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Survey of Chinese Historical Syntax

Part II: Middle Chinese

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Abstract

This is the second article in a two-part introduction to Chinese historical syntax. The previous article introduces aspects of pre-medieval grammar which differ markedly from modern Chinese varieties, specifically fronting of object NPs to preverbal position, the asymmetry between subject and object relative clause formation, and the encoding of argument structure alternations like active and passive. Each of these characteristics is related to morphological distinctions on nouns, verbs, or pronouns which are either overtly represented in the logographic writing system in Archaic Chinese or have been reconstructed for (Pre-)Archaic Chinese. In this second article, I discuss changes which took place in Middle Chinese and correlate these innovations with the loss of the (Pre-)Archaic Chinese morphology. The main goal of these articles is to highlight a common denominator, i.e. the morphology, which enables a systemic view of pre-medieval Chinese and the changes which have resulted in the striking differences observed in Middle Chinese and beyond.

1. Introduction

This paper is the continuation of an article on historical Chinese syntax covering the Pre-Archaic and Archaic periods. The current paper examines developments which took place in Middle Chinese, beginning with Early Middle Chinese of approximately 1st century BCE. I draw particular attention to correlations between syntactic changes and the loss of verbal and nominal morphology. This allows in turn for the identification of morphological triggers for the acquisition of new syntactic forms.

2. Loss of morphology for case and clausal nominalization

In this section, I discuss the loss of case distinctions and show how this accounts for the concomitant neutralization of the subject/object relativization asymmetry.

2.1. Loss of case distinctions

The loss of case distinctions can be demonstrated by the mixed use of genitive and accusative pronouns in positions formerly restricted to accusative pronouns. In Late Archaic Chinese, subject position in a clause embedded by a causative verb received accusative case[i]. (1a) shows an example of the third person accusative pronoun in this position. From Early Middle Chinese, however, the genitive pronoun *qi* came to be felicitous in this position, as shown in (1b).

(1) a. 上賢使之為三公。 (3rd C. BCE; *Xunzi* 12, Jundao)

Shang xian shi [$_{TP}$ **zhi** wei sangong]

most able make 3.ACC[ii] be *sangong*

'The most capable, make them into *sangong* (the highest official rank).'

b. 全趙令其止。 (1st C. BCE; *Zhanguoce*, Xi Zhou)

Quan Zhao ling [$_{TP}$ **qi** zhi]

protect Zhao make 3.GEN stop

'(You) protect Zhao and make them stop.'

Later in Middle Chinese, *qi* could be found as the goal in a double object construction (2a). (2b) shows that this was an accusative position in Late Archaic Chinese.

(2) a. 唯願世尊與其長壽。 (5th C. CE; *Zabao Zangjing* 47)

Wei yuan Shizun yu **qi** changshou.

only wish Buddha give 3.GEN longevity

'(I) only ask the Buddha to give him long life.'

b. 卒授之國。 (4th C. BCE; *Zhuangzi* 1, Dechongfu)

Zu [shou **zhi** guo].

finally bestow 3.ACC nation

'In the end, I gave him (responsibility for) the nation.'

I interpret the appearance of the genitive pronoun in positions historically reserved for the accusative pronoun as evidence that, at least in the spoken language, the morphological distinction between these two pronouns had been lost.

Further support for the proposal that genitive case was lost in early Middle Chinese comes from the fact that embedded subjects in general were no longer required to appear with the genitive marking. (3a) shows a Late Archaic period sentential subject with genitive marking. (3b)

shows a similar sentence from an Early Middle Chinese text, which does not show genitive case for the embedded subject.

(3) a. 天下之無道也久矣。 (5th C. BCE; *Analects*, Bayi)

[Tianxia **zhi** wu dao ye] jiu yi.

world GEN not.have way COP long PERF

'It is a long time since the world has been without the proper way.'

b. 天下無道久矣。 (1st C. CE; *Shiji*, Kongzi Shijia)

[Tianxia wu dao] jiu yi.

world not.have way long PERF

'It is a long time since the world has been without the proper way.'

2.2. Loss of the subject/object relativization asymmetry

The distinction between subject and object relative clause formation started to break down in the beginning of the Middle Chinese period. Whereas relative clauses formed on object position in Late Archaic Chinese required the morpheme *suo* to appear at the VP boundary, as in (4a), examples lacking *suo* can be found in Early Middle Chinese, as in (4b). Note further generalization of the subject relativization strategy employing *zhe* in (4b).

(4) a. 人之所畏不可不畏。 (3rd C. BCE; *Laozi* 20)

[ren zhi **suo** [wei *e*]] bu ke bu wei.

person GEN SUO fear not POT not fear

'[What people fear] cannot not be feared.'

b. 君王將何問者也？ (1st C. BCE; *Zhanguoce*, Chu 1)

Junwang jiang he [wen **zhe**] ye?

majesty will what ask ZHE COP

'What is it that Your Majesty would like to ask?'

Suo relative clauses did continue to appear in written texts until modern times. They are even found on a limited basis in Modern Mandarin (see Chiu 1993, 1995 and Ting 2003, 2010 for discussion and analysis). *Suo* also continued play a role in Middle Chinese in forming one of the passive constructions, as I discuss below in section 4. But both subject and object relative clauses in modern Mandarin (particularly in the spoken language) now generally use the linker *de*.

In the first of this series of articles, I discussed the relationship between the nominalization of embedded clauses in Late Archaic Chinese and the need for *suo* in the edge of VP (*v*P) to form a relative clause on object position. It should not be surprising, then, that the loss of the obligatoriness of *suo* in object relative clauses correlates with the loss of genitive case and consequently the loss of the nominal layer in embedded clauses. Since it was genitive case on the embedded subject which signaled the nominalization, I assume that this case was the trigger or cue (in the sense of Lightfoot 1991, 1999; Roberts 1997; Dresher 1999; Roberts and Roussou 2003; and others) for acquiring the nominalized structure. Put simply, the change involved the acquisition of the default finite clausal structure including a CP layer, which could house an operator to form a relative clause. This broke down the distinction between the two types of relative clause, since an operator could move to the CP layer from either subject or object position. The earlier subject relativization strategy involving *zhe* was generalized to both subject

and object relativization because of its high structural position, which allowed it to bind the operator in the edge of the relative clause CP.

(5) 問者

[$_{NP}$ [$_{CP}$ OP$_i$ [$_{TP}$ *pro* wen e_i]] **zhe**$_i$]

ask ZHE

'what you ask.'

The loss genitive case also had consequences for changes in subject relative clauses. In Late Archaic Chinese, the genitive marker functioned as a linker between the modifying clause and the head NP in a headed relative clause, as in (6a). In Middle Chinese, we find a gradual increase in examples which have no linking element, as in (6b, c).

(6) a. 豈若從避世之士哉。 (5th C. BCE; *Analects* 18, Weizi)

qi ruo cong [*e* [bi shi] **zhi** shi] zai.

how like follow escape world ZHI scholar EXCL

'How could that compare to following a scholar who escapes from the world?'

b. 守者乃請出棄

Shou zhe nai qing chu qi

Guard ZHE then ask remove discard

簀中死人。 (1st C. BCE; *Shiji*, Fan Ju)

[[ze zhong] ____ [si ren]].

mat be.in (ZHI) dead person

'The guard then asked to take out and discard the dead person that was in the mat.'

c. 始嘗欲殺文公宦者履鞮

[[Shi chang yu sha Wen Gong] ____ huanzhe Lü Di]

beginning before want kill Wen lord (ZHI) eunuch Lü Di

知其謀。 (1st C. BCE; *Shiji*, Jin Shijia)

zhi qi mo.

know 3.GEN plot

'The eunuch Lü Di, who wanted to kill the lord Wen in the beginning, knew of their plot.'

There are also examples of *zhe* being co-opted to fill various functions previously performed by the genitive marker *zhi*. As Lü (1943), Feng (1990), and L. Jiang (1999) point out, *zhe* can be found marking possessors in Middle Chinese texts.

(7) 聞弦者音 (1st C. BCE; *Zhanguoce*; from Lü 1943:56)

wen [xian **zhe** yin]

hear string ZHE sound

'hearing the sound of the string(s)'

The graph 者 *zhe* was eventually replaced by 底 *di* (Lü 1943, Ohta 1958, Cao 1986, Feng 1990, L. Jiang 1999, and others). The following examples show *di* with a possessor, modifier, and as the linker between a relative clause and the head nominal. In short, *di* at this time has all the functions of Modern Mandarin *de*. The graph 底 *di* has been replaced in Modern Standard Mandarin with 的 *de*.

(8) a. 汝底 (10th century; *Zutangji*; from L. Jiang 1999:84)

ru di

you DE

'your'

b. 虛底

xu di

empty DE

'empty one'

c. 不辨生死底人

bu bian sheng si di ren

not discern live die DE person

'someone who could be dead or alive'

In this section, I showed how a single relativization strategy emerged in Middle Chinese for relative clauses involving gaps in both subject and object position. The loss of the nominal layer in embedded clauses led to the addition of a CP layer to which operators could move from either subject or object position. Consequently, the subject relativization strategy was generalized to

object relative clauses. This continues to be the strategy for forming relative clauses in Modern Mandarin.

3. Word order

In this section, I discuss the loss of Archaic Chinese movement transformations and discuss possible connections with loss of morphology.

As suggested in part 1 of this series, pronoun fronting to negation might be analyzed as object shift motivated by the need to receive structural case. Recall that Late Archaic Chinese accusative pronouns fronted from their base positions to a position immediately following the negator, as in (9a). On the other hand, dative pronouns did not front, as shown in (9b). Pronoun fronting was lost in Early Middle Chinese. (9c) shows an Early Middle Chinese example in which an accusative pronoun does not front. If, as I have suggested in the earlier article, the motivation for pronoun fronting to negation was case, then loss of pronoun fronting was simply due to the loss of morphological case distinctions.

(9) a. 吾先君亦莫之行也。 (4th C. BCE; *Mencius*, Tengwen 1)

Wu	xian	jun	yi	mo	**zhi**	*xing*	ye.
1	former	lord	also	none	3.ACC	do	COP

'None of our former lords did this either.'

b. 晉國天下莫強焉。 (4th C. BCE; *Mencius*, Lianghui 1)

Jin	Guo	Tianxia	*mo*	qiang	**yan**.
Jin	nation	world	none	strong	3.DAT

'The Jin nation, noone in the world is stronger than them.'

c. 人莫知之。 (3rd C. CE; *Sanguozhi*, Wei 11)

Ren *mo* zhi **zhi**.

person none know 3.ACC

'No one knew it.'

In the first part of this series, I also proposed (with Djamouri et al., to appear, and Meisterernst 2010) that object focus fronting involved an embedded nominalization in a cleft construction. (10a) repeats an example, with the focused object preceding the genitive case marking the nominalization. Djamouri et al. (to appear) consider the Pre-Archaic Chinese clefts to be parallel to the focalization construction in Modern Mandarin clefts using the copula *shi…de*, as analyzed by Paul and Whitman (2008). As shown in (10b), the focused constituent follows the copula *shi*, and the rest of the clause is followed by *de*, which they analyze as heading an aspect projection.

(10) a. 彼唯人言之惡聞。 (4th C. BCE; *Zhuangzi*, Zhile)

Bi *wei* [$_{NP}$ ren yan$_i$ **zhi** [$_{VP}$ wu wen e_i]].

it COP human voice GEN hate hear

'It only hates to hear human voices.'

b. Ta *shi* **zai** **Beijing** xue yuyanxue de.

3.SG be at Beijing study linguistics DE

'It is in Beijing that he studied linguistics.' (Paul and Whitman 2008:415)

An important difference between the (Pre-)Archaic and Modern constructions is that object fronting is allowed only in the former. The focused constituent following the copula in Modern

Mandarin can only be a subject or adjunct. If we accept Meisterernst's (2010) analysis in which the object moves to the projection headed by the genitive marker, then the loss of genitive morphology provides an account of the loss of fronting.

Wh-movement was likewise lost in Early Middle Chinese. Early examples of *wh*-in-situ involved phrasal categories, as in (11a). Monosyllabic *wh*-words continued to front, as in (11b).

(11) a. 此固其理也，有何怨乎？ (1st C. BCE; *Shiji* 81, Lianpo)

Ci gu qi li ye, [$_{VP}$ you **he** **yuan**] hu?

this ADV 3.GEN way COP have what complaint Q

'This is the way things are; what complaint could you have?'

b. 子將何欲？ (1st C. BCE; *Shiji* 86, Cike)

Zi jiang **he** [$_{VP}$ yu __]?

you will what want

'What do you want?'

However, even the fronting of monosyllabic *wh*-words was no longer the syntactic movement to the clause-medial focus projection that it was in Late Archaic Chinese. In Early Middle Chinese, the *wh*-word is merely reordered the left of the verb which selects it. In (12a), the *wh*-word appears left-adjacent to the embedded verb, even though it takes scope in the matrix clause. In Late Archaic Chinese, a *wh*-word taking scope in matrix clause would move to the focus position in the matrix clause, as in (12b).

(12) a. 吾敢誰怨乎？ (1st C. BCE; *Shiji* 31, Wu Taibo)

Wu gan [**shei** yuan __] hu?

1 dare who resent Q

'Who do I dare to resent?'

b. 吾誰敢怨？ (5th C. BCE; *Zuozhuan*, Zhao 27)

Wu **shei** gan [yuan __]?

I who dare resent

'Who do I dare to resent?'

Aldridge (2012) proposes that syntactic *wh*-movement was reanalyzed as cliticization as an intermediate stage in the change to *wh*-in-situ. But it is at least as plausible to imagine that *wh*-movement was lost completely in the spoken language by Early Middle Chinese, though the appearance of movement was maintained in the written language by means of local reordering of the verb and monosyllabic *wh*-words.

It is difficult to identify a morphological trigger for the loss of *wh*-movement. Aldridge (2010) also does not provide a detailed analysis, only suggesting that the motivation for the movement may have become opaque to acquirers of the language. Aldridge analyzes Late Archaic Chinese *wh*-movement as focus fronting to a position between the subject and VP. Late Archaic Chinese also had focus fronting of an NP object, which was likewise lost in Middle Chinese, as discussed above. It is possible that the loss of NP focus fronting may have removed some of the motivation for learners to posit a focus feature driving movement to a clause-medial position. Without a robust trigger for acquisition of the movement, learners would have simply opted for the default

parameter setting, i.e. for the lack of movement. Roberts (1997) proposes a similar explanation for the loss of object shift in English.

In this section, I have proposed that the loss of morphology for case and nominalization removed the trigger for the acquisition of several movement transformations, resulting in the loss of these object fronting operations.

4. Passive and causative

Sound changes taking place in Middle Chinese served to simplify syllable structure and obscure earlier morphological processes (Norman 1988, Feng 1998). The causative/denominal **s-* sometimes produced consonant clusters which survived into Middle Chinese, e.g. **sr-* of 使 *shi* 'send'. In other cases, sound change reduced the earlier cluster to a new, single segment, as in 黑 **xok* 'black' (< **s- + mok* 墨 'ink')[iii]. The **-s* nominalizing suffix became the departing tone in Middle Chinese and can still be seen in Modern Mandarin, e.g. 傳 *chuan* 'transmit' and 傳 *zhuàn* 'record, biography'.

4.1. Passive

Consequently, it is unsurprising that bare passives were no longer productive in Middle Chinese; passives in Middle Chinese are all overtly marked. The common passive form at the end of the Late Archaic Chinese period was the *jian* passive, as discussed in the preceding article.

(13) 吾長見笑於大方之家。 (4th C. BCE; *Zhuangzi*, Qiushui)

Wu chang **jian** xiao *yu* *dafang* *zhi* *jia*.

I always PASS laugh by enlightened GEN person

'I would have always been laughed at by an enlightened person.'

Another type of passive, which emerged in the Late Archaic period and grew significantly in frequency in Early Middle Chinese, appears to embed an object relative clause using *suo* under the copula *wei* (Wei 1994, Yan 1995, Dong 1998).

(14) 微趙君，幾為丞相所賣。 (1st C. BCE; *Shiji*, Lisi Liezhuan)

Wei Zhao Jun, ji **wei** [chengxiang suo mai].

if.not.be Zhao Jun almost COP prime.minister REL betray

'Were it not for you, Zhao Jun, (I) would have been betrayed by the prime minister.'

Wang (1958), Tang (1987), Peyraube 1989b, and Yan (1995) assume that *wei…suo* passives developed from an earlier construction using just *wei* in the Late Archaic period. In *wei* passives, the agent appears between *wei* and the verb.

(15) 止，將為三軍獲。 (5th C. BCE; *Zuozhuan*, Xiang 18)

Zhi, jiang **wei** *san* *jun* huo.

stop will be three army capture

'(If you) stop, then you will be captured by these forces.'

Ma (1898), Wang (1958), Chou (1961), Cikoski (1978), Tang and Zhou (1985), Peyraube (1989b), Yang and He (1992), Pulleyblank (1995), and others analyze both *jian* and *wei* as passive auxiliaries selecting the main VP. Wei (1994) takes a different tack and instead analyzes *wei* as a copula taking a nominal (rather than verbal) complement. There are even rare examples in which genitive marking can appear between the agent and verb following *wei*, clearly arguing for a nominal analysis of the constituent following *wei*.

(16) 身死國亡，為天下之大僇。 (3rd C. BCE; *Xunzi*, Zhenglun)

Shen si guo wang, wei tianxia zhi da lu.

body die nation lose WIE world GEN great ridicule

’ …to lose life and dominion and be made the laughing stock of the world.’

As a replacement for the *wei* passive, the *wei…suo* passives are also argued to involve the copula *wei* taking a nominal complement, this time the complement being a headless relative clause formed by *suo* (Wei 1994, Yan 1995, and Dong 1998). One possible reason for the replacement of the nominalization, as in (15) and (16), with a headless relative structure, as in (14), may have been the loss of morphology marking the embedded nominalization in Middle Chinese. In other words, the addition of the relativizer *suo* was necessary in Middle Chinese in order to mark the constituent following the copula as nominal.

Peyraube (1989b) analyzes *wei* as a preposition taking the agent NP as its complement rather than as a copula. Li (2011) counters, however, that *wei* could not have been a preposition, because it does not form a constituent with the following NP. The material following *wei* can be

coordinated to exclusion of *wei*, clearly showing that *wei* does not form a constituent with the following NP.

(17) 輒為將相所不任，文吏所毗戲。 (1st C. CE; *Lunheng*, Chengcai Wei 1994:307)

Zhe wei [jiang xiang suo bu ren]
subsequently COP general premier REL not trust
[wenli suo pixi].
officer REL contempt
'Subsequently, (he) is not trusted by generals and premiers and is held in contempt by officers.'

Wang (1958), Bennett (1981), Sun (1996), and (Wei 2003) propose that the use of *bei* in passives (the passive marker in Modern Standard Mandarin) arose as a replacement, first for *jian* (Wei 2003) and later for *wei* in *wei…suo* passives (Wang 1958, Ohta 1958, Bennett 1981, Tang 1987, Wei 1994, Sun 1996). (18) shows an early example from the 2nd century BCE. Note that early examples of *bei* passives do not contain an agent NP following *bei*. This fact clearly precludes an analysis of *bei* as a preposition, as proposed by Li & Thompson (1974) and Peyraube (1989b, 1996).

(18) 錯卒以被戮。 (1st C. BCE; *Shiji* 122, Kuli)

Cuo zu yi bei lu.
Cuo finally for PASS execute
'In the end, he (Chao Cuo) was executed for (this).'

It was not until after the Han Dynasty (approximately from the 3rd century CE) that examples began to emerge in which an agent intervenes between *bei* and the main verb. According to Wei (1994), *bei* passves overtook *wei...suo* in passives in frequency in the Sui period (late 6th century). Wei (1994: 310) suggests that the decline of the *wei...suo* passive is related to the replacement of *wei* with *shi* as copula and the loss of the object relativizer *suo*.

(19) 亮子被蘇峻害。 (5th C. CE; *Shishuo Xinyu* 5.25)

Liangzi **bei** *Su Jun* hai.

Liangzi PASS Su Jun kill

'Liangzi was killed by Su Jun.'

Evidence that *bei*, like its predecessor *wei*, is not a preposition comes first from Hashimoto (1987), who shows that *bei* does not form a constituent with the following NP. He proposes instead that modern *bei* should be analyzed as a verb which embeds a clause. The agent occupies subject position in the embedded clause. Analyses along these lines have been developed and defended for Modern Mandarin by Feng (1995), Chiu (1995), Ting (1998), Huang (1999), Huang et al. (2009), and others.

(20) 他被親人懷疑，外人指責。 (Hashimoto 1987: 42)

Ta bei [qinren huaiyi] [wairen zhize].

he Pass family doubt others accuse

'He was suspected by his family and blamed by outsiders.'

Wei (1994:321) provides additional evidence from historical sources for the biclausal analysis. In the following Western Jin (3rd century) example, a pronoun coreferential with the subject can appear in the embedded VP. If the subject preceding *bei* were the subject of the same clause containing the object pronoun, then a violation of Condition B of Chomsky's (1981, 1986) Binding Principles should ensue. Therefore, the subject and object cannot be clausemates.

(21) 其财物被淫女人悉夺取之。 (3rd C. CE; *Shengjing*; from Wei 1994:312)

Qi *caiwu*$_i$ bei yin nüren xi duoqu **zhi**$_i$.

DEM valuables PASS immoral woman all take 3.ACC

'All the valuables were stolen by the immoral woman.'

In this way, *bei* passives came to acquire the properties they have in Modern Mandarin. In particular, *bei* can be followed by the agent, and the matrix subject can be separated from its argument position by a clause boundary. These first two characteristics are illustrated in (22a). Finally, (22b) shows that a gap is not required.

(22) a. Zhangsan$_i$ bei [Lisi pai jingcha [zhuazuo-le *e*]]

Zhangsan PASS Lisi send police arrest-PERF

'Zhangsan suffered Lisi sending police to arrest him.' (Huang et al. 2009:125)

b. Zhangsan bei Lisi daduan-le yi-tiao tui.

Zhangsan PASS Lisi hit-ASP one-CL leg

'Zhangsan had a leg (of his) broken by Lisi.'

In this subsection, I have also suggested that the Middle Chinese *wei...suo* passive may have arisen as a replacement for an earlier copula construction involving *wei* and a nominal complement. If this is the case, this is yet another example of a change induced by the loss of nominalization morphology in Early Middle Chinese.

4.2. Verb-complement construction

In this subsection, I consider a possible connection between the development of verb-resultative compounds and the loss of causativizing morphology. Recall from the previous article in this series that Archaic Chinese had an unaccusative/causative verb alternation which was mediated by verbal affixes invisible to the writing system. The verb *huai* could be used transitively (23a) or intransitively (23b) in Archaic Chinese.

(23) a. 壞大門及寢門而入。 (5th C. BCE; *Zuozhuan*, Cheng 10)

Huai da men ji qin men er ru.

break main gate and sleep gate CONJ enter

‘(He) broke down the main gate and the gate to the sleeping quarters and went in.’

b. 大室之屋壞。 (5th C. BCE; *Zuozhuan*, Wen 13)

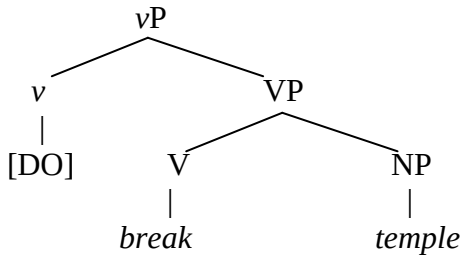
Dashi zhi wu huai.

temple GEN roof collapse

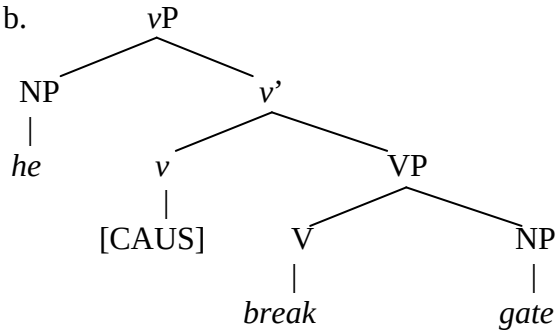
‘The roof of the temple collapsed.’

Feng (2005) proposes the following analysis of this alternation within the framework developed by Hale and Keyser (1993, 2002) for analyzing causative derivations from an unaccusative root as involving the addition of a causativizing light verb and its concomitant external argument causer. (24a) shows the unaccusative case with no causative light verb and no external argument. The internal argument is now the highest NP in the extended verbal projection, so it will raise to subject position, yielding SVO word order. In the causative derivation in (24b), the causative morpheme functions as the light verb. The external argument is selected in specifier of the light verb. The verb root moves to the position of the light verb, and the causative morpheme is spelled out as an affix on the verb. For Archaic Chinese, this would be seen in the voicing alternation or the presence or absence of the sonorant prefix reconstructed by Pulleyblank (1973), Baxter (1992), and Baxter and Sagart (1998).

(24) a.



b.



Mei (1991) relates the loss of causative morphology in part to the emergence of the verb-complement construction, or what is more commonly referred to in modern Chinese linguistics as V-V compounds (Y. Li 1990, 1993), resultative verb compounds (Li and Thompson 1981, Cheng and Huang 1994, Chang 1998), or simply resultatives (Sybesma 1999).

(25) Zhangsan **qi-lei**-le liang pi ma. (Cheng & Huang 1994: 188)
Zhangsan ride-tired-ASP two CL horse
'Zhangsan rode two horses tired.'

Object sharing by two transitive verbs was productive by the Han period (Wang 1958, Ohta 1958, Shimura 1984, Mei 1991, S. Jiang 1999, and Liang 2005), as shown in (26a). If the second verb was intransitive, however, there could be no object in the Han period, as in (26b).

(26) a. 射殺一魚。 (1st C. BCE; *Shiji* 6, Qin Shihuang)
She sha yi yu.
shoot kill one fish
'(He) shot and killed a fish.'

b. 百日而餓死。 (1st C. BCE; *Shiji* 79, Fan Ju)
Bai ri er e si.
100 day CONJ starve die
'After one hundred days, (he) starved to death.'

Shimura (1984) and Mei (1991) date the emergence of the resultative contruction of the type in (27) to the Six Dynasties period (5th century CE). An object was permitted following an intransitive verb only from the Tang period.

(27) 主人欲打死之。 (*Guang Gujin Wuxingji*, Guangji 91)

Zhuren yu da si zhi.

master want hit die 3.ACC

'The master wanted to strike him dead.'

Mei posits a connection between the loss of the Archaic Chinese causativizing morphology and the neutralization of the transitivity alternation in V-V sequences seen in (26). Specifically, when the phonological distinction marking transitivity was lost, the intransitive variant remained and could assume the place of the former transitive variant in V-V sequences.

In this section, I have shown how the development of the Modern Mandarin passive construction, as well as verb-resultative constructions, may have been related to the loss of nominalizing morphology (in the case of the passive) and causativizing verbal morphology (in the case of VV compounds.

5. Conclusion

In the first of this two-part series of articles, I showed how many central features of Pre-Archaic and Archaic Chinese syntax were related to morphological alternations which have since been lost in the language. In this sequel article, I have followed up on this introduction by showing that many of the salient changes which took place in Middle Chinese were the direct or indirect

consequences of the loss of this morphology. This approach to Chinese historical syntax firmly grounds the present work within the growing consensus that (Pre-)Archaic Chinese was a morphologically complex language despite the outward telegraphic appearance afforded by the writing system. Furthermore, this focus on the interaction between morphology and syntax provides a unifying source for a here-to-fore seemingly disparate collection of syntactic characteristics. Finally, the relationships drawn between morphology and syntactic processes and constructions helps to identify triggers responsible for the changes observed in Middle Chinese.

Let me conclude this series of articles by highlighting the advantages of the present proposal against the backdrop of an earlier global approach to syntactic change in Chinese. Li and Thompson (1974) proposed that basic word order in Chinese has been in the process of changing SVO to SOV since the end of the Archaic period. Most of the evidence for this shift comes from the positioning of adjunct PPs. This claim, if it could be substantiated, would identify single characteristic correlating word changes with developments in other aspects of the grammar, for example the passive construction in which the agent surfaces in preverbal position. However, the Li and Thompson proposal suffers from numerous conceptual and empirical problems and consequently fails to identify a unifying factor accounting for multiple changes from Archaic to Middle and Modern Chinese.

The first problem is their very assumption that the position of (adjunct) PPs should be a main determinant is establishing basic word order in a language. As argued by Light (1979), Sun and Givon (1985), Sun (1996), Djamouri et al. (to appear), and many others, if the relative positions of verb and direct object are examined, basic word order in Chinese has been and remains VO.

Another problem with the Li and Thompson proposal is the fact that there is no fixed position for PPs as such. As noted by He (1989, 1992), Sun (1996), Zhang (2002), and others, a PP can be

found preceding or following a verb in both Archaic and Modern Chinese. In Modern Standard Mandarin, adjunct PPs tend to surface in preverbal position, while argument PPs appear post verbally, within the VP, a pattern which was solidified by late Middle Chinese (Hong 1998, Zhang 2002). The preverbal locative in (28a) is contrasted with the postverbal goal in (28b).

(28) a. 年二十五，於幽州延壽寺受戒。 (10th century; *Zutangji* 8)

Nian 25, [PP yu Youzhou Yanshou Si] *shoujie*.
age 25 at Youzhou Yanshou temple become.monk
'At age twenty-five, he became a monk at Yanshou Temple in Youzhou.'

b. 伏牛和尚與馬大師送書到師處。 (10th century; *Zutangji* 3)

Funiu Heshang yu Ma Dashi *song* shu [PP dao shi chu].
Funiu monk and Ma master send letter to master place
'Brother Funiu and Master Ma sent a letter to the master.'

Argumental PPs, especially those projected by the dative/locative preposition *yu*, were likewise postverbal in (Pre-)Archaic Chinese (Wang 1958; He 1989, 1992; Shen 1992; Sun 1996; Zhang 2002; Qian 2004; Hong 1998; and others).

(29) 天子能薦人於天。 (4th C. BCE; *Mencius*, Wanzhang 1)

Tianzi neng [*jian* ren **yu** **tian**]
ruler can recommend person to heaven
'The ruler can recommend someone to heaven.'

The main difference between Archaic and Modern Chinese was the limited freedom in the former to place adjunct PPs in post verbal position. For example, PPs introduced by *zi* 'from' could appear either preceding or following the verb, as noted by Zhang (2002) and Hong (1998). Zhang (2002) points out, however, that *zi* PPs could be post-verbal only when they were the sole constituent following the verb. Therefore, it is certainly not the case that post verbal placement of adjuncts was entirely unconstrained.

(30) a. 冬，王歸自虢。 (5th C. BCE; *Zuozhuan*, Zhuang 21)

Dong wang gui **zi** **Guo**.

winter king return from Guo

'In the winter, then king returned from Guo.'

b. 吾自衛反魯。 (5th C. BCE; *Analects*, Zihan)

Wu **zi** **Wei** *fan* Lu.

1 from Wei return Lu

'I returned from Wei to Lu.'

It is true that the proportion of post verbal adjunct PPs does decrease during the Middle Chinese period. But this is less the result of a shift in basic word order and more a consequence of independent changes taking place in the language. As noted by He (1992) and Hong (1998), locative constituents began surfacing as bare NPs in post-verbal position in Early Middle Chinese. This is illustrated by He's (1992:240) following comparison of parallel passages in the two historical chronicles *Zuozhuan* (5th century BCE) and *Shiji* (1st century BCE). The

preposition is present in the earlier text but missing in the latter. Clearly, this change represents a change in category rather than position.

(31) a. 辛巳，朝于武宮。 (5^{th} century BCE; *Zuozhuan*, Cheng 18)

Xinsi, chao [$_{PP}$ yu Wu gong].

Xinsi pray in Wu shrine

'On the day Xinsi, (he) paid his respects at the Wu shrine.'

b. 辛巳，朝武宮。 (1^{st} century BCE; *Shiji*, Jin Shijia)

Xinsi, chao [$_{NP}$ Wu gong].

Xinsi pray Wu shrine

'On the day Xinsi, (he) paid his respects at the Wu shrine.'

Grammaticalization of verbs heading modifying (adjunct) VPs also led to the creation of prepositions which could only surface in preverbal position (Huang 1978, Sun 1996, Hong 1998). For example, the Modern Mandarin source preposition *cong* 'from' grammaticalized from a verb meaning 'follow' in a construction like the one exemplified by (32a), in which *cong* heads an adjunct VP modifying another VP. Whitman (2000) proposes that the grammaticalization process involved changing the category of the head of the adjunct from V to P. Since no other structural changes were involved, the newly created PPs continued to surface in the same prevebal adjunct position, as shown in (32b). This grammaticalization process, then, also reflects a change in category and not a shift in basic word order.

(32) a. 從晉文公伐鄭。 (5th century BCE; *Zuozhuan*, Xuan 3)

[VP Cong Jin Wen Gong] fa Zheng.

follow Jin Wen lord attack Zheng

‘(He) accompanied Lord Wen of Jin to attack the Zheng.’[

b. 孝文帝從代來。 (1st century BCE; *Shiji*, Xiaowen Benji)

Xiaowen Di [PP cong Dai] lai.

Xiaowen emperor from Dai come

‘Emperor Xiaowen arrived from Dai.’

Finally, let me point out that some of the basis for Li and Thompson’s assumption of a drastic increase in the occurrence of preverbal PPs is the result of misanalysis of the data. One such case is the passives in which the agent appears in preverbal position following the passive marker *bei*. I showed in section 3 that *bei* does not form a constituent with the agent NP. Consequently, *bei* passives do not involve PPs and therefore do not constitute evidence for Li and Thompson’s (1974) claim.

Another case in point is the *ba* disposal construction. In the modern Mandarin disposal construction, the semantic object of a transitive verb appears in preverbal position following the functional morpheme *ba* (Bender 2000; Chao 1968; Cheung 1973; Li and Thompson 1981; Goodall 1987; Y-H. Li 1990; Zou 1993; Sybesma 1999; Huang et al. 2009; among many others).

(33) Ni zenme **ba** *yi* *ge* *zei* pao zou le? (Bender 2000:109)

you how BA one CL thief run away CL

‘How did you let a thief get away?’

Until approximately the 7th century CE, *ba* was a lexical verb meaning 'hold' or 'grasp' (Zhu 1957, Wang 1958), as shown in (34a). It is commonly agreed that the modern disposal construction has its origin in an object sharing serial verb construction of the type in (34b).

(34) a. 左手把其袖。 (1st C. BCE; *Zhanguoce*, from Sun 1996:61)

Zuo shou **ba** qi xiou.

left hand BA 3.GEN sleeve

'The left hand takes his/her sleeve.'

b. 醉把茱萸子細看。 (8th C. CE; Du Fu poem; from Wang 1958:476)

Zui **ba** zhuyu zixi kan.

drunk take dogwood carefully look

'Drunk, (I) take the dogwood and look carefully.'

Many linguists assume that *ba* grammaticalized from a verb into a preposition (Chao 1968; Li and Thompson 1974; Bennett 1981; Peyraube 1989a, 1996; Mei 1990; Y-H. Li 1990; Her 1991; Sun 1996; Jiang 2005). However, it can be demonstrated that *ba* (like the passive marker *bei*) does not form a constituent with the following NP and consequently cannot be analyzed as a preposition. As Whitman (2000) and Paul (2002) point out, *ba* cannot be dislocated with the following NP, as shown in (35).

(35) a. Ta ba na jian shi ban hao le.
she BA DEM CL matter do complete ASP
'She took care of that matter.'

b. *Ba na jian shi ta ban hao le.
BA DEM CL matter she do complete ASP
'She took care of that matter.'

Li (2006:382) further show that the NP and VP following *ba* can be coordinated to the exclusion of *ba*, indicating that *ba* does not form a constituent with the following NP.

(36) Ta ba [men xi-hao], [chuanghu ca-ganjing] le.
he BA door wash-finish window wipe-clean ASP
'He washed the door and wiped the windows clean.'

Clearly, then *ba* cannot be analyzed as a preposition. Consequently, it, too, cannot be used as evidence for Li and Thompson's (1974) claim regarding PPs and basic word order. *Ba* is generally analyzed as a functional category which takes the following NP-VP sequence as its complement (Sybesma 1992, 1999; Zou 1993; Huang 1997; Bender 2000; Whitman 2000; Paul 2002; and Whitman and Paul 2005).[iv]

In sum, other than a sharpening of the distinction between VP-internal argument and VP-external adjunct positions, Chinese basic word order has not undergone any fundamental changes. The claim made by Li and Thompson (1974) is therefore not tenable. In contrast, the present series of articles offers a systemic view of Chinese diachronic syntax based on careful

investigation of the structural properties of the constructions involved. This approach was shown to illuminate interrelated properties of the synchronic grammars of different periods, as well as identify a primary unifying factor responsible for a series of changes that characterize Middle and Modern Chinese grammar.

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[i] The case is assigned via exceptional case marking from *v* in the higher clause.

[ii] The glosses used in this article are as follows:

ACC = accusative

ADV = adverb

ASP = aspect

CL = classifier

CONJ = conjunction

COP = copula

DAT = dative

DEM = demonstrative

EXCL = exclamation

GEN = genitive

HUM = humble

PASS = passive

PERF = perfective

POT = potential

Q = question particle

REL = relativizer

SG = singular

[iii] These reconstructions are based on, but slightly simplified from, Baxter and Sagart (1998).

[iv] Li (2006) and Huang et al. (2009) propose that *ba* is ambiguous. One type of *ba* is a clausal head, and their analysis is very close to that of Whitman (2000) and Paul and Whitman (2005). The other type of *ba* is a verb which takes NP as its complement the *ba* phrase is a modifier adjoined to the main VP.

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