



Part III:

Old (Archaic) Chinese

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Typological features of OC

- No need for light verbs
 - 吳王電越王 . . . Wu Wang dian Yue Wang. WW phoned YW.
- Simplex accomplishments, etc.
 - 小, 好, 惡: *xiao/hao/e* 'small/good/bad, belittle/like/dislike'
 - 受 *shou* 'give, receive'
 - 假: *jia* 'lend, borrow'
 - 死: *si* 'die, die-for' (e.g., *si guo* 死國 'die for the country')
 - 飯: *fan* 'rice, give rice (feed one with rice)' 有一母見信肌, 飯信。
 - 衣: *yi* 'cloth, clothe'; 食 *shi* 'food, eat, feed' (禮記: 問人之寒則衣之, 問人之肌則食之, 稱人之美則爵之)
 - 王: king, make-king, consider-king (左傳: 爾欲吳王我乎?)
 - *you* 友: friend, befriend; *zi* 子: son, take-as-son; etc. (荀子: 友風而子雨)
 - NB: Periphrastic accomplishments were rare: 民可使由之不可使知之. 'The people can be made to follow, but cannot be made to know.'

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Features of OC (cont.)

- Telicity
 - 弑 *shi* 'kill': 臣弑其君，子弑其父，非一朝一夕之故，…
 - 破 *po* 'break', *chu* 'exit' *ru* 'enter': 破窗而入
- Derivational morphology
 - Mei reconstructed *s- as a prefix for the causative, directive, etc.
 - Feng (p.c.): 政 (使正)、教 (使孝)、畝 (DO田). The right-side radical is probably the written form of the prefix.
- No resultative compounds
 - [Vt + Vt] Object; *[V-R] Object
 - 壓而殺之；壓殺百姓；百姓皆壓死；*壓死百姓
 - 射而傷之；射傷麋鹿；麋鹿皆射死；*射死麋鹿
 - The V-R compound was not fully established until Tang-Song.
 - Mei 1991 and references
 - There was no need to develop a compound when a simplex word could serve the needs.

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Features of OC (cont.)

- No need for classifiers
 - *san niu* '3 cows', *er yang* '2 sheep' 五禮，五玉，三帛，二聲 …
 - but *yi-dan shi* 'one bamboo-basket of food' 一簞食，一瓢飲 for mass nouns
- Has plural morphology:
 - Sagart 1993: infix *-r-* (Peyraube 1996 relates it to classifiers)
- Wh-interrogatives: moved (Aldridge 2002, and Aldridge 2006)
 - 吾誰欺？後漢書
 - *wu shei qi?*
 - I who deceive 'Who did I deceive?'
- Wh-indefinites: "extremely limited" (Aldridge 2006; more after Han)
- Has *suo* for object relative clauses (movement to T; Aldridge 2006, etc.)

[Q: why subject relatives do not involve *suo*? Possible answer: that would be illegitimate downward movement. Perhaps subject relativization is by *pro*? Check embedded subject relative? Something like: [汝所言 [e明日方能來]]者，吾摯友也。
- Has NP-movement (e.g. *be*-passives)
 - 萬乘之國，被圍於趙。戰國策
 - *wansheng zhi guo bei wei yu zhao*
 - 10k-chariots DE nation -en surround at Zhao
 - A nation of 10k chariots was surrounded by/in Zhao.

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Features of OC (cont.)

- The development of localizers (Pyraube 2003, Guo 2002):
 - Archaic:
 - 八佾舞于庭, 是可忍也, 孰不可忍也?
ba-yi wu yu ting, shi ke ren ye, shu bu ke ren ye?
Ba-yi dance at home, this can tolerate Prt, ...
(As for dancing the 8x8 dance in hallway/home, if this can be tolerated, what cannot be tolerated?) [論語八佾]
 - 不至堯之子而至舜. (Does not go to Yao's son, but goes to Shun.)
 - 婦人笑于房. (The woman laughed in the room.)
 - 王立于沼, 王坐于堂, etc. (The king stood at the pond, sat in the hall.)

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Features of OC (cont.)

- Pre-Medieval: (localizer needed for object-denoting Ns, while no preposition 'at' was optional)
 - 殺義帝江南. [史記高祖本記八]
sha Yi Di jiang-nan.
([Xiangyu] killed the Puppet Emperor [e] River-South.)
 - 桓公與夫人蔡姬戲房中. [史記世家]
Huan Gong yu fu-ren Caiji xi fang-zhong
Lord Huan and woman Ms.-Tsai play room-interior
Lord Huan and Lady Tsai have fun [e] the room-interior.
 - 相見夕陽下, 決戰長安城, etc.
xiangjian xiyang-xia, juezhan Chang-an cheng.
meet sunset-under, final-fight Chang-An city
 - 衛后、史良娣葬長安城南. [漢書列傳63.33]
 - 吳王慍曰：「天下同宗，死長安◆葬長安，何必來葬為！」
[史記列傳106.36]

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Features of OC (cont.)

- Postverbal PP-adjuncts (VP movement across adjuncts a la Kayne?)
 - 季氏旅於泰山... Ji traveled on Mt. Tai. [論語八佾]
 - 萬乘之國被圍於趙。[史記列傳魯仲連]
A 10k-chariot-kngdom got surrounded by Zhao.
 - 孟子見梁惠王於齊...
Mengzi jian Liang Hui-Wang yu qi. Mencius saw King Hui of Liang in Qi.
 - 出於幽谷。 Emerged from the valley.
- Has canonical gapping (He 2005) [has V-to-T movement]
 - 故天子聽政，使公卿至於列士獻詩，瞽獻曲，史獻書，師箴，瞽賦，矇誦，百工諫 (國語：周語) (春秋左丘明)
gu tianzi tingzheng, shi gongqing zhiyu lieshi xian shi, gu xian qu, shi xian shu, shi ___ zhen, shou ___ fu, meng ___ song, bai-gong ___ jian.
(Zuo Qiuming: *Guo Yu: Zhou Yu*)
so emperor govern cause high-lords to various-officials contribute poetry, musicians contribute music, historians contribute reports, teachers ___ advisory documents, blind1 ___ poetic-genre1, blind2 ___ poetic-genre2, various-officers ___ corrective-advice

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Features of OC (cont.)

- History of unaccusatives--locative and directional complements (Peyraube 2005)
 - Archaic: pre-verbal subjects
 - niu yang xia lai (Shijing) 牛羊下来 (诗经)
cow sheep down come
 - Jihou da qu qi guo (Zhan-guo Ce) 纪侯大去其国
Ji-Marques great leave his country
The Marguis of Ji left his country in great style.
 - 孔子趋出、子路趋而出 (荀子)
kongzi qu chu, zilu qu er chu
Confucius/Zilu hurried up and left.
 - Zou chu men. 走出门 (韩非子)
run exit gate
(He) ran and went out of the gate.

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Features of OC (cont.)

- MC (Late Han to 6 dynasties): postverbal subjects
 - Sheng chu ci gu. (Lun Heng, 200 AD). 生出此穀 (论衡)
Give-birth come this mulberry
That mulberry tree emerged.
 - 即便生出二甘蔗 (佛本行集经)
jibian sheng chu er ganzhe (FBXJJ)
at-that give-birth come two sugarcane.
At that moment, two sugarcanes sprang up.
 - 忽然自涌出二池水, 一冷一暖。 (佛本行集经)
huran zi yong chu er chi-shui, yi leng yi nuan
sudden naturally surge come-out two pond-water one cold one warm
Suddenly two pond-waters sprang up, one cold one warm.
- Peyrabue: V+Vd+NP, derived from NP+V+Vd after the NP has been moved into the post-Vd position

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OC properties: summary

1. No light verbs
2. Has simplex accomplishments
3. Telic verbs
4. Causative, executive morphology
5. No resultative compounds and phrases
6. Little use of periphrastic causatives
7. Has plural morphology
8. No (count) classifiers
9. No need for localizers
10. Has wh-movement, not indeterminates
11. Has relativization movement (*suo*)
12. Has NP-movement (ergative and passives)
13. Has VP movement (not Kaynean order)
14. Has gapping (has V-to-I)
=> OC was fairly synthetic

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Part IV

The macro-history of Chinese syntax

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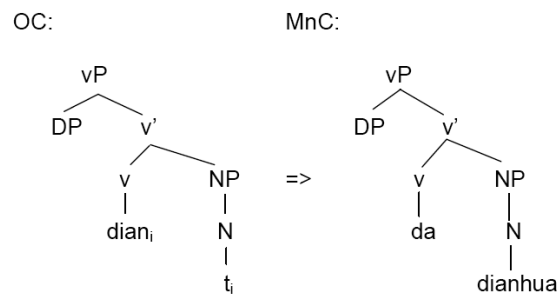
The macro-history

- Archaic Chinese (OC) = synthetic
- Medieval Chinese (MC) = rise of analyticity
- Late Medieval: fully analytic
 - Proliferation of light verbs (弄、教、打, etc.).
 - Atelicity, full grown classifier system, localizers, etc.
 - Resultative compounds, discontinuous resultatives, etc.
- Modern Chinese: has undergone some degree of grammaticalization:
 - The development of modern aspectual suffixes
 - The near-auxiliarization of verbs (development of modern co-verb constructions--ba, gen), gapped passives, etc.
 - New development of certain syntax-semantics mismatches
 - Dialectal variations: Cantonese > Mandarin, WU1 > WU2, Min

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The process

- How might this have happened?
 - Lexicalization (see below)? Anti-grammaticalization? Anti-unidirectionality?
 - Move down the tree? (Roberts & Roussou 1999; Whitman&Paul 2005)
 - Claim: No, if viewed as grammar change.



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The process . . .

- How can a 'sick' (or corrupted language) become healthy?
 - MnC as a young language?
- Claim: the change comes from
 - Over-grammaticalization (not anti-grammaticalization), followed by:
 - Adaptation--Language is a Complex Adaptive System (CAS)--which results in "compensation"
- Over-grammaticalization => get rid of the insufficient (sick) system (and restart)
 - Cf. Merchant (2001): "asterisectomy"
John read a book that criticized someone, but I don't know [who [he read a book that criticized *t].

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Cause and mechanism

- Internal reasons
 - Weakening or grammaticalization
 - Erosion and eventual loss of affixes
 - Cluster simplifications: *kl-* became either *k-* or *l-*, *kvlv*, etc.
e.g. *k* → ∅ / #_l/n 蓝、监、窟窿 (明清) (cf. *knowledge*)
 - Phonological, syntactic, and/or semantic consequences
 - Insufficiency of various sorts
 - Adaptation and compensation
 - Phonological-prosodic, syntactic, and semantic
 - Prosodic: Feng 2000, 2002, 2005
 - Tonogenesis: birth of 4 tones during Archaic, 8 during MC
 - Shi shi shi shi shi shi shi shi shi shi shi ... 石室诗士施氏，嗜狮，誓食十狮。氏时时适市视狮。十时，适十狮适市。是时，适施氏适市。氏视十狮，恃矢势，使是十狮逝世。氏拾是十狮尸，适石室。石室湿，氏拭室。氏始试食十狮尸。食时，始识十狮尸，实是十石狮尸。(Chao 19??)
 - Compensation viewed as a result
 - Return of the suppressed: the once suppressed periphrastic expressions gained new momentum
 - Survival of the frequent (Haspelmath 2002 and references)

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- External factors

Part V: Grammar Change

- OC to MC: analyticization
- MC to MnC: some degrees of synthesis

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OC > MC: Analyticization

- Specific hypothesis about OC
 - OC has V movement driven by derivational viruses (L-syntax)
 - OC has V-to-I movement and N-to-CI movement (driven by functional viruses)
 - OC has NP movement, some sort of *wh*-movement (at least as a synchronic fact), and VP movement
 - V-to-I (possibly to T? if T existed), but not I-to-C, for the following reasons:
 - *Wh*-movement did not pass the subject
 - Question particles were still used for both yes/no and *wh*-questions (Cheng 1991, Tsai 1994)
 - [Apparent] negative quantifiers ('nobody') seem to be limited to subject-position. (cf. He 2005 putative examples of *nobody*)
 - 所-movement for object relative (to T a la Aldridge), but no subject-relative movement of *suo*.
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- Fact: even in OC, analytic or periphrastic varieties also existed, though rare.
 - Evidence for periphrastic causatives: 民可使由之不可使知之。
 - NB: 赵歧孟子注 (Notes on *Mencius* by Zhao Qi 200AD) shows that he could explain the meaning of a synthetic form with an analytic form
 - Limited existence of *wh*-indefinites (Aldridge 2006) 将以谁任, 我则死之 (左.宣13)
“If you will use someone for this responsibility, I will die for it.”
 - Why were periphrastic forms rare? Economy axiom: *kill* vs. *cause to become not alive*
 - The rise of analyticity is mainly the “return of the suppressed”.
 - Learnability: overt light verbs, etc., cannot simply “pop out”.
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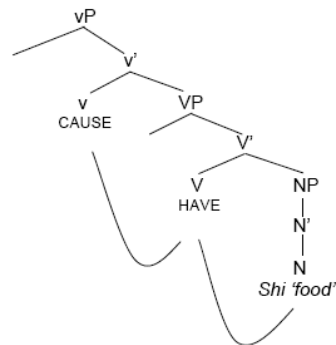
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OC to MC: some specific cases

- Loss of denominal suffix (Mei's executive prefix)
 - Loss of N-to-V conflation that gave rise to *shi* 食 meaning 'to fish'
 - Recruit (available) overt verb taking *shi* meaning 'food' as object
 - Return of the suppressed
 - Survival of the frequent and of the fittest
 - Proliferation of "pseudo-incorporation" constructions *shi* 食 'to eat' or *fan* 饭 'to have rice'.
 - Bleaching of typical V in 'generic' V-O constructions
 - Survival of the frequent and the fittest
 - Birth and proliferation of overt executive light verbs: 打电话 *da dianhua* 'to do a phone', etc.

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- Loss of causativization suffix (Mei's causative prefix)
 - Loss of causativization V-to-v that gave rise to *shi* 食 'to feed someone' from *shi* 食 meaning 'to have food' (which in turn was derived from 'food' by N-to-V)
 - Recruit periphrastic causatives: Instead of 食韩信 *shi Hanxin* 'to feed Hanxin', we would have 令韩信食 or 使韩信进食 'cause Hanxin to eat, to have food' (cf. 飯韓信 > 讓韓信吃飯。)
 - Return, survive, and thrive (cf. Caesar: "veni, vide, vici")
 - Proliferation of the periphrastic versions



Today: *shi* = food

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- Another consequence: Rise of resultatives
 - Recruit paratactics (whose V1 was activity and V2 was causative)
 - Decausativization of V2
 - Paratactic => Resultative V1-V2 with V1 being the head
 - Survive and thrive => Development of phrasal resultatives
 - Instead of sha, shi, lu 杀、弑、戮 you have 'V-dead': 杀死、压死、斩死、溺死、打死、踢死、扎死、。。。哭死、乐死、笑死、累死、想死、。。。 (n-number ways of make-dying, where n is the number of any plausible verbs)

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OC > MC ...

- Loss of nominal functional features:
 - Recruit classifiers (based on input involving measure words)
 - N-to-CI movement ceased to occur.
- Loss of PLACE feature of object-denoting nouns:
 - No N-to-L for object denoting N
 - Overt spellout of light noun PLACE (by recruiting previously available place words such as *shang* 'top', *xia* 'bottom', *pang* 'side', *na* 'there')
 - Inherent locative nouns continue N-to-L (and to P in Pre-Medieval) L=N
 - Development of LP as a functional category: L cliticizes to NP after NP moves to Spec LP. (Too weak to support P above LP.) L = a 'clay Buddha'.
 - Requirement of P *zai* 'at' except when under LP-selecting verbs like, *dao* 'reach', *qu* 'go to'

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Some examples ...

- Loss of inherent +Q:
 - Loss of obligatory movement out of VP
 - Wh-in-situ conducive for increased use of indeterminates
 - Loss of F triggering VP fronting across adjuncts
 - All PP adjuncts are preverbal.
 - Passive:
 - Decausativized *bei* 'cover' is 'undergo, receive'
 - Verbal passive with full clausal complementation through medieval period
 - NOP movement (with secondary predicate complement) in Tang-Song
 - Emergence of unaccusatives with postverbal "subjects" (in Tang-Song –Peyraube 2005)
 - Loss of EPP?
 - NB: Not the lowering of X, but the loss of X-raising. (cf. Peyraube 2005)
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Change: grammar change

- Facts:
 - Wh-words moved rightward.
 - Postverbal adverbial PP moved leftward.
 - Verbal passives were used.
 - Subjects were postposed after unaccusatives.
 - Rise of classifiers
 - Rise of localizers, Etc.
 - Theory:
 - Loss of wh-movement
 - Loss suo movement (except residues)
 - Loss of VP movement
 - Loss of NP movement
 - Loss of EPP movement
 - Loss of plural morphology
 - Loss of denominal suffix
 - Loss of causativizing suffix
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MC to MnC:

- Business as usual: corruption (grammaticalization) led to the development of modern dialects with varying degrees of synthesis:
 - Chinese dialects: same in lexical categories, but differ in functional categories
 - I.e. Functional parameterization hypothesis
 - Cantonese > Mandarin > Wu > Min
 - Aspectual suffixes: the rise of V-to-I
 - Causative resultatives and syntactic denominal raising
 - Nominal structure: Cl-to-Num-to-D
 - SVO vs. SOV order
 - Tang (2006), Cheng&Sybesma (2005), Cheng, Huang, Li and Tang (1997), Jeong (forthcoming)
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Variations in modern dialects

- Aspectual suffixes:
 - Mandarin has developed at least 3 aspectual suffixes: *zhe*, *le*, *guo*. Their presence entails an Aspectual projection with Asp⁰ that attracts the verb (V-to-Asp) at least in LF (alternatively, Affix-hopping in PF), possibly overtly. [auxiliary aspects (*mei*)*you* & *zai*] are also available.
 - Min-Taiwanese does not have the suffixal aspect markers, but uses auxiliary aspects (*u*, *te*). No V-to-i.
 - Cantonese has even richer suffixal aspects, including *-sai* 'all', etc. V-to-Asp-to-x, higher than Mandarin
 - Cantonese > Mandarin > Min
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Variations in modern dialects

- Resultatives:
 - Mandarin: has extensive causative resultative compounds: *zhe shi lei-si le Zhangsan*. (This thing tired John to death.)
 - Taiwanese: requires a periphrastic version with *ka* (= *ba*): *zhe shi ba Zhangsan lei-si le*. (This thing caused John to be tired to death.)
 - Denominals:
 - Mandarin: *ni shui ni de*. 'you sleep yours'
 - Taiwanese: *li tso li kun*. 'you do your sleep'
 - Mandarin > Taiwanese/Min
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Variations in modern dialects

- CI+N
 - Cantonese: has [CI+N] which can be definite or indefinite
 - Mandarin: has [CI+N] which can be indefinite but not definite.
 - Taiwanese/Min: does not allow [CI+N] at all.
 - Cantonese > Mandarin > Taiwanese/Min
 - Cantonese has CI-to-Num-to-D
 - Mandarin has Num to D but no CI-to-Num
 - Taiwanese/Min has neither CI-to-Num nor Num-to-D
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Cantonese > Mandarin > Taiwanese/Min

(cf. Jeong 2007-forthcoming)

- *YI* 'one' grammaticalizes to *yi* 'a' with stress reduction (Chao 1968)
- The above process gives birth to an indefinite article with non-specific meaning (Cheng & Sybesma)
- *yi* may be deleted (resulting in [CI+N]) but not *YI*. (cf. C&S)
- In Mandarin, deletion occurs in PF as a surface process. In overt syntax and LF, *yi* 'a' blocks *CI-ro-D*. Hence [CI+D] cannot be definite in Mandarin.
- In Cantonese, further grammaticalization reanalyzes the surface [e] as a lexical item [e] meaning 'a', available from Numeration. CI-to-Num-D becomes possible, giving rise definiteness of [CI+N]
- IN Taiwanese/Min, *YI* has not grammaticalized into *yi*.
- Cantonese (has deep indefinite article [e]) > Mandarin (has overt indefinite article that PF-deletes) > Taiwanese/Min (has no indefinite article)

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Cantonese > Mandarin > Wu > Min

(Liu Danqing 2002, Tang 2006)

- Cantonese is a strong SVO language
 - Naturally allows all sorts of postverbal objects including highly referential objects; SOV order is marked.
- Min as a weak SVO language
 - Strongly disfavors referential postverbal objects
 - SOV order very common and often with no contrastive flavor
- Mandarin and Wu:
 - Status between Cantonese and Min. Both SVO and SOV can be natural, the latter perhaps more natural in Wu:
儂飯吃過伐?
nong va chi-ko va?
You rice eat-exp Q?
- Xiang?
- **Both macro- and micro-variations occur in clusterings**

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