

Chinese Syntax in a
Cross-Linguistic
Perspective

EDITED BY AUDREY LI

ANDREW SIMPSON

and

WEI-TIEN DYLAN TSAI

1. Different Types of Light Verbs in English

In English, there are different types of predicates that can be analyzed in terms of the empty verbal head of Larson's (1988) (and subsequently Hale and Kayser 1993; Huang 1997; and many others), which empty verb structures involve, for example, ditransitive verbs (1a), resultative verbs (1b), object control verbs (1d), monotransitive verbs (1e), ergative verbs (1f), unergative verbs (1g), and unaccusative verbs (1h), and so on, as seen in (1):

- (1) a. Ditransitive verbs
I will get you a present.
I will show you a picture.
- b. Resultative verb
He painted the house green.
The ink turned the paper black.
- c. V + PP(DP) + CP
He agrees with me that the paper will turn bad.
He learned from his brother that study has no fine.
He suggested to him that they should try safe argument.
- d. Object Control
What decide you to take linguistics?
She persuaded me to try phonology-free syntax.
- e. Monotransitive → Ditransitive
He read me the letter.
He ordered me a taxi.
He sent me a card.
- f. Ergative Verbs
The window breaks.
He broke the window.

- g. Unergative Verbs
 Let's party! Let's have a party.
 I am fishing. I am catching fish.
 They are lunching. They are having lunch.
 He may protest. He may make a protest.
 He was lying. He was telling lies.
 Why not guess? Why not make a guess?
- h. Unaccusative Verbs
 There stands a man.
 There comes a stranger from outside.
 There appeared a ghostly face at the window.
 There have arisen several problems.

According to Huang (2009), the syntactic function of light verbs is on a par with light nouns (classifiers). While the light nouns help to classify nouns and function to atomicize or individuate an otherwise homogenous entity for the purpose of counting, light verbs, on the other hand, select verb roots, in the sense that DO selects activities, CAUSE selects accomplishments, and so on, and also help select verb roots by adding the required semantic components, as shown in (2).

- (2) Light noun: ... [_{NP} cl [_{NP} [N]]]
 Light verb: ... [_{VP} v [_{VP} [V]]]

Based on this analysis, we see that there are different types of light verbs that are utilized for selecting different verb roots. For example:

- (3) a. Causative light verbs
 To CAUSE the gravy to thin → To thin the gravy
- b. The Performative light verbs
 To PERFORM an act [of hitting him] → She hit him.
 To PERFORM(-ize) an act [of apology] → She will apologize.
- c. Eventive Lightverbs
 There happens an event [that a man comes] → A man comes.
- d. Experiential Lightverbs
 You surprised me.
 It horrifies people.
- e. Inchoative Light Verbs
 I can blind him.
 The sky will clear.

The event-aspectual property of light verbs characterized by Lin (2001) can also be understood in terms of the action-classifier style of Huang's system. Under these theoretical explorations, however, one may wonder what would be the action-classifier syntax in Classical Chinese, given the observation that Classical Chinese is more like English (i.e., a synthetic language, as compared with medieval and Modern Chinese, which have become more and more analytical).

In what follows, I will provide, based on Feng (2000, 2005), various examples from Archaic Chinese to show that light-verb syntax with an abstract "generic light verb" (on par with the generic light noun like *ge* in Modern Chinese) was freely operative in pre-Buddhism Chinese (i.e., before the first century A.D.), and is different from medieval and Modern Chinese.

2. Light Verbs in Classical Chinese: Traditional Observations

There has been some confusion regarding the grammar of Chinese, which is conceived as "practically the same not only among the dialects but even between modern speech and the classical language" (Chao 1976: 99). In fact, there is at least a crucial difference between modern speech and the classical language that has well been recognized by traditional linguistics, namely, the causative, putative, purposive, and denominative structures, as seen in (4).

- (4) a. Causative 斫而小之
 Zhuó ér xiǎo zhī.
 Cut and small it
 'cut it and make it smaller'
- b. Putative 登泰山而小天下
 Dēng Tai shān ér xiǎo tiānxià
 Climbing Tai Mountain and small world
 'On top of the Tai Mountain you will feel the world is so small.'
- c. Purposive 死國可乎?
 Sǐ guó kě hu
 Die country can Q
 'Can I die for the country?'
- d. Denominative 君子不器
 Jūnzi bú qì
 Learned-men not utensil.
 'An honorable man is not an utensil.'

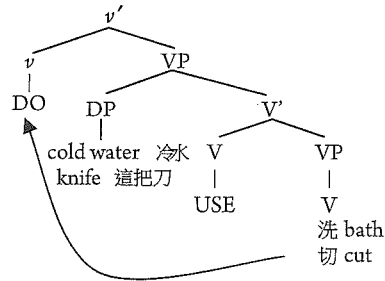
The syntactic operation of the above sentences had vanished after the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.–220 A.D.), even if there are sporadic examples of light-verb structures observed in Modern Chinese, for example:

- (5) Causative Lǜ-huà xiàoyuán
 Green-ize campus
 'to make campus green'
- Putative Zhòng lǐ qīng wén
 Heavy science light humanity
 'to consider science more important than humanities'
- Benefactive Fúwù zǔguó
 Service country
 'to do service for one's country'

- Nominative Dǒu dàrén le, zénme hái niào chuáng ne?
 Even adult Asp. Why still pee bed Q
 'S/he is an adult already, how come s/he still wets the bed?'

Note that the examples given in (5) are not freely (or systematically) formed in Modern Chinese, even if some linguists considered examples in (5) and particularly in (6) to be derived by light-verb movement (Feng 2000; Lin 2001), as shown in the tree structure of (6a):

(6)



- a. bath cold water
 b. cut this knife

- c. Pái tóugè
 Line first
 'To line up as the first one.'
- d. Kāi yè bān
 Drive night work
 'To drive for one's duty of the night assignment.'
- e. Chī shítáng
 Eat cafeteria
 'To eat at a cafeteria.'

All these examples may give analysts an impression that the same syntactic operation observed in Archaic Chinese is still operative in modern times. However, it is important to note that the grammar of light verbs (or the "non-canonical objects") is not freely operable in Modern Chinese without an idiomatic or conventionalized context. For example:

- (7) a. *Tā jīngcháng chī Didū Fàndiàn
 He often Eat Royal Restaurant.
 'He often eats at Royal Restaurant.'
- b. *Zhège sījī yìzhí kāi 1:30.
 This driver always drive 1:30
 'This driver always drives for the 1:30 Duty.'
- c. Nǐ qiē zhèbǎ dāo/ *chāzi.
 You cut this knife/ *fork
 'You cut with this knife / *fork.'

- d. Chī dà wǎn / *pánzi
 Eat big bowl / plate
 'To eat with a big bowl / *plate.'

Feng (2000) characterizes the type of phenomena given (7) in terms of "idiosyncratic or idiomatic usages" (成語化), while "conventionalized meaning" (Lin 2001) and "institutionalized meanings" (A. Li 2012) are also used to generalize the properties of the light-verb syntax in Modern Chinese. The question is this: Is Archaic Chinese more like Modern Chinese in the sense that the light-verb syntax is idiomatized or conventionalized, or is it more like English in that light-verb structures are relatively free productions of the syntax? Before we answer these questions, let us look at the data from Archaic Chinese in the following section.

3. Light Verbs in Classical Chinese: New Observations

In Feng (2005), I proposed that the light-verb syntax in Classical Chinese is freely operative, substantially similar to English. In fact, there have been tremendous works done on the subject of light-verb syntax, not only synchronically and diachronically, but also empirically (Shi 2007) and theoretically (Tsai 2007, 2009, 2012; A. Li 2012; and references cited therein). As we will see below, an increasing number of light-verb structures in Classical Chinese have been uncovered, and the following examples represent most of the cases that have been observed in the literature on light-verb expressions in Archaic Chinese (among others, see Chen 1999; Feng 2003/2005; Shi 2007; and references cited therein). For example:

(8) a. Place:[at在 NV]

旦刷幽燕，晝秣荊越。(顏延年《赭白馬賦》)

Dàn shuā yōu yān, zhòu mò jīngyuè (Yán Yán nián, Zhě bái mǎ fù)
 Dawn scrub You yan, day Fodder Jingyue
 'At dawn (I) scrub (the horses) in Youyan and by noon (I) fodder them in Jingyue.'

(費遂)乃與公謀逐華緡，將使田孟諸而遣之。《左傳·昭公21》

(Fèi Sui) nǎi yǔ gōng móu zhú Huāchū, Jiāng shǐ tián Mèngzhū ér
 (Fèi Sui) then with duke plan expel Huachu, will Send hunt Mengzhu and
 qiǎn zhī.
 dismiss him.

'(Huā Fèi Sui) then planned with the duke to expel Huachu (from the state), and was about to send him to hunt at Mengzhu area and thence banish him.'
 Zuǒzhuàn·zhāogōng 21nián.

死長安即葬長安，何必來葬為？《史記·吳王濞列傳》

Sǐ Cháng'ān jí zàng Cháng'ān, hé bì lái zàng wéi?
 Die Chang'an city then bury Chang'an city, what must come bury for
 'If I die in Chang'an then I will be buried in Chang'an, why must I come back to be
 buried here?' Shǐjì·wú wáng bì liè zhuàn.

b. Source: [from從 NV]

日出東方。《莊子·田子方》

Rì chū dōng fāng

Sun rise east direction

'The sun rises from the east.' *Zhuāngzi-tián zǐ fāng.*

朝發白帝，暮到江陵。《水經注·江水》

Zhāo fā Báidì, mù dào jiānglíng (Shuǐ jīng zhù·jiāng shuǐ)

Morning depart Baidi, evening arrive Jiangling

'(One) departs from Baidi in the morning and arrives at Jiangling in the evening.'

予取予求，不女疵瑕，《左傳·僖公7》

Yú qǔ yú qiú bù nǚ(rǔ) cǐxiá (Zuǒzhuàn·xī gōng 7 nián)

Me take me seek not you fault

'(You) took from me and pleaded to me, (but I) didn't find fault with you.'

c. Target[face / toward向/朝 NV]

使人召犀首，已逃諸侯矣。《韓非子·外儲說右上》

Shǐ rén zhào Xīshǒu, yǐ táo Zhūhóu yǐ

Send someone summon Xishou, already escape feudal lord Prt.

'(He) sent someone to summon Xishou, but (Xishou) had already fled to the feudal lord' *Hánfēizi-wài chū shuō yòu shàng.*

沛公至咸陽，諸將皆爭走金帛財物之府分之。《漢書·蕭何傳》

Pèi gōng zhì Xiányáng, zhū jiāng jiē zhēng zǒu jīn bó cáiwù zhī fǔ fēn zhī

Pei duke arrive Xian'yang, all general each compete run gold silk wealth 's

storehouse share them.

'When Duke Pei arrived at Xian'yang, all the generals rushed at the (royal) storehouse of gold, silk and valuables to share them.' *Hànshū Xiāohe Zhuàn*

趙簡子令諸侯之大夫輸王粟。《左傳·昭公25年》

Zhào Jiǎnzi lìng zhūhóu zhī dàfū shū wáng sù (Zuǒzhuàn·zhāo gōng 25 nián)

Zhao Jianzi order feudal-Lord's officer contribute king grain

'Zhao Jianzi gave orders to the officers of feudal lord to contribute grain to the king.'

欲其入而閉之門。《孟子·萬章下》

Yù qí rù er bì zhī mén (Mèngzǐ·wàn zhāng xià)

Desire his enter but close him gate

'To want him to enter but close the door on him.'

秦饑，晉閉之糶。《左傳·僖公15》

Qín jī, jìn bì zhī dī (Zuǒzhuàn·xī gōng 15 nián)

Qin no harvest, Jin block it grain-sale

'When Qin suffered from a bad harvest, the Jin state blocked its grain sale to Qin.'

d. Effectee of action[to 對 NV]

誓之曰：“不及黃泉無相見也。”《左傳·隱西元年》

Shì zhī yuē bù jí huáng quán wú xiāng jiàn yě (Zuǒzhuàn·yīn gōng yuán nián)

Oath her say not reach yellow spring no each meet Prt.

'(He) swore an oath to her and said: "until we reach the underworld, we shall never see each other."

厲公怒糾曰“謀及婦人，死固宜哉”。《史記·鄭世家》

Lì gōng nù Jiū yuē: móu jí fùrén sǐ gù yí zāi (Shǐjì·zhèng shì jiā)

Li duke angry Jiu say: plan with women death certainly should Prt.

'Duke Li was angry at Jiu and said, "He made plan with his wife, so he deserves to die!"'

夫義人者，固慶其喜而吊其憂。《國語·魯語下》

Fū yì rén zhě, gù qǐng qí xǐ ér diào qí yōu (Guóyǔ·lǔyǔ xià)

such righteousness people Prt. indeed celebrate their joy and mourn their

sorrow
'A person who is trustworthy to others will surely rejoice at their joy and mourn for their sorrow.'

我幾禍子，子將為子不利。《左傳·昭公27年》

Wǒ jī huò zǐ, zǐ jiāng wéi zǐ bù lì (Zuǒzhuàn·zhāo gōng 27 nián)

I nearly misfortune you, you will do you not profitable

'I have almost brought misfortune on you. You will do something unfavorable to yourself.'

驕其妻妾《孟子·離婁下》

Jiāo qí qī qiè

Arrogant his wife concubine

'(He) behaved arrogantly towards his wife and concubine.' *Mèngzǐ·lí lóu xià.*

且君而逃臣，若社稷何？《左傳·宣公12年》

Qiè jūn ér táo chén, ruò shèjì hé

Moreover ruler and flee subject, how state (gods of soil and grain) what

'Moreover, if a ruler flees in facing a subject (or, run away on the subject), what do you say to the gods of the land and grain?' *Zuǒzhuàn·xuān gōng 12 nián.*

e. Comitative [with 與 NV]

君討臣，誰敢仇之？《左傳·定公4年》

Jūn tǎo chén, shuí gǎn chóu zhī (Zuǒzhuàn·dìng gōng 4 nián)

Ruler attack Subject, who dare enemy him

'A ruler punishes his subject, there is no one who dares to be his enemy.'

君子成人之美，小人反是。《論語·顏淵》

Jūnzǐ chéng rén zhī měi, xiǎo rén fǎn shì. (Lún yǔ·Yányuān)

Honored men complete people's success, small men opposite it.

'Honorable men fulfill people's success, and small men are opposing to it.'

f. Reason:[for (因)為 NV]

歸而飲至。《左傳·隱公5年》

Guī ér yǐn zhì (Zuǒzhuàn·yīn gōng 5 nián)

Return and drink (over) arrival (cf. On your victory we have a drink)

'(The troops) returned and a sacrificial drinking was held because of their arrival.'

討其二于楚也。《左傳·成公9年》

Tǎo qí èr yú Chǔ yě (Zuǒzhuàn·chéng gōng 9 nián)

Attack their two at Chu Prt.

'(Chu State) attacked them for their betrayal of the Chu.'

冬暖而兒號寒，年豐而妻啼饑。(韓愈《進學解》)

Dōng nuǎn ér ér háo hán, nián fēng ér qī tí jī (Hán yù,
Jìn xué jiě)

Winter warm but child howl cold, year abundant but wife weep hungry
'Although the winter is warm, your children howl because of coldness; although the year brings a bumper harvest, your wife weeps because of hunger.'

王怒曰：“大辱國，詰朝爾射，死藝。”《左傳·成公10年》

Wáng nù yuē: dà rǔ guó, jié cháo ěr shè sǐ yì
King angry say: great disgrace state, next morning you discharge die art
'The king got angry and said, "(you are) a great disgrace to the state. Tomorrow morning you will shoot and die of the art (of archery) (cf. Go to play, okay, but you will die for the play)."' *Zuǒ zhuàn·chéng gōng 10 nián.*

逍遙乎寢臥其下，不夭金斧...安所困苦哉？《莊子·逍遙遊》

Xiāoyáo hū qǐn wò qí xià, bù yāo jīn fǔ... ān suǒ
Roam around sleep lie-down its under, not die young metal axe... where Prt.
kùn kǔ zāi
difficult bitter prt.

'Roam around and fall asleep under it. It survived from early death by the axe. Where is the reason to be endangered and suffer?' *Zhuāngzǐ·xiāo yáo yóu.*

g. Recipient: [give與A以B]

宋百牢我 《左傳·哀公7》 (cf. Hamburger me!)

Sòng bǎi láo wǒ
Song (state) hundred (set of) sacrificial animals us
'Song (state) gave us a hundred sets of animals.' *Zuǒ zhuàn·āi gōng 7 nián.*

牛羊父母、倉廩父母...。《孟子·萬章上》

Niú yáng fù mǔ cāng lǐn fù mǔ (Mèngzǐ·wàn zhāng shàng)
Ox sheep father mother barn storehouse father mother
'Give the oxen and sheep to my parents, and the storehouses also to my parents.'

胙之土 而命之氏。《左傳·隱公8年》

Zuò zhī tǔ ér mìng zhī shì (Zuǒ zhuàn·yǐn gōng 8 nián)
Grant them land and designate them clan name
'(He) grants them territory and designates them clan name.'

h. Purposive: [為(for) NV]

召忽死之，管仲不死。《論語·憲問》

Shào hū sǐ zhī Guǎn zhòng bù sǐ
Shao Hu die him Guan Zhong not die
'Shao Hu died for him, but Guan Zhong did not.' *Lún yǔ·xiàn wèn.*

文嬴請三帥。《左傳·僖公33年》

Wén yíng qǐng sān shuài (zuǒ zhuàn·626 B.C.)
Wen Ying petition three commander
'Wen Ying petitioned for the three commanders.' *Zuǒ zhuàn·xī gōng 33 nián.*

丈夫死國，婦人死夫，義也。《元史·忠義》

Zhàngū sǐ guó, fùrén sǐ fū, yì yě (Yuán shǐ·zhōng yì)
Men die state, women die husband, righteous Prt.
'It is righteousness that men die for their state and women for their husbands.'

i. Resemble: [N(不)如/像N]perform/resemble

(i). A resembles B

君君臣臣父父子子《論語·顏淵》

Jūn jūn chén chén fù fù zǐ zǐ
Lord lord, subject subject, father father, son son
'Lords behave like lords, subjects behave like subjects, fathers behave like fathers, sons behave like sons.' *Lún yǔ·yányuān.*

觚不觚，觚哉觚哉《論語·雍也》

(Cornered) gū bù gū, gū zāi gū zāi (Lún yǔ·yōng yě)
(Cornered) beaker not beaker, beaker Prt beaker Prt.
'The cornered beaker does not look like a beaker. What a beaker! What a beaker!'

君子不器《論語·為政》

Jūnzǐ bù qì
Honorable men not utensil
'Gentlemen (learned men) do not behave like instruments.' *Lún yǔ·wéi zhèng.*

晉靈公不君《左傳·宣公二年》

Jìn líng bù gōng jūn
Jin Ling duke not lord
'Duke Ling of Jin state does not behave like a lord.' *Zuǒ zhuàn·xuān gōng 2 nián.*

(ii). A resembles B Adjective [如N有N]

山中人兮芳杜若《楚辭·九歌·山鬼》

Shān zhōng rén xī fāng dùruò (Chǔ cí·jiǔ gē·shān guǐ)
Mountain inside person Prt. fragrant flower (Duruo)
'The mountains lady is fragrant like the Duruo flower.'

諸君徒能得走獸耳，功狗也。《史記·蕭相國世家》

Zhū jūn tú néng dé zǒu shòu ěr, gōng gǒu yě
(Shǐ jì·xiāo xiāng guó shì jiā)
All you merely can get run beast only, achievement dog Prt.

'All of you could only capture the scampering beast, and so your achievement is that of (hunting) dogs'

j. Causative: [make使NV]

(i). A causes B to be(come) C

匠人斲而小之。《孟子·梁惠王下》

Jiàng rén zhuó ér xiǎo zhī (Mèngzǐ·liáng huì wáng xià)
Carpenter man strike and small it
'The carpenters cut and made it small.'

因其所大而大之...因其所小而小之。《莊子·秋水》

Yīn qí suǒ dà ér dà zhī, yīn qí suǒ xiǎo ér xiǎo zhī (Zhuāngzǐ·qiū shuǐ)
Based its prt. big and big it, by its Prt. small and small it
'To make it bigger based on where the size is big and make it smaller based on where the size is smaller.'

勞師以襲遠。《左傳·僖公32》

Láo shī yǐ xí yuǎn (Zuǒ zhuàn·xī gōng 32 nián)
Fatigue army thereby raid distant
'To toil an army (with a long march), and raid a distant place with it.'

齊襄公與魯君飲，醉之。《史記·齊太公世家》

Qí Xiāng Gōng yǔ lǔ jūn yǐn, zuì zhī (Shǐjì·jì tài gōng shì jiā)

Qi Xiang Duke with Lu ruler drink, drunk him

'Duke Xiang of Qi state drank with the ruler of Lu state and made him drunk.'

(ii). A causes B to be (come/with) C

公戟其手曰：“必斷而足！”《左傳·哀公25年》

Gōng jǐ qí shǒu yuē bì duàn ér zú (Zuǒ zhuàn·āi gōng 25 nián)

Duke halberd his hand say must cut you foot

'The duke bends his fingers like a halberd and said: "I will certainly cut your feet!"'

解衣衣我，推食食我。《史記·淮陰侯列傳》

Jiě yī yī wǒ tuī shí shí wǒ (Shǐ jì·huái yīn hóu liè zhuàn)

Remove clothes clothe me push food feed me

'(He) took off his garments to clothe me, and gave up his food to feed me.'

生死而肉骨也。《左傳·襄公22》

Shēng sǐ ér ròu gǔ yě (Zuǒ zhuàn·xiāng gōng 22 nián)

Life death and meat bone Prt.

'(He) let the dead have life, and the bare bones have flesh.'

夫人之，我可不夫人之乎？《谷梁傳·僖公8年》

Fū rén zhī, wǒ kě bù fū rén zhī hū (Gǔ liáng zhuàn·xī gōng 8 nián)

Wife her, I can not wife her Prt.

'(When the text) calls her 'the wife,' can I avoid calling her 'the wife?'

k. Treatment: [take以A to be為B]

時充國年七十餘，上老之。《漢書·趙充國傳》

Shí Chōngguó nián qīshí yú, shàng lǎo zhī (Hàn shū·zhào chōng guó zhuàn)

Time Chongguo age seventy over, emperor old him

'At that time, Chongguo was seventy odd years of age, and the emperor treated him as an elderly.'

鼎鑄玉石，金塊珠礫。《杜牧《阿房宮賦》

Dǐng chéng yù shí jīn kuài zhū lì (Dù mù, Āfáng gōng fù)

Cauldron shallow pan jade stone gold lump of earth pearl gravel

'(They) treat a cauldron as a pan, jade as stone, gold as a lump of earth, and pearl as gravel.'

孟嘗君客我。《戰國策·齊策四》

Mèngcháng jūn kè wǒ

Mengchang lord guest me

'Lord Mengchang treated me as a guest (respect me).' (Zhàn guó cè jì cè 4)

甘其食，美其服，安其居，樂其俗。《老子·道德經》

Gān qí shí měi qí fú ān qí jū lè qí

Sweet such food pretty such clothes comfortable such dwelling delightful such

custom

'(They) consider such food delicious, such clothes beautiful, such dwelling comfortable, and such custom delightful.' *Lǎozi Dàodéjīng*.

l. Being: [為 (be) A's之B]

故事半古之人，功必倍之。《孟子·公孫醜上》

Gù shì bàn gǔ zhī rén, gōng bì bèi zhī.

Therefore work half ancient 's people achievement necessarily double it
'Therefore, his work is half the work of people of ancient times, but his achievement is twice as much as that of people of ancient times.' *Mèngzǐ-gōng sūn chǒu shàng*.

大夫倍上士，上士倍中士，中士倍下士。《孟子·萬章下》

Dàfū bèi shàng shì, shàng shì bèi zhōng shì, zhōng shì

Great-officer double high-officer, high officer double middle officer, middle officer

bèi xià shì

double low officer

'Great officers' (income) is twice as much as high ranking officers', high rank officers'

(income) is twice as much as middle ranking officers', middle ranking officers'

(income) is twice as much as low ranking officers.' *Mèng zǐ-wàn zhāng xià*

武安由此滋驕，治宅甲諸第。《史記·魏其武安侯列傳》

Wǔ ān yóu cǐ zī jiāo, zhì zhái jiǎ zhū dì

Wu An from this more arrogant, govern residence first all mansion.

'From then on (marquis) became even more arrogant, and built his residence to be the best of all mansions.' *Shǐjì-wèi qí wǔ ān hóu liè zhuàn*.

布常冠軍。《漢書·黥布傳》

Bù cháng guān(guàn) jūn

Bu often hat (first place) army

'Bu often was a chief commander of army.' *Hàn shū-qíng bù zhuàn*.

惠子相梁，莊子往見之。《莊子·秋水》

Huìzǐ Xiāng Liáng, Zhuāngzǐ wǎng jiàn zhī (Zhuāng zǐ·qiū shuǐ)

Huizǐ minister Liang state Zhuangzi go see him

'Master Hui became a minister of Liang state, so master Zhuang went there to see him.'

古之王者建國君民，教學為先。《禮記·學記》

Gǔ zhī wáng zhě jiàn guó jūn mǐn, jiāo xué wéi xiān

(lǐ jì·xué jì)

Ancient 's king Prt. establish state lord subjects, teach learn be priority

'Those who were kings of the old times, in establishing a state and playing a ruler of their subjects, made teaching and learning their priority.'

m. Instrument: [do A by B]

鴛鴦于飛，畢之羅之。《詩經·小雅·鴛鴦》

Yuān yāng yú fēi, bì zhī luó zhī (Shījīng·Xiǎoyǎ·Yuānyāng)

Aix galiericulata prt. fly, net it and basket it.

'When the Aix galiericulata about to fly, (one may like) to net them and to basket them.'

All the examples given above can be reformulated with following patterns:

- (9) (a) Place: [at Place Vi/t] → [Vi/t Place]
 (b) Source: [from Source V] → [V Source]
 (c) Target: [face/toward Direction V] → [to V Direction]
 (d) Comitative: [to be with someone V] → [to V someone]
 (e) Reason: [because N V] → [to V N]

- (f) Recipient: [to give A to B] → [to B the A]
 (g) Benefactive: [for (reason of) NV] → [to V the N]
 (h) Resemble: i. [to (not) act like A] → [(not) to A]
 ii. [to resemble A being B] → [to B the A]
 [to resemble A having B] → [to B the A]
 (i) Causative: [to make N Adj.] → [to Adj. the N]
 i. [to cause A to be (come) B] → [to B the A]
 ii. [to cause A to be with B] → [to B the A]
 iii. [to cause A to like/have B] → [to B the A]
 (j) Treatment: [to treat A using the way of treating B] → [to B the A]
 (k) Being: [to be A's B] → [to B the A]
 (l) Instrument: [to do A by B] → [to B A] (畢之羅之)

Needless to say, widespread light-verb phenomena existed in Archaic Chinese, which indicates that the light-verb structures were freely construed at that time (i.e., around 400 b.c.). Comparing Archaic Chinese with English, we see that there are many parallel light-verb expressions between the two languages as well. The following examples show the similarity of the two languages, and also a typological difference between Modern Chinese and Classical Chinese. For example:

(10) English	Archaic Chinese	Modern Chinese
a. Parents		
He fathered the Children	fù wǒ 父我 ¹	*baba wo 'father me'
	father me 'respect me'	
She mothers him.	mǔ tiānxià 母天下 ²	*mama tamen 'mother them'
	mother world 'be world's mother'	
b. Animals		
Dog them/him	chú.gǒu wànwù 芻狗萬物	*gou laobaixing 'dog people'
	straw.dog world 'to treat the world like straw-dog'	
He fished yesterday.	shǐ yú 始漁 ³	*qu yu 'go fish'
	start fish 'to start to fish'	
c. Body		
Don't eye me	mu' zhī 目之 ⁴	*yanjing ta 'eye him'
	eye her 'to eye her'	
Don't knee him	xī xí 膝席 ⁵	*xigai chuang 'knee on the bed'
	knee rag 'knee on the rug'	
Don't elbow him	zhǒu zhī 肘之 ⁶	*gebo.zhou ta 'elbow him'
	elbow him 'to elbow him'	
Hand me the paper	shǒu jiàn 手劍 ⁷	*shou baojian 'hold the sword'
	hand sword 'to hold the sword.'	

¹ 《汉书·萧望之传》：“侯年宁能父我耶！”

² 《汉书·刘辅传》“欲以（卑贱之女）母天下。”

³ 《礼记·月令》“是月也，命渔师始渔。”

⁴ 《史记·卫康叔世家》“蒯瞶数目之，夫人觉之，惧，呼曰：太子欲杀我！”

⁵ 《史记·魏其武安侯列传》：“故人避席耳，余半膝席。”

⁶ 《左传·成公二年》“从左右，皆肘之。”

Shouldered a basket	Jiān huò 肩貨 ⁸	*jian.bang dongxi 'to shoulder shoulder goods 'to carry goods on the shoulder'
Butt someone (頂)	Wú zhōng Chū 吳踵楚 ⁹	*Riben jiaogen Meiguo 'Japan Wu heel Chu 'Wu follows Chu' follows America.'
Horn in	bǐ tóng (ér) jiǎo 彼童 而角 ¹⁰	*jijiao ta 'to gore him' that enfant (and) horn that (was a) boy and knotted his hair'

d. Instruments

How dare you caned him!	zhàng zhī 杖之 ¹¹	*gunzi ta 'cane him'
	cane him 'to beat him'	
Knife his chest	zì rèn 自刃 ¹²	*dao.ren ziji 'to suicide with self blade blade (Knife)'
	'suicide with a knife'	

e. Cooking

He breads the children.	Fàn Xìn 飯信 ¹³	*mifan Zhangsan 'to feed Z'
	Food Xin 'to feed Mr. Xin'	
They are spooning.	shǎo jiāo jiāng 勺椒漿 ¹⁴	*shaozi niunai 'to spoon milk' spoon spice milk 'to ladle out spice milk'
She waters flowers.	huǒ zhī, shuǐ zhī 火之, 水之 ¹⁵	*shui ta 'to water it'
	fire it, water it	
	'to burn it (and) to water it'	

f. Clothing

I clothe myself	yī zhī Máng fú 衣之 龙服 ¹⁶	*yifu ta 'to cloth him'
	clothe it Mang dress 'to dress him with Mang clothing'	
Mommy trousers me.	lǚ zhī 履之 ¹⁷	*xie ta 'to shoe him'
	shoe him 'to wear shoes for him'	

As seen above, there are identical structures between English and Chinese in terms of light-verb operations. On the other hand, the same (or similar) expressions are NOT allowed in Modern Chinese, indicating that the light-verb syntax must operate

⁷ 《公羊傳·莊十三年》“曹子手劍而從之”。《司馬相如·上林賦》“手熊羆”。註：“言手擊之”。

⁸ 《尚書·說命》“不肩好貨”、“行，肩而不并”。

⁹ 《左傳·昭公24年》“吳踵楚，而疆場無備，邑能無亡乎？”《孟子·滕文公上》“自楚之藤，踵門而告文公。”

¹⁰ 《詩·大雅·蕩》“彼童而角。”《左傳·襄公14年》“譬如捕鹿，晉人角之，諸戎掎之。”

¹¹ 《子思子》“怒而杖之。”

¹² 《左傳·襄公25年》“請自刃于廟，勿許。”

¹³ 《史記·淮陰侯列傳》“有一母見信飢，飯信。”

¹⁴ 《漢書·禮樂志》“勺椒漿。”

¹⁵ 《考工記》“刊陽木而火之，剝陰木而水之。”《考工記》“水之以其平沈之均也。”《左傳·昭公30年》“防山以水之。”

¹⁶ 《左傳·僖公·元年》“衣之龍服，遠其躬也。”《禮記·緇衣》“君子問人之寒，則衣之”

¹⁷ 《史記·留侯世家》“遂長跪履之”

differently between English and Archaic Chinese on the one hand, and Modern Chinese on the other hand.

Although Archaic Chinese and English exhibit similarities in light-verb syntax as seen above, the light-verb structures involving instruments, locatives (path, destination), and temporal in English, as indicated by A. Li (2012), are different from those involving benefactive, recipients, and comitatives because the former is acceptable, while the latter may cause ungrammatical results in compound formations. For example:

- (11) Instruments: Axe-murderer
 Temporals: Sunday driver/ring
 Locatives: sky-walker/ing
 Comitatives: *friend-goer/ing (someone who goes a place with friends)
 Benefactives: *Baby-worker/ing (someone who does work for the baby)

How can we account for the grammatical contrasts between English and Archaic Chinese? There have been proposals (A. Li 2012) explaining the differences in English and Modern Chinese. A. Li (2012) claims that in a synthetic language, the lexical items specify whether they are transitive (requiring a canonical object) or intransitive (not requiring a canonical object), or requiring lexical specification of the argument structures of verbs (verb vs. V-ing/er), while in analytic languages, on the other hand, the lexical items do NOT specify whether they are transitive (requiring a canonical object) or intransitive (not requiring a canonical object). Thus, there are different structures that are allowed by different languages (English is less analytic than Modern Chinese so the light-verb structures are more restricted than Modern Chinese).¹⁸

Although this hypothesis is insightful, we still face the question of whether Archaic Chinese is typologically more similar to English or Modern Chinese. Given that Archaic Chinese systematically permits light-verb operations, which is obviously different from the syntactic type of Modern Chinese but closer to the type of English, in the sense that more light-verb structures were permitted with richer morphological markers in that language (Classical Chinese had more affixes than medieval and Modern Chinese).¹⁹ What is the difference between Classical Chinese and Modern Chinese, on the one hand, and Classical Chinese and English, on the other? The following section will deal with these questions.

¹⁸ A. Li (2012) also observed that No-Case marking languages allow non-canonical objects, where Overt-Case-marking languages do not allow for such objects. Thus, case marking is another possible reason for non-canonical object (i.e., light verb) structures occurring in different languages. How to account for the difference between Classical Chinese (that permits free light-verb construction, i.e., all the non-canonical objects in Modern Chinese are indeed 'canonical' in Archaic Chinese) and Modern Chinese (that permits only non-canonical object construction through idiomatization or conventionalization) needs to be explored in future studies.

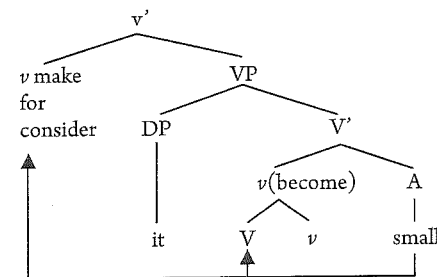
¹⁹ For example, an *s-caustive prefix may exist in Archaic Chinese (see Yakhontov 1960; Mei 2012):

敗 OC *brads > MC bwai 'lose' / pwai 'defeat', i.e., *s-brads > s-prads > prads > (MC) pwai
 折 OC *djat > MC zjat 'broken' / tsjat 'to break', i.e., *s-djat > s-tjat > tjat > (MC) tsjat
 現 OC *gains > MC gien 'appear' / kien 'to see', i.e., *s-giens > s-kiens > kiens > (MC) kien

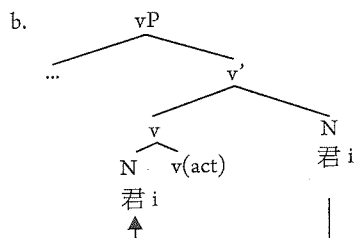
4. A Tentative Explanation

Under a formal analysis (Feng 2005), examples of Classical Chinese seen in (8) and (9) are analyzed in terms of light-verb syntax. More specifically, the causative, putative, purposive, and denomination structures as seen in (4) are analyzed with the following tree diagrams.

(12) a.



b.

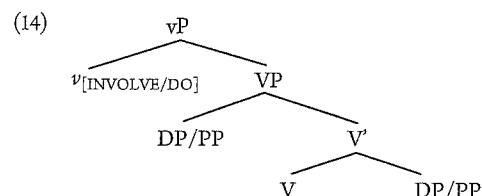


These structures will generate what has traditionally been called CAUSATIVE (to make something physically into (be/become/be with) something else), PUTATIVE (to make something psychologically into (be/become/be with) something else), PURPOSIVE (to do something for someone/something), and DENOMINATIVE ('to perform an action as ...,' or 'to act as ...') constructions in Classical Chinese. Examples given in (9) also show that more complex thematic relations may be involved in the V' events. That is, the extra-arguments selected by the light verbs have more complex theta-relations with the V' event. Let us first look at English:

- (13) (a) Recipient NP: [... get *the teacher*] [a present]
 (b) Experiencer NP: [... persuade *me*] [to take syntax]
 (c) Participant NP: [... read *me*][a book], [... pass *me*][salt], [... buy *me*][a book]
 (d) Participant PP: [He agrees [*with me*] [that the paper turns red]]
 [I learned [*from him*] [that study has no fine]]
 [He suggested [*to him*] [that he does safe syntax]]
 [He may lie [*to you*]]
 [He protested [*to the prime minister*]]

The extra-arguments located under SPEC of VP have different thematic relations with their predicate V': it can be an experiencer, a recipient, or a participant, and sometimes called an outer object or 'non-canonical' object in Modern Chinese (Huang 2009; Li, 2012). When compared with the extra-arguments in Classical Chinese, we see that thematic relations between the NPs under SPEC are more complex than those in English, as seen in (9).

Comparing the thematic relations between elements under the SPEC of VP and the V' in both English and Classical Chinese, I would like to suggest that the structures in Classical Chinese may involve a more abstract light verb, say, INVOLVE or DO, that selects a DP/PP (as involver) and a VP (for the event that the involver is involved in),²⁰ that is:



The tree diagram in (14) illustrates a thematic structure of the DP/PP in SPEC of VP with the event V'; and the whole thematic structure can be interpreted as follows: (there) INVOLVE (light-v) a participant (NP in Spec of VP) in an event/action (V-bar).

Evidence supporting this hypothesis comes from the fact that in Classical Chinese, the thematic relation of the NP in SPEC of VP may or may not be introduced by a phonetically realized light verb (or P, in traditional terms). In other words, there was no overt functor that assigned theta role to the NP in SPEC of VP in Archaic Chinese, and there was no corresponding P in later developments of the language to be used to specify the thematic relation between the participant NP and the V' action in medieval Chinese either. Let's look at the following examples first.

- (15) a. 鄭公逃其師而歸。《左傳·僖公5年》
Zhèng Gōng [táo qí shī] ér guī (Zuǒzhuàn-xī gōng 5 niǎn)
Zheng Duke [run his army] and back.
'Duke Zheng runs away from his army and went back to his home.'
- b. 使人召犀首, 已逃諸侯矣。《韓非子·外儲說右上》
Shǐ rén zhào Xīshǒu, yǐ [táo Zhūhóu] yì.
Send people call Xishou, already [run FeudalLords] prt.
'When sending people to get Xishou, he has run to the Feudal Lord already.'
Hánfēizǐ-wài chū shuō yòu shàng.

²⁰ The abstract INVOLVE could simply be represented just by the DO. Thanks go to Jim Huang for this suggestion.

- c. 且君而逃臣, 若社稷何? 《左傳·宣公12年》
qiě jūn ér [táo chén], ruò shèjì hé?
and lord but [run subject], to country what?
'Being a lord, if you run away (from our army) when there is a subject of the enemy, how can we report it to our ancestors?' Zuǒzhuàn-xuān gōng 12 nián.

The light verbs *c*-commanding the verb *táo* 'run away' can be specified with a thematic feature of 'from' in (15a) and 'to' in (15b). However, the thematic feature in (15c), that is, the thematic relation between the event *táo* 'run away' and the involver *chén* 臣 'subject,' cannot easily be specified by any existent (or later developed) prepositions as 'from,' 'to,' or even 'because.' Because the discourse sentence does not mean that the lord runs away because there is a subject. Instead, the sentence contrasts the lord with the subject, on the one hand, and on the other hand, it emphasizes the action 'run away' that took place just in front of the 'subject.' In other words, there is no one-to-one correspondence between a light-verb structure (in Archaic Chinese) and a PP-structure (in later development).²¹ Without having a later developed (correspondent) preposition (from the covert light verb) as a theta-role assignment indicator, what would be the thematic relation between the action *táo* 逃 and the entity *chén* 臣 in (15c)? A more plausible answer, I would like to suggest, is to propose that an abstract relation INVOLVE is functioning here. That is, the subject *chén* is simultaneously involved in *táo* when the action took place. The specific relation between the involvee and the action is not what the structure is about.

Another support of this analysis comes from the fact that light-verb expressions like *miǎn wú sǐ* 免吾死 'relieve/cancel him death > free him from death penalty/cancel his death penalty' (16a) cannot be structured in Modern Chinese with a ditransitive verb structure (16c); instead, it can only be paraphrased with a pseudo-possessive form, as in (16b).

- (16) a. 賜我玉而免吾死也, 敢不稽首以拜? 《左·昭·十七年》
Cì wǒ yù ér miǎn wú sǐ, gǎn bú jī-shǒu yǐ bài (Zuǒzhuàn-zhāo gōng 17 nián)
Give me jade and relieve me die, dare not head-down and make a courtesy call.
'(you have) given me the jade and freed me from death (or canceled my death penalty), how dare I do not down my head and make a courtesy call?'
- b. 免他的死
Miǎn tā de sǐ
Relieve he 's die
'To cancel his death penalty' or 'to free him from a death penalty'
- c. *对他免死
*Duì tā miǎn sǐ
To him relieve death
'To free him from death penalty'

The example in (16a) shows that the historical transformation from a light-verb structure to a [PP+VO] structure, as seen in (8), did not take place on the verb *mian* 'to relieve/cancel,' indicating that not all of the semantic relations denoted by light-verb

²¹ See Li A (2012) for a similar argument for Modern Chinese).

structures in Archaic Chinese are grammaticalized into [PP+VO] structures later on. It follows that although the thematic relation licensed by the abstract light verb INVOLVE were not grammaticalized totally during the typological change from syntheticty to analyticity, the new [PP+VO] structures during and after the Han Dynasty resulted from the grammaticalization of covert light verbs becoming overt ones (either a lexical verb, a functional light verb, or a co-verb).

Given the above analysis, expressions in Archaic Chinese such as *e sui* 惡睢 ‘to evil Sui’ will be analyzed as “performed an action of *zuo e* 作惡 ‘make evil thing’ where *sui* 睢 is involved in that action.”²² What is the specific way that Sui is involved in that action? World knowledge will tell, for example, either as ‘saying bad things to Mr. Sui’ or as ‘did bad things to Mr. Sui’, and so on. It is not the responsibility of the light-verb syntax to give specifications as to how Mr. Sui is involved in the ‘bad things’; rather, it is the world-knowledge that interprets the relations specifically in different situations (or contexts) where the action took place.

The INVOLVE can therefore be understood as a covert generic light verb, exactly on par with the generic light noun that functions to hold a syntactic position (for the light noun in Classical Chinese, see Huang 2009; Feng 2012). The generic light verb gives a broadest thematic relation to the NP under SPEC with the V’ under the VP, and it acts just like the generic classifier *ge* that could replace different and specific classifiers in Modern Chinese. Thus, we have three types of parallelisms of light functors in the language: (1) light verb parallels light noun; (2) generic light nouns parallels generic light verb; (3) the grammaticalization of generic light nouns > specific light nouns parallels to that of generic light verbs > specific light verbs around the time of the Han Dynasty.

Given the above analysis, it becomes plausible that the abstract INVOLVE/DO is expected to have a counterpart when it became a phonologically realized one in medieval and Modern Chinese. In other words, if there is a phonetically covert generic light verb in Archaic Chinese, when the covert light verbs were grammaticalized into overt ones, there would also be a phonetically realized generic light verb later on, functioning as the counterpart of the covert one in Archaic Chinese. As seen in the following examples, this prediction is borne out.

The Modern Chinese light verb *gǎo* is an overt light verb, and it can be perfectly analyzed as an INVOLVE type light verb in Modern Chinese. Although *gǎo* is often translated as ‘DO,’ it has different connotations and interpretations when it occurs with different types of (non-canonical) objects in Modern Chinese, for example:

- (17) *gǎo* 搞 = DO (cleaning/manufacture/work/activity 搞衛生/生產/工作/活動, etc.)
gǎo 搞 = GET (water/material 搞點水/材料, etc.)
gǎo 搞 = SET (firmly 搞定, etc.)
gǎo 搞 = PLAY (ghost/tricks 搞鬼, etc.)
gǎo 搞 = MAKE (joke/搞笑, etc.)
gǎo 搞 = CARRY OUT (business 搞商業, etc.)

- gǎo* 搞 = FIND/DATE (lover/fiancee 搞對象, etc.)
gǎo 搞 = ESTABLISH (relationship 搞關係, etc.)
gǎo 搞 = PUNISH (people 幾個人合起來搞他, etc.)

Regarding the different usages of *gǎo* in (17), one may say that there are nine (or more) different *gaos* in Modern Chinese. However, a simple and unified solution would be to consider *gǎo* as a generic light verb used for different thematic relations between the action and the entity involved in that action. Note that if light-verb typologies differ in terms of phonologically realized (overt) in Modern Chinese accord with its analytic properties, and phonetically unrealized (covert) in Archaic Chinese accord with its synthetic properties (Feng 2005, 2009; Huang 2009), then it is expected that there should be two types of generic light verbs given the hypothesis presented here, that is, one is overt (phonetically realized) in Modern Chinese and the other is covert (phonetically unrealized) in Archaic Chinese. Obviously, what is predicted by the theory is what we see in reality.

5. Theoretical Implications

The proposed generic light verb in this study has a number of theoretical implications. First, it is well known that there are ambiguous interpretations of a light-verb expression, for example:

- (18) a. *Qín mín* 勤民 (*Zuo Zhuan*)
 Work people
 (i) ‘To make people to work’ (‘秦違蹇叔，而已貪勤民’《左傳·僖33》)
 (ii) ‘To work for people’ (‘令尹其不動民，實自敗也’《左傳·僖28》)
- b. *Wàng wǒ* 王我
 King me
 (i) ‘To consider me to be the king’ (‘縱江東父老憐而王我，何面目見之’《史記》)
 (ii) ‘To make me to be the king’ (‘爾欲吳王我乎?’《左傳》)
 (iii) ‘To be a king of mine’ (cf. 王天下)
- c. *Qī zhī* 妻之
 Wife her/him
 (i) ‘To take her as a wife’
 (ii) ‘To find a wife for him’

Theoretically, generic light verbs with an abstract content, regardless of whether it is phonetically realized or not, will inevitably be interpreted ambiguously as having different thematic relations between the entity and the action (under the V’) in which the entity is involved, causing the light-verb construction to have different semantic effects. This is borne out by evidence from Archaic Chinese, as seen in (18).

The different semantic interpretations are also expected in contexts where the relations between the action (event) and the participant (involver) are established

²² 《史记·范雎列传》：“公前以睢为有外心於齐而恶睢於魏齐，公之罪一也。”

under different social-cultural conditions. In other words, the culture-dependent relation between the involver (the NP) and the event (V') can be established by world knowledge synchronically, diachronically, or even cross-linguistically. Thus:

- (19) *fù zhī* 父之 'father him' in Classical Chinese: to respect him (like respecting a father)
father him in English: to give birth to him [like what fathers do]

Of course, when one reads *lǎo wó lǎo* 老吾老 'to old my old > to respect my old man,' one cannot understand what it exactly means until one knows what the word 'old' means linguistically, culturally, as well as ethically in the society where the sentence is formed. Given the INVOLVE/DO light-verb hypothesis, this type of cultural-semantics is expected because the INVOLVE/DO light verbs are so generic and abstract that any form of possible relations between the event and the involver would be allowable by the generic light verb proposed here. In other words, syntax provides a structure, INVOLVE/DO (covert or overt) licenses possible thematic relations between an entity (the involver) and an action (denoted by the V'), and finally, it is the world-knowledge (about nature, society, culture, etc.) that interprets what a specific relation will be in the real world at that time and place.²³

A further expectation under this analysis is that the semantic effects can be different between overt and covert light verbs. For example, 'to make the gravy thin' and 'to thin the gravy' could have two (even if slightly) different meanings: the former may be used to express a procedure (when teaching someone how to cook), while the latter can be used to express what one wants.²⁴ The different expressive effect can be seen again in the following examples:

- (20) a. He taught me English. = The process of teaching may be completed.
 b. He taught English to me. = It is in the process of teaching.

Given the light-verb syntax discussed in this chapter, the different semantic interpretations would be a natural consequence of a covert light-verb operation that triggers verb-movement and an overt light-verb operation in which no verb-movement is motivated. Thus, in Chinese, as Feng (2000) argued, *shuì xiǎo chuáng* 'sleep (on) a small bed' the light-verb construction is not equivalent to the counterpart of *zài xiǎo chuáng shàng shuì* 'on a small bed sleep.' Different structures may motivate different interpretations semantically (see also A. Li 2012 for a similar argument).

Regarding the different semantic interpretations between overt and covert light-verb syntax discussed here, some of the questions raised by Culicover and Jackendoff (2005: 55) may be reconsidered under the current theory, for example: Which particular nouns can become verbs? Given a particular noun, which of many

²³ This is similar to the meaning difference between active and passive sentences that share the same underlying structure.

²⁴ We aware of the fact that the two sentences in (20) may not have two different interpretations for some native speakers. However, when speakers do interpret them differently, the two readings never crossed each other, indicating that the two structures are semantically distinct from each other.

possible derivations into a denominal verb is possible? And finally, given a particle structural realization of a denominal verb, how does the syntactic derivation encode all of the idiosyncratic information that can be expressed in a lexical entry, but that does not follow systematically from syntactic alternation? Obviously, these questions involve some important issues, as discussed in this chapter. As seen earlier, all nouns in Classical Chinese are syntactically permissible to become a verb (with speaker's motivation, of course),²⁵ and therefore there is no such question as to which noun can become a verb in Archaic Chinese. On the other hand, covert light-verb operations in Modern Chinese are created by idiomatization, which means that no noun is freely permissible to become a verb unless it is conventionalized (and idiomatized) in specific situations, a factor that activates the light-verb operation in L-syntax of Modern Chinese. As for English, it is possible that English is typologically neither so synthetic (as Archaic Chinese) nor so analytic (as Modern Chinese); as a result, the operation of covert light verb is neither so free (as it was in Archaic Chinese) nor so rigid (as it is in Modern Chinese), which may be on par with the different degrees of richness of INFL corresponding to different types of pro-drop effects among languages.

The current comparative study between classical and Modern Chinese, and between Chinese and English, however, shows how the analysis of light verb syntax in Classical Chinese can inform an understanding of syntactic phenomena in English and Modern Chinese, and how insights that are possibly gained in the study of classical languages can in turn shed interesting new light on patterns in modern languages like Mandarin Chinese and English. Although more research needs to be done in this area, the present study raises interesting and important questions for future studies, and the results of this research may provide some fresh perspectives not only on Chinese but also on other, genetically unrelated languages.

Acknowledgments

This chapter was presented at the TEAL-8 Conference and I would like to thank Jim Huang, Dylan Tsai, Niina Zhang, Li Shen, and Mamoru Saito for comments and suggestions that improved this work.

References

- Bisang, Walter. 2008. Precategoriality and syntax-based parts of speech: The case of Late Archaic Chinese. *Studies in Language* 32(3), 568–589.
 Chen, Puqing. 1999. *Wenyan Jinyi Xue* 《文言今譯學》 [Study on Translation of Literary Chinese]. Yuelu Press.
 Culicover, Peter, and Ray Jackendoff. 2005. *Simpler Syntax*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

²⁵ For example, *huo* 'fire' were not used as a verb with a non-canonical object like a 'book' in Archaic Chinese (see [10d]); however, when the chance (or need) is there, it can be used as verb such as *huo qi shu* 火其書 'fire their book > to burn their books' written by Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824) of the Tang Dynasty.

- Clark, Even V., and Herbert H. Clark. 1979. When nouns surface as verbs. *Language* 55, 767–811.
- Chao, Yuen-Ren. 1976. Chinese national language movement. In *Aspects of Chinese Sociolinguistics*, ed. Y. R. Chao, 97–105. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Feng, Shengli. 2000. 寫毛筆”與韻律促發的動詞併入 [Xie maobi and prosodically motivated verb-incorporation]. *Language Teaching and Linguistic Studies* 《語言教學與研究》1, 25–31.
- Feng, Shengli. 2003. *Light Verb Syntax in Classical Chinese*. Paper presented at the Conference on Research and Pedagogy in Classical Chinese and Chinese language History. March 28–30, 2003. Columbia University, New York.
- Feng, Shengli. 2005. “輕動詞移位與古今漢語的動賓關係 [Light-verb movement in Modern and Classical Chinese].” *Linguistic Science* 《語言科學》1, 3–16.
- Feng, Shengli. 2012. The syntax and prosody of classifier in Classical Chinese. In *Plurality and Classifiers across Languages of China*, ed. Xu Dan, 67–99. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Hale, Ken, and Samuel Jay Keyser. 1993. On argument structure and the lexical expression of syntactic relations. In *The View from Building 20: Essays in Linguistics in Honor of Sylvain Bromberger*, ed. Kenneth Hele and Samuel Jay Keyser, 53–109. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Hale, Ken, and Samuel Jay Keyser. 2002. *Prolegomenon to a Theory of Argument Structure*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Harley, H. 2003. Possession and the double object construction. In *Linguistic Variation Yearbook* 2, ed. P. Pica and J. Roroyck, 31–70. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Huang, C.-T. James. 1997. Lexical structure and syntactic projection. *Journal of Chinese Languages and Linguistics* 3, 45–89.
- Huang, C.-T. James. 2009. Lexical decomposition, silent categories, and the localizer phrase. *Yuyanxue Luncong: Essays on Linguistics* 39, 86–122.
- Larson, Richard. 1988. On the double object construction. *Linguistic Inquiry* 19, 335–391.
- Li, Audrey. 2012. *A Comparative Study of Argument Structure and Lexicon*. Talk at the Chinese University of Hong Kong. May 2012.
- Lin, Tzong-Hong. 2001. *Light Verb Syntax and the Theory of Phrase Structure*. Doctoral dissertation, University of California, Irvine.
- Mei, Kuang. 2003. Yingjie yi-ge kaozheng-xue he yuyan-xue jiehe de Hanyu yufa-shiyanjie xinjiumian [Anticipating a new horizon of the historical syntax of Chinese incorporating philology and linguistics]. In *Historical Development of Chinese Language*, ed. Dah-an Ho, 23–47. Papers from the Third International Conference on Sinology, Linguistics Section. Taipei: Institute of Linguistics, Academia Sinica.
- Mei, Tsu-lin. 2012. The causative *-s and nominalizing *-s in Old Chinese and related matters in Proto-Sino-Tibetan. *Language and Linguistics* 13(1), 1–28.
- Shi, Bing. 2007. 上古漢語雙及物動詞結構研究 [Studies on the structure of ditransitive verbs in Archaic Chinese]. Hefei: Anhui University Press.
- Tsai, W.-T. Dylan. 2007. *Four Types of Affective Constructions in Chinese*. FOSS-5, National Kaohsiung Normal University, Taiwan, April 2007.
- Tsai, W.-T. Dylan. 2009. *High Applicatives Are Not High Applicatives: A Cartographic Solution*. FOSS-6. National Taiwan Normal University.
- Tsai, W.-T. Dylan. 2012. *A Generative Approach to the Origin of Applicative Structure in Chinese*. Ms., National Chinghua University, Taiwan.
- Wang, Siyuan. 1988. “古語文釋例 [Case Studies on Classical Literary Chinese.] Shanghai: Shanghai Classics Press.
- Yakhontov, S. E. 1960. *Consonantal Combinations in Archaic Chinese*. Paper presented by the USSR Delegation at the 25th Congress of Orientalists, Moscow. *25th International Congress of Orientalists*, Vol. 5, 89–95. Moscow: Oriental Literature Publishing House.

10

Selection and Incorporation in Complex Predicate Formation

MAMORU SAITO

1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the roles of selection and incorporation in complex predicate formation.¹ I consider lexical complex predicates in Japanese, the resultative serial verb construction in Edo, and compound verbs in Chinese, exemplified in (1)–(3), respectively.

- (1) Hanako-ga Taroo-o osi-taosi-ta
Hanako-NOM Taroo-ACC push-make.fall-Past
'Hanako pushed Taroo and made him fall.'
- (2) Òzò suá Úyì dé
Ozo push Uyi fall
'Ozo pushed Uyi, which made him fall.'
- (3) Ta he-zui (jiu) le
he drink-drunken wine Asp.
'He drank (wine) and became drunk.'

(2) instantiates a serial verb construction with two independent verbs. But I assume, following the analysis proposed in Saito (2001), that the second verb covertly incorporates into the first and forms a complex predicate.

The three constructions are subject to different constraints. Thus, a Japanese lexical complex predicate cannot be formed with the two verbs in (2) or (3), as shown in (4).

¹ This is a revised version of part of the material presented in a colloquium at Harvard University in 2003 and in a syntax seminar at the University of Connecticut in 2005. I would like to thank Jim Huang, Jonathan Bobaljik, and Diane Lillo-Martin, among others, for helpful comments. I benefitted from discussions with many people at various occasions. Special thanks are due to Mark Baker and Jim Huang for their extensive help with the analysis as well as the data. Shengli Feng, Seng-hian Lau, and Dylan Tsai also kindly provided me with relevant data from Classical Chinese and Chinese dialects. I regret that I was unable to discuss them in this version of the paper.