



PPs and Applicatives in Late Archaic Chinese

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Abstract

This paper proposes an analysis of the functional morpheme 以 *yi* in Late Archaic Chinese as a high applicative (in the sense of Pytkkanen 2002) located above VP within vP . The Appl head YI selects a DP argument in its specifier and moves to v , deriving the order YI-DP-VP. The order in which the verb and object precede YI-DP is derived by fronting the VP to the edge of the vP phase. This proposal also challenges the traditional assumption that YI is a preposition. Evidence for this proposal comes primarily from structural asymmetries between YI-DP-VP and VP-YI-DP orders which would not be accounted for if YI-DP were a PP. For example, movement of the DP selected by YI or of the direct object is only possible when YI precedes the verb. This is accounted for on the proposal that movement of VP to the outer specifier of vP fills this phase edge and prevents further movement. Movement of the VP also results in this constituent becoming an island.

Keywords

Archaic Chinese, applicative, preposition, word order, diachronic syntax

先秦漢語的施用結構與介詞

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提要

本文將先秦漢語虛詞“以”分析為施用結構 (high applicative, Pytkkanen 2002) 的中心語，同時主張“以”不是介詞。從結構上看，“以”位於 vP 內並且選擇 VP 作為補足語。“以”之後的 DP 出現在施用結構的指定語位置上。因此，“以 -DP-VP”的詞序是由“以”移位到輕動詞 v 的位置上派生而來的。同時，先秦漢語也允許“VP-以 -DP”的詞序。本文提出這種詞序是通過 VP 移位至 vP 的外指定語位置上派生而來的。本文的論據主要來自於“以 -DP-VP”和“VP-以 -DP”在結構上的不對稱性。如果將“以”分析為介詞，則無法解釋這種不對稱性。例如，只有當“以”出現在動詞之前時，“以”之後 DP 才能進行移位。根據本文分析假設，“以”出現在動詞之後的詞序是由 VP 移位至 vP 的外指定語位置上派生的。當 vP 的外指定語位置被 VP 所佔據時，DP 的移位便被阻止了。

關鍵詞

先秦漢語，施用結構，介詞，詞序，歷時句法學