wide scope and the sentence is not ambiguous. Therefore, the difference between (70)- (72) on the one hand and (71)-(73) on the other can be accounted for if we assume that the former involves adjunction of *wh*-word object to VP whereas the latter involves adjunction to AgrP. When the *wh*-word object is VP-adjoined, *dou* has narrow scope and the sentence is ambiguous; when the *wh*-word object is AgrP-adjoined, *dou* has wide scope and the sentence is unambiguous.

In this subsection, I have presented a new argument involving the preposing of *wh*-word objects in support of the revised VPA hypothesis. Now we turn to the discussion of landing sites of the preposed objects in the following sections.

5.4 [+Focus] feature in the Chinese VP

In this section, the [+Focus] feature in the Chinese VP will be introduced. It involves the focus-SOV sentences only. There are two arguments in the literature: Gao's (1994) focus criterion and Ernst & Wang's (1995) focus criterion. They will be reviewed in the following two subsections.

5.4.1 Gao's (1994) Focus Criterion

Gao (1994) and Shyu (1994) observe that certain types of object preposing obligatorily co-occur with pre-object emphatic particles such as *lian* 'even' and post-object emphatic particles such as *ye* 'also' and *dou* 'all' as shown in the following examples. In (79-80), *ye* 'also' and *dou* 'all' occur before the verb and *lian* 'even' occurs before the preposed object.

79) Lisi **lian** zhizhu *(**ye**) xihuan.

Lisi even spider also like

'Lisi even likes spiders.'

80) ta **lian** nei-zhong che *(**dou**) mai.

he even that-CL car all buy

'He even bought that type of car.'

Following Brody (1991) and Choe (1992), Gao (1994) proposes that in the MC VP, there is a functional category Focus Phrase (FocP). The head F bears a focus feature [+Foc] and is occupied by pre-object *ye* 'also' or *dou* 'all'. The object marked by pre-object *lian* 'even' moves obligatorily to the Spec position of FocP to enter into a Spec-head relationship, satisfying the Focus Criterion as illustrated in (81):

81) The Focus Criterion:

a. The focused element must be in a Spec-head configuration with the F [+Foc];

b. The F [+Foc] must be in a Spec-head configuration with the focused element.

An immediate problem for the analysis is sentences like (82) where the subject *Lisi* intervenes between the preposed element marked by *lian* 'even' and the F [+Foc] occupied by *ye* 'also'. Spec and the head are split into two.

82) lian zhizhu Lisi **ye** xihuan.

even spider Lisi also like

'Even spiders, Lisi also likes.'

Actually, object preposing in Chinese is more complex. There are four additional types of object preposing in Chinese. First, the preposing of an object to the initial position of the sentence as shown in (83):

83) dizi Lisi hui chui.

bamboo-flute Lisi can blow

'Lisi can play the bamboo-flute.'

Second, the preposing of an object before the verb but after the subject with emphatic particles *ye* 'also' and *duo* 'all' occurring before the verb as shown in (84):

84) Lisi dizi **ye/dou** hui chui.

Lisi bamboo-flute also/all can blow

'Lisi can also / can even play the bamboo-flute.'

Third, the preposing of an object before the verb but after the subject as opposed to (79) and (80) where there is a particle before the preposed object. They are shown in (85) and (86):

85) Lisi dizi hui chui.

Lisi bamboo-flute can blow

'Lisi can play the bamboo-flute.'

86) Lisi dizi chui.

Lisi bamboo-flute blow

'Lisi plays the bamboo-flute.'

Finally, Ernst & Wang (1995) observe that the negative particle *bu* 'not' also occurs in focus-SOV sentences though it can appear only with the unmarked preposed object as shown in (87):

87) Lisi dizi **bu** hui chui.

Lisi bamboo-flute not can blow

'Lisi cannot play the bamboo-flute.'

The example in (83) is taken as a case of topicalization so it is irrelevant to our discussion. In (84), although there are post-object *ye* 'also' and *dou* 'all' before VP, the preposed object is not marked by *lian* 'even' as in (79-80) and is a bare preposed object. By Gao's (1994) Focus Criterion, the head F is still occupied by *ye* 'also' or *dou* 'all' but the Spec of FocP is filled by a bare preposed object. The sentences in (85-86) are free from any emphatic particle. According to Ernst & Wang (1995), if it is to be accommodated under Gao's (1994) analysis, it seems that a null F needs to be posited with the Spec of FocP filled by a bare preposed object.

But what really poses a problem for Gao's (1994) Focus Criterion is probably the OV sentence in (87) where there is a negative particle *bu* 'not'. Compared with (84), the negative particle *bu* 'not' seems to be like *ye* 'also' or *dou* 'all', having the same distribution in the focus-SOV sentence and functioning the same way as an emphatic particle. It would then be expected that *bu* could be used with *lian* 'even' at least optionally. But this is untrue as the ungrammaticality of (88) shows:

88) *Lisi lian niunai **bu** he.

Lisi even milk not drink

However, the sentence can be rescued by having *ye* 'also' or *dou* 'all' appear before *bu* 'not' as illustrated in (89):

89) Lisi lian niunai **ye/dou bu** he.

Lisi even milk also/all not drink

'Lisi did not even drink milk either / did not even drink milk at all.'

Since *ye* and *dou* head FocP, it is unlikely that the negative particle *bu* 'not' could be taken as the head of FocP. Additionally, Ernst (1995) assumes that *bu* is in the Spec of AuxP. This makes it impossible to have *bu* in the head of FocP.

5.4.2 Ernst & Wang's (1995) Focus Criterion

Following Chomsky (1993), Fukui (1993) and Gao (1994), Ernst & Wang (1995:244) claim that in the Chinese VP, there is an optional feature [+Focus] that triggers the preposing of the object to an adjoined position in VP. The preposed object encodes a contrastive reading. This can be illustrated in (90-91):

90) Lisi kafei xihuan, cha bu xihuan.

Lisi coffee like tea not like

'Lisi likes coffee but does not like tea.'

91) ta dizi hui chui, kouqin bu hui chui.

he bamboo-flute can blow mouth-organ not can blow

'He can play the bamboo-flute but cannot play the mouth-organ.'

Ernst & Wang (1995) divide object preposing in Chinese into two types: one with the pre-object *lian* 'even' and the other without. In other words, the focus-SOV sentence with *ye* 'also' or *dou* 'all' after the preposed object is grouped with the non-*lian*-phrase type.

Following Gao (1994), Ernst and Wang propose that in the Chinese VP, the functional head F is occupied by *ye* 'also' or *dou* 'all'. The Spec of FocP is filled by a *lian*-phrase (a preposed object marked by *lian* 'even') so that there is Spec-head agreement. This accounts for the object preposing with the *lian*-phrase as in (79-80). As to the non-*lian*-phrase type like (84), Ernst & Wang depart from Gao. Following Chomsky (1993), they argue that the heads of Chinese IPs and VPs bear the feature [+Foc] which in turn triggers the preposing of the focused object to an adjoined position in the projection so as to enter into the checking domain of the projection. In other words, the [+Foc] feature appears on the Focus head of FocP when it is overtly filled in by focus markers like *ye* 'also' or *dou* 'all'. But when the head of FocP is not overtly occupied by a focus marker, the [+Foc] feature falls on the head of either IP or VP so that the focused element enters into a checking relationship with [+Foc] feature on the head of IP or VP. Their revised Focus Criterion is illustrated in (92):

92) The Focus Criterion:

A. The focused element must be checked with a head bearing [+Foc];

B. The Focus head of FocP must be in a Spec-head configuration with the focused element.

(Ernst & Wang 1995:254)

However, the analysis is still problematic in various ways. For instance, according to Ernst & Wang, since (84), repeated here as (93), does not have a *lian*-phrase, it is the focus feature [+Foc] that falls on the head of VP that triggers the preposing of the object to an adjoined position in VP.

93) Lisi dizi ye/dou hui chui.

Lisi bamboo-flute also/all can blow

'Lisi can also / can even play the bamboo-flute.'

The problem is how to accommodate *ye/dou* that bear the focus feature [+Focus] and head FocP. An alternative could be that in the case of the non-*lian*-phrase type of object preposing, *ye/dou* are regarded as adjuncts licensed under VP. Then there seems to be a need to explain why *ye/dou* in the *lian*-phrase type are heads of FocP whereas *ye/dou* in the non-*lian*-phrase type are adjuncts. To make up for this, (84) could be treated as a default case of *lian*-phrase type object preposing. It could be assumed that the head of FocP is still occupied by *ye/dou*. There is a difference between this type of *lian*-phrase and the genuine type of *lian*-phrase. In the former, the Spec position is filled by a non-*lian*-phrase, i.e., the unmarked NP object in (84) whereas in the latter the Spec position is filled by a *lian*-phrase as in (79) and (80) repeated here as (94) and (95).

94) Lisi lian zhizhu *(ye) xihuan.

Lisi even spider also like

'Lisi even likes spiders.'

95) ta lian nei-zhong che *(dou) mai.

He even that-CL car all buy

'He even bought that type of car.'

Let us look at the non-*lian*-type object preposing like (85-86) repeated here as (96-97).

96) Lisi dizi hui chui.

Lisi bamboo-flute can blow

'Lisi can play the bamboo-flute.'

97) Lisi dizi chui.

Lisi bamboo-flute blow

'Lisi plays the bamboo-flute.'

The preposing of the object is in an adjoined position in AuxP in the case of (96) and in an adjoined position in VP in the case of (97). In the case of (87), the negative particle *bu* is assumed to be in Spec of AuxP (Ernst 1995) so the preposed object is in an adjoined position in AuxP.

This seems to have accounted for the object preposing sentences of both the *lian*-phrase type and the non-*lian*-phrase type. But there is still a problem if one wants to predict the occurrence of any given phrase in Spec of FocP. In the next subsection, I will offer an alternative solution to the problem.

5.4.3 An alternative account of focus-SOV order in MC

Instead of having the *lian*-type and the non-*lian*-type division, the focus-SOV sentences can be classified into two different types: the overt type and the covert type. The overt type involves overt focus markers *ye* or *dou* and the covert type does not. Let us look at the former type of focus-SOV sentences first.

The overt type can be identified by the use of post-object emphatic markers *ye* 'also' or *dou* 'all'. Examples (79) and (84) are repeated here as (98) and (99) for ease of discussion.

98) Lisi **lian** zhizhu **ye** xihuan.

Lisi even spider also like

'Lisi even likes spiders.'

99) Lisi dizi **ye/dou** hui chui.

Lisi bamboo-flute also/all can blow

'Lisi can also / can even play the bamboo-flute.'

Following the revised VPA hypothesis, it can be seen that the object *zhizhu* 'spider' in (98) is preposed to an adjoined position in VP whereas the preposed object *dizi* 'bamboo-flute' in (99) is preposed to an adjoined position in TP since the sentence contains an AUX *hui* 'can'. Following Ernst & Wang's (1995) Focus Criterion, this overt-type of focus-SOV sentences contains in its VP (98) and in TP (99) a Focus head that is filled by overt focus markers *ye* 'also' and *dou* 'all'. But notice that the preposed object *zhizhu* 'spider' in (98) is marked by *lian* 'even' whereas the preposed object *dizi* 'bamboo-flute' in (99) is not. This suggests that in overt-type focus-SOV sentences, it is optional for preposed objects to be overtly marked by *lian*. In other words, when the Foc head of FocP is overtly occupied, its Spec can be filled either by a preposed object marked by *lian* or by a preposed object unmarked by *lian*. Therefore, following the revised VPA hypothesis, sentences (98) and (99) have the structures in (100) and (101).

100) Lisi **lian** zhizhu **ye** xihuan.

[$_{AgrP}$ Lisi [$_{Agr'}$ Agr [$_{VP}$ [$_{FocP}$ **lian** zhizhu [$_{Foc'}$ **ye**] [$_{VP}$ xihuan]]]]]

Lisi Ø even zhizhu also like

101) Lisi dizi **ye/dou** hui chui.

[$_{AgrP}$ Lisi [$_{Agr'}$ Agr [$_{TP}$ [$_{FocP}$ dizi [$_{Foc'}$ **ye/dou**] [$_{T}$ hui [$_{VP}$ xihuan]]]]]]

Lisi Ø bamboo-flute also/all can like

Now let us look at the covert type of focus-SOV sentences that do not involve any focus markers. Examples (85-87) are repeated here as (a) in (102-104). In the case of the overt-type focus-SOV patterns, it is optional for the preposed object to be marked by *lian*. But this option does not seem to be available for the covert type. This can be illustrated by the ungrammaticality of (b) in (102) and (103).

102) a. Lisi dizi chui.

Lisi bamboo-flute blow

'Lisi plays the bamboo-flute.'

b. *Lisi **lian** dizi chui.

Lisi even bamboo-flute blow

103) a. Lisi dizi hui chui.

Lisi bamboo-flute can blow

'Lisi can play the bamboo-flute.'

b. *Lisi **lian** dizi hui chui.

Lisi even bamboo-flute can blow

104) a. Lisi dizi **bu** hui chui.

Lisi bamboo-flute not can blow

'Lisi cannot play the bamboo-flute.'

b. *Lisi **lian** dizi bu hui chui.

Lisi even bamboo-flute not can blow

This actually suggests that there is no overt FocP in this type of focus-SOV sentences so the unavailability of the Spec position is warranted. According to Ernst & Wang's Focus Criterion, the [+Foc] feature should be on other heads than the Focus one. This is correctly predicted. In the case of (102), the preposed object *dizi* 'bamboo-flute' is in an adjoined position in VP; in examples (103) and (104) that contain an AUX *hui* 'can', the preposed object *dizi* 'bamboo-flute' is adjoined to TP. So far as the negative particle *bu* 'not' in (104) is concerned, I follow Ernst (1995) and assume that it is in the Spec of TP. Therefore, examples (a) of (102-104) have the structures in (105-107).

105) Lisi dizi chui.

[$_{AgrP}$ Lisi [$_{Agr'}$ Agr [$_{VP}$ dizi [$_{VP}$ chui]]]]

Lisi Ø bamboo-flute blow

106) Lisi dizi hui chui.

[$_{AgrP}$ Lisi [$_{Agr'}$ Agr [$_{TP}$ dizi [$_{T'}$ hui [$_{VP}$ chui]]]]]

Lisi Ø bamboo-flute can blow

107) Lisi dizi **bu** hui chui.

[$_{AgrP}$ Lisi [$_{Agr'}$ Agr [$_{TP}$ dizi [$_{TP}$ bu [$_{T'}$ hui] [$_{VP}$ chui]]]]

Lisi Ø bamboo-flute not can blow

For three reasons, this two-way distinction is better than the divisions introduced earlier. First, it makes it possible to distinguish between focus-SOV sentences with overt Focus head and those without from a structural point of view. In other words, the overt type has an overt Focus head while the covert type does not. Instead, the covert type has the [+Focus] feature appear on the heads of either TP or VP. Second, the distinction makes it possible to identify different properties these two types of focus-SOV sentences

exhibit. For instance, the overt type has the option of containing the focus-marker *lian* while the covert type does not. Finally, together with the instances of topicalization and ArgP-adjunction, the resulted three-way distinction makes it possible to account for the occurrence of any given phrase in Spec of FocP.

So far I have reviewed arguments concerning the [+Focus] feature in the Chinese VP, namely Gao's (1994) focus criterion and Ernst & Wang's (1995) focus criterion. They are mainly concerned with object preposing in focus-SOV sentences in MC. Following Ernst & Wang's focus criterion and the revised VPA hypothesis, I have presented an alternative account of object preposing in focus-SOV order in MC. We now turn to discussion of object preposing in AC in the next section.

5.5 Focus-SOV order in AC

Before we present the object preposing data in AC, it seems necessary to briefly discuss the word order of AC first. The word order of AC is basically SVO as shown in (108-109) where the verbs are in bold:

108) Jikangzi **huan** dao. (AC, *LY:YY*)

Jikangzi worry theft

'Jikangzi is worried about theft.'

109) wo jiang **jian** Chu wang. (AC, *MZ:GZS*)

I will see Chu emperor

'I'm going to see the Emperor of Chu.'

In embedded clauses in AC, the word order is always SVO as shown in (110-111):

110) wu wen Qin Chu **gou** bin. (AC, *MZ:GZS*)

I hear Qin Chu organise army

'I heard that the states of Qin and Chu were fighting again each other.'

111) ren jie wei wo **hui** ming tang. (AC, *MZ:LHWS*)

people all say I destroy light hall

'People all advise me to pull down the Hall of Light.'

However, in main clauses, there are occurrences of object preposing resulting in focus-SOV sentences. They mainly involve pronominal and interrogative objects. So we will concentrate on data concerning these two types of objects next.

Wang (1958) observes that the normal position of a pronominal object (underlined) in AC is postverbal as illustrated in the following examples:

112) jiangren ju er xiao <u>zhi</u>. (AC, *MZ:LHWX*)

carpenter cut and small it

'The carpenter, having cut it up, made it small.'

113) gu tian qi <u>wo</u> bu you kangshi. (AC, *SHJ:XBKL*)

so heaven abandon me no have food

'Therefore heaven abandoned me and gave me no food.'

114) wu jian <u>qi</u> jing ye wei jian <u>qi</u> zhi ye. (AC, *LY:ZH*)

I see him progress PRT not see him stop PRT

'I watched him making progress all the time and never saw him content with his achievements.'

115) Ranzi yu zhi su wu bing. (AC, *LY:YY*)

Ranzi give him grain five measure-unit

'Ranzi gave him five bings of grain.'

The normal position of an interrogative object in AC is also postverbal as illustrated in the following examples:

116) Zixia yun he? (AC, *LY:ZZ*)

Zixia say what

'What did Zixia say?'

117) bi lai zhe wei shui? (AC, *FSCYLZ*)

that come person is who

'Who is that person who has just come?'

However, there are cases where objects could be placed in preverbal position. Just like the focus-SOV patterns in MC, I group the focus-SOV sentences in AC into two types: one with focus markers and the other without. The former will be referred to as the overt type and the latter as the covert type. I set out the data in the following two subsections. Let us look at the covert type of focus-SOV sentences first.

5.5.1 Covert focus-SOV in AC

The covert type of focus-SOV sentences mainly involves pronouns (Wang 1958). They can be pronominal objects or *wh*-form objects. They will be introduced in the following subsections.

5.5.1.1 Preposing of pronominal objects

The following examples show pronominal objects like *yu* 'me' and *er* 'you' (underlined) in preverbal position.

118) ming xian you shi fu yu yi. (AC, *SHJ:DG*)
people worthy have ten person me assist
'There are ten worthy people assisting me.'

119) hehe shi Yi ming ju er zhan. (AC, *SIJ:XYJNS*)
distinguished master Yi people all you look-at
'Distinguished Master Yi, all people are looking at you.'

Notice that there is an adjunct *ju* 'all' in between the subject and the preposed object in (119). Its equivalent in MC is *dou* 'all' but they have different distributions. *Ju* in AC occurs before the preposed object whereas *dou* in MC occurs after the preposed object as the ungrammatical example (120) shows:

120) *ta dou sheme dianying kan. (MC)
he all whatever film see

121) ta sheme dianying dou kan. (MC)
he whatever film all see
'He watches all the films.'

5.5.1.2 Preposing of interrogative object

In AC, the *wh*-word usually stays *in-situ*. In a sentence where an object of the verb is a *wh*-word such as *he* 'what' and *shui* 'who', this *wh*-word object could be preposed to the left of the verb.

122) wu he zhi zhi yu hu. (AC, *LY:ZH*)

I what practise practise charioteering Q.

'What shall I practise? Shall I practise charioteering?'

123) wu shui qi qi tian hu. (AC, *LY:ZH*)

I who cheat cheat heaven Q.

'Whom do I cheat? Do I cheat heaven?'

The second half of the sentences in both (122) and (123) in fact provide strong evidence for the argument that the preposed object has a contrastive focus just as in MC.

5.5.1.3 Object preposing in negative sentences

Object preposing also occurs in negative sentences in AC. When a sentence contains a negative particle like *bu* or *wei* meaning 'not', the pronominal object such as *wo* 'me' and *zhi* 'him or it' could be placed before the verb but immediately after the negative particle:

124) Zi bu wo si qi wu ta ren. (AC, *SIJ:ZFQS*)

master not me miss otherwise no other person

'The Master did not miss me. Can't it be somebody else?'

125) Kuangqu zhong yu gao wo er bu wo gao. (AC, *ZHZ:ZBY*)

Kuangqu heart want tell me but not me tell

'From his heart, Kuangqu wished to tell me but didn't tell me.'

126) Wo wei jian li bu zhu zhe, gai you zhi ai

I not see strength not enough person perhaps have it PRT

wo wei zhi jian ye. (AC, *LY:LR*)

I not him see PRT

'I haven't seen anybody with insufficient strength. There perhaps is such a person but I have never seen him.'

127) zu dou zhi shi ze chang wen zhi e; junlu zhi shi
container bean REL matter then once hear it PRT army REL matter
wei zhi xue ye. (AC, *LY:WLG*)
not it learn PRT
'As to the cooking of beans, (I) have before heard of it; As to military matters, (I) have never learnt of them.'

The placement of the negative particle *bu* or *wei* in AC is different from that of *bu* 'not' in MC. *Bu* in MC never occurs before the preposed object as the ungrammaticality of (128) shows. It always precedes the verb as in (129) or the modal if there is one as in (130):

128) *wo bu jiu he.
I not wine drink

129) wo jiu bu he.
I wine not drink
'I don't drink wine.'

130) wo jiu bu neng he.
I wine not can drink
'I can't drink wine.'

5.5.1.4 Object preposing with *mo* and *wu* as sentence subjects

In AC, there is a type of pronoun called the non-referential pronoun (*Mashi Wentong*, 'Ma's Grammar of Chinese', 19th c.) such as *mo*[1] and *wu*. They both mean 'nobody' or 'nothing' when they are used as the subject of a sentence as shown in (131-132):

131) Jun ren, **mo** bu ren; jun yi, **mo** bu yi.
monarch benevolent nobody not benevolent monarch right nobody not right
(AC, *MZ:LLS*)
'When the monarch is benevolent, everyone else is benevolent; when the monarch is dutiful, everyone else is dutiful."

132) cheng xiang ren duo e, **wu** ru Ji xiang.
subject appearance people many PRT nobody than Ji minister
(AC, *SJ:GZBJ*)
'(I) looked at many people's appearances, nobody looks more handsome than Minister Ji.'

When the subject is such a non-referential pronoun and the object of the verb is a pronominal such as *wo* 'me' and *zhi* 'him', the object of the verb could be preposed before the verb. The use of exclamatory particles at the end of these sentences provides clear evidence for the claim that the preposed object has a contrastive focus.

133) zi yue: "mo <u>wo</u> zhi ye fu!" (AC, *LY:XW*)
master say nobody me know PRT PRT
'Master said, "Nobody understands me!"

134) wu you lao fu shen si mo zhi yang ye.

I have old father body die nobody him support PRT

(AC, *HFZ:WD*)

'I had a father but he died. Nobody supported him!'

In this section, I have presented data on the covert type of focus-SOV sentences in AC. It has been shown that this type mainly involves the preposing of pronouns (Wang 1958), whether they are pronominal objects or interrogative objects or pronominal object with *mo* or *wu* as the subject of a sentence.

In the next section, we present data on the preposing of the object with focus markers in AC.

5.5.2 Overt focus-SOV in AC

The overt type of focus-SOV patterns in AC mainly involves post-object focus markers such as *shi*, *zhi* and *zhi-wei* that occur immediately after the preposed object as well as a pre-object focus marker *wei* that precedes the preposed object. They will be introduced in the following subsections.

5.5.2.1 Object preposing with focus markers *shi* and *zhi*

In AC, there are two demonstrative pronouns *zhi* and *shi* meaning 'it'. They are used as post-object focus markers in preverbal position to render a focus reading. Wang (1958) regards them as resumptive pronouns that refer back to the preposed objects immediately preceding them. *Zhi* and *shi* will be left unglossed in the following

[1] There are actually two *mo*s (different characters) in AC, one with ten strokes and the other with five strokes. Since they both mean 'nobody' or 'nothing', they are exemplified as one *mo* in the following examples.

examples.

135) Song he zui *zhi* you? (AC, *MZ:GS*)

Song what sin ZHI have

'What sin does Song have?'

136) jun wang *zhi* bu xu er qun cheng *shi* you hui zhi

emperor exile ZHI not worry but group minister SHI worry benevolent REL

zhi ye. (AC, *ZZ:XG 15th Year*)

extremely PRT

'The emperor worried about us ministers rather than his own exile abroad. It is extremely benevolent.'

Sometimes *zhi* is used with *wei* meaning 'only' in a '*zhi-wei*' form replacing *zhi* after the preposed object but before the verb to give a focus reading. For instance, in (137), *zhi-wei* is placed after *sheng* 'life' in the first part of the sentence and after *li* 'benefit' in the second part.

137) gu ren gou sheng *zhi-wei* jian, rou zhe bi si; gou li *zhi-wei* jian,

so person if life ZHI-WEI see so he must die if benefit ZHI-WEI see

rou zhe bi hai. (AC, *XZ:LL*)

so he must harm

'Therefore if a person sees living only, then he is bound to die; if he sees benefit only, he is bound to harm.'

5.5.2.2 Object preposing with focus markers *wei*, *zhi* and *shi*

In some cases, a pre-object focus marker *wei* 'only' is used before the preposed object with post-object focus markers *shi* or *zhi-wei* obligatorily occurring after the preposed object but before the verb. Semantically the *wei ...shi* and *wei ... zhi-wei* forms are equivalent to 'nothing...but' in English. For example:

138) shuai shi yilai wei di shi qiu. (AC, *ZZ:XG 12th Year*)

command army since WEI enemy SHI seek

'When (he was) in command of the army, all (he did) was to wipe out the enemy.'

139) wei ren zhi-wei shou, wei yi zhi-wei yin.

WEI benevolence ZHI-WEI keep WEI righteousness ZHI-WEI guide

(AC, *XZ:BJ*)

'Keep nothing but benevolence and guide nothing but righteousness..'

Of the two forms, the *wei...shi* form survives into MC. Here are examples using the *wei ... shi* form in MC:

140) wei ni shi wen (MC)

WEI you SHI question

'Ask no one else but yourself.'

141) wei li shi tu (MC)

WEI benefit SHI seek

'Seek nothing else but benefit.'

5.5.2.3 Object preposing to sentence initial position

In some cases, the real complement of the verb, usually a clause, occurs at the sentence-initial position and the post-object focus marker *shi* is placed before the verb to represent the preposed object. In this case, *shi* may or may not be separated from the clause complement by the subject as shown in (142-143). In (142), *shi* is placed before the verb *wen* 'ask' but is separated from the clause complement by the subject *guaren* 'I' though it is not the case with (143).

142) Zhao wang nan zheng er bu fu guaren shi wen.

Zhao prince south fight and no return I SHI ask

(AC, *ZZ:XG 4th Year*)

'Prince Zhao went fighting in the south and did not return. I'm questioning it.'

143) ba yi wu yu ting shi ke ren shu bu ke

eight rows-of-eight-dancers dance in courtyard SHI can tolerate what not can

ren ye. (AC, *LY:BY*)

tolerate PRT

'Eight rows of eight dancers performed in the courtyard. If this can be tolerated, what cannot be tolerated?'

Wang (1958) regards *shi* here as a resumptive pronoun that is used to refer back to the clausal complement in the sentence-initial position. In fact, the use of *shi* seems to be similar to that of propositional anaphora that refers back to a proposition as a whole (Frajzyngier 1991). For example, in (142), *shi* is coreferential with the incident concerning *zhao wang nan zheng er bu fu* 'Prince Zhao went fighting in the south and did not return' in the first part of the sentence. In (143), *shi* refers back to the fact that *ba yi*

wu yu ting 'eight rows of eight dancers performed in the courtyard' at the beginning of the sentence. We can find similar situations in English and French. For instance, in English, the demonstrative pronoun *that* is used as an anaphor to refer back to a proposition in the first half of the sentence as a whole as shown in (144); In French, the neutral pronoun *ça* plays the similar role in (145):

144) Fred doesn't want to go and **that**'s the problem.

145) Fred ne veut pas aller, mais **ça** ne me dérange pas.

Fred doesn't want to go, but that doesn't bother me.

(Frajzyngier 1991:222)

In this section, it has been shown that there are two types of focus-SOV patterns in AC: the covert type and the overt type. The former mainly involves the preposing of pronominal objects in affirmative, interrogative and negative sentences. The latter is closely related to two types of focus markers: the post-object focus markers such as *shi*, *zhi* and *zhi-wei* and the pre-object focus marker *wei*. When the post-object focus maker is present, the use of pre-object *wei* is optional. But when the pre-object *wei* is present, the use of the post-object focus marker is obligatory. In the next section, I will extend the revised VPA analysis of MC to account for such object preposing in AC.

5.6 Analysis of focus-SOV order in AC

To recapitulate, developing the work of Chomsky (1993), Fukui (1993) and Gao (1994), Ernst & Wang (1995:244) claim that in the MC VP, there is an optional feature [+Focus] that triggers the preposing of the object to an adjoined position in VP. Their revised Focus Criterion in (92) is repeated here as (146):

146) The Focus Criterion:

a. The focused element must be checked with a head bearing [+Foc];

b. The Focus head of FocusP must be in a Spec-head configuration with the focused element.

Now let us see how the two types of focus-SOV sentences in AC can be accommodated under this Focus Criterion and the revised VPA analysis.

5.6.1 Overt focus-SOV in AC

Following Ernst & Wang (1995) and the revised VPA hypothesis, I propose that focus-SOV sentences in AC are derived by adjoining the object to verbal heads such as VP. I further propose that the preposing of the object to a VP-adjoined position is driven by an optional feature [+Focus] in the AC VP. This feature is manifested in two ways. It can be lexicalized. In this case, it falls on the head of FocP, an optional functional category in the AC VP and is realised as *shi* / *zhi* or *zhi-wei* with the preposed object optionally marked by *wei* in its Spec. Alternatively, it can be phonologically empty. In this case, the feature falls on a head bearing [+Focus], such as V.

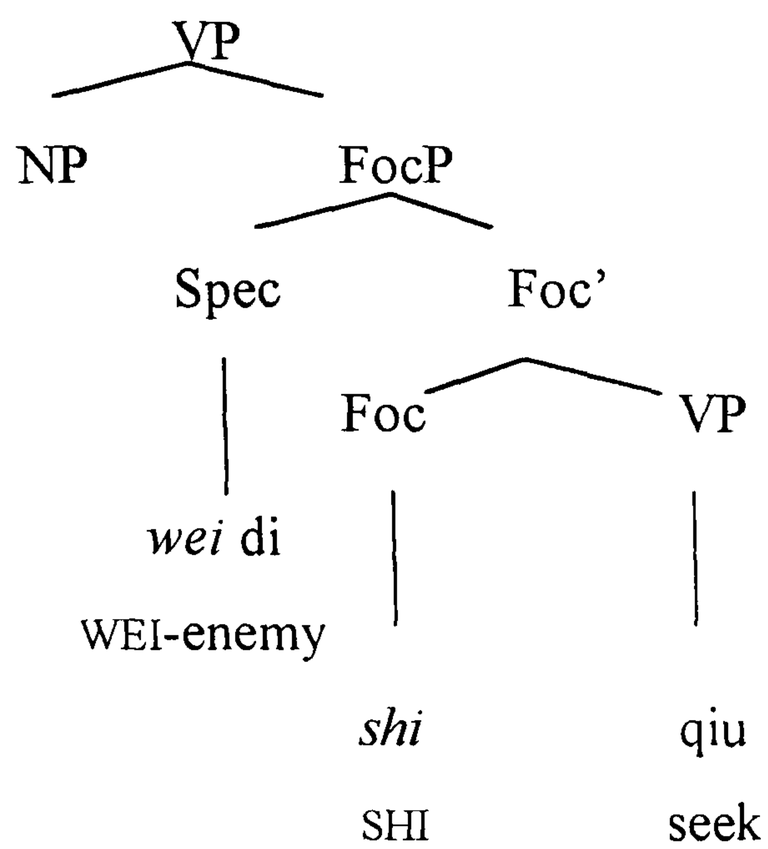
I consider the overt-type focus-SOV sentences in AC first. As has been shown, this type is closely associated with two kinds of focus markers: the post-object focus markers such as *shi*, *zhi* and *zhi-wei* and the pre-object focus marker *wei*. The use of post-object focus markers is obligatory as in (138-139) but the pre-object *wei* is optional as in (135-136). I therefore suggest that in the former case as in (138-139), the Foc head of FocP is filled by *shi* / *zhi* or *zhi-wei* with the preposed object marked by *wei* in its Spec. Sentence (138) has the structure in (147) with an empty category (EC) in subject position.

(138) shuai shi yilai wei di shi qiu. (AC, *ZZ:XG 12th Year*)

command army since WEI enemy SHI seek

'When (he was) in command of the army, all (he did) was to wipe out the enemy.'

147)



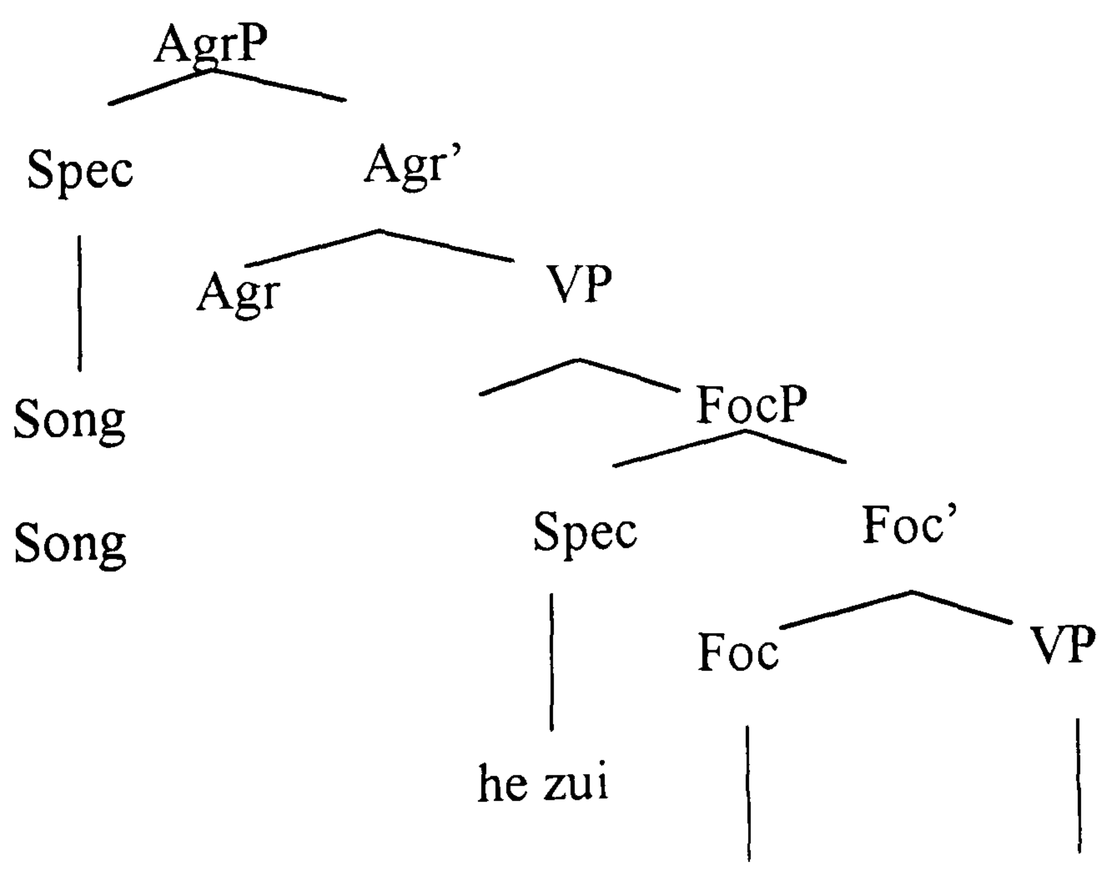
In the latter case of AC illustrated in (135-136), I suggest that the Foc head of FocP is filled by *shi* / *zhi* or *zhi-wei* with the preposed object unmarked by *wei* in its Spec. Sentence (135) thus has the structure in (148):

(135) Song he zui zhi you? (AC, *MZ:GS*)

Song what sin ZHI have

'What sin does Song have?'

148)



what sin

zhi you

zhi have

So far, the overt type of focus-SOV sentences in AC has been nicely accounted for. They actually pattern with the overt-type focus-SOV sentences marked by *lian* and *ye/dou* in MC. In that case, the head Foc of FocP is occupied by *ye/dou* with the preposed object marked by *lian* in the Spec of FocP as shown in (100). When the optional pre-object focus marker *lian* is absent as is the case with example (99), the head Foc of FocP is still occupied by *ye/dou* but with the preposed object unmarked by *lian* appearing in the Spec of FocP. Next we turn to the covert type of focus-SOV in AC.

5.6.2 Covert focus-SOV in AC

As shown in Section 5.5.1, the covert-type focus-SOV patterns in AC occur in four situations. They are as follows: when pronominal objects are preposed as in (118-119), when interrogative objects are preposed as in (122-123), when pronominal objects occur in sentences with non-referential pronouns *mo* and *wu* as subjects as in (133-134) and when pronominal objects occur in negative sentences as in (124-127).

Adopting the revised VPA hypothesis and Ernst & Wang's (1995) Focus Criterion, I have proposed that the covert-type focus-SOV sentences in AC are derived by adjoining the object to VP. The movement is driven by the [+Foc] feature on the head of VP. The covert-type SOV in the first three situations can be accounted for as examples of preposed object in an adjoined position in VP. Thus sentences (118), (122) and (133) have the structures in (149-151) with irrelevant details omitted.

149) ...[$_{AgrP}$ shi fu [$_{Agr'}$ Agr [$_{VP}$ yu$_i$ [$_{VP}$ yi e$_i$]]]]

ten person Ø me assist

'(There are) ten worthy people assisting me.'

150) [$_{AgrP}$ wu [$_{Agr'}$ Agr [$_{VP}$ he$_i$ [$_{VP}$ zhi e$_i$]]]]

I Ø what practise

'What shall I practise?'

151) [$_{AgrP}$ mo [$_{Agr'}$ Agr [$_{VP}$ wo$_i$ [$_{VP}$ zhi ye fu e$_i$]]]]

nobody Ø me know PRT PRT

'Nobody understands me!'

Evidence for the VP-adjunction of preposed objects in covert-type focus-SOV sentences comes from (119) repeated here as (152) in which the preposed object is preceded by a preverbal adjunct *ju* 'all'. This situation is similar to the MC example in which the preposed object is preceded by a nonmovable adjunct *yizhi* 'always' as shown in (153):

152) hehe shi Yi ming **ju** er zhan. (AC, *SIJ:XYJNS*)

distinguished master Yi people all you look-at

'Distinguished Master Yi, all people are looking at you.'

153) Xiaolan **yizhi** dianying dou bu kan. (MC)

Xiaolan always film all not see

'Xiaolan never goes to see films.'

Recall that under the empty Agr hypothesis I have proposed in Section 5.2.3, nonmovable adjuncts in MC such as *yizhi* 'always' are licensed under TP when AUX is

present and under VP when AUX is absent. Under the revised VPA hypothesis and with the absence of AUX in (153), I take the preposed object in (153) as adjoined to VP that has the structure in (154):

154) [$_{AgrP}$ Xiaolan [$_{Agr'}$ Agr [$_{VP}$ **yizhi** [$_{FocP}$ [$_{Spec}$ dianying$_i$] [$_{Foc}$ dou] [$_{VP}$ bu kan e_i]]]]]

Xiaolan Ø always film all not see

Since (152) has the same structure as (153), the VP-adjunction status of the preposed object in (152) can therefore be deduced from the structure in (154).

Note that given that in MC, elements adjoined to a maximal projection have freedom of ordering, it is possible that the preposed object is preceded by an adjunct as in (153) and precedes an adjunct as shown in (155):

155) Xiaolan dianying **yizhi** dou bu kan. (MC)

Xiaolan film always all not see

'Xiaolan never goes to see films.'

In other words, adjuncts in MC can precede or follow the preposed object. But this is not possible for adjuncts in AC. Adjuncts in AC can only occur before the preposed object. This could suggest that there is a restriction on the distribution of adjuncts in AC that requires that the adjoined position of the preposed object be lower than the adjunct, though there is no such restriction on adjuncts in MC.

So far we have discussed the covert-type focus-SOV sentences in AC in the first three situations. Now we look at the fourth situation as shown in (124-127) where the preposed objects are preceded by the negative particle *bu* or *wei* both meaning 'not'.

Recall that in section 5.5.1.3, it is shown that in AC, the negative particles *bu* and *wei* occur before the preposed object as in (124-127) whereas in MC the negative particle *bu* occurs after the preposed object as in (156-157):

156) wo jiu **bu** he. (MC)

I wine not drink

'I don't drink wine.'

157) wo jiu **bu** neng he. (MC)

I wine not can drink

'I can't drink wine.'

I follow Ernst (1994) and assume that the negative particle *bu* is in the Spec of TP. Since the preposed object precedes the negative particle *bu* in MC as *jiu* 'wine' in (156-157) does, it can only be adjoined to TP. The two sentences thus have the structures in (158-159) respectively:

158) $[_{AgrP}$ wo $[_{Agr'}$ Agr $[_{TP}$ jiu $[_{TP}$ bu $[_{VP}$ he]]]]]

I Ø wine not drink

159) $[_{AgrP}$ wo $[_{Agr'}$ Agr $[_{TP}$ jiu $[_{TP}$ bu $[_{T'}$ neng $[_{VP}$ he]]]]]

I Ø wine not can drink

However, in AC examples (124-127), the negative particle *bu* and *wei* occur before the preposed object. Here I extend Ernst's (1994) proposal to account for the AC facts. I propose that the negative particles *bu* and *wei* in AC are also in the Spec of TP. Since they precede the preposed object, the only possible position for the preposed object is an adjoined position in VP rather than TP. The structure in (160) illustrates this.

160) [$_{AgrP}$ Kuangqu [$_{Agr'}$ Agr ... [$_{TP}$ bu [$_{VP}$ wo$_i$ [$_{VP}$ gao e_i]]]]]

Kuangqu Ø not me tell

'Kuangqu ... didn't tell me.'

It seems plausible to claim that in AC negative sentences, the preposed object is adjoined to VP whereas in MC negative sentences, the preposed object is adjoined to TP. This claim not only satisfactorily accounts for the object preposing in negative sentences in AC and MC but also captures the distributional difference between the preposed objects in AC and MC in relation to negative particles.

So far covert-type focus-SOV data in AC have been discussed. Before we conclude, let us look at the preposing of clausal complements in AC.

5.6.3 The preposing of clausal complements

This construction involves the preposing of a clausal complement to the sentence-initial position with a focus marker *shi* in preverbal position as illustrated in (142) repeated here as (161). I suggest that there are two movements here. First, the head Focus is occupied by *shi*, which requires the obligatory movement of the clausal complement to the Spec of FocP as shown in (162):

161) Zhao wang nan zheng er bu fu guaren shi wen.

Zhao prince south fight and no return I SHI ask

(AC, *ZZ:XG 4th Year*)

'Prince Zhao went fighting in the south and did not return. I'm questioning it.'

162) *guaren Zhao wang nan zheng er bu fu shi wen.

I Zhao prince south fight and no return SHI ask

However, the head of AgrP bears a strong [+Focus] feature. When Agr bears a strong [+Focus] feature, it absorbs the weak [+Focus] feature that falls on the head Focus to such an extent that it triggers the further movement of a preposed clausal complement to an adjoined position in AgrP, giving (161). The second movement is obligatory as the ungrammaticality of (162) shows. The preposed clausal object at the sentence-initial position turns out to be a focused topic that has wide scope. The evidence for this two-movement analysis can be found in examples like (143) where the clausal complement is preposed to a sentence-initial position with the focus marker *shi* placed before the verb *ren* 'tolerate' and heading the FocP in VP. (143) is repeated here as (163):

163) ba yi wu yu ting shi ke ren shu bu ke
eight rows-of-eight-dancers dance in courtyard SHI can tolerate what not can
ren ye. (AC, *LY:BY*)
tolerate PRT
'Eight rows of eight dancers performed in the courtyard. If this can be tolerated, what cannot be tolerated?'

To summarise, the object preposing in focus-SOV order in AC has been discussed. Following Ernst & Wang (1995) and the revised VPA hypothesis, I have proposed that the preposing of object is triggered by an optional feature [+Focus] in the AC VP. Unlike what happens in MC, the focus-SOV pattern in AC is derived by adjoining the object to VP only. There are two ways of displaying this feature. Either the [+Focus] feature is lexically realised on the head of a FocP inside the VP when the head Foc is filled by *shi / zhi* or *zhi-wei* with the preposed object optionally marked by *wei* in its Spec; or alternatively it is realised on a head bearing the feature [+Focus], e.g. V, when there is no

overt focus marker. This satisfactorily accounts for the overt and covert types of focus-SOV order in AC.

5.7 Indefinite and contrastive reading

Recall that (in Section 5.3.2.2) Ernst & Wang (1995) observe that in MC, preposed objects in focus-SOV and OSV orders show different pragmatic correlates. The preposed objects in focus-SOV order can be indefinite and tend to display a contrastive reading whereas the preposed object in OSV order cannot be indefinite and does not necessarily have a contrastive reading. Relevant examples are taken from Tsai (1994) as shown in (56-57) repeated here as (164-165).

164) a. zhe-pian lunwen/*yi-pian lunwen, wo hen xihuan.
this- CL paper one- CL paper I very like
'This paper / *a paper, I like very much.'

b. yi-pian lunwen, wo hai keyi yingfu (liang-pian, na jiu tai duo le.
one- CL paper I still may handle two- CL that then too much PRT
'One paper, I can handle, (two papers, that's too much).'

165) a. wo zhe-pian lunwen xihuan *(na-pian lunwen bu xihuan)
I this- CL paper like that- CL paper not like
'This paper, I like (but that paper, I don't).'

b. wo yi-pian lunwen keyi yingfu *(liang-pian jiu bu xing le).
I one- CL paper can handle two- CL then not possible PRT
'A paper, I can handle (but two papers, I can't).'

Ernst & Wang also observe that the difference is reflected in the use of certain focus markers like *dou* 'all', *ye* 'also' and *bu* 'not' which tend to be associated more with focus-SOV than OSV sentences as shown in (41) repeated here as (166). Where no such adverbs are used, strong stress or other appropriate context is in place.

166) a. kele, Lisi he.

cola Lisi drink

'Cola, Lisi drinks.'

b. Lisi kele he, pijiu bu he.

Lisi cola drink beer not drink

'Lisi drinks cola but does not drink beer.

c. Lisi pijiu ye/bu he.

Lisi beer also/not drink

'Lisi also drinks / does not drink beer.'

In AC, the preposed object in a focus-SOV pattern also exhibits a contrastive reading as illustrated in examples like (123) and (125) repeated here as (167) and (168).

167) wu shui qi qi tian hu. (AC, *LY:ZH*)

I who cheat cheat heaven Q.

'Whom do I cheat? Do I cheat heaven?'

168) Kuangqu zhong yu gao wo er bu_ wo gao. (AC, *ZHZ:ZBY*) 30

Kuangqu heart want tell me but not me tell

'From his heart, Kuangqu wished to tell me but didn't tell me.'

It is mainly the word order that seems to be playing an important role in facilitating the contrastive reading in focus-SOV sentences in AC. For example, the second half of (167) and the first half of (168) both contain a distinctive VO order for the OV order to contrast with. Further evidence comes from the object preposing with non-referential pronouns like *mo* 'nobody or nothing' as shown in (133-134) repeated here as (169-170).

169) zi yue: "mo wo zhi ye fu!" (AC, *LY:XW*)

master say nobody me know PRT PRT

'Master said, "Nobody understands me!"

170) wu you lao fu shen si mo zhi yang ye.

I have old father body die nobody him support PRT

(AC, *HFZ:WD*)

'I had a father but he died. Nobody supported him!'

Notice that these sentences contain an exclamatory marker at the end of the sentence that serves the purpose of indicating a contrastive reading.

More evidence for this can be found from the canonical SVO pattern in AC that does not bear a contrastive reading. For instance, in both (171) and (172), although there is a negative particle *bu* 'not', the pronominal object of the verb is not preposed. This is simply because the VO pattern does not contain a contrast as the OV pattern in (125) does. (125) is repeated here as (173).

171) ji rou bu chu san ri; chu san ri **bu** shi zhi e.

offer meat not over three day over three day not eat it PRT

(AC, *LY:XD*)

'The sacrificial meat shouldn't be kept for more than three days; once over three days, no one will eat it.'

172) you shi er **bu** gao wo bi bu jia ye. (AC, *ZZ:XG 28th Year*)

have matter but not tell me must not good PRT

'Whenever something happens but (nobody) tells me, it must be something bad.'

173) Kuangqu zhong yu gao wo er bu wo gao. (AC, *ZHZ:ZBY*)

Kuangqu heart want tell me but not me tell

'From his heart, Kuangqu wished to tell me but didn't tell me.'

Therefore, unlike what happens in MC, in AC it is the integration of word order, non-referential pronouns, focus markers and exclamatory markers at the end of the sentence that indicates the contrastive reading the focus-SOV sentences display.

The indefiniteness effect that the preposed object may have in the focus-SOV pattern in MC seems to also work on the preposed object in focus-SOV sentences in AC. In (136) repeated here as (174), the preposed object is definite, whereas in (139) repeated here in (175), the preposed object has an indefinite reading.

174) jun wang zhi bu xu er qun cheng shi you hui zhi

emperor exile ZHI not worry but group minister SHI worry benevolent REL

zhi ye. (AC, *ZZ:XG 15th Year*)

extremely PRT

'The emperor worried about us ministers rather than his own exile abroad. It is extremely benevolent.'

175) wei ren zhi-wei shou, wei yi zhi-wei yin.

WEI benevolence ZHI-WEI keep WEI righteousness ZHI-WEI guide

(AC, *XZ:BJ*)

'Keep nothing but benevolence and guide nothing but righteousness..'

In view of the existence of preposed objects in AC, Wang (1958) speculates that Pre-AC (before 8th century BC) Chinese is probably SOV and the occurrences of preverbal objects in AC are, therefore, remnants of the older SOV order. Shi (1986) holds an entirely different view, namely that Pre-AC is strictly SVO. The evidence comes from examples like (176-169) from Pre-AC writings known as *Jiaguwen* 'the oracle bone inscriptions' (in the Shang Dynasty, 14th to 11th c. BC). They are basically short divinatory or oracular texts inscribed or written with a brush on bones and tortoise shells. These writings are derived from the divination service of the then kings to keep records of each act of divination. Therefore, main clauses are elliptical and the subject is always unidentified. But when the subject surfaces in the main clause, it always occurs in preverbal position as *Gu* (name) in (176) shows. Therefore it is not unreasonable to assume that the word order in main clauses in oracle bone inscriptions is SVO.

176) ding wei bu **Gu zhen** **wo shou nian**. (Pre-AC, P111)

DING WEI divine Gu inquire I pray harvest

'Divination on the day Ding-Wei, Gu inquired whether we shall have a (good) harvest.'

Having established the SVO order in the main clauses, let us look at the embedded clauses for further evidence. In the following examples, the embedded clauses concerned

are in bold. Example (177) is an intransitive clause in which the subject precedes the verb. Example (178) has an embedded transitive clause showing an order of SVO.

177) zhen **fu** **Jia ta**. (Pre-AC, P33)

inquire father/uncle Jia harm

'Inquiring whether Father/Uncle Jia (will) incur harm.'

178) geng xu[2] bu zhen **di qi jiang jin**. (Pre-AC, T371)

GENG XU divine inquire god even befall famine

'Divination on the day Geng-Xu, inquiring whether the god would really bestow famine upon us.'

The prepositional phrase may follow the verb as in (179) or precede the verb as in (180).

179) zhen **jin qi yue wang ru yu Shang**. (Pre-AC, T752)

inquire today seven month king enter to Shang

'Inquiring whether in the 7th month the king will enter Shang.'

180) ji mao bu **Guoyi yu lai yue zhi**. (Pre-AC, C1273)

JI MAO divine Guoyi at next month arrive

'Divination on the day Ji-Mao concerning whether Guoyi will arrive next month.'

In the oracle bone inscriptions, there were demonstrative pronouns and first and second person singular pronouns like *wo* 'I' in (181) but no third person pronouns (Shi

[2] *Geng* is the seventh in the *Tiangan* 'the ten Heavenly Stems' and *xu* is the eleventh in *Dizhi* 'twelve Earthly Branches. The ten Heavenly Stems are used as serial numbers and also in combination with the twelve Earthly Branches to designate years, months, days and hours in Pre-AC period. Cardinal numbers like *geng* and *xu* are unglossed in examples (Ma & Wang 1993).

1986). As for pronominal objects like *wo* 'me' and *zhi* 'this', they are placed after the verb and the adposition as shown in examples like (181) and (182):

181) ji wei bu Zheng zhen: Wanghai sha **wo**. (Pre-AC, Y5403)

JI WEI divine Zheng divine Wanghai kill me

'Divination on the day Ji-Wei, Zheng declared the query whether Wanghai would kill me.'

182) yu jian ta zai **zhi**. (Pre-AC, Y3414)

I see kill at this

'I saw killing in here.'

Examples from the oracle bone scripts suffice to show that Pre-AC is SVO. It therefore seems implausible to speculate that Pre-AC is SOV and the existing SOV phenomena in AC are remnants of an older order.

Then the question is: how to account for the existence of preposed objects in AC? The discussion in the last few sections actually provides a ready answer which not only supports but also presents further evidence for Sun & Givón's (1985) claim that focus-SOV in Chinese is an emphatic / contrastive discourse device (Sun & Givón 1985:329 for MC).

5.8 Disappearance of object preposing in late OC

Shi (1986) observes that the disappearance of the preposing of objects began near the end of AC and early OC after the Han Dynasty (206BC-AD200). First, examples like (183-186) show the occurrence of postverbal pronominal objects in sentences with negative particles like *mo* and *bu*:

183) ai mo zhu **zhi** (AC, *SIJ:CM*)

love not help it

'One simply is not able to help even if he wants to.'

184) mo zhi **wo** fu (AC, *SJ:KZSJ*)

not know me person

'people who do not know me'

185) wu bu zhi **zhi** e (AC, *LY:TB*)

I not know it PRT

'I don't know it.'

186) gou bu chong **zhi** bu zu yi shi fumu (AC, *MZ:GSCS*)

if not develop them not enough for serve parents

'If (he) fails to develop them, (he) will not be able even to serve his parents.'

Secondly, interrogative objects such as *shei* 'who' and *he* 'what' were also used in postverbal positions in late AC as shown in (187-190):

187) chu hu du panghuang, chou si dang gao **shei**

out house alone wander worry thought ought tell who

(AC, *MYHJJ*)

'Step out of the house wandering about; worry but nobody around to tell.'

188) lan ze duo fang cao, cai zhi yu yi **shei**

blue pond much fragrant grass pick it wish give who

(AC, *SJCFR*)

'There is fragrant grass around the pond; if I pick it who shall I send it to.'

189) zhu jiang yue **he** (AC, *HS:CPZ*)

many officer say what

'What did all the military officers say?'

190) Wu di wen yan **he** (AC, *HS:KLZ*)

Wu emperor ask say what

'Emperor Wu asked: 'What did (you) say?'

The following contrasting pairs from Shi (1986:185) illustrate the positions pronominal and interrogative objects of verbs occupied in AC and OC. It is interesting to note that wherever the focus-OV order is used in early AC as shown in (a), it is replaced by the VO order in late AC or early OC as shown in (b).

191) a. mo **wo** zhi ye fu (AC, *LY:XW*)

not me know PRT person

'No one understands me.'

b. mo zhi **wo** fu (AC, *SJ:KZSJ*)

not know me person

'No one understands me.'

192) a. tian **he** yan zai (AC, *LY:YH*)

heaven what say PRT

'What did the heaven say?'

b. Wu di wen yan **he** (AC, *HS:KLZ*)

Wu emperor ask say what

'Emperor Wu asked: 'What did (you) say?'

193) a. ruo bu **wu** shen (AC, *ZHZ:QWL*)

you not me surpass

'You're not better than me.'

b. shao yin ling ci bu ru **wo**

musical effect elegant terminology not as-good-as me

(OC, *SSXY:PZ*)

'For sheer musical effect and elegant terminology, he's not as good as me.'

194) a. ru qi shan er mo **zhi** wei ye bu yi shan hu

if he good and nobody him oppose PRT not also good PRT

(AC, *HS:KLZ*)

'if a ruler's words be good, it is not also good that no one oppose him?'

b. Yuanli ji binke mo bu qi **zhi** (OC, *SSXY:YY*)

Yuanli and guest nobody not surprise him

'Yuanli and all the guests couldn't help marvelling at him.'

Shi (1986) thus claims that as regards the pronominal object and interrogative object of verbs, the positional change from OV to VO order was basically completed in early OC after the Han Dynasty (206BC-AD200). I agree with Shi (1986) that the disappearance of object preposing under discussion started to take place in late AC and early OC. But I depart from him by suggesting that the positional changes from OV to VO order with respect to pronominal and interrogative objects was probably not complete until late OC in the Tang Dynasty (AD618-907). There is evidence in mid and late OC that can prove this.

First, in examples from mid OC like (195-196), the pronominal object *zhi* 'it' is placed in preverbal position in sentences containing negative particles such as *wei* and *bu* meaning 'not':

195) zi zhi wei **zhi** xu (OC, *SSXY:YY*)

son nephew not it agree

'Sons and nephews didn't agree to it.'

196) zuo you ci bu **zhi** tong. (OC, *SSXY:YY*)

left right excuse not him notify

'The servants made excuses (for him) but did not notify him.'

Secondly, in (197), the interrogative object *he* 'what' of the verb is preposed:

197) Shangjuyuan yi li **he** **ru**. (OC, *SSXY:SY*)

Shangjuyuan meaning principle what like

'What are Shanjuyuan's Meanings and Principles all about?'

There are more examples of the sort from late OC poems (AD600-900). In (198-200), the verbal object *he* 'what' is placed in preverbal position:

198) bu zhi yunge li, jimo jing **he** ru (OC, *LY*)

not know library librarian lonely even what like

'Wondering how lonely the librarian in the office would feel.'

199) wen wo jin **he** shi, Tiantai fang shi qiao (OC, *MHR*)

ask me today what go Tiantai visit stone bridge

'Ask me where to go today, visit the Stone Bridge in Mount Tiantai.'

200) qing pao bai ma geng **he** you, hou Han jin Zhou xi zai

green robe white horse even what have late Han today Zhou glad again

chang

prosper

(OC, *DF*)

'When shall we have such green robes and white horses again, so pleased everything is again as prosperous as it was in the Han and the Zhou Dynasties.'

Thirdly, G. W. Zhou (1952) conducts a text-count of the writings before 221BC (Pre-AC and early AC), during 206BC-AD200 (late AC and early OC), and from AD220 to 900 (early OC to late OC) in terms of the occurrence frequency of preverbal- and post-verbal pronominal objects in negative sentences. According to his survey, the occurrence frequency of preverbal objects and postverbal objects is 45% (461 out of 1021) to 54% (560 out of 1021) in Pre-AC and early AC texts, 32% (85 out of 258) to 67% (173 out of 258) in late AC and early OC texts and 10% (15 out of 143) to 89% (128 out of 143) in texts of early OC to late OC respectively. There is an obvious increase in the occurrence of postverbal objects and a decrease in the occurrence of preverbal objects. Therefore, it seems plausible to assume that the positional changes of pronominal and interrogative objects from OV to VO was most likely completed in late OC. What is more interesting about the result is that the occurrence of preverbal objects never exceeded that of postverbal ones in any of the periods under investigation. Especially in Pre-AC and early AC, even though preverbal objects could be found, they never outnumbered the postverbal ones. Zhou's findings not only show that it was until late OC that the positional changes of pronominal and interrogative objects from OV to VO was

completed. They also present strong evidence for the speculation that Pre-AC is basically SVO, and that Chinese remains SVO throughout its recorded history.

5.9 Summary

This chapter has addressed the object preposing in the focus-SOV patterns in AC and MC, one of the important issues concerning the basic word order of the Chinese language. Following Pollock (1989), Chomsky (1991) and Ernst (1994), I have proposed an empty Agr hypothesis for the Infl structure of Chinese that states that there are functional heads Agr and Tense in Chinese. Since the language lacks overt agreement morphology, Agr is phonologically empty with the subject licensed in its Spec at S-structure. As modals in Chinese are identified as forming a functional category AUX (Emonds 1976; cf. Huang 1989), they are realised in Tense that is lexically specified for modals (Chomsky 1970, 1986). The empty Agr hypothesis has been shown to be superior to Ernst's (1994) empty Infl hypothesis for the Infl structure of Chinese in two ways. The empty Agr hypothesis not only nicely accounts for the distributions of movable and nonmovable adjuncts in Chinese but also captures the similarity and difference between these two types of adjuncts in terms of their distribution. On the other hand, the empty Agr hypothesis also makes it possible to account for the difference between English and Chinese in terms of licensing of adjuncts in A'-positions in a uniform manner.

Following the empty Agr hypothesis, a revised VPA hypothesis has been introduced that states that the focus-SOV order in MC is the consequence of object preposing to an adjoined position in VP or TP when AUX is present. In discussing the focus-SOV facts in MC, I have divided the focus-SOV sentences into two major types: overt and covert.

Those with overt focus markers, such as the post-object *ye* 'also' and *dou* 'all' and the pre-object *lian* 'even', are referred to as the overt type whereas those without as the covert type. The two-way division has proven to be better than the previous ones in three ways. First, the division makes it possible to distinguish between focus-SOV sentences with overt focus markers and those without from a structural point of view in a uniform manner. That is, the overt type has an overt Focus head inside VP or TP whereas the covert type has the [+Focus] feature fall on the heads of either VP or TP. Second, the division makes it possible to identify different properties these two types of focus-SOV sentences display. That is, the overt type has the option of containing the pre-object focus marker *lian* 'even' whereas the covert type does not. Lastly, the division also makes it possible to predict the occurrence of any given phrase in Spec of FocP.

The object preposing in focus-SOV order in AC has also been researched in the same spirit, which has never been done before. Following the empty Agr hypothesis and the revised VPA hypothesis, I have proposed that unlike that in MC, the object preposing in focus-SOV order in AC is triggered by an optional feature [+Focus] in VP. In the case of overt focus-SOV order in AC, i.e., when the preposed object is overtly marked by the post-object *shi* or *zhi*, the feature appears on the Foc head of FocP in VP. In the case of covert focus-SOV order, i.e., when the preposed object is not overtly marked, the feature falls on V, the head of VP, only.

One more advantage of this two-way distinction of the focus-SOV order in MC and AC, i.e., overt type and covert type, is that the distinction also makes it possible to capture the different distributional properties that focus-SOV orders in MC and AC display from a structural point of view. In other words, it has been shown that the

preposed object in focus-SOV order in MC can be adjunction to VP or TP but the preposed object in focus-SOV order in AC can only be adjunction to VP.

It has also been shown that in both MC and AC, the preposed objects in focus-SOV order display some kind of contrastive reading though the means by which these pragmatic correlates are shown are different. In MC, it is the use of emphatic markers, stress and the use of adverbs and the parenthesised phrases that encodes the contrastive reading (Ernst & Wang 1995). However, I discover that in AC, it is the word order, and the use of focus markers, negative particles, non-referential pronouns and exclamatory markers at the end of the sentence that encodes the contrastive reading.

Shi (1986) observes that the disappearance of AC object preposing took place near the end of AC and early OC (206BC-AD200). I agree with Shi that the preposing of pronominal objects and interrogative objects of verbs started to decline in late AC and early OC. But I depart from him and have presented ample evidence in support of my claim that the process was not complete until late OC (AD618-907). What is interesting about Zhou's (1952) text count results as regards the occurrence frequency of preverbal and post-verbal pronominal objects in negative sentences in Pre-AC, AC and OC is that the pre-verbal pronominal objects never outnumbered the post-verbal ones in any period investigated. This provides strong evidence for the claim that Chinese has been and is a stable SVO language.

Finally, it has been proposed by Kayne (1994) that OV languages are in fact derived from VO. The position I am taking here is not along this base. However, the analysis I have suggested about VO/focus-OV order in Chinese is consistent with Kayne since I

claim that in both AC and MC SVO order is basic and OV order results from object preposing.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will sum up the major issues raised in the foregoing chapters and present an overview of some ideas that have appeared here and there in the thesis.

6.2 The telicity hypothesis

In Chapter 2, on the basis of some unobserved facts in the evolution of the *ba*-construction, I have proposed a telicity hypothesis for the *ba*-construction. It states that telicity is a necessary condition on the verbs allowed in the *ba*-construction. It is observed that this condition was first acquired in late OC when changes took place in the constituent structures of the verb; namely the verb started to take NP objects, PP complements and verbal particles in late OC. The choice of these measuring-out (Tenny 1987) constituents changed the type of the verb in the *ba*-construction and turned it into a telic one. In other words, NP objects, PP complements and verbal particles can be used to measure out the telic verb in Chinese. Further change in early MdC was observed when the verb in the *ba*-construction started to take on aspect markers such as *-le* and *-zhe*. The selection of aspect markers not only completes the development of telicity effect on the verb but also establishes that telicity has become a necessary condition on verbs used in the *ba*-construction. The claim is firmly supported by the evidence that verbs without measuring out constituents have never been found in use in the *ba*-construction since early MdC.

For the first time, the telicity hypothesis makes it possible to straightforwardly account for the fact that verbs without measuring out constituents are incompatible with the *ba*-construction. It also offers a better explanation for a pair of sentences displaying a contrast in grammaticality observed in Tai (1984) and discussed in Sun (1996) (see Section 2.3.2 in Chapter 2 for detail). The telicity analysis also gives a better account than Zou's (1993) of the so-called causative *ba*-construction in Chinese (see Section 2.3.2 in Chapter 2 for detail).

In the same chapter, a review of previous analyses of word order change in Chinese is presented with special reference to Li & Thompson's (1974) and Sun's (1996) arguments. The two main issues discussed concern the evolution of the *ba*-construction and the positional changes of PPs in the history of the Chinese language.

From the development of the *ba*-construction, it is shown that *ba* used to be a verb meaning 'take hold of' in AC. It was then grammaticalized into an adposition marking direct object in preverbal position in late OC. In MdC, *ba* developed its other uses as a marker of attitude, instrument and indirect object in a dative construction. In MC, *ba* is mainly used as a grammaticalized morpheme marking object in the so-called *ba*-construction.

Li & Thompson's (1974) argument is that Chinese is changing from SVO to SOV and the process is about to complete. They argue that the *ba*-construction represents a new SOV order in MC. However, strong evidence is shown that the *ba*-construction is not an unmarked word order in Chinese as it is highly constrained by requirements for the definiteness of the *ba* NP and constraints on the types of verbs allowed in the *ba*-construction. Eleven types of existent SVO sentences in MC have been listed to show that there is hardly any evidence that the *ba*-construction is taking over as a new word order. Sun (1996) holds a different view, namely that Chinese is an SVO

language. He argues that the *ba*-construction is a replacement of the *yi*-construction in AC and that *ba* is a high transitivity marker.

I basically agree with Sun that Chinese is SVO. But I depart from him in agreeing with Peyraube (1996) that the *ba*-construction results from the grammaticalization from the serial verb *ba* 'take hold of' in AC.

6.3 The marked progressive construction

To recapitulate, in Chapter 2, it is shown that there is a marked progressive construction in Chinese involving the co-occurrence of the progressive aspect marker *zai* before *ba* in preverbal position as shown in (87) in Chapter 2 repeated here as (1).

1) ta **zai ba** nei-ben shu fanyi-cheng zhongwen.

he *zai* BA that-CL book translate-become Chinese

'He is translating that book into Chinese.'

I have proposed an account of the construction by the telicity hypothesis I have developed in Chapter 2 and the principle of external override developed in Smith (1997). The telicity hypothesis requires that telicity is a necessary condition on the verbs allowed in the *ba*-construction. The principle of external overrides "holds for clashes between the temporal feature values of a verb constellation and those of forms external to it. By the principle, the feature value of an external form overrides the value of the verb constellation" (Smith 1997:53).

So far as (1) is concerned, the telicity condition is satisfied by the telic property of the verb phrase in the sentence. In light of the principle of external override, the progressive aspect marker *zai* before *ba* in preverbal position is taken as an external form to the main verb phrase of the sentence. The Progressive viewpoint of *zai* overrides the value of the verb constellation, the situation type of Change of State.

Therefore, the sentence is grammatical. The same analysis also correctly predicts that examples such as (89) in Chapter 2 repeated here as (2) are ungrammatical.

2) *ta **ba** nei-ben shu **zai** fanyi-cheng zhongwen.

he BA that-CL book *zai* translate-become Chinese

The difference between (1) and (2) is accounted for under the same analysis. All the analysis needs to say is that *zai* before *ba* in preverbal position in (1) is an external form to the verb constellation whereas *zai* prefixed to the verb in (2) is not. When *zai* constitutes an external form as is the case with (1), its Progressive viewpoint overrides the temporal feature value of the verb constellation. That is why sentence (1) is grammatical. Since the external form is unavailable in (2) in the first place, the sentence is out.

But sentence (3a) is similar to (1) except that the verb constellation in the former has a temporal feature value Instantaneous and that the sentence is ungrammatical. But without the aspectual marker *zai*, the sentence is grammatical as in (3b).

3) a. *ta **zai** **ba** tade fuqin si-le.

he ZAI BA his father die-Asp

b. ta **ba** tade fuqin si-le.

he BA his father die-Asp

'He lost his father.'

Apart from the proposal I have made above, I do not have a ready account for the problem raised by (3a). However, it appears that this could have to do with the Progressive viewpoint in Chinese. In discussing this issue in Chinese, Smith (1997) maintains that "The progressive viewpoint requires an interval that does not include an endpoint of the event. No such interval is available internally for instantaneous

events, and they do not allow the progressive. Achievement verb constellations with the progressive are ungrammatical" (Smith 1997:272). This can be illustrated in (4) in contrast with the English counterpart in (5).

4) *tade fuqin **zai** si.

his father ZAI die

'His father is dying.'

5) His father is dying.

The above discussion seems to also indicate that apart from telicity, a necessary condition on the verbs allowed in the *ba*-construction, there seems to be other conditions constraining the occurrence of certain forms with the *ba*-construction, such as the one I have just discussed. Therefore, I revise my telicity hypothesis as follows: Telicity is a necessary, but not sufficient, condition on the verbs allowed in the *ba*-construction. There is evidence that it is more plausible to adopt the revised telicity hypothesis. For instance, example (3a) raises the question of why marked progressive with Instantaneous feature value on the verb constellation is incompatible with the *ba*-construction. Although I have suggested a tentative account, the answer is beyond this thesis, pending further research.

6.4 Positional change of PPs in the history of Chinese

As for the positional changes of PPs in the history of Chinese, Li & Thompson (1974) argue that PPs in AC are predominantly postverbal whereas PPs in MC are predominantly preverbal. Sun (1996) holds a different view and takes the positional changes of some PPs in the history of Chinese as the result of a parameter setting from [V'+adjunct] → [adjunct+V']. He also takes this as evidence against an

approach developed in Lightfoot (1979, 1991) and Kroch (1989a, 1989b) that views changes involving parameter settings as "catastrophic in nature" (Lightfoot 1991:166).

In Chapter 3, the results of a text count I have conducted of the historical texts in different periods of the Chinese history have been presented. The findings provide further evidence for the view that Chinese is SVO and prepositional (Dryer 1991; cf. Greenberg 1963; Hawkins 1983). A detailed examination of the distribution of PPs in different period of Chinese history has presented ample empirical evidence in support of the claim that there is no such a period in the history of Chinese, especially AC, during which PPs are predominantly postverbal. It therefore is clear that there is little support for Li & Thompson's postverbal hypothesis for PPs in AC. Although in MC most PPs occur in preverbal position, it does not constitute evidence for the claim that postverbal position is the predominant position for PPs in AC, either.

In discussing the use of some adpositions like *zai* in preverbal and postverbal positions in MC, I have proposed a telicity analysis that suggests that the position of PPs in MC is sensitive to a semantic property: telicity. In other words, telic verbs select postverbal PPs of direction whereas atelic verbs select other PPs. The strong evidence for the claim is that preverbal *zai* marks location whereas postverbal *zai* marks direction. By the telicity analysis, many similar facts related to the position of PPs in MC can be accounted for in a uniform manner.

6.5 Grammaticalization of *zai* and *bei*

In this thesis, the grammaticalization of two other morphemes in Chinese has been discussed. They involve the progressive aspect marker *zai* and the passive marker *bei*.

Chapter 3 shows that the establishment of grammaticalization chains with *zai* in MC has both diachronic and synchronic implications. Synchronically, it shows the existence of various forms of *zai* in MC reflecting the different functional properties they display in communication. Diachronically, it presents a pathway through which the morpheme *zai* has evolved over the past 2000 years

In Chapter 4, after giving a detailed overview of the development of passive constructions in the history of the Chinese language, I embark on a discussion of the evolution of the passive marker *bei* and the agent marker *bei* over the past 2,000 years. I have proposed that the grammaticalization of *bei* into a passive auxiliary and an adposition is not a linear order but takes two different paths: one from lexical verb to auxiliary and one from lexical verb to adposition. In late AC, an auxiliary and an adposition *bei* started splitting off from the same passive verb *bei* 'suffer'. The process proceeded for the auxiliary *bei* but was slowed down for the adposition *bei* probably due to the common use of the adposition *wei* as an agent marker in the passive construction from late AC to mid OC. It was in mid OC that *bei* developed further as an agent marker. In late OC and early MdC, the main verb in the *bei*-form passive construction began to have a NP object. There is a partitive or possessive relationship between the preverbal NP and the postverbal NP that form the patient of the verbal action. In early MC, the agent marker *bei* was used before an actor subject NP in a non-passive construction. In MC, *bei* can be used either as a passive marker before a verb or as an agent marker in preverbal position. I present evidence to show that the grammaticalization of *bei* as a passive auxiliary is complete in early MC (after 1900) whereas the grammaticalization of *bei* as an agent marker is complete in late OC and early MdC (cf. Peyraube 1996).

The evolution of the passive morpheme *bei* once again shows that ever since AC, there have been preverbal PPs and that there is no period whatsoever in AC during which PPs are predominantly postverbal as claimed by Li & Thompson (1974).

6.6 Overt and covert focus-SOV order in Chinese

Chapter 6 addresses the object preposing in the focus-SOV constructions in AC and MC, one of the important issues concerning the basic word order of the Chinese language. Following Pollock (1989), Chomsky (1991) and Ernst (1994), I have proposed an empty Agr hypothesis for the Infl structure of Chinese that states that there are functional heads Agr and Tense in Chinese. Since the language lacks overt agreement morphology, Agr is phonologically empty with the subject licensed in its Spec at S-structure. As modals in Chinese are identified as forming a functional category AUX (Emonds 1976; cf. Huang 1989), they are realised in Tense that is lexically specified for modals (Chomsky 1970, 1986). The empty Agr hypothesis has been shown to be superior to Ernst's (1994) empty Infl hypothesis for the Infl structure of Chinese in two ways. The empty Agr hypothesis not only nicely accounts for the distributions of movable and nonmovable adjuncts in Chinese but also captures the similarity and difference between these two types of adjuncts in terms of their distribution. On the other hand, the empty Agr hypothesis also makes it possible to account for the difference between English and Chinese in terms of licensing of adjuncts in A'-positions in a uniform manner.

Following the empty Agr hypothesis, a revised VPA hypothesis (cf. Ernst & Wang 1995) is introduced to account for the focus-SOV constructions in MC and AC. In order to give a uniform account of the focus-SOV facts in both periods, I divide the relevant data into two major groups: overt type and covert type. Those with overt focus markers, *ye* 'also', *dou* 'all' and *lian* 'even' in MC and *shi* or *zhi* in AC, are

referred to as the overt type whereas those without such markers are referred to as the covert type. The two-way division proves superior to the ones described in Ernst (1994) and Ernst & Wang (1995) in four ways. First, the division makes it possible to distinguish between focus-SOV sentences with overt focus markers and those without from a structural point of view. Second, the division makes it possible to identify different properties these two types of focus-SOV sentences display. Third, the division also makes it possible to predict the occurrence of any given phrase in Spec of FocP. Fourthly, the distinction also makes it possible to capture the different distributional properties that focus-SOV orders in MC and AC display from a structural point of view.

Following the empty Agr hypothesis and the revised VPA hypothesis, I have proposed that 0the object preposing in focus-SOV order in MC is adjunction to VP when AUX is absent and adjunction to TP when AUX is present. The object preposing in focus-SOV order in AC can only be adjunction to VP. As for the why, I do not have a ready answer at the moment. However, it could probably be attributed to the difference in the Infl structure of Chinese in these two periods. In other words, it could be the case that Tense is available in MC but unavailable in AC. This of course is only a tentative suggestion, still pending further research.

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