RELATIVE CLAUSES IN ARCHAIC CHINESE

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ABSTRACT

As is well known, all relative clauses in Modern Chinese are marked with *de*. Compared with Modern Chinese, Archaic Chinese seems to have a richer encoding for relative clauses. It has three possible relative markers: *zhe*, *zhi* and *suo*. In this article, we will approach to Archaic Chinese relatives from the perspective of formal syntax. We will argue that *zhe* is a subject relative pronoun and *suo* a VP internal relative pronoun, and that *zhe*- and *suo*- relatives are derived from the A'-movement of the relevant relative pronoun to the peripheral position, creating an operator-variable relation at LF. Simultaneously, we will use Cecchetto and Donati's labeling theory to account for a peculiar phenomenon that the same relative pronoun can form both headless and headed relatives. We will further argue that the relative marker *zhi*, as English *that*, is an invariant relativizer occupying the C position, and that *zhi*-relatives involve null operator movement. That is to say, like English type of languages, Archaic Chinese actually involves two separate relativizing strategies: through a relative pronoun or a null operator. The article also contributes to the debate on the analysis of relatives: data from Archaic Chinese favors an Adjunction

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Analysis to the Raising Analysis (or Complementation Analysis) à la Kayne.

KEYWORDS
Archaic Chinese **R**elative clause **L**abeling **A**'-movement **N**ull operator

1. INTRODUCTION

In Modern Chinese (henceforth MC), relative clauses (henceforth RC) are uniformly introduced by the relative marker *de*, regardless of whether the head of the RC refers to the subject (see [1]) or the object of the RC (see [2]) and whether the RC is headed or headless (see [3]).[1]

(1) [e_i mài fángzi gěi wǒ de] [nà-gè   rén]$_i$
       sell house to me DE   that-CL person
     'the person who sold the house to me'

(2) [wǒ mǎi e_i de] [nà-dòng fángzi]$_i$
       I   buy   DE that-CL   house
      'the house that/which I bought'

(3) [e ài   wǒ de] hé [wǒ ài e de]
        love me DE and I love   DE
      'those who love me and those who I love'

Compared with MC, Late Archaic Chinese (from fifth to third century BCE) seems to have richer grammatical encodings for relativizing, involving three distinct relative markers: *zhe*, *suo* and *zhi*. *Zhe* can only relativize on the subject position and typically forms a headless RC (see [4]). In some occasions, the head of the *zhe*-relatives can be overtly realized in the sentence, forming a postnominal subject RC (see [5])[2]. By contrast, the relative marker *suo* introduces RCs containing a gap other than that of the subject, including the object gap and the gap after a preposition[3] (see [6] and [7], respectively). As in *zhe*-RCs, the head of *suo*-RCs can also appear in the sentence, forming a headed *suo*-RCs (see [8a]). Sometimes a genitive *zhi* can be inserted between the subject and the predicate of the RC (see [8b]). On other occasions, we can insert a linker *zhi* between the RC and the head (see [8c]). Meanwhile, there is a third relative marker *zhi* that

Chinese nominalizing markers *de, zhe, suo, zhi*). *Fangyan* 方言 1: 16–31.

上古汉语关系从句研究

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摘要

众所周知，现代汉语中所有的关系从句均由"的"引导。相比之下，上古汉语中关系从句的表现形式则更为丰富，共有"者""之""所"三种关系化标记。本文将从形式句法的视角探讨上古汉语的上述三种关系从句。我们认为"者"是主语关系代词，而"所"是VP内关系代词，带"者"或"所"的关系从句是通过关系代词 A'移动至边缘位置而生成的，并借此在 LF 层建立了算子–变量关系。同时，我们将采用 Cecchetto 和 Donati 的加标理论来解释上古汉语中同一个关系代词既可构成无核关系从句，又可构成有核关系从句这一奇特的语法现象。至于关系化标记"之"，我们认为它与英语中的 that 相似，是标句词 C，而"之"引导的关系从句则是通过空算子移位生成的。也就是说，上古汉语和英语类语言一样，都具有两种独立的关系化策略，即要么通过关系代词实现关系化，要么通过空算子实现关系化。另外，此文还将对目前学界关于关系从句分析方法的争论起到一定的参考作用：上古汉语的语料证明了嫁接分析法要优于 Kayne 的提升(或称补语)分析法。

关键词

上古汉语 关系从句 加标 A'移动 **空算子**