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THE COVERBS IN CLASSICAL CHINESE

DISSERATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By
Sue-mei Wu, B.A., M.A.

* * * * *

The Ohio State University
1997

Dissertation Committee:
Professor Frank F. S. Hsueh, Advisor
Professor Yan-shuan Lao, Advisor
Professor Marjorie K. M. Chan

Approved by
Co-Advisor
Co-Advisor
Department of East Asian
Languages and Literatures
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1997
ABSTRACT

This study is a synchronic investigation of the coverbs in Classical Chinese. The coverbs examined include the locative coverbs $yu$ 千, $yu$ 於, $hu$ 乎; the instrumental coverb $yi$ 以; the benefactive coverb $wei$ 爲; the ablative coverbs $zi$ 自, $you$ 由, $cong$ 從; and the comitative coverb $yu$ 與.

The theoretical approach of this study is based upon the belief that in order to gain a better understanding of Classical Chinese syntax we must approach it as an internally-consistent system that may be deduced through logical analysis. The starting point for such analysis should naturally be focused upon what we already know about Classical Chinese. Thus this study chooses the special characteristics of Classical Chinese texts as its point of departure for grammatical analysis. In the beginning section, a list and elaboration of these special characteristics is followed by examples of their application to the analysis of Classical Chinese sentences. From these examples we can see the importance of fully recognizing and appreciating the special characteristics of Classical Chinese when we read the ancient texts and analyze their syntactic structure.

Recognizing that the coverbs all originated as verbs, this study begins the discussion of each coverb by defining its fundamental properties as a full verb. Understanding its nature as a verb enables us to better understand the semantic denotation and syntactic structure of its coverb usage.

In discussing the word order of the coverbal phrases, contrary to common opinion, this study argues that the change of word order of a coverb phrase often results in a
different semantic focus and syntactic implication. It provides evidence that in some cases in which a coverb phrase occurs after another verb phrase, the semantic emphasis is deliberately put on the coverb phrase which then serves as the nucleus of the predicate in a sentence. This is completely in accordance with the general word order principle and the lexical flexibility exhibited by Classical Chinese.

Some other issues surrounding coverbs are also addressed, including the verb complement construction, the lack of a syntactic construction for passivity in Classical Chinese, and the fact that the coverbs have often been mistaken as conjunctions because observers have overlooked the implications of special characteristics of Classical Chinese such as subject omission and the topic-comment structure of Chinese sentences.

A Classical Chinese pedagogy proposal is included which advocates a grammar-focused instruction that teaches students to recognize the special characteristics of Classical Chinese texts and the grammatical structure of Classical Chinese sentences. This approach gives students the tools they need to become lifelong learners of Classical Chinese.

Finally, the study concludes with a call for more research into the special characteristics of Classical Chinese and the insights they bring to the study of the ancient texts.
To My Family
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I owe a debt of gratitude to my advisors, Professor Frank F. S. Hsueh and Professor Yan-shuan Lao for their patient guidance and instruction throughout the years of my graduate study.

Professor Hsueh always unreservedly shared his solid expertise, logical thinking, and valuable comments, inspiring and shaping my academic training and helping me to discover the enjoyment of Chinese linguistics studies. His close reading and valuable comments on the drafts have greatly helped me to complete the whole process of writing the dissertation.

With his encyclopedic knowledge on China, Professor Lao instructed me in the fundamentals of traditional sinology and the treasures of ancient history and philosophy. His scholarly guidance was indispensable on any question of history and philology. Moreover, I would also like to express my gratitude to him for his constant help and support during the last few years.

My sincere appreciation also goes to Professor Marjorie K. M. Chan for her services as a member of my dissertation committee and her valuable comments on the draft. I have benefited from her instruction in linguistics and her support and encouragement throughout my graduate study at Ohio State.
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I owe special thanks to Dr. Peichuan Wei. I have benefited from discussions with and guidance from him during my past few trips to the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica in Taiwan. Thanks also go to the Classical Chinese Corpus project directed by Drs. Chu-ren Huang, Peichuan Wei, Paul Thompson, and Ke-jiann Chen. The corpus has been a useful tool for conducting the dissertation research.

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A word of gratitude also goes to the other Professors who have instructed me and to my fellow students at the Ohio State University for their moral support during my graduate study.

Finally, my deepest gratitude goes to my families in Taiwan and the United States. Their unshakable faith in me, selfless love, unreserved support and constant encouragement have given me the hope and strength to finish my graduate study at Ohio State. My accomplishment belongs to them also.
VITA

April 10, 1968.............................Born, Ilan, Taiwan, R.O.C.

1986-1990 ..........................B.A. National Tsing Hua University, Hsin Chu, Taiwan

1990-1992 ..........................Research Assistant, Institute of Information Science and Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Nankang, Taiwan

1992-1994 ..........................M.A., The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, USA

1994-Present ........................Graduate Student, Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, USA

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Fields: East Asian Languages and Literatures
Studies in Chinese Linguistics
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADJ = adjectival
ADV = adverbial
CC = Classical Chinese
CL = classifier
CONJ = conjunction
NEG = negative
NOM = nominalizer
PAR = particle
POSS = possessive
PRED = predicate
SUBJ = subject

BIHP = Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica
BSOAS = Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, Univ. of London
CAAAL = Computational Analyses of Asian & African Languages
JAGS = Journal of the American Oriental Society
JCL = Journal of Chinese Linguistics
JCLTA = Journal of Chinese Language Teachers Association
### MAJOR CHINESE DYNASTIES AND PERIODS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dynasty</th>
<th>Periods</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hsia 夏</td>
<td>c. 2100-c. 1600 B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shang 商</td>
<td>c. 1600-c. 1028 B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhou 周</td>
<td>c. 1027-256 B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Zhou 西周</td>
<td>c. 1027-771 B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Zhou 东周</td>
<td>c. 770-256 B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spring and Autumn 春秋</td>
<td>772-468 B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warring States 戰國</td>
<td>403-221 B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qin 秦</td>
<td>221-207 B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Han 漢</td>
<td>206 B.C.-A.D. 220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Han 西漢</td>
<td>206 B.C.-A.D. 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Han 東漢</td>
<td>A.D. 25-220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xin 新</td>
<td>A.D. 9-25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three Kingdoms 三國</td>
<td>220-265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wei 魏</td>
<td>220-265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shu 蜀</td>
<td>221-263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wu 吳</td>
<td>222-280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Six Dynasties 六朝</td>
<td>222-589</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jin 晉</td>
<td>265-420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Jin 西晉</td>
<td>265-317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Jin 東晉</td>
<td>317-420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Dynasties 南朝</td>
<td>420-589</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Dynasties 北朝</td>
<td>386-581</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sui 隋</td>
<td>581-618</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tang 唐</td>
<td>618-907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five Dynasties 五代</td>
<td>907-960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liao 遼</td>
<td>916-1125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Song 宋</td>
<td>960-1279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dynasty</td>
<td>Period</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Song</td>
<td>960-1126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Song</td>
<td>1127-1279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jin</td>
<td>1115-1234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuan</td>
<td>1260-1368</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ming</td>
<td>1368-1644</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qing</td>
<td>1644-1911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. O. C.</td>
<td>1912-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. R. C.</td>
<td>1949-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SCHEMAS OF THE PERIODIZATION OF THE CHINESE LANGUAGE

I. Schema Proposed by Wang Li (1958)

1. Early Old Chinese 上古 prior to 3rd c. A.D. (Transition period: 3rd and 4th c. A.D.)
2. Middle Old Chinese 中古 from 4th to 12th c. (Transition period: 12th and 13th c.)
3. Pre-Modern Chinese 近代 from 13th c. to the Opium War in the 19th c.
4. Modern Chinese 现代 after the 1919 May 4th Movement

II. Schema Proposed by Jerry Norman (1988)

1. Preclassical Chinese (bronzes, oracle bones, and texts before Confucius time) before the 5th c. B.C.
2. Classical Period 5th c. B.C. - 200 A.D. (end of the Spring and Autumn to end of Han)
3. Post Classical Period 200 A.D. until 1920 (wenyanwen or literary Chinese until the 1919 May Fourth Movement)
4. Modern Period 1920 to present (baihuawen or the written vernacular language)

III. Schema Proposed by Alain Peyraube (1988)

1. Archaic Chinese 14th c. to 3rd c. B.C.
   Jiagu wen (Oracle Bone Period) 14th c. to 11th c. B.C.
   Early Archaic Chinese (Bronze Inscription) 11th c. to 6th c. B.C.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Dates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Late Archaic Chinese (Late Zhou period &amp; Warring States Period)</td>
<td>5th c. to 3rd c. B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Pre-Medieval (or Han Chinese) Former Han, Later Han</td>
<td>2nd c. B.C. to 3rd c. A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Medieval Chinese Early Medieval Chinese (Wei-Jin Nanbeichao) Late Medieval Chinese (Tang and Song)</td>
<td>3rd c. to 13th c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Pre-Modern Chinese (Yuan and early Ming)</td>
<td>7th c. to 13th c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Modern Period (Late Ming to Ching)</td>
<td>1250 to 1400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>From 15th c. to 18th c.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Cf. Tai and Chan's "Some Reflections on the Periodization of the Chinese Language")
INFORMATION ON SOURCES

Following is information on the sources used for conducting this study.

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   荀子引得 (A Concordance to Hsun Tzu)
   莊子引得 (A Concordance to Chuang Tzu)
   墨子引得 (A Concordance to Mo Tzu)

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   Project directed by Chu-ren Huang, Peichuan Wei, P. M. Thompson, and Keh-jiann Chen

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<<春秋左傳今註今譯>> 李宗侗譯  台灣商業印書館
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<<新譯四書讀本>>
謝冰鸞等編譯
台灣三民書局
III. TRANSLATION REFERENCES


# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Dedication ................................................................................................................................. v
Acknowledgments ....................................................................................................................... vi
Vita ................................................................................................................................................ vii
List of Abbreviations ................................................................................................................... ix
Major Chinese Dynasties and Periods ....................................................................................... x
Schemas of the Periodization of the Chinese Language ............................................................ xii
Information on Sources ............................................................................................................. xiv
Table of Contents ..................................................................................................................... xvii

## CHAPTERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>The Goals of the Study</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>General Background</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>Challenges Posed by CC Texts</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>Methodology</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.1</td>
<td>The Traditional Chinese Approach</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.2</td>
<td>The &quot;Latin Grammar&quot; Approach</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.3</td>
<td>The &quot;Logician's&quot; Approach</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>Expected Results</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>Significance</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>Organization</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Methodological Framework</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>Conversational in Style</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>Subject and Predicate as Topic and Comment</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>The Subject of a Sentence can be a Sentence by Itself</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>The Predicate of a Sentence Can be a Sentence by Itself</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

xvii
1.5 Omission is Common in CC ................................................................. 14
  1.5.1 Syntactically, Overt Subject is Not Always Required ....................... 14
  1.5.2 Frequent Omission of Some Grammatical Particles .............................. 18
  1.5.3 Object Omission is Common in CC Texts ........................................... 20
  1.5.4 Jianyu ‘Pivot’ Omission in CC Texts ............................................... 22
  1.5.5 Verb Omission in CC Texts .............................................................. 23
1.6 Loose Correspondence Between Lexical Property and Syntactic Function ....... 24
1.7 Notion of Word Classification Different From Western Languages ............... 25
1.8 Word Order is Most Crucial .................................................................... 30
1.9 Abundance of Modals ........................................................................... 32
1.10 No Specific "Passive Construction" Exists in CC Syntax .......................... 35
1.11 No Copula for "Equational Sentences" in CC ......................................... 45
1.12 Coverbs Are All Verb by Origin ............................................................ 47
2.0 The Significance of these Special Characteristics in CC Syntax .................. 49
  2.1 Stylistic Comparison of the Tso-chuan and the Shih-chi ......................... 49
    2.1.1 A Brief Introduction to the Tso-chuan and the Shih-chi .................... 49
  2.2 The "Subjectless" and "Lexical Flexibility" Notions Applied to
      Defining the Particles, er 而, ze 则, and zhe 者 .................. 54
  2.3 "Word Order" and "Lexical Flexibility" Applied to the Verb-Complement
      Construction ......................................................................................... 60
  2.3.1 The So-called "Verb Complement Construction" in Chinese ................. 60
2.4 Summary .............................................................................................. 64
3. The Coverbs in Classical Chinese: General Issues ........................................ 65
  1.0 Coverbs and Coverbal Phrases .............................................................. 65
    1.1 The Term "Coverb" in Chinese .............................................................. 66
    1.2 Coverb: Verbs or Prepositions? ......................................................... 67
    1.3 Terminology in the Current Study ..................................................... 69
  2.0 Coverbs And Related Issues in CC ....................................................... 70
4. Analysis of the Locative Coverb urchu 於 ............................................... 72
  1.0 The Three Graphs urchu 於, urchu 於 and Hu 乎 ................................. 72
  2.0 Analysis of the Coverb urchu 於 .......................................................... 76
    2.1 urchu 於 as a Verb ............................................................................ 77
      2.1.1 The Distribution of urchu 於 as a Full Verb .............................. 78
      2.1.2 Discussion .................................................................................. 80
      2.1.3 Summary .................................................................................... 84
    2.2 urchu 於 as a Coverb ........................................................................ 85
      2.2.1 The Distribution of the urchu 於 Phrases ................................... 85
      2.3 The Semantic Denotation and the Syntactic Structure of the urchu 於 Phrases 91

xviii
1.0 The Goals of the Study

An understanding of Classical Chinese texts is essential to the study of the foundations of East Asian civilization. However, it has been observed that Classical Chinese (CC hereafter) is written in a language which is extremely vague and open to varying interpretations. Indeed, students and scholars often find it difficult to confidently interpret some CC sentences or phrases. However, this is more likely a result of our failure to analyze CC on its own terms and deduce its grammatical principles than a fault in the language of the ancients. The goal of this study is to contribute to more appropriate interpretations for the ancient texts, as well as more effective CC pedagogical methods, by proposing some general syntactic principles involving coverb phrases in CC. It will examine closely some of the coverbs in CC, taking into account the special characteristics of the CC language. It is hoped that readers will see the merit of fully appreciating these special characteristics and applying them consistently in the analysis of CC texts. Such an approach leads to a richer understanding of the nature of the grammatical particles and the syntactic structure of CC. Such an understanding will contribute greatly to both scholarly inquiry into ancient Chinese texts, and to the process of teaching students to read and understand CC.
2.0 General Background

2.1 Challenges Posed by CC Texts

CC was the language current in China from around 500-200 B.C., the period from the end of the Spring and Autumn period to the beginning of the Qin dynasty. It was during this period that many of the great prose works of the Chinese philosophical, literary, and historical traditions were written, including the Analects of Confucius, the Mencius, the Hsun-tzu, and the writings of the great philosophers of Taoism, Lao-tzu and Chuang-tzu. This period also produced the Tso-chuan, the first work of narrative history in the Chinese historiographical tradition, and the writings of the political philosopher Han-fei-tzu. These works, as well as many others contemporary to them, provided the models for later Chinese historical, literary, and philosophical writings. As such, they are essential to modern scholars studying China. Also because of the cultural importance of these works and the high esteem in which their authors were held, the language in which they were written was widely imitated and became the basis for literary Chinese, which was the standard written language in China until the early twentieth century, and is still used by many even today.

Despite the great importance of CC to all areas of Chinese studies, some aspects of its syntax are still a mystery to modern scholars. As a result of this and certain textual difficulties, there remain many debates over the meaning of important passages in the ancient texts. Several factors contribute to this incomplete understanding. First, of course there are no native speakers of CC around today to whom we can address questions. Second, many words and structures from CC still remain in Modern Chinese, but with different meaning or usage. This, in effect, creates interference for native Chinese readers of CC. Third, CC has an extremely isolating grammatical structure. That is, it does not have as many morphological "clues" as other languages. Finally, and perhaps as a result of these other difficulties, not enough scholars today are devoting
themselves to the systematic study of CC linguistics. It is the aim of the present study to remedy this paucity and contribute to our understanding of CC as a grammatical system. I also hope to demonstrate the efficacy of a particular approach to CC syntax, namely one that is based on the special characteristics of CC and treats CC syntax as a system of grammatical rules that may be discovered through careful observation of those characteristics for the analysis of the language itself.

The category to be investigated in this study, the coverbs, includes locatives such as *yu* ‘at’, ablatives such as *zi* ‘from’, benefactives such as *wei* ‘for’, comitatives such as *yu* ‘and’, and instrumentals such as *yi* ‘with’. These are among the most important and widely used function words in CC, and are related to several important linguistic issues such as word order, types of verbs, particle omission, and verb complement. I hope to demonstrate in detail that from understanding the special characteristics of CC texts, we can learn important new things on the relations among semantic annotation, syntactic function and pragmatic application in CC sentences.

**2.2 Methodology**

In general, there are three different approaches to the study of CC syntax.

(1) **The Traditional Chinese Approach:** Until the late nineteenth century, explanations for certain vocabulary items and grammatical structures were given in the form of synonyms. The explanations provided in the traditional works frequently followed a formula much like "This is equivalent to that." For example, in Wang Yinzhi’s *Jingzhuan shici* (1885), *yi* was defined as follows:

 Yi means yong (‘to use’), YI is you (‘from’), Yi is wei (‘to do’), Yi is like wei (‘to take it to be that’). Yi is yi (‘and’). Yi is like yi (‘and’), Yi is like er.'
Though they do provide some aid in reading the Classics, definitions using the so-called synonyms do not accurately represent the true meaning of the word. Note the wide range of English translations of the synonyms given in the example. Furthermore, the uses of the so-called synonyms can be very different from that of the word. The main purpose of these scholars was only to make practical annotations for the Classics, not to specify the semantic implications and syntactic functions of the grammatical particles. The result is that though these works are generally quite useful for the wealth of example sentences they provide, they are invariably unsatisfactory as grammatical analyses of CC texts.

(2) The "Latin Grammar" Approach: This approach adopts the grammatical framework of European languages in the Latin tradition by setting up different 'parts of speech' as well as different 'types of sentences' for the Chinese language. *Mashi Wentong* 马氏文通 (1898) by Ma Jianzhong 马建忠 (1845-1899) was the first Chinese work which applied Western grammatical theories, based on Latin grammar, to the study of CC. This work, influenced by earlier Western works which attempted to analyze CC in the framework of Latin grammar, has in turn motivated modern Chinese grammarians to adopt this approach to the study of CC and Chinese language in general. It has surely led to a greater understanding of CC syntax. Nevertheless, some studies have applied Western ideas of syntax to CC rather haphazardly, ignoring some of the fundamental features of CC and seeking to force it into the mold of Indo-European languages. The result has been explanations that are neither systematic nor satisfactory.

(3) The "Logician's" Approach: This approach analyzes Chinese syntax by specifying the unique characteristics of the language before applying formal logic to it in the hope of uncovering its unique system. This is the approach I will adopt for this study. Scholars such as Wang Li (1958, 1981, 1984), Lyu Shuxiang (1942, 1955, 1965) and
Y. R. Chao (1968) have noted several of the special characteristics of Chinese language, but have not fully recognized their implications for grammatical analysis. F. S. Hsueh (1994, 1996, 1997) has done some pioneering work in specifying the characteristics of CC texts and their implications to grammatical analysis.

The methodology I use builds on the work of these scholars. It consists of analyzing a large number of coverb sentences from sources of the period 500-200 B.C.. The analysis takes syntactic structure and semantic denotation factors into account and focuses on explaining such long-noticed yet misunderstood grammatical phenomena as word order of coverbs and position of the coverb phrases in relation to the other verb phrases in the sentence.

2.3 Expected Results

It is expected that this study will confirm my hypothesis about the position of coverb phrases, namely that when a coverb phrase occurs after a verb phrase, the semantic emphasis is sometimes deliberately put on the coverb phrase, which then serves as the nucleus of the predicate. I also hope that this study will clarify several issues related to individual coverbs, such as the concept of verb complement in the coverb phrase.

2.4 Significance

This study has significance for several areas of Chinese studies. First, increased understanding of coverb phrases will lead to more accurate interpretations of the foundation texts in Chinese history, literature, and philosophy. Second, it will add to our intellectual understanding of the nature of the Chinese language as part of the humanistic study of Chinese civilization. Third, in linguistic study, the unique features of the Chinese language are useful for understanding typology of languages and the philosophy of
language. Modern Chinese linguists and those scholars doing diachronic studies of coverbs should also find this study useful. Finally, the syntactic rules proposed by this study will be useful to students of CC. By understanding them, students will gain more enjoyment from their study of Chinese language and culture.

3.0 Organization

The remaining chapters of this dissertation are organized as follows. Chapter 2 is devoted to describing thoroughly the methodological orientation of this study. It will investigate the special Characteristics of the Chinese language and will offer some cases to illustrate the significance of these special characteristics to the analysis of CC syntax.

Chapter 3 will introduce and discuss the coverbs in CC syntax. Chapter 4 will be an analysis of the semantic denotation and syntactic function of the coverb yu with consideration of the special characteristics of CC texts. In Chapter 5 the same approach will be applied to other coverbs. Chapter 6 will discuss implications and applications of the study, particularly its application to CC pedagogy. Finally, Chapter 7 presents conclusions of the study.
1.0 The Special Characteristics of CC Texts

When CC is analyzed using the framework of Western grammatical analysis, it appears very strange. Some European scholars have even concluded that "Chinese has no grammar". In fact, many Chinese have the same impression. This is because their definition of the word "grammar" is based upon the notion of grammar of the Western languages. The present study considers grammar to be a system of rules which describe how a language works. The important thing is that this system be internally consistent, that is, consistent with itself. It is not important for it to be in accordance with the systems exhibited by Western languages. As such, this analysis will start from the special characteristics of the Chinese language.

The claim that proper grammatical analysis of the Chinese language should start from the characteristics of the Chinese language has been suggested by several scholars of Chinese linguistics. Several famous Chinese scholars, such as Y. R. Chao, Wang Li, Chou Fakao, and Lyu Shuxiang have made great contributions in this regard, though they have not explicitly listed the special characteristics. Recently, F. S. Hsueh (1994,
1996, 1997) has specified some of the special features of CC and has successfully applied these features to the analysis of some grammatical particles and syntactic structures in CC.

Based on the work mentioned above and my own observations, I will here attempt to list several special characteristics of CC texts. Next I will provide some cases to illustrate the significance of consistently observing these features to the analysis of CC texts. Note that the special characteristics are all related to each other and are so fundamental to the Chinese language in general that they may also be profitably applied to the analysis of Modern Spoken Chinese.

Some of the special characteristics of CC texts are as follows.

1. Conversational in Style
2. Subject and Predicate as Topic and Comment
3. The Subject of a Sentence Can be a Sentence by Itself
4. The Predicate of a Sentence Can be a Sentence by Itself
5. Omission is Common in CC
   A. Syntactically, Overt Subject is Not Always Required
   B. Frequent Omission of Some Grammatical Particles
   C. Object Omission is Common in CC Texts
   D. Jianyu 兼語 'pivot' Omission in CC Texts
   E. Verb Omission in CC Texts
6. Loose Correspondence Between Lexical Property and Syntactic Function
7. Notion of Word Classification Different From Western Language
8. Word Order Principle is Most Crucial
9. Abundance of Modals
10. No Specific "Passive Construction" Exists in CC Syntax
11. No Copula for "Equational Sentences" in CC
12. Coverbs Are All Verb by Origin

8
1.1 Conversational in Style

When people analyze CC texts from the viewpoint of Latin grammar, they often feel that some sentences appear "illogical" or "ungrammatical." We will argue that this is because CC not only started as a natural spoken language, but also remained very conversational (or "colloquial") in style ever since. (Cf. Hsueh, 1997:28-29) Following are some reasons for us to believe so.

First of all, the nature of the early texts supports this conclusion. As we know, most passages in the Analects and Mencius represent dialogues or monologues. Thus they are naturally in a colloquial mode. The well-known historical masterpiece, Tso-Chuan, which is distinguished by its narrative style, vivid, detailed descriptions, and skillful use of dialogue, is also based on a storytelling mode. In addition, consider the philosophical works such as Lao-Tzu and Chuang-Tzu. Lao-Tzu is in a straightforward didactic style which is very concise and consists mostly of proverbs. The effect of this rhyming and proverb-like style is a work that reads like a chant and thus is relatively easy to recite. It is probable that this style was beneficial to propagating his ideas during the chaotic Warring States period when many different schools of thought were competing for attention. We can picture Lao-Tzu speaking to a group of assembled people through the words of the text. Chuang-Tzu was known to be fond of using stories to illustrate key concepts and offer further arguments to support and illustrate those concepts. We can picture him in a debate, using language that would render his concepts more understandable and humorous, but also less harsh and more persuasive. The three well-known techniques, yuyan 言言, zhongyan 重言 and zhiyan 卯言, mix and overlap with each other throughout the text, casting it in an interesting and enjoyable argumentative texts. Other argumentative works such as Hsun-Tzu and Han-Fei-Tzu were also cast in a conversational mode. It is a common feature in all these classical texts.
Second, the CC texts all feature crisp and concise sentences. When we look at them from the Latin grammatical perspective it seems like many elements are missing from the sentences. We feel that this feature is due to the texts' being written in a spoken mode. As we know, in a conversation the topic is shared between the participants, and with the help of the immediate context, the speakers feel free to omit some elements in their communication, as long as the new or most important information has been delivered to their counterparts. In this way, it is not necessary to iterate every sentence element in every sentence. CC sentences appear to be in this conversational mode, with some elements that are not new or necessary omitted.

From the above evidence it appears natural that CC texts were written in a conversational style. Speaking was a highly valued art during the classical period, and the written texts were most likely meant to record and propagate the words of wise men. Thus the language is one of witty and persuasive conversation, or the style of a fine storyteller. Syntactically, the works exhibit short, concise sentences of idealized speech. Since these works and masters were revered and imitated by those who followed, this style became institutionalized in the literary written language that remained relatively unchanged through the centuries.

1.2 Subject and Predicate as Topic and Comment

As we know, "actor-action" is the grammatical meaning of the subject-predicate for Latin grammar. Some scholars believe this to be also the case for Chinese sentences. In fact, as indicated by Chao (1968:70), the percentage of Chinese sentences to which the actor-action framework applies is relatively low. Let's consider the following examples.

(1)先生不知何許人也。(陶淵明五柳先生傳)
xiansheng bu zhi he xu ren ye
gentleman-NEG-know-place-person-PAR
SUBJ. PRED.
If these sentences were analyzed in the actor-action framework, then the former sentence would have to be translated as "This gentleman doesn't know who he is.", and the latter as "The ancient sages are superior to common people very much." But we know these translations are not right.

Having recognized the above phenomenon, in his The Grammar of Spoken Chinese, Y. R. Chao (1968:69-78) proposed that, semantically, subject and predicate in a Chinese sentence should be understood as topic and comment respectively. The topic is something already known, while the comment is something unknown that provides some new information about the topic.

Therefore, from the concept of topic-comment, these two examples can be understood most convincingly and logically as "(As to) this gentleman, (I) do not know where he is from." and "(As to) the ancient sages, that they are above the common people is very far." respectively.

Y. R. Chao's discovery of the topic-comment relationship between subject and predicate applies both to Modern Spoken Chinese and CC sentences. Following are more examples to further illustrate that the wider conception of topic and comment is much more appropriate.

(3) 子之燕居，申申如也，夭夭如也。(論語，述而)
zi zhi yanju, shengsheng ru ye, yaoyao ru ye
'Master's leisure time, proper-ADV-PAR, at ease-AVD-PAR
'(As for the Master's leisure time, (he remained) proper (yet) at ease.'

(4) 某狐，古之良史也。(左傳，宣公2)
donghu, gu zhi liang shi ye
'NAME-ancient-POSS-good-historian-PAR
'(As for) Dong Hu, (he was one of) antiquity's good historians.'
We can see that the topic is first shared among the participants: ‘the Master’s leisure time’ in (3) and ‘Dong Hu’ in (4), and then the new information, or comment, is offered. For most of these examples it is clear that the sentence is in a topic-comment form. Trouble can arise, however, when we encounter sentences that are not so obviously topic-comment and subsequently analyze them according to the actor-action framework which we are used to from Western languages. Our best approach is to use the topic-comment approach for every CC sentence so that we can avoid misinterpretations.

An intriguing supposition as to why subject and predicate in CC have a topic-comment relationship, as pointed out by Hsueh (1997:29), is probably that its roots lie in the conversational style.

1.3 The Subject of a Sentence Can be a Sentence by Itself

Structurally, Chao (1968:60) classified sentences into two types, namely full sentences and minor sentences. A full sentence contains a subject and a predicate. For example, (5) ‘He has money.’ A minor sentence, which occurs frequently in one-to-one communicative situations, is not in a subject-predicate form. The minor sentences are common in verbal expressions, such as (6) ‘Please sit down!’ or nominal expression such as (7) ‘(There is) a boat!’ In his discussion of types of subject, Chao also indicates that a full sentence can also serve as a clause subject. That is, a full sentence with subject and predicate can be the subject of another sentence, forming an S-P clause subject. For example: (8) ‘That he misses home is possible.’ Though Chao is discussing Modern Chinese, this notion is also very valuable for CC texts. Let’s take a look at the following examples.

(9) 孔子於鄉黨, 恭敬如也, 似不能言者。
\[ kongzi yu xiangdang, xunxun ru ye, si bu neng yan zhe \]
Confucius-be at-local community, submissive-ADV-PAR, seem-NEG-able-speak-NOM
'When) Confucius was at the local community, (he) was submissive and seemed
to be inarticulate.'

(10) These thryssas fish come out, and play about at their ease; that is the enjoyment of fishes.'

(11) Subjects serving (their) lord is like children serving their parents.'

These examples show that the subject can be any kind of element, such as a verbal
expression, nominal expression or a clause.

1.4 The Predicate of a Sentence Can be a Sentence by Itself

This sentence (12) 'As for that tree, its leaves are big,' should
remind us of the debate about subject and topic among Chinese linguists. In fact, this
sentence also illustrates another special characteristic of Chinese: a sentence can serve as
the predicate of another sentence. This was first pointed out by Chen Chengze. In other
words, as long as a sentence provides a comment on the subject, the sentence can serve as
the predicate as exemplified in the following examples.

(13) The Master said, "(As for) the rites of Xia, I am able to discourse on them, (but the
state of) Qi does not furnish sufficient supporting evidence. (As for) the rites of Yin,
I am able to discourse on them, (but the state of) Song does not furnish
sufficient supporting evidence."
(14) 我腰酸。
*wu yao suan*
I-waist-sore
'(As for) me, (my) waist is sore.'

1.5 Omission is Common in CC

Due to its conversational style, omission is very common in CC. Indeed, omission is a very important characteristic in both Modern Chinese and CC. According to Wang Li (1984:118) the meaning of omission is that a component normally present in the structure of a sentence is missing. This omission may cause ambiguity. Wang notes that we should be careful not to misinterpret the meanings of sentences with omission. Lyu Shuxiang (1955:95, Note 2) recognizes two different types of absent syntactic forms. Those forms which as a rule ought to be present but are not are called *shengluè* 省略 'omitted' forms. Those forms which as a rule are never present are called *yincang* 隱藏 'hidden' forms.

Omission is, as mentioned above, a natural consequence of the spoken or conversational style of the language. The phenomenon of omission has long been noticed, but its implications for the analysis of Chinese syntax still need to be fully appreciated.

1.5.1 Syntactically, Overt Subject is Not Always Required

In his article on passive constructions, Hsueh (1994:387) indicated that unlike many European languages which require an overt subject for a sentence even when there is not a clear referent (e.g. "it" in English and the pronoun "on" in French), Chinese does not seem to have such a syntactic requirement. In this study, subject omission means that even though logically (semantically) a sentence may have a subject, formally (syntactically) it does not have one. This is a natural corollary of Y.R. Chao's discovery that the grammatical meaning of the subject of a Chinese sentence is the "topic". When the "topic" of a comment is thought to be already obvious or too general, it does not have to
be repeated or specified. Therefore, syntactically, sentences in Chinese are not always required to have a subject, as sentences are in most European languages.

The phenomenon of subjectless sentences is very common in CC (Cf. He, 1982). The conversational style of the CC texts allows many different kinds of subject omission as shown below.

First of all, the omitted subject may refer to a preceding subject. Since it has already been overtly stated it does not have to be repeated. For example,

(15) 鄭商人弦高將市於周，（）遇之，（）以乘韋先牛十二犒師，（）曰：（）（左傳，僖公元）
zheng shangren xiangao jiang shi yu zhou，yu zhi，yi chengwei xian niu shier kao shi，
yue...
NAME-businessmanNAME-about to-do business-be in-NNAME，run into-it，with-leather-first-cow-twelve-cheer-troop，say...
'Merchant Xiangao of Zheng was about to go to Zhou to do business. (He) ran into them [the Qin troops]. (He) cheered (them) with leather first and then twelve cows and (he) said...'.

(16) 公聞其期，（）可矣。（左傳，隱公元年）
gong wen qi qi，yue，ke yi
lord-learn of-POSS-date，say-all right-PAR
'(When) the lord learned of the date, (he) said: (it) is all right (to act) now.'

(17) 晉靈公不君，（）厚斂以彌匱，（）從台上弔人而（）觀其辟丸也。（左傳，宣公2）
jinlinggong bu jun，hou lian yi diao qiang，cong tai shang tan ren er guan qi bi wan ye
NAME-NEG-lord，heavy-tax-in order to-decorate-wall，from-tower-upper-shoot-people-
CONJ-watch-3rd-dodge-pellet-PAR.
'The Lord ling of Jin was not acting as a king should, (he) levied heavy taxes to decorate the palace wall; (he ordered servants) to shoot people with a sling shot from the tower and (he had fun) watching them dodge the pellets.'

(18) 吾日三省吾身：（）為人謀而（）不忠乎？（論語，學而）
wu ri san xing wu shen，wei ren mou er bu zhong hu
1st-day-three-reflect-1st-body，for-people-plan-CONJ-NEG-loyal-PAR
'I reflect on myself several times a day: (When I) planed for someone, was (I) not very loyal?...'

(19) 原思為之宰，（）與之粟九百，（）辭。（論語，雍也）
yuansi wei zhi zai，yu zhi su jiu bai，ci
NAME-become-POSS-steward，give-him-grain-nine-hundred，decline
'Yuan Si becoming the steward, (Somebody) gave him nine hundred measures of grain, (but he) declined.'

(20)樊崑曰：「今日之事如何？」良曰：「( )甚急。」(史記,項羽本紀)
fankuai yue: jinri zhi shi shi ruhe? liang yue: shen ji
NAME-say, today-POSS-matter-how, NAME-say, very-hurry
'Fan Kuai said "(As for) the present situation, what's it like?" Liang said: "(It) is very critical."'

Second, in some cases the subject is so general that it does not have to be specified. This happens a lot in describing natural phenomena. For example,

(21) ( )大雪。(春秋,隱公元年)
da yu xue
big-rain-snow
'(it) is snowing and sleet heavily.'

(22)三年春,( )不雨。夏六月,( )雨。(左傳,僖公)
san nian chun, bu yu, xia liu yue, yu
three-year-spring, NEG-rain, summer-six-month, rain
'In the spring of the third year [of Xi Gong], (it) did not rain. (In) summer, (during the) sixth month, (it) rained.'

(23)有朋自遠方來,不亦樂乎?(論語,學而)
you peng zi yuanfan loi, bu yi le hu
have-friend-from-afar, NEG-also-joyful-PAR
'(When one) has a friend coming from afar, isn't (it) joyful?'

Third, the omitted subject may refer to the preceding object:

(24)永州之野產異蛇, (蛇)黑質而白章。觸草木, (草木)盡死。以嘗人,
(人)無幸之者。 (柳宗元,補蛇者說)
yongzhou zhi ye chan yi she, hei zhi er bai zhang, chu cao mu, jin si, yi nie ren,
wu yu zhi zhe
NAME-POSS-wilds-produce-strange-snake, black-quality-CONJ-white-stripe, touch-grass-tree, all-die, with-bite-person, NEG-resist-it-NOM
'The wilds of Yongzhou produce strange snakes. Being black, (they) have white stripes. (If they) touch some vegetation, (the vegetation) will all die. (And if they) bite someone, there is not (anyone who) can resist it.'

(25)山有小口, [小口]彷彿若有光。 (陶潛,桃花源記)
shan you xiao kou, fangfu ruo you guang
mountain-have-small-cave, seem-as if-have-light
'The mountain had a small cave. (The cave) seemed as if it had light.'

Finally, the following example shows a very special kind of subject omission in CC.

The omitted subject, which is identified through understanding the whole context, appears to refer to an element that comes after it.

(26) 七月 ( ) 野月 ( ) 用, 九月 ( ) 用, 十月蟋蟀入我床下。(詩經, 七月)
qi yue zai ye, ba yue zai yu, jiu yue zai hu, shi yue xishuai ru wo chuang xia
seven-month-exist-wilds, eight-month-exist-eaves, nine-month-exist-door, ten-month-cricket-enter-my-bed-under
'(In the) seventh month (the cricket) was in the wild. (In the) eighth month (the cricket) was under the eaves. (In the) ninth month (the cricket) was at the door. (In the) tenth month the cricket went under my bed.'

In this example, the omitted subject, which is identified through understanding the whole context, appears to refer to an element, the cricket, that comes after it.

Following are more examples of sentences which, due to CC's conversational style, are very crisp and short and involve various kinds of subject omission. In order to accurately interpret these sentences it is necessary to find out what is omitted by understanding the whole context.

(27) ( ) 請京, ( ) 使 ( ) 居之, ( ) 請之京城大叔。(左傳, 隱公元年)
qing jing, shi ju zhi, wei zhi jing cheng taishu
request-NAME, let-live-there, call-him-NAME-city-NAME
'(She then) requested Fort Jing; (the lord) let (Duan) live there; (so people) called him Tai-shu of Fort Jing.'

(28) ( ) 將立之而 ( ) 卒。(左傳, 裏公3)
jiang li zhi er zu
about to-appoint-him-CONJ-die
'When (the lord) was about to appoint him [i.e., When he was about to be appointed], (he) died.

(29) 韓厥夢子興謂己曰: ( ) 旦朝左右。故 ( ) 仲御而從齊侯。 郇夏曰: ( ) 射其御者, ( ) 君子也。公曰: 謂之君子而射之, 非禮也。 ( ) 射其左, ( ) 越于車下; ( ) 射其右, ( ) 輕于車中。(左傳, 成公2)
Hanjue dreamt (that) Ziyu spoke to him saying "tomorrow (you) avoid the left and the right (positions in the chariot)". For that reason (he) followed the Marquis of Qi driving in the middle. Bingxia said "Shoot the driver. (He) is a gentleman". The Duke said "To call him a gentleman and then shoot him is not proper!" So he shot (the one on) the left, (and the one on the left) fell under the chariot. (He then) shot (the one on) the right, (who then) died right in the chariot.'

In sum, sometimes the missing subject may be said to have been omitted, since it can be restored easily by the context, but there are times when the reference is so general and broad, it cannot be easily specified. Given this fact, we may conclude that, unlike many European languages which (at least in writing and formal speech) always require an overt subject for sentences, Chinese does not seem to have such a syntactic requirement.

1.5.2 Frequent Omission of Some Grammatical Particles

As we indicated before, Chinese is a non-inflectional language which relies heavily on word order to help indicate relationships between words and phrases. In addition, particles are used to help define the relations among words in a sentence. However, sometimes, as a result of the conversational style of CC texts, the grammatical particles are left out. For example, Wu (1994) indicates that the grammatical particle yi is sometimes omitted.

As for general Fan, the king of Qin wants (use) thousands of measures of gold and a district of tens of thousands of households to buy his life.'
Moreover, Hsueh (1997:31) also shows that in parallel sentences, by contrast, the particles which are expected to be present are often simply omitted. However, thanks to the parallel structure we have a clue to help us figure out which particles are omitted. This can be exemplified as below.

(33)橘生( )淮南則為橘,生於淮北則為枳。 (孟子·滕文公上)

Ju sheng hunai nan ze wei ju, sheng yu huai bei ze wei zhi

Orange-grow-NAME-south-CONJ-become-orange, grow-be in-NAME-north-CONJ-become-bramble

'When orange grows (in) the south of Huai, it becomes orange; when (it) grows in the north of Huai, it becomes bramble.'

(34)日出( )東方而入於西極。 (莊子·田子方)

Ri chu dong fan er ru yu xi ji

Sun-rise-east-side-CONJ-enter-be in-west-extreme

'The Sun, rising (at) the East, sets at the West.'

(35) [鍾離子]是其為人也……是助王養其民( )也;

[葉陽子]是其為人( )……是助王息其民也。 (戰國策·齊策四)

[shi qi wei ren ye, shi zhu wang yang qi min ye; ]shi qi wei ren, shi zhu wang xi qi min zhe ye

this-3rd-serve as-person-PAR, this-help-king-raise-POSS-people-PAR;
this-3rd-serve as-person, this-help-king-increase-people-NOM-PAR

'This one, as a person....is (one who) helps the king take care of his people; that one, as a person....is one who helps the king increase his population.'
We have seen that some common grammatical particles are often left out of sentences. Recognizing this simple fact can be a great aid to understanding CC sentences properly.

1.5.3 Object Omission is Common in CC Texts

An object is often omitted when it has occurred previously in the sentence.

Following are the situations in which object omission commonly occurs:

In the first situation, the omitted object refers to the preceding noun.

(A) The omitted object refers to the preceding subject.

quān qi gèng yī, su zhù yu yu xiá
NAME-wake up-change-clothes [go to bathroom], NAME-chase-go-eaves-under
'Quan went to the restroom. Su followed (Quan) under the eaves.'

(37) dāng rì, kè cóng wài lái, yù zuò tán
moming-day, guest-from-outside-come, with-sit-talk
'In the morning, a guest came from afar. (He) sat and talked with (him).'  

(B) The omitted object refers to the preceding object

zuò yòu yì jūn jiān zhī ye, shì yì cāo jū
aids-take it to be that-lord-low-him-PAR, feed-with-lowly fare
'The top aides, because the lord took him to be lowly, fed (him) using lowly fare.'

(39) xiǎo rén yǒu mǔ, zhì chéng xiǎo rén zhī shí yì, wéi cháng jun zhī gēng, qīng yì wéi zhī
I-have-mother, all-eat-I-POSS-food-PAR, never-eat-lord-POSS-meat,
'I have a mother who always shares in what I eat. (But she) has not eaten of this meat which you, my ruler, have given, (and I) beg to be allowed to take (this piece) to give to her.'

(40) xiāng rú chí qí bǐ nǐ zhū, yù yì jī zhū
'as if he should hold up the wall post, (and) to give (himself) to (your) strict control.'
'Xiangru, clutching the jade bi, and with a side look at the pillar, intended to strike the pillar with (it).'

In the second situation, the omitted object refers to the preceding sentence or discourse.

'(After) Duke Xiao got Shang Yang, his territory by (that = Duke Xiao got Shang Yang) was broadened; his army by (that = Duke Xiao got Shang Yang) was strengthened."

'(The Duke said, 'In all matters of legal process, whether small or great, although (I) may not be able to search them out thoroughly, (I) make it a point to decide according to the real circumstances.' [Cao Gui] replied, 'This is an example of (your) loyalty (towards your people). (You) can, by means of (this loyalty), fight, and if (you) fight, then (I) beg permission to follow (you in battle)."

'(In) the event that the symbol does not match and the password is not compatible, the officers above the Bozhang level often stop it and inform the general of (this event).'

'(Lian Po) announced, "(If) I see Xiangru (I) will surely insult him." Xiangru, having heard (about it), was unwilling to meet (Lian Po)."
1.5.4 Jianyu 兼語 'Pivot' Omission in CC Texts

In a so-called Jianyu "pivot" sentence, a noun serves as both object and subject which can be exemplified as the following passage.

(45) 鲁仲連適游齊，會秦圍趙。聞魏將欲令趙( obj/subj)尊秦(obj/subj)為帝。
(戰國策, 魯仲連義不帝秦)

Lu Zhonglian happened to be visiting Zhao just when Qin laid siege to Zhao. (He) heard that the Wei general wanted to make Zhao acknowledge Qin as the Emperor.

In this passage, the sentence 今趙尊秦為帝, the noun 趙 serves as both the object of the verb 今 and the subject of the verb 尊. Similarly, 秦 in turn serves as the object of the verb 尊 as well as the subject of the verb 爲.

The Jianyu omission seems to occur commonly after the verb such as shi 使 and ling 令 as exemplified as follows.

(46) 竺封人仲足有寵於莊公, 莊公使( )為卿。(左傳, 桓公11)

Zhongzi, the border-warden of Zhai, became a favorite with Duke Zhuang.

Duke Zhuang made (him) serve as a chief minister.

(47) 今妓尊長安君之位, 而封之以膏腴之地, 多子之重器, 而不及今令( )有功於國。
(戰國策, 趙策)

'Now, you have made lord Changan's position lofty, enfoeffed him with a fertile area and given him many important treasures, but (you) have not right now let (him) have a contribution to the state.'
1.5.5 Verb Omission in CC Texts

In general, the nucleus of a predicate is the main verb and the predicate cannot function without a nucleus. Therefore, this kind of omission is not as common as subject and object omission. It seems that the situations which allow omission of the nucleus may be limited to adverbial clauses as exemplified by the following cases in CC:

(A) The omitted verb refers to the action which occurs before. For example:

(48) yi gui zuo qi, zai er shuai, san er jie
one-drum-make-spirit, again-CONJ-weak, three-CONJ-exhausted
'(When) the drum is beat once the spirit is excited, (when it is beat) a second time (the spirit) is diminished, (and when it is beat) a third time it is exhausted.'

(49) san ren xing, bi you wu shi yan. ze qi shan zhe er cong zhi, qi bu shang zhe er gai zhi
'When walking with two other men, there surely is my teacher among them. (I) select their good points and follow them. (I select) their bad points and correct them (in myself).'

(50) yi he yue, shang yi guo, qi ci ji
NAME-say, best-doctor-cure-country, POSS-second-sickness
'Yihe said, "the best doctor cures the country, the second best one (cures) sickness."

(B) The omitted verb refers to the following verb:
(53)躬自厚( )而薄责於人,則遠怨矣。(論語·衛靈公)
gong zi hou er bue ze yu ren, ze yuan yuan yi
personally-self-heavy-CONJ-light-demand-toward-person, CONJ-far-complaint-PAR
'If one, while (making) great (demands) of himself, makes minimal demands on others, then (he) will stay away from complaints.'

(54)揚子之鄰人亡羊,既率其黨(),又請揚子之豎追之。(列子·説符)
yangzi zhi ling ren wang yang, ji shuai qi dang, you qing yangzi zhi shu zhui zhi
NAME-POSS-neighbor-person-lost-sheep, after-lead-POSS-people, again-ask-NAME-POSS-son-chase-it
'The neighbor of Yangzi lost a sheep. After he had led his people (to search for it) he also asked Yangzi's son to search for it.'

Summary:
In this section I have elaborated on the phenomenon of omission in CC. Note that omission also occurs in the colloquial speech of other languages. The point is that since omission is so prevalent in CC, we should be alert for omitted elements whenever we analyze the structure of CC sentences. Failure to do so can lead to misinterpretation of classical texts and/or inaccurate analysis of the sentence structure and the function of the grammatical particles involved. Please see section 2.0 of this chapter for illustrations.

1.6 Loose Correspondence Between Lexical Property And Syntactic Function

Due to the lack of morphological inflection, the Chinese language shows no clear correspondence between lexical property and syntactic function. In other words, Chinese lexemes are not marked for different syntactic functions. Take a look at the noun 人 in the following examples.

(55)齊侯欲以文姜妻鄭太子忽,太子忽辭,人問其故。(左傳·桓公6)
qihou yu yi wenjiang qi zheng taizi hu, taizi hu ci, ren wen qi gu
NAME-marquis-want-with-NAME-marry-NAME-prince-NAME, prince-NAME-decline, people-ask-POSS-reason
'The marquis of Qi wanted to have Wen Jiang marry the prince of Zheng. When the prince of Zheng refused, people asked him the reason.'
(56) 「男為人臣，女為人妾。」故名男日固，女曰妾。 (左傳,僖公17)


nan wei ren chen, nu wei ren qie, gu ming nan yue yu, nu yue qie
boy-become-person-subject, girl-become-person-concubine, therefore-name-boy-say-NAME, girl-say-NAME

"The boy will become another's subject, and the girl will become a concubine." On this account the boy was called Yu [a groom], and the girl was name Qie [concubine]."

(57) 豕人立而啼。(左傳,莊公8)

shi ren li er ti
boar-person-stand-CONJ-cry out
'The boar, standing up like a human, cried out.'

We see that syntactically the noun, ren, serves as a nominal, adjectival and adverbial in the sentences respectively. The phenomenon of lexical flexibility is very common in CC texts.

1.7 Notion of Word Classification Different From Western Languages

As mentioned above, the debate over the existence of word classes in CC is based on the following obstacles. First, CC lexemes lack morphological inflection to mark word classes. Second, unlike the Indo-European languages, there is no one to one correspondence between lexical categories and syntactic role in Chinese. In other words, words are very versatile in playing different syntactic functions with no change in form.

Taken together, Lin (1991) indicates these two factors have led some observers to the extreme position that there are no word classes in CC (Cf. Maspero 1934, Gao Mingkai 1953, 1954, Dobson 1959, Kennedy 1964). Gao (1953) argues that morphology is the only basis on which to categorize words, and thus concludes that CC has no word classes. Dobson and Kennedy take statistical approaches to the problem. Dobson, observing that many words correspond to different syntactic categories, considers it empirically inadequate to establish full-word categories on the basis of inconsistent correspondences. He favors, instead, an approach that defines word class not as an intrinsic property of the word, but as determined solely by the word's position in the sentence. When a word occupies a nominal "slot" in the sentence, then it is a noun. And when a word occupies a verbal "slot" in the sentence, then it is a verb. Consider the following pairs of English sentences offered by Cikoski (1978a:42-46).

(58a) They are planing the boards.
(58b) They are boarding the planes.
They are handling the paints.
They are painting the handles.

In this view, "are ... -ing" and "the ... -s" are seen as parts of the sentence pattern itself. Whatever occurs in the first slot is a verb and whatever occurs in the second slot is a noun.

The following sentences from CC would be interpreted in the same manner:

(60) 父不父。 (左傳, 昭公6)
   fu bu fu
   father-NEG-father
   '(If) fathers behave in an unfatherly way...'

(61) 王齊王。 (左傳, 裕公2)
   wang qi wang
   king-NAME-king
   '(You) consider the king of Qi to be truly kingly...'

In these two examples, 父 and 王 are each used as both nominal and verbal in the same sentence. Dobson would assert that it is only the position in the sentence that determines their word class. Kennedy, on the other hand, investigated the frequency of occurrences for a set of frequently used words in Mencius. He concluded that statistics were unable to deal with a case like the word shi 事, which occurred with equal frequency as a noun and a verb, and because of such cases, it was statistically impossible to divide CC into word classes. Later scholars have pointed out that Kennedy mistook the graph for the word. Actually, 事 is one graph which represents two different words. (Cf. Liu 1991:23)

Other scholars strongly disagree with this line of thinking. They believe that it is possible and necessary to separate CC words into word classes based on their intrinsic properties (Cf. Wang 1956, Karlgren 1961, Chao 1968, Cikoski 1977). Once we adopt the position that CC full words do exhibit word classes, then we must figure out how to distinguish them. There are three basic approaches to distinguishing word classes, as listed by Wang Li: the semantic, morphological, and syntactic approaches. Of course the
morphological approach is not useful for CC, a non-inflectional language. The semantic
approach, by itself, has proven to be problematic for the analysis of many modern
languages (Cf. Hopper and Thompson 1984). Thus, it appears that either a syntactic
approach, or a combination of the syntactic and semantic approaches is most desirable.
Cikoski uses a largely syntactic approach. His basic methodology is to compare a word's
occurrence in its various functions, searching for distinctive patterns of behavior that
constitute reliable guides for differentiating CC nouns from CC verbs. He concludes that
the following three syntactic criteria may be used to distinguish nouns from verbs in CC:
The nature of the transformation by which the word acquires the adjunct function, the
manner in which the word is counted, and the presence or absence of ambiguity in the
form [Word + 也]. The following is a summary of his findings:

I. Acquisition of the adjunct function: Nouns
   (A) Nouns are free to function as adjunct to any noun or verb.
   (B) Nouns become adjunct to verbs by placing a 之 between the subject and the
       nucleus: 誓公即位 ---》誓公之即位. The 之 must be present.
   (C) Nouns become adjunct to other nouns through the following
       transformation: A noun is subject of the factor 有, the object of which becomes
       head to the noun adjunct: 君有臣 ---》君(之)臣. The 之 may be left out.

II. Acquisition of the adjunct function: Verbs
    (A) Not all verbs may function as an adjunct. Those that do acquire the function
       by transformation from the function of nucleus:
       患王立 ---》立王
       國大 ---》大國
       (B) A nuclear adjunct may have its adjunct function marked by 之 only when it
           consists of two or more words or when it has been peripheralized before being
           transformed into adjunct:
           妻不衣角 ---》衣帛之妻
           其取人有道 ---》取人之道

III. Counting: Some nouns (concrete nouns) may be counted with measures. Verbs are
     never counted with measures.
IV. The form [word + 之] for verbs is ambiguous as to whether it is an appositional sentence or an embedded nuclear sentence: 是亦走也.

V. The form [Word + 之] for nouns is always appositional 是亦人也

Cikoski also further divides verbs into neutral verbs and ergative verbs, and nouns into concrete nouns and abstract nouns.

The problem with Cikoski's approach, which equates lexical categories with syntactic categories, is that it still results in lexical overlapping because some words can be categorized into more than one category. For example, consider again the following example:

孛人立而啼。（左傳·莊公8）

If we check the word ren against Cikoski's criteria we find that in one of the key criteria, namely that of how the adjunct function is acquired, ren can sometimes act like a verb. For instance, in this sentence it is acting as adjunct to a verb without a zhi 之 between it and the verb. Nevertheless, Cikoski's approach is very inspiring.

In order to solve the problem, recently, scholars in China have adopted two sets of terminology to refer to lexical categories on one hand and syntactic functions on the other. The lexical properties are represented by ci 詞 (e.g., mingci 名詞 'nouns,' dongci 動詞 'verbs,' xingrongci 形容詞 'adjectives,' fuci 副詞 'adverbs,' etc.). Syntactic functions are represented by yu 語 (e.g., shayu 主語 'subject,' weiyu 詞語 'predicate,' binyu 賢語 'object,' shayu 述語 'verbial,' dingyu 定語 'adjectival,' zhuangyu 狀語 'adverbial,' etc.). This is perhaps a more sensible approach, because it provides us with a foundation to identify and explain the "abnormal" use of certain lexemes in terms of their semantic shift and often limited representation restricted by the context. For example, when 父 and 王, which are nouns 名詞, are used as verbials 述語 in the above examples, the semantic
force of the words are limited to some specific aspect. (Cf. Liu, 1991) Similarly, in the
example:

(62) 竿欲吴王我乎? (左传,定公10)
er yu wu wang wo hu
you-want-NAME-king-me-PAR
'Do you intend to King-Wu me?'
(i.e., "do to me what they did to the King of Wu" [assassinate].)

When King-Wu is used as a verbal, it only carries a very specific and limited part
of its "normal" semantic force. Usually it refers to a person. Now, in its verbal usage, it
refers to a very specific event that happened to that person; he was assassinated.

Consider the following two examples:

(63)微二子者,楚国矣。(左传,襄公16)
wei er zi zhe, chu bu guo yi
NEG-two-men-NOM, NAME-NEG-country-PAR
'Without these two men, the Chu state would never operate as a state any more.'

(64)晋灵公不君。(左传,宣公2)
jing ling gong bu jun
NAME-NEG-lord
'Lord Ling of Jin does not behave like a ruler.'

We can see that when 国 and 君, normally nouns, are used as verbials, there is a
semantic shift from the normal referential function of these words to very limited parts of
their semantic structure: the manner in which the state should operate and the manner in
which a ruler should behave. (Cf. Liu 1991).

This approach, a combination of the semantic and syntactic approaches, seems to
have a lot of potential for future analyses of CC grammar. The lack of overt
morphological marking in CC should in no way preclude the existence of word classes, or
our ability to distinguish them. It is just that we must recognize that such linguistic
notions as word class shift may be revealed differently in Chinese than in Western languages.

1.8 Word Order is Most Crucial

Word order is generally accepted as one of the most fundamental and important aspects of Chinese syntax. As a non-inflectional language Chinese depends heavily on word order as a way to indicate syntactic relations. Moreover, CC, as all written languages, was only partially recorded. Features such as intonation and modulation which are helpful for syntactic analysis and semantic interpretation are absent, leaving word order to shoulder a heavier load. Finally, CC is written in a colloquial style, often omitting its grammatical particles. As a result, we have to depend heavily on word order to figure out crucial grammatical structures.

The general principle of word order in Chinese is as Y. R. Chao (1968:274) indicated:

"An expression X is said to modify another expression Y when XY is an endocentric construction and Y, but not X, is the center. X is called the attribute or modifier, and Y the head or modified part."

The syntactic implication of this principle is that in an endocentric construction, the modifier (e.g. adjective, possessive noun, relative clause, adverb) precedes the word it modifies. (Other word order principles are that the subject precedes the predicate and the verb or co-verb precedes its object.)

The "rule of thumb" that modifiers always precede the modified works in slightly different degrees on different grammatical levels. For example, at the lexical level, some compounds in CC, such as baixing 百姓 (hundred-surname) 'the common people' and zhuhou 諸侯 (all-marquis) 'the feudal princes,' follow this pattern, but others such as
jiangjun 將軍 (manage-army) 'a general,' yousi 有司 (possess-take charge of [a matter])
'an official' and zhishi 執事 (hold-a matter) 'an errand-man,' are clearly of the V-O form.
Still others, such as youyu 猶豫 'hesitatingly' and congrong 從容 'unhurried,' are hard to
determine. It seems that the process of compound formation is relatively free.

On the sentence level, for simple sentences and complex sentences the basic
pattern is predominately "S-V-O," but within each of the three large units, the "modifier-
modified" pattern prevails. For instance,

(65) 使君從南來,五馬立踟蹰。 (古樂府,陌上桑)
shijun cong nan lai, wu ma li chichu
official-from-south-come, five-horse-stand-linger
'The official came from the south. (His) five horses stood and lingered.'
(the quantifier wu modifies the noun ma in the subject unit.)

(66) 東家有賢女,自名秦羅敷。 (古詩為焦仲卿妻作)
dong jia you xian nu, zi ming qinluofu
NAME-family-have-good-girl, self-name-NAME
'The Dong family has a good daughter. Her name is Qin Luofu.'
(the adjectival xian modifies the noun nu in the object unit)

(67) 女子將使楚。 (晏子春秋雜下)
yanzi jiang shi chu
NAME-about to-being envoy-NAME
'Yanzi was about to serve as an envoy to Chu.'
(the auxiliary jiang modifies the verbal phrase shichu)

(68) 直嬰最不肖,故直使楚矣。 (晏子春秋雜下)
zhi yin zui bu xiao, gu zhi shi chu yi
simply-NAME-most-NEG-worthy, therefore-simply-being envoy-NAME-PAR
'I am simply the most unworthy, and it is just for that reason that I serve as the envoy to
Chu.'
(the adverb zui modifies the adjectival phrase buxiao)

I have elaborated the prevailing modifier-modified form of Chinese word order.
When analyzing and interpreting the Chinese language, we must be on constant alert for
any change in word order so as to interpret accurately what new syntactic structure
and/or semantic denotation it implies. Keeping this word order rule in mind is very
important when defining the semantic meaning and syntactic structure of the coverbs as we shall see later in chapters 4 and 5.

1.9 Abundance of Modals

Thanks to the conversational style, CC texts are characterized by a large number of modals. In a communication situation, the modals indicate the mood and feeling of the speaker. The plentiful modals in CC bear a variety of emotional nuances. In general, there are two types of modals in CC, sentence-initial modals such as gai 蓋, fu 夫, qie 且 wei 唯, and sentence-final modals such as ye 也, yi 亦, zai 载, hu 乎. Now let's briefly take a look at some of these commonly-used modals.

(A) Sentence-initial modals.

The sentence-initial modal 蓋 has the effect of opening a possibility of doubt in a context. It is used to express supposition or uncertainty. It may often be translated as 'probably' or 'presumably.' For example,

(69)蓋有之矣, 我未之見也。 (論語, 里仁)

gai you zhi yi, wo wei zhi jian ye
probably-have-it-PAR, I-never-it-see-PAR
'There may probably have been such cases, (but) I have never seen them.'

夫 occurs at the beginning of an argumentative or descriptive sentence to express the speaker's proposition which he thinks well-established or obvious. For example.

(70)夫戰, 勇氣也。 (左傳, 莊公10)

fu zhang, yongqi ye
as for-fighting, courage-PAR
'As for fighting, (it) is a matter of courage.'

(71)夫山澤林鹽, 國之寶也。 (左傳, 成公6)

fu shan ze lin yan, guo zhi bao ye
as for-mountain-river-forest-salt, nation-POSS-treasure-PAR
'As for mountains, lakes, forests and salt lakes, (they) are all national treasures.'

(B) The sentence-final modals

ye 也 is a sentence-final particle for assertion. For example,

(72) 不好犯上，而好作亂者，未之有也。 (論語，為政)

bu hao fan shang, er hao zuo lan zhe, wei zhi you ye

NEG-like-offend-superior, CONJ-like-make-revolt-NOM, never-it-have-PAR

'There is neither a man who has no inclination to transgress against his superior yet is inclined to start a revolt, is something that has never existed.'

Yi 而 is for a sense of change. It closely resembles the Modern Chinese sentence final le 了 in its meaning and syntactic behavior. Both of them indicate a new situation in the predicate.

(73) 甚矣!吾衰也。久矣!吾不復夢見周公。 (論語, 里而)

shen yi! wu shuai ye, jiu yi! wu bu fu meng jian zhougong

very much-PAR, I-weak-PAR, long time-PAR, I-NEG-again-dream-see-Duke of Zhou

'How I have gone downhill! (It has been) such a long time since I dreamt of the Duke of Zhou.'

Both ye and yi are used in declarative sentences. The following examples show the contrast between ye and yi.

(74) 吾聞其語矣, 未見其人也。 (論語, 季氏)

wu wen qi yu yi, wei jian qi ren ye

I-hear-that-talk-PAR, never-see-that-person-PAR

'I have heard that sort of talk, (but) have not seen that sort of person.'

(75) 且子之過矣: 扶己者, 未有能直人者也。 (孟子, 膳文公下)

qie zi zhi guo yi: wang ji zhe, wei you neng zhi ren zhe ye

moreover-you-POSS-mistake-PAR:bend-self-NOM, never-have-able-straight-person-NOM-PAR

'You are further mistaken; of those who bent themselves, there has never been one who could straighten others.'

The yi in the first clause shows that this is something that has already come about, whereas the ye of the second clause expresses the affirmation of the speaker.
Hu 乎, yu 與 (敟) and ye 邪 (耶) are three commonly used particles for interrogative sentences. For example,

(76) 程斐, 子退朝, 曰: 「傷人乎? 」不問馬。(論語, 那黨)
jiu fen, zi tui chao, yue, shang ren hu? bu wen ma
stable-fire, Master-return-court, ask, hurt-people-PAR
'The stable caught fire. The Master, on returning from court asked, "Was anyone hurt?"
(He) did not ask about the horses.'

(77) 曰: 「是魯孔丘聖? 」曰: 「是也!」(論語, 那黨)
yue, shi lu kongqiu yu? yue, shi ye
say, this-NAME-NAME-PAR? say, yes-PAR.
'(Chang-chu) said "Is that Kong Qiu of Lu?" (Zi Lu) said, "Yes, that is!"

(78) 治亂, 天邪? (荀子, 天論)
zhi luan, tian ye
order-disorder, heaven-PAR
'Are order and disorder due to the heavens?'

Zai 前 expresses the exclamatory mood of the speaker. It may be added either to a declarative statement or to a question. For example,

(79) 林放問禮之本。子曰: 「大哉問!」(論語, 八佾)
linfang wen li zhi ben, zi yue: da zai wen!
NAME-ask-rite-POSS-basis, Master-say, big-PAR-ask
'Lin Fang asked about the basis of the rites. The Master said" What a noble question indeed!'

(80) 無好辯哉? 予不得已也! (孟子, 滕文公下)
qi hao bian zai? yu bu de yi ye
how could-like-argue-PAR, I-NEG-able-stop-PAR
'How could it be that I like to argue?! It is that I cannot help but do it!'

Though all these particles can serve to turn a statement into a question, there are some subtle differences among them. According to Xu (1964:177,181), hu 乎 and ye 邪 (邪) don't convey the exclamatory tone. Ye 邪 (邪) generally indicates a sense of surprise, while hu 乎 is more neutral and straightforward. Moreover yu 與 (敟) and zai 前 both carry some exclamatory tone. Yu 與 (敟) is more soft-spoken while zai 前
is more exclamatory and unreserved. Therefore, the tone of yu 與 (數) is between hu 乎 and zai 落 on the continuum from neutral to exclamatory.

Similarly, Jerry Norman (1988: 98) also states that hu 乎 is the most neutral and straightforward, yu 與 (數) is felt to be less blunt in tone than hu 乎, and ye 邪 (邪) carries to some extent a tone of surprise.

Note that due to the colloquial speech mode, the CC texts are commonly filled with these modals. Modals may also co-occur to reveal the speaker's inner state and strong emotions. For example,

(81) 吾豈剖瓜也哉! 塔能繫而不食!(論語, 陽貨)
wu qi paogua ye zai! yan neng xi er bu shi
I-how could-gourd-PAR-PAR! How can-hang up-CONJ-NEG-eat!
'How can I be treated like a gourd! How can I [like a gourd], hanging there, not be eaten!'

(82) 其人曰: 「死乎?」曰: 「獨吾君也乎哉! 吾死也。」 (左傳, 裏公25)
qi ren yue, si hu? yue, du wu jun ye hu zai! wu si ye
his-aid-ask, die-PAR? say, only-my-ruler-PAR-PAR-PAR-PAR! I-die-PAR
'His aide said "Are (you) to die (for the ruler)? (He) said "Was (he) just my ruler?! that I should die (for him)?"

1.10 No Specific Passive Construction exists in CC Syntax

It is a well-known fact that with unmarked Chinese verbs the direction of action is usually not explicitly indicated. This is the reason a verb can function in either the active sense or passive sense without a change in syntactic structure (Cf. Chao, 1968: 702-706). Hence, the following famous example (Chao, 1968:72-75) can be taken either way.

(83) 雞吃; 魚不吃。
ji chi; yu bu chi
chicken-eat; fish-NEG-eat
(a) 'The chicken eats; the fish doesn't.'
(b) 'Chicken is to be eaten; fish is not.'
Similarly, consider the verb *chao* in the following examples.

(84a) Xiaoshu chao gong.
NAME-have an audience with a king-duke
'Xiaoshu came to see the lord [to show respect].'

(84b) Wang zhi su yi; ke zhi yi: yu pi tudi, chao qin chu, li zhong guo, er fu si yi ye
king-POSS-NOM-big-desire, able-know-PAR: want-enlarge-territory, have an audience with a king-NAME-NAME, rule-middle-kingdom, CONJ-soothe-four-barbarian-PAR
'Then), what your Majesty greatly desires may be known. (You) wish to enlarge your territories, to have Qin and Chu wait at your court, to rule the Middle Kingdom, and (to attract to you) the barbarous tribes (that surround it).'

In the above examples the verb *chao* appears before a noun (*chao gong, chao qinchu*), but each case has a different syntactic relation and semantic implication. From the context, we know that in (84a) *Chao* acts in the active sense "Xiaoshu was going to wait at the court of the Duke." In (84b) *Chao* is carrying a causative sense "...to make the Qin and Chu States come to pay tribute to King Hui of Liang".

Due to this aspect, the following passage can be interpreted either active or passive from a purely syntactical point of view, though the larger context tells us only the interpretation (a) is the correct one. (C.f Hsueh 1994)

(85) xi zhe, longpeng zhan, bigan po, changhong tuo, zixu mi
former-NOM, NAME-behead, NAME-tear open, NAME-rip open-NAME-pulp
(a) Formerly, Long Feng was beheaded; Bi Gan had his heart torn out; Chang Hong was ripped open; and Zi Xu was reduced to pulp.'
(b) Formerly, Long Feng beheaded; Bi Gan cut open; Chang hong ripped open; and Zi Xu made pulp.'

Some scholars have simply called this phenomenon "conceptual passive" (意念上的被動), and claimed that it comes from the verb itself (e.g. 李新魁, 1983:374). This
does not seem to be an adequate explanation. A much more convincing proposal, though
one which also looks to explain this phenomenon in terms of properties of the verbs
themselves, is that of Cikoski. He sorts Chinese verbs into two classes, neutral verbs and
ergative verbs (Cikoski 1978B:128-135). The following is an outline of Cikoski's
classification:

I. Neutral verbs: The subject of a neutral verb acts as agent whether an object is present
or not. If an object is present it is the patient or range of the action. For example, 碾:

(86a)秦子梁子以公旗辟于下道。(左傳,莊公9)
qinzi liangzi yi gong qi bi yu xia dao
NAME-NAME-with-duke-flag-escape-be at-lower-road
'Qinzi and Liangzi used the Duke's flag to escape (from the enemy) by the lower road.'

(86b)您焉辟之。(左傳,僖公9) (In both cases the subject is escaping)
jiang yan bi zhi
future-where-escape-it
'Where are (you) going to escape it?'

II. Ergative verbs: When it does not have an object the subject acts as agent, but when an
object is present the subject causes or permits the object to be the agent of the verb. For
example, 令

(87a)曰君見乎? 曰見矣。(左傳,成公2) (the subject, 君, is escaping)
yue jun jin hu? yue jin yi
say, ruler-escape-PAR? say-escape-PAR
'(He) said "Did the ruler escape?" (Someone) replied (He) has escaped."

(87b)若從君惠而見之。(左傳,僖公33) (the subject allows/causes the object to escape)
ruo cong jun hui er jin zhi
if-follow-ruler-benevolence-CONJ-escape-it
'If (my father) follows your lordship's benevolence by allowing him to escape...'

(87c)今不封蔡,蔡不封矣。(左傳,昭公13) (substituting 順, a neutral verb, will not jin
bu jin cai, cai bu jin yi      work in the same way as substituting 見, an ergative verb.)
The difficulties of Cikoski's proposal are that the distinction between the two classes of verbs is not easy to recognize, and their membership may shift back and forth in the course of history. An alternative is proposed by Hsueh (1994), who indicates that it is a special property of the syntactic structure of Chinese, namely subject omission, which makes these verbs behave so, rather than some special innate quality they possess. For instance, if the example below were spoken to a waiter in a restaurant, it would most likely mean the following:

'Chicken (I) eat; fish (I) don't.'

In other words, both of the sentences have a clause serving as the predicate, and the subject of the clause is omitted, when the situation makes it obvious. This is a natural corollary of the grammatical meaning of Chinese subject and predicate as topic and comment respectively. When the subject of the predicative clause is deleted, ambiguity may arise as to the direction of the action denoted by the verb (Cf. Chao 1968:72). Thus the passive sense of the verbs in this example comes from syntactical structure, not from any property of the verbs themselves.

Now, let's move on to outline Hsueh's argument on the so-called passive constructions in CC. Hsueh (1994) is the first scholar to argue that syntactically there is no "passive construction" in CC. His view can be illustrated with the following example:

(I)
(88) 彼竊釣者,[subj.]誅。
  bi qie gou zhe, zhu
  that-steal-hook-NOM, execute
(a) 'Those who stole a hook were executed.'
(b) 'Those who stole a hook, (someone) executed [them].'
The first translation highlights the passive flavor of the sentence. The second translation, representing the proposal of Hsueh, illustrates that the passive nature of the sentence comes from the unspecified subject in the predicate clause.

When we consider the nature of the Chinese language, we can conclude that Chinese, unlike English, actually has no need for a special passive construction. After all, passivity means that the subject of the sentence is the "patient" which is on the receiving end of the effect of an action by the "agent," specified or unspecified. In a language such as English where the grammatical meaning of subject and predicate is normally actor and action, some specific syntactic form is naturally required to indicate the reversal of the normal order of agent and patient. However, in Chinese, where the relationship between subject and predicate is that of topic and comment, such a syntactic form is unnecessary. When a speaker wants to express the passive concept somewhat emphatically, all he has to do is to make the patient the topic and then comment on it with a subject-deleted clause as in (I).

There is a somewhat less emphatic way of expression with passive implication, namely, simply delete the subject/agent when it is semantically not quite relevant. Very often, the object/patient in such sentences with passive implication is represented by the pronoun 之 (Hsueh, 1994:399) For example,

(II)
(89) 寶玉而題之以石；貞士而名之以詐。
baoyu er ti zhi yi shi; zhen shi er ming zhi yi kuang
'gem-CONJ-label-it-use-rock; honest-gentleman-CONJ-name-him-use-liar
'It is a gem, but (they) labeled it [i.e., it is labeled] a rock; (this) is an honest man, but (they) called him [i.e., he is called] a liar.'

When syntactic devices like the above are available in the language, the semantic concept of passivity can thus be indirectly but adequately represented. There are, of course, some more oblique and rhetorical ways in Chinese, as in many other languages, to
express the concept of passivity. For example, CC has the patterns "見-V", "被-V", "V-於-N", and "為(N)(所)V." These have been taken as "passive constructions" by many scholars, some of whom have even attempted to chart their diachronic evolution. These scholars seem to have knowingly or unknowingly ignored the distinction between "passive" as a semantic notion from "passive construction" as a syntactic form. Hsueh (1994) has analyzed such examples in light of the special characteristics of the Chinese language, and has demonstrated that these patterns are not passive constructions, though they often convey a passive meaning. The following are Hsueh's arguments concerning each of these constructions:

"N-見-V"

In this idiomatic pattern the word 見 occurs before a lexical verb, which is generally thought to be functioning as the main verb. Consider the following examples.

(90) 頭成括見殺於齊。(孟子,盡心下)

Pencheng Kuo jia n shayu qi
NAME-see-kill-be in -NAME
'Tencheng Kuo was killed in Qi.'

(91) 說行而有功則見忘，說不行而有敗則見疑。(韓非子,說難)

shuo xing er you gong ze jian wang, shuo bu xing er you bai ze jian yi
speak-practice-CNJ-have-work-CNJ-see-forget, speak-NEG-practice-CNJ-have-fail-CNJ-see-suspect
'If there is a success when (one's) proposal worked, (one) may be forgotten; if there is a failure when (one's) proposal did not work, (one) may be suspected.'

Although there is no question that the 見-V phrase carries the passive meaning, it is not a passive construction in a syntactic sense, but simply a V-O construction. 見 itself is a verb and the following phrase is its object. There is nothing unusual about a verb functioning as object syntactically given the lexical flexibility of CC. Therefore, (90) can be easily analyzed as "Pencheng Kuo met (his own) killing in Qi." Moreover, the 見-V phrase with passive sense did not last very long in the language, as we might have
expected it to, had it been a true passive construction. Lyu Shuxiang (Lyu 1955:46) and Pulleyblank (1995:36) have pointed out that, during the Han dynasty and after, 之作 in such phrases acquired an indirect pronominal function, referring to the object of the sentence, rather than the subject. Consider the following example.

(92) 布有何過,君前見攻之甚也? (後漢書, 張布傳)
bu you he guo, jun qian jian gong zhì shen ye?
'What wrongdoing did I have that you formerly attacked me [not, "*you were attacked"] so hard?"

This new function became the norm for literary Chinese. Lyu (1955:50) also pointed out that there are some sentences in Literary Chinese where 之作 in such phrases may refer to either the subject or the object without a significant effect on the meaning of the sentence. Note the two possible translations in (93) below, (a) and (b), for the last part of the sentence, depending on what is perceived as the subject.

(93) 失愛於叔父, 故見罔耳。 (三國志魏志, 武帝紀)
shi ai yu shufu, gu jian wang er
lost-love-be at-uncle, so-see-lie-PAR
(a) '(I) lost my uncle's favor, so (he) lied about [me].'
(b) '(I) lost my uncle's favor, so (I) was lied about [by him].'

(94) 國一日被攻,雖欲事秦,不可得也。 (戰國策, 齊策)
guo yi ri bei gong, sui yu shi qin, bu ke de ye
country-one-day-receive-attack, though-want-serve-NAME, NEG-able-get-PAR
'Once (your) state is attacked, there won't be a chance to serve Qin, even if (you) intend to.'

(95) 信而見疑; 忠而被誣。 (史記, 屈原列傳)
xin er jian yi; zhong er bei bang
trustworthy-CONJ-see-suspect; loyal-CONJ-receive-scandalize
'(He) was trustworthy and yet (he) was suspected; (he) was loyal and yet (he) was scandalized.'
In this pattern, which still exists in modern Chinese, the 被 is thought to be a marker of the passive. However, similar to the 見-V construction, in the above examples both 被攻 and 被誇 are actually V-O constructions. That is, though 攻 and 誇 are verbs lexically, syntactically they are serving as the objects of 被. The following examples are cited by Hsueh to support this point.

(96) 身被二十餘劍。
shen bei ershi yu chang
'His body received [or, suffered] twenty plus wounds.'

(97) 壖子被蘇峻害。
liangzi bei sujun hai
'Liang's son received Su Jun's harm [i.e., killed by Su].'  

(98) 常被元帝所使。
chang bei yuanti suo shi
'(He) often received Emperor Yuan's order [or, was ordered around by the emperor].'

In example (96) 被 is clearly serving as the main verb of the sentence since it has a nominal phrase as its object. In example (97) the object of 被 is a lexical verb, 害. Because of this we can see why it is easy to mistake the object as the main verb and 被 as a marker of passivity. This is incorrect, however, as example (96) illustrates. Example (98) also shows how the lexical verb following 被 is to be taken as an object; native speakers/writers sometimes add the nominalizer 所 before the lexical verb in order to avoid any confusion. Once we have recognized that 被 is serving as the main verb it becomes clear that 蘇峻 in (97) and 元帝 in (98), are not subjects, but are modifiers for the lexical verb which serves as the object of 被.

V-於-N
Consider the following examples of the V-於-N construction, which has also been mistaken as a passive construction.

(99) 治於人者食人, 治人者食於人。 (孟子, 膺文公上)
zhì yú rén zhě shì rén; zhì rén zhě shì yù rén
govem-by-others-NOM-feed-others; govern-others-NOM-feed-by-others
'Those who are governed by others feed others; those who govern others are fed by others.'

(100) 邪克傷於矢。 (左傳, 定公2)
xī ke shāng yù shì
NAME-wound-by-arrow
'Xi Ke was wounded by an arrow.'

The verbs 治, 食, and 傷 before 於 in the following sentences do carry the passive meaning. However, the following examples show that the passive meaning in these sentences does not come from the 於-N phrase, since the addition of the 於-N phrase does not make all verbs passive, and some verbs such as 治 can be followed by the 於-N phrase sometimes with passive meaning and sometimes without.

(101) 管夷吾治於高傒。 (左傳, 與公9)
guān yì wú zhì yú gāo xī
NAME-order-than-NAME
'Guan Yiwu is more orderly than [not, *governed by] Gao Xi.'

(102) 當仁, 不讓於師。 (論語, 阿靈公)
dāng rén, bù ràng yú shī
when-principle, NEG-yield-to-teacher
'When it's a matter of principle, (one) should not even yield to [not, *be criticized by] (one's own) teacher.'

Therefore, we learn that, syntactically, the pattern under discussion cannot possibly be a "passive construction".

為(N)(所)V
The following examples demonstrate how this pattern leads to passive
interpretation:

(103)自今無有代其君任患者!有一於此;將爲戮乎? (左傳，成公2)
zi jin wu you dai qi jun ren huan zhe! you yi yu ci; jiang wei lu hu
from-now-NEG-have-for his-ruler-bear-hardship-NOM! have-one-be at-here; about to-
become-execute-PAR
'From now on there won't be any who will assume hardship on behalf of his ruler! Here's one; is (he) going to be executed?'

(104)吾屬今爲之虜矣。(史記，項羽本紀)
wushu jin wei zhi lu yi
we-now-become-his-capture-PAR
'Now, we will all be captured by him.'

(105)不者，若屬皆且爲所虜。(史記，項羽本紀)
bu zhe, ruoshu jie qie wei suo lu
NEG-NOM, you-all-CONJ-become-NOM-capture
'Otherwise, you guys would all be captured.'

(106)及爲匈奴所敗，乃遠去。(史記，大宛傳)
j i wei xiongnu suo bai, nai yuan qu
when-become-Huns-NOM-defeat, then-far-go
'When (it) was defeated by the Huns, (it) moved away.'

Part of the reason why this pattern is labeled as a "passive construction" is
because the verb 爲 in CC has been misinterpreted as a copula similar to the verb "to be"
in English. Actually, it is a transitive verb meaning "to do, serve as, act as, to play the
role of, and (by extension) to become." Therefore, this pattern can be interpreted in the
same manner as the 被(N)V pattern. The main verb is the 爲, and the lexical verb which
follows is actually the object. Note how, again, 所 is sometimes used to emphasize that
the lexical verb following the 爲 is serving as a nominal syntactically. Similarly, the other
nominal elements between the 爲 and the lexical verb serving as its object are serving an
adjunctive function.
In summary, we know that, as a corollary of the topic-comment structure of the language, Chinese sentences are not always required to have an overt subject. We have seen in this analysis of the so-called passive constructions in Chinese how overlooking the phenomenon of subject omission often causes confusion and misinterpretation in grammatical studies. Finally, we have seen that it is important to make a clear distinction between passivity as a semantic notion and "passive construction" as a particular syntactic form. The failure to make such a distinction results in an ad hoc list of constructions, all of which are called "passive constructions" based on meaning only.

1.11 No Copula for "Equational Sentences" in CC

An equational sentence is a sentence in which both the subject and the predicate are nouns or noun phrases. When a noun or noun phrase forms the predicate of a CC sentence, there is no copula (such as the verb "to be" in English or shì 是 'is' in Modern Chinese.)

(a) 孔子, 贤人也。 (戦国策, 趙策) — Classical Chinese

kongzi, xian ren ye
Confucius, virtuous-person-PAR

(b) 孔子是個賢人。 — Modern Chinese

kongzi shi ge xian ren
Confucius-is-CL-virtuous-person

(c) Confucius is a virtuous person. — English.

Following are more examples of equational sentences whose nominal predicate is presented without a copula.

(108) 魏, 虞之表也。 (左傳,僖公5)

name-name-poss-boundary-par

'Guo (is) Yu's boundary.'
It can be seen that in CC a nominal expression without a copula can function as the predicate of a sentence to indicate that it is equivalent to the subject in some sense. Note that the particle ye 也, often occurs after the predicative noun. This phenomenon has led scholars, such as Jerry Norman (1988:125), Edwin Pulleyblank (1995:16), He & Yang (1992:703), to consider ye a marker for the equational sentence in CC. They propose the form of an equational sentence as XY-ye, where X is the subject and Y is the predicate.

However, consider the following examples:

(111) 君子之德, 風; 小人之德, 草。(論語, 颜渊)  
junzi zhi de, feng; xiaoren zhi de, cao  
gentleman-POSS-virtue, wind; small man-POSS-virtue, grass  
'The virtue of the gentleman (is like) the wind. The virtue of the small man (is like) grass.'

(112) 荀卿, 趙人。(史記, 孟子荀卿列傳)  
xunqing, zhao ren  
NAME, NAME-person  
'Xun Qing (is a) person of Zhao.'

(113) 夫魯, 齊晉之唇。(左傳, 袁公8)  
fu lu, qi ju zhi chun  
as for-NAME, NAME-NAME-POSS-lip  
'As for Lu, (it is like) the lips of Qi and Jin.'

(114) 此人, 力士。(史記, 信陵君列傳)  
ci ren, lishi  
this-person, strong man  
'This person (is a) strong man.'
These examples indicate that it is in fact quite common for equational sentences to occur without the particle ye. We feel that, although ye is commonly seen in equational sentences in CC texts, it is in fact a confirmative particle which mainly functions to indicate a certain degree of assertion of the speaker. Let us look at some more examples.

(115) 萬乘之國，弑其君者，必千乘之家；千乘之國，弑其君者，必百乘之家。

(孟子梁惠王上)

wan sheng zhi guo, shi qi jun zhe, bi qian sheng zhi jia; qian sheng zhi guo, shi qi jun zhe, bi bai sheng zhi jia

'The one who murders the ruler of a country of ten thousand chariots will certainly be (the head of) a family of a thousand chariots. The one who murders the ruler of a country of a thousand chariots will certainly be (the head of) a family of a hundred chariots.'

(116) 梁父，即楚將項燕。（史記，項羽本紀）

liangfu, ji chu jiang xiangyan

NAME, exactly-NAME-general-NAME

'Liang Fu is exactly the general of Chu, Xiang Yan.'

In (115) the adverb bi connotes the assertion role in the sentences. Since the function of assertion is already filled by bi there is no ye present. Similarly, the adverb ji in (116) is also indicating the tone of assertion of the speaker, so the assertive particle ye need not be present. This is an interesting topic for future research.

1.12 Coverbs are All Verbs by Origin

Unlike English prepositions, both Modern and CC prepositional words are all verbal by origin. All of them can occur independently as full verbs as well as serve a prepositional function in a sentence. The term "Coverb" applies to this class of words in Chinese. In the chapter IV and V, I will discuss and elaborate how the coverbs extended from their verbs. Here, I simply use the word yi as example.
In (117) the copverb *yi* is used as a verb meaning "to use". In (118) *yi* retains its primary instrumental meaning, used in a copverbial function as the following examples show.

(117) 袁公問社於宰我。宰我對曰：「夏后氏以松，殷人以柏，周人以栗，曰，使民戰栗。」 (論語，八佾)

*aigong wen she yu zaiwo. zaiwo dai yue, xiahoushi yi song, yin ren yi bo, zhou ren yi li, shi min zhanli*

Duke Ai asked Zai Wo about the holy Ground. Zai Wo replied, "The Xia used the pine, the Yin used the cedar, and the men of Zhou used the chestnut-tree, saying that it will cause the common people to be in fear and trembling."

(118) 亦曰：「以德報怨，何如？」(論語，憲問)

*huo yue, yi de bao yuan; heru*

'Someone said, "repay an injury with a good turn. What do you think of this saying?"'

These examples illustrate that copverbs are commonly used as both full verbs and copverbs in CC. Fully appreciating this characteristic will help us understand their role in the syntactic structure where they occur. We will see this point later in the copverbs chapters.

Concluding Remarks:

In this section, I have listed and elaborated on some of the special characteristics of CC. Note that these special characteristics are not necessarily to be understood as unique to CC. As we have seen, some of these characteristics are also noticeable in other languages in the colloquial speech mode. Nevertheless, compared to other languages, CC syntax exhibits these characteristics systematically and frequently. That is why they are so crucial when we are reading CC texts and doing grammatical analysis. They can provide proper and yet simple explanations for certain grammatical structures which are easily misinterpreted by readers seeing them through the filter of Western grammatical concepts.
2.0 The Significance of the Special Characteristics of CC Syntax

In this section, I will offer some cases to further demonstrate that only by means of fully appreciating the special characteristics of CC can we have a better chance to accurately understand the CC texts and analyze the language properly.

2.1 Stylistic Comparison of the Tso-chuan and the Shih-chi

Some studies, such as He Leshi's (1985), have compared the Tso-chuan and the Shih-chi in order to investigate the changes and development of the Chinese language. These works are very useful. However, I would like to offer another view on this comparison. I believe that the different purposes and motivations for writing the works also play an important role in explaining their differences. Appreciation of the special characteristics of CC is crucial to support this argument, as we shall see below.

2.1.1 A Brief Introduction to the Tso-chuan and the Shih-chi

Due to their great historical and literary value, the Tso-chuan (The Commentary of Tso) and Shih-chi (Historical Records) are ranked as two of the most important works in Chinese history and literature. According to tradition, the Tso-chuan was written by Tso Chiu-ming. The Tso-chuan is arranged in correspondence to the entries of the Chun-ch'iu (Spring and Autumn Annals) and is therefore based on the chronology of the dukes of the state of Lu (from 722 B.C. to 486 B.C.). Together with the Kung-yang chuan and the Ku-liang chuan, the Tso-chuan is known as one of the three commentaries on the Ch'un Ch'iu, which is one of the five Confucian Classics allegedly edited by Confucius himself. This further establishes the Tso-chuan as an important part of the Confucian canon.

The Shih-chi, written by the great Han historian Ssu-ma Ch'ien (145-95 B.C.) is a comprehensive general history of ancient China from the reign of the Yellow Emperor
(traditionally 2697-2599 B.C.) to the reign of Emperor Wu of the Han (140-87 B.C.). It covers a period of 2500 years and is divided into 130 chapters.¹⁶

Both the Tso-chuan and the Shih-chi are distinguished by their aspects of narrative, vivid, detailed descriptions, and the skillful use of dialogue in the texts. They have had a great influence on Chinese history and literature, especially Chinese prose literature. I will argue that the different purposes of the two works result in different strategies in writing the texts and hence the different style.

The problem is, when people encounter the Tso-chuan and the Shih-chi texts, they usually notice that, from the viewpoint of the Latin grammar, there are many "unusual" missing element in the texts, and, it seems that there are more "missing" elements in the Tso-chuan, and so it seems that the Tso-chuan is looser in syntax than the Shih-chi. I feel that this is because the Tso-chuan is a kind of story-teller's handbook which is used in a more conversational situation, while the Shih-chi, though it makes use of dialogues, is written in more elaborate language to better fit the purpose of independent reading. The result is that the Tso-chuan, syntactically, seems relatively looser in grammar, with many "omitted" elements in sentences. The Shih-chi, though it retains the use of dialogue in the text, is written in a more detailed and elaborate style. Therefore, the sentences in the Tso-chuan are shorter and crisper, while those in the Shih-chi are relatively longer, more detailed and elaborate.

To illustrate the difference between the two texts, let's examine the following examples, based on from He (1985), which are taken from descriptions of the same event in both the Tso-chuan and the Shih-chi.

(119a)祭仲幸( ),鄭伯惠之。 (左傳,桓公15)
zhai zhong zhuan, zheng bo huan zhi
NAME-monopolize, duke of Zheng-distress-it
'Zhaizhong monopolized (something). The Earl of Zheng was distressed about this.'
zhai zhong zhuan guo zheng, li gong huan zhi
'Zhaizhong monopolized the state's affairs. Duke Li was distressed about this.'

wei zhi qu yu qi, er mei, gong qu zhi
'(Someone) found (a spouse) for him from Qi, and (she) was beautiful. The lord took her.'

you gongzi wei taizi qu qi nu, wei ru shi, er xuangong jian suo yu wei taizi fu zhe hao, yue er zi qu zhi
'The Right Prince found a Qi girl for the prince-heir. Before the wedding, Lord Xuan saw that the girl who was to be the prince-heir's wife was beautiful, so (he) was pleased and took her for himself.'

wu shi yu min, wu yuan yu wai; qu jin er bu song, gui chu er bu nin, he yi ji guo
'(Someone) did not contribute his charity to the people. (He) did not have support from outside. When (he) left Jin, the Jin people did not see him off. When (he) returned to Chu, the Chu people did not welcome him. By what means can he hope to have the country?'
from the *Shih-chi*. It should be pointed out that, due to the conversational style, a speaker often feels free to omit the elements which he feels are clear to the listeners.

Let's look at these examples in more detail. In example (119), guozheng 国政, the object of *zhuan 尊*, is omitted, while it is included in the *Shih-chi*. In (120), the subjects, *yougongzi 右公子*, *Xuangong 宣公*, and the object, *Qinu 齊女*, are omitted in the *Tso-chuan* but are iterated in the *Shih-chi*. In (121), the subjects, *zibi 子比*, *Jin 舒*, and *Chu 楚*, are all omitted from clauses in the *Tso-chuan*, but included in the *Shih-chi*. Note that the sentences '去晝而( )不送,歸楚而( )不送' in (121a) exhibit the special characteristic of subject omission, which results in the verbs *song* 'see off' and *ni* 'welcome' carrying the passive sense.

Moreover, the following examples show that the *Shih-chi* uses more explanatory prepositional phrases than the *Tso-chuan*.

(122a) 惠公之在梁也，梁伯妻之。*(左傳,僖公17)*
*huigong zhi zai liang ye, liang bo qi zhi*
duke of Hui-POSS-exist-NAME-PAR, marquis of Liang-marry-him
'When Lord Hui was in Liang, the marquis of Liang arranged a marriage for him.'

(122b) 惠公王在梁，梁伯以其女妻之。*(史記,僖世家)*
*huigong wang zai liang, liang bo yi qi nu qi zhi*
duke of Hui-king-exist-NAME, marquis of Liang-with-his-daughter-marry-him
'When Lord Hui was in Liang, the marquis of Liang arranged for him to be married to his daughter.'

(123a) 畝之以之不用僖負鸑,而乘軒者三百人也。*(左傳,僖公28)*
*shu zhi yi qi bu yong jufuju, er cheng xuan zhe san bai ren ye*
accuse-him-with-he-NEG-use-NAME, CONJ-ride-carriage-NOM-three-hundred-person-PAR
'(He) [the lord of Cao] was accused of not using Xi Fu Ji, but (using) three hundred all riding in carriages for high officials.'

(123b) 畝之以之不用僖負鸑言,而用美女乘軒者三百人也。*(史記,僖世家)*
*shu zhi yi qi bu yong jufuju yan, er yong mei nu cheng xuan zhe san bai ren ye*
accuse-him-use-he-NEG-use-NAME-word, CONJ-use-beautiful-girl-ride-carriage-NOM-three-hundred-person-PAR
'(He) was accused of not using Xi Fu Ji's advice, but using three hundred beautiful girls all riding in carriages for high officials.'

The above indicates that the Tso-chuan in general, has more crisp and short sentences, leaving much to be complemented by the context. In contrast, sentences in the Shih-chi, though retaining the conversational style common in CC, are relatively elaborate, offering more detailed information about the situation. This difference suggests that these two works might have been written for different purposes. The Tso-chuan text may have been written as a story-teller's manual to be used in a conversational situation where the teacher or storyteller could fill in the missing elements. On the other hand, although Ssu-ma Ch'ien retained the colloquial style and frequent use of dialogue in the Shih-chi, it was written in a more elaborate style. It is likely that the Shih-chi was a work created more for independent reading or study. This is supported by Ssu-ma Ch'ien's words in his Taishigong zixu 太史公自序 'The Grand Historian's Preface' as follows:

太史公曰：「先人有言：自周公卒，五百歳有孔子；孔子卒後，
至如今五百歳。有能绍明世，正易傳，繼春秋，本詩書禮樂之際，
意在斯乎！意在斯乎！小子何敢譏焉!」

'The Grand Historian says: My predecessor has said "After the Duke of Zhou died it was only after five hundred years had passed that Confucius appeared. After Confucius died until today has again been five hundred years. [Now] there is one who can carry on from the ordered ages, rectify the I Chuan (Classic of Change), continue the work of the Ch'un Ch'iu (Spring and Autumn Annals), based upon and following the purpose of the Shih-ching (Classic of Poetry), Shu-ching (Classic of Documents), Li-chi (Classic of Ritual) and Yueh-ching (Classic of Music). This is my aspiration! This is my aspiration! How could I yield [this task] to somebody else?"

This passage shows clearly Ssu-ma Ch'ien's strong aspiration to write the Shih-chi to carry on the tradition of the Duke of Zhou and Confucius.

Moreover, in his letter to a friend, Bao Ren An Shu 報任安書 'letter in reply to Ren An,' He writes:

僕誠以著此書,藏諸名山,傳之其人......。
'I sincerely write this book, hope it can be stored in a famous mountain, and passed on to the people.'

He wishes to pass the Shih-chi on to the people who share the same intentions and ambitions. Those two passages are good pieces of evidence to support my suggestion that he wrote his work more for the purpose of independent reading.

In the above discussion, we have seen that the Tso-chuan utilizes shorter sentences with more omission phenomena than does the Shih-chi. This realization comes from understanding and appreciation of the special characteristics of CC, particularly the interrelationship between the conversational style, topic-comment notion, and the omission phenomena in CC texts.

2.2 The "Subjectless" and "Lexical Flexibility" Notions Applied to Defining the Particles er 而, ze 则 and zhe 者

As I mentioned earlier, "subjectless sentences" and "lexical flexibility" are widely noticed special characteristics of the Chinese language, but their implications to grammatical analysis are often overlooked by scholars. This has led to misinterpretation of syntactic structure in some ancient texts, and also of the function of some grammatical particles. Recent studies by Hsueh (1991) on er and ze and Haney (1994) on zhe demonstrate how important these notions are for the analysis and interpretation of ancient texts. Consider the example below.

(124)爾何知!? 中壽,爾墓之木拱矣!(左傳,僖公32)
er he zhi!? zhong shou, er mu zhi mu gong yi!
you-what-know!?average-life span, you-grave-POSS-tree-encircle with arms-PAR
'What do you know!? If (your life) had been one of average length, the tree at your grave would have been this thick!'
The term 中寿 in the example above is easily mistaken as a simple nominal expression. However, we must remember that a nominal function as the predicate of a sentence. In the above example 中寿 functions as the predicate of a clause with omitted subject. Since the subject is omitted, 中寿 is functioning as a clause by itself.

This very phenomenon has caused much confusion in the study of the particles.

Consider the following analyses of the particles er 而, ze 則. (Cf. Hsueh 1991, 1994)

(125a) 相鼠有皮, 人而無儀!(詩, 鄰風)
xiangshu you pi, ren er wu yi
rat-have-skin, human-CONJ-NEG-manner

(125b) 人而無信, 不知其可也。(論語, 爲政)
ren er wu xin, bu zhi qi ke
human-CONJ-NEG-credibility, NEG-know-it-acceptable-PAR

(125c) 人而無恆, 不可以作巫醫。(論語, 子路)
ren er wu hen, bu keyi zuo wu yi
human-CONJ-NEG-stability, NEG-able-serve as-witch-doctor

(126) 士而懷居, 不足以為士矣。(論語, 憲問)
shi er huai ju, bu zu yi wei shi yi
gentleman-CONJ-care about-lodge, NEG-sufficient-use-serve as-gentleman-PAR

(127) 子產而死, 誰其嗣之? (左傳, 裏公30)
zichan er si, shei qi si zhi
NAME-CONJ-die, who-PAR-succeed-him

(128) 匹夫而為百世師。(蘇軾, 潮州韓文公廟碑)17
pifu er wei bai shi shi
common people-CONJ-act as-one-hundred-generation-master

Both of Wang Li (1982:445) and Chou Fakao (1959:218) have suggested that the conjunction 而 connects the subject and the predicate in these sentences. Hsueh (1991) notes that if we interpret example (128) in the same way, the translation would be "That common person became the master of one hundred generations." Of course, Hsueh points out, it is highly unlikely that Su Shi referred to Han Yu as a "pifu." The reason
scholars such as Wang and Chou have come up with such unlikely assertions is that they have failed to recognize the effect of subject omission, lexical flexibility, and the topic-comment relationship between subject and predicate on the syntactic structure of examples such as those above. Since the phrases 人, 士, 子産, and 巫夫 are nominal expressions, these scholars feel that they naturally should be the subject, and since the phrases after 亦 are verbal expressions they feel that they should naturally serve as the predicate. They failed to recognize that in fact these nominal phrases are all clauses by themselves with omitted subject. Because of these and other misinterpretations, scholars have yet to come up with a logical, coherent definition of the syntactic function and semantic denotation of the particle 乃. Once we recognize that the word 人 in example (125), the word 士 in (126), the name 子産 in (127), and the expression 巫夫 in (128) are actually the predicates of clauses without subjects, the above sentences can then be translated accurately according to this new analysis of their structure. The following translations are those of Hsueh.

(125a)'Look! Even rats have their skin-cover; (He) is a human, yet (he) has no manner!' (125b)'If (one) as a human, lacks credibility, (I) don't see how that is acceptable.' (125c)'If (one), as a human, lacks stability, (one) cannot even serve as a witch-doctor or shaman.' (126)'If (one) as a gentleman, cares about comfortable lodging, (one) is inadequate to be a gentleman.' (127)'If (it) is Zichan [that we talk about] and (he) dies, [then I wonder] who can succeed him?' (128)'(He) once was a common person and yet (he) became a hundred-generation master.'

With this interpretation, Hsueh concludes that syntactically the particle 乃 always connects two clauses and semantically it always subordinates the clause before it to the clause after it. (For more examples and detailed discussion, please see Hsueh 1991)

Another source of misunderstanding caused by the same oversight concerns the particle 則, which is also a conjunction connecting clauses only (see Hsueh 1994). Some
scholars (e.g., see Han 1984:577-579) define it as an adverb and regard the noun before it as the subject in sentences like the following:

(129) 此則寡人之罪也。 (孟子, 公孫丑上)
ci ze guaren zhi zui ye
this-CONJ-I-POSS-fault
"This is then my fault."

(130) 岂人主之子孫則必不善哉！ (戰國策, 趙策4)
qi renzhuzhi zisun ze bi bu shan zai
how can-ruler-POSS-children-CONJ-certainly-NEG-good-PAR
"How can it be that children of rulers are always no good!?"

(131) 彼則肆然而為帝。 (戰國策, 趙策3)
bie ze si ran er wei di
he-CONJ-shameless-ADV-CONJ-act as-emperor
"He then shamelessly acts like God."

In these situations, similar to the examples with 而, we believe the nominals before 而 all function as the predicate of a clause with omitted subject, and the sentences should, therefore, be translated accordingly as follows:

(129) ("If it is" or "As to") this, then (it) is my fault.

(130) How can it be that, when (one) is the child of a ruler, (one) will definitely be no good?!

(131) ("When it is" or "When it comes to") himself, then (he) shamelessly acts like God.

Hsueh cites the following two examples to support his argument:

(132) 子女玉帛,則君子有之;羽毛齒革,則君地生焉。 (左傳,僖公23)
zimu yu bo, ze jun you zhi; yu mao chi ge, ze jun di sheng yan
women-jade-silk, CONJ-lord-have-them; feather-wool-ivory-leather, CONJ-lord-land-produce-PAR
"If (it) is women, jade, or silk, then your lordship has them; if (it) is feather, wool, ivory, or leather, then your land produces them."

(133) 若乃梁,則吾乃梁人也! (戰國策, 趙策3)
ruo nai liang, ze wu nai liang ren ye
if-that-NAME, CONJ-I-that-NAME-people-PAR
"If (it) is Liang [that you want to talk about], then I am a person from Liang!"
Sentence (133) is particularly significant for Hsueh's argument. The first 者 there is shown to be functioning as a predicate because it is modified by the adverbial phrase 若乃. (Hsueh, 1994:8)

As Haney (1994) shows another example of misunderstanding caused by neglecting the subjectless phenomenon concerns the particle zhe 者. Haney notes that in Aspects of Classical Chinese Syntax, the author, Christoph Harbsmeier, asserts that the particle zhe can serve as a subordinating particle, occurring in such phrases as would be translated in English as "If...". To support this proposition, Harbsmeier notes that zhe frequently accompanies words such as ze 者 and gou 爲 in subordinate clauses. He gives the following examples to support his argument:

(The translations are Harbsmeier's)

(134) 是故任一人之力者，則烏穫不足恃。(淮南子)
shigu ren yi ren zhi li zhe, ze wuhou bu zu shi
therefore-rely on-one-person-POSS-strength-NOM, CONJ-NAME-NEG-sufficient-rely on
'Therefore, if one relies on the strength of one man, then even (the strong man) Wu Huo is not sufficient to rely on.'

(135) 順者遜之。(荀子,強國篇)
shun zhe cuo zhi
obey-NOM-settle-them
'If anyone obeyed, he left them alone.'

(136) 賢者則貴而敬之。(荀子,臣道篇)
xian zhe ze gui er jing zhi
talent-NOM-CONJ-respect-CONJ-esteem-him
'If someone is talented, he will respect him out of genuine esteem.'

Harbsmeier contends that if we take zhe to be a nominalizer rather than a subordinating particle in sentences such as examples (134) and (136), then we will be saying that ze sometimes occurs between the subject and the predicate. Harbsmeier feels, as does Hsueh, that such an explanation is unacceptable. Had he fully appreciated the
significance of subject omission and its effect on the structure of clauses in CC, he would not have had to search so hard for a new interpretation of zhe. He would have recognized that in these sentences the zhe phrases need not be considered as the subject. They are nominal expressions standing alone as clauses with omitted subject. With this interpretation we no longer have the problem of resorting to the unacceptable conclusion that ze occurs as a conjunction between subject and predicate if we consider zhe to be a nominalizing particle. We conclude that in examples (134) and (136) the zhe serves as a nominalizing particle, and the subordination is indicated explicitly by the conjunction ze.

Moreover, Harbsmeier also believes that zhe by itself can indicate subordination without the help of other subordinating particles. He cites sentences such as example (135) above to provide support for this assertion. He also offers another example sentence which he feels offers solid proof that zhe sometimes cannot possibly be considered as a nominalizing particle. The example sentence along with Harbsmeier's translation are listed below:

(137) 故從山上望者若羊

gu cong shan shang wang zhe ruo yang
therefore-from-mountain-upper-see-ox-NOM-like-sheep
'Thus when you look at an ox from a hill, that ox looks (small) like a sheep.'

According to Harbsmeier, if the zhe in this sentence is considered to be a nominalizing particle, then the sentence would have to be translated as "Those who look at water buffalo from a hill are sheepish (resemble sheep)." We believe that it is possible to take the 者 in this sentence as a nominalizing particle if we take the noun phrase 從山上望牛者 to be the predicate of a clause with a deleted subject. The sentence element occurring after the 者, 若羊, is also a clause with deleted subject. Thus the sentence could be translated as follows: "Thus, when it is a case that (one) is looking at an ox from a hill, (that ox) looks like a sheep."
Hsueh and Haney's examples have demonstrated that it is only by recognizing and appreciating the special characteristics of the Chinese language, such as "subjectless sentences" and "lexical flexibility", that we can accurately interpret certain texts and some syntactic phenomena in CC.

2.3. Word Order and Lexical Flexibility Applied to the Verb-Complement Construction

2.3.1 The So-Called "Verb-Complement Construction" in Chinese

The so-called "verb complement construction" (hereafter "VC construction") is a very common syntactic pattern in the Chinese language. For example:

- 擊破:
  (138)旦日饗士卒，為擊破沛公軍。(史記,項羽本紀)
  * danri xiang shizu, wei ji po pei gong jun
  second day-dine-troop, for-attack-break-lord of Pei-army
  'On the second day, (he) dined the troops in order to destroy (by attacking) the army of the Lord of Pei.'

- Li Mu destroyed (by attacking) the army of Qin.'

- 極得:
  (140)乃求得趙歇。(史記,張耳陳餘列傳)
  * nai qiu de zhaoxie
  hence-seek-gain-NAME
  'Hence, (he) gained (by seeking) Zhao Xie.'

- 除去:
  (141)今上為禮儀備謹，而有此惡神，當除去，而善神可致。(史記,始皇本紀)
  * jin shang dao ci bei jin, er you ci e shen, dang chu qu, er shan shen ke zhi
  now-emperor-pray-temple-prepare-sacrifice, CONJ-have-this-evil-spirit, should-remove-out, CONJ-good-spirit-able-get
  'Now the Emperor, completely devoted in praying and sacrificing, still has this evil spirit. (You) should make it go away (by removing it), then (you) can get the benevolent spirit.'
These constructions such as *ji-po* 攻破 'attack-broken', *qiu-de* 求得 'seek-gain', and *chu-qu* 除去 'remove-out' are generally believed to consist of an action verb followed by a term representing the result or the direction of that action. This pattern is more common in Modern Chinese. For example, *tui-kai* 推開 'push-open', *da-po* 打破 'hit-broken', *sha-si* 殺死 'kill-dead', *qiang-zou* 搶走 'grab-away', *na-lai* 拿來 'carry-here', *song-qu* 送去 'deliver-there.' These compounds all function as transitive verbs and most people, including famous scholars such as Wang Li (1984:153-6), Chou Fakao (1961:173-89), and Liu Jingnong (1956:139), regard the action verb as the main verb, while taking the following word as a complement indicating the direction or result of the action. However, when we take a closer look at these constructions we find that interpreting them as V-C constructions simply violates the general word order rule. As we know, the syntactic implication of the word order rule is that in an endocentric construction the modifier always precedes the modified. Moreover, the so-called complement seems to receive greater emphasis. That is, semantically, it offers the most important information (see discussion below). If it were truly a complement, why should it receive greater emphasis than the main verb? That would be a contradiction by definition. Thus we see that the V-C interpretation of these constructions is not only contradictory to the general word order of Chinese, but also leads to an inaccurate interpretation of the relative status in these endocentric constructions.

When we analyze these constructions in light of the principles of word order and lexical flexibility in Chinese, we find that the "complement" is actually serving as the main verb, while the "verb" is actually serving as an action adverb.

Hsueh (1989:102-104) points out that the most likely reason for the misinterpretation of this construction is that Chinese grammarians may have been influenced by Western linguistic theory. That is, they are using the Indo-European language concept to analyze the Chinese language. When they encounter this
construction they treat the lexical action verb as the main verb syntactically, and the
lexical adjective or stative verb as complement syntactically. However, if we recognize
the definition of a main verb as the center or head of the verb phrase, we will see that in
these constructions what has been commonly called the main verb is actually serving an
adverbial function, while what has been commonly called the complement is actually
serving as the main verb. Consider the modern Chinese phrases *tui-kai (men)* "push-open (the door)," and *(ba-men) tui-kai* "(ba door) push-open". In both
the main idea is opening the door, as in *kai (men)* "to open (the door)" (or "to cause [the
door] to open"). *Tui* "push" is only an action adverb indicating the way in which
"opening" is brought about.

Hsueh further argues that adjectives or stative verbs in Modern Chinese rarely
function as transitive verbs when they occur alone. However, since lexical flexibility is
one of the special features of Chinese, it should not be strange to have a verb functioning
as an adverb, or a stative verb or adjective functioning as a transitive verb syntactically.
Actually, in CC it is common for adjectives or stative verbs to function syntactically as
transitive verbs. Such a use is known as the *shidong yongfa* "causative use." Thus stative verbs should most likely be regarded as causative verbs when they occur as
the so-called "complement" in the V-C compounds in Modern Chinese. This function
seems to be more restricted in Modern Chinese than in Classical Chinese. In Modern
Chinese adjectives or stative verbs seem to be used as causative verbs only when they
occur after an action adverb. Hsueh (1989:103) points out that we can say *chiwan fan*
吃完饭 "finish eating," and *dapo yige beizi* "break a cup," but cannot say
*wanfan, or *po yige beizi.18

Thus I have pointed out how the so-called V-C construction has been
misinterpreted and misunderstood. I also have demonstrated that the "complement" is
actually the nucleus of the compound, while the "verb" is serving as an adverbial. This is
in complete accordance with the two fundamental principles, word order and lexical flexibility. The proper understanding of the nature of these constructions not only can help us analyze the Chinese language (e.g. ba 把 and bei 被 constructions, see Hsueh: 1989), but also shows that proper grammatical analysis of the Chinese language should indeed be based upon the special characteristics of the Chinese language.

Similarly, with the recognition of the word order principle, Wu (1994) also indicates that regarding the sentences 以羊易之 and 易之以羊 from Mencius, many scholars, including the two famous scholars Wang Li and Chou Fagao, claim that both mean the same thing, roughly "replace it with a goat." They label 以 as a preposition or coverb, and claim that the "prepositional phrase" (hence, "the modifier") can occur either before or after the verb phrase. Wu has argued and rectified that both of the two phrases follow the rule of word order and yi serves as preposition and main verb in these two sentences respectively. For more detailed discussion, please see Wu (1994:19-24).

Moreover, in CC syntax, Hsueh (1997) also made a very close study of the word yi to further redefine the concept of VC construction and verify some important mechanisms of CC syntax. First of all, he argues that the VC construction exists in CC syntax, but only on a lower level than that of word order. For example,

(142) 晉侯復借道於虞以伐虢。(左傳,僖公5)
jinhou fu jia dao yu yu yi fa guo
marquis of Jin-again-borrow-path-be at-NAME-in order-to-attack-NAME
'The marquis of Jin once again asked for permission to pass through Yu in order to attack Guo.'

The coverb yi occurs between two verb phrases in the sentence. According to the word order principle, it should be recognized that the yi with its following verb phrase is the focus of the predicate while the verb phrase preceding yi could be only an adverbial modifier. But from the context, we know the semantic focus is clearly on the verb phrase before the yi phrase. Therefore, syntactically, the yi phrase should be analyzed as
complementary to its preceding verbal phrase. This seems to contradict the word order principle. However, Hsueh argues that in fact, *yi* here still plays its normal prepositional role, with the action represented by the preceding verb phrase as its understood object. In this way, *yi* phrase is closely connected to the preceding verb phrase and marks the following verb phrase as a complement to the former. The VC construction so formed on the lower level becomes thus a tight unit within which the word order rule does not apply.

With this notion Hsueh further rectifies that the word *yi* when occurring between two verb phrases is usually mistaken as a conjunction when it actually plays a prepositional function. Moreover, with the full recognition of VC construction as part of CC syntax, he also illustrates that the syntactic patterns *ke (nan, yi, zu)-V*, such as 可知, 難求, 易忘, 足戒, do not represent passive constructions in a syntactic sense. In fact, he concludes that these words, *ke, nan, yi* and *zu* are the main verb with their following verb as the complement. In this way, the so-called "Ke-passive" does not represent a passive construction. For more detailed discussion, please see Hsueh (1997).

2.4 Summary

We have seen how the application of the special characteristics can help us rectify some important misconceptions in Chinese Grammar. I am sure, with full recognition and appreciation of the special characteristics, there will be a lot more issues that need to be reexamined more carefully and thoroughly. In the following chapters, I will choose a group of the most common and important particles in CC, the coverbs, for further examination and investigation.
CHAPTER 3

THE COVERBS IN CLASSICAL CHINESE: GENERAL ISSUES

1.0 Coverbs and Coverbal Phrases

The issues surrounding the term "coverb" in Chinese linguistics have been long argued and still remain open for investigation. Most of the debate and argument have been conducted using data from Mandarin Chinese. However, I feel that it is beneficial for me to summarize some of the arguments and issues involved with the category, and support my choice of the term "coverb" for this study.

Because it is a non-inflectional language, the task of identifying grammatical categories in Chinese is complicated. To Chinese grammarians, classifying the words generally called "coverbs" is one of the most challenging tasks. They have long observed that in Mandarin Chinese some words, such as zai 在 'at', dao 到 'to', gei 给 'for', gen 跟 'with', ba 把 'take' etc. exhibit both verb-like and preposition-like qualities. For example, consider the word zai.

(1)他在家
   ta zai jia
   3sg-be at-home
   'He is at home.'

(2)他在家吃飯
   ta zai jia chi fan
   3sg-at-home-eat-meal
   'He eats the meal at home.'

65
Without any form change, the word *zai* in (1) occurs as the nucleus and must be considered a verb, while in (2) it introduces a noun followed by a VP and is considered somewhat like a preposition, as shown by the English translation. The feature of mixed status, partly verb-like and partly preposition-like, has motivated Chinese grammarians to search for a way to avoid labeling such words as either verbs or prepositions. In this way, the term "coverb" has been adopted to refer to this group of words, and the coverb with its object has been labeled as "coverbal phrase". 1

1.1 The Term "Coverb" in Chinese

As indicated by Li and Thompson (1974:258-9) the use of the term coverb by Chinese grammarians can be traced back to Hockett's *Dictionary of Spoken Chinese* (Hockett et al., 1945). He uses the letter 'K' to refer to coverbs and defines them as follows:

Coverbs serve to mark nominal referents in a sentence, either (1) connecting the following nominal referent to a preceding one, or (2) indicating the relation of the following nominal referent to all the rest of the sentence. (Hockett et al. 1945:18).

In addition, some textbooks, such as those in the Yale and DeFrancis series (see Tewksbury 1948 and DeFrancis 1963), also use the term coverb to avoid presenting these words to students as either verbs or prepositions. Y. R Chao (1968) also adopts the term coverb, and, like Hockett, uses the label 'K' to refer to them. He defines the coverb as below.

A listable number of verbs [that] occur as first verbs with the same order of frequency as in other positions and are thus called coverbs (hence "K") or prepositions.(Chao 1968:749).
As for the number of coverbs in Mandarin, Chao (1968:754-69) lists fifty-seven members. Li and Thompson (1981: 368-369) offer over thirty words as representative of the commonly used coverbs with their corresponding glosses.

Thus the term coverb is widely used to refer to this group of words. However, there remains a great debate concerning the grammatical status of the coverb. Briefly, grammarians frequently argue about whether coverbs are "really" verbs or "really" prepositions, or both. In what follows I will briefly summarize this issue.²

1.2 Coverb: Verb or Preposition?

In the last two decades there have been various opinions and arguments as to whether the coverbs should be regarded as verbs or prepositions.³

Li and Thompson point out that J. Charles Thompson (1970) and Liang (1971) consider coverbs to be verbs. J. Charles Thompson (1970:15-16) states that "a coverb is, of course, simply a Chinese transitive verb that happens to be translated by an English preposition... They are distinguished from other Chinese verbs only by their use in translating English prepositions." Similarly, after investigating the most commonly used coverbs, such as zai 在, yong 用, gen 给, gei 给 and dao 到, Liang (1971) concludes that coverbs belong to the verb category.

On the other hand, as indicated by Ross (1991), those such as Audrey Li (1985) who claim that coverbs are prepositions generally cite defining properties of verbs which are not shared with coverbs. The general properties of Mandarin verbs are the following:

(Cf. Chao 1968, Audrey Li 1985)

a. can be negated by bu 不 / mei 没
b. can occur as V-Neg-V reduplication structure for yes/no question
c. may be followed by the aspectual markers -le 了, guo 了 and zhe 著
d. serve as the center of predication and can occur alone as an answer to a yes/no question.
Li and Thompson (1973:274) claim that Mandarin coverbs are best viewed as prepositions which are still in the process of changing from earlier verbs. In Mandarin Chinese (1981), they further propose that the present-day coverbs, which were verbs in ancient times, have been in the process of becoming prepositions during the last two or three millennia. Due to their historical transition from verbs to prepositions, some of these coverbs have progressed farther than others and, as a result, some of them are more like verbs and others more like prepositions. Consider the following examples. (The examples and translations are theirs.)

(A)被把從: function similar to prepositions  
(3) 我被媽媽批評了  
\textit{wo bei mama piping le}  
I-BEI-mother-criticize-PFV/CRS  
'I was criticized by mother.'

*(4) 我被媽媽  
* 
\textit{wo bei mama}  
I BEI mother

\textit{Bei} cannot stand alone as a verb in any context. Neither can \textit{ba} or \textit{cong}. For this reason, they are considered the coverbs most similar to prepositions.

(B)在到給: function as either verbs or coverbs  
(5) 李四在海邊  
\textit{Lisi zai hai bian}  
NAME-at-ocean-side  
'Lisi is by the ocean.'

(6) 他在鍋裡放水  
\textit{ta zai guo li fang shui}  
3sg-at-pot-in-put-water  
'He put water in the pot.'

\textit{Zai} can function in either a verbal or non-verbal (prepositional) function.

(C) 用"use" is only a verb
In Mandarin, *yong* exhibits no difference in interpretation in these two sentences. Regardless of the English translation given for the second example, *yong* should be considered a verb.

With these sets, Li and Thompson state that the criteria for being a coverb is that it must occur in some context where it cannot be interpreted as verb. *Ba, bei* and *cong*, as well as *zai, gei* and *dao* all fit this criterion. On the other hand, *yong* is always interpretable with its verbal meaning and so does not qualify as a coverb. (Li and Thompson 1981: 367)

1.3 Terminology in the Current Study

Regardless of the disagreements of the grammatical status of coverb mentioned above, I adopt the term coverb to refer to the CC words represented in this study. They commonly share some features as follows. First, they all have a verb origin, and their verb usages are still very common in the CC texts. Second, it does not seem to be a very important issue to discuss. We care only that the coverbs in Chinese are derived from verbs, and that they all may take a noun as the object and can occur either before or after a verb phrase. In my analysis in the following chapters, I will show that in some cases, when they occur after a verb phrase, they should be viewed syntactically as the nucleus of
the predicate. Therefore, for the current study I adopt the term "coverbs" to refer to this group of words in CC, and the coverb + NP I refer to as the "coverbal phrase".

2.0 Coverbs and Related Issues in CC

The category of coverbs includes many of the most important and widely used function words in CC. Some crucial linguistic issues, such as word order, verb types, particle omission, and verb complement, all become involved when I analyze the coverb category. The aim of this study is to thoroughly examine the category of coverbs in CC, maintaining an awareness of the special characteristics of CC throughout my analysis. It is hoped that this study will demonstrate the significance of these special characteristics through their utility in analyzing and defining the nature of the coverbs, clarifying some important aspects of the mechanism of CC syntax, and reaching more accurate interpretations of CC texts. I also hope to provide a useful reference for CC pedagogy.

Following is a list of the coverbs which will be examined in this study:

A. The locative coverbs: \( yu \), \( yu \), \( hu \), \( hu \)

B. The instrumental coverb: \( yi \)

C. The benefactive coverb: \( wei \)

D. The ablative coverbs: \( zi \), \( you \), \( cong \)

E. The comitative coverb: \( yu \)

The general concerns of this study are as follows. First, what is the nature, namely the semantic denotation and syntactic function, of these coverbs? The main task will be to investigate the fundamental properties of the coverbs and how they are used in different syntactic environments.
Second, the coverbs are verbs in origin, and in the ancient texts they can function as both verb and preposition. The question is in what situations do they serve as a verb, and in what situations do they serve as a preposition. Moreover, what are the similarities and differences between their roles as verb and their roles as preposition in the CC texts?

Third, the coverbal phrases seem to occur flexibly either before or after a verb phrase. Most scholars hold that no matter whether the coverb phrase occurs before or after a verb phrase, it always serves as a modifier for the verb phrase. This study will investigate the issue of the word order of the coverbal phrase in CC texts. Contrary to common opinion, I will argue that the change of word order of a coverb phrase often results in a different semantic focus and thus different syntactic implication. I will illustrate that in some cases in which a coverb phrase occurs after another verb phrase, the semantic emphasis is deliberately put on the coverb phrase which then serves as the nucleus of the predicate in a sentence.

Finally, some issues which involve individual coverbs will be also addressed and discussed in this study. Through a thorough study of the category of the coverb in CC, I hope to offer a clearer synchronic view of the category of coverbs in CC and define the relationships among them.
CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS OF THE LOCATIVE COVERB YU 於

1.0 The Three Graphs  Yu 于, Yu 於 and Hu 手

Since this study attempts to clarify issues surrounding the coverbs in CC, we cannot avoid a discussion of the relationship among 于, 於 and 手. They all are considered locative coverbs in CC. In general, 于 and 於 are assumed to be interchangeable and 手 is usually regarded as a variant of 於 that only occurs after a verb. From the examples below we can see why it is easy to be confused about the relationship among these three graphs.

于 & 於

宣子田於首山,舍于翳桑。 (左傳,宣公2)
Xuanzi tian yu shousan, she yu yisang
NAME-hunt-be at-NMAME, rest-be at-shady-mulberry
'(When) Xuanzi was hunting on mount Shou, (he) rested under a shady mulberry tree.'

於 & 手

子之民,老羸轉於溝壑。 (孟子,公孫丑下)
zi zhi min, lao lei zhuang yu gou huo
Sir-POSS-people, old-feeble-wander-be at-ditch-water channel
'The old and feeble of your people wandered into ditches and ravines'

君之民,老弱轉於溝壑。 (孟子,梁惠王下)
jun zhi min, lao ruo zhuang hu gou huo
Lord-POSS-people, old-week-wander-be at-ditch-water channel
'The old and weak of your people wandered into ditches and ravines.'
On the surface it seems that these three graphs are interchangeable. However, in this section I would like to present evidence to the contrary. To begin with, 于 is an older form than 於, occurring frequently in the oracle bones and bronze inscriptions, but it seems to have been gradually supplanted by 於. This can be illustrated by statistics, compiled by He Leshi (1987: 1-2), of the relative frequency of these two graphs in various key pre-classical and pre-Qin texts. The statistics compiled by He show the following trends: (1) only 于 appears in the oracle bone inscriptions 甲骨文, and Spring and Autumn Annals 春秋. (2) 于 occurs more often than 於 in books such as the Classic of Documents 尚書, Classic of Poetry 詩經, Ritual of Chou 周禮, Ceremony and Ritual 儀禮 and Spring and Autumn Annals of Mr. Yen 呂子春秋. (3) 于 and 於 occur in the ratio 45:55 in 左傳. And (4) 於 is predominant in most Pre-Chin texts, such as the Analects, Mencius, Hsun-tzu 荀子, Mo-tzu 墨子, Chuang-tzu 庄子 and Kuan-tzu 管子. In fact, in these texts 于 is almost totally supplanted by 於 and generally occurs only in quotations from earlier works.

Nevertheless, even though we have the frequency statistics, the task of distinguishing the three forms and explaining the change from 于 to 於 is not a simple one. Do these three forms represent different morphemes or are they simply variants of a single morpheme? What are the common features they share and what are the differences? This topic has brought about some interesting observations and hypotheses.

For example, Karlgren (1926), based on his study of the Tso-Chuan, demonstrated a difference between 於 and 于, but did not clearly indicate the source of the difference. He noted that 於 was found in the constructions 於是 and 於此 to the
exclusion of 

Moreover, he found that the object of 

tended to be a person, whereas the object of 

tended to be a place name.

Wen You (1984), on the other hand, disagrees with Karlgren that 

and 

take different types of objects. He feels that the difference between 

and 

is only one of time period of use. Wen indicates that 

was commonly used in the pre-classical period and that 

only appeared around 500 B.C. on the East Coast of China. In the East Coast area, 

was not used as a preposition, but due to the similar pronunciation with , it began to be used as a substitute. Moreover, since the Confucian Classics were generally written or compiled in the states of Qi and Lu, which were in the East Coast area, the use of 

was propagated, since the Classics served as the model for later writings. While the evidence seems strong, as we shall see below, that 

and 

were early on used together in texts as two distinct words, Wen You's argument still offers an intriguing possibility as to why the change from 

to 

occurred.

Pulleyblank (1986) offers some solid and convincing arguments that 

and 

are distinct. First, he points out that we should not be misled by their similar pronunciation in modern Chinese. In Early Middle Chinese their pronunciations were different; 

had a voiced onset and rounded vowel while 

had a voiceless glottal stop onset and unrounded vowel. Pulleyblank (1995) notes that even in the Zhongyuan yinyun 中原音頌 the words had distinct tones. The difference in pronunciation alone is a good indication that in pre-classical Chinese they were two distinct words. Moreover, Pulleyblank points out that in the Shih-ching 詩經, where the two words both occur, there is a clear semantic difference between them. The word 

is used in three ways: as a verb meaning 'go'; as an auxiliary verb giving an inceptive or continuative aspect to the verb that follows it; and as a preposition meaning 'to' or 'at'. He argues that all these meanings are related in that they all can be derived from the meaning "go". Notably, 

in the
Shih-ching is never used in the comparative sense 'than', and it is arguably not used to mean 'from' either.

These two uses are common uses of 之 in later texts. In comparison, when 之 is used in the Shih-ching it is predominantly used as an exclamation, but it is also used as a preposition (coverb). As a preposition it means "in" or "at". In contrast to 于 it is not used with motion verbs. Like Karlgren, Pulleyblank notes that as a preposition 之 can be followed by personal pronouns, whereas 于 is usually not.

After this discussion of 之 and 于 in the Shih-ching Pulleyblank moves on to discuss the two words in the Tso-Chuan. As mentioned above, Karlgren (1926) had proposed that they were distinct. Pulleyblank notes that their distinct nature becomes even clearer if we look at word order: phrases introduced by 于 can only follow the main verb while those introduced by 之 can follow or precede. 于 also predominates after verbs of motion, and is not used in the sense of 'from'. Pulleyblank concludes that in the Tso-Chuan there was still a living distinction between the two, although 之 was encroaching on the domain of the other.

To strengthen his hypothesis that 之 and 于 are distinct, Pulleyblank uses semantic and phonological differences to show that the fusions 于之 and 之于 are represented by two different words: 之 (Pulleyblank proposes "(go) there" as its meaning) and 于 respectively. 于 cannot represent 于之 in the Shih-ching, providing further evidence that 于 and 之 are not equivalent.

As for 于, Pulleyblank asserts that it is quite possibly a sandhi variant of 之. In the Shih-ching it is used like 之. A.C. Graham (1978) has pointed out that it is often extrametrical in the Shih-ching, providing direct evidence that it was enclitic, and it sometimes follows an exposed element. In these cases Pulleyblank states that it evidently serves as the resumptive pronoun that is usual in such constructions in the pre-classical language. In Zhou texts written after 于 disappeared, 于 continues to be a variant of 之.
A.C. Graham has proposed that eds may actually be a post-verbal aspect particle, rather than a preposition, but Pulleyblank's idea that eds and eds are unrelated casts doubt on this hypothesis.

Given the above arguments we are inclined to take the stand that these three words should be regarded as distinct, and because the primary domain of this study is the pre-Qin texts in which eds is much more pervasive than the other two, I will focus my discussion on eds. Nevertheless, as we shall see, the usages of eds in the pre-Qin texts appear to include uses of both the earlier eds as well as the earlier eds. This suggests that it was indeed formed by a combining of the two earlier words.

2.0 Analysis of the Locative Coverb 你 于

The you phrases have interested grammarians for a long time, and many have commented on its word order issues. Scholars such as Liu Jingnong (1956), Chou Fakao (1961), Wang Li (1981) and Jerry Norman (1988) hold that when a you phrase occurs before a verb phrase it serves a prepositional function, whereas when it occurs after a verb phrase it serves as a verb complement. In other words, they first assume the flexibility of the position of the you phrases, and, second, they assume that regardless of its position, the you phrase always serves as a secondary factor, namely, a modifier for the verb phrase.

In fact, the issues surrounding the you phrases are more complicated than that, and I will re-examine them here with a different approach. First of all, since you has always been regarded as having a prepositional function, most studies have focused on the larger unit of the you phrase, comprised of you and its following NP, rather than the word you itself. I think, however, that in order to fully understand the nature of the you phrases, I should first determine the nature of the word you itself. Moreover, in many cases you, especially when it occurs after a verb phrase, has been mistakenly treated as a preposition when it is actually serving as a verb, as I will illustrate in this chapter. My approach in this section

76
will be to first investigate the word *yu*, starting with its fundamental properties as a verb and moving on to its coverb uses, in light of the special characteristics of CC. Then we will have a better understanding from which to discuss the *yu* phrases in the CC texts and the issue of the positioning of the *yu* phrases.

2.1 *Yu* as a *Verb*

Because the word *yu* in CC texts usually occurs immediately before or after a verb phrase, many Chinese linguists have assumed that *yu* is a pure prepositional function word. In fact, *yu* is a verb in origin, and in the pre-Qin period it is still frequently used as a verb. The view of *yu* as purely a preposition has been challenged by several scholars recently, best exemplified by Xu Shiqing (1964). Xu exhaustively analyzes all the *yu* phrases in the Analects and Mencius, concluding that in many cases *yu* serves as a full verb. Wang Renjun, following Xu's approach, analyzed all the *yu* phrases in the Chuang-tzu. His study offers further evidence of *yu*’s role as a full verb in CC. One troubling feature of these studies, however, is that they list many different meanings for the verb *yu*. This may be the result of considering the different meanings of various *yu* phrases, and then assuming that those meanings are the result of the verb *yu* itself having many meanings. I feel that this approach may be responsible for making *yu* appear to have more meanings than it actually does. This is an interesting point, and one which I shall discuss in more detail later.

In what follows, I will discuss *yu*’s role as a verb. The observations provided are completely in accordance with the special characteristics of the Chinese language. In addition, the recognition of *yu* as a full verb in this section will play an important role later in the analysis of its coverb uses, especially when I analyze the *yu* phrases. For the sake of convenience, though there are many examples to illustrate the arguments, I will choose only some representative ones for elaboration in the text.
2.1.1 The Distribution of 諸 as a Full Verb

According to the references mentioned above, when 諸 serves as a verb it may possess one of several different meanings. The various meanings which have been ascribed to 諸 as a verb can be summarized as follows:

Pattern (A): 諸 means 'to be at, to be present'. This meaning of 諸 is similar to 在 'to exist', as we can see from examples (1) and (2).

(1) 孔子於鄉黨, 尙尙如也, 似不能言者; 其在宗廟朝廷, 便便言, 唯謹爾。 (論語, 鄉黨)

kongzi yu xiangdang, xunxun ru ye, si bu neng yan zhe; qi zai zongmiaozhaoting, piaopian yan, wei jin er.

Confucius be at-local community, submissive-ADV-PAR, seem-NEG-able-speak-NOM; he be at-ancestral temple-court, fluent-speak, though-respectful-PAR.

(When) Confucius was at the local community, (he) was submissive and seemed to be inarticulate. (But) when he was at the ancestral temple and at court, (he) spoke fluently, though respectfully.

(2) 孫子問曰: '前日於齊, 於宋,... 於薛,...。... 孟子曰: '皆是也。當在宋也...當在薛也...若於齊...。' (孟子, 公孫丑下)

chenzhen wenyue, qianri yu Qi,... yu Song,... yu Xue... mengzi yue, jie shi ye, dang zai song ye... dang zai xue ye... ruo yu Qi...

NAME ask, the other day be in-NME... be in-NME... be in-NME...。

Mencius say, all-right-PAR... When be in-NME-PAR... When be in-NME-PAR... as for be in-NME...。

'Chen Zhen asked, "The other day in Qi..., in Song..., in Xue.... " Mencius said: "Both (refusal and acceptance) were right. When I was in Song, ..., in Xue..., in the case of being in Qi, ...."

Pattern (B): 諸 means 'toward', indicating the participant's attitude or opinion towards something or somebody. It is similar to duiyu 對於 'toward' in Modern Chinese.

(3) 始吾於人也, 听其言而信其行; 今吾於人也, 听其言而觀其行。 (論語, 公冶長)

shi wu yu ren ye, ting qi yan er xin qi xing; jin wu yu ren ye, ting qi yan er guan qi xing

first-I-toward-people-PAR, listen-his-word-CONJ-trust-his-deed; now-I-toward-people-PAR, listen-his-word-CONJ-watch-his-deed

In the beginning (when) I was with others, having heard their words (I would) believe their behavior. Now when I am with others, having heard their words I watch their behavior.
Yu also means "towards" in a contrast situation as seen in the following examples:

(4)麒麟之於走獸,鳳凰之於飛鳥,泰山之於丘垤,河海之於行潦,顔也;聖人之於民,亦顔也。(孟子,公孫丑上)

qilin zhiyu zuoshou, fenghuang zhiyu feiniao, taishan zhiyu qiudie, hehai zhiyu xinliao, lei ye; shengren zhiyu min, yi lei ye

unicorn-toward-animals, phoenix-toward-birds, mountain Tai-toward-small mounds of earth, Yellow River and the Sea-toward-water, a kind-PAR; sage-toward-people, also-a kind-PAR.

'The unicorn to the animals, the phoenix to the birds, Mount Tai to the mounds of earth, the Yellow river and the sea to the water that runs in the gutter, (they are the same in) kind. The sage to other men is also (the same in) kind.'

Pattern (C): Yu means 'to arrive at, reach', a meaning similar to zhi 至 'to arrive' and dao 到 'to arrive'

(5)漆伯玉使人於孔子, 孔子與之坐而問焉。(論語,憲問)

qu boyu shi ren yu kongzi, kongzi yu zhi zuo er wen yan

Name-assign-person-reach-Confucius, Confucius-with-he-sit-CNJ-ask-in it

'Qu Bo-yu sent a messenger to Confucius. Confucius, sitting with him, asked him.'

(6)穆公之於子思也,亟問,亟與鼎肉,子思不悅,於卒也,使使者出諸大門之外。(孟子,萬章下)

mugong zhiyu zisi ye, qi wen, qi kuei dingrou, zisi bu yue; yu zu ye, biao shizhe chu zhu damen zhiwai

Duke Mu-toward-NAME-PAR, often-ask, often-give-meat, NAME-NEG-happy; arrive-end-PAR, eject-messenger-out-door-outside

'Duke Mu's (behavior) toward Zisi was that (he), (sending messengers) often to ask (after Zisi), frequently made gifts of meat for the tripod. Zisi was displeased and in the end ejected the messenger from the front door.'

The noun in the yu phrase indicates the place, person, or time which the previous action reaches.

Pattern (D): Yu means 'start', a meaning similar to zi 自 'to start':

(7)丘誦之久矣, 今於回而後見之, 是丘之得也。(莊子,讓王)

qiu song zhi jiu yi, jin yu hui er hou jian zi, shi qiu zhi de ye

NAME-preach-it-long-PAR, today-be from-NAME-CNJ-then-see-it, this-NAME-POSS-gain-PAR

'I have been preaching this a long time. Today from Hui I see it realized. This is my gain.'

79
2.1.2 Discussion

As can be seen in the preceding examples, the verb *yu* does appear to exhibit several different semantic meanings in CC texts. Some scholars, such as Y.C. Li (1980), conclude that *yu*’s nature exhibits semantic generality. He further suggests that there should be a category called "general verb" to describe verbs like *yu*. I question this view: Do these various meanings refer to one morpheme or several morphemes? If it is one word, how could it have so many different meanings? Is there any common feature which is shared among these different meanings? What factors have caused *yu* to be so versatile? These types of questions help guide my further investigations.

To begin with, recall the relation of *f* and *f* discussed in the earlier section. Pulleyblank illustrates that, in the *Shih-ching*, the key meaning of *f* is 'go', which exhibits dynamic action. In contrast to *f*, *f* is not used with motion verbs and exhibits more of a stative meaning, 'be at, be in.' These distinctions are still evident in the *Tso-chuan*, although not as clearly as in the *Shih-ching*. Bearing this point in mind can help us find possible explanations why *f* seems to carry so many different meanings in the CC period.

When I take a closer look at the patterns above, I notice that *f* in the classical period expresses both dynamic motion, such as "to go, arrive, reach", and a more stative state, such as "be at, from" and "toward." This phenomenon may be the natural result of *f* being gradually absorbed by *f* in the language's development from the pre-classical period to the classical period. First, *f* retains *f*’s feature of indicating motion and direction, derived from the fundamental meaning, 'go'. Second, *f* retained and developed from its own meaning of being at (or in). Finally, from its core use as a stative spatial expression, it also extended to indicate domain and point of reference in general. It is the interplay of these three roles of *yu* in CC which causes it to be considered such a versatile word. Nevertheless, I feel that there is a core meaning to *f* which these
“versatile” meanings all share. Hence it is the task here to look for and define that core sense that can unite all of yu’s “meanings”. It is also worth mentioning that without the fundamental similarity between the core meanings of 去 and 去 it is unlikely that they would ever have successfully merged into one word.

Bearing these points in mind, let's move on to look at yu as a verb. When I re-examine the patterns listed above, I find that the common feature which these occurrences of yu share is that yu occurs between two nouns which are related in some way. I am inclined to propose that the nature of yu as a verb is to put two nominals together into a frame of reference. The core of the frame is spatial proximity, either in a stative sense or in a motion sense. By motion sense I mean that the two nominals move together from a state of being apart, such as the fundamental meaning of the verb "go". Consider the two examples in Pattern (A) listed above. Yu functions as the main verb in the S-P clause which serves as the topic of the overall topic-comment sentence structure. The elements (two nouns) in the frame are Confucius and the local community in (1), and Mencius and various places in (2). Yu functions as a verb to engage the two elements in a "proximity" relation: Confucius is located at the local community in (1), and Mencius is located in the respective places in (2). The engaged relation of the two elements in the frame is the basis for the comment or further information contained in the following sentences.

From this point of view, the meaning of the word yu as a verb extends from the core meanings of 'be (present)' and 'go' to basic spatial proximity. The relationship between the two nouns connected by 去, or the sense in which they are put together, can be one of several different types, but they all extend from spatial proximity. It is these different relationships which make the meaning of yu seem similar to that of several other different verbs. For example, in Pattern (A) the two elements put together are a human and a place. From what follows it is clear that the way in which the two elements are put together is that they are to be considered together spatially. In this case yu appears to be
similar to *zai*. In example (3), the elements in the frame are two people. In this frame, the relation is interpreted to be one's attitude or opinion toward the other. Therefore, *yu* is thought to be similar to *duiyu*. But actually, in example (3) the meaning of *yu* does not have to be interpreted in such a way. It could also be considered spatially, in the sense of "when I am with people..." abstracted to "In my dealings with people...." In example (4), the two elements are put together in a frame specifically so that the relationship between them may be considered. Then the relations between them are described later by the comment "the same kind". In this case, *yu* is thought to be similar to "towards" or "refer to". But this meaning also extends from proximity. It is common in languages to use a term indicating spatial reference when comparing two objects. For example, consider the English sentence "John is pretty smart, but next to Joe he looks like an idiot." In example (5), the messenger and Confucius are put together in a frame. From the context we see that the relationship between them is that the messenger went to Confucius's place. *Yu* here is thought to be similar to "arrive". Again, this is almost the same as the fundamental meaning 'go'. In example (6), Zisi's state of discontent and *yu*, which means the end in a temporal sense, are brought together. *Yu* in this context is thought to be similar to "reach". Thus *yu*’s spatial reference has been extended to temporal reference. Finally, in example (7) two persons, Confucius and Hui, are put together. From the context we know that Confucius has learned something from observing Hui. In this case, *yu* is thought to be similar to "from". However, it can also be interpreted as meaning spatial proximity; it was when Confucius was together with Hui and presumably observed his actions that Confucius realized something.

From the above discussion we can see that it is easy to treat *yu* as carrying various meanings and to assume that it may substitute with other words such as *zai* "be at", *dui* "toward", *zhî"to arrive, reach" and *zi"be from" in CC. However, I have tried to show above that *yu* as a verb does not itself convey various meanings. I propose that the
fundamental property of *yu* as a verb is "to relate," namely, put and relate two nouns together in a frame. The relationship between the two nouns can be spatial, temporal, or, by extension, cognitive. Those who ascribe many different meanings to *yu* are holding *yu* responsible for indicating the specific relationship between the two nouns it joins. I suggest that those relationships are made clear by context, not by *yu* itself. This is why I feel that many studies are mistakenly examining the *yu* phrase, rather than first considering the fundamental meaning of *yu* itself.

Now that I have shown that the various meanings of *yu* can all be expressed by or extended from one fundamental meaning, I will now examine *yu*'s relationship with *zai*, one of the verbs which has been called its synonym. Hopefully this comparison will illustrate that using synonyms as a basis to define words can be problematic. Consider the following examples:

(8) 父在，觀其志。 (論語, 學而) *於  
*father-exist-observe-POSS-intention  
'While a man's father is alive, (you) observe his intention.'

(9) 祭如在, 祭神如神在。 (論語, 八佾) *於  
*jī ru zài, jī shén ru shén zài  
*sacrifice-as if-present, sacrifice-spirit-as if-spirit-present  
'Sacrifice as if present, (one) should sacrifice to a spirit as though that spirit is present.'

(10) 在陋巷: 人不堪其憂, 回也不改其樂。 (論語, 雍也) *於  
*zài lòu xiàng: ren bù kān qí yóu, huí yě bù gài qí lè.  
*exist-poor-alley, people-NEG-endure-POSS-depress, NAME-PAR-NEG-change-POSS-joy  
'Existing in a poor alley-others would not have endured the depression. Hui, (he) doesn't (allow this) to change his joy.'

When *zai* occurs at the end of a sentence, such as in examples (8) and (9), we cannot substitute *yu* for *zai*. I feel that this is a natural result of the fundamental property of *yu*, to relate two elements in a frame. Since *yu* should occur between two elements, it
is natural that we cannot use it at the end of a sentence without an object. In contrast, 
zai's fundamental meaning is "to exist", so it can occur in (8) and (9). Example (10), on 
the other hand, allows both zai and yu because it is indicating a spatial reference. 
However, the meanings are different. When zai occurs, it emphasizes more that someone 
"exists" in the location, while yu is more concerned about the spatial relationship between 
the two elements it joins. Although it might appear that yu and zai are equivalent, we 
maintain that even in such cases as example (1) there are still subtle differences in meaning 
and emphasis between the two.

2.1.3 Summary

In this section, I have shown that when we put too much emphasis on a particular 
meaning of the yu phrase it can block us from seeing the real nature of yu itself and 
confuse us into thinking that yu has many different meanings. When I attempted to figure 
out the verb yu's fundamental meaning, I proposed that it indicates spatial, temporal, or 
cognitive proximity extended from the fundamental meanings of 'be (present)' and 'go'. 
With this definition of yu, we can explain all the occurrences of yu and only with this 
definition can we understand the semantic function of yu. I also discussed how, because 
of the various relations formed by yu, it is thought to convey various meanings and to be 
able to exchange with various other verbs that convey similar meanings. However, yu has 
its own specific properties, and it is only coincidence that some of the relationships 
between nouns it joins appear to be synonymous with other verbs. Therefore, the claim 
that yu is a universal verb in CC is unnecessary. It is just that the fundamental meaning yu 
has is a very productive one. As we know, the coverb yu is an extension of the verb, so 
our observations and proposals above will be crucial as we analyze the coverbal yu 
phrases below.
2.2 *Yu* as a Coverb

2.2.1 The Distribution of the *Yu* Phrases

Having characterized the specific function of the verb *yu* above, I will now investigate its usage as a coverb in the CC texts. Note that the coverb *yu* is derived from the verb *yu*; it retains the same core meaning in its coverb usage, although the extensions seem to go even further. The difference between *yu* as a verb and coverb is that the former basically occurs between nominal elements, while the latter has been extended to occur between verbal and nominal elements. In general, the coverb *yu* functions to relate its following entity, the *yu* phrase, to other elements in the sentence. In this section, I will list the distribution patterns of the *yu* phrase, analyze its semantic denotation and syntactic structure, and then discuss the word order implications.

In general, there are three different syntactic positions for a *yu* phrase: the sentence initial position, before a verbal phrase (preverbal), and after a verbal phrase (postverbal). Please note that the terms preverbal and postverbal are utilized in this study only for the purpose of conveniently naming *yu* phrases which occur before a verbal phrase and after a verbal phrase respectively. Please do not confuse these terms with the concept of preverbal or postverbal modifiers.

**Pattern 1: *Yu* in The Sentence Initial Position**

The *yu* phrase in the sentence initial position is a locative expression which serves to introduce a frame of reference or a domain for what follows. The location indicated by *yu* can be concrete, such as a physical location, or abstract, such as a time or other abstract domain. The sentence initial *yu* phrase serves as topic in the topic comment sentence structure, and the predicate (comment) can be a sentence itself, as we shall see.

Consider the following example:

(11) 吳晉爭先，吳入曰：「於周室，我為長。」晉入曰：「於姬姓，我為伯。」
(左傳，哀公13)
wu jin zhen xian. wu ren yue, yu zhoushi, wo wei zhang. Jin ren yue, yu Jixing, wo wei bo
"(A covenant was made.) Wu and Jin disputed about the precedence. The Wu people said
"In relation to the House of Zhou we are the eldest branch [descended from Taibo]." The
Jin people said "Among the Ji family we have the presidency."

In this example, the yu phrase has a locative sense which forms the background for the
following comment. Note that in this example yu is serving syntactically as the main verb
in a sentence (with omitted subject) which serves as the topic of another sentence. (For
detail, see section 2.3.1 of this chapter)

The following example illustrates a sentence initial yu phrase which indicates the
time reference or domain of the following events.

(12)於四月丁未,鄭公孫良卒,赴於晉大夫。(左傳,襄公19)
yu siyue dingwei, zheng Gongsun Chai zu, fu yu jin daifu
'In the 4th month, on Ding-wei, Gong-sun Chai of Zheng died, and the news of his death
was sent to the great officers of Jin.'

Pattern 2: Yu Occurs Before a Verbal Phrase

In the following situations, yu occurs before a verb phrase. YU functions as a
coverb indicating a frame of reference for the main verb.

(13)子於是日哭,則不歌。(論語,述而)
zi yu shi ri ku, ze bu ge
'If on the same day the Master had wept, (he) would not sing.'

In this example, the object of yu is a time expression, so the yu phrase indicates the
temporal domain of the following action, crying.

(14)不義而富且貴,於我如浮雲。(論語,述而)
bu yi er fu qie gui, yu wo ru fu yun
'If one is immoral and yet attains wealth and rank, (That) to me is like the floating
clouds.'
Here the *yu* phrase indicates the domain in which the following verb phrase is true. In this case the concept of domain has been extended from spatial to cognitive.

**Pattern 3: Yu Occurs After a Verbal Phrase**

When the verbal phrase possesses a comparative or passive sense, *yu* always occurs after it. The *yu* phrase also occurs after adjectives to indicate their domain of applicability. For example,

(A) COMPARATIVE sense: *yu* means "in comparison to"

(15) 李氏富於周公。

ji shi fu yu zuogong

NAME-family-rich-in comparison to-NAME

'The Ji family was richer than the Duke of Zhou.'

(16) 青,取之於藍而青於藍;冰,水為之而寒於水。

qing qu zhi yu er qing yu lan; bing, shui wei zhi er han yu shui

blue, get-it-be at-indigo-CONJ-blue-in comparison to-indigo; ice, water-make-it-CONJ-cold-in comparison to-water

'(As for) blue, (although) drawn from the indigo plant (it is) bluer than the indigo plant itself. (As for) ice, water makes it but (it is) colder than water.'

In (15), the object of *yu*, the Duke of Zhou, is the domain in which the adjective, *rich*, is to be applied. From this we derive the meaning that the wealth of the former is greater than that of the latter. Similarly, in (16) the three *yu*s appear to have two different meanings. The first carries the sense of 'from' and the second two indicate the comparison relationship. With the concept of domain we can see how the two are actually serving the same function. The first *yu* and its following noun *lan* give the domain (location) from which *qing* is taken. *Yu* indicates the location or domain. The concept of 'from', which indicates direction, comes from the verb *qu*. The other two *yu*s form a comparison relation: *qing* is more blue than *lan* is. The function of *yu* here is to give the domain in which *qing* 'more blue' holds and the domain in which *han* 'colder' holds.
(B) PASSIVE sense: Yu means "in connection to"

(17) 聽克傷於矢，流血及踵，未絕鼓音。(左傳，成公2)

Yu means "in connection to":

'Xike, wounded by an arrow, the flowing blood reaching his shoes, never let the sound of the drum cease.'

(18) 聽說舉於版築之間，膠鬲舉於魚鹽之中，管夷吾舉於士，孫叔敖舉於海，百里奚舉於市。(孟子，告子下)

Yu means "in connection to":

'Fu Yue was called to serve (when he was) among the builders; Jiao Ge was called to serve from among his fish and salt; Guan Yiwu was called to serve (when he was) at the hands of his jailor; Sun Shuao was called to serve (from his hiding place) by the seashore; and Ba Qi Xi was called to serve from the market-place.'

In a sentence with passive sense, Yu means "in connection to". It involves its object in a relation with the former action or activity. For example, in (17), Yu and the entity, arrow, form a Yu phrase which is connected to the former event, Xike’s being wounded. Thus the meaning is that Xike’s wound was from an arrow. The relation of the event and the arrow is indicated by Yu. Similarly, in (18) the events, the persons being elected, are related to the locations following Yu, which are the locations or domains from which these people were elected. Therefore, Yu as a coverb serves to connect its following element to other elements in a sentence. Yu is not the lector for creating "passivity". (C.f. Hsueh:1994 for further information on passive sentences in CC). We feel that Yu in the passive-sense sentences might help to indicate that the preceding verb might be interpreted as passive, as we have seen with the verbs 傷 and 举 above.

Syntactically, in the comparative and the passive sentences, Yu is a coverb, and the Yu phrase is the complement for its preceding verb phrase.

(C) Yu occurs after a stative verb to indicate the range or domain in which the adjective property or the description is true. ("Stative verb": most of the adjectives, such as 快 明 显...
In these situations, *yu* means "with regard to" to relate the entities in the context.

(19) 聖明於庶物, 察於人倫。(孟子, 禹季下)
*shun ming yu shuwu, cha yu renlun*
NAME-understand-with regard to-all-things, observe-with regard to-human relation
'Shun clearly understood all things and closely observed the relations of humanity.'

Note that this usage is fundamentally the same as the comparison. It is the context that makes it clear that this domain of applicability has nothing to do with comparison, further proving that the concept of domain actually has nothing to do with comparison, even in comparative sentences.

(20) 奚何快於是。(孟子, 禹惠王上)
*wu he kuai yu shi*
I-how-happy-with regard to-this
'How should I derive pleasure from these things?'

In our assessment, *yu* in the above situations is a coverb which with its following noun forms a *yu* phrase that functions as the complement of the preceding verb phrase.

(D) *Yu* indicates the following elements as a location in which the action occurs. In these following situations, *yu* and its object create a locative expression which expresses the relative position of the elements joined by *yu*.

(a) *Yu* occurs after an intransitive verb (e.g. 坐立生卒死宿 etc.)
(21) 王坐於堂上。(孟子, 梁惠王下)
*wang zuo yu tang shang*
king-sit-be at-hall-upper
'The King was sitting in the upper part of the hall.'

(22) 姜子立於崔氏之門外。(左傳, 裏公25)
*yanzi li yu cui shi zhi men wai*
NAME-stand-be at-NAME-family-POSS-door-outside
'Yanzi, standing, was at the outside of the Cui's residence.'
(23) 然後知生於憂患,而死於安樂也。(孟子, 告子下)

*ranhou zhi sheng yu you huan, er si yu an le ye*

*afterwards-learn-survive-be at-sorrow-calamity, CONJ-perish-be at-ease-pleasure-PAR*

'Then (we) learn (the lesson) that it is from sorrow and calamity that (we) survive, and from ease and pleasure that (we) perish.'

(24) 且子縱不得大葬,子死於道路乎?(論語, 子罕)

*qie yu zong bu de da zang, yu si yu daolu hu*

*CONJ-I-even ifi-NEG-receive-big-burial, I-die-be at-road-PAR*

'Even if I do not receive a state Burial, it is not as though (I) were dying by the roadside.'

(b) *Yu* occurs after a transitive verb (e.g. 殺擊攻 etc.)

(25) 殺子西子期于朝。(左傳, 袁公16)

*sha zi xi ziqi yu chao*

*kill-NAMENAME-be at-court*

'It was at the court that (Baigong) killed Zixi and Ziqi.'

(26) 子擊響於衛,有荷賓而過孔氏之門者,曰。(論語, 憲問)

*zi ji qing yu wei, you he gui er guo kong shi zhi men zhe yue*

*Confucius-hir-stone chimes-be in-NAMENAME, have-carry-basket-CONJ-pass-Confucius-familiy-POSS-door-NOM, say*

'While the Master was playing the stone chimes in Wei, a man who passed in front of the door, carrying a basket, said...'

(27) 秦攻趙於長平,大破之,引兵而歸。(戰國策, 趙策3)

*qin gong zhaoyu changping, da po zhi, yin bing er gui*

*NAME-attack-NAME-be in, big-defeat-it, lead-army-CONJ-return*

'It was at Changping that Qin attacked Zhao. Defeating them badly (they) led the army to return (to Qin).'

The relation between the action or event and the locations is the former one occurs in the domain of the latter.

(c) *Yu* occurs after a movement verbal phrase. *Yu* indicates the location where the action starts or goes. In general, with such verbs as 出起發 the *yu* phrase indicates the starting point, while with such verbs as 入至登録 the *yu* phrase indicates the goal.

(28) 蓬蓬然起於北海。(莊子, 秋水)

*pengpeng ran qi yu bei hai*

*blustering-ADV-rise-be at-north-sea*

'With such a blustering force, (you) rise from the North Sea.'
With such a blustering force, (you) enter into the South Sea.'

The following location serves as the former element's source or target location.

(d) Yu occurs after the double objects verbs 移置放納

' A ruler (should be one who) puts his people on the proper track.'

The latter element is the place in which the former element ends.

Summary: From the distributions of Yu listed above we can see that Yu, which evolved from a locative verb (or two locative verbs) is still used predominantly in a locative sense, but all its uses can be subsumed under the category of putting two elements together in a frame of reference, either spatial, temporal or cognitive. Yu may connect two nouns, or a verb phrase with a noun. Note that in some cases when Yu occurs after a verbal phrase, Yu functions as a verb, while in the comparison and passive senses, Yu serves as a coverb. Now that I have finished our discussion of the meaning of Yu and the distribution of the Yu phrases, in what follows I will investigate their semantic denotation and syntactic structure more thoroughly.

2.3 The Semantic Denotation and the Syntactic Structure of The Yu Phrases

2.3.1 Semantic Denotation and Syntactic Structure of the Sentence

Initial Yu Phrases

In sentence initial position, the NP following Yu can indicate a location or temporal expression. Such a Yu phrase denotes a specific domain for what follows.

(11) 吳人曰：「於周室,我為長。」晉人曰：「於姬姓,我為伯。」 (左傳,哀公13)
The *yu* phrases in (11) indicate the limited domains, *zhoushi* and *jixing*, in which the following attitude or opinion is true.

When the *yu* phrase indicates a time, it is indicating the specific time in which the following actions or events occur.

(12)於四月丁未，鄭公孫堇卒，赴於晉大夫。 (左傳，襄公19)

The sentence initial *yu* phrase indicates a specific domain which can be viewed as an extension of the idea of location. The *yu* phrase is the topic and provides a background for the sentence. The following event is the predicate, the comment which offers new information relevant to the topic. In this way, the sentence initial *yu* phrase modifies the one or more NP+VP construction which follow, that is, the entire predicate, whereas the preverbal *yu* phrase only modifies the VP which follows, as we will see in the later section. Semantically, the sentence initial *yu* phrase indicates the whole background of the event while a preverbal *yu* phrase indicates the domain (location or time) for an action.

In the sentence initial position, *yu* serves as the main verb. Together with its NP it forms a subjectless clause in the subject (topic) position, and its following event is a full sentence which serves as the predicate (comment). Note that this demonstrates the special characteristics of Chinese language: Subject-Predicate should be understood as Topic-Comment and the subject or the predicate can be a sentence by itself. In addition, note that the topic clause has the subject omitted. This can occur because the subject referred to is somewhere close in the narrative, or because the subject is of an unspecific nature and thus does not need to be named. The basic semantic function and syntactic role of the sentence initial *yu* phrase can be characterized as the following:

Semantically, the sentence initial *yu* phrase indicates the domain for the following events. When referring to a specific time, it indicates the
time frame when the following events happened. Syntactically, the \( yu \) phrase serves as a subject (topic) in the following form:

\[ [yu\text{NP}] \text{SUBJ. +[clause]} \text{PRED.} \]

2.3.2 The Semantic Denotation and the Syntactic Structure of The Preverbal \( yu \) Phrase

The preverbal \( yu \) phrase occurs before the nucleus, a verbal phrase, in the predicate. There are two situations in which the \( yu \) phrase predominantly occurs preverbally. The first is when the \( yu \) phrase indicates a specific time in which the action represented by the following verbal phrase occurs. The second is when the \( yu \) phrase indicates the domain in which the following verbal phrase occurs or is true. Actually, these two concepts are both part of the concept of domain, as domain can be temporal, spatial, or cognitive. Examples of the preverbal \( yu \) phrase are shown in (13) and (14) below.

(13) 子於旦哭，則不歌。 (論語, 述而)

SUBJ. \[ yu\text{NP+VP}] \text{PRED.} \]

(14) 不義而富且貴，於我如浮雲。 (論語, 述而)

SUBJ. \[ yu\text{NP+VP}] \text{PRED.} \]

In both (13) and (14), \( yu \) occurs before a verbal phrase in the predicate. We see that the semantic focus lies in the verbal phrases, \( ku \) "crying" and \( ru fu yun \) "like passing clouds." Example (13) shows Confucius behaving according to a gentlemanly code of conduct; if he goes to console others (crying) on a certain day, he won't feel happy that day (sing). In (14) Confucius shows his indifference to wealth and rank attained through immoral means. In both cases the \( yu \) phrase functions as an adverbial modifier to the following verbal phrase, which is the nucleus. That is, the relationship between the \( yu \)
phrase and the following verbal phrase is a close one; they form a modifier-modified construction which is totally in agreement with the typical Chinese word order principle.

The semantic function and syntactic structure of the preverbal \( yu \) phrase can be schematized as follows:

Semantically, the preverbal \( yu \) phrase indicates the domain in which the following action takes place. It also may indicate the domain in which the following attitude resides or in which the following statement is true. Syntactically, the preverbal \( yu \) phrase occurs in a predicate as a modifier for its following verb phrase in the following form:

\[
\text{sub}\] + \[\text{yuNP} + \text{VP}\] pred.

2.3.3 The Semantic Denotation and the Syntactic Structure of the Postverbal \( yu \) Phrases

The occurrence of the postverbal \( yu \) phrase is more common than that of the preverbal \( yu \) phrase. Some scholars have contended that the postverbal \( yu \) phrase serves as a prepositional phrase (hence modifier for the preceding verb phrase) similar to the preverbal \( yu \) phrase. But in the following I will argue that, in fact, in many cases when the \( yu \) phrase occurs postverbally it carries the semantic focus and functions as the main verb. In only some limited cases, namely in comparative, descriptive, or passive sentences, is the semantic emphasis still placed on the preceding verb phrase. In this case the \( yu \) phrase functions as a verb complement. Therefore, I recognize two different semantic functions and syntactic structures of the so-called postverbal \( yu \) phrase. One occurs when the \( yu \) phrase is serving as the nucleus in the predicate. The other occurs when the \( yu \) phrase serves as a verb complement. In what follows, I will analyze the nucleus \( yu \) phrases first, then the verb complement \( yu \) phrases.

2.3.4 The Nuclear Postverbal \( yu \) phrases
When I compared the preverbal yu phrase and the postverbal yu phrase above, I stated my belief that a different syntactic position must result in a different syntactic function in a sentence. Indeed, when I closely examined the structure of the yu phrases, the preverbal yu phrase and the postverbal yu phrase revealed not only different syntactic position but also a difference in syntactic structure. The preverbal yu phrase has a closer relation to its following verb phrase. Together they form the predicate in a clause or sentence. However, the case of the nuclear postverbal yu phrase is far more complicated and I find there are two different syntactic structures: (1) When the verb is an intransitive verb, the verb phrase and yu phrase are parts of the same predicate. Because the yu phrase bears more semantic emphasis in the predicate, and because of the word order principle, modifier-modified, yu is the main verb. (2) When the verb is a transitive verb, the verb phrase, V-O, and the yu phrase are two separate clauses: one is the predicate of the clause which serves as the subject and one serves as the predicate of the main clause. Thus the relationship between the yu phrase and its preceding verb phrase is not as close. In this case as well, the yu phrase is the semantic focus and the word yu is the main verb. It receives greater semantic emphasis in the sentence. These relationships between position and syntactic function are shown in the examples below.

**Preverbal yu phrase:**
(13) 子於是日哭
  SUBJ. [yu NP + VP] PRED.

**Postverbal yu phrase:**
(a) occurring after an intransitive verb
(22) 子立於崔氏之門外。
  SUBJ. [VP + yu NP] PRED.

(b) occurring after an transitive verb
(25) ( )殺子西子期於朝
  [ (NP) + VP] SUBJ. [yu NP] PRED.
Moreover, reading the sentences aloud emphasizes this point. When we read a sentence, the preverbal yu phrase is generally read without a pause between it and its following verbal phrase. This is further indication that they function as one unit. In the postverbal nuclear yu phrase in (25), the whole sentence is read with a pause after the verb phrase to indicate that the verb phrase and the yu phrase belong to separate clauses. Now, let's discuss in detail some examples of the postverbal nucleus yu phrase:

(25) (白公)殺子西子期于朝, 而劫(楚)惠王。 (左傳, 壬公16)
'Baigong killed Zixi and Ziqi in the court.'

(24) 且子縱不得大葬, 子死於道路乎? (論語, 子罕)
'Even if I were not given an elaborate funeral, it is not as if I was dying by the wayside.'

(22) 墨子立於崔氏之門外。 (左傳, 裏公25)
'Yanzi was present, by standing, outside the Cui's residence.'

On the surface, it is easy to assume that in these examples the verb phrase and its following yu phrase are in a verb-complement construction. That is, the sentences, 殺子西子期于朝, 死於道路 and 立於崔氏之門外 are generally treated as predicates. This view treats yu as a preposition which with its object forms a complement to the preceding verb phrase. This does not seem right. Why should a modifier occur after its modified? This violates the principles of Chinese word order. More importantly, interpreting the yu phrases as verb complements obscures the real semantic implication of the sentences. In these sentences the yu phrases carry greater semantic emphasis. The location is the focus. For example, in (25), Bai Gong killed Zixi and Ziqi right in the court. Killing someone there was taboo, much like killing someone during a church service in today's society. This emphasis shows the severity and brutality of Bai Gong's rebellion. In example (24), Confucius is emphasizing that even if he were not given an elaborate funeral, it would not be as if he died on the road or anything as inauspicious as that. The lack of an elaborate
funeral is being contrasted with the terrible thought of lying dead at the side of the road with no burial at all. Similarly, in example (22), it is very unusual for Yanzi to be present in front of the Cui residence, because the Cui clan had killed Zhuanggong, who was Yanzi's master. In addition, the conversation he had with his aide in the location is significant. It shows that he was good at offering persuasive reasons why he did not need to die for Zhuanggong. From the above, we can conclude that, in fact, in these sentences it is the yu phrase which carries the central information, the focus, and thus serves as the nucleus of the predicate.

Now let us clarify the two types of structures in the nuclear yu phrases. I have indicated that when a yu phrase occurs after a transitive verb phrase which is a V-O construction, as in (25), the V-O verbal phrase and the yu phrase are in two separate clauses. In other words, the V-O verbal phrase and the yu phrase both serve as a predicate: the former is the predicate of the clause which serves as the subject of the main clause and the latter serves as the predicate of the main clause. The other type of nuclear yu phrase occurs after an intransitive verb such as si and li in (24) and (22). In these cases, the yu phrase and its preceding verb are elements in the same clause, which serves as the predicate. In both cases, according to semantic emphasis and the word order principle, the yu phrase is the focus of the predicate. Moreover, due to the lexical flexibility in CC, it is normal to see a verb syntactically functioning as an adverbial. Si and li here are verbs lexically, but they are functioning as adverbials syntactically. The semantic meaning and the syntactic structure of the postverbal nuclear yu phrases can be schematized as follows.

(A) Transitive verb: Verbal phrase and yu phrase are two separate clauses:

(25) (自公)殺 子西子期 于朝。(左傳,哀公16)

[V-O] PRED.

[Clause 1] SUBJ.

[V location] PRED.

[Clause 2] PRED.
Summary for the Postverbal 与 Phrases Section:

I have proposed and illustrated that, contrary to common belief, the 与 phrase which occurs after a verb phrase, except in the cases of comparative, descriptive and passive sentences, indeed serves as the main verb in the predicate, while the preceding verb phrase is the secondary consideration in the sentence. Moreover, the postverbal 与 phrase usually conveys a locative expression, either the location where the action occurs or the location where the action goes to or starts from. Due to the influence of Latin grammar and the overlooking of the special characteristics of the Chinese language, scholars have mistaken the 与 phrase as being always complementary to the verb phrase and consequently incorrectly analyzed the function word 与. My analysis of the preverbal and postverbal 与 phrases here is consistent and in accordance with the special characteristics of the Chinese language. It is supported by 与's verbal origin, general word order rule, subject omission, lexical flexibility, and sentence as subject and predicate in Chinese. Most of all, it helps us in more accurately interpreting CC texts.

2.4 The 与 Phrases as Verb Complement

The term "verb complement" (VC hereafter) has been applied to certain constructions in both modern and Classical Chinese. However, the concept of VC in Modern Chinese has been challenged by Hsueh (1989) in his study of ba and bei...
constructions. Hsueh’s argument shows that the so-called verb in the modern Chinese VC construction actually functions as an adverbial modifier, while the so-called "complement" is the main verb. He further investigates the VC in CC with his study involving the particle yi (Hsueh 1997). When yi occurs between two VPs, Hsueh argues, it is not a conjunction at all; yi and its following VP serve as the verb complement for the previous VP. He also points out that although the VC construction surely exists in CC syntax, it is a phenomenon on a lower level than that of word order. The verb and the complement together form a unit which then follows the general word order principle. Hsueh’s observations have led me to investigate the VC phenomenon in relation to the yu phrases.

I have observed that in some cases when a yu phrase occurs after a verb phrase the semantic focus is placed on the preceding verb phrase. However, I have also observed that this occurs only in certain situations, namely when the preceding verb has a stative quality, carrying a comparative or descriptive sense. In these cases the verb phrase is the nucleus in the predicate while the yu phrase serves as the verb complement.

Consider the following examples:

(16)冰,水為之而寒於水。(荀子, 勸學)-adjective with comparative sense
(17)郤克傷於矢, 流血及踵。(左傳,成公2)-action verb with passive sense
(19)舜明於庶物, 險於人倫。(孟子, 雍指下)-adjective with descriptive sense

This analysis raises some questions. First, does this construction violate the general word order principle, modifier precedes modified? Second, what are the common features that distinguish VC yu phrases? The following arguments will help to answer these questions and offer support to my claim that some yu phrases in CC function as verb complements.

First of all, I have already proposed that, when a yu phrase follows a verb carrying a comparative, passive or descriptive sense, the yu phrase and its preceding verb phrase are closely related and form a unit in the predicate. In this way, the yu phrase as
Complement exists on a lower level than that of word order; the yu phrase and its preceding verb phrase form one unit.

Second, we observe that the VC yu phrases do share some common features and are distinguishable from the other types of yu phrases. First, they follow verb phrases which have a descriptive function. This is clear in the comparative and descriptive situations, but what about passive sense? How can an action verb be called descriptive? In his study of ba and bei constructions, Hsueh (1989) indicates that when an action verb carries the passive sense it is recognized as having a stative quality and serving a descriptive function. Thus it is similar to an adjective. When we consider carefully all three situations mentioned above it becomes clear that they are all very similar. Thus, the verb phrases preceding the VC yu phrase all have descriptive function. In addition, the VC yu phrases only occur after the verb phrase; they may not occur before the verb phrase. Now, let me summarize the common features of the VC yu phrase as follows:

- A yu phrase serves as verb complement only when it follows a verb that has a descriptive, comparative, or passive function.

- The yu phrase and its preceding verb phrase form a unit at a lower level than that of word order.

Now that we have recognized the concept of the VC yu phrase, let's further discuss its semantic function and syntactic structure.

(16)冰,水为之而寒於水。稽字,勤學) - (yu phrase follows adjective with comparative sense)

In the comparative situation in (16), the yu phrase and the verb han are closely related and form a unit in the sentence. Han is the semantic focus and is followed by the complement, the yu phrase. The element, bing "ice" is being described as han "cold".
The VC phrase relates the domain of specific applicability, 水 "water", to the verb  han, thus creating a relative relation: "ice is colder than water". Following is the structure:

(冰)⋅⋅寒 於水
  [V  C  ]
   / \
   yu  obj

(17)郤克傷於矢,流血及屦。 (左傳,成公2) - (yu phrase follows action verb with passive sense)

In the passive sense, the NP, Xike, is described as being wounded. The yu phrase indicates the source of the wound. The verb is the semantic focus and the yu phrase is the complement.

In the situation in which the yu phrase occurs after an adjective, the yu phrase denotes the domain in which the description of the adjective is applicable.

(19)舜明於庶物,察於人倫。
(20)吾何快於是。

When we examine the whole context we can see that the semantic emphasis is put on the verb phrase, even though it precedes the yu phrase. For example, (19) emphasizes that Shun is a good king by citing his "good understanding" of all things and "sharp observance" of the hierarchy of human relations. In (20) Mencius is emphasizing the difficulty of being content in such circumstances. The emphasis is much on being content, instead of the circumstances. Following is the syntactic structure of these sentences:

(19)舜明於庶物, ( ) 察於人倫。
   SUBJ. [V+C] PRED.        SUBJ. [V+C] PRED.

(20)吾何快於是。
   SUBJ. [V+C] PRED.
3.0 The Word Order Principle and the Yu Phrases

The word order of Yu phrases is of particular interest to grammarians and has been frequently observed and discussed. I have touched on word order issues earlier when I illustrated that, when a Yu phrase occurs after a verbal phrase, semantic emphasis is frequently deliberately put on the Yu phrase, which then serves as the nucleus of the predicate. I have also demonstrated that preverbal and postverbal Yu phrases are different not only in syntactic structure, but also in the semantic focus. In this section, I will discuss the word order of the Yu phrase in more detail. The organization of this section is as follows: In 3.1, I will investigate the situations in which the Yu phrase is immovable and those in which it is moveable. In 3.2, I will examine the moveable Yu phrases with examples in which the Yu phrase occurs before and after the same type of verb. Their semantic meaning and syntactic function will be discussed. Finally, in 3.3 a summary and concluding remarks will be offered.

3.1 The Distribution Patterns of the Yu Phrases

3.1.1 Patterns in Which the Yu Phrases are Immovable

Based on the distribution patterns in 2.2.1, let us examine the potential for movement of the preverbal and postverbal Yu phrase. I will start with the preverbal Yu phrase. Consider the following examples:

(13) 子於是日哭,則不歌。(論語, 逝而)→
子於是日,則不歌。

(14) 不義而富且貴,於我如浮雲。(論語, 逝而)→
不義而富且貴,如浮雲於我。

In both (13) and (14) the Yu phrase can be moved after the verbal phrase, although doing so changes the semantic emphasis and syntactic structure of the sentence. In these
situations, when 句 occurs after a verb phrase the semantic focus has been deliberately put on the 句 phrase. When it occurs before a verb phrase, the 句 phrase is the modifier for the nuclear verb phrase.

Let's move on to examine the postverbal 句 phrase. It is obvious that when a 句 phrase carries a comparative or passive sense it may only occur after the verbal phrase.

(15) 小子識之，苛政猛於虎也。（禮記，檀弓下）→
    *小子識之，苛政於虎猛也。

(17) 卑克傷於矢，流血及屦。（左傳，成公二年）→
    *卑克於矢傷，流血及屦。

In addition, the pattern in which a 句 phrase indicates the domain of applicability of an adjective is not flexible with respect to whether it occurs before or after the adjective. For example,

(20) 吾何快於是。→
    ?吾於是何快。

This further supports my claim that when the verb carries a comparative, descriptive or passive sense, the following 句 phrase functions as a complement. It is probably due to the constraint of the complement construction that the 句 phrases in these circumstances cannot occur before the verb.

3.1.2 Patterns in Which the 句 Phrases are Moveable

When the 句 phrase indicates the location in which the action occurs it is commonly located after another verb. Though the semantic meaning or emphasis and syntactic structure will change as a result, such 句 phrases are quite free to move before the verbal phrase, as shown in the following examples:

-intransitive verb:
(22) 吴子立於崔氏之門外。（左傳，襄公25）→
    吴子於崔氏之門外立。
Despite examples such as these, the general claim that *yu* can occur either before or after a verbal phrase needs to be qualified. *Yu* phrases cannot arbitrarily occur either before or after a verb phrase; certain conditions must be met. As we have seen, when a *yu* phrase follows a verb carrying comparative, descriptive or passive sense it may only occur after the verbal phrase. On the other hand, when the *yu* phrase indicates the location in which an action occurs, begins or ends, it has relatively greater syntactic position flexibility. However, even in this usage a position change brings with it corresponding syntactic and semantic changes.

In the following section I will take a closer look at the *yu* phrases that occur relatively flexibly either before or after the verb in order to test my claim that change in position leads to both syntactic and semantic changes.

3.2 Issues on Semantic Denotation and Syntactic Structure

After examining several pairs of sentences with *yu* phrases occurring both before and after verbs of similar type, I find that they can be divided into two groups based on the type of semantic change that occurs as the result of change in position of the *yu* phrase. In group (A) the semantic change is one of emphasis. Some observers have overlooked this change, and that is why some have claimed that the *yu* phrases can occur either before
or after another verb phrase without a change in meaning. In group (B) the semantic change is more obvious.

**Group (A):** The different syntactic position of the *yu* phrase results in a different semantic emphasis in addition to a change in syntactic structure.

1. *Yu* phrase indicates the time in which the action or event occurs

   When a *yu* phrase conveys the time in which an action or event occurs it generally occurs before a verb phrase. There are, however, some cases in which such a *yu* phrase occurs after the verb phrase. The resulting change is a change of emphasis.

   (31a) 子於是日哭,則不歌。*(論語,述而)*
   'On a day the Master had wept, (he) would not sing.'

   (31b) 春秋種穀,夏秋收穀,春秋藏穀。*(荀子,天論)*
   'It is in spring and summer that (the people) plant and raise, and in autumn and winter (the people) harvest and store.'

   In both examples the *yu* phrase indicates the time in which the action happens. In (31a), the *yu* phrase is the modifier for the main verb phrase. However, as seen in (31b), when such a *yu* phrase occurs after the verb phrase the semantic emphasis has been placed on it and it serves as the nucleus of the predicate. The syntactic and semantic changes caused by the different position of the *yu* phrase can be understood as follows: in (31a) the *yu* phrase *yu shi ri* is the adverbial phrase for *ku*, which is the main verbal phrase in the predicate, while in (31b) the verbal phrase that occurs before the *yu* phrase, *xu ji shou cang*, is an adverbial phrase modifying the main verb phrase in the predicate, *yu qiu dong*. Therefore the *yu* phrase in (31a) only serves a secondary function, modifying the main activity "crying," while the *yu* phrase in (31b) is carrying the most important information in the predicate, namely the correct seasons for harvesting and storing to occur.
2. Yu phrase indicates the place where the action occurs  
- With intransitive verbs:

   When a Yu phrase indicates the location in which an action occurs, it generally may occur either before or after the verb phrase. The different positions of Yu result in different semantic denotation and syntactic structure, however the changes are relatively subtle and easy to overlook. For example,

   (32a) 被於道而死,上聞惜之。(漢書,王褒傳)  
   'Bao became ill and died on the road. The emperor felt pity for him.'

   (32b) 且予縱不得大葬,子死於道路乎? (論語,子罕)  
   'Even if I were not given an elaborate funeral, it is not as if, in death, I will be lying on the side of the road!'

   (33a) 今死而婦人窺之自殺者二人,若斯者,其必於長者薄,於婦人厚。(戰國策,趙策)  
   'Now (he) died and two women killed themselves for him. In this way, (he) must have treated the seniors lightly and the women seriously.'

   (33b) 鼓射日:無損於怒而厚於寇,不如勿與。(左傳,僖公14)  
   'Guo-yi said' if we give the grain' there would be no lessening of Qin’s resentment, and (we would be) giving aid to our enemy. Is it not better that we not give (the grain),'

   (34a) 去邠, 督梁山,邑於岐山之下居焉。(孟子,梁惠王下)  
   '(King Tai) left Bin, crossed Liang mountain, built a town at the foot of Qi mountain, and dwelt there.'

   (34b) 子路宿於石門。(論語,憲問)  
   'Zi-lu rested at the Stone Gate.'

   (35a) 齊子曰:「敗楚服鄭,於此在矣!必許之。」(左傳,宣公12,昭公24)  
   'Zhi-zi said: "The defeat of Chu and the securing of the allegiance of Zheng will come about from this. (We) must agree to it [the envoy's proposal]."'

   (35b) 以繩墨自薦,而僃世之急,古之道術有在於是者。(莊子,天下)
To use strict regulations to regulate oneself in order to prepare for the emergencies of the age - the ancient way existed on such ideas!

In these examples, whether the yu phrase occurs before or after the verbal phrase, it serves basically to denote the location in which the activity happens. However, we have shown that a change of position of the yu phrase leads to both syntactic change and a different semantic focus. In general, if the speaker wants to emphasize the information in the yu phrase it is placed after the verbal phrase. Consider example (32b). As we mentioned before, Confucius is emphasizing that even if he were not given an elaborate funeral, it would not be as if he died on the road or anything as inauspicious as that. Similarly, in the other examples, when the yu phrase comes second it has the semantic focus and becomes the main verb phrase in the predicate.

- With transitive verbs:

(36a) 為之廣莫,於晉為都。(左傳,莊公28)
'The wide territory of Di will be the capital in Jin.'

(36b) 為館於其宮側而振萬焉。(左傳,莊公28)
'[The chief minister of Chu, Zi-yuan] constructed a hall by the side of (King Wen's Widow's) palace and the Wan dance was performed therein.'

(37a) 宋先代之後也,於周為客。(左傳,僖公24)
'Song is the descendant of the former dynasty; (it) serves as a guest to Zhou.'

(37b) 故周鄭交質,王子狐為質於鄭,鄭公子忽為質於周。(左傳,隱公3)
'Therefore, Zhou and Zheng exchanged hostages. The King's son Hu, serving as a hostage, went to Zheng, and the earl's eldest son Hu, serving as a hostage, went to Zhou.'

奏, 攻:

(38a) 九德之歌, 九聲之舞, 於宗廟之中奏之。(周禮,春官,大司樂)
'The song of nine virtues and the dance of nine musical stones - play them in the ancestral temple.'

(38b) 潞成攻於長平,大破之。(戰國策,趙4)
'Qin attacked Zhao in Chang-ping. (Qin) defeated Zhao badly.'
The above examples show that the \(yu\) phrase can occur before or after a verb phrase when it indicates the time or location in which an event occurs. In these cases the \(yu\) phrase becomes the main verb phrase in the predicate when it is moved to a position following another verb phrase. This syntactic change is accompanied by a change in semantic emphasis. The information contained in the \(yu\) phrase is emphasized.

- With verbs such as \(de\) 得 'to gain,' \(qu\) 取 'to get,' \(suo\) 索 'to seek,' and \(qiu\) 求 'to ask for':

(39a) \(yu\) phrase as preverbal

人眾與處,於眾得非,.......人眾與處,於眾得譽。 (墨子,尚同中)
'(When one) interacts with others, (he) gains criticism from others, ... (when one) interacts with others, (one) gains compliments from others.'

於文王取法焉 (墨子,兼愛下)
'Gain the laws from King Wen.'

所以考其善不善者,豈有他哉?於己取之而已矣。 (孟子,告子上)
'That which is used to determine whether [his way of nourishing] is good or not - Is there another way!? - (He) must reflect on himself and that is all [the only way].'

(39b) \(yu\) phrase as postverbal

為政不難,不得罪於巨室。 (孟子,離婁)
'Governing is not difficult; (all one has to do is) not offend the noble families.'

上取象於天,下取象於地,中取則於人。 (荀子,禮論)
'(The former kings) looked up and took their model from heaven, looked down and took their model from the earth, looked about and took their rules from mankind.'

今女不求之於本而索之於末。 (荀子,議兵)
'Now you do not try to get at the root of the matter, but look for a model in superficial appearances.'

From the above examples we can see that because of the inherent direction of these verbs, the \(yu\) phrase indicates the source of the action whether it occurs before or after the verb phrase. When the \(yu\) phrase occurs after the verb phrase, however, it receives the semantic emphasis and becomes the main verb in the predicate.
Group (B): The different position of the *yu* phrase results in a more obvious semantic change as well as a different syntactic structure.

-with movement verbs: 移置逐邊驅 the *yu* phrase is generally postverbal

(40a)河內凶則移其民於河東，移其粟於河內。（孟子，梁惠王上）

'(When) the crop failed in He Nei, (I) moved the people to He Dong and the grain to He Nei.'

--->(40b)於河東移其民，於河內移其粟。

'Within He Dong (I) moved the people (to some other place) and within He Nei, (I) moved the grain (to some other place).'

(41a)太甲頒覆湯之典刑，伊尹放之於桐。（孟子，萬章上）

'Tai Jia was turning upside down the laws of Tang. Yi Ying exiled him to Tong.'

--->(41b)於桐放之。

'...within Tong placed him (somewhere).'

(42a)欲逐子嬰於齊。（戰國策）

'(He) wants to banish Zi-ying to Qi.'

--->(42b)於齊逐子嬰。

'In Qi (he) banished Zi-ying (to somewhere else)' (43a)武王克商，遷九鼎于雒邑。（左傳，桓公2）

'When King Wu had subdued Shang, (he) removed the nine tripods to the city of Luo.'

--->(43b)于雒邑遷九鼎。

'...Within the city of Luo (He) moved the nine tripods (to somewhere else).'

From the pairs of examples above we see that when the *yu* phrases occur after a movement verb they indicate the target of the movement, whereas when the *yu* phrases occur before the movement verb they indicate the domain in which the movement occurs. This clear semantic change in the group (B) sentences contrasts with the group (A) sentences, where the change in position of the *yu* phrase resulted in a more subtle change of semantic emphasis. This difference is directly related to the types of verbs in the
examples. The group (B) examples are characterized by movement verbs, which inherently imply direction. When the $yu$ phrase occurs after the motion verb phrase $yu$ serves as the main verb and the motion verb phrase serves as an adverbial modifier. The $yu$ phrase indicates the important location in the predicate. The adverbial modifier may convey a direction, which makes it appear as if the $yu$ phrase indicates direction. Actually, the direction is from the modifier, not from $yu$. For example in (40a), the action of moving occurs in the adverbial phrase $yi\ qi\ min$, and the $yu$ phrase, $yu\ He\ Dong$, is the nucleus of the predicate. Being 'at He Dong' is the focus of the predicate, and the action is only interpreted as one of moving from one place to another because of the adverbial modifier 'moving his people.' On the other hand, when the $yu$ phrase occurs before the motion verb phrase the $yu$ phrase is the modifier. In this usage it retains its basic semantic denotation of indicating a domain where the following event or activity occurs. For example, in (40b), the verb phrase, $yi\ qi\ min$, is the nucleus and the adverbial $yu$ phrase, $yu\ He\ Dong$, serves to bound the action of 'moving his people' within the place, $He\ Dong$. Thus $He\ Dong$ is the place where the 'moving his people' occurs, and the place where the people are moved to within $He\ Dong$ is not specified.

3.3 Concluding Remarks

We have seen that, when in different positions, the $yu$ phrase has different syntactic structures. In the preverbal position the $yu$ phrase serves as an adverbial modifier for the main verb phrase, and it maintains its basic meaning of specifying a certain location (or, by extension, time) at which the following action occurs. When the $yu$ phrase occurs after another verb phrase, however, it serves as the main verb phrase in the predicate. In this position the adverbial phrase modifying the $yu$ phrase, particularly if it is a movement verb, can have a strong effect on the meaning of the $yu$ phrase. Semantically, in group (A), when the $yu$ phrase indicates the time or location in which the
action occurs, word order change results in a change of emphasis. In group (B), when a
yu phrase encounters movement verbs, the word order change results in a more noticeable
semantic change.
CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS OF OTHER COVERBS

1.0 The Instrumental Coverb Yi

Yi, like yu, is one of the most important and commonly used function words in CC, and many scholars have contributed to the discussion on yi's meanings and functions. The main issues in the current understanding of yi include its verb and coverb usages. Both usages have been thought to exhibit a range of meanings, and yi has been thought to be able to occur flexibly either before or after a verb phrase. In addition, yi is also thought to be a conjunction indicating the reason, purpose or result of an action. Intriguing and complex, these issues still attract the attention of many scholars. Recently, Sun (1991), Wu (1994), and Hsueh (1997) have attempted to find a more appropriate interpretation for the yi phrases through a better understanding of the basic nature of the word yi. In this study, I will address several of the issues surrounding yi. After a summary and discussion of previous studies on yi, I will move on to my own assessment.

1.1 The Word Yi

Beginning with the synonym strategies of the traditional Chinese approach to defining a word, yi as a verb and coverb has been thought to carry various meanings and be synonymous with several other words. Most modern scholars follow a similar approach of simply listing the various meanings of yi. However, as I mentioned in the yu
section, this is neither a systematic nor satisfactory approach. If we admit the various usages come from one morpheme, we should be able to determine the fundamental property of that morpheme and then trace its extensions to include different meanings. Xie and Lan (1987) thoroughly investigate $yi$ and offer some plausible explanations as to its origins and development of usage. Their contributions should be appreciated. Wu (1994) also provides us with some insights. In what follows, after consulting with these sources, I will offer my assessment on $yi$.

1.2 $yi$ as a verb: As a transitive verb, the basic meaning of the word $yi$ is 'to use, to take'. This meaning is naturally extended to 'to use or take something as the basis for something else'. The first set of examples below illustrates the basic meaning of $yi$ as a full verb.

(1) 桓公九合諸侯,不以兵車;管仲之力也。(論語,公問)
huanggong jiu he zhouhou, bu yi bing che; guanzhong zhi li ye
NAME-nine-assemble-feudal lord, NEG-use-soldier-carriage; NAME-POSS-effort-PAR
'It was Guanzhong's doing that Duke Huan was able to assemble the feudal lords nine times without using force.'

(2) 桓公問社於宰我。宰我對曰,「夏后氏以松,商人以柏,周人以栗,曰,使民戰栗。」
(論語,八佾)
aigong wen she yu zaiwo. zaiwo dui yue, xiahoushi yi song, yin ren yi bo, zhou ren yi li, shi min zhanli
NAME-ask-altar-be at-NAME. NAME-reply-say, NAME-use-pine, NAME-use-cedar, NAME-people-use-cedar, NAME-people-use-chestnut, say-make-common people-tremble
'Duke Ai asked Zai Wo about the altar to the god of earth. Zai Wo replied, 'The Xia used the pine, the Yin used the cedar, and the men of Zhou used the chestnut (li), saying that it made the common people tremble (li).'

The next set of examples illustrates that, from its fundamental meaning, $yi$ has been extended to mean 'to use or take something as the basis for something else'. This extended meaning, depending on the context, can be translated into English in various ways, as we shall see below.

(A)'to take it to be that, to think,'
(3)左右以君賤之也，食以草具。（戰國策，齊策）
zuoyou yi jun jian zhi ye, shi yi caoji
'aide-think-lord-low-him-PAR, feed-use-lowly fare
'The top aides thought that the lord treated him as lowly; (they) used lowly fare to feed him.'

(4)老臣以媼為長安君計短也。（戰國策，趙策）
lao chen yi ao wei changan jun ji duan ye
'old-servant-think-old lady-for-NAME-lord-plan-short-PAR
'This old servant thinks that the way the elder lady plans for Lord Changan is insufficient.'

(5)吾以女為死矣!（論語，先進）
wu yi ru wei si yi
'I thought you had met your death.'

(B)"take something as the means", "rely on something". For example,
(6)以一人之力，則後稷不足。（韓非子，喻老）
yi yi ren zhi li, ze houji bu zu
'use-one-person-POSS-power, CONJ-NAME-NEG-sufficient
'(If) by means of the strength of one person, (then even) Houji is not sufficient.'

(C)"take something as basis for judgement." For example,
(7)以位，則子君也，我臣也。（孟子，萬章下）
yi wei, ze zi jun ye, wo chen ye
'use-rank, CONJ-you-ruler, I-subject-PAR
'On the basis of rank, you are the ruler and I am the subject.'

As shown above, yi is recognized as a transitive verb whose fundamental meaning
is 'to use, to take'. It also has a naturally extended meaning of 'to use or take something
as the basis for something else'. Given these fundamental meanings, I would like to
suggest that "instrumentality" is the fundamental semantic meaning of the verb yi. Hsueh
(1997:42) also indicates that yi as a verb represents "instrumentality", that is, "to engage
(somebody or something) as an instrument."
1.3 Yi as a Coverb

The general pattern for the coverbal yi phrase is yi+NP VP. However, yi can also have a verb phrase as its understood object, as seen in the VP yi VP pattern. In this section I will focus on coverbal yi phrases in which the object of yi is a NP. The yi+NP VP pattern presents a well-known word order issue, namely the flexibility of the yi phrase's occurrence either before or after the verb phrase. As for the pattern of VP yi VP, which is involved with the important notion of Verb Complement, I will discuss it in section 1.5 in this chapter.

Yi's coverb usage is extended from its use as a verb. As a coverb yi indicates that its following noun is a tool or means for the action to occur. The object of yi can be a concrete entity or an abstract concept. For instance,

(8)许子以釜甑,以铁耕手。(孟子,滕文公上)
xuzi yi fu zeng cuan, yi tie geng hu
NAME-using-iron pot-earthenware-cook, using-metal-plough-PAR
'Does Xuzi cook using an iron pot and an earthenware steamer and plough using iron implements?'

(9)儒以文乱法,侠以武犯禁。(韩非子,五蠹)
ru yi wen luan fa, xia yi wu fan jin
scholar-using-writing-disturb-law, knight-using-force-against-regulation
'The scholars disturb the law using their writings, while the knights flout the regulations using force.'

Yi as a coverb can also provide the reason for the following action. For example,

(10)梁由靡御韓簡,號射為右,絡秦伯,將止之。鄭以救公誤之,遂失秦伯。
(liaoyoumi yu hanjian, guoyi wei you, lu qin bo, jiang zhi zhi. zheng yi jiu gong wu zhi, sui shi qin bo
NAME-driver-NAME, NAME-serve as-right, rail-NAME-earl, about to-capture-him, NAME-because-rescue-marquis-delay-it,therefore-lost-NAME-earl
'Han Jian, driven by Liang You-mi, and having Guo Yi on his right, met the earl of Qin, and was about to capture him. (However,) because (Qing) zheng (sent Han Jian) to rescue the marquis (of Jin), therefore, (Han Jian) lost (the chance to capture) the Earl of Qin.'
It has been commonly accepted that the coverbal meanings of yi are quite varied. For example, Pulleyblank (1995:47-48) points out that the coverb yi may also be used to indicate the time of an action or the basis for a judgement as follows. (Examples and translations are from Pulleyblank 1995:48)

(12) 以五十步笑百步則何如？(孟子·梁惠王上)
yi wu shi bu xiao bai bu ze heru
because-five-ten-step-laugh-hundred-step-CONJ-how
'If because of [only running] fifty paces they laughed at [those who ran] one hundred paces, how would it be?'

(13) 斧斤以時入山林。 (孟子·梁惠王上)
fu jin yi shi ru shan lin
axe-use-season-enter-mountain-woods
'If axes enter the hills and woods at the proper season'...

(14) 以位,則子君也,我臣也。 (孟子·萬章下)
yi wei, ze zi jun ye, wo chen ye
use-rank, CONJ-you-ruler-PAR, I-subject-PAR
"On the basis of rank, you are the ruler and I am the subject."

Rather than simply stating that the coverb yi carries various meanings, I believe that the meanings of the coverb yi, since it is derived from the verb yi, should still retain the fundamental notion of "instrumentality". The notion of instrumentality has been extended in yi's coverb usage to indicate the means or instrument by which an action is performed. In other words, the yi phrase should be recognized as the means or basis for some action.

In this way, I conclude that semantically, the yi phrase indicates instrumentality, which is understood as the means, reason or time for an action to be performed.
Syntactically, the *yi* phrase (*yi* + NP), when it occurs before a verb phrase functions as a modifier to the verb phrase.

### 1.4 The Word Order of the *Yi* Phrases

The word order issue of *yi* phrases has long been noticed. In general, previous scholars hold that, syntactically, the *yi* phrase can occur either before or after a verb phrase. When it occurs before a verb phrase, it serves as an adverbial to modify the verb phrase. When it occurs after a verb phrase, it is a complement. Thus the common view is that no matter where the *yi* phrase occurs, it always serves as a secondary consideration, a modifier for another verb phrase. Actually, the issues surrounding the word order of the *yi* phrase are much more complex than that, and they deserve a closer look.

The issue of the *yi* phrase occurring after a verb phrase being mistakenly called a complement by many grammarians has been argued and rectified by Wu (1994) and Hsueh (1997). Rather than accept that the different word order of *yi* phrases makes no difference, Wu (1994) has illustrated that the different word order of the *yi* phrase actually results in different semantic implications and syntactic functions. Namely, when the *yi* phrase occurs before a verb phrase, it is a modifier and *yi* is a coverb. When it comes after a verb phrase, however, the semantic emphasis has been deliberately put on the *yi* phrase. Therefore, *yi* is a verb serving as the nucleus of the predicate, while the preceding verb phrase is an adverbial modifier. Let’s elaborate the point. Take a look at the following passage from *Mencius*.

(15)吾何愛一牛? 即不忍其觳觫, 若無罪而就死地, 故以羊易之也。...

我非愛其財而易之以羊也。 (孟子·梁惠王上)

wu he ai yi niu? ji bu qi huo shi, ruo wu zui er jiu si di, gu yi yang yi zhi ye....

wo fei ai qi cai er yi zhi yi yang ye

'Why should I be so miserly as to grudge the use of an ox? It was simply because I could not bear to see it shrink with fear, like an innocent man going to the place of execution, that I replaced it with a goat . . . It is not true that I used a goat to replace it because I grudged the expense.'

This passage has been the favorite example for scholars to cite when addressing the word order issue of yi phrases. It contains two possible word orders for yi phrases: 以羊易之 and 易之以羊 within the same passage. Previous scholars commenting on this passage, including Wang Li (1981: 451), Lu Guoyao (1992), and Sun (1991) all hold that the yi phrase, 以羊, serves as an adverbial phrase modifying the verb phrase 易之 when it occurs before it, and that it serves as a complement to the main verb phrase when it occurs after it. However, when I look at these two contrasting sentences more carefully and take the special characteristics of CC and its semantic implications into consideration, there remain some questions. First of all, since Chinese is a non-inflectional language, the word order principle, namely the modifier-modified pattern, is very crucial. How could a phrase which occurs in a different position, in this case involving all the same words, cause no difference? Shouldn't there be some different semantic implication and syntactic function? Second, if we treat the yi phrase as a complement in 易之以羊, the adverbial phrase occurs after the focus, contradicting the modifier - modified word order principle. Third, after re-examining the passage, we find that the so-called complement yi phrase is in fact receiving the most emphasis. How could the so-called complement bear the most emphasized information? These questions should at least motivate us to re-investigate the real nature of the yi phrases.

After a close study of the yi phrases, we claim that when the yi phrase occurs before a verb phrase, it is the modifier. When it occurs after a verb phrase, the semantic emphasis has been deliberately put on the yi phrase and hence the yi phrase becomes the
nucleus with the verb phrase as an adverbial phrase to modify it. The following discussion illustrates why this is so.

First, in a non-inflectional language such as Chinese, different word order should result in different semantic implication and syntactic function. Note that some scholars seem to sense this fact. For example, Norman (1988:94) wrote:

Clauses formed with *yi* may either precede or follow the verb; the position after the verb generally focuses attention on the means or instrument, while the position before the verb emphasizes the verb somewhat more.

Pulleyblank (1995: 47) agrees that the emphasis is on the *yi* phrase when it occurs after another verb phrase. He states that the contrasting position of the *yi* phrase in 以戈 逞子犯 versus 殺人以梃, differs only in the main focus of attention, which falls on the last verb in the series. While both Norman and Pulleyblank sense that different word order can result in different semantic emphasis, they haven't fully recognized its implications.

An entirely different explanation is suggested by Wu (1994) and Hsueh (1997). Hsueh (1997:33) points out that "for logical and consistent syntactic theorization, the difference in word order is of utmost importance, no matter how subtle may be the resulting semantic difference." Therefore, I believe that the different word order of the *yi* phrase should result in different semantic meaning and syntactic function.

Second, in this passage the different semantic implication in the sentences 以羊易 之 and 易之以羊 is clear. Consider why King Xuan of Qi says *yi yang yi zhi* first, and then *yi zhi yi yang* later. The first clause *yi yang yi zhi* comes after the King says that he could not bear the ox's trembling. Thus, with the first clause he emphasized the replacement of the ox, the fact that the ox was not to be sacrificed. The animal with which the ox was replaced is only a secondary consideration at this point in the discourse.
However, the second clause *yi zhi yi yang* comes after a clause in which the King stated that he was not stingy over the worth of an ox. This clause is connected to *yi zhi yi yang* by the conjunction *er*. According to the nature of *er* (Hsueh 1990), the focus is on the second clause, *yi zhi yi yang*. In this clause, the emphasis is definitely on the goat, because in this section King Xuan of Qi was emphasizing what the ox was replaced with, rather than the simple act of sparing the ox. If we treat the sentences with different word order as having the same meaning, then the emphasis of the king will not be properly explained.

Finally, our claim that the *yi* phrase occurring after the verb phrase is the nucleus of the predicate is in complete accordance with the general rule of word order in Chinese, namely, modifier always precedes the modified. Therefore the semantic meaning and syntactic function of these two sentences can be seen below.

(15a) 以羊易之  
(Adverbial phrase:modifier) (Verbal phrase:Nucleus)  
'replace it with a lamb'

(15b) 易之以羊  
(Adverbial phrase:modifier) (Verbal phrase:Nucleus)  
'use a lamb to replace it'

Moreover, we would like to reiterate that the nucleus *yi* phrase does not occur without limitation. It only occurs in the situation in which the object of *yi* is a noun. (C.f Hsueh 1997:35) The following are some examples in which the *yi* phrase is functioning as the semantic focus, the nucleus in the predicate.

(16)撃之以戈。(左傳,昭公元年)  
*jizhiyi ge*  
hit-him-use-halberd  
'Use the halberd to hit him.'

(17)道之以政,齊之以刑,民免而無恥;道之以德,齊之以禮,有恥且格。(論語,爲政)  
*daozhiyi zheng, qizhiyixing, minmianerwuchi; daozhiyide, qizhiyili,*
Use edicts to guide them, use punishments to keep them in line, and the common people will stay out of trouble but will have no sense of shame. Use virtue to guide them, use rites to keep them in line, and they will have a sense of shame and reform themselves.

(18) 樹之以桑。 (孟子, 梁惠王上)
*shu zhi yi sang*
plant-it-use-mulberry tree
'Use mulberry trees to plant it.'

In conclusion, our argument is based on the belief that syntactic change should result in a change in meaning. For further support we noted the principle of word order in CC, and the tendency in the language to have the logical predicate located in the center of the grammatical predicate. (Cf. Chao 1968:78-80)

1.5 More Discussion on the Word Order of *yi*

In this section, I would like to offer some further discussions concerning the word order of *yi* phrases. Sun (1991) points out that the adposition *yi* can be used as a preverbal preposition, a postverbal preposition, or a preverbal postposition in CC as exemplified below. (The examples and translation are his)

(A) *yi* as preverbal preposition
(15a) *yi* *yang* *yi* *zhi*
   *yi yang yi zhi*
   with-sheep-trade-it
   'change it with a sheep.'

(B) *yi* as postverbal preposition
(15b) *yi* *zhi* *yi* *yang*
   *yi zhi yi yang*
   trade-it-pp-sheep
   'change it with a sheep.'

(19) 召虞人以弓。 (左傳, 昭公20)
Sun assumes that the variations between the preverbal and postverbal uses of yi are probably motivated by discourse factors. He also points out that the nominals following the preverbal yi seem to be much closer to their antecedents than those after the postverbal yi. Finally, Sun hypothesizes that the high degree of variability of the word order of yi phrases may be the result of an earlier grammatical change from postpositional to prepositional, and that the postpositional use of yi is perhaps simply a vestige of earlier Sino-Tibetan syntax.

Second, Sun also observes that there is no postpositional use of yi in the postverbal position. I feel that the most plausible explanation for this is that yi is not a "preposition" in this case. Yi actually is acting as a verb, and since it also has a modifying verb phrase, its object cannot precede it. If Sun had recognized yi's actual role here, he would not have had to look for evidence from outside to hypothesize why there are no postpositions in the postverbal position. Now let's elaborate our point below.

122
The following are some situations in which *yì* can occur as a postposition. First, *yì* can occur between a noun phrase and a verb phrase: NP 以 VP (topicalization). The first instance of this is when the nominal preceding *yì* is an interrogative pronoun. As we know, one characteristic of the coverb *yì* (as well as 爲, 與) is that interrogative pronouns must precede it. For example,

(23) 滔滔者天下皆是也；而誰以易之。(論語, 微子)

　taotao zhe tiānxìa jie shì ye; er shéi yì yì zhi

Throughout the Empire men are all the same. Who is there for you to change places with?

As seen in the following examples, *yì*’s object, even if not an interrogative pronoun, can be moved before it for emphasis. For instance,

(24) 詩三百,一言以蔽之:曰,「思無邪!」(論語, 爲政)

　shi san bai, yi yan yi bi zhi, yue, si wu xie

The Odes are three hundred in number. They can be summed up using one phrase, "Swerving not from the right path."

(25) 子曰: 「參乎,吾道一以貫之。」(論語, 里仁)

　zi yue, shen hu, wu dao yi yì guan zhi

'The Master said, "Shen! My Way can be bound together using one (thread)."

(26) 子曰: 「義以爲質,禮以行之, 孫以出之, 信以成之: 君子哉!」(論語, 衛靈公)

　zi yue, yi yi wei zhi, li yi xing zhi, xun yi chu zhi, xin yi cheng zhi: junzi zai

'The Master said, "(The gentleman) takes morality as his basic stuff, puts it into practice using the rites, gives it expression by using modesty, and brings it to completion by being trustworthy. Such is a gentleman indeed!"

Moreover, *yì* may also be considered a postposition superficially, when it occurs between two VPs. For example,

(27) 昔侯復假道於虞以伐虢。(左傳,僖公5)
'The marquis of Jin once again asked for permission to pass through Yu in order to attack Guo.'

I acted against Jian-shu's (advice), and thereby humiliated you gentlemen; (this) is my fault.'

When Hui learns one (lesson), (he can) thereby infer ten; when I learn one, (I can only ) thereby infer two.'

Hsueh (1997) suggests that yi in these cases is acting as a coverb with the former VP as its understood object.

The above examples show that yi as a coverb can allow its object to precede it. With this in mind, let's go back to the lack of what Sun called postverbal postposition usage. Consider the sentences 以羊易之 and 易之以羊. If we treat yi as coverb in both cases, it should be all right to move yi's object, 羊, before yi.

(a) 以羊易之------羊以易之
(b) 易之以羊------易之以羊

However, we do not see the postposition yi after a verb phrase. I feel that the reason (b) is unacceptable is because of the role yi plays. Yi here is not a coverb but a main verb, and the object usually does not occur the main verb. Thus 羊 should not be put before yi. This argument can further support our recognition that yi functions as a main verb in the situation of VP yi NP. Moreover, consider the following example,

(30)知及之,仁能守之,莊以讓之,動之不以禮,未善也。(論語,衛靈公)

However, we do not see the postposition yi after a verb phrase. I feel that the reason (b) is unacceptable is because of the role yi plays. Yi here is not a coverb but a main verb, and the object usually does not occur the main verb. Thus 羊 should not be put before yi. This argument can further support our recognition that yi functions as a main verb in the situation of VP yi NP. Moreover, consider the following example,
wise-reach-it, benevolent-able-keep-it, dignity-using-govern-them: move-them-NEG-use-rite, NEG-good-PAR

'(A man may be) wise enough to attain it, benevolent enough to keep it and may govern them [the people] using dignity, (but if he) does not use rites to set them to work, (he) is still short of perfection.'

In this example we see a verb phrase *dong zhi* followed by an *yi* phrase which is negated by *bu* 不. This is a very strong indication that *yi* here is in the syntactic role of verb, since *bu* is used to negate verbs. Note that *bu* 不 cannot be added before *yi* in the following examples, 晉侯復假道於虞以伐虢(左傳,僖公5) and 孤達蹇叔以辱二三子孤之過也(左傳,僖公33), in which *yi* is functioning syntactically as a coverb.

1.6 Does *Yi* Really Function as a Conjunction?

As I mentioned before, it is commonly accepted that *yi* is able to function as a conjunction. However, I think in fact this is not an appropriate interpretation. The confusion may be caused by the fact that both coverbs and conjunctions serve a kind of connecting function. Whereas the basic function of coverbs is to connect a related item to a verb phrase, a conjunction serves to connect two related nouns or clauses. The similar connecting function can cause confusion between the two.¹

Some studies, such as Wu Renfu (1988), even attempt to find the rules to help differentiate conjunction and coverb usages. Hsueh (1997) claims that it is not accurate to treat *yi* as a conjunction at all. I will summarize and discuss this issue below.

In general, the previous studies hold that *yi* may function as a conjunction to connect two verb phrases. For example, Wang Li (1981: 446-447) indicates that in the environment VP *yi* VP, *yi* functions as a conjunction to join the latter purpose or result event to the former event.

(27)晉侯復假道於虞以伐虢。(左傳,僖公5)
'The marquis of Jin once again asked for permission to pass through Yu in order to attack Guo.'
To tire the army and thus make a surprise attack on a distant (country) is not something of which (I) have heard.'

Why do (you) have to destroy Zheng just to benefit your neighbor?'

'(As for) gentlemen of purpose and men of benevolence, (they) will not seek life thereby harming benevolence. (They) might accept death in order to accomplish benevolence.'

These examples have been questioned and reexamined by Wu (1994, 24-32). Since yi occurs between two VPs it is easily mistaken as a conjunction similar to the conjunction er. With some analysis, Wu indicates that in fact yi is still a coverb. Hsueh (1997) claims that yi is not a conjunction at all. In this way, yi actually functions as a coverb in the VP yi VP pattern. Hsueh is also the first to further propose that the VP yi VP pattern is involved with the concept of Verb Complement in CC. Let's summarize the VC concept below.

1.7 The Verb Complement Construction and Yi phrases

Hsueh (1997:39-40) proposes and illustrates that the pattern VP yi VP may be either of two types that should be differentiated.

a. (27)晋候復假道於虞以伐虢。(左傳,僖公5)
'The marquis of Jin once again asked for permission to pass through Yu in order to attack Guo.'

b. (28)孤違蹇叔,以辱二子,孤之過也。(左傳,僖公33)
'I acted against Jian-Shu's (advice), and thereby humiliated you gentlemen; (this is) my fault.'

From the surface, examples (a) and (b) look the same; yi occurs between two verb phrases. However, Hsueh proposes that in (a) the syntactic role played by the yi phrase is verb complement, a complement to the main verb phrase which precedes it. In the verb complement usage yi plays its normal prepositional role, with the unit represented by the preceding verb phrase as its understood object. The yi phrase is thus closely connected to the preceding verb phrase and marks the following verb phrase as a complement to the former. Hsueh proposes that the VC construction is a tight unit within which the rule of word order does not apply.

However, not all cases of yi occurring between two verb phrases are instances of the verb complement construction. For example, (b) is not a VC construction because the two verb phrases represent two different clauses. The whole sentence would have to be read with a pause after the first verb phrase to indicate two separate events. In addition, since the verb phrases are represent separate events, the conjunction er can be used between them, though it is normally omitted. Note that er cannot be used between the verb phrases in (a).

Moreover, Hseuh indicates that grammarians of CC do not see the distinction between the two types of sentences represented by examples (a) and (b). As a result they mistakenly regard both types as compound sentences and, therefore, call yi a conjunction. Many of them even say yi in this use is the same as er. In fact, yi is a coverb, not a conjunction at all. Hsueh (1997 note 15) also further indicates that the misidentification did not start with the grammarians, but with some post-Han writers of Classical Chinese prose, for example,

(33) 木欣欣以向榮, 泉涓涓而始流。 (陶淵明, 龔去來辭)
mu xinxin yi xiang rong, quan juanjuan er shi liu
The tree, blossoming and flourishing. The spring water, trickling and flowing.

Actually, it seems that the misuse of yi started even far earlier than that as exemplified by the following example.

(34) chuan chizhao ze yu qi shen yi guang ye, wei taixie ze yu qi gao qie da ye
dig-pond-CONJ-want-it-deep-and-broad-PAR, make-building-CONJ-want-it-tall-and-large-PAR

'(If) digging a pond, then (one) wishes it to be deep and broad, (and if) erecting a building, then (one) wishes it to be tall and large.'

In this example yi is used as a stylized conjunction and, since it is parallel to the conjunction qie in the second part of the sentence, it must be a conjunction, too. In these cases, yi is mistakenly used as a substitute for qie for rhetorical reasons.

2.0 The Benefactive Coverb Wei

2.1 The Word Wei

Researchers have paid relatively less attention to wei than to coverbs such as yu and yi, perhaps because it is not involved with as many word order issues as yu and yi, which can occur preverbally or postverbally. Nevertheless, a review of what has been written about wei will be a useful starting point for our discussion. Scholars such as Wang Li, Chou Fa-Kao, Liu Jingnong, Huang Liuping, Jerry Norman and Edwin Pulleyblank observe that wei2 serves both as a full verb meaning "to make, to do" and a copula meaning "to be." Moreover, wei4 is also assigned the meaning "be on the side of" in the sense of "to support." As a coverb wei4 carries a benefactive sense, meaning "for, on behalf of, for the sake of." Wei4 is also recognized as a conjunction when used in a complex sentence to indicate the reason or purpose of an action. In addition to its verbal, coverbal, and conjunction uses, wei2 is used in the pattern "wei(N)(所)V", which is thought to form a passive construction in CC.
In what follows, I will investigate *wei* as a verb, coverb and conjunction, arguing that *wei* does not serve as a copula, and that the pattern *wei*(N)(所)V is not a passive construction in CC. In addition, although further study is needed on this issue, I will argue that *wei* is not a conjunction.

2.2. *Wei* as a Verb

As for *wei* as a verb, several scholars have commented on it or attempted to define its meanings. In the *Shih-yen* 释言 'annotation of words' section of the *Erh-ya* 爾雅, *wei2* is described as "作、造,為也" (*Wei* means 'to do, to make') Wang Yinzhi (1885) writes 爲讀如相為之為,猶助也.'(As for) *wei* read as the *wei* in the phrase of *xiangwei* [wei4], (It is) like "to help".' Thus *wei* as a verb is recognized as having the meanings "to do, to make" as well as "to help, to support." According to modern references on CC, *wei* as a verb can be described as follows.

(A) *Wei* means 'to make, to do' (read as *wei2*)

wu cong be fa n g wen zi w ei ti, Jiang yi gong song
'I heard from the North that you made a ladder and will use it to attack Song.'

(B) *Wei* functions as a copula, meaning 'to be' (read as *wei2*)

ziyou wei wucheng zai
'Zi You was Warden of the Wucheng.'

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ziyou wei wucheng zai
'Zi You was Warden of the Wucheng.'
NAME-be-NAME-vale-border-warden
'Ying Kao-shu, is the border-warden of the Vale of Ying.'

(39) 里仁為美。《論語, 里仁}
li ren wei mei
neighborhood-benevolence-is-beautiful
Neighbor bengvolence is the most beautiful.'

(40) 知之為知之, 不知為不知, 是知也。《論語, 知政}
zhi zhi wei zhi zhi, bu zhi wei bu zhi, shi zhi ye
know-it-is-know-it, NEG-know-is-NEG-know, is-knowledge-PAR
'To say you) know (when you) know, (and to say you) do not know (when you) do not, that is knowledge.'

(41) 桓公曰: 子為誰? 曰: 爲仲由。《論語, 從子}
jini yue: zi wei shei? yue: wei zhongyou
NAME-say: you-are-who? say-is-NANE
'Jie-ni said, who are you? (He) said, (I) am Zhongyou.'

(C)  
Wei means 'to be on the side of, to support' (read as wei4)
(42) 夫子為衛君乎? 《論語, 述而}
fuzi wei wei jun hu
Master-support-NAME-lord-PAR
'Is the Master for the Lord of Wei?'

There is good reason for us to believe that the basic meaning of the verb wei is 'to make or to do' as exemplified by the examples in group (A). This basic meaning has been extended to 'to play the role of, to serve as, to act as' as exemplified by the examples in group (B). As for the meaning represented by the examples in group (C), Pulleyblank (1996:51) asserts that wei read as wei4, which is used as a full verb meaning 'be on the side of, support', is surely a derivative of wei2 'make; be', although the semantic relation between them is not entirely clear. I feel that the relationship between wei2 and wei4 as verbs is unclear and must remain a topic for further study.
2.3 Wei2 is Not a Copula

Let us now consider in more detail the question of whether or not wei2 is a copula. As mentioned above, scholars such as Wang Li, Liu Jingnong, Norman and Pulleyblank suggest that wei2 can be used as a copula meaning 'to be.' Norman (1988:96) suggests that wei2 in some instances seems to have lost its verbal sense entirely and functions as a copula. However, he offers no further explanation. Pulleyblank (1995:20) states that wei2 can be used as a copula meaning 'to be,' and claims that in this usage it indicates a temporary role, similar to the usage of zuo 'to make' in Modern Chinese. Pulleyblank also suggests that the difference between wei2 'to do, to make' and wei2 'to be' is indicated by syntactic factors. For example, an interrogative pronoun must precede the transitive verb wei2 (as its object) but follow the copula wei2 (as its subjective complement).

Hsueh (1994: 409-412) argues that when we analyze all the occurrences of wei that are considered to be a copula we find that they all can be understood as a transitive verb meaning 'to do, to serve as, to act as, to play the role of, and (by extension) to become.' This argument is presented to support his claim that the pattern "wei (N)(所)V" is not a passive construction in Chinese. Hsueh suggests that, depending on the speaker's subjective judgment about the nature of the relationship between A and B, the sentence "A is B" in English can be rendered into CC as either "A, B ∈," or "A ∉ B." The former is used to represent what is conceived to be a fixed and constant relationship between A and B, while the latter is used if the relationship is thought to be transitory or relative. Recall that Pulleyblank intuitively recognizes that wei2 understood as 'to be' is to indicate a temporary role, he doesn't fully recognize that in reality it is not a copula but a transitive verb meaning 'to serve as' or 'to play the role of.' He states that it is used similar to zuo 'to make' in modern Chinese, yet he probably would not call zuo a copula. In fact, as Hsueh argues, the second pattern, "A ∉ B", is not an equational sentence. Wei2 is a transitive verb.
meaning 'to serve as' or 'to act as' and as such must take an object. Compare the following two examples

(40) 知之為知之, 不知為不知, 是知也。(論語·為政)
zhì zhì wéi zhì zhì, bù zhī wéi bù zhī, shì zhī ye
know-it-is-know-it, NEG-know-is-NEG-know, is-knowledge-PAR
'(To say you) know (when you) know, (and to say you) do not know (when you) do not, that is knowledge.'

(43) 晏嬰, 齊之習辭者也。(晏子春秋 軍篇下)
yányīng, qí zhī xí cí zhe ye
NAME, NAME-POSS-practiced at-rhetoric-NOM-PAR
'Yanying is a person of Qi [who is] practiced in rhetoric.'

In a loose sense, wei2 in the first example can be translated as 'be' in English. However, it is different from the second example, (43), a genuine equational sentence.

Both occurrences of wei2 in (40) are transitive verbs and the following verb phrases serve as their objects. As we have seen, CC exhibits lexical flexibility as to syntactic role. It is not unusual to recognize the verbal phrases, 知之 and 不知, after wei2 as its objects.

Now that we have seen that wei2 is fundamentally a transitive verb with the basic meaning of 'to do' or 'to make' and extended meanings 'to serve as,' 'to become' and possibly 'to be on the side of,' we are better prepared to further discuss its use in the so-called passive sense sentences.

2.4 Wei (N)(所)V is not a Passive Construction

Pulleyblank (1995:36-38) indicates that in some modern works on CC grammar, wei2 has been misinterpreted as a passive marker similar to bei 被 in modern Mandarin. In this usage wei2 is interpreted as a preposition or coverb. Pulleyblank argues against this view. He considers the wei2 in the so-called wei passive construction to be acting as a copula. Let us take a look at one of his example sentences. (The translation is his.)

(44) 止, 將為三軍穢。(左傳·襄公18)
In this sentence, and in similar sentences, Pulleyblank argues that *wei* is serving not as a preposition or coverb passive marker, but as a copula. We agree with him on these points, with the exception that we interpret *wei* as a verb meaning 'to become' or 'to serve as' rather than a copula. Interpreting *wei* as a verb also leads to a different analysis of the phrase 三军获, which follows *wei*. Pulleyblank states that this is a double object construction and a special form of pivot construction in which *sanjun* serves as the object of *wei*, but an indirect object rather than a direct object. Thus it has the dative sense of 'for the three armies.' *Sanjun* also serves as the subject of the second object, the verb *huo*, which takes the subject of the main verb (in this case the understood 'you') as its object. To show these relationships Pulleyblank offers the following translation of 三军获: 'You will be for the Three Armies [The three Armies] capture [you].'

This is an intriguing view. Since he calls the verb *huo* the "second object," Pulleyblank accepts that a lexical verb can serve as an object. This is one of the special characteristics of Chinese, namely loose correspondence between lexical property and syntactic function. If it is recognized that syntactically a lexical verb can serve as an object, it seems more appropriate to interpret the construction as a verb-object construction in which *huo* serves as the object and *sanjun* is the indirect object.

Pulleyblank argues that this interpretation is invalid, since there is no *zhi* between *sanjun* and *huo*, and he believes, like Cikoski, that a noun serving as an adjunct to a verb must always have a *zhi* between it and the verb. I disagree with this view. The following example from Hsueh (1994) shows a lexical verb, *lu*, being used as a nominal:

(45)吾属今為之虜矣。(史記,項羽本紀)
*wu*shu jin wei *zhi* lu yi
we-now-become-he-captive-PAR
'Now, we will become captives to him.'

Here 且, a lexical verb, is serving as a nominal, the object of the transitive verb 为2. 之, here a pronoun ("them"), is serving as the indirect object. Once we recognize that 为2 is a transitive verb and remember that lexical flexibility for syntactic function is a common characteristic of CC, it seems clear that this interpretation is most appropriate. Using it, we can interpret the so-called 为2 passive as simply a verb-object construction in which the object happens to be a lexical verb. This is not so unusual, given the lexical flexibility exhibited by CC.

As mentioned above, the pattern 为 (N)(所)V has long been mistaken as a passive construction in Chinese. After recognizing that the verb 为2 is a transitive verb, Hsueh (1994:409-412) further argues that in the pattern 为 (N)(所)V, 为2 is not an affix or a marker for passivity. It is simply a transitive verb followed by its object, which happens to be a phrase.

I have demonstrated that understanding 为2 as a transitive verb not only helps us fully recognize its role as a verb, but also to rectify some misunderstandings, such as the belief that 为2 is a copula in CC and that 为2 serves as a marker of passivity in the pattern 为 (N)(所)V.

2.5 Wei as a Coverb

Wei4 as a coverb can be described as below.

(A) Wei4 as Coverb meaning 'on behalf of' or 'for the sake of'

(46)及莊公即位，為之請制。(左傳，隱元)

ji zhuanggong ji wei, wei zhi qing zhi
until-NAME-come-earldom, for-him-request-NAME

'(When) duke Zhuang came to the earldom, (she) requested the city of Zhi for Duan.'

(47)為人謀而不忠乎!(論語,學而)

wei ren mou er bu zhong hu
for-people-plan-CONJ-NEG-loyal-PAR
'In acting on behalf of others, have (I) always been loyal to them.'

(48)為長者折枝。《孟子·梁上）
wei zhangzhe zhe zhi
for-elder-break-branch
'(One) breaks off a branch from a tree for an elder.'

(49)公為我為雲梯必須取宋。《墨子·公輸）
gongshu pan wei wo wei yunti bi qu song
NAME-for-me-make-ladder-must-get-NAME
'Gong-shu Pan made the ladder for me, (I) must get Song.'

(B) Wei indicates the reason or purpose. (for the sake of, because of)

(50)天行有常, 不為堯存, 不為桀亡。《荀子·天論）
tian xing you chang, bu wei yao cun, bu wei jie wang
heaven-way-have-constant, NEG-because-NAME-exist, NEG-because-NAME-perish
Heaven's way are constant. (It) does not exist because of Yao; (it) does not perish because of Jie.'

(51)禹之時, 十年九滯, 而水弗為( )加益; 湯之時, 八年七旱, 而崖不為( )加損。(莊子, 秋水）
yu zhi shi, shi nian jiu liao, er shui fu wei jia yi; tang zhi shi, ba nian qi han, er ai bu wei jia sun
NAME-POSS-time, ten-year-nine-flood, CONJ-water-NEG-because-add-more; NAME-POSS-time, eight-year-seven-drought, CONJ-shore-NEG-because-add-recede
'In the time of Yu there were floods for nine years out of ten, and yet its waters never rose. In the time of Tang there were droughts for seven years out of eight, and yet its shore never receded.'

(52)趙宣子, 古之良大夫也, 爲法受惡。《左傳, 宣公2）
zhao xuanzi, gu zhi liang daifu ye, wei fa shou e
NAME, ancient-POSS-good-officer-PAR, because-law-receive-wickedness
'Zhao Xuanzi (was) a good great officer of old time: in accordance with that law he received the wickedness.'

(53)王如善之, 則何為不行？《孟子·梁惠王下）
wang ru shang zhi, ze he wei bu xing
you Majesty-if-good-it, CONJ-why-reason-NEG-practice
'(Since) you Majesty deems them excellent, for what reason do you not practice (them)'
2.6 Is Wei a Conjunction?

Wei has also been described as a conjunction used to introduce explanatory information. (Cf. Wu Renfu, 1988) Let us take a look at some examples.

(A) Wei as a conjunction to indicate the reason.

(54) 一羽之不举, 無不用力焉; 興薪之不見, 無不用明焉, 百姓之不見保, 無不用恩焉。

(孟子, 梁惠王)

yi yu zhi bu ju, wei bu yong li yan; yu xin zhi bu jian, wei bu yong ming yan, hai xing zhi bu jian bao, wei bu yong en yan


'That a feather is not lifted, would be a case that (someone) does not use his strength on it; That a wagon-load of firewood is not seen, would be a case that (someone) does not use his eyesight on it; That the people are not loved and protected, would be a case that (someone) does not employ his kindness on them.'

(55) 申不告而娶, 無後也。

shun bu gao er qu, wei wu hou ye

NAME-NEG-tell-CONJ-marry, because-NEG-posterity

'Shun married without informing his parents because of this-lest he should have no posterity.'

I doubt that wei in these examples is a conjunction. In the example (54) wei is more like a verb meaning 'to be because.' In example (55) wei is also like a verb meaning 'to be for the sake of' with 無後 as its object.

(B) Wei as a conjunction to indicate "if, supposing"

(56) 太后病, 將死, 出今曰: 爲我葬, 必以魏子為殉。 (戰國策, 秦策)

tai hou bing, jiang si, chu ling yue: wei wo zang, bi yi wei zi wei xun

the mother of the emperor-is about to-die, out-order-say, for-me bury, must-with-NAME-become-bury

'The mother of the emperor is dying, (she) ordered that (if someone) buries her, (they) must bury (her) with Wei.'

(57) 苟為不蓄, 全身不得。

gou wei bu xu, zhong shen bu de

if-become-NEG-store, whole-life-NEG-get

'If (one) has not stored the thing beforehand, (one) will not be able to get it during ones whole life.'

136
These examples have led some observers to propose that *wei* is sometimes a conjunction indicating conditionality -- 'if, supposing' in English. For example, in Yang Shuda's *Ciquan* (p. 554) *wei* is described as a conditional conjunction equivalent to 'like,' and 'if.' Moreover, Wang Yinzhi annotates that *wei* in the sentence (57) is equivalent to 'if, supposing.' However, I believe that *wei* should not be taken as a conjunction meaning 'if, supposing.' The conditionality comes from the context and how the phrases are put together rather than from the word *wei*. For example, *wei* in (56) is just a verb meaning "to support, for." As we mentioned before, Chinese features parataxis, and does not need obvious marking (conjunction) to indicate a subordinate phrase. In this case, any semantic conditionality comes from the context, not from *wei*. In the phrase the conditionality comes from the conjunction and the *wei* is actually a verb meaning "act as" with the following nominal verb phrase as the object. In these cases, *wei* should not be treated as a conjunction indicating conditionality. I suggest that this issue be further studied.

2.7 Summary

To sum up, I believe that *wei* is a transitive verb with the basic meaning 'to do, to make.' It has been naturally extended as 'to serve as,' and 'to become.' *Wei* as a verb also has the meaning 'to be on the side of,' although the relationship between this meaning and the other verb meanings is unclear. Moreover, *wei* is not a copula at all. In the cases where it is thought to be a copula it should be more accurately translated as 'to serve as' or 'to become.' The recognition that *wei* is not a copula has also helped us clear up the misconception that the pattern *wei* (N) (suo) V is a passive construction. Finally, although *wei* 's usage as a coverb and conjunction deserves further study, it seems clear that *wei* does not carry any inherent conditionality.
3.0 The Ablative Coverbs Zi 自, You 由, Cong 從

3.1 The Words Zi, You, Cong

The words zi 自, you 由 and cong 從 are the most commonly used ablative coverbs in CC, with zi being the most common among the three. They were all verbs in origin, and as coverbs they commonly indicate the starting point of an action. These coverbs with their objects can occur either before or after a verb phrase. Unlike some of the other coverbs they are not mistaken as conjunctions. The following is my assessment of these coverbs.

3.2 Zi, You, and Cong as Verbs

As full verbs, these words mean "to start from, to go along and follow."

For example,

(57) 子路宿於石門。晨門曰: 「予自?」子路曰: 「自孔氏。」(論語,憲問)
zilu su yu shi men. chenmen yue: xi zi? zilu yue: zi kong shi
NAME-rest-be at-NAMES gatekeeper-say, where-start from, NAME-say, start from -NAME-family
'Zi-hu put up for the night at the Stone Gate. The gatekeeper said, "Where (have you) come from?" Zi-hu said "from the Kong family".

(58) 恒與不恭,君子不由也。(孟子,公孫丑上)
aizhu bu gong, junzi bu you ye
narrow-mindedness-and-NEG-respect, gentleman-NEG-follow-PAR
'(As for) narrow mindedness and the want of self respect, the gentleman will not follow (either way).

(59) 聖人並起,必從吾言矣(孟子,公孫丑上)
shengren bing qi, bi cong wu yan yi
sage-at the same time-arise, certainly-follow-my-word-PAR
'When a Sage shall again arise, he will certainly follow my words.'

3.3 Zi, You, and Cong as Coverbs

Derived from the full verbs, zi, you, and cong as coverbs indicate the starting point of an action. They can be used in a temporal or spatial sense.
(A) "from" in a temporal sense
(60) 自生民以來，未有能盛於孔子也。(孟子，公孫丑上)
zi sheng min yilai, wei you neng sheng yu kongzi ye
'From birth till now, there never has been one so complete as Confucius.'

(61) 由殷至於武丁，聖賢之君六七作。(孟子，公孫丑上)
you tang zhi yu wuding, sheng xian zhi jun liu qi zuo
'From Tang till Wu-ding there have appeared six or seven worthy and sage sovereigns.'

(B) "from" in a spatial sense
(62) 有朋自遠方來不亦樂乎？（論語，學而）
you peng zi yuan fan lai bu yi le hu
'Is it not a joy to have friends come from afar?'

(63) (When Mencius) went from Ping-hu to the capital of Chi, he did not visit the minister of Chu.'
you pinglu zhi qi, bu jian chu

(C) "from" in a logical (or metaphorical) sense
(65) 天下有道，則禮樂征伐，自天子出。（論語，季氏）
tianxia you dao, ze li yue zheng fa, zi tianzi chu
'When the Way prevails in the Empire, the rites and music and punitive expeditions are initiated by the Emperor.'

(66) 王... 由仁義行，非行仁義也。(孟子，離婁下)
shun...you ren yi xing, fei xing ren yi ye
'Shun, following benevolence, practiced righteousness. It wasn't that he pursued benevolence and righteousness.'

er liangren wei zhi ye, shi shi cong wai lai
CONJ-husband-NEG-know-PAR, jaunty-from-outside-come
'The husband, knowing nothing of all this, came in with a jaunty air from outside.'
To sum up, semantically, the coverbs *zi*, *you*, and *cong* can be used in the temporal or spatial senses, and can be further extended to be used in the logical sense. In the temporal and spatial senses they indicate the starting point, be it place or time, of an action. When indicating the logical sense, they indicate the source or basis for an action to follow. Syntactically, the coverbal phrases serve as modifiers for a following verb phrase which contains the nucleus of the predicate.

### 3.4 Word Order Issues Involving the Ablative Coverbs

The word order issues involving the ablative coverbs mainly surround *zi*. *Zi* with its objects can occur either before or after a verb phrase. When it occurs before the verb phrase, it is a modifier. However, when it occurs after the verb phrase, like other coverbs mentioned earlier, it has been mistakenly viewed as a complement. In this section, with the concept of the special characteristics of CC, I will illustrate that when the coverb *zi* occur after a verb phrase, the semantic emphasis has been put on it and hence it functions syntactically as the nucleus of the predicate. Let's see some examples as follows.

(67a) 日居月族,出自東方,乃如之人兮,德音無良。∗(詩經,邶風,日月)

*ri ju yue zhu, chu zi dong fang, nai ru zhi ren xi, deyin wu liang*

sun-PAR-moon-PAR, come out-be from-east-side,that-like-this person-PAR, virtue-voice-NEG-good

'The sun and the moon, rising, are from the East. This person does not have a good fortune.'

(67b) 日居月族,東方自出,父兮母兮,畜我不卒。∗(詩經,邶風,日月)

*ri ju yue zhu, dong fang zi chu, fu xi mu xi, xu wo bu zu*

sun-PAR-moon-PAR, east-side-from-come out, father-PAR-mother-PAR, raise-me-NEG-end

'The sun and moon, rising, are from the East. My parents did not raise me completely.'

(68a) 鄭伯將王自固門入,號叔自北門入。∗(左傳,莊公21)

*zheng bo jiang wang zi yumen ru, guo shu zi beimen ru*

NAME-earl-lead-king-from-Yu gate-enter, NAME-from-north gate-enter

'The Zheng earl entered, along with the king, at the Yu gate, and Guoshu entered at the northern gate.'
All the chariots, entering, were from the Chun gate.'

'It was after my return from Wei to Lu that the music was put right, with the *ya* and *song* being assigned their proper places.'

'In winter, the king, returning, came from Guo.'

In general, for the examples from the Shih-ching, researchers such as Yang and He (1992: 420) state that the change of word order was pursued primarily to meet rhyming requirements. For instance, *方* is rhyming with *在* in (67a) and the *zi* phrase is moved after the verb phrase for the sake of rhyming with *卒*.

However, I feel that the semantic implication difference caused by this change should also be noticed. Because the rhyming aspect is easily observed, the different semantic function has been neglected. Let's move on to examples (68) and (69), since these examples are in the prose style and thus somewhat removed from rhyming considerations. We see that the different word order of the *zi* phrases reveals a different semantic emphasis. I hold that with the semantic implications and the word order principle, *zi* phrases occurring after the verb phrase function as the focus of the predicate, with the previous verb phrase as the modifier.

Furthermore, notice also that the *zi* phrase frequently occurs after another verb in the *Li-chi* and the *Yi-li*. For example,
host-farewell-like-before, only-lord-order-be present-arise, descend-be from-west-stair, then-farewell-guest
'The host bids farewell to the (guests) as before; (the guests) appear and arise according to the order of the lord, (the guests) descend from the west stairs, then (the host) bids farewell to the guests.'

(71)夫人至, 入自闕門, 升自側階, 君在阼。(禮記, 齋下38)

furen zhi, ru zi weimen, sheng zi ce jie, jun zai zuo
lady-arrive, enter-be from-side door, arise-be from-side-stair, lord-be at-the eastern step
'(If) the lady comes, entering, (she) comes from the side door, rising, (she) comes from the side stairs, and the lord is at the eastern step.'

We see that zi phrases occur after different action verbs such as sheng 佗 'arise,' jiang 降 'descend' and ru 入 'enter.' The function of these sentences is to teach appropriate behaviors according to the ritual rules. Different social ranks should have different behavior. The location which is indicated by zi is very important to differentiate them. In these cases the zi phrase bears the most important information in the sentence. These examples further support our view that when the coverb phrase occurs after another verb phrase the so-called coverb actually functions syntactically as the nucleus of the predicate.

4.0 The Comitative Coverb Yu 與

4.1 The Word Yu

The word Yu 與 is recognized as the most commonly used comitative coverb in CC. It can be used as a verb, coverb, conjunction, and even as a noun. Compared to some of the other coverbs described in the earlier sections, Yu does not seem as complicated. For example, it is not involved with the complex word order issues or the verb complement construction. However, distinguishing between its coverb and conjunction usage deserves some concern.
4.2 Yu as a Verb

Yu as a transitive verb has the fundamental meaning "to accompany, to be with"

(72) 子曰：「暴虎冯河,死而無悔者,吾不與也。」(論語,述而)
zi yue, bao hu ping he, si er wu hui zhe, wu bu yu ye
Confucius-say, fight-tiger-across-river, die-CONJ-NEG-regret-NOM, I-NEG-be with-PAR
'The Master said, "(As for someone who would) try to fight a tiger with his bare hands or walk across the River and, dying in the process, have no regrets, I will not accompany (such a person)"

This basic meaning of yu has been extended to some other meanings, including the following:

(A) "to participate, to be present"
(73) 秦伯納女五人,懐嬴與焉。(左傳,僖公23)
qin bo na nu wu ren, huai ying yu yan
NAME-earl-represent-girl-five-person, NAME-participate-PAR
'(When) The earl of Qin presented (Prince Chung Er) with five ladies, Huai Ying was present among them.'

(74) 子曰：「吾不與祭,如不祭。」(論語,八佾)
zi yue, wu bu yu ji, ru bu ji
Confucius-say, I-NEG-participate-sacrifice, like-NEG-sacrifice
'The Master said, "If I did not participate a sacrifice, it is as if I did not make sacrifice."

(B) "to agree with, to offer approval": When somebody is with you, he/she expresses their agreement with you.

(75) 與其進也,不與其退也。(論語,述而)
yu qi jin ye, bu yu qi tui ye
approve-his-progressness-PAR, NEG-approve-his-regressness-PAR
(We should) approve his progress, not approve his regression.'

(C) "to give"
(76) 孰謂微生高直?或乞醯焉,乞諸其鄰而與之。(論語,公冶長)

143
Who said Wei-sheng Gao was straight? Once when someone begged him for vinegar, (he) went and begged it off a neighbour to give it to him.

4.3 Yu as a Coverb

Derived from the verb, the coverb *yu* carries the meaning "together with, accompanying."

(77)晋士罕又與群公子謀。 (左傳, 莊公24)

*Shi Wei of Jin again took counsel with all the other scions of the ruling House.*

(78)諸君子皆與諭言，孟子獨不與諭言，是簡驪也。 (孟子, 離婁下)

*[Huan said] all the gentlemen have spoken with me, there is only Mencius who does not speak with me. This (behavior) slight me.*

(79)願車馬輕裘與朋友共，敝之而無憾。論語, 季氏長)

*[I should like to share my carriage and horses, clothes and furs with my friends, and to have no regrets even if they become worn.]*

Most coverb uses of *yu* mean "accompanying", but in some cases, *yu* means "do something for somebody", which we think is derived form the verb meaning "to agree with, approve". Consider the following examples of this usage:

(80)所欲，與之聚之，所惡，勿施爾也。 (孟子, 離婁上)

*[It is to collect for them what they like, and not to lay on them what they dislike.]*

(81)公子與我取之，而不與我治之；與我置之，而不與我祀之。 (韓非子, 外儲說左上)

*[The sons of the nobleman take what I want, but do not take what I want; they put what I like, but do not put what I like.]*
gentleman-for-me-get-it, CONJ-NEG-for-me-rule-it; for-me-settle-it, CONJ-NEG-for-me-worship-it
'You gentleman help me to get it, but (you) don't help me to rule it; (You) help me to place it, but (you) don't help me to worship it.'

Summary: Semantically, the coverb *yu* indicates that its object accompanies some action that is performed. Syntactically, the *yu* phrase acts as a modifier for the following verb phrase.

4.4 *Yu* as a Conjunction

Derived from the meaning of "to accompany", *yu* is used as a coordinating conjunction occurring between two nouns. The conjunction *yu* has the meaning 'and'.

(82) 富與貴是人之所欲也。[論語・里仁]
`fu yu gui shi ren zhi suo yu ye`
wealth-and-rank-is-people-POSS-NOM-desire-PAR
'Wealth and rank -- these are what men desire.'

As a coordinating conjunction, *yu* is commonly used to connect two nouns between which a choice must be made. For example,

(83) 吾子與子路孰賢?[孟子・公孫丑]
`wu zi yu zilu shu xian`
my-sir-and-NAME-A^o-better
'My good sir, how do you compare with Zilu?'

4.5 Coverbs Versus Conjunctions

As we have seen, both coverbs and conjunctions can occur between two nouns and have a similar meaning of "accompanying." It is easy to be confused about what is a coverb usage and what is a conjunction usage. However, some scholars, such as Huang Liuping (1974), Wu Renfu (1988) and Pulleyblank (1995) have proposed strategies for distinguishing between the two. In general, the basic concept is that a conjunction *yu*
serves syntactically to make its conjoined nouns on the same level. Thus semantically the
two nouns can be interchanged without changing the meaning. Contrastingly, if \( yu \) is a
coverb, \( yu \) and its object are joined closely and together serve as a modifier for the focus.
Some syntactic strategies can help us to distinguish between them. Let's summarize Wu
Renfu's detailed strategies below.

First, the coverb \( yu \) allows some adverbs to modify it, while the conjunction \( yu \)
does not. For example,

(77) 俱士文又取群公子謀。 (左傳, 豔公24)
(78) 些君子皆與顯言, 孟子獨不與顯言, 是簡顯也。 (孟子, 東周下)

The adverbs, 又, 皆, and the negative 不 occur before \( yu \). When they do so, it is obvious
that the nouns joined by \( yu \) are not on the same level. In these situations the \( yu \) phrase is
the modifier for the following focus.

Second, when \( yu \) with its conjoined nouns occurs after a verb, \( yu \) usually serves as
a conjunction.

(84) 俱士之言性與天道, 不可得而聞也。 (論語, 公冶長)
fu zhi yan xing yu tian dao, bu ke de er wen ye
master-POSS-speak-human nature-and-heaven-way, NEG-all right-gain-CONJ-learn-PAR
'The Master's views on human nature and the Way of Heaven, (one) cannot get to hear.'

(85) 俱子言利與義與仁。 (論語, 子罕)
zi han yan li yu ming yu ren
master-seldom-speak-profit-and-destiny-and-benevolence
'The Master seldom spoke of profit, destiny and benevolence.'

\( yu \) with its conjoined nouns occurs after the verb \( yan \) and serves as its object.

Third, When the conjoined nouns are in a comparative sense, \( yu \) functions
syntactically as a coverb. When they are in a choice sense, then \( yu \) is a conjunction.

(86) 俱子之與小人, 其性一也。 (荀子, 性惡)
junzi zhi yu xiaoren, qi xing yi ye  
gentleman-POSS-and-petty man, their-human nature-same-PAR  
'The gentleman and the petty man -- their human nature is the same.'

Yu serves as a coverb in this comparative sense sentence.

In the following examples yu is a conjunction indicating the possible alternatives for a choice.

(83)吾不與子路孰賢？(孟子,公孫丑)  
(87)禮與食孰重？(孟子,告子下)  
li yu shi shu zhong  
rite-and-food-which-important  
'The rites and food -- which is more important?'

This issue of the distinction between yu's coverb and conjunction uses deserves more attention for future study.
5.0 The Issue of the Postverbal to Preverbal Shift in Chinese And the Gradual Decline of Yu

I. Introduction

Two of the most interesting issues surrounding the diachronic development of the coverbs and coverbal phrases are the proposed word order shift from postverbal coverb phrases to preverbal coverb phrases and the gradual decline in the usage of yu. As for the word order shift, Tai (1973) and Li and Thompson (1974) suggest that Chinese has changed from SVO to SOV since coverbal phrases have switched from being "predominantly" postverbal to "predominantly" preverbal. This view has been challenged by several Chinese linguists, among them Huang (1978), Light (1979), Li (1980), Wei (1993) and Sun (1996). Huang (1978) indicates that the morphology factor is closely connected with the elision of the prepositions. Li (1980) proposes that the development of coverbs may be considered as an instance of the refinement process in Chinese language. Wei (1993) investigates thoroughly the historical development of the coverbal yu phrases. Attempting to explain the change from postverbal to preverbal coverb phrases, Wei suggests that two language types co-occurred and competed with each other, with the result that one eventually was replaced by the other. Recently, Sun (1996) discusses the coverbal phrase change in light of the concept of the grammaticalization process.

All of these studies have offered valuable insights and contributions to the issues surrounding the development of the coverbs and the word order of the Chinese language. In this section I would like to offer some further observations and discussion of the coverb yu in the CC period.
II. My proposals

As for the studies mentioned above, I find Li's (1980) observations most plausible. With the theory of "refinement" Li (1980) proposes that in EAC a few coverbs with "broad" or general meanings were gradually replaced by many coverbs having specific properties. This, in turn, resulted in the systematic proliferation of the coverb class. The coverb *yu* is the most important of those versatile coverbs, as it has been used to indicate many functional relations between a verb and its following noun. Li (1980:275) indicates that in the ancient texts, such as the Shih-ching (Classic of Poetry), I-ching (Classic of Changes), and Shang-shu (Classic of Documents), *yu* was found to function as an extremely productive verbal (verb and coverb). Because of its broad meaning as a verb, *yu* was used generally in existential sentences. Until other verbs with the appropriate semantic definitions and functions gradually took over the signaling of various distinct individual relations between a certain V-N pair, *yu* was the only legitimate universal coverb.

Li has offered some valuable insights, but there remain some questions. Why do the coverbal phrases, which once occurred either before or after a verbal phrase, now occur primarily in the preverbal position? What is the motivation which has forced *yu* to undergo the refinement process? That is, why does *yu* need more specific coverbs to replace it? What is the implication of the coexistence of *zaiyu* 在於, *zhiyu* 至於, *youyu* 由於, and *duiyu* 對於 in CC texts? All of these questions are involved with the fact that the coverb *yu*, which once was one of the most frequently used coverbs in CC, has been gradually declining and has almost disappeared in Modern Chinese.

As for the supposed shift from postverbal to preverbal coverb phrases, I propose that scholars attempting to explain this shift have most likely have been pursuing a phenomenon that actually never happened. Throughout this study I have demonstrated
that, except in the case of the verb complement phrases, those so-called postverbal coverb phrases are not really coverb phrases at all, but serve syntactically as the nucleus of the predicate. I have also pointed out that the coverbs in CC all started out as full verbs. It follows, then, that the so-called shift from postverbal coverb phrases to preverbal coverb phrases was actually a process of grammaticalization. In the classical period when the coverbs were still used often as full verbs, it is natural that we find many instances of their occurrence after another verb phrase. Later, however, as these words were used more infrequently as full verbs, they were less frequently seen occurring after another verb phrase. From today's perspective this may look like a shift from postverbal to preverbal coverb phrases. Actually, it was a gradual decline in the use of these words as full verbs.

The above argument is a possible explanation of the so-called shift, but it still does not explain the gradual disappearance of *yu* and the proliferation of more specific coverbs. I would like to suggest that the grammaticalization process and the specificity demanded by the coverb usage, as well as general pressure on language to become more specific in expression, might have been factors. Through the process of grammaticalization *yu* was used more and more as a coverb. It is possible that the coverb use demands more specificity than the verbal use, since a coverb serves to sharpen or limit the range of reference of the verb it modifies. Liu (1991) explains how when lexical nouns are used as verbs or adverbs, a semantic shift occurs and the range of reference of the word becomes narrowed. Perhaps the same is true with lexical verbs when they acquire the coverb function. Perhaps the broad range of meanings a word can have as a verb becomes narrowed to the core meaning when the word is used as a coverb. This does seem to be the case with *yu*, which, when used as a preverbal coverb tends to indicate only the location in which the action occurs. Because *yu* was not inherently specific semantically it may have gradually been replaced by coverbs with more specific meanings. This pressure on a language to become more specific in expression may have also led to a decrease in
the use of the verb *yu* as more specific verbs gradually replaced it. Thus we can propose the following dynamics leading to the decline in the usage of *yu*: (1a) The preverbal position is limited to *yu*'s fundamental meaning as a verb, 'at or in', with little extension tolerated; (1b) More specific coverbs come to be preferred to *yu* and the *yu* is gradually replaced; (2a) The verb *yu* is combined with other verbal phrases to help create more specific meanings; (2b) The *yu* in these combined verbal phrases is gradually dropped as being redundant.

Before I discuss these changes any further, it will be useful to review in more detail why I claim that *yu* is not a very specific verb, a factor which may have contributed to its gradual replacement. I have observed that *yu* phrases can occur either before or after a verbal phrase in CC, though it is more common for them to occur in the postverbal position than preverbal. With some intransitive verbs such as, *zuo* "to sit", *li* "to stand" and some transitive verbs such as *sha* "to kill", *ji* "to hit", the basic meaning of the *yu* phrase is to indicate the location in which the action occurs, regardless of whether the *yu* phrase comes before or after the verb phrase.

(88) 哲子立於奎氏之門外。{(左傳, 襄公25)
'Yanzi was present, standing, outside the Cui's residence.'

(89) 殺子西子期於朝。
(When Baigong) killed Zixi and Ziqi, it was at the court.

(90a) 去郡, 時梁山, 色於岐山之下居焉。（孟子, 梁惠王下）
'(King Tai) left Bin, crossed Liang mountain, built a town at the foot of Qi mountain, and dwelt there.'

(90b) 子路寢於石門。（論語, 恭問）
'(Zilu was present, by resting, in the Stone Gate.)'
The verb co-occurring with *yu* is semantically some action that takes place at a certain point and has no direction. The result is that, whether the *yu* phrase occurs preverbally or postverbally, it indicates the location where the action occurs. In this way, the postverbal *yu* does not appear to have multiple meanings and won't cause any ambiguity. However, this is not the whole story. In these cases the lack of ambiguity is a byproduct of the nature of the verbs preceding the *yu* phrase. With verbs of motion there can be ambiguity when they occur with *yu*. For example, when a *yu* phrase occurs with such verbs as *qi* 就 'to start' and *fà* 发 'to set out' the *yu* phrase (location) generally indicates the source, while with such verbs as *ru* 入 'to enter,' *zhì* 赴 'to go,' and *guī* 返 'to return,' the *yu* phrase generally indicates the goal. It seems that the verb before the *yu* phrase determines the direction of the action. However, this is not the full story. The verb *chu* 出 presents a special case. In CC the verb *chu* means "to go out (through)." With this verb we must rely on the context to understand whether the place through which the action is going out should be considered a source or goal.

(91a) 乃拔公以出於淖。 (左傳,成公16)- the *yu* phrase can be understood as where the action starts
'[With these words] (he) dragged [the carriage of] the marquis out of the slough.'

(91b) (祭仲) 滅出於宋,宋人執之。 (公羊,桓11)- the *yu* phrase can be understood as where the action goes
'When (Zhai Zhong) went through Song, Song people arrested him.'

(91c) 向魁出於衛地,公文氏攻之。 (左傳,哀公14)- the *yu* phrase can be understood as where the action starts
'As Xiang Tui was quitting the territory of Wei, the chief of the Gong Wen family attacked him.'

152
We have seen in the above examples that after *chu* the *yu* phrases seems to indicate the source, goal, or the location where the action occurs. However, this variety of meanings results from the unique meaning of the verb *chu* rather than from *yu*. He Leshi (1987) offers examples from the *Tso-Chuan* of several other motion verbs with *yu*. Several are listed here.

(92a)初，楚武王克權，……遂權于那處，使閥救尹之。(左傳，莊公18)
'Before this, (when the) king Wu of Chu conquered Quan,......(the king) removed the Quan people to Nachu, and put them under the charge of Yan-ao.'

(92b)寡君使群臣遊大國之迹於鄭。(左傳,宣公12)
'Our ruler sent his servants to remove from Zheng every foot-print of your great State.'

(93a)使祝史徒禱於周廟。 (左傳,昭公18)
'Making the priests and diviners remove the Spirit-tablets to the stone niches in the Zhou temple.'

(93b)子南之臣謂巢：“請徙子尸於朝。 (左傳,襄公22)
'Zi-nan's servants then asked Qi-ji to beg leave to remove his father's body from the court.'

The verb *er* 贳 ‘to suspect, doubt, distrust,’ which is not a motion verb, also exhibits this phenomenon, as shown by the following examples.

(94a)晉侯，秦伯圍鄭，以其無禮於晉，且貳於楚也。 (左傳,僖公30)
'The marquis of Jin and the earl of Qin laid siege to Zheng, because of the want of courtesy which the earl of it had shown to the marquis in his wanderings, and because he was with double-mindedness inclining to Chu.'

(94b)齊侯圍成，貳於晉故也。 (左傳,襄公15)
'The marquis of Qi leid siege to Cheng, having become estranged from Jin.'

(94c)為歸汶陽之田故，諸侯貳於晉，晉人懼。 (左傳,成公9)
'Because of the restoration of the lands of Wen-yang, all the states became disaffected to Jin. The people of Jin were afraid.'
The question may be raised as to why the postverbal $yu$ phrase is more versatile. First of all, as I have clarified before, in many cases in which the $yu$ phrase occurs after a verbal phrase it in fact functions as the main verb. When it functions as the main verb it serves only to introduce the important location in the predicate. The verb phrase which precedes the $yu$ phrase often implies direction. This causes the $yu$ phrase to appear to indicate direction. In examples such as those above with the verbs 達, 徑, and 贳, it seems strange that the $yu$ phrase can indicate both the source location or goal location of the action. This need not be so strange, however, if we interpret $yu$ as simply indicating the important location in the predicate. For example, in (93a) the important information in the predicate is the stone niches in the Zhou temple. In (93b), however, the important location is the court. It does not matter where Zi-nan's servants take the body, as long as they take it out of the court. These examples emphasize that the fundamental meaning of $yu$ as a verb is 'at' or 'in.' That is, it puts two elements together in a frame of reference, which usually is spatial or temporal proximity. In these cases the $yu$ phrase puts the modifying verb phrase together with the most important location in the predicate. We can see that this meaning is not very specific and perhaps that is why $yu$ was replaced with more specific verbs.

Now, let's move on to discuss in more detail the process of $yu$'s replacement with more specific verbs and coverbs. Note that language change is a long process, and, therefore, by focusing on the CC period I can only observe the possibilities for the development of the $yu$ phrase.

(1) Co-occurrence of Yu with Other Verbs

With the theory of "refinement", Li (1980) proposes that the "broad" meaning of the coverb $yu$ has been gradually replaced by many coverbs with specific meaning. (Note
that I interpret these as verbs and not coverbs.) He further indicates that in the later period, some coverbs which are semantically related to *yu* began to be compound with *yu* (for example, *zaiyu* 'to be present'; *youyu* 'to be through'; *zhiyu* 'to arrive at'; *daoyu* 'to reach'; *geiyu* 'to give'; *duiyu* 'to treat'; *guoyu* 'to exceed'; and *biyu* 'to compare'). On the other hand there are no compounds for *beiyu* 'to be', *yiyyu* 'to be', *bayu* 'to be', or *weiyyu* 'to be', because these coverbs are not closely related with *yu* semantically. (Li, 1980: 277)

I have also found that in CC texts some verbs often co-occur with *yu* in order to help make the meaning of the postverbal *yu* phrases more clear. For example,

**(95a)** 至於齊。(左傳,哀公6年)
(He) arrived at Qi.'

**(95b)** 西至於河。(左傳,僖公4年)
'To the west, reaching as far as the Yellow River.'

**(95c)** 二子北至於首陽之山,遂餓而死焉。(莊子,讓王)
'These two gentlemen went north to the Mountain of Shouyang, then were hungry and died there.'

**在於:**
**(96a)** 在於王所者,長幼卑尊,皆薛居州也,王誰與爲不善?(孟子,滕文公下)
'(Suppose that) all in attendance on the king, old and young, high and low, were Xue Juzhou (a scholar of virtue), whom would the king have to do evil with?'

**(96b)** 其耳目在於旗鼓。(國語,晉語)
'Their ears and eyes all exist on the flags and drums.'

**(96c)** 以載墨自謨,而循世之危,古之道術在乎此者。(莊子,天下)
'To use strict regulations to regulate oneself in order to prepare for the emergencies of the age - the ancient way existed on such ideas!'

We can see that in CC texts the *yu* phrase occurs with such verbs as *zhi* to indicate the goal of the action, and *zai* to indicate the point of the action. Note that there is no
such phenomenon in the coverb *yu* phrase. Perhaps this is because the prepositional phrase is more specific and doesn't require such a strategy.

Moreover, note that these verbs have not firmly formed as a set with *yu* yet. *Yu* still functions as the main verb while its preceding verb functions as the adverbial modifier. I propose that as this strategy was used more and more, in some cases the *yu* was gradually dropped as being redundant and in some cases the verb combinations began to be seen as compounds. The compounding process is also involved with the grammaticalization of *yu* in which *yu* is seen declining in the later period. In modern times, the compounds such as *zhìyu*, *zàiyu* and *yòuyu*, are established as compounds in which *yu* has been grammaticalized as a suffix.

(3) The Emergence of Other Specific Coverbs to Replace the Coverb *Yu*

The above phenomenon describes how the verb *yu* may have responded to refinement pressure in the language. This section is concerned with the struggle between *yu* and other coverbs, which eventually replaced *yu*. Note that I am not claiming that there were any new forms which evolved just to replace *yu*. On the other hand, I think there already existed in the CC texts many coverbs that were semantically more specific than *yu*. Therefore it is not necessary to say that these forms of coverbs are derived from *yu*. As for the coverbs with more specific semantic meaning, such as *yi 以*, *yóng 用*, *zì 自*, *you 由* and *zài 在*, Y. C. Li (1980:275) has observed that when they occur postpositionally they could be replaced by *yu*. This indicates that, without the context, *yu* is versatile in postverbal position. Let's take a look at some examples in which *yu* co-exists with other coverbs. (Examples and translation are Li's, 1980:282)

(97) 讜之于民生之不易，...瞪路蓝缕以啓山林。 (左傳, 宣12)
instruct-them-with-citizen-life's-not-easy... suffer-hardship-for-open-mountain-woods 'Teach them about the difficulty of livelihood... and to work hard in order to explore the virgin land.'
(I believe 于 here is a verb while 以 is a coverb, and the translation should be: 'Use the difficulty of livelihood to teach them [the Chu people] ...[and teach them about the former king, Ruoa Fenmao who] toiled in cut and tattered clothes [utilizing industry and frugality] to open the virgin land.')

(98) 寇至則先去以爲民望，寇退則反，殆于不可。(孟子·離婁)
bandit-arrive-then-first-leave-take-be-citizen-wish-bandit-retreat-then-return-really-be-not-allow
'When the bandits came, he left first and took it to be the people's wish. When the bandits retreated, then he returned. This is really not right.'

These examples show the presence of a temporary co-existence and competition between yu and other specific meaning coverbs, which can be considered a temporary truce before yu was eventually supplanted by these specific coverbs (Li, 1980:282-283).

Moreover, in some cases the yu phrase has been replaced by some coverbs with specific meaning. For example,

(99) 出自幽谷, 達于喬木。(詩經·小雅·伐木)
'(The bird) comes from the deep valley, (it) moves to the high tree.'

(100) 及惠后之難, 王出在鄭。(國語·周語上)
'At the time of the disaster of the Queen of Hui, the king came out at Zheng.'

The above examples show that yu can be replaced by zi and zai.

Yu indicating the source may also be replaced by cong, and the location of the phrase also changes to preverbal as shown in the contrasting examples below.

(101a) 乞食於野人。(左傳·僖公23)(國語·晉語4)
'(He) begged the food from the countryman.'

(101b) 饑而從野人乞食。(史記·晉世家)
'Hungry, (he) begged the food from the countryman.'
Li points out that in EAC a few coverbs with 'broad' or general meanings were gradually replaced by many coverbs of specific properties. In fact, he has observed that the numbers of coverbs has been proliferated from *yu* and five other coverbs in EAC to twenty in LAC and forty in LHC and sixty in Modern Chinese. Though this study is primarily concerned with the synchronic phenomena of coverbs in the CC period, the discussion above can offer some clues about the decline of the usage of *yu*. 
1.0 Proposal for CC Pedagogy

1.1 Needs Analysis

Although CC is no longer spoken and scarcely written today, it is still a very important language for study. It is the language of the foundation texts of Chinese culture, which are as important to East Asian cultures as are the texts of Greece and Rome to western culture. Several thousand years of literature, philosophy, and history are all recorded in CC. Although there have not been great numbers of students electing to study CC in recent years, instruction in CC is still very important. Future scholars of Chinese literature, history, political science, and philosophy will all need to be able to work with primary texts written in CC or literary Chinese. Courses that effectively train these students to engage CC texts are essential. Without them, we will see the study of ancient China fade away along with the retirement of the generation of Chinese scholars who were trained in CC in their youth. This is true not only in the West, but also in China and Taiwan, where the position of CC instruction in the educational system is being consistently eroded.
Given the need for CC pedagogy, I will propose here a course design that I hope will contribute to the effectiveness of courses in CC. The traditional method of teaching CC was the induction method. Students were made to memorize countless passages of Chinese text, which were in turn explained and interpreted to them by their teachers. While there is no doubt that this method has worked fine for two thousand years, it is perhaps inadequate for the needs of today's learners. Students typically do not begin their study of CC until they are in college, or even graduate school in many cases. Contact time between the students and instructors is limited. Students lack both the time and the patience to spend long hours memorizing texts and being drilled by an instructor. While I would not presume to suggest that competence in reading CC can be gained without many years of hard study and devotion, I would like to propose a more grammar-oriented approach to studying CC in order to make the learning process more efficient and less frustrating for the learners. Moreover, I would like to suggest an approach that instills in students from the beginning of their study the special characteristics of CC so that they may analyze CC sentences on their own terms. By learning to recognize grammatical structures, students can progress a long way towards gaining the ability to read independently. Of course, such an understanding must eventually be supplemented by the vocabulary knowledge and familiarity with allusions and context that can only be gained by broad reading in the Classics. However, it is appropriate to begin with heavy grammatical emphasis. Once students can recognize the basic syntactic structures they will gain a sense of confidence that will motivate them to further study of CC.

1.2 Students

Typically students in a CC course are undergraduate or graduate students who are preparing for advanced study in the Chinese humanities. Such students are often
intellectually curious and motivated to learn. If we offer them well-designed courses, it is likely that many will eventually gain proficiency in Classical Chinese.

1.3 Goal

The goal of CC language courses should be to help students learn to read CC texts. This involves giving them a good base, and helping them learn how to continue to improve their abilities even after the course of instruction is over. These goals may sound very simple, but it is often the case that after finishing a course of instruction in CC the student can recognize and read passages he or she has studied already, but quickly becomes frustrated when faced with an unfamiliar passage. If we examine the way we are teaching CC we will see that this unfortunate result is brought about by the persistence of the traditional paradigm for studying CC, and by lack of focus on what should be the primary goal of an elementary CC course — developing reading skills in the students.

1.4 What Skills Should We Try to Develop in The Learners?

A CC reading course is different in many ways from a course in reading modern Chinese. First of all, most students of modern written Chinese are also studying spoken Chinese. Although there are differences between written and spoken Chinese, especially very literary written Chinese, there is much shared between them, and students learning to read modern Chinese may begin by reading and writing dialogues, or other simple texts that do not differ greatly from the spoken language. From there they can move on to a broad range of authentic texts of varying degrees of complexity, as well as textbooks designed for learners of different ages. With CC, however, there is no spoken language to lean on for a beginning. Students' prior exposure to modern Chinese will help them with some of the difficulties of the orthographic system, but there can be some "interference" caused by vocabulary items which have survived into modern Chinese but are used in
much different contexts and with different meanings. Because of this students must learn
a whole new system of grammar. Further, the range of difficulty of texts is not so broad.
Most classical texts that have survived until today were written by the educated for the
educated. There are few textbooks from which to choose, and of those, the vast majority
use annotated passages from authentic texts as course material. Thus the student is
thrown into authentic, sophisticated classical Chinese language right from the beginning.
It is no wonder that many students of CC feel they are adrift at sea.

It is my premise here that the ability to read CC should start with an understanding
of the fundamental characteristics of the Chinese language and have a heavy focus on
noticing and analyzing the grammatical structures of the texts. This is more efficient than
the "induction method". It will provide students with an anchor, a framework on which to
put the vocabulary and context knowledge they will gain more gradually through their
study.

1.5 Reading and Culture

Before continuing to describe a method of teaching reading skills to students, I
would like to discuss the nature of reading and the importance of cultural knowledge to
effective reading. For a broad definition of reading, I would like to begin with the
definition proposed by Walker (1987: 60):

"Reading is the set of skills that supports the ability to use the
texts of a language community to interact with members of
that community either as a participant or an observer."

We can see that community and thus culture are important aspects of this
definition of reading. When we attempt to read CC we run into some problems because
CC texts are to a large degree texts of a culture/community that no longer exists today.
This is why it is so difficult, and so interesting, to try to read it from the perspective of
people living at the time it was written. We must attempt to read the texts in this manner, however, or we will miss out on much of their richness. Thus, although the main goal of an elementary CC course is to develop reading skills in the students, an integral part of developing those reading skills will be to gain knowledge of the cultural context from which the texts were written.

Recent articles on pedagogy have stressed the cultural side of reading and warned against an approach that has too much emphasis on "decoding" of texts. Nevertheless, I feel that decoding activities play an important role in CC reading precisely because we are so far removed from the social context in which the texts were written. Whereas the learner of modern Chinese can gain context from what he or she knows of modern history, current events, and the culture which he or she is studying, many of these context items are absent for the study of CC. This leads us to two conclusions. One, grammar should be stressed as a very important tool for decoding. Two, in a CC class we should try to teach the social and historical background from which the texts arose. The best way to do this is through written introductory materials, which would, ideally, be incorporated into the CC textbook. Students can be assigned to read these sections at home. Not only will this make the texts easier to understand, it will make them more interesting for the learners as well.

2.0 Developing the Program of Instruction
2.1 Determining Goals

The main goals of the CC reading course are that the learners improve their base of skills and knowledge necessary for reading CC prose as well as their ability to learn classical Chinese on their own. Chief among the skills necessary is recognition of CC grammatical structures, and chief among knowledge necessary is knowledge of the socio-cultural milieu from which the Classics were produced. As far as specific goals for the
course are concerned, they should include two different types of goals. First, the instructor or program director should set basic goals for the course based on the past performance of learners in the program. Information on past performance can come from learners' grades and evaluations of the course. Second, the learners should have the opportunity to communicate some of their goals and expectations for the course to the instructor. This can be from a questionnaire or an individual meeting with the instructor during the beginning of the course. Perhaps some of the learners' special needs can be met with flexible parts of the course. Also, this process gives the instructor an opportunity to comment on unrealistic goals and expectations at the beginning of the course, before the learner becomes disappointed. In general, goals are very important motivators for both the instructor and the learners. If both the learners and the instructor understand the goals at the beginning of the course they can work together to accomplish them.

2.2 Selecting Materials

There are many factors to consider in selecting materials, including the level of the learners, the interests of the learners, the length of the course, the goals of the course, and practical factors such as the availability and cost of the materials.

In general, CC prose learners have already been exposed to written modern Chinese. It is useful to begin their Classical Chinese instruction with some very short, interesting articles. These may be short stories or paragraphs selected from other relatively long articles. These short essays can be used to introduce the structure of Classical Chinese, and to point out differences between Classical and modern Chinese. It is useful to make it very clear from the beginning that relying on knowledge of modern Chinese to read Classical Chinese can result in frequent misinterpretation. In order to spare the learners from spending too many hours looking up vocabulary in their
dictionaries, the major vocabulary items in the passages should be annotated, preferably in English. The goal of the course is for the learners to read Classical Chinese, not to struggle through modern Chinese vocabulary glosses. With English glosses and grammatical explanations, the learners can concentrate on learning CC. This will prevent them from becoming frustrated.

After the basics of CC written style have been mastered, the program should give the learners longer passages so that they can gain the advantage of context. That is, when students study successive passages in a single text they become grounded in the context of the text, which makes reading easier and more realistic.

2.3 Organization of Instruction

In this section a general outline of the organization of instruction will be proposed. In general, the instruction should be divided into two types of activities, orientation activities and reading activities. Orientation activities are designed to help the learner become familiar with the CC prose genres, the special characteristics of CC, and background historical and cultural information necessary to understand the classical texts. This material should be presented in the base language of instruction, and, as mentioned above, it would be ideal to include such orientation information as part of a beginning CC textbook. Examples of orientation information from a CC reading course include the following:

(A) Introduce the learners to CC, what kinds of texts it includes, and the importance of those texts in Chinese history.

(B) Introduce the learners to some useful references, including dictionaries, textbooks, and articles and books on CC grammar.

(C) Introduce learners to the similarities and differences between Modern Chinese and CC.

(D) Introduce learners to the social and political systems that were current during the Chou and pre-Chin periods.
Since the orientation information should be presented in the base language, it should be assigned for students to read at home and then reviewed by the instructor during class time as part of the discussion of the texts.

The rest of the activities in the course should be reading activities, which include decoding and comprehension activities. These reading activities should be organized into the stages listed below.

(A) **Preparation:** This stage includes scanning, skimming and introduction activities. The instructor should ask students to skim the selection on their own and write some brief notes to themselves including what they think the passage is about, and any particular grammatical structures or important vocabulary items they recognize from studying previous passages. Students should be asked to perform this activity at home and save the notes for future reference. The purpose of this stage is to accustom students to approaching a text on their own and seeing what they can make of it. Hopefully, as the course progresses students will perceive that they are getting better and better at "sight reading" the texts. This will help to motivate students and dispel their fear of CC texts.

Then the instructors introduce the basic information of the texts, such as who is the author, what's the significance of the books in the history of Chinese language and literature. What's the background of the texts, and so on. In addition, the instructor should point out some guidelines of some grammatical words and CC grammar phenomenon which students will encounter through reading the article.

(B) **Decoding:** This stage consists of actually reading the text. In the beginning of the course the instructor may want to lead the students through a few passages, but as a rule this stage should be performed by the students at home. As mentioned before, this stage
should be aided by supplementary material, including an introduction to the author of the passage and the work it is taken from, a vocabulary glossary for any new words in the text, and notes on special characteristics of CC and other grammatical phenomena the students will encounter when reading the text. Students are expected to prepare and study the text to the best of their ability before class. In this way, the course can make the most efficient utilization of instructor contact time.

So far all the stages have focused on the learner's preparation for class. The completion of the decoding stage occurs in class in the form of an opportunity for students to ask questions about anything they do not understand in the passage. This gives the instructor a chance to explain points that are not explained adequately in the textbook. Incidentally, the instructor should make note of the specific questions asked in order to improve the next edition of the textbook.

(C) Reading Comprehension: During this stage the instructor and students go over the passage together during class time. The passage should be read and interpreted primarily by the students, and the instructor should take the opportunity to stress important points from the passage. Students can take turns reading and interpreting passages from the text. This will give them the opportunity, and some pressure, to show what they have learned. After reading through the passage in this way and stressing important vocabulary and grammatical items the class can use remaining time to discuss topics related to the text, such as the writing style, author, purpose of the text, ideas expressed in the text, etc. This brings the discussion full circle back to the orientation information, but at this point it should be more real to the students and they may even be able to contribute some new insights into the text.
2.4 Exercises

In many Classical Chinese classes the routine is simply to prepare at home and then go over the passage in class. Then there are a few tests and an exam. I feel that a broad range of exercises is useful for the learners to attack the learning of CC from several different angles. It will also prevent boredom. Following is a list of some of the types of exercises that students can be asked to do:

1. Give students a list of characters, either from a sentence they have studied or from a structurally similar sentence, and have them attempt to assemble the characters into a sentence.

2. Occasionally assign students to translate a passage. This should not be overused, since translation is a fundamentally different activity than reading. Translation does require, however, a complete understanding of the base text.

3. Occasionally assign a passage that is not part of the textbook or prepared materials. Students will have to "sight read" it. In this way they will learn to use a dictionary and other references.

4. Assign students to write a short paper about a certain writer, text, or a certain facet of Chinese society during the pre-Qin period.

5. Have students select a particular writer or work that they may be interested in (based on the orientation material or outside readings) and then locate that work in the library, select a short passage from it, and read it.

2.5 Verifying Results

Testing the results of the skill improvement of the students is very important in any program. It motivates learners and instructors by allowing them to see progress toward their goals. It also can identify areas in the program that need improvement. Students' skimming notes should be the first stage of verifying results. They should be able to feel themselves getting better and better at reading the passages. There should
also be frequent quizzes and tests in class, however, so that the students are motivated to prepare well, and so that the instructor can monitor their progress.

3.0 Illustration of Grammar-Focused Approach

In the following I will illustrate the grammar-focused approach by discussing in general how a passage selected as text material for the elementary CC course would be presented. This will illustrate the kinds of grammatical phenomena we are concerned with presenting, and also the richness of even a short passage such as the one chosen.

The passage is a well-known fable selected from a passage of the Chan-kuo Tse. The fable is commonly known as 畫蛇添足. This kind of short passage is particularly suited for beginners because it is an enjoyable story, and the whole is completed in just a few lines. The text is as follows:

畫蛇添足 戰國策齊策二

楚有祠者，賜其舍人卮酒，舍人相謂曰：「數人飲之不足，一人飲之有餘，請畫地為蛇，先成者飲酒。」

一人蛇先成，引酒且飲之，乃左手持卮，右手畫蛇，曰：「吾能為之足。」

未成，一人之蛇成，奪其卮，曰：「蛇固無足，子安能為之足？」遂飲其酒。為蛇足者，終亡其酒。

Before beginning the grammatical analysis, the students will be introduced to the text through the orientation materials and the instructors comments. The students should learn some general information about the Chan-kuo Tse and the Warring States period. Students should know that the Chan-kuo Tse records a time when many small states were battling for hegemony in the land that is now China. Men of ambition wandered about seeking to become a diplomat or adviser to kings. Many became famous for their diplomatic prowess, and their words and deeds are recorded in the Chan-kuo Tse. This passage is an example of a parable told by a diplomat in order to help persuade someone of something. After reading the passage students and instructor should address questions.
such as what kind of larger passage the fable was from, the purpose of the fable, etc. These are the kind of questions the learners will have to ask later to be intelligent readers. Thus this type of attention and critical reading should be encouraged from the beginning. Another effective approach would be to first study this passage and then study the larger passage it comes from to emphasize how it fits into the narrative and argument. In this way students can become aware of an familiar with a common rhetorical method in the classical literature.

After this cultural introduction, students will be exposed to a text such as this either through their preparation for class or through an instructor monologue early in the course. If the passage is assigned for home preparation, all the following grammatical observations should be adequately explained in the textbook, and the passage should be accompanied by a vocabulary glossary.

Now I will point out the types of grammatical features that we would focus on in a text such as this one.

( ) hua she tian zu ( )

' [Somebody] drawing a snake [but] adds feet'

grammatical topics: subject-deletion; omission of grammatical particles (er here)

Note that by the term "omission" we are not trying to restore any single missing word for the context or imply that the writer deliberately left any words out. We are only
pointing out some words that, if included, would show the logical interpretation of the sentences more clearly. This strategy is utilized in order to demonstrate the terse nature of CC and the importance of word order. Once the students master some of the fundamental concepts of CC grammar this strategy can be abandoned.

楚 有 ( )祠 者
*chu*  *you*  *ci*  *zhe*

State of Chu have a sacrifice nominalizer

'In the Chu State, there was a celebrant who...'

者 is a nominalizer. It is placed after a phrase when the phrase is used syntactically as a nominal. It is commonly used to nominalize a verb phrase, such as in this example. The祠者 logically should be (為)祠者, 'one who (performs) a sacrifice'.

grammatical topics: function of the nominizer *zhe*; the omission of the verb *wei*; subject-predicate as topic-comment.

( )赐 其 舍人 厚 酒
*si*  *qi*  *sheren*  *zhi*  *jiu*
give his retainer cup wine

The subject of this comment is the celebrant from the phrase 楚有祠者, which serves as the topic. Note how emphasis is put on the entire topic, not on simply the "actor" as is the case with Western languages which require overt subject.

grammatical topics: Subject omission; topic-comment

舍人 相 謂 曰
*sheren*  *xiang*  *wei*  *yue*
retainer mutually speak say

'The retainers speak to each other, saying...'

數 人 飲 之 ( ) 不足, 一 人 飲 之 ( ) 有 餘
shu ren yin zhi bu zu, yi ren yin zhi you yu
several person drink it not sufficient, one person drink it have surplus
'(ff) several people drink the wine, it will not be sufficient. (If) one person drinks it, (then) there will be a surplus.'

This is a compound sentences which is formed by two conditional complex clauses.
However, syntactically, the conditional conjunction, ze, is not present. Semantically, the whole sentence can be understood as 數人飲之(則酒)不足，一人飲之(則酒)有餘
grammatical topics: subject and grammatical particle omission

qing hua di wei she
request draw ground make snake
'please let's draw shakes on the ground.'

Some grammatical particles have been omitted in the sentence. The sentence should be understood as ( )請畫(於)地面(而)為蛇
grammatical topics: subject and grammatical particle omission

xian cheng zhe yin jiu
first complete nominizer drink wine
'The one who first completes his snake can drink the wine.'

This is an example of a conditional compound sentence. The object of the verb cheng and the conjunction ze are omitted.
grammatical topics: the nominizer zhe; object and grammatical particle omission

yi ren she xian cheng, yin jiu qie yin zhi
one person snake first complete, reach for wine and drink it
'One person first completed his snake. Reaching for the wine, (he) was about to drink it.'
The first part, 一人蛇先成, is a topic-comment sentence in which the clause 蛇先成 serves as the predicate. The second part, ( ) 引酒且 ( ) 飲之, consists of two clauses, both with subject omitted. The verb in the second clause is modified by the adverb qie, which indicates that it functions as the nucleus of the predicate.

grammatical topics: subject omission; a clause can serve as a predicate; the function of the conjunction adverb qie 'about to'

乃 ( ) 左手持圓, ( ) 右手畫蛇, 口吾能為之足
nai zuo shou chi zhi, you shou hua she, yue wu neng wei zhi zu then left hand hold cup, right hand draw snake, say I can make it feet 'However, (he) then held the cup with the left hand, and drawing the snake with his right, said "I can make the feet for it."'

乃 is an adverb, indicating "unexpectedness." It roughly means 'but then' or 'then however' expressed with a sense of the unexpected. The coverb yi, which indicates the means or instrument, can be supplied as (以)左手持圼, (以 )右手法蛇. Note that the coverb phrase also can be put after the verb phrase, but then the semantic meaning and syntactic function would change; the yi phrase would become the nucleus which is modified by the verb phrase.

grammatical topics: subject omission; word order principle; coverbal phrases.

( )未 成, 一人之蛇成, ( ) 奪 其足, ( ) 曰:
wei cheng, yi ren zhi she cheng, duo qi zhi, yue
not yet complete, one person POSS snake complete, grab the cup say

The logical subject has been switched to 'the feet of the snake' which is not present in the text. Yiren, one of the other retainers, is the subject for the following actions, including completing his snake and grabbing the cup from the first retainer. Note that the verb can be understood as 'to be completed' or 'to complete' in this context. Therefore, the whole sentence with the supplied words could be:

(蛇足)未成, 一人之蛇成, ( ) 奪 其足, ( ) 曰:
蛇固無足，子安能為之足，（）遂飲其酒。

A snake certainly has no feet. How could you make feet for it? Therefore (he) drank the wine.

grammatical topics: the interrogative particle 安; Conjunction 遂, subject omission

為蛇足者，終亡其酒。

The one who made feet for a snake lost his wine in the end.

Finally, this passage is terse and concise, which illustrates that the CC texts were written in a very conversational style.
1.0 Concluding Remarks

After a review of other approaches to the study of CC syntax, I have expressed my inclination to choose the special characteristics of CC as the basis of my study in order to achieve the ultimate goal of this branch of study - reaching a more appropriate interpretation of CC texts. A listing and description of the special characteristics of CC has shown how important fully recognizing and vigorously applying these special characteristics are to some aspects of CC syntax.

To build on the introduction, I chose to conduct a synchronic investigation of the coverbs, some of the most common and complex words in CC. Some procedures and strategies have helped me to conduct this task. First, the recognition that the coverbs all have verb origins. Because of this I began my investigation by defining their fundamental properties as verbs. This has demonstrated that defining the fundamental nature of the verb has enabled us to better understand and analyze the nature of the coverb phrases. Through applying the fundamental principles of CC syntax, the semantic meaning and syntactic function of the coverb phrases have been better analyzed.

The word order of the coverb phrase is one of their most challenging features.
With the belief that different syntactic position should result in different semantic implication, I argued that the word order change of the coverb phrase results in different semantic implication and syntactic structure. Namely, when the coverb phrase occurs after a verb phrase, the emphasis has been put on the coverb phrase and it has a new syntactic function: the coverb phrase is the nucleus of the predicate while its preceding verb phrase functions as a modifier. This claim is supported by the special characteristics of CC mentioned earlier. I also discussed other issues related to the coverbs, including the verb complement construction, the lack of a syntactic construction for passivity in CC, and the fact that the coverbs have often been mistaken as conjunctions because of failure to recognize subject omission and the implications of the topic-comment structure of Chinese sentences.

Finally, a preliminary proposal for the application to CC pedagogy was offered. I have attempted to illustrate the importance of CC pedagogy, as well as the importance of a grammar-focused instruction that teaches students the importance of the special characteristics of CC from the beginning of their study. I believe that this approach is highly feasible for effective teaching and training students to be lifelong learners of CC.

2.0 Issues For Further Study

Due to the limitation of the scope of this study, there are several other issues which I feel are interesting and important for further study, but there is no time to discuss them here. Let me briefly describe them below.

First, this study has focused on the synchronic study of the coverbs. However, their diachronic development is also interesting and very important. Recently, Sun (1996) has published a study in which he utilizes the concept of grammaticalization, from concreteness to abstractness, to analyze some aspects of Chinese language. In the study Sun also touched upon some of the coverbs. The different degrees to which or rates at
which the grammaticalization of the coverbs occurred remains a topic for further investigation. Other topics for further study would be the omission phenomena of the coverbs, especially the coverb "yu", and the verb complement construction in CC syntax.

Omission of "yu" is very common in CC texts. Some factors, such as dialect variation, adjustment of syllable number for parallelism, the author's individual style, and rhyming are thought to be related to its omission. However, it still remains a mystery. I am wondering if there are any particular factors which determine the omission of "yu". In my study of Hsun-tzu, I have proposed and demonstrated that adjusting the number of characters in a line or sentence for parallelism is not the crucial determining factor in "yu" omission. The crucial factor should be the verb which precedes the "yu" phrase. When the verb itself doesn't carry any location sense and is followed by another location phrase, "yu" must be present. When the verb itself carries some sense of location, the "yu" may be omitted for parallelism. I believe that the recognition of the nature of "yu" in this study will give us a better chance to solve the mystery of "yu" omission.

In addition, as I indicated above, the VC is also related to the coverb phrase, and it might occur on a lower level than word order. However, I haven't yet definitively resolved the word order issues. This leaves a complicated task for the future.

It is also hoped that this study will bring about more interest in and discussion of CC pedagogy. I believe this is a very important field, and we need to develop some new methods of teaching CC to a new generation of scholars. Finally, I would like to close with the recognition that the study of CC syntax based on the special characteristics of the Chinese language is a very new development, and one that has a lot of potential for future research. There are undoubtedly more special characteristics waiting to be recognized, as well as many more grammatical insights to be gained.
NOTES

Notes for Chapter 1

1 There is sometimes confusion among the terms Classical Chinese, Ancient Chinese, and Archaic Chinese. In this study, to be consistent I adopt the term Classical Chinese (CC) to refer to texts written between 500-200 B.C., which spans from the end of the Spring and Autumn period to the beginning of the Chin dynasty. However, as indicated by Tai and Chan (forthcoming), several different schemas for the periodization of the Chinese language have been proposed, and I have listed some of them in the preliminary pages. For a complete discussion, please see Tai and Chan's study.

2 For the romanization of Chinese characters in this study, I use the Pinyin system. However, since the titles of most Chinese classics are widely known by their Wade-Giles romanization, I will use Wade-Giles to refer to them. For further information on the source texts please see the preliminary pages.

3 These works include Jingji Zuangu 经籍纂诂 (1798) by Ruan Yuan 阮元 (1764-1849); Zhuzi Bianlue 助字辨略 (1712) by Liu Qi 刘淇, and Jingzhuan shici 經傳釋詁 (1885) by Wang Yinzhi 王引之.

4 The following are some of the earlier Western works, noted by Harbsmeier (1981: 4-5), which simply applied the concepts of Latin grammar to CC: J. Marshman, Elements of Chinese Grammar (1814); R. Morrission, A Grammar of the Chinese Language (1815); P. Abel-Rémusat, Éléments de la grammaire chinoise (1826); J. H. Prémare, Notitia linguæ sinicae (1831); S. Julien, Syntaxe nouvelle de la langue chinoise (1869-70).

Notes for Chapter 2

1 By the term "special characteristics" I do not mean to imply that these features are particular only to Chinese. They may also exist in other languages to some degree. What makes them "special" in CC is that they occur commonly and frequently, and, although their implications for analysis of CC sentences are major, they are often overlooked.
Some even reached the ridiculous conclusion that "Chinese has no grammar!" Henry Rosemont (1974) even proposed that CC is a procession of thought-images represented by code symbols. This view has been criticized by Cikoski (1977:18) and Hsueh (1997:28).

For more detail on this issue, please see Li and Thompson (1981: Chapter 4).

As pointed out by Y. R. Chao (1968: 95), in note 19 for section 2.10.1, Chen Chengze 陳承澤 was the first to mention this point. He indicates that "one can take a sentence as the predicate." (得以句為說明語) in 學藝 Wissen und Wissenschaft, no. 2 (1921).

Sometimes colloquial English sentences may also lack an overt subject. For example, "Went fishing last week; didn't catch any." However, these sentences are much more common in Classical Chinese than in English.

For those who are unfamiliar with Cikoski's framework of Classical Chinese sentences, what he labels "appositional sentences" are called "nominal sentences" by Norman and "equational sentences" by Hsueh. What Cikoski labels "Nuclear sentences" are called "verbal sentences" by Norman and "narrative sentences" by Hsueh. The "embedded nuclear sentence" is a nuclear sentence that has become embedded in an appositional sentence. The subject of the nuclear sentence becomes term A of the appositional sentence, while the nucleus of the nuclear sentence becomes term B of the appositional sentence. The meaning is that the process of the nuclear sentence is labeled as a timelessly true fact.

Cikoski argued that the "见-passive" represents a genuine passive construction, and claimed that the four "ergative verbs" 可, 难, 易, and 足 can make any CC verb passive when prefixed to it to form the "可-passive" construction. Hsueh has argued that these phrases so formed do not represent a syntactic pattern for passivity. (Hsueh 1994, 1997).

Hsueh (1994:13) points out that there are rhetorical ways in English other than the standard form of a passive construction to express the concept of passivity. For example, we can say in English "He met his death at the hand of an assassin," or "He was the victim of an assassin," or we may say "He lost his life in an accident." All mean he was killed, but obviously none can be called a "passive construction".

Note that the "equational sentence" is also called "nominal sentence" by Jerry Norman (1988) and "appositional sentence" by Cikoski (1978a).

When a noun serves as a predicate, it may function syntactically as the nucleus. For example,

Rulers act in a kingly manner; subjects act like subjects, fathers act like fathers, and sons act like sons..."
The second 君,臣,父 and 子 are lexically nouns, but syntactically they are the nucleus verb in the predicate.

11 In fact, some Modern Chinese sentences can also occur without a copula. For example, 明天星期天.

12 Jerry Norman (1988:125) indicates that it was during the Han dynasty that the copular shi began to be used as a marker of nominal predicate. However, this date should be earlier. For example, in the Analects: 梁厄曰:「子為誰?」曰:「為仲由。」曰:「是子孔丘與?」曰:「是也。」 and in Mencius: 王之王不王,是折枝之類也。(孟子,梁惠王上)

13 Mashi wentong also indicates that Chinese prepositions (the coverbs in this study) are derived from verbs, unlike the Indo-European Languages.

14 He Leshi (1985) has pointed out some of the changes and development from the period of the Tso-chuan to the Shih-chi. Please see He (1985) for detailed discussion.

15 Tso Chiu-ming (or Tso-chiu Ming), is said to be a contemporary of Confucius. Tradition also asserts that Tso was a blind historiographer of the state of Lu and the author of the historical work the Kuo-yu (Discourses of the States).

16 Its 130 chapters consist of the benji (Basic Annals), 12 chapters; biao (tables), 10 chapters; shu (Treatises), 8 chapters; shijia (Hereditary Households), 30 chapters; and liezhuan (Biographies), 70 chapters. For more information on Ssu-ma Ch'ien and the Shih-chi, please see Burton Watson's Ssu-ma Ch'ien: Grand Historian of China.

17 The term, 匹夫, in CC can be understood as (1) common people as in 刑過不避大臣,賞善不遺匹夫。(韓非子,有度) or (2) a single person (with scornful tone) For example, 夫撫劍疾視曰:“彼惡敢當我哉!”此匹夫之勇,敵一人者也。(孟子,梁惠王下) and 項王暗 嚈叱咤,千人皆廢,然不能任屬賢將,此特匹夫之勇耳!(史記,淮陰侯列傳) In the case of the example, 匹夫而爲百世師, either interpretation is acceptable.

18 In fact, as indicated by Hsueh (1997: note 14) there are still some causative verbs without such restriction in Modern Chinese, though they tend to appear in idiomatic expressions. For example, 出錢,盡力,上菜,下酒.
Notes for Chapter 3

1 In Chinese these words have been called jieci 截詞 'prepositions'; fu dongci 副動詞 'coverbs' in Wang Li (1947); buc i 補詞 'complement words' in Lyu Shuxiang (1942); and fu dongci 副動詞 'coverbs' or ci dongci 次動詞 'secondary verbs' in Ding Shengshu (Ding et al, 1961).

2 However, there remain various opinions and arguments on this issue. For more details on the debate over the grammatical status of coverbs during the last two decades, please refer to Li and Thompson (1974) and Ross (1991).

3 Some Chinese grammarians such as Y.C. Li (1971) and Pulleyblank (1986 and 1995: 47) have declined to take a stand as to whether coverbs are verbs or prepositions. Li utilizes "coverb" and "post-verb" to refer to two kinds of case-marking morphemes.

4 For example, Pulleyblank (1986 and 1995:47) holds that since it is obvious that the prepositions in Chinese are all from verbal origin, it is not necessary to argue about whether a coverb is "really" a verb or "really" a preposition.

Notes for Chapter 4

1 Pulleyblank reconstructs EMC 於 as [ʔuː] (Karlgren [jwo]) and 于 as [wuː]. (Karlgren [jìu]).

2 For example,
葛之覃兮施于中谷
'How the creeper spreads, it reaches to the middle of the valley.' [extend go middle valley]
于 is a verb

黄鸟于飞
'The yellow birds go-flying.'
于 is an auxiliary verb

鶴鳴于岡,婦歎于室
'The heron cries on the ant-hill; the wife sighs in the chamber.'
于 means 'at'

3 Pulleyblank explains that 于, because it means "go" and indicates a goal, will naturally come after the other verb since the order of verbs in a series conforms as much as possible to natural order, be it logical or temporal. Pulleyblank notes that this order was maintained even after 于 sometimes meant "at".

181
4 Pulleyblank also shows parallel relationships semantically and phonologically between 子 and 往 and 於 and 夷. (Please refer to Pulleyblank 1986 for more detail.)

5 For example, in “# % , # #” it is written 「哭日不歌」and in “# T” it is written 「弔於人, 是日不歌」. Both indicate that a gentleman won’t be sorrowful and joyful on the same day.

6 Note that in examples (13) and (14) the sentences with the 姿 phrase moved, while acceptable grammatically, are suited for particular stylistic environments. For example, the sentence with the 姿 phrase moved would be appropriate for a sentence such as the following:
(a) 又於是日,則不哭於次日 — These two 姿 phrases form a contrasting set.

or (b) 又於是日,則不歌於是日 — The 姿 phrase is repeated for parallel.

Similarly, in (14) in the sentence 富與貴如浮雲於我 the emphasis is put on the 姿 phrase which emphasizes 'toward me'. This emphasizes the attitude of the speaker and might be used in a situation where the speaker's attitude was being contrasted with that of someone else. Note that this strengthens our claim that when the 姿 phrase comes after another verb phrase it serves syntactically as the nucleus of the predicate.

Notes for Chapter 5

1 Note that other coverbs such as 為, 契, 因 are also mistaken as conjunctions.

2 Zi 自 has the same graph as the reflexive pronoun adverb zi. You 由 is also used as a noun meaning "reason". You is also sometimes seen used in place of the word 彼 "be like", however尚且 in CC.

3 You can also be used as a noun meaning colleagues or participants. For example, 一日征, 二曰象, 三曰與, 四曰謀。 (周禮, 太卜)
Moreover, the character 契 is also used as a question particle, which is also written 亞. For example, 夫子之至於是邦也, 必聞其政, 求之與?抑與之與? (論語, 學而)
In the situations where it means 'to participate', 你 is pronounced with the fourth tone in Modern Chinese.
Notes for Chapter 6

1 Note that this proposal is principally designed for teaching CC in an English-based culture such as the United States. However, the ideas expressed are also applicable to Chinese culture societies.

2 For example, Everson (1993:210) states that "In a sense, the research has focused so finely on 'bits' of reading that an overall grasp of the more holistic process of reading remains elusive." Similarly, Swaffer and Bacon (1993:146) call researchers to pay more attention to the 'problem-solving' reading tasks. These are the tasks in which "the comprehender's attention is presumably focused on intent and social circumstances (cognitive variables) more than on specific words and phrases in the text (linguistic variables)." These criticisms indicate that researchers of reading have mostly paid attention to context-independent skills such as text recognition and recall.
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