The syntax of pronoun fronting in Late Archaic Chinese negated clauses

Edith Aldridge[1]

Abstract: This paper proposes a syntactic analysis of the complex phenomenon of pronominal object fronting in negated clauses in Late Archaic Chinese (LAC). I first propose that partitive case is assigned to objects in LAC negated clauses, accounting for the fact that only pronouns in LAC undergo fronting, since they have a person feature and cannot be licensed by a defective case like partitive. I next identify the structural constraints accounting for when pronouns do and do not front in LAC negated clauses. In the context of the sentential negator 不 *bù*, only pronouns base generated in the verb's complement position undergo fronting. I propose that the dislocation is head movement to the phase head *v*. This accounts for the large number of cases in which pronoun fronting fails to take place in the context of 不 *bù*. In contrast, pronouns nearly always front to the negative quantifier 莫 *mò* and the aspectual negator 未 *wèi*. I show that this is because these negators occupy higher structural positions, which allows phrasal movement over a greater distance. I further show how the discrepancy between the two positions for negation is the result of diachronic change. 不 *bù* historically exhibited the same behavior as the other negators but came to occupy a lower position in the LAC period, which in turn resulted in the more local relationship between 不 *bù* and the base position of the pronominal object in LAC.

Keywords: divisibility, defective probe, person licensing, inherent case, head movement

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1 Introduction

As in modern standard Mandarin, basic word order in Late Archaic Chinese (LAC; 5th – 3rd centuries BCE) was SVO. In particular, objects followed the verb in unmarked word order. Note further that the objects in both of the following examples are pronouns.

(1) a. 知者使人知己。 (*Xúnzǐ* 29)

    Zhī   zhě   shǐ   rén   zhī   **jǐ**.

    wise   DET   make   other   understand   self

    'A wise person makes others understand him.'

  b. 胡為而食我？ (*Lǚshì Chūnqiū* 12.3)

    Hú   wèi   ér   sì   **wǒ**?

    what   for   CONJ   feed   1

    'What are you feeding me for?'

This fact is relevant because under certain conditions, pronominal objects are found in preverbal position, as in (2). The sentences in (2) contain a marker of negation; the pronominal object surfaces between the negator and the verb.

(2) a. 我饑而不我食。 (*Lǚshì Chūnqiū* 12.5)

    Wǒ   jī   ér   bù   **wǒ**   sì.

    1   starve   CONJ   not   1   feed

    'When I was starving, (they) did not feed me.'

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    b. 不患莫己知。   (*Lúnyǔ*, Xiànwèn)

       Bù   huàn mò   **jǐ**   zhī.

       not   worry none   self   know

       'Do not worry that no one understands you.'

    c. 甲兵之事，未之聞也。   (*Zuǒzhuàn*, Āi 11)

       Jiǎ   bīng   zhī   shì,   wèi   **zhī**   wén   yě.

       armor weapon GEN   matter   not.yet 3.OBJ   hear   COP

       '(Regarding) military matters, (I) have not heard of such things.'

As (3) shows, full DP objects never occupy this position but remain postverbal in negated clauses. This can be seen in the second of the conjoined clauses in (3). The first conjunct contains a fronted reflexive pronoun.

(3)   不患人之不己知，患不知人也。   (*Lúnyǔ*, Xué'ér)

       [Bù   huàn   rén   zhī   bù   **jǐ**   zhī]

       not   worry   person GEN   not   self   know

       [huàn   bù   zhī   **rén**   yě].

       worry   not   know   person COP

       'Do not worry that others do not understand you; worry that (you) do not understand others.'

The phenomenon of pronoun fronting to negation is well known to Chinese historical linguists. A number of explanations have been proposed, but a comprehensive analysis has proven to be difficult to pin down. This is first and foremost because pronoun fronting does not always take place in LAC negated clauses. As G. Zhou (1959) points out, fronting is

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more frequent with certain negators than with others. (4a) shows movement across a clause boundary to the negative quantifier 莫 *mò*. But long distance movement does not take place when the matrix negator is the sentential negator 不 *bù*, as can be seen in (4b).

(4)   a. 虎負嵎，莫之敢攖。   (*Mèngzǐ*, Jìnxīn 2)

Hǔ	fù	yú,	*mò*	**zhī**	gǎn	yīng.
tiger	back	crevice	none	3.OBJ	dare	approach

'The tiger backed into a crevice and no one dared to approach it.'

b. 為人臣者，不敢去之。   (*Zhuāngzǐ*, Shānmù)

Wéi	rén	chén	zhě	*bù*	gǎn	[qù	**zhī**].
be	person	minister	DET	not	dare	leave	3.OBJ

'One who serves as someone's minister does not dare to leave him.'

Zhou (1959) also noticed that fronting does not take place from a VP that additionally contains a PP.

(5)   則士勸名而不畜之於君 。   (*Hánfēizǐ* 32)

… zé	shì	quàn	míng	ér
	then	vassal	encourage	name	CONJ

bù	[chù	**zhī**	yú	jūn].
not	subordinate	3.OBJ	to	lord

'…then a vassal will be attracted by fame and not subordinate himself to his lord.'

However, Zhou (1959) did not propose an analysis accounting for when fronting does and does not take place. Rather, pronoun fronting to negation is generally treated merely as a

tendency, possibly because it was in the process of being lost from the language during the LAC period (Wang 1958, Zhou 1959, F. Chou 1959, Yang & He 1992, and others).

Though it is true that loss was in progress during this period, I argue in this paper that the seemingly recalcitrant phenomenon of pronoun fronting to negation is not the reflection of arbitrary choice but rather was subject to very specific syntactic constraints relating to the position of the negator and the base position of the pronominal object. The analysis that I propose builds on earlier work (Aldridge 2015), in which I propose that pronoun fronting in negated clauses is motivated by structural case licensing. However, the current approach deviates in a number of respects from Aldridge (2015). First, I propose that the motivation for movement is not purely to value case. Rather, I propose that verbs in negated clauses assign inherent case to their complements. The reason that personal pronouns have to move in negated clauses is to escape assignment of this inherent case, because this case cannot value the person feature on the pronoun. However, in the context of the sentential negator 不 *bù*, only pronouns base generated in the verb's complement position front, undergoing head movement to *v*, where they enter into Agree with the person feature there. But pronominal objects base merged in other positions remain in situ when the negator is 不 *bù*, accounting for the large number of in-situ examples with 不 *bù*, in contrast to other negators.

In the following section, I summarize previous analyses of pronoun fronting to negation and then present the new licensing-based approach in section 3. Section 4 discusses the interaction between pronoun fronting and VP-internal structure in clauses negated by 不 *bù*. In section 5, I examine different positions for negation and show that negators occupying a position above outer aspect, which in turn correlates with the possibility of pronoun movement across a clause boundary.

2 Previous approaches

As mentioned in the previous section, several proposals have been put forth to account for pronoun fronting to negation. In this section, I brifely introduce each of these and present arguments against them. I propose my approach based on licensing in sections 3-5.

2.1 Base generation

There are a number of linguists working within Chinese historical syntax who assume that Chinese does not have movement transformations and all surface word orders are base generated. For example, Wang (1958) suggests that pronouns might have occupied preverbal position in Proto-Sinitic, while full DPs followed the verb, in effect analyzing Proto-Sinitic as a language with mixed word order, and this mixture is preserved in the context of negation in LAC. The mixed word order approach has also been espoused by Liu (2004), Xu (2006), and others. A related approach takes pronoun fronting in negated clauses to be a vestige of uniform OV basic word order in the language (Li & Thompson 1974, La Polla 1994, Feng 1996, and others).

An obvious short coming of the base generation approach is that it offers no principled explanation of the fact that pronoun fronting does not always take place, even in negated clauses. As mentioned in the previous section, fronting never occurs when the VP contains a PP in addition to the pronoun, as in (6a). Fronting is also never found with certain verbs like 在 *zài* 'be in/at', as in (6b).

(6)   a.   則士勸名而不畜之於君 。   (*Hánfēizǐ* 32)

... zé   shì   quàn   míng   ér

then   vassal   encourage name   CONJ

bù   [chù   **zhī**   yú   jūn].

not   subordinate   3.OBJ   to   lord

'...then a vassal will be attracted by fame and not subordinate himself to his lord.'

    b.   制不在我。   (*Guóyǔ*, Jìn 2)

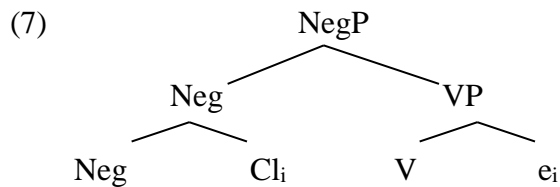Zhì   *bù*   zài   **wǒ**.

control   not   be.in   1

'The control is not within me.'

As I summarize in section 2.4, Aldridge (2015) shows that the lack of fronting in these and certain other structural environments is not due to arbitrary freedom of choice between VO and OV word orders but rather is constrained in the syntax. Specifically, a pronoun in a negated VP fronts only when it is base generated as complement to the verb, but the pronoun in (6a) is base merged in a specifier position, as per Larson's (1988) "VP shell" analysis of the English dative construction. Pronouns also front only when they need to check structural case. Aldridge argues that the verb 在 *zài* 'be in/at' in (6b) assigns inherent dative case to its complement, so the pronoun has no motivation to move.

Finally, it bears mentioning that the base generation approach misses a broader generalization. OV order in Archaic Chinese is highly predictable, occurring only in specific syntactic or semantic environments, e.g. *wh*-questions, focus constructions, and negated clauses. The reader is referred to Wei (1999), Meisterernst (2010), Aldridge (2010a, 2019), and others for movement-based analyses of various types of object fronting in LAC.

2.2 Cliticization

Feng (1996) and Fu & Xu (2009) account for the fronting of pronouns, as opposed to full DPs, in terms of cliticization. In particular, Feng (1996) proposes that the clitic pronoun raises out of VP and right-adjoins to the negator dominating VP, as in (7).

(7)

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                    NegP
              ┌──────┴──────┐
            Neg             VP
          ┌──┴──┐         ┌──┴──┐
        Neg    Cl_i       V     e_i
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But as Aldridge (2010a, 2015) points out, the cliticization approach faces a number of challenges. Crucially, it again offers no explanation for the cases when fronting does not take place. The following examples contain the same negator and pronoun, and yet fronting takes place only in (8a).

(8) a. 我饑而不我食。   (*Lǚshì Chūnqiū* 12.5)

Wǒ   jī   ér   bù   **wǒ**   sì.

1   starve CONJ   not 1   feed

'When I was starving, (they) did not feed me.'

b. 制不在我。   (*Guóyǔ*, Jìn 2)

Zhì   *bù*   zài   **wǒ**.

control   not   be.in 1

'The control is not within me.'

Feng hypothesizes that Proto-Sinitic had SOV basic word order but this had changed to SVO by the time of LAC, giving rise to examples like (8b), in which the pronoun follows the verb. On the other hand, fronting in cases like (8a), reflects a diachronic reanalysis of the earlier OV order in terms of movement. Feng further proposes that only pronouns underwent this fronting is because they are prosodically light and can cliticize to the negator.

However, although syntactic change in progress can potentially lead to alternations like that shown in (8), it offers no way of predicting when each of the options will occur. Furthermore, Feng's approach is based on the assumption that Proto-Sinitic was an SOV language, which lacks convincing evidence in attested sources, as I pointed out in section 2.1. As mentioned above, the case-based approach does account for this asymmetry in a principled way. The pronoun in (8b) is licensed with dative case by the verb 在 zài 'be in/at', so it does not need to move.

On the other hand, this does not discount the possibility that the movement itself is a type of cliticization. In section 3, I propose that when the pronoun fronts in the context of the sentential negator 不 *bù*, it does undergo a type of cliticization in the form of head movement to the closest phase head (along the lines of Roberts 2010), with the result that it left-adjoins to the verb immediately following the negator. But the motivation is syntactic and not prosodic, driven by the pronoun's need to value its person feature.

2.3 Focus approach

The first approach which attempts a principled account of the distribution of fronting and non-fronting was suggested by Djamouri (2000) and expanded upon by Djamouri (2018).[2]

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[2] See also Wang (2016) for an analysis of pronoun fronting as targeting a focus position, though she does not present evidence that the movement is motivated by focus.

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Djamouri proposes that pronoun fronting to negation might have its origin in focus movement. There is no direct evidence of this, but he offers two arguments which are at least suggestive. First, he provides one example from the Pre-Archaic Chinese (14th C. BCE – 11th C. BCE) Oracle Bone Inscriptions in which this negator seems to function as a copula preceding a focused subject. Focus is typically expressed by the copula 唯 *wéi*, as in (9a), but (9b) shows one example where 不 *bù* seems to function in a similar capacity, preceding a nominal in focus.

(9)   a. 唯父乙咎婦好   (*Héjí* 6032, Zèng; Djamouri 2018: 48)

Wéi   fù   yǐ   jiù   fù   hǎo.

only   father Yi   overwhelm   Lady   Hao

'It is (the ancestral) father Yi who overwhelms Lady Hao.'

      b. 不父乙咎婦好

Bù   fù   yǐ   jiù   fù   hǎo.

not   father Yi   overwhelm   Lady   Hao

'It is not (the ancestral) father Yi who overwhelms Lady Hao.'

Unfortunately, (9b) is claimed to be the only example in which 不 *bù* can be said to function as a copula. Furthermore, the focused constituent following 不 *bù* is the subject and not a fronted object. Thirdly, pronoun fronting to negation does not show any interaction with information structure in Pre-Archaic Chinese, personal pronouns always being located in preverbal position in clauses negated by 不 *bù*.

   The only evidence that Djamouri offers for an interaction between focus and pronoun fronting in negated clauses comes from LAC. In particular, he points out that fronting is far

less frequent in certain types of embedded clauses than in root contexts. The following examples show the lack of fronting in a relative clause (10a), in a conditional clause (10b), and in a temporal adverbial clause (10c).

(10) a. 不知我者謂我何求。   (*Shījīng*, Shǔlí)

[Bù   zhī   **wǒ**   zhě]   wèi   wǒ   hé   qiú.

not   know   1   DET   say   1   what   seek

'Those who did not know me said I was looking for something.'

  b. 彼不假我道，必不敢受我幣。   (*Hánfēizǐ* 10)

[Bǐ   bù   jiǎ   **wǒ**   daò],   bì   bù   gǎn   shòu   wǒ   bì.

DEM   not   lend   1   way   certainly   not   dare   take   1   money

'If they do not lend us passage, they will certainly not dare to take our payment.'

  c. 其未得之也，患得之。   (*Lúnyǔ*, Yánghuò)

[Qí   wèi   dé   **zhī**   yě],   huàn   dé   zhī.

3.GEN   not.yet   obtain   3.OBJ   COP   worry   obtain   3.OBJ

'While one has not yet obtained something, (he) worries about obtaining it.'

This generalization does in fact hold to a certain extent. However, it is difficult to see how it could be related to focus. This is because focus fronting is in fact permitted in LAC in the types of embedded clauses just observed. (11a) shows a focused demonstrative in a conditional clause, and (11b) shows a full DP. The focus copula is absent in embedded clauses, but the fronted object still receives a focus interpretation. Note that focus fronting also differs syntactically from pronoun fronting in negated clauses. DPs fronted for focus are

Pronoun fronting to negation in Archaic Chinese accompanied by a focus marker, either 之 *zhī* or 是 *shì*, which historically functioned as a resumptive pronouns (Wang 1958, D. Huang 1988, Feng 1996, Wei 1999).

(11) a. 是之不憂，而何以田為？ (*Zuǒzhuàn*, Xiāng 17)

Shì zhī bù yōu, ér hé yǐ tián wéi?

this FOC not worry CONJ what APPL hunt do

'Without being concerned about *this*, what are you going hunting for?'

b. 將虢是滅，何愛於虞？ (*Zuǒzhuàn*, Xī 5)

Jiāng **Guó** shì miè, hé ài yú Yú?

will Gou FOC destroy why love to Yu

'If (they) are about to destroy *Guo*, why would (they) care about Yu?'

Personal pronouns could also be focused with the marker 之 *zhī*, as shown in (12). This shows not only that focus movement of personal pronouns has different syntactic properties from fronting in negated clauses, but also reveals a phonological problem for the focus approach, as I discuss below.

(12) a. 我實不德，齊師何罪？罪我之由。 (*Zuǒzhuàn*, Zhuāng 8)

Wǒ shí bù dé; Qí shī hé zuì?

1 truly not virtuous Qi army what crime

Zuì **wǒ** zhī yóu.

crime 1 FOC come.from

'I am truly unvirtuous. What crime has the Qi army committed? The mistake was because of me.'

b. 我之求也，此何罪？ (*Zuǒzhuàn*, Huán 16)

Wǒ zhī qiú yě, cǐ hé zuì?

1 FOC seek COP DEM what crime

'*I* am the one you want; what crime has *he* committed?'

A serious problem for the focus approach to pronoun fronting in negated clauses is the fact that only prosodically heavy forms of pronouns could appear in focus positions. The examples in (12) show focus on the first person pronoun 我 *wǒ*. The two most commonly used first person pronouns in LAC are 我 *wǒ* and 吾 *wú*. Kennedy (1956), Feng (2016), Zhao (2018), and many others have proposed that the difference between them is prosodic. Baxter and Sagart (2014) capture this difference in their reconstructions. *Wǒ* is reconstructed as a heavy syllable *$ŋˤajʔ$, while *wú* is reconstructed as a light syllable *$ŋˤa$. This accounts for the fact that *wǒ* can be focused in (12a, b). 吾 *wú* never appears in focus position. But fronting to negation frequently involved prosodically weak pronouns like 吾 *wú*. This fact makes it all the more unlikely that pronoun fronting to negation was motivated by focus.

(13) 何不吾諫？ (*Zuǒzhuàn*, Āi 11)

Hé bù **wú** jiàn?

why not 1 advise

'Why did you not caution me?'

The same argument carries over to third person pronouns. The weak form 之 *zhī* commonly undergoes fronting to negation, as shown in (14a). But it cannot be focused. When third

person pronouns are focused, demonstratives have to be used, as shown in (14b). As I discuss

in section 3, demonstratives did not typically undergo fronting to negation.

(14)   a. 甲兵之事，未之聞也。   (*Zuǒzhuàn*, Āi 11)

         Jiǎ   bīng   zhī   shì,   wèi   **zhī**   wén   yě.

         armor   weapon   GEN   matter   not.yet   3.OBJ   hear   COP

         '(Regarding) military matters, (I) have not heard of such things.'

         b. 古之聖王唯此之慎。   (*Guóyǔ*, Zhōu)

         Gǔ   zhī   shèng   wáng   wéi   **cǐ**   zhī   shèn.

         old   GEN   sage   king   COP   this   GEN   heed

         'The sage kings of antiquity paid heed only to *this*.'

The preceding discussion has shown that the motivation for pronoun fronting to negation

could not have been focus. Regarding the relative paucity of fronting to negation in

embedded clauses, there is a reasonable explanation in terms of the semantic characteristics

of these clause types. The types of examples which Djamouri (2018) gives, repeated below,

are all non-assertive environments: a sentential subject (15a), a conditional clause (15b), and

a temporal clause (15c).

(15)   a. 不知我者謂我何求。   (*Shījīng*, Shǔlí)

         [Bù   zhī   **wǒ**   zhě]   wèi   wǒ   hé   qiú.

         not   know   1   DET   say   1   what   seek

         'Those who did not know me said I was looking for something.'

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b. 彼不假我道，必不敢受我幣。 (*Hánfēizǐ* 10)

[Bǐ   bù   jiǎ   **wǒ**   dào],   bì   bù   gǎn   shòu   wǒ   bì.

DEM   not   lend   1   way   certainly   not   dare   take   1   money

'If they do not lend us passage, they will certainly not dare to take our payment.'

c. 其未得之也，患得之。 (*Lúnyǔ*, Yánghuò)

[Qí   wèi   dé   **zhī**   yě],   huàn   dé   zhī.

3.GEN   not.yet   obtain   3.OBJ   COP   worry   obtain   3.OBJ

'While one has not yet obtained something, (he) worries about obtaining it.'

In contrast to this, complement clauses were generally more tolerant of fronting than those in specifier or adjunct position. Hooper and Thompson (1973) classify complement clauses embedded under verbs describing a mental process as assertive. In sum, then, pronoun fronting was found in assertive clauses but not in non-assertive ones.

(16)   不患人之不己知，患不知人也。 (*Lúnyǔ*, Xué'ér)

Bù   huàn   [rén   zhī   bù   **jǐ**   zhī]

not   worry   person   GEN   not   self   know

huàn   bù   zhī   rén   yě.

worry   not   know   person   COP

'Do not worry that others do not understand you; worry that (you) do not understand others.'

Regarding the origin of the constraint on pronoun fronting in non-assertive clauses, this can be traced to Pre-Archaic Chinese. Citing also Serruys (1974, 1981) Takashima (1977-1978), and Chow (1981), Djamouri (2018) shows that non-assertive embedded clauses in Pre-

Archaic Chinese could only be negated by the deontic negator 勿 *wù*. 不 *bù* appears only in assertive clause types. This is illustrated by the biclausal example below, in whch 勿 *wù* negates the conditional clause and 不 *bù* is found in the consequent.

(17)　勿使人于夷不若　　　　　(*Héjí* 00376; Djamouri 2018: 33)

[**wù**　shǐ　rén　yú　yí],　**bù**　ruò

NEG　send　man　to　Yi　NEG　approve

'If (the king) does not send men to Yi, [the spirits] will not approve.'

It is well known that pronoun fronting in Pre-Archaic Chinese clauses was nearly always triggered in the environment of 不 *bù*. In contrast to 62 examples of fronting with 不 *bù*, Shen (1992) counts only two examples with 勿 *wù* in the Yinxu ruin texts, and these examples are both found in root clauses. I am aware of no examples in embedded clauses in Pre-Archaic Chinese. It is not fully clear whether the lack of fronting in Pre-Archaic Chinese non-assertive clauses is due to the nature of the embedded clause or to the negator, but the lack of fronting in non-assertive clauses in LAC can be understood as a retention of this restriction from Pre-Archaic Chinese. Even after the constraint banning 不 *bù* from surfacing in non-assertive clauses had been lost, the lack of evidence for fronting in this environment would have prevented acquirers from positing the transformation in this clause type even in LAC.

The prohibition on fronting in non-assertive environments also carries over to root-level non-assertive contexts like questions. It was extremely rare in LAC for pronouns to front in negated interrogative clauses, either *yes/no* questions like (18a) or *wh*-questions like (18b).

(18c) is the only example I am aware of in which fronting takes place in an interrogative clause.[3]

(18) a. 夫不惡女乎？   (*Zuǒzhuàn*, Xiāng 26)

Fú   *bù*   wù   **rǔ**   hū?

DEM   not   hate   2   Q

'Does he not hate you?'

b. 君何不舉之？   (*Hánfēizǐ* 32)

Jūn   hé   bù   jǔ   zhī?

lord   what   not   raise   3.OBJ

'Why don't you promote him, sir?'

c. 何不吾諫？   (*Zuǒzhuàn*, Āi 11)

Hé   bù   **wú**   jiàn?

why   not   1   advise

'Why did you not caution me?'

In this subsection, I showed that pronoun fronting to negation was not motivated by focus. I also showed that there is an independent explanation for the lack of fronting in certain types of embedded clauses. Since Pre-Archaic Chinese, pronoun fronting to negation did not take place in non-assertive clause types.
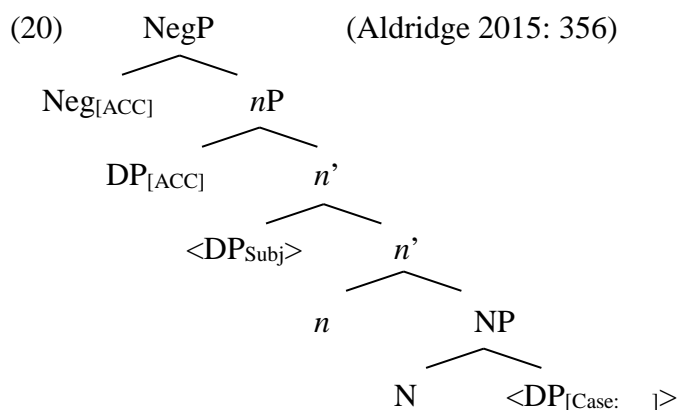
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[3] Interestingly, there is a temporal difference between (18b) and (18c). (18c) concerns a past event, while the *wh*-questions lacking fronting are all future. It may be possible, then, to make a connection with tense or (ir)realis mood, but I save this investigation to future research.

2.4 Previous case-based approach

In Aldridge (2015), I propose that pronoun fronting to negation in LAC is motivated by the need for the pronominal object to value structural case. The cross linguistic precedent for this analysis is the phenomenon known commonly as "genitive of negation" in Slavic languages. A direct object in a Russian declarative clause typically has accusative case, but in negated clauses, this frequently changes to genitive, as shown in (19a) and (19b), respectively.

(19)   a. Saša   pokupaet **žurnaly**.

           Sasha buys   books.ACC

           'Sasha buys books.'

    b. Saša   ne   pokupaet **žurnalov**.

           Sasha NEG   buy   books.GEN

           'Sasha doesn't buy (any) books.'   (Russian; Bailyn 1997: 85)

Aldridge (2015) likewise assumes that objects in LAC negated clauses have genitive case, prompting the proposal that negated clauses in this language were nominalized, with the result that accusative case was not available for an internal argument. In order to be case licensed, an object with an unvalued case feature had to move to the edge of the *n*P phase where it could value accusative case with the head of NegP.

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(20)　　　NegP　　　　　　(Aldridge 2015: 356)

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              NegP
             /    \
      Neg[ACC]      nP
                   /   \
            DP[ACC]     n'
                       /   \
              <DP_Subj>      n'
                            /   \
                           n     NP
                                /   \
                               N    <DP[Case:  ]>
```

Consequently, not only pronouns but also full DP objects underwent this object shift in negated clauses. This asymmetry in surface position between pronominal and non-pronominal objects is accounted for by linearization. Following Pesetsky (2000), Bobaljik (2002), and others Aldridge (2015) proposes that either the head or tail of a movement chain can be pronounced and that the pronunciation of the head or tail of a chain depends on whether pronounceable features are inserted at the landing site. Pronominal forms displayed case distinctions – specifically genitive, accusative, and neutral – in LAC, but nominals did not. Consequently, pronouns were spelled out in the position where they valued their case features. But since no pronounceable case features were added to nouns, these were spelled out in their base positions.

Evidence for the Aldridge (2015) case-based analysis comes first from the existence of a case distinction on pronominals. The pronoun *zhī* is used for third person direct objects, as in (21a), while a locative or goal is expressed with the pronoun *yān*, as in (21b).

(21)　　a.　學而時習之　　　　　(*Lúnyǔ*, Xué'ér)

　　　　　　Xué　　ér　　shí　　xí　　**zhī**.

　　　　　　study　CONJ　time　practice　3.OBJ

　　　　　　'To study and periodically practice something....'

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    b. 先君之廟在焉。   (*Lǔshì Chūnqiū* 15.4)

        Xiān   jūn   zhī   miào   zài   **yān**.

        former   lord   GEN   shrine   be.in   3.DAT

        'The former lord's shrine is there.'

As shown in section 1, the accusative pronoun *zhī* fronts to negation.

(22)   a. 吾先君亦莫之行也。   (*Mèngzǐ*, Téng Wéngōng 1)

        Wú   xiān   jūn   yì *mò*   **zhī**   xíng   yě.

        1   former lord   too none   3.OBJ   do   COP

        'None of our former lords did this either.'

    b. 軍旅之事，未之學也。   (*Lúnyǔ*, Wèilínggōng)

        Jūnlü   zhī   shì,   *wèi*   **zhī**   xué   yě.

        army   GEN   matter not.yet   3.OBJ   study   COP

        'Military matters, I have yet to study this.'

In contrast to this, the dative pronoun *yān* does not front, as shown in (23a, b). (23c) confirms that *yān* appears in contexts where a full DP would be assigned a prepositional case.

(23)   a. 王不禮焉。   (*Zuǒzhuàn*, Yǐn 6)

        Wáng *bù*   lǐ   **yān**.

        king   not   respect   3.DAT

        'The king was not respectful toward him.'

b. 天下莫強焉。　　　(*Mèngzǐ*, Liáng Huìwáng 1)

Tiānxià　*mò*　qiáng　**yān**.

world　none　strong　3.DAT

'No one in the world is stronger than them.'

c. 夫子禮於賈季。　　(*Zuǒzhuàn*, Wén 6)

Fūzǐ　**lǐ**　　*yú*　*Jiǎ Jì.*

master respect　to　Jia Ji

'The master is respectful toward Jia Ji.'

This is also true of first and second person pronouns, though dative and accusative cases are syncretic on them. (24a) shows that the verb 在 *zài* 'be at/in' assigns dative case to its complement. The object in (24b) is a first person pronoun, but it does not undergo fronting, even though the clause is negated.

(24)　a. 子產在焉，不可攻也。　　(*Lǚshì Chūnqiū* 22.5)

Zǐchǎn　zài　**yān**,　bù　kě　gōng　yě.

Zichan　be.at　3.DAT　not　can　attack　COP

'Zichan is there; (so it) cannot be attacked.'

b. 制不在我。　　　　　　(*Guóyǔ*, Jìn 2)

Zhì　　*bù*　zài　**wǒ**.

control　not　be.in　1

'The control is not within me.'

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As is well known since Babby (1980), genitive case in Slavic languages similarly does not override the inherent case assigned by a lexical verb. In Russian, the verb *pomogat* 'help' assigns dative case to its complement. This cannot be replaced by genitive in negated clauses.

(25)   a. ja   ne   pomogaju   [nikakim   devuškam]

        I   NEG   help   [no   girls].FEM.DAT.PL

        b. *ja   ne   pomogaju   [nikakix   devušek]

        I   NEG   help   [no   girls].FEM.GEN.PL

                                    (Russian; Pesetsky 1982: 65)

As (26a) shows, the first person pronoun is otherwise able to front to negation in LAC. (26b) shows that the object of the verb *yǔ* 'be with' has accusative case. Hence, it is only in environments where the pronoun depends on accusative case that it needs to front.

(26)   a. 歲不我與。   (*Lúnyǔ*, Yánghuò)

        Suì   *bù*   **wǒ**   yǔ.

        year   not   1   be.with

        'The years are not with me.'

        b. 孰殺子產，吾其與之。   (*Zuǒzhuàn*, Xiāng 30)

        Shú   shā   Zǐ Chǎn,   **wú**   qí   yǔ   zhī .

        who   kill   Zi Chan   1   MOD   be.with   3.OBJ

        'Whoever kills Zichan, I will join him.'

On the Aldridge (2015) approach, the dative pronoun does not front because it does not need to value case, given that it has already received case from the verb. This analysis extends

naturally to the objects of prepositions. Since these are licensed by the preposition, they likewise do not need to front.[4]

(27) a. 不與之爭能。   (*Xúnzǐ* 12)

       Bù [yǔ **zhī**] zhēng néng.

       not with 3.OBJ dispute ability

       '(He) does not dispute ability with them.'

    b. 齊人莫如我敬王。   (*Mèngzǐ*, Gōngsūn Chǒu 2)

       Qí rén *mò* [rú **wǒ**] jìng wáng.

       Qi person none like 1 respect king

       'No person of Qi respects the king as I do.'

On the other hand, if accusative case is made available in the negated VP, then the pronoun does not need to front. Aldridge (2015) builds on proposals by Tenny (1987, 1994), van Voorst (1988), Bittner (1994), Borer (1994), Benua (1995), Kiparsky (1998), Ritter and Rosen (2000), Spreng (2006), Basilico (2008), and many others proposing that aspect interacts with the availability of accusative case and suggests that the perfective aspect head *yǐ* in LAC values accusative case. Because of the availability of accusative case, pronouns in this environment do not front to negation.

(28) a. 出三日，不食之矣。   (*Lúnyǔ*, Xiāngdǎng)

       Chū sān rì, bù shí *zhī* **yǐ**.

       be.out three day not eat 3.OBJ PFV

       'If it has been out for three days, (I) don't eat it anymore.'

---

[4] Note that this is not due to Locality. Aldridge (2010a, 2015) shows that *wh*-fronting is possible from a PP.

b. 夫知吾將用之，必不予我矣。　　(*Guóyǔ*, Qí)

Fú zhī　wú　jiāng　yòng　zhī,　bì　bù　yǔ　*wǒ* **yǐ**.

if　know　1　　will　use　3.OBJ　then　not　give　1　PFV

'If (they) know that we are going to use him, then (they) will not give (him) to us.'

The discussion in this subsection provides initial evidence for case as the factor motivating pronoun fronting to negation. In the remainder of this paper, I also pursue an approach based on case licensing. But the Aldridge (2015) analysis cannot be adopted directly, because it suffers from numerous shortcomings. First, I reject the stipulation that both pronouns and full DPs undergo object shift, with the surface position being determined post-syntactically. In the following section, I argue that only pronouns front, because they need to value their person feature.

Another problem with Aldridge (2015) is the claim that negated clauses were nominalized, another stipulation for which there is no direct evidence. I propose instead that negated clauses are both verbal and potentially fully transitive. Pronoun fronting takes place only when the pronoun is base merged in a position which is the target of partitive case assignment, as I demonstrate in section 4.

An additional unsupported stipulation is the Aldridge (2015) assumption that the accusative case can be valued by the head of NegP. At least since Burzio (1986), it is generally accepted that accusative case is a feature of the head which also introduces the external argument, but negators occupy their own functional projections in the clause and do not directly interact with argument structure. In sections 3 and 4, I show how the case-licensing needs of internal arguments in negated clauses can be satisfied by valuing features on *v*.

A empirical question implicit in Aldridge (2015) is the assumption that 矣 *yǐ* in (28) is a perfective aspect marker. Pulleyblank (1995), Mei (2015), Meisterernst (2016), and others all acknowledge that 矣 *yǐ* participates in the expression of aspectual information in the clause, but none of them identify the function of 矣 *yǐ* as marking perfectivity. In particular, Mei (2015) claims that 矣 *yǐ* is a temporal category housed in T that combines semantically with other elements in the clause in order to express composite aspects. Meisterernst (2016) does not make a specific proposal for the structural position or function of 矣 *yǐ*, but she places it no lower than an aspect projection above *v*P. From these two analyses, it is clear that even as an aspect marker, 矣 *yǐ* does not convey the type of aspect – specifically telicity or boundedness of the event – which is cross linguistically associated with the *v*P-internal "inner" aspect position (in the sense of Travis 2010) and the availability of accusative case. In section 3.2, I show how the *v*P-external location of 矣 *yǐ* makes the correct predictions for negated clauses in LAC.

I also go beyond Aldridge (2015) in extending my analysis to biclausal contexts. As mentioned in section 1, fronting across a clause boundary was triggered in the context of the negative quantifier 莫 *mò* 'none' and the aspectual negator 未 *wèi* 'not yet'. But long distance fronting to the sentential negator 不 *bù* was lost early in the LAC period. I show in section 5 how the possibility of long distance fronting correlates with the structural position of the negator. The following section presents my implementation of the case-based approach to pronominal fronting in LAC negated clauses, together with the evidence for my approach to the asymmetry between pronouns, which do front, and full DPs, which do not.

3 Proposal

In this section, I propose a new case-based analysis of LAC pronoun fronting in negated clauses. But unlike Aldridge (2015), I propose that the motivation for pronoun fronting is less to value accusative case and more to escape receiving inherent partitive case, since this defective case cannot value the person feature of the pronoun. In contrast, full DPs remain in VP, since they do not have a person feature and so are able to value partitive case. In this section, I focus on clauses negated by the sentential negator 不 *bù*. I propose that 不 *bù* selects a *v*P with a partitive case feature. After the lexical verb moves to the *v* phase head, it acquires the partitive case feature and discharges it to a DP in its complement position, if there is one. A pronoun base generated in this position undergoes head movement to V+*v* in order to avoid being assigned partitive case. Section 4 provides evidence that partitive case is assigned only to the verb's complement position in clauses negated by 不 *bù*. In section 5, I consider other negators and show how the domain of partitive case assignment is larger due to the higher structural positions of these negators.

Section 3.1 spells out the details of the analysis of pronoun fronting to 不 *bù*. 3.2 offers evidence for the importance of a person feature in motivating pronoun fronting and also shows how the arguments for the Aldridge (2015) case-based approach fall out on the current approach.

3.1 Analysis of pronoun fronting to 不 bù

My starting inspiration for a case-based analysis is similar to Aldridge (2015), but I include Finnish in my cross linguistic consideration because of the semantic connection between

negation and partitive case. In section 2.4, I pointed out that the accusative and partitive case alternation in Finnish has aspectual consequences, accusative appearing on objects in bounded events and partitive surfacing in unbounded events. Partitive case also appears in negated clauses and is in fact obligatory in this context.

(29) a. Helena   ei   kutonut   villatakkia.

          Helena.NOM   not.3SG   knit.PTCP   sweater.PART

          'Helena didn't knit a sweater.'

      b. *Helena   ei   kutonut   villatakin.

          Helena.NOM   not.3SG   knit.PTCP   sweater.ACC

          'Helena didn't knit a sweater.'   (Finnish; Csirmaz 2012: 237)

Csirmaz (2005, 2008, 2012) proposes that negation creates a homogeneous ("divisible" in her terms) event at the level of viewpoint (Smith 1991) or "outer" aspect (Travis 2010). According to Bennett and Partee (1972), Dowty (1979), Link (1998), and others, a predicate is divisible if it applies to all subparts or subintervals of that predicate.[5] The predicate in (29a) is divisible, because Helena failed to knit a sweater during all subintervals of the relevant time interval, which for negation is reference time. Csirmaz proposes that partitive case is assigned to objects in all divisible events in Finnish. Unbounded events are divisible at the level of inner aspect, and negated events are divisible at the level of outer aspect.

---

[5] Csirmaz (2005: 73) adopts a somewhat different definition of divisibility: "For any subinterval t' of the event time, there is a subinterval t'' of the event time containing t' such that the event predicate also holds at t''." This is intended to avoid the "granularity" problem identified by Hinrichs (1985). For example, a mass noun like *water* is divisible, but it contains proper subparts which are not water but rather substances smaller than molecules of water, e.g. atoms comprising those molecules.

I also propose that partitive case is assigned to objects in LAC negated clauses. Regarding the nature of this case, it is generally agreed that it is a type of structural case (Vainikka 1989, Vainikka and Maling 1996, Kiparsky 1998, Thomas 2003, Kratzer 2004, Borer 2005, and others). The same is true of the genitive case in Slavic negated clauses, valued by the negator itself (Pesetsky 1982, Bailyn 1997, Brown 1999, Harves 2002a, Harves 2002b, and Witko 2008). Consequently, under current theoretical assumptions, this case should be valued under c-command by Neg or v. But in many languages, differential object marking is limited to theme or patient arguments base merged in the verb's complement position. In Turkish, objects which are interpreted as specific are dislocated and marked with overt accusative case, while nonspecific objects are bare and remain in immediate preverbal position. Accusative objects are generally analyzed as undergoing raising to a case position outside VP, as in (30a), while nonspecific objects remain in the verb's complement position where they are assigned inherent partitive case (Kornfilt 1984, 2003; Enç 1991; Runner 1993; and others), as in (30b). Belletti (1988) also proposes that partitive is assigned to the complement of the lexical verb in English and Italian.

(30)   a. Ben   dun   aksam   **cok   guzel   bir   biftek** yedim.

   I   yesterday evening   very   nice   a   steak   ate

   'Yesterday evening, I ate a very nice steak.'

   b. Ben   **bifteg-i**   dun   aksam   yedim.

   I   steak-ACC yesterday evening   ate

   'I ate the steak yesterday evening.'   (Turkish; Runner 1993:23)

So partitive case can also be understood as a type of inherent case assigned by a head to its complement. This is what I propose for the partitive case assigned in LAC clauses negated by

不 *bù*. In section 4, I show that only pronouns base merged in the verb's complement position undergo fronting, and this dislocation can be accounted for in terms of head movement, as I propose below. But in section 5, I show that partitive case can also be valued under c-command in LAC, and pronoun movement in these cases is phrasal. I suggest a diachronic explanation for this discrepancy. In the present section, I consider only pronominal head movement in the context of 不 *bù*.

Returning to the nature of partitive case, Richards (2008) proposes an analysis of "genitive of negation" in Russian which also capitalizes on person licensing. Specifically, he proposes that Neg can select a *v* which is complete or one that is defective. The complete *v* is able to value accusative case. As (31a) shows, even in a negated clause, a definite object values accusative case. A genitive object is interpreted as indefinite, as shown in (31b). According to Richards, genitive case and the concomitant indefiniteness of the object are the result of the defective probe on *v*, assuming that definite DPs have a person feature, while indefinite ones do not. The crucial difference between the complete and defective probes on *v* is in whether there is a person feature. The defective genitive probe lacks this feature, so it is only able to license an indefinite object. I propose that partitive case in LAC likewise is unable to value a person feature.

(31)   a.   Anna   *ne*   kupil   **knigi**.

            Anna.Nom   NEG   bought   books.ACC

            'Anna did not buy the books.'

      b.   Anna   *ne*   kupila   **knig**.

            Anna.Nom   NEG   bought   books.GEN

            'Anna did not buy any books.'   (Russian; Harves 2002a: 97)

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For Richards (2008), the cut-off between DPs which have or do not have a person feature is definiteness. According to Silverstein (1976), nominal case-marking (and presumably licensing) is sensitive to the following hierarchy.

(32)   The Nominal Hierarchy (Silverstein 1976: 122)

    $1^{st}/2^{nd}$ > 3^{rd} > proper > human > animate > inanimate

    (pronoun)   (noun)

The cut can occur at different points in different languages. For example, among Australian languages, Dyirbal privileges first and second person pronouns over all third persons (Dixon 1994), but in Djapu, the cut is after human common nouns (Morphy 1983). Tagalog is similar, but the division distinguishes personal pronouns and proper names from common nouns. The nominative case-marker for third person pronouns and proper names is *si*, while for common nouns it is *ang*.
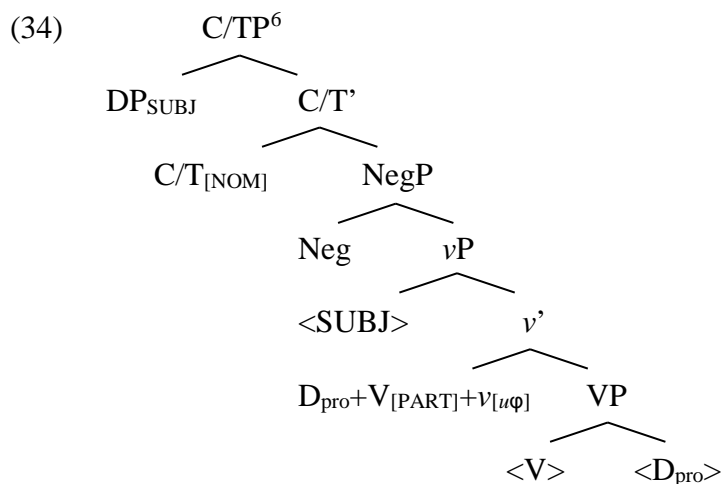
(33)   *si-ya* 'he/she', *si-la* 'they', *si Maria* 'NOM Maria', *ang babae* 'NOM woman'

In LAC, the distinction is between personal pronouns (including 3^{rd} person) and all other nominals, as I show in section 3.2.

    In the remainder of this subsection, I present my analysis of pronoun fronting to the sentential negator 不 *bù* in LAC. I propose that this negator is a head projecting a NegP and selecting *v*P. This deviates from the common view that 不 *bù* is an adjunct in Modern Mandarin (C.-T. Huang 1988, Ernst 1995, Hsieh 2001, Hu 2007). In section 5, I propose that 不 *bù* projected a NegP above the outer AspP in Pre-Archaic Chinese, but its position underwent reanalysis by the time of LAC. I argue that this downward mobility of 不 *bù*

accounts for crucial differences between pronoun fronting to negation in LAC and Pre-Archaic Chinese. I assume that 不 *bù* continued to undergo reanalysis and had become an adjunct by the time of Modern Mandarin.

Returning to the analysis of pronoun fronting to 不 *bù*, I following Richards (2008) in proposing that this Neg head selects a *v*P phase with a defective case feature that cannot value person. With Cirmaz (2005, 2008, 2012), I assume that the defective case feature is partitive [PART], but as I show in the next section, this case is only assigned to a DP in the verb's complement position in LAC. By "verb's complement", I mean the complement of the complex verb V+*v* after the lexical verb has moved to the phase head in order to be categorized. Since the defective case feature [PART] cannot value the feature [PERSON], a personal pronoun must escape receiving this case by moving out of this position. I propose that it accomplishes this by incorporating to the complex verb V+*v* via head movement of the type proposed by Roberts (2010) for cliticization. In accordance with Roberts (2010), I propose that *v* in LAC retains its ability to value accusative case, and it is the φ-features, particularly [*u*PERSON], that attract the pronoun to *v*. The reason that only personal pronouns undergo this movement, then, is because only nominals with a [PERSON] feature can enter into an Agree relation with the [PERSON] component of the [*u*φ] probe on *v*. But unlike Roberts, I do not assume that cliticization happens every time a pronoun enters into an Agree relation with *v* in LAC. In LAC, this is only a last resort operation in order to prevent the pronoun from receiving an incompatible partitive case.

(34)

$$
\begin{array}{c}
\text{C/TP}^6 \\
\diagdown \\
\text{DP}_{\text{SUBJ}} \quad \text{C/T'} \\
\diagdown \\
\text{C/T}_{[\text{NOM}]} \quad \text{NegP} \\
\diagdown \\
\text{Neg} \quad v\text{P} \\
\diagdown \\
\langle \text{SUBJ} \rangle \quad v\text{'} \\
\diagdown \\
\text{D}_{\text{pro}}\text{+V}_{[\text{PART}]}\text{+}v_{[u\varphi]} \quad \text{VP} \\
\diagdown \\
\langle \text{V} \rangle \quad \langle \text{D}_{\text{pro}} \rangle
\end{array}
$$

It might be tempting to also explain the lack of full DP fronting because these are unable to incorporate to V+*v* via head movement. I do not adopt such an approach, because pronoun fronting was clearly phrasal movement in earlier Chinese, as I argue in section 5. For this reason, I choose to distinguish pronouns and full DPs on the basis of whether they have a person feature.

I next discuss how partitive case is assigned by V+*v* in a head-complement relation. This is not immediately transparent in (34), since the sister to *v* appears to be the remnant VP. However, on Chomsky's (2013, 2015) theory of Labeling, the theme object is the de facto complement of the amalgamated V+*v* head. When a head merges with a phrase, the head generally determines the label of the newly created syntactic object. However, Chomsky (2015) follows Marantz (1997) and subsequent work in the field of Distributed Morphology in assuming that lexical roots like verbs are not inherently specified for category and therefore cannot project a label on their own. This is the motivation for verb movement to *v*, since functional categories are inherently endowed with category labels. After the verb moves

---

[6] I assume with Aldridge (2019) that C-T Inheritance (in the sense of Chomsky 2008) does not generally take place in LAC, so the subject moves to the specifier of the amalgamated C/T head in order to value nominative case.

to *v*, this complex category will project the label of the *v*P. Given that the lexical verb is unable to project a label by itself, the phrase formed by merger of the verb and its internal argument can only be labeled by the latter, with the result that this DP comes to combine with the complex head V+*v* as its complement and is in a position to be assigned partitive case if this *v*P is negated.

(35) *v*P
        /\
   V+*v*   DP
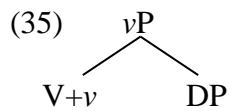
For the moment, I leave open the question of why the [PART] feature is only assigned to the verb's complement position. In section 5, I suggest that this might be the result of diachronic change. The position of the sentential negator underwent a reanalysis such that it came to occupy a lower structural position in LAC than it did in Pre-Archaic Chinese (14th C. BCE – 11th C. BCE), with the result that movement of the pronoun was also reanalyzed from phrasal movement to head movement, a movement which generally only originates in complement position of the target head.

Before closing this subsection, I point out that this proposal bears some resemblance to Feng (1996) in the sense that pronoun movement in negated clauses is a type of cliticization. However, my analysis is able to account for when cliticization does and does not take place depending on the structural configuration, i.e. only when the pronoun is base generated as the complement of the lexical verb. I present arguments for this in section 4. My analysis also predicts that pronouns which either do not have a person feature (like demonstratives) or are independently licensed with another case (like dative) remain in their base positions, contra Feng (1996). In the following subsection, I provide evidence for the importance of the person

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feature in motivating pronoun movement and also show how my analysis accounts for the
case-related facts put forth in Aldridge (2015).

3.2 Evidence for person in LAC

I showed in section 3.1 that person is a feature found on different subclasses of nominals in
different languages. In LAC, the relevant subclass is personal pronouns (1st, 2nd, and 3rd
person), to the exclusion of all other nominals. The former undergo fronting to negation, but
full DPs and also demonstrative pronouns do not. The demonstrative pronouns in object
position in (36) remain in their postverbal positions.

(36)   a. 微子，則不及此。   (*Zuǒzhuàn*, Xī 10)

         Wéi   zǐ,   zé   bù   jí   **cǐ**.

         without sir   then   not   reach   this

         'Without you, sir, (I) would not have come this far.'

    b. 子何懼焉？又不及是。 (*Zuǒzhuàn*, Xiāng 27)

         Zǐ   hé   jù   yān? Yòu   bù   jí   **shì**.

         sir   what   fear   there and   not   reach   this

         'What are you worried about there, sir? Surely, it will not come to this.'

A few examples have been cited in the literature in which demonstratives front to a position
between a negator and the verb (G. Zhou 1959, F. Chou 1959, Wang 2016, among others).
However, these all involve (contrastive) focus on the fronted pronoun. This is particularly
clear in (37b), since the fronted demonstrative is contrasted with "Shun's crown" in the next
clause.

(37)   a. 文王所以造周，不是過也。   (*Zuǒzhuàn*, Xuān 15)

Wén	wáng	suǒ	yǐ	zào	Zhōu,	bù	**shì**	guò	yě.
Wen	king	REL	APPL	make	Zhou	not	this	exceed	COP

'That which King Wen used to create the Zhou (Dynasty) was no more than *this*.'

      b. 君不此問，而問舜冠，所以不對也。   (*Xúnzǐ* 31)

Jūn	bù	**cǐ**	wèn,	ér	wèn	Shùn	guàn,
gentleman	not	this	ask	CONJ	ask	Shun	crown

suǒ	yǐ	bù	duì	yě.
REL	APPL	not	reply	COP

'You, sir, did not ask *this* but (rather) asked about Shun's crown. (This) is why I did not reply.'

Note that demonstrative objects generally appeared in preverbal position when focused. Note that it also was not necessary for them to be followed by a focus marker like 之 *zhī*.

(38)   a. 昭王南征而不復，寡人是問。   (*Zuǒzhuàn*, Xī 4)

Zhāo	Wáng	nán	zhēng	ér	bù	fù,
Zhao	king	south	march	CONJ	not	return

guǎrén	**shì**	wèn.
I.HUM	this	ask

'King Zhao undertook an expedition in the south but did not return. *This* is what I am asking about.'

b. 君子是以知桓王之失鄭也。 (*Zuǒzhuàn*, Yǐn 11)

Jūnzǐ	**shì**	yǐ	zhī	Huán	Wáng	zhī	shī	Zhèng	yě.
gentleman	DEM	use	know	Huan	king	GEN	lose	Zheng	COP

'It was in this way that the gentelmen of the realm learned that King Huan had lost Zheng.'

Given the paucity of examples involving demonstrative fronting to negation and the fact that fronting in these examples can be accounted in terms of focus, I conclude that fronting of a demonstrative should not receive the same analysis as a personal pronoun in a negated clause. The asymmetry between the two types of pronouns is accounted for on my analysis if the feature [PERSON] appears only on personal pronouns but not other nominals.

The analysis proposed in section 3.1 also accounts for the case-related facts cited in Aldridge (2015). For dative and prepositional arguments, these are assigned case directly by the verb and preposition, respectively, so they are not eligible to receive another inherent case in negated clauses.

(39) a. 王不禮焉。 (*Zuǒzhuàn*, Yǐn 6)

Wáng	bù	**lǐ**	*yān*.
king	not	respect	3.DAT

'The king was not respectful toward him.'

b. 不與之爭能。 (*Xúnzǐ* 12)

Bù	[yǔ	**zhī**]	zhēng	néng.
not	with	3.OBJ	dispute	ability

'(He) does not dispute ability with them.'

I assume that dative is not a defective case and is therefore not incompatible with DPs containing a person feature. This may be because "dative case" is actually a prepositional shell. In other words, a "dative" DP might in fact turn out to be a PP in disguise, which is suggested by the diachronic origin of the LAC pronoun 焉 *yān* as containing an incorporated preposition 於 *yú* 'to/in/at' (Kennedy 1940, 1953; Pulleyblank 1991).

My analysis of the lack of pronoun fronting in the context of the aspectual marker 矣 *yǐ* is also similar to Aldridge (2015). But there is one crucial difference. I assume with Mei (2015) and Meisterernst (2016) that 矣 *yǐ* occupies a *v*P-external position. The role of the aspect head is not to supply accusative case for the object in VP, since this is available independently from *v*. Rather, the type of aspect expressed by events like those in (40) cancels the effect of negation on the case licensing properties in the *v*P.

(40)　出三日，不食之矣。　　(*Lúnyǔ*, Xiāngdǎng)

Chū　sān　rì,　bù　shí　*zhī*　**yǐ**.

be.out three day not eat 3.OBJ PFV

'If it has been out for three days, (I) don't eat it anymore.'

This analysis is based on Csirmaz' (2005, 2008, 2012) proposal that negation creates a homogeneous ("divisible" in her terms) event at the level of viewpoint (Smith 1991) or "outer" aspect. I assume that negation also creates a divisible event in LAC. But the aspectual contribution of clauses with 矣 *yǐ* like (40) in LAC cancels this divisibility by introducing an endpoint in the form of a change of state. As to how this aspect can reverse the semantic effect of the negator, this is due to their relative positions in the structure. The aspect marker scopes over the negated VP and has the semantic effect of signaling that the negated event

will cease or no longer take place. The lack of pronoun fronting in perfective clauses can be accounted for if the aspect marker selects a NegP lacking a partitive case feature, with the result that a pronoun in VP will be able to remain in situ.

To summarize the discussion in this section, I proposed that the LAC sentential negator 不 *bù* selects a *v*P with a partitive case feature which is discharged to the complement of the lexical verb, if there is one. This straightforwardly accounts for the asymmetry between pronouns and full DPs. Pronouns must vacate the verb's complement position because parititive case is defective and cannot value their person feature. But full DPs do not have a person feature, so they can freely remain in situ and be licensed with partitive case. In the next section, I provide evidence that it is only the verb's complement position which is the target of partitive case assignment and speculate in section 5 that this is due to a diachronic change in the structural position of the negator.

In addition to this locality restriction on the assignment of partitive case, another question left open in this section is why pronouns must move in order to value [PERSON] in negated clauses, given that accusative case remains on the *v* head. I suggest in section 5 that this may also be related to diachronic change. There is evidence that 不 *bù* was located in a higher structural position in Pre-Archaic Chinese, and pronouns underwent fronting to a position external to *v*P. I will suggest that this movement targeted a case position in the specifier of outer AspP, and movement was necessary in Pre-Archaic Chinese, because accusative case was actually not available within *v*P in clauses negated by 不 *bù*. After the position of the negator changed in LAC, pronoun movement was likewise reinterpreted as being more local, earlier phrasal movement to a case position being replaced by head movement to the phase head. But the dislocation strategy was still acquired by learners of the language on the basis of the word order evidence in the language they were exposed to.

4 VP-internal positions

In the previous section, I proposed that partitive case is assigned to objects in LAC clauses negated by 不 *bù*. This accounts for the fact that objects which are personal pronouns have to undergo movement, because they cannot occupy a position where they would be assigned inherent partitive case. In this section, I show that only pronouns base merged in the complement position in VP undergo movement. This is accounted for because only this position is the target of partitive case assignment. Consequently, pronouns base merged in other positions do not generally need to undergo fronting. I also discuss one exception to this generalization, specifically the goal in double object constructions. The motivation for this pronoun to move is in order to ensure that partitive case *is* made available to the theme DP, which would not be licensed if the goal remained internal to the VP. In section 5, I explain the surprising constraint on the locality of partitive case assignment in terms of diachronic change.

In section 1, I showed that pronouns do not undergo fronting in VPs containing both the pronoun and a PP. Aldridge (2015) accounts for the lack of fronting by stipulating that VPs containing more than one constituent must be verbal, rather than nominal, and thus *v* is present, which makes an accusative case feature available to license the object in situ.

(41)   a. 今女不求之於本，而索之於末。   (*Xúnzǐ* 15)

   Jīn   rǔ   *bù*   [qiú   **zhī**   yú   běn],

   now   2   not   seek   3.OBJ   in   root

   ér   suǒ   zhī   yú   mò.

   CONJ   search 3.OBJ   in   tip

   'Now, you do not seek it at the source but search for it in the extension.'

b. 則士勸名而不畜之於君 。 (*Hánfēizǐ* 32)

… zé	shì	quán	míng	ér
then	vassal	encourage	name	CONJ

bù	[chù	zhī	yú	jūn].
not	subordinate	3.obj	to	lord

'…then a vassal will be attracted by fame and not subordinate himself to his lord.'

My analysis accounts for the lack of fronting in examples like (41) without stipulating that negated clauses are sometimes nominal and sometimes verbal; negated clauses are uniformly verbal on my approach. The pronoun in (41) does not have to move because it occupies the specifier position in the VP rather than the complement position, and only the complement position is the target of partitive case assignment. As proposed in section 3.1, it values accusative case (and the [*u*PERSON] feature on *v*) under c-command.
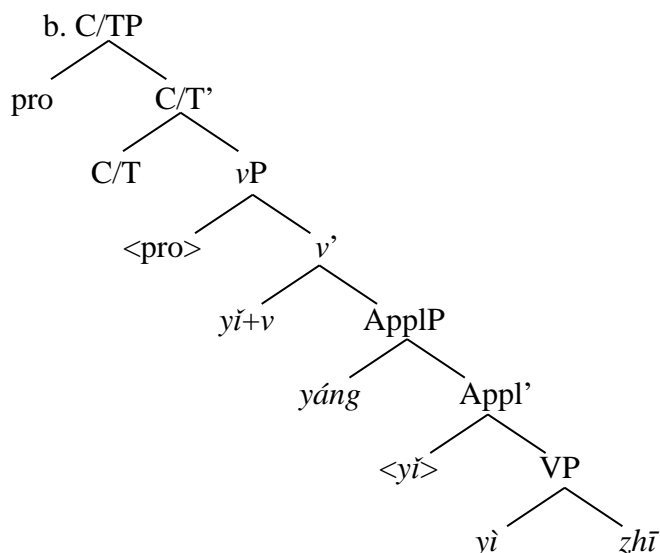
The following example illustrates the same point. Aldridge (2016) analyzes the DP following the causative verb 使 *shǐ* as occupying subject position in the embedded clause and receiving case through "exceptional case marking" (ECM) from the higher *v*. On my analysis of negated clauses, a pronoun in this position also does not front to negation, since it is not base generated as the negated verb's complement.[7] (42b) shows that *wh*-fronting is possible from this position, demonstrating that the lack of movement in (42a) is not due to a Locality constraint.

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[7] Li (2017) points out that some of the cases cited by Aldridge (2016) as ECM constructions should be analyzed as object control. I will not attempt to adjudicate between these two analyses. For the purposes of this paper, the DP in question is not base generated as the complement of the negated verb, so it is not expected to front to negation on my analysis. In object control structures, this DP would occupy the specifier of VP projected by the causative verb *shǐ*.

(42)   a.   臧氏將為亂，不使我葬。   (*Zuǒzhuàn*, Xiāng 23)

   Zàng   shì   jiāng   wéi   luàn,   *bù*   shǐ   [TP **wǒ**   zàng].

   Zang   clan   will   make   rebellion   not   make   1   bury

   'The Zang clan is about to rebel, not allowing us to perform the funeral rites.'

   b.   若子死，將誰使代子？   (*Hánfēizǐ* 22)

   Ruò   zǐ   sǐ, jiāng   **shéi**   shǐ [TP __ dài   zǐ]?

   if   you   die will   who   make   replace   you

   'If you die, then who shall (I) have replace you?'

My analysis also extends to applicative constructions projected by 以 *yǐ*. According to Aldridge (2012), the morpheme 以 *yǐ* heads a high applicative phrase (in the sense of Pylkkänen 2002). It selects a DP in its specifier and then moves to *v* with the result that 以 *yǐ* precedes this argument in surface order.

(43)   a.   何可廢也？以羊易之。   (*Mèngzǐ*, Liáng Huìwáng 1)

   Hé   kě   fèi   yě?   **Yǐ**   yáng   *yì*   zhī.

   what   POT   stop   COP   APPL   sheep   change   3.OBJ

   'How can (the sacrifice) be discontinued? Replace it with a sheep.'

Pronoun fronting to negation in Archaic Chinese

b. C/TP
```
          C/TP
         /    \
       pro     C/T'
              /    \
           C/T      vP
                  /   \
             <pro>     v'
                      /  \
                  yǐ+v    ApplP
                         /    \
                     yáng      Appl'
                              /    \
                          <yǐ>      VP
                                   /  \
                                 yì    zhī
```

Aldridge (2015) proposes that the presence of ApplP requires a full *v*P structure, given that 以 *yǐ* must move to *v*. Consequently, accusative case must be available inside the *v*P, obviating pronoun fronting. (44a) shows that a pronoun selected by the applicative does not move in a negated clause. The pronoun selected by the lexical verb in VP also does not front, as shown in (44b).

(44)   a. 夫人知王之不以已為妒也。   (*Hánfēizǐ* 31)

       Fūrén   zhī   wáng   zhī   *bù*

       wife   know   king   GEN   not

          [*v*P yǐ [ApplP **jǐ**   *t*ᵧᵢ [VP wéi   dù]]]   yě.

                 APPL   self   be   jealous   COP

       'His wife knew the king did not take her to be jealous.'

   b. 不以私害之。   (*Xúnzǐ* 3)

       Bù   [*v*P yǐ [ApplP   sī   *t*ᵧᵢ [VP   hài   **zhī**]]]

       not   APPL   private   harm   3.OBJ

       '(He) does not damage it with private concerns.'

My analysis also accounts for the lack of fronting in applicative constructions. (44a) receives the same analysis as (41a, b) and (42a). Specifically, the pronoun is not base merged in the verb's complement position, so it will not be assigned partitive case. Consequently, it need not undergo head movement and can remain in its base position and value accusative case under c-command.

In contrast, the pronoun in (44b) does occupy the lexical verb's complement position. However, the applicative analysis of the 以 *yǐ* construction still accounts for the ability of the pronoun to remain in its base position. This is because it is not the lexical verb in VP which moves to *v* and acquires the partitive case feature. Since the lexical verb does not have a [PART] feature to discharge, the pronoun in VP need not dislocate and can value accusative case under c-command.

Finally, my analysis accounts for double object constructions, an environment predicted by Aldridge (2015) not to involve fronting. However, fronting to negation does take place in double object constructions. Aldridge (2015) predicts fronting not to take place in double object constructions, since there should be a *v* which can license the goal object.

(45)　若受吾幣而不吾假道，將奈何？　(*Lǚshì Chūnqiū*, 15.2)

Ruò　shòu　wú　bì　ér

if　accept　1　payment　CONJ

bù　**wú**　jiǎ　dào,　jiāng　nài　hé?
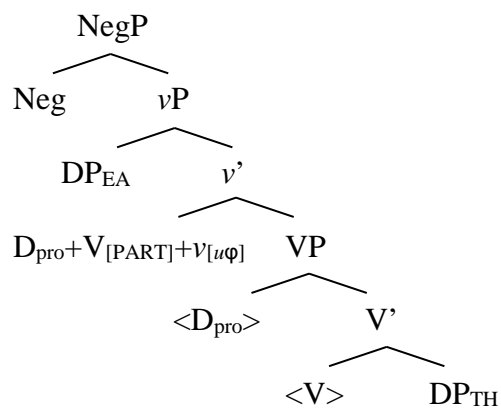
not　1　lend　way　will　do　what

'If they accept our payment but do not lend us passage, what shall (we) do?'

It is not immediately obvious how my analysis accounts for double object constructions either, since the pronoun is base merged in a specifier position. But careful consideration of the case licensing needs of the two objects does provide a straightforward explanation. This is because if the goal argument did not vacate the VP[8], then the theme would be unable to value case. In other words, since the goal will value accusative case with *v*, then the only case available for the theme is partitive. But in order to receive this case, the theme must be the complement of the complex verb V+*v*. If the goal remains in the VP, then the entire remnant VP is the complement of the complex verb. So in order for the theme DP to be the sole occupant of this position, the goal must vacate the VP, which means that it will move and adjoin to V+*v*. As a result, the theme DP will become the complement of the complex verb, since Chomsky's (2013, 2015) Labeling Algorithm will ignore the traces of the verb and goal argument, as mentioned in section 3.1.

It may seem surprising that a specifier position can launch head movement. However, this is possible on Roberts' (2010) implementation of head movement, since the moving clitic is treated as being simultaneously a minimal and a maximal category. Consequently, cliticization is potentially phrasal movement which is attracted by the φ-probe on *v*. But I continue to assume that LAC pronoun fronting is generally head movement in the traditional sense and only takes place exceptionally from a specifier position in double object constructions as a last resort so that the theme can be licensed.

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[8] For simplicity, I place the two internal arguments in the complement and specifier positions of VP. It is also possible to account for double object constructions on an applicative approach of the type proposed by Pylkkanen (2002). In such a structure, the two internal arguments occupy the complement and specifier positions of a "low" ApplP, which is in turn selected by the lexical verb. The Appl head would move to V, and this complex verb would continue on to *v*. After cliticization of the pronominal goal argument, the theme would become complement to the complex verbal head and be assigned partive case.

(46)

```
                    NegP
                   /    \
                Neg      vP
                        /   \
                    DPEA     v'
                            /   \
        Dpro+V[PART]+v[uφ]      VP
                              /    \
                        <Dpro>      V'
                                   /   \
                                <V>     DPTH
```

Double object constructions provide additional support for my proposal that partitive case is only assigned to the complement position of the complex verb V+v. If this case could be assigned under c-command, then the theme DP could be licensed even if the pronoun did not undergo movement.

In this and the preceding sections, I argued for a new case-based approach to pronoun fronting in LAC clauses negated by the sentential negator 不 *bù*. A negated verb assigns inherent partitive case to its complement, but since this case cannot value a person feature, a pronoun cannot occupy this position, so it undergoes head movement and incorporates to the complex verbal head V+v, where it can value its person feature. But pronouns base generated in the specifier of the VP do not generally move, since this position is not the target of partitive case assignment. This accounts for several different structural environments where pronouns remain in post-verbal position in LAC negated clauses, as discussed in this section.

In the next section, I extend my analysis to clauses negated by the aspectual negator 未 *wèi* and the negative quantifier 莫 *mò*. I show that movement in the context of these two negators is freer than in clauses negated by 不 *bù* in the sense that movement is not restricted to the verb's complement position. The next section will also suggest an explanation for why only pronouns base generated in the verb's complement position undergo movement when

the negator is 不 *bù*, as well as the need for pronouns to move in order to value [PERSON] in negated clauses rather than always valuing accusative case in situ under c-command.

5 Positions for negation and long distance fronting

In the previous section, I showed that only pronouns base generated in the verb's complement position undergo fronting to sentential negation and proposed that this is because only this position is the target of partitive case assignment. In this section, I show how this analysis accounts for the distribution of pronoun fronting in biclausal control contexts. Fronting out of the embedded clause to a negator in the higher clause was impossible when the negator was 不 *bù*, but long distance fronting did take place with other negators. Since 不 *bù* occupies the Neg position selecting a *v*P with a [PART] feature, and this feature can only be discharged in a head-complement relationship, an object more deeply embedded within this *v*P will not be assigned partitive case and therefore has no motivation to move. In contrast to this, the other negators occupied different positions and interacted with case in different ways. Consequently, fronting across a clause boundary was possible with these negators. But before giving the details of this analysis, I first consider and reject the approach to long distance fronting proposed by Aldridge (2010b).

Aldridge (2010b) shows that there is an asymmetry in LAC as to whether a pronoun can undergo long distance fronting in a subject control context.[9] When the matrix negator was 莫 *mò* 'none', then fronting was possible, as shown in (47a). But when the matrix negator

---

[9] An anonymous reviewer points out that not all of the examples shown in this section are unambiguously biclausal. This is true, but as I show below, the same constraints on pronoun fronting obtain, regardless of whether the higher verbal category is a control verb or an auxiliary, so I consider both to be long distance movement contexts.

was 不 *bù* 'not', then the pronoun had to remain in its base position in the embedded VP, as in (47b). Note that the matrix verbs are the same in the two examples, so the question of whether the embedded clause was a full clause or reduced/restructured is not relevant.

(47) a. 虎負嵎，莫之敢攖。   (*Mèngzǐ*, Jìnxīn 2)

      Hǔ   fù   yú,   *mò*   **zhī**   gǎn   yīng.
      tiger   back   crevice   none   3.OBJ   dare   approach

      'The tiger backed into a crevice and no one dared to approach it.'

    b. 為人臣者，不敢去之。   (*Zhuāngzǐ*, Shānmù)

      Wéi   rén   chén   zhě   *bù*   gǎn   [qù   **zhī**].
      be   person   minister   DET   not   dare   leave   3.OBJ

      'One who serves as someone's minister does not dare to leave him.'

This asymmetry is unexpected on the Aldridge (2015) analysis that negators in LAC uniformly occupy the head of NegP and attract object pronouns in their c-command domain in order to assign accusative case to them. Though not mentioned in the (2015) paper, Aldridge (2010b) does propose an explanation of the asymmetry in (47). First, it is claimed that pronoun fronting to negation was strictly clause bound in LAC. Long distance fronting was possible with 莫 *mò* because this negator was also the subject argument. Within Hornstein's (1999, 2001) raising approach to control, the pronoun first raises in the embedded clause and adjoins to the negative quantifier. It then raises together with the quantifier when it moves to matrix subject position. Since 不 *bù* 'not' is not an argument, it must be base generated in the matrix clause and cannot attract the pronoun.

(48) 虎負嵎，莫之敢攖。   (*Mèngzǐ*, Jìnxīn 2)

Hǔ   fù   yú,   *mò*+**zhī**   gǎn   [<*mò*+*zhī*>   yīng   ___].
tiger   back   crevice   none+3.OBJ   dare   none+3.OBJ   approach

'The tiger backed into a crevice and no one dared to approach it.'

However, there are some fundamental problems with this analysis. First is the fact that long distance fronting was also possible with the aspectual negator 未 *wèi* 'not yet' until the end of the LAC period. (49a) shows that raising to 未 *wèi* could cross the root modal 能 *néng*, while this was not possible with 不 *bù*, as shown in (49b). These examples are from the 3rd century BCE, late in the LAC period. Clearly, then, fronting with 莫 *mò* cannot be reduced to subject raising in a control structure, since 未 *wèi* is not an argument. These examples are also not biclausal. What is important is the asymmetry between the possibility of fronting over intervening clausal heads with 未 *wèi*, in contrast to the lack thereof with 不 *bù*.

(49)   a. 日夜思之，猶未之能得。   (*Lǔshì Chūnqiū* 12.3)

Rì   yè   sī   zhī,   yóu   wèi   zhī   néng   dé.
day   night   think   3.OBJ   still   not.yet   3.OBJ   can   get

'(They) think about it day and night but are still unable to obtain it.'

b. 與戰不能克之也。   (*Hánfēizǐ* 1)

Yǔ   zhàn   *bù*   néng   kè   zhī   yě.
with   fight   not   can   conquer   3.OBJ   COP

'(They) did battle (with the enemy) but were unable to defeat them.'

Another problem regards the Aldridge (2010b) analysis of 莫 *mò* as the subject argument. Although 莫 *mò* is commonly assumed to be a pronoun occupying subject position (Chou 1959, Lü 1982, Wei 2004, among many others), there are good arguments for analyzing it instead as an adverbial. First, as Meisterernst (2015) points out, 莫 *mò* is like other quantificational adverbs like 或 *huò* 'some' and 各 *gè* 'each' in ending in /-k/. All of these quantifiers surface immediately following a subject or topic and quantify over these DPs. See also Boodberg (1934), Harbsmeier (1981), Pulleyblank (1995), and others for treatment of 莫 *mò* as an adverb.

Furthermore, there is direct evidence that 莫 *mò* cannot be the subject argument, because it can co-occur with an overt subject. Note further that the nominals immediately preceding 莫 *mò* in (50a, b) must be analyzed as subjects and not as topics, since these in turn are also preceded by topics. In LAC, a clause is limited to one subject, and a sentence could have only one topic in the left periphery.

(50) a. 之人也，物莫之傷。   (*Zhuāngzǐ*, Xiāo Yáo)

              Zhī   rén   yě,   wù   **mò**   zhī   shāng.

              DEM   person TOP   thing   none   3.OBJ   harm

              'This person, nothing can harm him.'

    b. 財物之遺者，民莫之舉。   (*Lǔshì Chūnqiū* 16.5))

              Cáiwù   zhī   yí   zhě,   mín   **mò**   zhī   jǔ.

              property   GEN   leave   DET   people   none   3.OBJ   lift

              'Property left on the ground, none of the people picked it up.'

On this basis, I conclude that 莫 *mò* was not a pronoun which could function as an argument. Consequently, it could not have been base merged in external argument position in embedded control clauses as proposed by Aldridge (2010b). In the remainder of this section, I propose an alternative analysis of the asymmetry between negators like 莫 *mò*, which induces long distance pronoun fronting, and 不 *bù*, which does not, and propose that this is the result of a diachronic change in the structural position of 不 *bù*. In the Pre-Archaic Chinese (14th C. BCE – 11th C. BCE) Oracle Bone Inscriptions, the earliest attested texts written in Chinese, 不 *bù* occupied a higher position than in LAC, evidenced by the fact that it preceded temporal adverbials like the future marker 其 *qí*.

(51) a. 我不其受黍年   (*Héjí* 9956; Djamouri 2018: 45)

       wǒ **bù** qí shòu shǔ nián

       we not FUT receive millet harvest

       'We will not receive [a good] harvest of millet.'

   b. 戉不其遘戎   (*Héjí* 175; Djamouri 2018: 45)

       yuè **bù** qí gòu róng

       Yue not FUT meet Rong

       'Yue will not meet the Rong tribesmen.'

But already early in the LAC period, we can find evidence that the position of 不 *bù* had changed, and it could no longer precede temporal adverbs. In LAC, 其 *qí* had grammaticalized into a modal. The corresponding temporal adverb in this period was 將 *jiāng*. 不 *bù* must follow this adverb.

Pronoun fronting to negation in Archaic Chinese

(52)   a.   二子皆將不免。   (*Zuǒzhuàn*, Xiāng 29)

Èr   zǐ   jiē   jiāng   **bù**   miǎn.

two   gentleman all   will   not   escape.harm

'Both of these gentlemen will not escape harm.'

b.   千人至，將不行。   (*Zuǒzhuàn*, Zhāo 10)

Qiān   rén   zhì,   jiāng   **bù**   xíng.

1000   person   arrive   will   not   leave

'(If) a thousand people arrive, (they) will not leave.'

In Pre-Archaic Chinese, pronoun fronting to negation also targeted a position preceding aspectual markers like 其 *qí*.

(53)   師不余其見？   (*Héjí* 175; Zhāng 2001: 211)

Shī   **bù**   *yú*   qí   jiàn?

army   not   1   FUT   see

'Will the army not see me?'

I propose, then, that 不 *bù* in Pre-Archaic Chinese occupied the head of a NegP above outer aspect. This is in fact what Csirmaz (2005, 2008, 2012) proposes for Finnish. This is also part of the basis for her proposal that negation creates a divisible event at the level of outer aspect, since Neg c-commands AspP. She additionally proposes that negation in Finnish licenses partitive case on all structurally case-marked constituents in its c-command domain. I adopt this analysis for 不 *bù* in Pre-Archaic Chinese and propose the following structure for negated clauses in this period. 不 *bù* occupies the Neg position selecting AspP, and

arguments in vP are assigned partitive case under c-command. A pronominal object can only escape being assigned partitive case by undergoing phrasal movement to [Spec, AspP], where it can value accusative case in the landing site.

(54)   C/TP

     DP$_{SUBJ}$ C/T'

        C/T$_{[NOM]}$ NegP

            Neg   AspP

               DP$_{pro}$ Asp'

                   Asp$_{[ACC]}$ vP

                       <DP$_{SUBJ}$> v'

                             V+v VP

                                   <V>   <DP$_{pro}$>
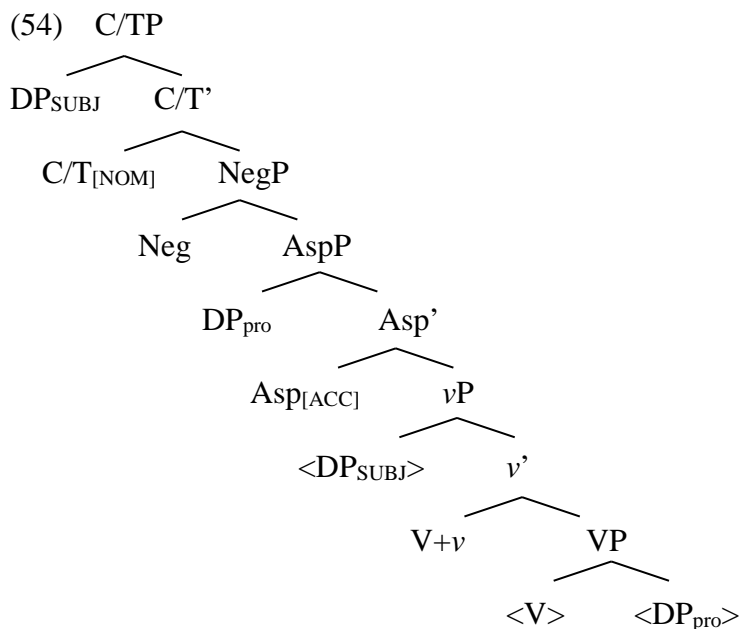
Proposing that Asp is the source of accusative case in clauses negated by 不 *bù* in Pre-Archaic Chinese receives additional support from the fact that these clauses are also detransitivized in terms of argument structure. Zhu (1990), Djamouri (1991, 2000, 2018), and Zhang (2001) show that 不 *bù* typically occurs with intransitive VPs, as in (55a). When 不 *bù* negates a VP containing an object, the subject is generally not interpreted as an agent. In (55b), the subject is a recipient, which I assume is also an internal argument. Given the lack of an external argument in this vP, then according to Burzio (1986), v is unable to value accusative case, so a pronominal object must raise to [Spec, AspP] in order to value accusative case.

(55) a. 不雨   (*Héjí* 12648; Djamouri 2018: 44)

       bù   yǔ

       not   rain

       '(It will) not rain.'

     b. 我不其受黍年   (*Héjí* 9956; Djamouri 2018: 45)

       wǒ   bù   qí   shòu   shǔ   nián

       1   not   FUT   receive   millet   harvest

       'We will not receive a (good) harvest of millet.'

In contrast to 不 *bù*, 弗 *fú* is the sentential negator which appears with transitive *v*Ps. Note in (56a) that the VP not only contains an object, the subject is also an agent. In fact, this verb is causative. According to Djamouri (2018), 不 *bù* never negates causative VPs but can be found with the unaccusative variant of a causative verb, as in (56b). Aldridge (2010b) proposes that 弗 *fú* selects a causative *v*P that is able to license accusative case.

(56) a. 今夕弗震王師   (*Héjí* 9956; Djamouri 2018: 46)

       Jīn   xì   fú   zhèn   wáng   shī

       present   night   not   move   king   camp

       'This night, (we will) not move the king's camp.'

     b. 今夕師不震   (*Héjí* 9956; Djamouri 2018: 46)

       Jīn   xì   shī   bù   zhèn

       present   night   camp   not   move

       'This night, the camp (will) not be moved.'

Pronoun fronting to negation in Archaic Chinese

Returning to the discussion of LAC, additional evidence for the erstwhile high structural position of 不 *bù* can be found in the early LAC period. The text containing the following examples dates to the 5th century BCE, the beginning of LAC. (57a) shows that long distance fronting was still possible with 不 *bù*. In (57b), a pronoun fronts from a VP containing a dative/prepositional complement in addition to the theme pronoun.

(57)   a. 余不女忍殺。   (*Zuǒzhuàn*, Zhāo 1)

Yú   *bù*   **rǔ**   rěn   [shā ___].
I   not   you   endure kill

'I cannot bear to kill you.'

    b. 將不女容焉。   (*Zuǒzhuàn*, Xī 7)

Jiāng *bù*   **rǔ**   [róng __ yān].

FUT   not   2.SG   accept   3.DAT

'(They) will not accept you there.'

These examples clearly show that fronting to 不 *bù* was not always limited to local reordering between a verb and its complement. I suggest that emergence of this limitation in LAC was related to the change in the position of the negator 不 *bù*. After 不 *bù* came to occupy the position selecting and immediately preceding *v*P, the domain of partitive case assignment likewise became more local, being reanalyzed as inherent case assigned by the verb to its complement. This can be explained in relation to the location of the landing site for pronoun fronting. Since the negator selected the *v*P in LAC, the only position available between the verb and the negator is the head of *v*P, i.e. the complex verb V+*v*. In effect, then, the movement of the pronoun was reanalyzed as head movement, specifically incorporation of the object into the verb, which is generally possible only from the verb's complement

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position. In short, a series of reanalyses took place. The position of the negator lowered to the head selecting *v*P. This in turn triggered the reanalysis of the movement of the pronoun as head movement to V+*v*. Since head movement is only permitted from complement position, only pronouns base generated in this position underwent movement in LAC, and partitive case assignment likewise came to be associated with this position.
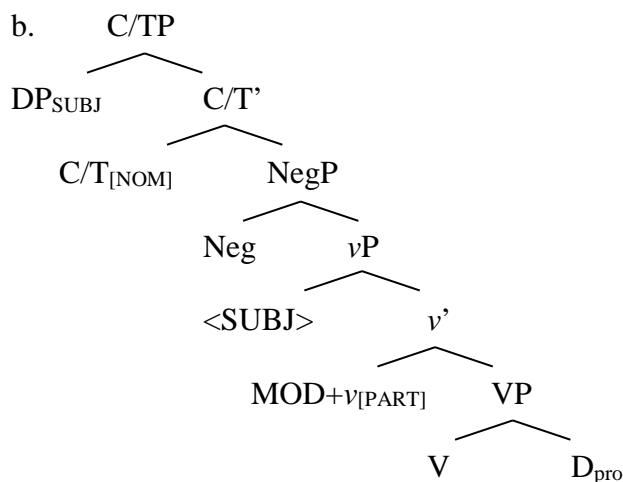
The fact that 不 *bù* came to occupy a lower position in LAC also accounts for the lack of pronoun fronting across an embedding verb or auxiliary. This is because it is only the higher verb or auxiliary which acquires the [PART] feature on *v*. I show this below for the ability modal 能 *néng*. For simplicity, I base generate the modal in the *v* head position. Because the modal occupies *v*, the lexical verb will not move to this position, so it also does not acquire the ability to assign partitive case, and the object pronoun has no motivation to vacate its base position inside VP.

(58)　a.　與戰不能克之也。　　　　　　　(*Hánfēizǐ* 1)

Yǔ　　zhàn　bù　　néng　kè　　　zhī　　yě.

with　fight　not　can　conquer　3.OBJ　COP

'(They) did battle with (the enemy) but were unable to defeat them.'

b.

```
          C/TP
         /    \
    DP_SUBJ   C/T'
             /    \
       C/T[NOM]   NegP
                 /    \
               Neg     vP
                      /   \
                 <SUBJ>    v'
                          /   \
                   MOD+v[PART]  VP
                               /   \
                              V     D_pro
```

In contrast, the aspectual negator 未 *wèi* could induce long distance pronoun fronting, as pointed out above. In contrast to 不 *bù*, Meisterernst (2020) shows that 未 *wèi* scopes over aspectual markers like *cháng* 嘗, expressing a past habitual event, as in (59b). (59b) also shows that 未 *wèi* occupies a higher position than 不 *bù*.

(59)　　a.　出三日，不食之矣。　　　　　　　　(*Lúnyǔ*, Xiāngdǎng)

Chū　　sān　　rì,　　bù　　shí　　*zhī*　　**yǐ**.

be.out　three　day　　not　　eat　　3.OBJ　PFV

'If it has been out for three days, (I) don't eat it anymore.'

　　　　b.　昔先大夫相先君適四國，未嘗不為壇。

Xī　　　　xiān　　dàifù　　xiàng　xiān　jūn　　shì　　sì　　　guó

formerly　former dignitary　assist　former ruler　go.to　four　　state

wèi　　cháng bù　　wéi　　tán

not.yet ASP　　not　　make　altar

'In ancient times when the former dignitaries assisted the former ruler to go to the Four States, they always made an altar.' (*Zuǒzhuàn*, Xiāng 28; Meisterernst 2020)

I follow Meisterernst in placing 未 *wèi* in the head of NegP taking outer AspP as its complement. This allows 未 *wèi* to receive the same analysis that Csirmaz (2005, 2008, 2012) proposes for Finnish negation, which I also adopted for Pre-Archaic Chinese 不 *bù*. In particular, partitive case is valued on all DPs requiring structural case in the c-command domain of Neg. A pronoun can move to [Spec, AspP] in order to exceptionally value accusative case.

(60)　a.　日夜思之，猶未之能得。　　　　　(*Lǔshì Chūnqiū* 12.3)

　　　　Rì　　yè　　sī　　zhī,　yóu　*wèi*　**zhī**　néng　dé.

　　　　day　night　think　3.OBJ　still　not.yet　3.OBJ　can　get

　　　　'(They) think about it day and night but are still unable to obtain it.'

b.

```
          C/TP
         /    \
   DPSUBJ    C/T'
            /     \
     C/T[NOM]     NegP
                 /    \
               Neg     AspP
                      /     \
                  DPpro     Asp'
                           /     \
                     Asp[ACC]     vP
                                 /    \
                          <DPSUBJ>     v'
                                      /    \
                                 MOD+v      VP
                                           /    \
                                          V    <DPpro>
```
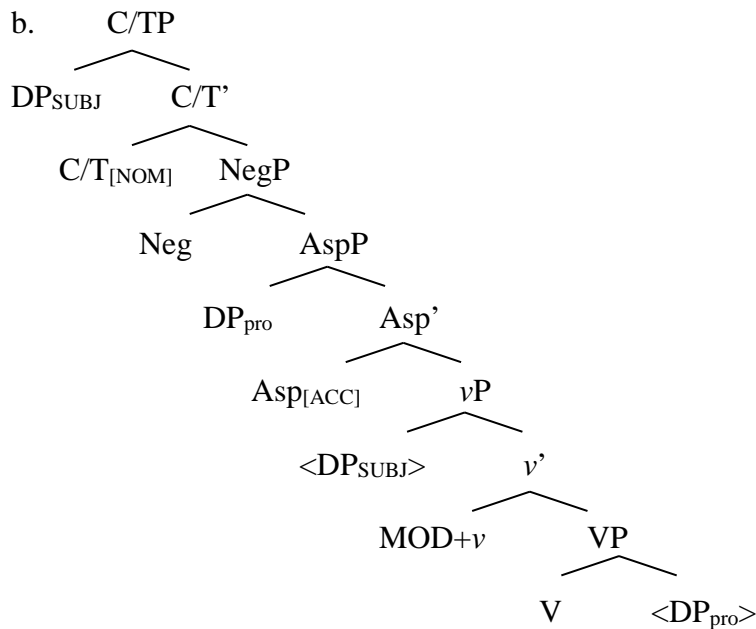
(61) shows that 莫 *mò* similarly precedes 不 *bù*. Given its subject-orientedness, I also assume that 莫 *mò* is base generated in the higher Neg position and has the ability to require valuation of partitive case in its c-command domain.

(61)　民莫不知。　　　　　　　　　　　　(*Zuǒzhuàn*, Zhāo 22)

　　　Mín　**mò**　bù　zhī.

　　　people　none　not　know

　　　'None among the people do not know this.'

In this way, pronoun fronting in negated clauses can be given a uniform analysis as phrasal movement targeting [Spec, AspP] historically. However, in the case of 不 *bù*, this was reanalyzed as head movement in early LAC. In fact, this reanalysis later took place for the other negators as well. Evidence for this comes from LAC period examples which show incomplete fronting. In the following examples, the pronoun lands in a position immediately preceding the main verb. The coexistence of this type of partial fronting with long distance movement is clear evidence that the reanalysis is in progress in the LAC period.

(62)　　a.　北方之學者，未能或之先也。　　　　　　(*Mèngzǐ*, Téng Wéngōng 1)

Běi　　fāng　　zhī　　xué　　zhě,

north　area　　GEN　　study　DET

wèi　　néng　　huò　　**zhī**　　xiān　　yě.

not.yet can　　some　3.OBJ　surpass　COP

'Among scholars of the North, none have yet been able to surpass him.'

　　b.　五人御於前，莫肯之為。　　　　　　(*Lǚshì Chūnqiū* 24.1)

Wǔ　　rén　　yù　　yú qián,　　mò　　kěn　　**zhī**　　wéi.

5　　person attend by side　　none　dare　3.OBJ　do

'Five people were in attendance, but none of them dared to do this.'

This section showed how my proposal accounts for asymmetries in pronoun fronting to negation across a clause boundary. This was still possible in the LAC period with the negative quantifier 莫 *mò* and the aspectual negator 未 *wèi*, because these negators occupy high positions on the clausal spine, above outer AspP. Consequently, they were able to induce a "divisible" interpretation on the event at the level of outer aspect, with the result that

any DP with an unvalued case feature within their c-command domain would value partitive case, including an object base merged in an embedded control clause. In contrast, pronoun fronting in the context of the sentential negator 不 *bù* was reanalyzed in LAC as head movement to V+*v*, and only a pronoun occupying complement position of this complex head underwent movement. This ruled out the possibility of long distance movement across a clause boundary or even over an auxiliary verb, since the pronoun was not in a local enough relation to the V+*v* assigning partitive case to undergo head movement to it.

6 Conclusion

In this paper, I proposed an analysis of pronoun fronting in negated clauses in Late Archaic Chinese (LAC). This phenomenon is traditionally considered to be an optional reordering of verbs and objects which is indicative of an earlier OV basic word order in an otherwise VO language. I argued in this paper against positing OV basic word order for LAC or earlier Chinese and proposed instead that the seemingly mysterious alternation between VO and OV orders in LAC negated clauses is systematically derived in the syntax.

Following Csirmaz (2005, 2008, 2012), I proposed that partitive case is assigned to objects in negated clauses. I also proposed with Richards (2008) that a non-accusative case assigned in negated verb phrases is defective in that it is unable to value a person feature. This accounts for the fact that only personal pronouns undergo fronting to negation in LAC, since the motivation is to avoid receiving partitive case and to value their person features with *v*. In contrast, full DP objects remain in their base positions, because they do not have a person feature to value.

I also showed that whether pronouns undergo fronting in negated clauses is subject to structural constraints relating to the position of the negator and the base position of the

pronominal argument. The negative quantifier 莫 *mò* and the aspectual negator 未 *wèi* occupy positions selecting the "outer" aspectual phrase and partitive case is assigned to any DP in their c-command domain with an unvalued case feature. This forces long distance movement over an auxiliary or across a clause boundary in the context of these negators. In contrast, movement was far more local in the context of the sentential negator 不 *bù*. I showed that this is because 不 *bù* occupies a lower position on the clausal spine, and the domain of partitive case assignment is limited to the complement position of the *v* with the partitive feature. This allows for a systematic account of the numerous cases when pronouns do not undergo fronting to 不 *bù*, i.e. when they are base merged in a specifier position or are embedded further within the VP.

I also proposed that the preceding discrepancy between the different negators is the result of diachronic change. I argued that 不 *bù* was also structurally positioned above the outer AspP in Pre-Archaic Chinese, and pronouns underwent phrasal movement to the specifier of outer AspP in order to value accusative case. But in the LAC period 不 *bù* came to occupy a lower position, which in turn prompted the reanalysis of pronoun fronting to this negator from phrasal movement to very local head movement.

In short, this paper offers a systematic explanation of the complex and seemingly recalcitrant word order canundrum of LAC pronoun fronting to negation by identifying the structural conditions on and syntactic nature of this movement within the context of diachronic change.

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