

漢學文典

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A Summary of Classical Chinese Analytic Syntax: The System of Basic Syntactic Categories

The romanisations given are those of modern Mandarin Chinese Pīnyīn. For reconstructed ancient pronunciations see the Phonology File in tls.uni-hd.de.

What are analysed and exemplified below are the basic syntactic functions for which I have found it useful to register Lexeme Entries so far in *Thesaurus Linguae Sericae*.

Ronald W. Langacker's bold generalisation may hold some chastening truth for our efforts to make classical Chinese grammar as precise as we can:

¹ In the 1980ies, when Professor Yakhontov taught Chinese linguistics for a semester in the University of Oslo, he left with me two fat folders of photocopies of his detailed notes on classical Chinese grammar, thousands of record cards. Together with the brief summary in Древнекитайский язык "Old Chinese Grammar" this has been of singular importance for my work on Chinese grammar ever since. For the present draft it is with great pleasure that I thank Professor Yakhontov's student David Sehnal, my friend Göran Malmqvist, Stockholm, and my *ēnshī* 恩師 Jiang Shaoyu 蔣紹愚, Peking, for detailed and substantial comments on every aspect of the many earlier versions of this draft. Of course, remaining mistakes and misconceptions are all my own responsibility. This draft is continuously being revised and updated. It is to be used in conjunction with the *Hànxuéwéndiǎn* 漢學文典 *Thesaurus Linguae Sericae* which is currently being largely developed and expanded by cooperation between Princeton University and Kyoto University, but which for the time being can still be found at the following url: tls.uni-hd.de. An earlier version of this hand-out has been published in two parts in 汉语史学报 as 古漢語句法系統簡略. Comments, suggestions, and criticisms will always remain welcome. The calligraphy above is by our long-term collaborator and dear friend, the philosopher Páng Pú 龐樸 (1928–2015).

“Explicit linguistic coding gets us into the right neighbourhood, in other words, but from there we have to find the right address by some other means”¹. Classical Chinese prose as well as prose is often creative in ad-hoc and imaginative ways that give it subtle poetic effects. No systemic grammar can hope to exhaust the nuances of interminably subtly innovative splendour.

Symbols, Conventions and Abbreviations

Bracketing

It needs to be mentioned at the outset that the use of dots “.”, “:”, “:.” and “::” in our analytic formulae is simply a painless way of marking bracketing by a convention inspired by Bertrand Russell and Alfred North Whitehead in their *Principia Mathematica* (three vols. 1910, 1912, and 1913, second edition 1927). I have used the the shortened edition *Principia Mathematica to *56*, Cambridge: CUP, 1973. This work provided, indeed, the crucial early inspiration for the present effort towards the systematic philo-logical analysis of classical Chinese syntax. I feel I make sense of syntax exactly to the extent that I manage to make transparent its underlying logic.

The formula **vtoN.adV** converts to brackets so that this is equivalent to **(vtoN)adV**. A very complex formula like **npro.postN:adNPab:.adS** corresponds to **((npro(postN))adNPab)adS**.² The limited task of the present survey is to identify most of those formulae which have been found useful in the lexical description of classical Chinese and to give prototypical examples which exemplify the structure analysed in the formulae.

Square brackets in a formula, as in “[X]”, signify that the constituent X is implicit/omitted but retrievable/determinate by reference to a lexical rule in an imagined ideal lexicon of the language.

Round brackets in a formula, as in “(X)”, signify that the constituent X is implicit/omitted but retrievable/determinate by reference to textual and pragmatic context.

Curly brackets in a formula, as in “{X}”, signify that the semantic feature X applies to the constituent immediately preceding this bracketed expression.

¹Ronald W. Langacker, *Metonymic Grammar*, 2009: 46.

²The process is strictly mechanical, to be sure. A theoretically possible (i.e. well-formed) formula like **vtoN.adV:postS** is taken to correspond to **((vtoN)adV)adS**. The formula **vtoN.adN:postS_1:.adS_2** must be taken to correspond to **((vtoN)adN)postS_1)adS_2**. The formula **vtoN.adN:postS_1:.adS_2::postadV** would have to be taken to correspond to **((vtoN)adN)postS_1)adS_2)postadV**.

The symbol “@” (as in **n@hum** “noun referring to a person”) signifies that what precedes @ is a syntactic category, and that what follows @ are semantic features that apply to the expression belonging to that preceding syntactic category.

Simplex Words

All classical Chinese monosyllabic words are taken to be nouns, verbs or particles. The remaining categories are defined in terms of these basic concepts:

n “monosyllabic noun” (negatable **in principle** by *fēi* 非 IS-NOT “is not a” or, when not negatable, directly derived from a word negatable by *fēi* 非. For objects there are only few examples: *hé shì fēi jūn* 何事非君? HOW SERVE NOT-BE RULER “How can one serve someone who is not one’s ruler?”. The object pronoun *zhī* 之 is a marginal case and may perhaps be said to count as an **n** (more specifically as an **npro**) because it substitutes for a noun.)

v “monosyllabic verb” (negatable **in principle** by *bù* 不 NOT “does not”, or, when not negatable, directly derived in meaning from a word negatable by *bù* 不)

p “monosyllabic grammatical particle” (**in principle** not negatable as such, i. e. can never be the scope of a negation)

Note that not by no means all monosyllabic words are simplex words without an internal semantic structure. For example, *wáng* 王 “king” is simplex and has no known internal structure. On the contrary, *wàng* 王 “verbal: rule over as king”, nominal: “ruling as king; royal rulership” is complex, involving what is currently reconstructed by common consent by a suffix “-s”. [NB: The reading *wàng* is commonly attested in the earliest phonetic glosses for the deverbal nominalised use of the word, for example in the authoritative *Jīngdiǎnshìwén* 經典釋文 of the seventh century AD. The distinction marked by the suffix is thus not at all that of marked noun versus unmarked verb, but marked action versus unmarked agent. Needless to say, and as the English word “action” conveniently demonstrates, the semantic feature “ACTION” is by no means limited to verbs.]

Complex Expressions

All classical Chinese expressions are deemed to be either NPs, VPs or sentences S. All complex expressions are also taken to be either nominal, or verbal, or grammaticalised. When a constituent consists of more than one character, the following labels are used:

NP “complex nominal”, e. g. *jūn zǐ* 君子 RULER SON “gentleman” (negatable **in principle** by *fēi* 非 IS-NOT “is not a”)

VP “complex verbal”, e. g. *hào xué* 好學 ENJOY STUDY “be fond of study” (negatable **in principle** by *bù* 不 NOT “does not”, or able to take a direct object)

PP “complex particle”, e. g. *wū hū* 嗚呼 ONOMATOPOEIC ONOMATOPOEIC “alas” (**in principle** not negatable as such, i.e. can never constitute the whole scope of a negation)

Note 1: The notion of a complex verbal (**VP**) and a complex nominal (**NP**) is not the same as that of noun phrase and a verb phrase in modern linguistics. This is because modern linguistics presupposes a universal notion of the word which turns out to be not generally applicable to classical Chinese where the distinction between an idiomatic phrase and multisyllabic word is very often systematically opaque¹. (Compare “no one” versus “everyone” in English to illustrate that the problem is not absent in English either.)

Note 2: The convenient definition of the three basic syntactic categories in terms of negation yields no results for those syntactic positions which in classical Chinese cannot be negated. Thus, for example, an adverb like *shèn* 甚 BE-INTENSE as in *shèn dà* 甚大 BE-INTENSE **BE-BIG** “be very big” cannot itself be the scope of negation. The decision to categorise *shèn* 甚 in this construction as a verbal expression modifying a verbal one can thus not be based on our definition which involves negation in this precise context. But in general *shèn* 甚 is often negated by *bù* 不 “not”, and since *shèn* 甚 is never negatable by *fēi* 非 “not be” in classical Chinese, it is certainly plausible to take it to be a (de)verbal modifier *v*. It is not always possible to reach such plausible conclusions, especially when a word is equally common as a noun and as a verb, as in the case of *rén* 仁 “1) human-heartedness; 2) be human-hearted”.

Similarly, in *rén lì* 人立 **MAN STAND-UP** “stand up like a man” the modifier *rén* 人 **MAN** is naturally taken as a (de)nominal adverbial modi-

¹Jerome Packard, *The Morphology of Chinese. A Linguistic and Cognitive Approach*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000 and PACKARD Jerome L. (ed). *New Approaches to Chinese Word Formation : Morphology, Phonology and the Lexicon in Modern and Ancient Chinese*. Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1998. 386 p. (Trends in Linguistics. Studies and Monographs 105) give a useful survey of current discussion. Packard 1998 does not address the issue of word boundaries for classical Chinese and it does not solve that issue for modern Chinese either. See the review by Viviane Alleton in *Cahiers de linguistique — Asie orientale*, vol. 29 n°1, 2000, pp. 125–142.

fier **nadV**. (See the section on **ad** “precedes and modifies” in the section Syntactic Relations below on the way this is handled in the present system.)

To the extent that both (de)verbal and (de)nominal construals of a modifier are equally possible and equally natural it is plausible to call such a modifier syntactically underdetermined in classical Chinese.

Variables Abstracting from Complexity

When a constituent referred to needs to be unspecified for being simple or complex i. e. monosyllabic or plurisyllabic, capitals are used:

N “simple or complex nominal expression” as in **vadN** “verbal expression preceding and modifying a nominal expression > deverbal adjectival expression”, where this adjectival expression is indifferent to the monosyllabicity versus complexity of the nominal expression it modifies, this being either **n** or some complex **NP**.

V “simple or complex verbal expression” as in **vadV** “verbal expression preceding and modifying a verbal expression > deverbal adverbial expression” where this adverbial expression is indifferent to the monosyllabicity versus complexity of the verbal expression it modifies, this being either a **v** or some complex **VP**.

Note: For example, transitive verbs are indifferent to the complexity or simplex nature of their objects so that we need to describe them neither as ***vton** nor as ***vtoNP**, but as **vtoN**. However, there would be nothing to prevent us from introducing **vton** to mark transitive verbs that take only monosyllabic nominal objects if we come to find this category important in the future.

Syntactic Features of Constituents

A particle, a verbal expression, or a nominal expression **X** may have any of the following features:

Abbreviation	Formula	Example
Xab	abstract X (noun), as in nab “abstract noun”, e. g. <i>yì</i> 義 “righteousness”	
Xc	count X (noun), as in nc “individually counted noun”, e. g. <i>mǎ</i> 馬 “horse”	
Xi	intransitive X (verb), as in vi “intransitive verb”, e. g. <i>wò</i> 卧 “sleep”	

Xm mass/non-count X (noun), as in **nm** “not individually counted noun”, e. g. *shuǐ* 水 “water” (Note also **xm** — **collective** “collective mass noun” as in **nm** — **collective**, e. g. *dí* 狄 “barbarian”.)

XP complex X, as in **NP** “complex N”, e. g. *jūn zǐ* 君子 “gentleman”

Xpr proper X, as in **npr** “proper noun”, e. g. *Yáo* 堯 “(Emperor) Yáo”

Xpred predicative X, as in **npred** “predicative noun”, e. g. *mǎ yě* 馬也 **HORSE MODAL/PART** “is a horse” [NB: the modal particle *yě* 也 marks the non-narrative judgmental character of the predication and is not limited to nominal predicates. Compare *Analects*: 馬不進也 “It was that the horse would not move forwards! The use of nominal expressions in the predicative mode is common in classical Chinese, but it is by no means equally common for all nominal expressions.]

Xpro pro-form of X (noun), as in **npro** “pronoun”, e. g. *zhī* 之 “her, it, him” [NB: Pronouns are often anaphoric, referring back to what was mentioned before, sometimes cataphoric, referring to something that is about to be specified, or deictic, i. e. referring to something that is physically present in the context. Finally, a pronoun like *zhī* 之 “him, her, it, them etc” is particularly common in a generic sense of “someone/something” where it is in fact not replaceable by any other noun.]

Xt transitive X (verb), as in **vt** “verb which takes an object”, e. g. *shā* 殺 “kill”

Xtt ditransitive X (verb), as in **vtt** “verb with two objects”, e. g. *yǔ* 與 “give”

X_2 double-subject X, as in **vi_2** “intransitive verb with at least two subjects”, e. g. *yì* 異 “(they, X and Y) are different”

X0 subjectless X (verb), as in **vi0** “subjectless **vi**”, e. g. *xuě* 雪 SNOW “[it] snows” or *yù xuě* 雨學. [NB: Here the subject is not omitted or implicit, but rather logically absent: we have a feature-placing predicate *xuě* 雪 SNOW “it snowed”. See Peter F. Strawson, *Subject and Predicate: “feature-placing predicates”*.]

Note that **monomorphemic binomes** (i. e. those binomes whose constituents cannot be assigned independent meaning by themselves) are represented as follows:

vv “verbal monomorphemic binome” e. g. *wěiyí* 逶迤 “wriggle”

nn “nominal monomorphemic binome” e. g. *pútáo* 葡萄 “wine”

pp “grammaticalised monomorphemic binome” e. g. modern *āiyā* 哎呀 “oh!”

Brackets: Lexicalised Versus Contextual Ellipsis

Ellipsis of nominal and verbal expressions is recorded with brackets, and is subdivided into two kinds: lexically retrievable versus contextually retrievable. One might call omitted, understood, or implicit elements not syntactic constituents but *yǔyì chéngfèn* 語義成分 “semantic constituents”.

x[0] x which has an implicit omitted subject retrievable from the lexicon, as in **vi[0]**, e. g. the tricky *tùi* 退 WITHDRAW “[You] should go away > go away!” [NB: Imperatives are taken to have second person subjects, and it is found useful to record which verbs are currently used in the imperative mode. In certain cases what exactly is or is not retrievable from an (idealised) lexicon will remain controversial.]

x(0) x which has an implicit omitted subject retrievable from the context, as in **vi(0)**, e. g. *rán* 然 BE-SO “(This) is so.” [NB: It is in the context that one finds out what is so. In certain cases the question what exactly is contextual and what belongs in an (idealised) lexicon will remain controversial.]

[x] x is implicit and omitted, but retrievable from the lexicon, as in **vt[oN]**, e. g. *fā* 發 ISSUE “shoot off [an arrow]” [NB: “Shoot off an arrow” is recognised in the lexicon as a meaning of *fā* 發. Compare the English “let fly” where the lexically retrievable omitted object is “intensely felt words.”]

(x) x is implicit and omitted, but retrievable from context, as in **vt(oN)**, e. g. *shì* 侍 “was in attendance (serving a person identifiable (retrievable) from the context)”

Curly brackets “{}” after a syntactic category, as in **NP{PRED}** “nominal expression used predicatively”, are occasionally used to indicate a functional syntactic annotation relating to the category immediately preceding it.

Syntactic Relations

Syntactic relations in TLS specify first the syntactic category in question (**n**, **NP**, **v**, **VP**, **p**, **PP** etc) and specifies thereafter the relation into which this constituent enters. TLS specifies the following syntactic relations between constituents X and Y:

XadY “X precedes and modifies Y”, as in **vadN** “verb modifying a noun”, e. g. *bái* “white” in *bái mǎ* 白馬 **WHITE HORSE** “white horse”. In this construction Y is regarded as the head and X is regarded as the modifier

or non-head. [NB: the specific semantic relations between the head and the non-head are as varied in classical Chinese as they are in English. Compare, for example *rén zhèng* 人政 PERSON ADMINISTRATION “administration **by (the agent)** persons” *fǎ zhèng* 法政 LAW ADMINISTRATION “administration **by (the means of)** the law”; *guó zhèng* 國政 STATE ADMINISTRATION “administration **of (the object)** the state”.

X(ad)Y “X precedes and non-restrictively modifies Y”, as in **v(ad)N** “verb non-restrictively modifying a noun” *yú mín* 愚民 STUPID PEOPLE “the people, **who are (presupposed to be all) stupid**”

X-Y “X precedes and is modified by Y”, as in **vi-V**, e. g. *nù* 怒 “be angry” in *nù shèn* 怒甚 ANGRY INTENSE “**be** intensely angry”. (Compare modern Chinese **vi-V** *hǎo* 好 which invites post-modification as in *hǎojíle* 好極了 “be very good”. On the other hand *bù xíng* 不行 “be not OK” does not allow such post-modification and is therefore not a **VP-V**

XpostadV “X follows and modifies Y”, as in **vpostadV** “verb following and modifying a verb”, e. g. *shèn* 甚 “intensely” in *nù shèn* 怒甚 ANGRY INTENSE “be **intensely** angry” [NB: *shèn* 甚 “intensely”, unlike *zuì* 最 “most”, can both precede and come after what it modifies and can thus belong to the categories **vadV** as in *shèn nù* 甚怒 INTENSE ANGRY “be very angry” and **vpostadV**.]

Xpost-Y “X follows after and is modified by Y”, as in **npro.post-V** “pronoun following and modified by a V”, e. g. *zhě* 者 “he who” in *shā rén zhě* 殺人者 KILL PERSON **THE/SUBJECT/WHICH** “**he who** kills others” or **npro.post-Npr** *Kǒngzǐ zhě* 孔子者 CONFUCIUS **THE/SUBJECT/WHICH** “He who is Confucius”, or **npro.post-N** *shèng rén zhě* 聖人者 SAGE PERSON **THE/SUBJECT/WHICH** “as for **him who** is a sage” [NB: in *Kǒngzǐ zhě* 孔子者 “He who is Confucius” the preceding phrase *Kǒngzǐ* 孔子 is nominal **and predicative**: “be Confucius”. Similarly, in *shèng rén zhě* 聖人者 the *shèng rén* 聖人 is predicative: “be a sage”. So *zhě* 者 is everywhere glossable as “the subject which”, both when it is post-verbal (comes after a verbal expression) and when it is post-nominal (comes after a nominal expression).]

XoY “X is transitive and precedes Y as its object”, as in **vtoN** “transitive verb followed by its object”, e. g. *shā* 殺 “kill” in *shā rén* 殺人 KILL PERSON “have killed others”.

XpostoY “X is transitive and is preceded by its object”, as in **vtpostoN** “transitive verb preceded by its object”, e. g. *yǒu* 有 “have > exist” in *wèi zhī yǒu* 未之有 NEVER IT **HAVE** “it has never existed”. (I include this category

in spite of the fact that one can probably do without it, because it illustrates the logic of the present system.)

X=Y “X is in apposition to Y, i. e. X and Y have the same reference (or in the verbal case: meanings) and are coordinated”, as in **n=Npr**, e. g. *shī Kuàng* 師曠 **MUSIC-MASTER KUANG** “music master Kuàng”, and for verbs we might say we have cases of **v_1=v_2** whenever the distinction in two conjoined verbs is neutralised, as probably in *zūn guì zhī chén* 尊貴之臣 **HONOUR NOBLE GENITIVE/PART MINISTER** “**honoured and noble ministers**”. [NB: This relation is logically but not necessarily idiomatically symmetrical: the order of the constituents may not in fact be free.]

Xpost=Y “X is in apposition with a preceding Y”, as in **NPpost=npro**, e. g. *yú yī rén* 余一人 **ONE PERSON** “I, **the one person** > I, the emperor”.

X | Y “X is in alternative construction with a Y which it precedes”, as in **v_1 | v_2 shàn** 善 in *sī lü shàn fǒu* 思慮善否 **THINK PLAN GOOD NOT** “think about **whether it is good or not**”. [NB: This relation is logically but not necessarily idiomatically symmetrical: the order of the constituents is often not in fact free.]

Xpost | Y “X is in alternative construction with a Y which precedes it”, as in **v_1 post | v_2 fǒu** 否 in *sī lü shàn fǒu* 思慮善否 **THINK PLAN GOOD NOT** “think about **whether it is good or not**”.

X&Y “X in addition to Y”, as in **n_1&n_2**, e. g. *yīn yáng* 陰陽 **YIN YANG** “**Yin and Yang**”. [NB: This relation is logically but not necessarily idiomatically symmetrical: the order of the constituents is often not in fact free.]

Xpost&Y “X in addition to the preceding Y”, as in **n_1post&n_2**, e. g. *yīn yáng* 陰陽 **YIN YANG** “**Yin and Yang**”.

Grammatical relations that belong to none of these standard categories are designated as follows:

X+Y “X precedes and is in construction with Y”, as in **vt+N** “transitive verb in construction with a nominal (object)”, as in **vt+N.+V wéi** 唯 “only” in *wéi shèng rén* 唯聖人 **ONLY/SAGE PERSON** “only a sage”. [NB: This is not treated as a verb object relation because *shèng rén* 聖人 **SAGE HUMAN** “sage” does not function like an object replaceable by the object pronoun *zhī* 之.]

XpostV “X follows and is in construction with Y”, as in **vpostV** “verb that follows and is in construction with a V”, e. g. *sǐ* 死 “die” in *shā sǐ* 殺死 **KILL DIE** “kill”. [NB: 1. This construction *shā sǐ* 殺死 **KILL DIE** “kill” is

first attested in late classical Chinese, although it is current in modern Mandarin. 2. Furthermore: the precise relation between KILL and DIE is not specified — so far — in the system. In principle, the question of how many relations one designates by specific symbols is a matter of convenience, not of theory. So far I have found it convenient to restrict the number of symbols as much as possible.]

X@Y “X is a syntactic category to which the semantic category Y applies”, as in **vadN@fig**, e. g. *shēn zhǐ* 深旨 “**profound** meaning”, where the literal meaning “deep” is taken in a derived figurative sense “deep > profound” and this use of the word is classified as **vadN@fig**. Figurative usages are then retrievable in the database by searching for the semantic category **fig**.

Numbering of constituents

The numbering as in **S1** and **S2** in a formula for a syntactic category is according to their occurrence in that formula and not in accordance with their occurrence in the analysed sentence itself. Thus in any formula **S1** will precede **S2** which in turn will precede **S3**, just as **N1** will precede **N2** which in turn will precede **N3** in all formulae, irrespective of the order of the occurrence of these constituents in the sentences analysed. For perfectly trivial technical reasons of no interest whatsoever, **v 1** has to be written **v_1**, **v 2** has to be written as **v_2**.

Comments, corrections, and complaints about this system of grammatical categories are always welcome! Be patient!

Traditional Grammatical Categories Analysed and Subcategorised

Current traditional syntactic concepts of school grammar or of conventional grammatical theories are analysed as follows in this analytic system.

Adjectives are taken to be verbs, nouns, verb phrases or particles which modify nominal expressions:

vadN “deverbal adjective”, e. g. *měi rén* 美人 **BEAUTIFUL PERSON** “**fair** lady” (cf. *měi* 美 “be beautiful”). Since the **v** in this construction cannot be negated, the criterion for the verbality (*bù* 不 versus *fēi* 非) of such items is often problematic and sometimes even completely indeterminate.

nadN “denominal adjective” e. g. *shèng dào* 聖道 **SAGE WAY** “Way of a sage” (cf. *shèng* 聖 “a sage”, *nǚ dào* 女道 **WOMAN WAY** “the Way of/for/appropriate for women” and *wáng dào* 王道 **KING WAY** “the Way of/for/appropriate for a king”). NB: Since the **n** in this construction cannot be negated, the criterion for its verbality (*bù* 不 “not” versus *fēi* 非 “is not”) is often problematic and sometimes even indeterminate.

padN “grammaticalised adjective”, e. g. *zhū hóu* 諸侯 **THE/VARIOUS LORD** “the various feudal lords”. (Note that *zhū* 諸 counts as a particle because it cannot, in principle constitute the scope of a negation).

VpadN “complex deverbal”, e. g. *zūn guì zhī chén* 尊貴之臣 **HONOUR NOBLE GENITIVE/PART MINISTER** “honoured and noble ministers”.

Thus what traditional grammar regards as adjectives is systematically subclassified in TLS. TLS tries to make explicit what exactly it is for an expression to function adjectivally in a given context: it is to have the relation “**ad**” to a nominal expression.

Adverbs are taken to be de-verbal or de-nominal expressions which precede and modify or come after and modify verbal expressions:

vadV (deverbal), e. g. *shèn shàn* 甚善 **INTENSE GOOD** “very good” (cf. *shèn* 甚 “be intense”)

vpostadV (deverbal, postposed), e. g. *nù shèn* 怒甚 **ANGRY INTENSE** “got very angry”

nadV (denominal), e. g. *zhū rén lì* 豬人立 **PIG HUMAN>LIKE/A/HUMAN STAND** “the pig stood upright **like a human**”

ppostadV (grammaticalised postposed), e. g. *shàn zāi* 善哉 **GOOG MODAL/PART** “good!”

Thus TLS explicates what exactly it is for an expression to be adverbial: it is to have the relation **ad** to a verbal expression.

Thus what traditional grammar regards as adverbs is systematically subclassified in TLS. TLS tries to make explicit what exactly it is for an expression to function adverbially in any given context: it is have the relation **ad** to a verbal expression.

What exactly the relation **ad** covers, semantically, will have to be explained in detail.

Numerals are taken to be verbal or deverbal in all of their many functions.

Here is a basic list of the main relevant Syntactic Categories with their Semantic Categories in classical Chinese. Remember that the symbol “@” stands between the formula for the Syntactic Category and the Semantic Category (e. g. **fig** = “figurative”) assigned to the constituent assigned to that Syntactic Category. The expression {NUM} just serves as a reminder that the expression in question is a numeral.

1. **vi{NUM}** “be X in number” (or for convenience we may register these as: **vi{NUM}**) *fù yī ér yǐ, bù yí yǒu sān* 父一而已，不宜有三 FATHER ONE AND STOP. NOT FIT EXIST THREE “One’s father **is one in number**, and it is not right for there to be three (fathers).” [NB: the *sān* THREE here is exocentric, and more specifically it has an implicit non-expressed head that is understood from context: **v(adN)**. See below.]
 - 1.1. **vi{NUM}@fig** “be of X kinds” *wú yì zhī mín liù* 無益之民六。LACK BENEFIT GENITIVE/PART PEOPLE SIX “The wicked and false people who are of no benefit **are of six kinds**”.
 - 1.2. **vi{NUM}@meta** “be metaphysically linked to the number X” *tiān liù, dì wǔ* 天六，地五 HEAVEN SIX EARTH FIVE “Heaven **is associated with the number six**, Earth **is associated with the number five**”. [Contrast *jiǔ tiān* 九天 NINE HEAVEN “the nine heavens” where the meaning is NOT metaphysically abstract “Heaven linked to the number nine”.]
 - 1.3. **vi{NUM}@cataphoric** “be the following X in number” *dào èr. rén yǔ bù rén ér yǐ* 道二。仁與不仁而已矣 WAY TWO. BENEVOLENT NOT BENEVOLENT AND STOP MODAL/PART “The courses of action **are (the following) two in number**: that of benevolence and that of non-benevolence”.
 - 1.4. **vi{NUM}@act** “do something X times” *rú shì zhě sān* 如是者三 LIKE THIS THE/SUBJECT/WHICH THREE “In this way they **did this three times**”.
 - 1.4.1. **vi{NUM}@act.ordinal** “do something for the Xth time” *sān zé bù shè* 三則不赦 THREE THEN NOT PARDON “when they do it for the third time one does not pardon them” *counted action*.
 - 1.5. **Vpi{NUM}** *shī sān bǎi* 詩三百 SONG THREE HUNDRED “The Songs **are three hundred in number**.” *complex number phrase as plain intransitive verb*.

1.5.1. **VPi{NUM}@age** *qī shí ér cóng xīn suǒ yù* 七十而從心所欲
SEVEN TEN AND FOLLOW MIND THAT/WHICH DESIRE “When
I was **seventy years old** I followed my heart's desires.” [Since *suì* 歲
“year” is understood and omitted here, we might restate the analysis of
this particular example more explicitly as **VP{NUM}[adN.]adV**.

2. **v{NUM}adN** “N, being X in number” *tiān wú èr rì* 天無二日 HEAVEN
LACK TWO SUN “There are no **two** suns in Heaven”.

2.1. **v{NUM}(adN)** “five contextually retrievable implicit N” *fù yī ér yǐ, bù
yí yǒu sān* 父一而已，不宜有三 FATHER ONE AND STOP, NOT FIT
EXIST **THREE** “One's father is one in number, and it is not right for
there to be **three** (fathers).” 2. **v{NUM}(adN)** “X kinds of contextually
retrievable implicit Nc” *shì yǒu wǔ* 士有五 GENTLEMAN EXIST
THREE “As for gentlemen there are **five kinds of** (them).” 3. **v{NUM}
(adN)** “X kinds of the contextually retrievable implicit Nab” NOT FIL-
IAL EXIST **THREE**. LACK OFFSPRING COUNT/AS BIG *bù xiào
yǒu sān. wú hòu wéi dà* 不孝有三。無後為大 NOT FILIAL HAVE
THREE. LACK OFFSPRING BE BIG “There are **three kinds of** un-
filialness. The most serious is to have no heir.” 4. **v{NUM}(adN)** “the
following X kinds of the contextually retrievable implicit Nab as fol-
lows” *zǐ jué sì* 子絕四 MASTER REJECT **FOUR** “The Master refused
to have anything to do with **the following four** (kinds of behaviour): ...”
[Note that the number is used cataphorically with reference to what is
specified in what immediately follows.]

2.1.1. **v{NUM}(adN{OBJ}).+Vt** “X kinds of objects of the verb
that follows” *yì zhě sān yǒu* 益者三友 ADD THOSE-WHO **THREE**
FRIEND “Those who make progress befriend **three kinds of people**.”
[Note that this analysis is of the phrase as traditionally understood. Ana-
lysis is never of expressions as such. It is always of expressions as under-
stood/translated/read in a given way. Thus our analysis at this point is no
argument at all in favour of the interpretation of the sentence the structure
of which it aims to explicate.]

2.1.2. **v{NUM}adN1.postN2** “X items N1 of the N2 kind” *Shùn yǒu
chén wǔ rén* 舜有臣五人 SHUN HAVE MINISTER **FIVE** PERSON
“Shùn had **five** ministers”. [NB: *Rén* 人 was by far the most commonly
used nominal classifier in classical Chinese. See TLS on the word for
details. We take the meaning of this sentence to be very much like that
of 舜有五臣 SHUN HAVE FIVE MINISTER which we have come to
expect NOT to find, but which does occasionally occur.]

3. **v{NUM}adN** “items N in the number of v” *sān yuè* 三月 “**three months**”.
[NB: We take the two readings to be semantically distinct while the syntactic structure within our system is the same, a number verb modifying a nominal expression.]
- 3.1. **v{NUM}adN@V=ordinal** “the number v (of the contextually determinate category N)”, “the Nth”, *sān yuè* 三月 **THREE MOON** “**third month, March**” 1.; 2. **v{NUM}(adN)** “the number v (of the contextually determinate category N)” *sān yuē* 三曰... **THREE SAY** “**the third (item) is...**”.
4. **v{NUM}adV** “to v X-wise”.
- 4.1. “for the Xth time” *yī gǔ zuò qì* 三鼓作氣 **THREE DRUM CREATE SPIRITS** “When he beat the drums **for the third time** he created fighting spirits”.
- 4.2. **v{NUM}adV** “X times” *Jì Wénzǐ sān sī ér hòu xíng* 季文子三思而後行 **JI WENZI THREE REFLECT AND AFTERWARDS ACT** “Jì Wénzǐ reflected **thrice** before he acted”.
- 4.3. **v{NUM}adV** “in X respects, X ways” *wú rì sān xǐng wú shēn* 吾日三省吾身 **EGO DAY THREE EXAMINE EGO>MY PERSON** “Every day I examine myself **on three counts**”.
- 4.4. **v{NUM}adV** “into X parts” *sān fēn tiān xià* 三分天下 **THREE DIVIDE HEAVEN UNDER** “divided the world into three parts”.
- 4.4.1. [[[1. **v{NUM}(adV)** “(to VERB) for the Xth time” *zài ér shuāi* 再而衰 **SECOND AND DECLINE** “...when he (beat the drum) **for the second time** the spirits diminished”.
- 4.4.2. **v(adV)** “(to VERB) X times” *zài sī kě yǐ* 再斯可矣 **TWICE THIS > THEN ACCEPTABLE MODAL/PART**“(Reflecting) **twice** is enough!” **Note that *zài* 再 **TWICE** would be taken to be a particle when viewed from a translation angle, but the word is negatable and I list its adverbial here for comparison only.**]]]
5. **v{NUM}post-N** “X Ns” *tiān xià yǒu dà jiè èr* 天下有大戒二 **HEAVEN UNDER EXIST PROHIBIT>PROHIBITION TWO** “In the world there are **two** great prohibitions”.
- 5.1. **v{NUM}post-N @ordinal** *chén zhī zuì yī yě* 臣之罪一也 **MINISTER/EGO GENITIVE/PART ONE MODAL/PART** “This is my **first** offence”.

6. **Vt{NUM}** “transitive verbals, simple or complex”.
- 6.1. **vt{NUM}oN@caus** “cause to be X times as many” *liù liù sān shí liù* 六六三十六 **SIX SIX THREE TEN SIX** “If you **multiply** six **by** six this is thirty-six.” [NB: *Liù* 六 “cause N to be six times as many”].
- 6.2. **vt{NUM}oN@sequence** “Be the Xth in the matter of N” *tài shǐ bā zhī* 太史八之。 GRAND ARCHIVIST **EIGHT** IT “The Grand Archivist **was the eighth** in this matter...” GY國語 Zhōu 1, ed. Shànghǎigǔjǐ 1978, 1.20.
- 6.3. **vt{NUM}oN@strength** “be X times superior to N” *yǒu rén yǔ cǐ bǎi zǐ* 有人於此百子 EXIST PERSON IN THIS **HUNDRED** YOU “Suppose there is someone here who is a hundred times your superior”.

Thus the category of numerals turns out to be no word class or syntactic category at all. Number words may function variously as verbal, nominal, “adnominal”, “adverbial” and so on. It is as absurd to speak of a word class of numerals as it would be to speak of a word class of plants. (Try to make a list of the syntactic functions of the English words “two, three, four, five”. Comment on the contrasts between English and Chinese number!)

Prefixes are taken as particles preceding and modifying a main nominal or verbal constituent.

padN *āmǔ* 阿母 INTIMATE-PREFIX MOTHER “mother” **Early colloquial**

padV *zài chǐ zài qū* 載馳載驅 CONTINUATIVE-PREF GALOP CONTINUATIVE-PREF GALLOP “(I) **was racing** along and (I) **was rushing** along” [NB: One may evidently quarrel about the exact nuance expressed by *zài* 載.]

The question of reconstructed initial consonant prefixes within syllables are analysed separately within the context of the systematic reconstruction of historical phonology.

Prepositions are taken as transitive verbs with lexically retrievable implicit subjects, but this analysis — like everything else — remains open to further discussion:

The word “preposition” labels a problem and does not solve any problem. What I try to do here, as best I can, is to explicate what it typically is, from our philo-logical point of view, for a word to be a preposition. I try to explain prepositions syntactically as grammaticalised or specialised “deficient” non-negatable subordinate verbs with obligatorily omitted and lexically regularly

retrievable implicit subjects. This solution is clearly wide open to debate and is proposed here for discussion only.

vt[0]+N.postadV *kùì yú fù mǔ* 愧於父母 ASHAMED IN/RELATION/TO FATHER MOTHER “feel ashamed vis-à-vis one’s parents” [NB: the verb *hài* 害 “harm” in this construction, with a preposition, is simply classified conventionally **vt+prep+N** instead of the clumsier **vt_1+vt_2(0)oN**. The lexically determinate subject of the preposition is the nominalised transitive verb preceding it.]

vt[0]+N.postadV *yì zhī yǐ yáng* 易之以羊 SWAP OBJECT/PRO USE SHEEP “change it **for** a sheep” [The lexically determinate implicit subject of the **vt[0]** is the subject of the verbal head **V**.]

vt[0]+N.adV *yǐ yáng yì zhī* 以羊易之 USE SHEEP SWAP OBJECT/PRO “changed it **for** a goat” [The lexically determinate implicit subject of the **vt[0]** is the subject of the verbal head **V**.]

Note that “prepositions” like *yǐ* 以 may be negated as in *píng guó yǐ lǐ, bù yǐ luàn* 平國以禮，不以亂 PACIFY STATE USING > WITH RITUAL-PROPRIETY, NOT USING > WITH CHAOS “One pacifies a state through ritual, not through chaos”. Being negatable by *bù* 不 such “prepositions” must then be categorised not only as deverbal but as verbal. But it has to be emphasised that the account of prepositions in classical Chinese presented here is sketchy and remains highly controversial.

Sentence final particles are taken to be postmodifiers of sentences:

ppostadS *mǎ bù jìn yě* 馬不進也 HORSE NOT PROCEED MODAL/PART “It was **that** the horse would not proceed”. *wǒ yù rén, zé rén zhì yǐ* 我欲仁則仁至矣 I>ONE DESIRE BENEVOLENCE THEN BENEVOLENCE ARRIVE PERFECTIVE-PARTICLE/YI “If **one** desires human-heartedness then human-heartedness has (thereby) been achieved.”

Sentence connectives are taken to be subclasses of particles or verbs:

padS1.postS2, e. g. *shàng zūn ér mín cóng* 上尊而民從 ABOVE > RULER HONOUR **BUT/AND** PEOPLE FOLLOW>OBEY “the ruler is honoured **and** the people are obedient”

padS1.post-S2, e. g. *shàng zūn zé mín cóng* 上尊則民從 ABOVE > RULER HONOUR **THEN** PEOPLE FOLLOW > OBEY “When the ruler is honoured **then** the people will obey.

padS1.adS2, e. g. *rú shàng zūn zé mǐn cóng* 如上尊則民從 **IF ABOVE > RULER HONOUR THEN PEOPLE FOLLOW>OBEY** “If the ruler is honoured then the people will obey.

PPadv_1.post-v_2, e. g. *sān sī rán hòu xíng* 三思然後行 **THREE REFLECT AND AFTERWARDS ACT** “reflected three times on things **and only then** acted.

vpostS1.adS2, e. g. *liù zǔ wén yǐ, jí shí fó yì* 六祖聞已，即識佛意 **SIX PATRIARCH HEAR FINISH, THEN FAMILIAR BUDDHA THOUGHT** “**When** the Sixth Patriarch had heard this he was familiar with the Buddha’s thought.” [NB: This construction first becomes current in Buddhist Chinese.]

Sentences are analysed syntactically as **-strictly speaking — VPs or NP{PRED}s which function sententially, often but not always with subjects, or as (always subjectless) non-negatable concatenations of particles PP0{PRED}**.

Sentences are analysed as verb phrases **VP** typically with an explicit subject (as in *wáng bēng* 王崩 **KING DIE** “The king died.”) or with implicit subjects (as in *bēng* 崩 **DIE** “(He/the king) died.”), or as a subjectless verb **vi0** (as in *yǔ* 雨 “it is raining”) or as a subjectless verb phrase **VPi0 yù** (*sic!*) *xuě* 雨雪 “it is raining snow > snowing”.

In other cases they are analysed as predicative noun phrases **NP{PRED}** with explicit subjects (as in *Kǒngzǐ shèng rén yě* 孔子聖人也 **CONFUCIUS SAGE HUMAN MODAL/PART** “Confucius is a sage.”) or with implicit subjects (as in 聖人也 **SAGE HUMAN MODAL/PART** “(He) is a sage”). Non-negatable “grammaticalised” phrases like *wū hū* 嗚呼 “Alas!” form a class of subjectless sentential expressions **PP0{PRED}** that are *sui generis*.

The lexicalised use of a **VP** as a sentence can be made explicit by the formula **VP{S}**, and the lexicalised use of an **NP** as a sentence can be made explicit by the formula **NP{S}**.

The head of a verbal sentence is the main verb in it. The head of a nominal sentence is the main predicative nominal in it. A construction with a verbal head counts as verbal. A construction with a nominal head counts as nominal. Whether or not there is a subject or topic does not affect this structural fact. Subjects as well as topics, like adverbs, are non-main constituents, they are not the heads of the constructions they occur in¹.

¹ Contrastive stress in English, as in *Confucius compiled the Annals*, which converts the stressed noun *Confucius* into the main predication of the sentence: “It was Confucius who compiled the Analects”, does not appear to constitute a correct reading of a corresponding classical Chinese sentence *Kǒngzǐ zuò chūnqiū* 孔子作春秋 **CONFUCIUS MAKE SPRING-AUTUM/ANNALS** “Confucius made the Annals”. In classical

The label **S**, then, refers to verbal expressions (and occasionally expressions with a predicative nominal head or grammaticalised exclamations) which contain an explicit or an implicit subject, or which are feature-placing and therefore logically subjectless. So far I have found that whereas many sentences in general are nominal, embedded sentences have a strong tendency to be verbal so that wherever our formulae say **S** it would probably be strictly correct to replace this by **VS** for “verbal expression with an explicit or implicit subject”). This area, like everything else, needs much further study.

Suffixes are analysed as particles p which modify a preceding verbal or nominal constituent:

ppostadN, as in *nǚ zǐ* 女子 “woman”, and more clearly in the modern *jù zǐ* 句子 “phrase” (which, of course, is not attested in pre-Buddhist Chinese).

ppostadV, as in *shàn zāi* 善哉 GOOD PARTICLE/ZAI “good!”

ppostadV.adN *shàn zāi wèn hū* 善哉問乎 GOOD PARTICLE/ZAI ASK PARTICLE/HU “good question”

Reconstructed suffixes within syllables are analysed separately within the context of the reconstruction systematic historical phonology.

Basic simplex sentence types

Current simplex sentence types in classical Chinese are the following:

A. Verbal Sentence Types:

《**VpostN{SUBJ}**》 (unmarked verbal sentence with an explicit subject), e. g. *wáng bēng* 王崩 KING DIE “The king died.”

《**V-p.postN{SUBJ}**》 (marked verbal sentence with an explicit subject), e. g. *qī sǐ yǐ* 妻死矣 WIFE DIE PERFECTIVE-PARTICLE “The wife has died!”

《**V0**》 (verbal sentence consisting of a logically subjectless verb) e. g. *yǔ* 雨 RAIN “it was raining”.

《**V(0)**》 (verbal sentence with an implicit contextually retrievable subject), e. g. *rán* 然 BE-SO”(This) is so.”

Chinese the contrastive stress reading of this sentence has to be expressed by a nominal sentence with *Confucius* as the predicative nominal, as in the English *The one who compiled the Analects was Confucius*: **zuò Chūn qiū zhě kǒngzǐ yě* 作春秋者孔子也. CREATE SPRING-AUTUMN/ANNALS THE/SUBJECT/WHICH/PRO CONFUCIUS MODAL/PART “The author of the annals was Confucius.”

《**V(0)-p**》 (marked verbal sentence with an implicit contextually retrievable subject), e. g. *zhōng yǐ* 忠矣 LOYAL FINAL/PART “(He) put in a loyal effort.”

《**V[0]**》 (verbal sentence with a lexically retrievable implicit subject), e. g. *nuò* 諾 AGREE “[I] agree (to what is under discussion as proposed) > Yes!” [NB: From a strictly analytic point of view all of the above expressions have verbal heads and must therefore, strictly speaking, count as VPs. They must count as VPs that function as sentences].

Nominal Sentence Types:

《**N{PRED}-p.postN{SUBJ}**》 (marked nominal sentence with an explicit subject), e. g. *zǐ ròu yě* 子肉也 YOU MEAT “You are meat.”

《**N{PRED}postN{SUBJ}**》 (unmarked nominal sentence with an explicit subject), e. g. *Yǔ Tāng shèng rén* 禹湯聖人 EMPEROR/YU EMPEROR/TANG SAGE PERSON “Yǔ and Tāng were sages.” (白虎通)

《**N(0){PRED}-p**》 (marked nominal sentence with a contextually retrievable implicit subject) *lǐ yě* 禮也 RITUAL CLASSIFICATORY-PARTICLE/ YE “(This) is in accordance with ritual.”

Non-negatable Sentence Types Consisting of (exclamatory etc) Particles:

《**P{PRED}**》 (grammaticalised exclamation sentence), e. g. *wū hū* 嗚呼 “Alas!” [NB: Such exclamatory sentences cannot, in general, occur in those syntactic positions designated by **S** in our syntactic category formulae. For example, we have neither ****wū hū yě* 嗚呼也 nor ****wū hū yǐ* 嗚呼矣, nor indeed ****wū hū ér yǐ* 嗚呼而已]

A simplified grammar outline

A simplified introductory outline of the elementary syntactic categories of classical Chinese is presented below. Syntactic categories or syntactic functions attach only to expressions that are **constituents**, i.e. expressions that constitute complete functional units. For example, in the sentence *tiān xià zhì* 天下治 HEAVEN UNDER WELL-GOVERNED “The world was well-governed” the sequence of words *xià zhì* 下治 does occur, but this sequence is not an expression that counts as a constituent in this sentence. Therefore *xià zhì* 下治 is not assigned any syntactic category or syntactic function in this sentence.

Syntactic categories of constituents are taken to be of three kinds only: nominals **N**, verbals **V**, and grammaticalised expressions or particles **P**. All

other traditional and modern theoretical syntactic categories are analysed and defined as subcategories of these three. (See **Appendix** to this paper.)

The syntactic categories of classical Chinese will be presented as a fairly well-defined hierarchical conceptual taxonomy of which a basic preliminary outline might look like this:

1. NOMINALS	N
1.1 COUNT NOUNS	nc
1.2 MASS NOUNS	nm, nm@collective, etc.
1.3 ABSTRACT NOUNS	nab
1.4 PRONOUNS	npro
1.5 DE-NOMINAL ADJECTIVES	nadN
1.6 DE-NOMINAL ADVERBS	nadV
1.7 COMPLEX NOMINALS	NP NPc, NPm, NPab, NPpro, NPadN, NPadV, etc.
2. VERBALS	V
2.1 INTRANSITIVE VERBS	vi
2.2 TRANSITIVE VERBS	vt
2.3 DITRANSITIVE VERBS	vtt
2.4 SUBJECTLESS VERBS	vi0, vi(0), vi[0], vt0, vt(0), vt[0], vtt0, vtt(0), vtt[0] etc.
2.5 DE-VERBAL ADJECTIVES	vadN
2.6 DE-VERBAL ADVERBS	vadV
2.7 POST-VERBAL VERBALS	vpostV
2.8 COMPLEX VERBALS	VPi, VPi(0), VPi[0], VPt0, VPt(0), VPvt[0], VPtt0, VPtt(0), VPtt[0] etc.
3. PARTICLES	P
3.1 ADNOMINAL PARTICLES	padN
3.2 ADSENTENTIAL PARTICLES	padS
3.3 ADVERBIAL PARTICLES	padV
3.4 POST-NOMINAL PARTICLES	ppostN
3.5 POST-SENTENTIAL PARTICLES	ppostS
3.6 POST-VERBAL PARTICLES	ppostV
3.7 COMPLEX PARTICLE PHRASES	PP, PPadN, PPadS, PPadV, PPpostN, PPpostS, PPpostV

Clavis Syntactica

1. {Constituent} “functional unit in an expression”

NOTE 1: In *tiān xià rén* HEAVEN BELOW PERSON 天下人 “the people of the world”, for example, *xià rén* BELOW PERSON 下人 is not taken to be a constituent and is not assigned any syntactic category.

Note 2: Intra-syllabic constituents such as what is currently reconstructed as an old Chinese final -s in *wàng* 王 “rule as king/ruling as a king” versus *wáng* 王 “king” are not considered as syntactic but as part of the morphology of the language.

1.1. N Nominal constituent of any kind or complexity *yì* 義 “righteousness” (more specifically: **nab**), *Yáo* 堯 “(Emperor) Yáo” (more specifically **npr**), *gǔ dài* 古代 “antiquity” (more specifically **NP**), *gǔ dài shèng rén* 古代聖人 “sages of antiquity” (also an **NP**), *shí Yáo* 十堯 “ten (emperors) Yáo” (another **NP**) etc.

1.1.1. Monosyllabic nominal constituent **n rén** 人 “person” which is taken as a count noun (**nc**). *Shuǐ* 水 “water” is taken as a mass noun (**nm**), as will be seen below. Be patient!

1.1.1.1. Predicative noun **n{PRED}** *suī lín bù dú yě* 雖鄰不覲也 EVEN IF NEIGHBOUR NOT VISIT MODAL/PARTYe “Even if they were neighbours he would not visit them”.

1.1.1.2. Count noun **nc** (short: **n**) *yǒu rén* 有人 EXIST PERSON “There was a person...” [NB: *sān rén* 三人 is “three persons” and not “three kinds of persons”, whereas *sì mín* 四民 FOUR PEOPLE would be “four kinds of people”].

1.1.1.2.1. **nc.post-V{NUM}** *sān rén* 三人 THREE PERSON “three persons” *preceded and in construction with a number verbal* [NB: Note that numbers are taken to be verbal, as shown in our systematic account of numerals. The syntactic category of count nouns **nc** that are not only countable but actually found to be actually counted may not seem to be an interesting one. However, it is found convenient as a place to register the ethnography of actual counting practice in ancient China. What determines the introduction of this category is not its intrinsic grammatical importance, but rather our philological interest in understanding and — for this purpose — our interest in systematically registering ancient Chinese counting practice. It is important to keep in mind that some of the categories below are established for reasons other than purely grammatical or even purely linguistic. The kind of linguistics presented here aims to serve philology in a broader than purely linguistic sense.]

1.1.1.3. Mass noun: **nm** *yǒu shuǐ* 有水 EXIST WATER “There is water.” [NB: *Shuǐ* 水 “river” is, of course, **nc** because rivers are counted by

individual items. Our categories are not taken to apply to words as such. They apply to the words under given interpretations.]

1.1.1.3.1. **nm{PRED} predicative mass noun** *xiǎo rén zhī dé cǎo* 小人之德草 SMALL PERSON ‘S VIRTUE GRASS “The virtue of the small man is (like) grass.” (LY)

1.1.1.3.2. **nm.post-V{NUM}** *shì nóng gōng shāng sì mín* 士農工商四民者 OFFICIAL PEASANT CRAFTSMAN TRADER FOUR PEOPLE “officials, peasants, craftsmen, and tradesmen, these four kinds of **people/citizens**”, *sān jiǔ* 三酒 THREE WINE “three kinds of **wine**” (周禮) *in construction with preceding number verbal* [NB: *mín* 民 “people” is almost always what we call a collective mass noun in TLS, unlike *jiǔ* 酒 “wine” which is always what might be called a “stuff mass noun”. But this subclassification has not so far been implemented in any systematic way. This category allows us to register counted mass nouns.]

1.1.1.3.3. **nmadN** *jīn rén* 金人 METAL PERSON “human figure **made of metal** > metal statue” *modifying a nominal* [NB incidentally: Those metal statues exhibited by the first emperor of China were said to have weighed between 61 and 87 tons, were said to have stood 16.5 meters high, the feet being 1,98 meters long...]

1.1.1.3.4. **nmadV** *shuǐ xíng* 水行 WATER TRAVEL “travel **on water**”. Compare also the structurally similar but semantically different *shuǐ liú ér bù zhǐ* 水流而不止 WATER FLOW AND NOT STOP “(The Way) flows **like water** and does not stop.” *modifying a verbal* [NB: *shuǐ liú* 水流 WATER FLOW would, of course, often mean “the water flows”, but not in the context of this quotation where the subject is clearly and explicitly the Way. We note in passing that the interpretation of *shuǐ xíng* 水行 as “travel by river” would count simply as **nadV**.]

1.1.1.3.5. **nm.post-V** *huáng jīn* 黃金 BELLOW METAL “bellow metal > gold”. [NB: The word *huáng* 黃 means neither yellow nor brown. It refers to what yellow and brown have in common. Hence the unusual translation BELLOW which tries to alert the reader to this fact.] *subclassified stuff*

1.1.1.4. Abstract noun **nab** *yǒu yì* 有義 EXIST RECTITUDE “There is **rectitude**.” [NB: Criteria for determining whether a given noun is abstract include 1) **nab** cannot be counted with classifiers and are counted — if at all — not by physical item; 2) cannot be quantified by universal, existential or graded quantifiers; 3) cannot be specified with respect to amounts of any concrete stuff; 4) the object designated by the n cannot be said to move in space; 5) cannot be modified by demonstrative pronouns meaning “this” (**npro.adN**)].

1.1.1.4.1. **nab.post-V{NUM}** *rén běn yǒu liù qíng* 人本有六情 MAN BASIS HAVE SIX EMOTION “Man basically has six kinds of **emotions**” *postverbal counted* [NB: This registers counted abstract nouns, often abstract taxonomies which are of special interest for the philosophy of science and for intellectual history generally.] *counted by kind*

1.1.1.4.2. **nab.adN** *lǐ rén* 禮人 PROPRIETY PERSON “persons of **propriety**” *modifying a noun, denominal adjective*

1.1.1.4.3. **nab.adV** *xīn yuē* 心悅 HEART BE/PLEASSED “(he) was pleased **in his mind**” *modifying a verb, denominal “adverb”*

1.1.1.4.4. **nab.post-N** *rén dào* 人道 PERSON WAY “**Way** of/for man” *modified by preceding nominal*

1.1.1.4.4.1. **nab[.post-N]** *xiū shēn* 修身 CULTIVATE PERSONALITY “cultivate [one’s own] **personality**” *modified by a lexically determinate implicit preceding N* [NB: The point is that in this verb-object construction PERSONALITY is construed as someone’s abstract personal features.. Body-building, or cultivating oneself is not intended by this Chinese phrase. When *shēn* 身 refers to the body or serves as a plain reflexive pronoun it is a count noun **nc**.]

1.1.1.4.5. **nab.post-S** *shàng bù néng gù* 上不能故 ABOVE NOT CAPABLE CAUSE “**because** the superiors are incompetent; **the reason is** that the superiors are incompetent” *modified by preceding sentence* [NB: The sentence “The superiors are incompetent” modifies the *gù* 故.]

1.1.1.4.6. **nab{PRED}** *lǐ yě* 禮也 RITUAL MODAL/PART “(This) **is (in accordance with the) ritual propriety.**” *functioning as a predicate* [NB: It is often asserted that *yě* 也 here is the copula or part of the predicative. I take this *yě* 也 to be fundamentally the same modal “judgmental” particle as the *yě* 也 in 馬不進也 “It was that the horses did not proceed.” *Yě* 也 marks off a sentence as being non-narrative. It is never copula-like and verbal in classical Chinese.]

1.1.1.4.7. **nab.t:post-N** *guó zhèng* 國政 STATE GOVERNMENT “**administration of** the (object) state” *transitive* [NB: *Zhèng* 政 “administration” is “an administration of (something)”, and it is taken to be importantly different from the plain **nab** *yì* 義 “rectitude”. The noun *murder* is taken to be transitive in its own nominal way, just as *to murder* is transitive in its verbal way. One might say that in many deverbal nouns transitivity carries over from the verbs into the nouns.]

1.1.1.4.7.1. **nab.t[:post-N]** *wèn zhèng* 問政 “ask about **the government [of a state]**” *modified by an understood/implicit lexically determinate N* [NB: This is the standard general reading of the phrase in the *Analects*.]

1.1.1.4.7.2. **nab.t(post-N)** *wèn zhèng* 問政 “ask about **the government (of the contextually determinate state)**” *transitive with implicit contextually determinate preceding object* [NB: This is the much rarer interpretation of the phrase, this meaning normally requiring the pronoun *qí* 其 “this, the; his; its”. The point is that the noun *zhèng* 政 is never intransitive like the noun *lǐ* 禮 “ritual propriety” or *yì* 義 “rectitude, duty”.]

1.1.1.5. Pronoun **npro** *wǒ* 我 “I (for my part, as opposed to you)”

1.1.1.5.1. **npro.adN** *wú jiā* 吾家 **EGO FAMILY** “my family” *modifying a noun*

1.1.1.5.1.1. **npro.adN1:post-N2** *rén zhī běn* 仁之本 **HUMANE GENITIVE/PRO BASIS** “the basis of humanity”. *marking modification of a postposed nominal expression* [NB: This is only one of two possible ways of construing this common syntactic structure. For comments see **npropostN1.adN2** below.]

1.1.1.5.1.2. **npro.adNab** *sī wén* 斯文 **THIS ELEGANT** “this/such elegance” *modifying an abstract noun*

1.1.1.5.2. **npro.adV** *hé gǎn sǐ* 回何敢死 **HUI > EGO WHO/HOW DARE DIE** “How should I presume to die” *adverbial* [NB: One might in the end decide that what we have here is not an adverbial version of a pronoun *hé* 何 but a grammaticalised particle.]

1.1.1.5.2.1. **npro.ad.V{NUM}adN** *cǐ sān rén* 此三人 **THIS THREE PERSON** “these three persons” *in apposition with a counted noun*

1.1.1.5.3. **npro.adS1:adS2** *fú rú shì ...* 夫如是 ... **NOW RESEMBLE THIS ...** “Now things being like this...” *modifying a sentence S1, that whole construction modifying a second sentence S2 [The numbering as in **S1** and **S2** in a formula for a syntactic category is according to their occurrence in that formula and not in accordance with their occurrence in the analysed sentence itself. Thus in any formula **S1** will precede **S2** which in turn will precede **S3**, just as **N1** will precede **N2** which in turn will precede **N3** in all formulae, irrespective of the order of the occurrence of these constituents in the sentences analysed.]

1.1.1.5.4. **npropostN1.adN2** *rén zhī běn* 仁之本 **HUMANE THIS:GENITIVE/PRO BASIS** “the basis of humanity” **zhī* 之 being in construction with a preceding nominal, this phrase ending in *zhī* 之 itself being marked for modifying a second nominal* [NB: We take *zhī* 之 to be in construction with the preceding nominal, on analogy with modern *de* 的. But since *zhī* 之 also means “this” in adnominal position, it is entirely possible to construe the word to go with the noun that follows in such a way that the “genitive” function is understood, as it were, and indicated by the position alone. We would then analyse **npro.adN1:post-N2**.]

1.1.1.5.4.1. **npro.postN:adNPab:.adS** *Wén wáng zhī zhì Qí yě* 文王之治岐也 ... WEN KING THIS:GENITIVE/PRO GOVERN QI ... “As for King Wén’s governing in Qí > **When** King Wén ruled in Qí ...” [NB: More explicitly, this case could be analysed as **npro.postN:adNPab{VtoN}:.adS**, but the point of our analysis is that the nominalised verb phrase could be of any kind whatever.]

1.1.1.5.5. **npro.post-N{PRED}@topic** *mǎ zhě* 馬者 HORSE SUBJECT-WHICH-PRO “(As for) **that which is** a horse > As for the horse...” [NB: This phrase will normally function as a topic, and we indicate this by the gloss after the hyphen with empty spaces on both sides.]

1.1.1.5.5.1. **npro.post-Nab{PRED}@topic** *rén zhě* 仁者 HUMANE SUBJECT-WHICH-PRO “(As for) **that which is** benevolence...” [NB: The reading “the benevolent persons” does not concern us here. See below.]

1.1.1.5.6. **npro.post-V** *rén zhě* 仁者 HUMANE SUBJECT-WHICH-PRO “**he who** is benevolent” [NB: This phrase does not necessarily function as a topic and may well serve as an object or indeed as a noun phrase modifying another noun phrase.]

1.1.1.5.6.1. **npro.postVt** *shā zhī* 殺之 KILL OBJECT/PRO “killed **him**” *pronoun grammaticalised to function as object of a (normally) preceding transitive verb*

1.1.1.5.6.2. **npro{OBJ}.+Vt** *hé zhī* 何之 “where **are you off to**?”

1.1.1.5.6.2.1. **npro{OBJ}.+Vt0** *wèi zhī yǒu* 未之有 “there has never been **any such thing**”

1.1.1.5.7. **npro=N** *yú yī rén* 余一人 EGO ONE PERSON “**I**, the single person (i. e. king)” *in apposition-coordination with a nominal* [NB: It is useful to remember that pronouns do NOT occur as the second member of such collocations. Moreover, one may need to make it analytically explicit that the NP *yī rén* 一人 ONE PERSON is coreferential with the pronoun but would normally be taken to provide a further explanation of it and is thus, in traditional terminology, “epexegetic”.]

1.1.1.6. Proper noun **npr** 堯 YAO “(Emperor) **Yáo**”

1.1.1.6.1. **npr.post-V{NUM}** *suī yǒu shí Yáo* ... 雖有十堯 ... EVEN/IF HAVE > EXIST TEN YAO ... “Even if there were ten Emperor **Yáos**, ...” *counted as what is called “Vossian names” in traditionalist rhetorical treatises of the renaissance* [NB: Including this syntactic category reflects our cognitive interest (shared long ago by Professor Voss) in the phenomenon. It does not indicate any objective particular significance of this particular syntactic phenomenon.]

1.1.1.7. Denominal adjective **nadN** *guó rén* 國人 STATE PERSON “people of the state (definite and typically vaguely universal in context)”

1.1.1.7.1. **n/vadN** *shèng rén shèng rén* 聖人 SAGE PERSON “person of sagehood — sagely person” *primarily denominal, but arguably perhaps also deverbal* [NB: “Adjectives” like this can sometimes be construed as either adnominal verbs or as adnominal nouns, there being a fairly clear preference for one or the other construal. The present formula records this situation in all its messiness. Note incidentally that none of the prolific commentaries from ancient times could ever discuss these alternative interpretations. The alternatives seem to arise only from a Western perspective.]

1.1.1.7.2. **n|vadN** *zhì rén* 智人 WISDOM PERSON “person of wisdom or wise person” *denominal or deverbal, there being no clear reason to prefer one analysis to the other* [NB: For some such “adjectives” the decision to construe them as adnominal verbs or adnominal nouns seems arbitrary. The present formula records this situation in all its messiness.]

1.1.1.7.3. **nadN.adV** *zhōngdào fèi* 中道廢 MIDDLE WAY “give up midway” *precedes and modifies a nominal, that whole construction in turn preceding and modifying a verbal expression* [N.B. The semantics of the construction **nadN** in *zhōngdào* 中道 poses important questions that need detailed attention. The meaning is remarkably close to *dào zhōng* 道中 “in the middle of the way”.]

1.1.1.8. Denominal adverb **nadV** *zhū rén lì* 豕人立 PIG PERSON STAND “the pig stood up like a human”

1.1.1.8.1. **n{PLACE}adV** *shān jū* 山居 MOUNTAIN DWELL “live in the mountains” *modified by a place adverb* [NB: One is not just saying that *shān* 山 “is an adverb”. Under this category one assembles cases of what traditional grammarians have called *huó yòng* 活用 “derived grammatical functions” of nouns.]

1.1.1.8.1.1. **nadV.postN{SUBJ}** *Zhōu zuó lái* 周昨來 ZHUANGZI YESTERDAY COME “When I, Zhuāng Zhōu, came yesterday” *the adverbial construction preceded by an explicit subject* [NB: Note that the position of the denominal adverb *zuó* 昨 is between subject and predicate. Adverbial modification of predicative nouns seems not so easy to find in pre-Han literature. But we know exactly what it would take to find an example. The structure would have to be **nadN{PRED}** or even **nadN{PRED}.postN{SUBJ}**.]

1.1.1.9. Denominal sentence adverbs **nadS** *zuó dì dòng* 昨地動 YESTERDAY EARTH MOVE “Yesterday the earth moved > there was an earthquake”

1.1.1.9.1. **nadS1.adS2** *jīn yī rén yán shì yǒu hǔ* 今一人言市有虎
NOW ONE PERSON SAY MARKET EXIST TIGER... “**Now suppose** one single person says that there is a tiger in the market place...” *preceding and modifying another sentence* [NB: This noun introduces a subordinate sentence.]

1.1.1.9.2. **nadS1.postS2** ... *shí yǒu yī rén*... 時有一人 ... **TIME EXIST A PERSON** “... **At that time** there was a man.” *being in construction with a preceding sentence which indicates what time is being referred to* [NB: This noun introduces a sentence that is linked up to a preceding paragraph by the resumptive semantics of *shí* 時 “at that (i.e. **just specified in the preceding S2)** time”.]

1.1.1.10. Postnominal noun **npostN**

1.1.1.10.1. **npost-N** *táng shàng* 堂上 **HALL ABOVE** “in the hall” *modified by preceding nominal*

1.1.1.10.1.1. **n(post-N)** *zài qián* 在前 **BE/IN FRONT** “be in front (of it)” *modifying implicit noun contextually retrievable because only the context will tell us what this is in front of* [NB: One must note that *qián* 前 “front” is always understood as the front of something understood from context, never from the dictionary as such.]

1.1.1.10.1.2. **n[post-N]** *shāng shēn* 傷身 **HARM BODY** “injure [self’s > one’s own] **person** > get oneself injured” *implicit modifying noun (i.e. **SELF**) for *shēn* 身 lexically retrievable*

1.1.1.10.1.3. **npostadN** *māo ér* 貓兒 **CAT SUFF** “cat (NOT: kitten)”, *tú ér* 屠兒 **BUTCHER SUFF** “butcher” *modifying a preceding noun (in this case a pronoun)* [NB: **Almost all such “suffixes” seem to be post-Buddhist in origin.**]

1.1.1.10.1.4. **npost=Npr** *Huán gōng* 桓公 **HUAN DUKE** “**Duke Huán**” (who was NOT a Duke, actually...) *in “apposition”-coordination with a noun that precedes*

1.1.1.10.2. **n[post=npro]** *sǒu* 叟 **OLD/MAN** “[You,] **venerable old man**”

1.1.1.10.2.1. **n[post-npro_1][post=npro_2]** *jūn* 君 **RULER** “[You,] [my] **ruler** > your highness, you”

1.1.2. Complex or plurisyllabic nouns **NP** *jūn-zǐ* 君子 **RULER SON** “gentleman”

1.1.2.1. NP{PRED} complex nominal predicative noun *Kǒngzǐ shèngrén Mèngzǐ xián rén* 孔子聖人，孟子賢人 **CONFUCIUS SAGE PERSON MENCIOUS BE-WORTHY HE-WHO** “Confucius was a sage, Mencius was a worthy”. (LUNHENG) *functioning as the predicate of a sentence*

1.1.2.2. NP=Npr *gōng-zǐ Xiǎo Bái* 公子小白 **DUKE-SON LITTLE BAI** “**Prince Xiǎo Bái**” *in apposition-coordination with a proper name*

1.1.2.3. Complex proper names **NPpr Kǒng-zǐ** 孔子曰: ... **CONFUCIUS SAY**: ...“**Confucius** said: ...” [Compare the non-referential use in *zì yǒu shēng mǐn yǐ lái, wèi yǒu Kǒngzǐ yě* 自有生民以來，未有孔子也 **SINCE HAVE LIVE PEOPLE SO-AS-TO COME NEVER EXIST CONFUCIUS CATEGORISING-PARTICLE/YE** “Since the time there have been living people, there has never been a **Confucius**.”

1.1.2.3.1. **NPpr.post-V{NUM}** *sūi yǒu shí Huáng-dì bù néng chí* (*sic!*) *yě* 雖有十黃帝不能治也 **EVEN/IF HAVE > EXIST TEN HUANGDI NOT CAN GOVERN** “Even if there are ten Yellow Emperors, they cannot govern (it). *counted as “Vossian” proper names*

1.1.2.4. Complex count nouns **NPc (abbreviated to NP) dì-zǐ duō** 弟子多 **DISCIPLE MANY** “The disciples are many.” [NB: It is interesting to note that complex nominal expressions (NPs), while countable in principle, are not in fact very commonly counted in classical Chinese.]

1.1.2.4.1. **NPc.post-V{NUM}** *qī shí èr dì-zǐ* 七十二弟子 **SEVEN TEN TWO DISCIPLE** “seventy-two **disciples**” *count nouns actually counted* [NB: In most cases countability or “countedness” is of no interest. But there are cases where it matters, as when one wonders whether *jūn-zǐ* 君子 “gentlemen” can or cannot be counted or are actually counted. Our grammatical categories often depend on our cognitive interest.]

1.1.2.4.2. **NPc.-V{NUM}adN{CLASS}** *bái-mǎ sān pǐ* 白馬三匹 **WHITE-HORSE THREE ITEM** “of **horses** three items” *counted with postposed classifier construction*

1.1.2.5. Complex abstract nouns **NPab Huán gōng bù zhī rén-yì** 桓公不知仁義 **HUAN DUKE NOT UNDERSTAND HUMANENESS-RECTITUDE** “Duke Huán did not understand morality”. [NB: *Rén yì* 仁義 cannot be counted by kinds, whereas *dào* 道 “way” can: *kū yǒu èr dào* 哭有二道 **LAMENT EXIST TWO WAY** “In lamenting there are two ways.”]

1.1.2.5.1. **NPab.pr wú cháng** 無常 “**Impermanence** (personified)” *wú-cháng lái qiān yǐn* 無常來牽引 **LACK CONSTANT COME DRAG PULL** “**Impermanence** comes to drag them away.” *personified*

1.1.2.5.2. **NPab.adN wǎng-xī shì** 往昔世 **BYGONE-BEFORE GENERATIONS** “generations **of the past**” *modifying another noun*

1.1.2.5.3. **NPab.adS gǔ-zhě yǒu èr yán**... 古者有二言... **ANCIENT SUBJECT/WHICH/PRO EXIST TWO SPEAK**:... “**in ancient times** there were two sayings:...” *modifying a sentence*

1.1.2.5.4. **NPab.adV** *cí-xīn shuō fǎ* 慈心說法 LOVING-HEART EXPLAIN LAW “with a loving heart/mind preach the Dharma” *modifying a verbal expression*

1.1.2.5.5. **NPab.post-N** “*píng*” *zhī wéi-yán* 平之為言 PEACE GENITIVE/PRO BE-WORD “the etymological meaning of the word *píng* “peaceful”” *modified by a nominal expression* [NB: The abstract noun lexically invites modification. Note that the modifying function of *píng* 平 here is marked by *zhī* 之. As we have noted, this kind of “genitive *zhī* 之 can be analysed in two different ways. In the present context it seems easier to take *zhī* 之 as a “genitivising suffix” **npro.postadN1:adN2** on first sight. 待考]

1.1.2.5.5.1. **NPab.post-npro** *qí wéi-rén yě xiào tì* 其為人也孝弟 GENITIVE/PRO BE-MAN MODAL/PART FILIAL BROTHERLY “He was, by nature, filial and brotherly.” *the modifying noun being a pronoun*

1.1.2.5.5.2. **NPab.post-Npr** *Zhì bó zhī wéi-rén yě tān* 智伯之為人也貪 ZHI EARL GENITIVE/PRO BE-MAN MODAL/PART GREEDY “The Earl of Zhì was greedy by nature”. *the modifying noun being a proper name*

1.1.2.6. Complex mass nouns **NPm** *yóu huáng-jīn* 有黃金 HAVE YELLOW METAL “have gold”

1.1.2.6.1. **NPm.adN** *zhēn-jīn dāng* 真金璫 GENUINE METAL PENDANT “genuine gold pendants”

1.1.2.6.2. **NPm.v{NUM}adN{CL}** *huáng-jīn yī jīn* 黃金一斤 YELLOW METAL ONE CATTY “one catty of gold”

1.1.2.7. Complex pronouns **NPpro** 吾儕小人也 EGO-PLUR/SUFF SMALL PERSON MODAL/PART “We are just ordinary people.”

1.1.2.7.1. **NPpro{PRED}** *hé-zhě* 何者 WHY SUBJECT/WHICH/PRO “Why is this so?” *predicative*

1.1.2.7.2. **NPpro=N** *rǔ-děng mén rén* 汝等門人 YOU-PLUR/SUFF GATE PERSON “you disciples” (followed by nominal phrase in apposition) *in apposition-coordination with another noun*

1.1.2.7.3. **NPpro.adN** *rǔ-děng zì xìng* 汝等自性 YOU-PLUR/SUFF SELF NATURE “your self-natures” *modifying another noun*

1.1.2.7.4. **NPpro.adV** *gōng-zì chū yíng* 躬自出迎 PERSON-SELF GO/OUT WELCOME “in person go out and receive” *modifying a verb*

1.1.2.7.4.1. **NPpro{OBJ}+Vt** *jiāng hé-suǒ zuò* 將何所作 WILL WHICH-OBJECT-WHICH DO “what will (you) do?” *as preposed object of a transitive verb*

1.1.2.7.5. **NPpro.postVt** *wèi(sic!) rǔ-děng* 為汝等 FOR YOU-PLUR/SUFF “for you people” *as object coming after a transitive verb* [For

pronouns accessibility to or limitation to subject versus object position may be worth registering. If one wants to register the object position, this is how it would be done.]

1.1.2.8. Complex denominal adjectives **NP_{adN}** 上古聖人 **ABOVE-ANCIENT SAGE PERSON** “sages of high antiquity”

1.1.2.8.1. **NP[adN]** *wéi tiān-xià* 為天下笑 “be laughed at by [the people of] **All under Heaven**” *lexically retrievable implicit omitted nominal head* [NB: *tiān xià* 天下 is taken to be short for *tiān-xià zhī rén* 天下之人 **HEAVEN BELOW GENITIVE/PRO MAN** “people of the world” or *tiān-xià zhī mín* 天下 “the people of the world” as in *Mencius*. The English *world* in *all the world* does not work like our Chinese expression. What in many languages will be explained by the notion metonymy (or synekdoche) we can explain in Chinese by ellipsis in these cases.]

1.1.2.8.1.1. **NP[adN.][post=npro_2]** *shàng zuò* 上座 **TOP SEAT** “[You,] [the person/monk occupying] the top seat”

1.1.2.8.2. **NP(adN)** *jīn rì gōng yǎng hé sì zuó-rì* 今日供養何似昨日 **PRESENT DAY HOSPITALITY VENERATION HOW SIMILAR DAY/BEFORE-DAY** “Today’s veneration, how is it similar to yesterday’s (scil. 供養 ‘hospitality/veneration’)” *construction with contextually retrievable implicit nominal head*

1.1.2.8.3. **NP/VP_{adN}** *shì-sú fān fū* 世俗凡夫 **ORDINARY/WORLD VULGAR ORDINARY FELLOW** “ordinary fellow of this vulgar word/worldly vulgar” *the interpretation of the modifying phrase being indeterminate between VP and NP, but NP being judged more plausible*

1.1.2.8.4. **NP|VP_{adN}** *zhōng-xìn zhī rén* 忠信之人 **LOYAL-FAITHFUL GENITIVE/PART PERSON** “person of devotion and good faith or devoted and faithful person” *the interpretation of the modifying phrase being indeterminate between VP and NP, both being judged equally plausible*

1.1.2.9. Complex denominal adverb **NP_{adV}** *rén qín-shòu xíng* 人禽獸行 **MAN BIRD-BEAST ACT** “Men behave like wild animals.” *modifying a verb*

1.1.2.9.1. **NP_{adV}.postN{SUBJ}** *shàngyī-rì wèitài wèi* 上一日謂太尉... **ABOVE>EMPEROR ONE-DAY TELL GREAT/PROTECT> STEWARD ...** “the emperor, one day, told the Steward...” *between subject and predicate*

1.1.2.10. Complex nominal modifying sentence **NP_{adS}** *sì-miàn huǒ qǐ* 四面火起 **FOUR-FACE FIRE ARISE** “on all sides fire broke out”

1.1.2.10.1. **NPadSS** *xī-zhě yǒu rén* 昔者有人 **FORMERLY THE/SUBJECT/WHICH EXIST PERSON** “**A long time** ago there was a person,” [NB: **SS** refers to a set of sentences constituting a paragraph or a whole passage. Note, incidentally, that what comes after *rén* 人 is in fact something very much like a postposed relative clause. But that is a tricky matter not to be discussed here.]

1.1.2.10.2. **NPadS1.adS2** *jīn-rì xiǎng guó ér shā xián zhě* 今日饗國而殺賢者 **PRESENT-DAY > AS/SOON/AS ENJOY STATE THEN KILL WORTHY THE/SUBJECT/WHICH** “**As soon as** (you) are ensconced in the state you kill worthy men.”

1.1.2.10.3. **NPadS1.postS2** 爾時佛在 **THAT-TIME BUDDHA BE-PRESENT** “**At that time** the Buddha was present.” [NB: this noun phrase introduces a sentence that is linked up to a preceding paragraph (which we might write as **SS** by the resumptive semantics of *ěr shí* 爾時 “at **that (i. e. just specified in the preceding S2) time**”].]

1.1.2.11. **Complex nominal modified by preceding noun NPpost-N** *wàn wù fù-mǔ* 萬物父母 “**father and mother of the myriad things**”

1.1.2.11.1. **NP[post-N]** *fū-zǐ shěn zhī* 夫子哂之 **MASTER SMILE OBJECT/PRO** “[**Our**] **Master** smiled at him.” [NB: The **N** here is retrievable from the dictionary entry for *fū-zǐ* 夫子 “1) our master; 2) my master”, and as this entry shows, lexicalisation may be of multiple meanings.] *implicit lexically retrievable modifying noun (which in this case specifies whose master it is, namely ours)*

1.1.2.11.1.1. **NP(post-N.)=Npr** *fū-rén zǐ shì* 夫人子氏 **HUSBAND/PERSON > WIFE ZI FAMILY** “(**his**) **wife, madame Zǐ**” *implicit contextually retrievable modifying noun, and the whole phrase being in apposition-coordination with a proper name*

1.1.2.12. Postverbal NPs **NPpostV**

1.1.2.12.1. **NPpostVt** *tiān gōu-hè* 填溝壑 **FILL CANAL-STREAM** “**fill the canals and ditches**” *specialised on object position after transitive verb*

1.1.2.12.1.1. **NPpostVtt.+V[0]** *shǐ xià-chén gào jí* 使下臣告急 **SEND LOW-MINISTER > ME REPORT URGENT>DISTRESS** “sent **my humble self** to report the distress” *specialised on “pivotal” position* [NB: The NP *xià chén* 下臣 is an **NP@pro** and the present subcategory is going to be categorised as **NPpostVtt.+V[0]@pro** in TLS, because the function of the expression is pronominal also in pivotal position. This pivotal category is interesting only if one is concerned with the question which nominal expressions can be found to function as pivots.]

1.1.2.13. NPs in apposition with preceding implicit nominals in apposition NP[post=N]

1.1.2.13.1. NP[post=npro_2] *gōng zǐ* 公子 DUKE-SON “[You,] a duke’s son > you, the prince, your princely highness” *the apposition being with an implicit lexically determined second person pronoun*

1.1.2.13.1.1. NP[post-npro_1.][post=npro_2] *dà jūn* 大君 GREAT RULER “[You,][my] great lord > Your Great Highness” *the NP being modified by an implicit lexically determined second person pronoun*

1.2. V Verbal constituent of any kind or complexity: *xiào* 笑 LAUGH “laugh”, *dà xiào* 大笑 LARGE LAUGH “laugh aloud”, *wéi tiān xià dà xiào* 為天下大笑 BE HEAVEN UNDER LAUGH/AT “be the laughing stock of All under Heaven”

1.2.1. v Monosyllabic verbal constituents of any kind

1.2.1.1. Deverbal adjectives **vadN** *bái mǎ* 白馬 “white horse”

1.2.1.1.1. **v(ad)N** *yú mín* 愚民 which is presumably nonrestrictive in pre-Buddhist Chinese, i. e. “the people, all of whom are presupposed to be stupid” *non-restrictive modification* [NB: Compare *yú rén* 愚人 “a stupid person, which is **vadN** with an unbracketed “ad”. Non-restrictive modification is relatively rare in classical Chinese. The bracketed “ad” written as “(ad)” denotes non-restrictive modification.]

1.2.1.1.2. **v/nadN** *rén zhě shòu* 仁者壽 HUMANE THE/SUBJECT/WHICH LONG/LIFE “He who is **benevolent/of benevolence** is long-lived.” *deverbal adjective that could conceivably construed as denominal* [NB: Note that an **npro** does count as a kind of **N** in the present system.]

1.2.1.1.3. **v|nadN** *yǒu xián zhě* 有賢者 EXIST TALENT THE/SUBJECT/WHICH “There are **worthies**.” *deverbal adjective that could very well be construed as denominal*

1.2.1.1.4. **n|vadN** *yǒu shèng zhě* 有聖者 EXIST SAGE THE/SUBJECT/WHICH “There are **sages**” *denominal adjective that could very well be construed as deverbal*

1.2.1.1.4.1. **v(adN)** *jīn sān qiáng fú yǐ* 今三疆服矣 NOW THREE STRONG SUBMIT MODAL/PART “Now the three **strong (states)** have submitted”.

1.2.1.1.4.2. **vadNab** *shēn zhǐ* 深旨 DEEP MEANING “deep meaning” *modified noun abstract*

1.2.1.1.4.3. **vadN{PRED}** *fán shí èr rén* 凡十二人 GENERAL TEN-TWO PERSON “**summarising** > in all they were 12 people” *modified noun predicative*

1.2.1.1.4.4. **vad.VadN** 空大谷 *kōng dà gǔ* **EMPTY LARGE VALLEY** “empty large valley” *modified noun itself again modified by verb*

1.2.1.1.5. **v.red:adN** *yōu yōu cāng tiān* 悠悠蒼天 **DISTANT-DISTANT AZURE HEAVEN** “distant azure heaven” *modifying verb reduplicated*

1.2.1.1.6. **vvadN** *wěi-yí shì* 逶迤勢 **WRIGGLE-WRIGGLE’ SITUATION** “slowly changing>subtly unstable (political) situation” *the parts of modifying verb having no independent meaning* [NB: **vv** is used for binomes the parts of which are not free morphemes in classical Chinese and cannot be given independent meanings. The present binome demonstrates very nicely the fact that it is very common for **vv** forms to have a large number of graphic variants. In this case over ten such forms are current in ancient texts.]

1.2.1.2. Deverbal adverbs **vadV** *shèn shàn* 甚善 **INTENSE GOOD** “be very good”

1.2.1.2.0.1. **vadV.postN{SUBJ}:adS** *bìng yǐ chéng ér yào zhī* 病已成而藥之 **DISEASE FINISH COMPLETE AND MEDICINE OBJECT/PRO** “treat disease **after** it has already arisen” *between subject and predicate and that construction modifying a main sentence*

1.2.1.2.0.2. **vpost-.VtoN:adV** *yǔ zǐ jiē lǎo* 與子偕老 **JOIN YOU ASSOCIATE OLD** “grow old **together** with you” *the adverb being modified by a transitive verb with its object* [NB: This **v** is modified by a preceding verb-object phrase, and this construction as a whole precedes and modifies a verb. The formula is clearer than its English paraphrase.]

1.2.1.3. Deverbal “sentence adverbs” **vadS** *huì qí mǔ cù wáng* 會其母卒亡 **COINCIDE HIS MOTHER SUDDENLY DIE** “As it happened his mother had died suddenly.” *modifying a sentence*

1.2.1.3.1. **vadS1.post-S2** *bīn tuì, bì fù mìng* 賓退，必復命 **GUEST WITHDRAW NECESSARY AGAIN RETURN COMMAND** “When the guest had withdrawn **it was necessary that** > **necessarily** he would report back” *being modified by a preceding sentence (specifying in this case under which conditions the necessity obtains)*

1.2.1.4. Postnominal verbs **vpostN** *NB: verbal postmodification of nouns is rare, and examples tend to be controversial*

1.2.1.4.1. **v{NUM}post-N** *nǚ yuè liù* 女樂六 **WOMAN-MUSIC SIX** “six female musicians” *the verb may be a number verb*

1.2.1.4.2. **vpostadN** *shòu mǔ qián bì duō* 受母錢幣多 **RECEIVE MOTHER CASH MONEY MUCH** “(I) have received **much** money from

you, mother” *the relation to the preceding N being one of postmodification* [NB: one might read this as “the money I have received from you, mother, is a lot” in which case MUCH is simply **vi**.]

1.2.1.4.2.1. **vpost-V.postadN** *dé bìng jí zhòng* 得病極重 GET DISEASE EXTREME **HEAVY** “got a disease which was extremely **serious**” *the postmodifying **v** being itself adverbially modified* [NB: Note the contrast with pivotal constructions. What we have here is one of the many cases of unmarked postposed relative clauses in Chinese.]

1.2.1.5. Postsentential verbs **vpostS** *yòng shì niú wéi* 用是牛為 USE THIS BUFFALO **DO** “What are you using this ox **for**?” *in construction with a preceding sentence*

1.2.1.5.1. **vpostadS** *cháng yǔ yù(sic) wǒ lái* “嘗以語我來。” TRY OBJECT/MARKER/(THIS) TELL EGO **COME** “Try to tell me, **will you**.” *the relation to that sentence being that of postmodification* [NB: One might be tempted to analyse this as **vpostadV**.]

1.2.1.5.1.1. **vpostS1.adS2** *liù zǔ wén yǐ* 六祖聞已... SIX PATRIARCH HEAR **FINISH**... “When the Sixth Patriarch had heard this...” *the modified S1 in turn modifying S2 (in which in this case we are invited to expect to be told what happened after the Sixth Patriarch heard about this)*

1.2.1.6. Postverbal verbs **vpostV** *rǔ bìng yù wèi* 汝病愈未 YOU DISEASE HEAL **NOT/YET** “Has your disease been cured or not?”

1.2.1.6.1. **vpostadV** *sǐ jiǔ yǐ* 死久矣 DIE **LONG SENTENCE/PART** “has died **a long time ago**” *the relation to that verbal expression being that of postmodification*

1.2.1.6.1.1. **vpostadV.adN** *sān shí yú nián* 三十餘年 THREE TEN **EXCESS YEAR** “**more than** twenty years, twenty-**odd** years” *the construction modifying a noun* [NB: Note that 三十餘 THIRTY EXCESS “thirty-odd” as a whole of course in turn modifies *nián* 年 “year”.]

1.2.1.7. Intransitive verbs **vi** *zuì ér wò* 醉而臥 DRUNK AND SLEEP “got drunk and dozed off”

1.2.1.7.1. **vi.red** *wén zhì bīn bīn* 文質彬彬 PATTERN SUBSTANCE **HARMONIOUS-HARMONIOUS** “when substance and adornment **are in harmony**” *reduplicated*

1.2.1.7.1.1. **vi.red:adN** *xiǎo xiǎo míng lì* 小小名利 **SMALL-SMALL FAME PROFIT** “fame and profit, **which are insignificant**” *modifying a noun*

1.2.1.7.1.2. **vi.red:adV** *jiǔ jiǔ mò xiāng wàng* 久久莫相忘 **LONG-LONG NONE OBJECT/PRO FORGET** “not forget for a very long time” *modifying a verb*

1.2.1.7.2. **vi{vt+npro}.postadV** *dà yān* 大焉 **LARGE RELATING/TO/IT** “be large in relation to it>be larger than it” *being a contraction of a transitive verb with its pronominal object, and postmodifying a verb. The comment within braces records this unusual feature.*

1.2.1.7.3. **vi₂** intransitive verb needing more than one subjects *mǎ yǔ chē yì* 馬與車異 **HORSE JOIN CART DIFFERENT** “horse and cart are different from each other” *requiring two or more subjects* [NB: Note that one had better be two things in order to be different from each other: difference is never strictly reflexive.]

1.2.1.7.4. **vi-v{SUFF}** *mò rán* 默然 **SILENT BE/SUCH/SUFF** “(He) remained silent.” *being modified by a deverbal suffix*

1.2.1.7.4.1. **vi-v{SUFF}.adV** *è rán sǐ* 俄然死 **SUDDEN BE/SUCH/SUFF DIE** “die suddenly” *modifying a verb*

1.2.1.7.5. **vi+N{PLACE}** *yú shēn yuān* 漁深淵 **FISHING DEEP GORGE** “He was fishing in a deep gorge”, *wò chuāng* 臥床 **SLEEP BED** “sleep on the bed” *being in construction with a nominal complement that cannot normally be pronominalised by 之 and designates a place* [NB: NOT: “besleep a bed”.]

1.2.1.7.6. **vi+prep+N** *xiàn(sic!) yú qī jīng* 見於七經 **APPEAR IN SEVEN CLASSIC** “appear (later written *xiàn* 現) in the seven classics” *with prepositional complement*

1.2.1.7.7. **vi+N{SUBJ}** *guò èr shí nián* 過二十年 **PASS TWO TEN YEAR** “Twenty years passed.” *with postposed subject*

1.2.1.7.8. **vi+S{SUBJ}** *yí wú bù dé jiàn yě* 宜吾不得見也 **FIT EGO NOT OBTAIN VISIT** “It is fitting that I did not get an audience.” *with postposed sentential subject*

1.2.1.7.9. Subjectless intransitive verbs **vi₀** *xuě* 雪 **SNOW** “[It] snowed.” [NB: Contrast **vt₀oN** *yù(sic!) shuǐ* 雨水 **RAIN WATER** “[it] rained water” and **yù xuě** 雨雪 **RAIN SNOW** “[it] rained snow”.]

1.2.1.7.9.1. **vi₀+N{PLACE}** *yù(sic!) wǒ gōng tián* 雨我公田 **RAIN EGO PUBLIC FIELD** “it rains onto our public fields” *with place complement* [NB: Old commentaries suggest that in this function we have the old suffix -s which becomes the falling tone in Mandarin pronunciation today.]

1.2.1.7.9.2. **vi₀.red** *yǎn-yǎn* 曖曖 “[It] was getting dark” *reduplicated*

1.2.1.7.9.3. **vi0ad.npro** *zǎo zhě nǚ zhī jīng1 jī(sic!)* 早者女之精賁 (積) (馬王堆, 合陰陽) **BE-EARLY SUBJECT/WHICH/PRO FEMALE ESSENCE PILE-UP** “The time **when it is early in the day**, the female essences pile up” *modifying a noun (or pronoun).* [NB: one might simply take 早 to mean morning and avoid complexities. We keep the example to see whether there are more similar examples that might change our perceptions.]

1.2.1.7.9.4. **vi0adS** *liáng jiǔ* 良久... **WELL LONG** “**After a long while...**” *modifying a sentence*

1.2.1.7.10. **vi[0]** *zuò, wǒ yù(sic!) rǔ* 坐我語汝 **SIT** “[You] sit down! I shall tell you”. *with lexically retrievable implicit subject*

1.2.1.7.10.1. **vi[0]+V[0]** *lái sī wéi* 來思維 **COME THINK-THINK** “[you] **come and** [you] think!” *with a verbal complement which itself again has a lexically retrievable coreferential subject* [NB: Non-negated clear imperatives are fairly rare in classical Chinese. They are registered in TLS by the Semantic Category “imp”. From a syntactic point of view what typically characterises such imperatives is their lexically retrievable second person pronoun omitted subject.]

1.2.1.7.10.2. **vi[0]post | S** *shàn fǒu* 善否 **GOOD OR/NOT?** “is this good or is that (that it is good) not the case > it this good **or not**” *in construction with a preceding sentence to which this verb provides an alternative, thus creating a question* [NB: The notions of the additive relation “&” and the alternative relation “|” are interestingly rare in this syntactic survey because words are apparently rarely subcategorised for cooccurrence with what they are in additive or alternative relation to. I bring up the case of *fǒu* 否 because it constitutes a neat exception to this general pattern in that it does clearly lexically imply an alternative relation to what immediately precedes it. It remains to be investigate whether the sentence referred back to by *fǒu* 否 **OR/NOT?** can have a nominal predicate.]

1.2.1.7.11. **vi(0)** *rán* 然 **BE-SO** “(That) **is so.**” *with an obligatorily implicit contextually retrievable subject NB: A vast majority of verbs can have contextually retrievable implicit subjects. Normally, this is therefore not recorded. If we wanted to record something, it would be the cases where subjects cannot be implicit!*

1.2.1.7.11.1. **vi(0)post-VtoN** *ruò tiān dì rán* 若天地然 **RESEMBLE HEAVEN EARTH BE-SO** “be like Heaven and Earth, **such**” *modified by a preceding verb-object phrase*

1.2.1.8. Transitive verbs **vtoN** *shí ròu* 食肉 **EAT MEAT** “eat meat”; *Gān Mào wáng Qín qiě zhī Qí* 甘茂亡秦且之齊 **GAN MAO GO/INTO/EXILE QIN MOREOVER GO/TO QI** “Gan Mao fled (**from**) Qin and **went to** Qí.”

1.2.1.8.1. **vt[oN]** *bǎi fā bǎi zhòng*(sic!) 百發百中 HUNDRED RELEASE HUNDRED HIT “**releasing** [the arrows] a hundred times he **hit** [the target] a hundred times > he hit the target every time” *with two lexically retrievable implicit objects*

1.2.1.8.1.1. **vt[oN.]-V[0]** *lái jiàn* 來見 COME VISIT “**come** (here) to pay a visit” *with a lexically retrievable implicit object, and a verbal post-modification where the implicit subject is lexically retrievable* [NB: one might also insist that there is a lexically retrievable implicit object in the verbal complement, but this is irrelevant to the present construction. 來 is not subcategorised for the transitivity of the verbal complement according to our account. Otherwise we should write **vt[oN1.]-Vt[0][oN2].**]

1.2.1.8.2. **vt(oN)** *shā* 殺 KILL “**killed** (him)” *with contextually retrievable implicit object*

1.2.1.8.2.1. **vt(oN.)adV** *fù zhì* 負至 “arrive **carrying it**” *adverbial transitive verbs with contextually retrievable implicit object*

1.2.1.8.3. transitive verbs with unpronominalisable complement objects **vt+N** *jūn zhī suǒ wèi cháng shí wéi rén ròu ér* 君之所未嘗食唯人肉耳 RULER > YOU GENITIVE/PART THE/OBJECT/WHICH/PRO NOT/YET TRY EAT **BE/ONLY** PERSON FLESH MODAL/PART “As for what you have never eaten, that is only human flesh> The only thing you have never eaten is human flesh.” [NB: *Wéi* 唯 is treated as a copula here, and the copula in turn is interpreted as a transitive verb with an unpronominalisable “predicative” object. (We cannot say *wéi zhī* 唯之 “be only it”.) The relation + after a transitive verb remains problematic, but it conveniently assembles “fishy” objects that do not seem to invite pronominalisation with *zhī* 之.]

1.2.1.8.4. Subjectless transitive verbs **vt0oN** *yǒu zhī* 有之 **HAVE/EXIST** OBJECT/PRO “**there was this** > **this is true**”

1.2.1.8.5. **vt[0]oN** *guān wú suǒ cóng xué shī sān rén* 觀吾所從學師三人 **SURVEY** EGO THE/OBJECT/WHICH/PRO FOLLOW STUDY TEACHER THREE PERSON “Consider the three masters I studied with!” *the lexically retrievable implicit subject being the second person pronoun, as presupposed in imperatives. The history of the range of verbs that allow or even invite imperatives in classical Chinese rewards careful attention.*

1.2.1.8.5.1. **vt[0][oN]** *wǎng* 往! **SET/OUT** “[You] **should leave** [me/this place]!” *with lexically retrievable implicit subject and object*

1.2.1.8.5.2. **vt[0](oN)** *shā* 殺! “[You] **should kill** (him)” *with contextually retrievable object*

1.2.1.8.5.2.1. **vt[0]oN.adV** *bù wèi(sic!) jiǔ kùn* 不為酒困 NOT BE/FOR/REASON/OF ALCOHOL TROUBLE “not suffer hardship **because of** (*wèi*) alcohol”

1.2.1.8.5.2.1.1. **vt[0]oN.postadV** *shǐ mǐn yǐ shí* 使民以時 EMPLOY PEOPLE USE SEASON “employ the people **in accordance with** the seasons”

1.2.1.8.5.3. **vt0+N.adS** *wēi Guǎn Zhòng wú qí pī(sic!) fà* 微管仲吾其被髮... **IF-IT-WERE-NOT-FOR** GUANZHONG WE MODAL/PART/ WOULD LET/DOWN HAIR... But for Guanzhong we would presumably have our hair hanging loose!” *subjectless verb with complement, the whole construction modifying a sentence*

1.2.1.8.5.3.1. **vt0+Nab{S1}.adS2** 微 “**if it hadn't been for S1 then S2**” *wēi fū zǐ zhī fā wú fù yě, wú bù zhī tiān dì zhī dà quán yě* 微夫子之發吾覆也，吾不知天地之大全也。 **IF-IT-WERE-NOT-FOR** MASTER GENITIVE/PART TAKE/OFF LID MODAL/PART, EGO NOT KNOW HEAVEN EARTH GENITIVE/PART GREAT COMPLETE “**If** the Master **hadn't** taken off the lid for me, I would never have understood the Great Integrity of Heaven and earth!” *with a nominalised sentence as the object of the subjectless verb*

1.2.1.9. Transitive verbs with a verbal object **vt+V[0]** *yù shā zhī* 欲殺之 WISH KILL OBJECT/PRO “wanted to kill him”. [NB: Negations like *fú* 弗 Karlgren, *Grammata Serica Recensa* “would not; could not” and even *bù* 不 “fail to > does not, is not” may in the end have to be taken as the heads of verbal constructions, as indeed their English paraphrases suggest. Finnish, for example, has only verbal negation. But all this clearly needs detailed classical arguments like the modern Chinese 我不, and also — incidentally — the English “I don't”. 待考]

1.2.1.9.1. **vt+V[0]{PASS}** *kě zhī* 可知 CAN UNDERSTAND > BE/ UNDERSTOOD “may be understood”

1.2.1.9.1.1. **vt+V[0]{PASS}.adN** *zú guì zhī chén* 足貴之臣 SUFFICIENT > DESERVE HONOUR>BE/HONOURED GENITIVE/PRO MINISTER “a minister who deserves to be honoured” *modifying a noun*

1.2.1.9.1.2. **vt(+V[0])** *néng* 能 CAN “(You) can (do that)!” *the verbal object being implicit and contextually retrievable* [NB: The contextually retrievable implicit subject is so ubiquitous in classical Chinese that it makes no sense to record it as a special feature of any verb.]

1.2.1.9.1.3. **vt(+V[0])** *jūn zǐ néng yì hǎo, bù néng yì hǎo* 君子能亦好，不能亦好 RULER-SON > GENTLEMAN ABLE ALSO ATTRAC-

TIVE; NOT ABLE ALSO ATTRACTIVE “The gentleman is attractive when he **can (do things)**, and he is also attractive when he **cannot do things.**” *the implicit verbal objects being lexically retrievable* [NB: *Hǎo* 好 never means “good” in classical Chinese.]

1.2.1.10. Ditransitive verbs, i. e. verbs with two objects **vttoN1.+N2** *cì zhī mǎ* 賜之馬 GIVE OBJECT/PRO HORSE “**gave** him a horse”

1.2.1.10.1. **vtt(oN1.)-vtoN2** *ràng yǐ tiān xià* 讓以天下 YIELD USE HEAVEN UNDER “**yield** the empire (to him)” *implicit contextually retrievable second object, and direct object given introduced by coverbal phrase*

1.2.1.10.1.1. **vtt(oN1.)postvt(oN2{OBJ})** *yǐ gào* 以告 USE TELL “tell (him) about (it)” *object in the coverbal phrase also implicit and retrievable from context*

1.2.1.10.2. **vtt(oN1).oN2** *sòng mǎ* 送馬 SEND HORSE “**send** (him) a horse” *contextually retrievable implicit indirect object*

1.2.1.10.2.0.1. **vtt(oN1).+N2:-V[0]** *jiè rén chéng zhī* 借人乘之 LEND PERSON > OTHERS RIDE OBJECT/PRO “**lend** (it) **out** to others to ride”

1.2.1.10.2.0.2. **vtt(oN1.)(+N2)** *sòng* 送 GIVE “**give** (it) (to the contextually determinate person)” *also contextually retrievable indirect object*

1.2.1.10.3. Ditransitive verbs with the indirect object introduced by a “preposition” **vttoN1.+prep+N2** *chuán tiān xià yú Shùn* 傳天下於舜 TRANSFER HEAVEN UNDER IN-RELATION-TO SHUN “**transfer** the empire to Shùn”

1.2.1.10.3.1. **vtt[0]oN1.+prep+N2** *bǐ zhī yú shān* 比之於山 COMPARE OBJECT/PRO IN-RELATION-TO MOUNTAIN “[one] **may compare** this to a horse” *the ditransitive verb has a lexically retrievable implicit subject*

1.2.1.10.3.2. **vtt(oN1.)+prep+N2** *wèn yú Zēng zǐ* 問於曾子 ASK IN-RELATION-TO ZENGZI “**ask** Zengzi about the matter” *with contextually retrievable implicit direct object*

1.2.1.11. Ditransitive pivot verbs **vttoN.+V[0]** *shǐ zhī wén zhī* 使之聞之 CAUSE OBJECT/PRO HEAR OBJECT/PRO “caused him to hear it” *the subject of V lexically retrievable as identical with that of the main verb* [NB: It is in cases like these that the redundant but mnemonically convenient expansion of **v** into **vtt** is problematic because it raises the useless question how **V[0]** should or should not be regarded as part of the transitivity structure. The leaner and less redundant formula **voN.+V[0]** would avoid this idle “academic” question.]

1.2.1.11.1. **vtt(oN.)+V[0]** 勸戰 ENCOURAGE BATTLE “**encouraged** (people) to give battle” 教習慈仁 TEACH PRACTICE KIND HUMANE “**teach** (people) to practise kindness and benevolence” *implicit pivot retrievable from context*

1.2.1.12. Ditransitive subjectless verbs **vtt[0]oN1.+N2** *wèi zhī rén rén* 謂之仁人 CALL OBJECT/PRO HUMANE PERSON “[one] **calls** him a benevolent person” *with lexically retrievable implicit subject for **vtt***

1.2.1.12.1. **vtt[0](oN1.)+N2:adV** *zhū hóu bǐ wáng zhě wéi yīn* 諸侯比王者為陰 “feudal lords, **compared** to a true king, count as Yin” *with contextually retrievable N1, and adverbial.

1.2.1.12.2. **vtt[0]oN1.postN2{OBJ}** *huáng yì chēng tiān zǐ* 皇亦稱天子 SOVEREIGN ALSO CALL HEAVEN SON “the sovereign [one] also **calls** Son of Heaven” *implicit lexically retrievable subject of that ditransitive verb*

1.2.1.12.2.1. **vtt[0]oN1.postN2pro:postN2** *cǐ zhī wèi rén* 此之謂仁 THIS OBJECT/PRO CALL HUMANE “this [one] **calls** benevolence”

1.2.1.12.2.1.1. **vtt[0]oN1pro.+N2:postN1** *cǐ wèi zhī yào dào* 此謂之要道 THIS CALL OBJECT/PRO MAIN WAY “this [one] **calls** it the important Way”

1.2.1.12.2.1.2. **vtt[0]oV[0].postN{PIVOT}** *wáng qǐng duó(sic!) zhī* 王請度之 “Your Majesty [I] **beg** [you] to measure it” *ditransitive verb with lexically retrievable (first person) subject*

1.2.1.13. Bisyllabic-morpheme verbs (the constituent parts having no independent meaning as used on their own) **vvi kǒng què dōng nán fēi wǔ lǐ yī pái-huái** 孔雀東南飛五里一徘徊 PEACOCK EAST SOUTH FLY, FIVE LEAGUE ONE>ONCE HESITATE-HESITATE’ “South-east fly the peacocks, every five leagues they **waver**.”

1.2.2. {VP...} Plurisyllabic verbal constituent

1.2.2.1. Adnominal VPs **VpadN bù-gū rén** 不辜人 NOT GUILTY PERSON “**innocent** person”

1.2.2.1.1. **VP[adN]** *xián-liáng suì jìn ér jiān-xié bìng tuì* 賢良遂進而姦邪并退 TALENTED EXCELLENT THEN PROCEED AND WICKED EVIL TOGETHER WITHDRAW “**the talented and excellent** will then go forwards and **the wicked and evil** will withdraw” *Omitted head of the VP retrievable from lexicon*

1.2.2.1.1.1. **VP[adN.]postVt shā bù-gū** 殺不辜 KILL NOT-GUILTY “kill innocent [people]” *specialised on object position after a transitive verb* [NB: it seems hard to find this expression used in subject position. 待考].

1.2.2.1.1.2. VP[adN.][post=npro_1] *pín-jìàn* 貧賤 POOR HUMBLE
 “[I], [a person who is] **poor and of low status**” (孔雀東南飛)

1.2.2.2. Adsentential VPs VPadS *yǒu-qǐng Kǒng zǐ tàn xī* 有頃孔子歎息 EXIST MOMENT CONFUCIUS SIGH-BREATHE “**After a while** Confucius sighed...”

1.2.2.2.1. VPadS1.adS2 *suī-ránrúci* 雖然如此, ... **ALTHOUGH-BE/SO** RESEMBLE THIS... “Although (things) stand like this...” *sentence connectives*

1.2.2.2.1.1. VP0adS1.postS2 *yú-shì Lǚ duō dào* 於是魯多盜。 **BE/IN-THIS > THEREUPON** LU MANY THIEF “**Thereupon** thieves proliferated in Lǚ” *the logically subjectless VP functioning as a sentence connective, linking S1 to a preceding S2* [NB: According to Göran Malmqvist, he correct reading of the “preposition” 於 may actually be in the first tone. 待考]

1.2.2.2.1.2. VP[0]adS1.postS2 *rán-zé lìng bù xíng* 然則令不行... **BE/SO THEN** ORDER NOT ENACT ... “[This] being so orders were not enacted...” *It is lexically predictable that the subject of the VP is the preceding sentence S2.* [NB: one might want to deny that *rán-zé* 然則 actually are one constituent, and etymologically they certainly are not.]

1.2.2.2.1.2.1. VP0adV{PRED}.postN{SUBJ}:postS *mín yú-shì dà fú* 民於是大服 PEOPLE **BE/IN THIS** LARGE SUBMIT “the people **thereupon** greatly submitted” *the VP being inserted between subject and predicate of the sentence*

1.2.2.3. Adverbial VPs VPadV *xīn-rán xiào* 欣然笑 **GLAD BE/SO/SUFF** LAUGH “laugh **joyfully**”

1.2.2.4. Intransitive VPs VPi *wáng zài-bài* 王再拜 KING **TWICE BOW** “The king **bowed twice.**” [NB: “Bowling twice” is undoubtedly a fixed idiomatic phrase that deserves to be listed in a dictionary, and the question whether this should or should not count as word is considered insubstantial under the TLS system: the distinction between lexicalised idioms and complex words is systematically opaque for that language. Saying this does not mean that there cannot have been phonetic features current in classical times that would indeed establish a distinction between idiom and word. We can only note that the concept of the “word” was introduced to China from the West, via Japan.]

1.2.2.4.1. VPi_2 *mí wù yǒu-shū* 迷悟有殊 CONFUSED COME/TO/UNDERSTAND **HAVE > EXIST DIFFER** “confusion and understanding **are different**” *VPi has two separate subjects*

1.2.2.4.2. **VPi0** *tài píng zé tiān xià hé ān* 太平則天下和安
GREAT PEACE THEN SKY UNDER HARMONY PEACE “When
there is great peace then in All under Heaven there will be harmonious
peace.” *The intransitive verb phrase here is logically subjectless* [NB:
It stands to argue that *hé ān* 和安 “there is harmony and peace” is also
subjectless, and that *tiān xià* 天下 “All under Heaven” is a topic here,
and not a subject.]

1.2.2.4.2.1. **VPi0adS1.postS2** *jū yǒu qǐng*, ... 居有頃, ... **PERSIST
HAVE TIME** “After a while, ...” *modifying one sentence and being in
construction with a preceding other sentence*

1.2.2.4.3. **VPi[0]** *zhǎn-zhuǎn* 輾轉 **TURN TURN’** “[Time] passes”
***VPi** has a lexically retrievable implicit subject*

1.2.2.4.3.1. **VPi[0]postadS** *yì yǒu rén yì ér-yǐ-yǐ* 亦有仁義而已矣
“I surely have morality, **and that is all.**” *modifies a preceding sentence*

1.2.2.4.4. **VPi(0)** *hé-rú* 何如 **WHICH/OBJECT RESEMBLE** “(This
contextually determinate thing) **is why?**” *has a contextually retrievable im-
plicit subject*

1.2.2.5. Transitive VPs {**VPt...**}

1.2.2.5.1. **VPtoN** *shā-sǐ rén* 殺死人 **KILL DEAD PERSON** “kill
others” *with explicit nominal object* [NB: This is a late colloquial exam-
ple! But we have passive cases in classical Chinese: 二世殺死 TWO EM-
PEROR **KILL-DIE** “The second emperor **was killed.**”]

1.2.2.5.1.1. **VPt[0]oN** *qǐng-wèn kè* 請問客 **BEG ASK STRANGER**
“**May [I] ask about** the stranger?” ***VPt** has an implicit lexically retrievable
subject*

1.2.2.5.1.1.1. **VPt[0]oNab** *gǎn wèn qí fāng* 「敢問其方。」 **BEG ASK
PRO/GENETIVE > THE METHOD** “[I] **venture to ask about** the method.”
*the object **N** is abstract* [NB: The only reason why we introduce this is that
we happen to have a **cognitive interest** in abstract questions and problemati-
sation in general. Obviously, questions can also be asked in classical Chinese
concerning concrete objects.]

1.2.2.5.1.1.2. **VPt[0](oN)** *jìng-nuò* 敬諾 **RESPECT-AGREE** “[I] **re-
spectfully agree** (with the contextually determinate point made).” *the im-
plicit object is contextually retrievable* [NB: Contrast the much more com-
mon **VPt[0](oV)** use of this expression in the sense of “[I] hereby agree
respectfully (to do what is suggested in the context)”. What is so striking
about this example is that the omission of the object is actually obligatory,
although semantically the retrieval of these objects is essential to an under-
standing of what is being said.]

1.2.2.5.1.2. **VPt0oN{SUBJ} *duō-yǒu zhēn bǎo* 多有珍寶 MANY HAVE/EXIST TREASURE TREASURE** ‘there are many treasures’ *VPt is logically subjectless*

1.2.2.5.1.3. **VPt0oN1pro.postN1{TOPIC} *dào-zéi duō-yǒu zhī* 盜賊多有之 THIEF VILLAIN MANY HAVE/EXIST OBJECT/PRO** ‘there are many thieves and villains’ *with the pronominalised N1 referring back to a topicalised N which has been moved to the beginning of the phrase*

1.2.2.5.1.4. **VPt0oN1.post-:Vt0oN2:.adS *zì gǔ yǐ-zhì jīn* 自古以至今 COME/FROM ANCIENT SO/AS REACH PRESENT** ‘From ancient times to the present, ... *richly embedded transitive VP in construction with another logically subjectless verb with its object, this whole construction preceding and modifying a main sentence* [NB: In cases like this, like many others, the formula is much clearer than its verbalisation. Remember that *yǐ zhì* 以至 must count as a VP because it consists of more than one character.]

1.2.2.5.1.5. **VPt0oN1.postN2 *wàng qí shēn yǐ-jí qí qīn* 不忘先君以及嗣君, NOT FORGET FORMER RULER SO/AS-REACH HEIR RULER** ‘did not forget the former ruler and the heir to the throne’ *interposed between two nouns*

1.2.2.5.1.6. **VPt0oN.adS *jí-zhì zàng* 及至葬... REACH ARRIVE BURY** ‘When it came to the time of the funeral...’ *the verb-object structure as a whole being adsentential* [NB: The relation between *zhì* 至 ‘reach’ and *zàng* 葬 ‘burial’ is interpreted as a verb-object relation in spite of the grammaticalised function involved.]

1.2.2.5.1.7. **VPt0oN{TOP}.+S *zhì-yú lǎo xiǎo* 至於老小... ARRIVE IN/RELATION/TO OLD SMALL > YOUNG** ‘When it comes to the aged and the under-age, ...’ *marking a topic rather than a subordinate clause*

1.2.2.5.2. Complex transitive verbs with sentential objects **VPtoS *wèn-yuē shéi yě* 問曰誰也? ASK SAY WHO MODAL/PART** ‘ask the question: ‘Who was it?’’ *the object sentential*

1.2.2.5.2.1. **VPt[0]oS *qǐng-wèn Jiè Zǐtūi ān zài* 請問介子推安在? ASK SAY JIEZITUI WHICH/PLACE/OBJECT/PRO BEI-IN** ‘May [I] ask: where is Jiè Zǐtūi?’’ *the VP with implicit lexically retrievable subject*

1.2.2.5.2.2. **VPt0oS *ān-yǒu jiàn fù bèi zhí ér wú biàn róng* 安有見父被執而無變容** ‘How can it be that one’s father is arrested and one does not change one’s facial expression?’ *with sentential object*

1.2.2.5.2.2.1. **VPt0oS1.adS2 *jiǎ-lìng rì zài dōng* 假令日在東** ‘Suppose the sun is in the east, then...’ *subordinated under another sentence*

1.2.2.5.3. Complex transitive verbs with verbal object-complements **VPt+V_1.adV_2** *fēi-tú wēi jǐ yě, yòu qiě wēi fù yě* 非徒危己也，又且危父也 **NOT/BE ONLY DANGER>ENDANGER SELF AGAIN-MORE-OVER ENDANGER FATHER** “You **not only** endanger yourself, you also endanger your father.” *Note that *fēi* 非, construed as the main constituent in *fēi tú* 非徒, must count as a verb, and that *yòu-qiě* 又且 **MOREOVER** would be **PPadV_1.postadV_2***

1.2.2.5.3.1. **VPt+V[0]** *kě-yǐ shí* 可以食 **CAN-SO/AS EAT** “can eat”; also, involving idiomatic neg-raising: *bù-yù zhàn* 不欲戰 **NOT WISH BATTLE** “be disinclined to (= 欲不) give battle” *with a verbal object in the form of a verbal expression with a lexically retrievable implicit subject*

1.2.2.5.3.1.1. **VPt0+V[0]** *zhǔ rén bù-yòng cōng cōng qù* 主人不用匆匆去 **RULER PERSON NOT USE > USEFUL HURRY HURRY LEAVE** “There is no need for you, the host, to leave in such a hurry!” [NB: The “user” here does not seem to be the host, except if we were to read 用 as “have no use for V-ing”, which does not quite sound right. But the construction remains open for discussion. The present formula is not any argument: it just explicates one particular reading of the construction, thus opening this reading up to critical examination.]

1.2.2.5.3.1.1.1. **VPt[0]+V[0]** *bù-rú wú shì* 不如無事 **NOT RESEMBLE > EQUAL LACK TASK** “[One] **should preferably** [omitted subject identical with the subject of the main verb] be inactive.” ***VPt** has a lexically retrievable implicit subject*

1.2.2.5.3.1.1.1.1. **VPt[0](+V[0])** *jìng nuò* 敬諾 **RESPECT AGREE** “[I] **respectfully promise** (to V, as suggested in the context)” *with a contextually retrievable verbal complement with its lexically retrievable implicit subject* [NB: Here as often, the formula is more readable than its explanation]

1.2.2.5.3.1.1.1.2. **VPt[0]+V[0']** *wéi yuàn shuō zhī* 惟願說之 **ONLY-HOPE EXPLAIN OBJECT/PRO** “[We] **very much hope that** [you] will expound it.” *the two lexically retrievable subjects not identical* [Note that in this case we seem to have two lexicalised typical possibilities, distinct but close.]

1.2.2.5.4. Complex transitive verbal expressions with prepositional object **VPt+prep+N** *lái jiāo-jiē yú wǒ* 來交接於我 **COME CONNECT-CONTACT IN/RELATION/TO EGO** “came to **make contact with me**”

1.2.2.5.4.1. **VPt[+prep+N]** *Xiān Zhěn bù fǎn-mìng* 先軫不反命 **RETURN ORDER** “Xian Zhen **reported back [to his leadership]**” *with omitted prepositional object*

1.2.2.5.4.2. **VPt0+prep+N1.post-:vtoN2:.+V** *zì tiān zǐ yǐ-zhì yú shù rén* ... 自天子以至於庶人 ... COME/FROM HEAVEN SON **SO/AS-REACH** IN/RELATION/TO COMMON PERSON ... “From the son of Heaven **down to** the multitudes of the people...” *construed as topic of a sentence that follows.* [NB: One might want to deny that SO/AS-REACH is a constituent, that instead one must parse SO/AS REACH-IN/RELATION/TO.]

1.2.2.5.4.3. **VPt0+prep+N1.post-:vtoN2:.adS** *zì tiān dì zhī pōu pàn yǐ-zhì yú jīn* 自天地之剖判以至於今... COME/FROM HEAVEN EARTH GENITIVE/PART CUT SPLIT **SO/AS-REACH** IN/RELATION/TO PRESENT “From the time of the separation of Heaven and Earth **down to** the present...” *construed as modification* [NB: One might want to deny that SO/AS-REACH is a constituent, that instead one must parse SO/AS REACH-IN/RELATION/TO.]

1.2.2.6. Ditransitive VPs **VPttoN1.+N2** *xǐ-zhì zhī lín zhōng* 徙置之林中 **MOVE-PUT** OBJECT/PRO FOREST MIDDLE “**moved** it to the middle of the forest” [NB: ditransitive verbs often have the second object introduced by coverbs currently called prepositions. Indirect objects are often preposed.]

1.2.2.6.1. **VPtt(oN1.)+N2** *lì-wéi shàng qīng* 立為上卿 ESTABLISH-BECOME “**establish** (him) as top minister” *N1 contextually retrievable implicit object*

1.2.2.6.2. **VPtt(oN1.)(+N2)** *jí àn zé shòu-yǔ* 吉安則授與 JI’AN THEN **PASS/ON-GIVE** “Jiān then **gave** [it] **to** [him]” *ruò bù qǐ bái* 若不啟白 ... IF NOT **INFORM-TELL** ... “If (you) do not **inform** (him) (of this)...*N1 and N2 contextually retrievable implicit objects*

1.2.2.6.3. **VPtt[oN1.] +N2** *tóu-fù gōu hè* 投赴溝壑 **THROW-APPROACH** CANAL STREAM “**throw** [oneself] into the waterways” *implicit object retrievable from context*

1.2.2.6.4. Ditransitive complex verbal expressions with one prepositional object **VPttoN1.+prep+N2** *xuān-yán zhī yú cháo tíng* 宣言之於朝廷 **PUBLISH-SPEAK** OBJECT/PRO IN-RELATION-TO COURT-HALL “**spread word about** it to the court”

1.2.2.6.4.1. **VPtt+prep+N1.postVtoN2** *yòng shì xiǎo dēng gōng-yǎng yú fó* 用是小燈供養於佛 USE THIS SMALL LAMP **OFFER-NOURISH** IN-RELATION-TO BUDDHA “offer this small lamp in worship to the Buddha” *N2 object introduced as object of subordinate transitive verb*

1.2.2.6.4.2. **VPtt(oN1.)+prep+N2** *fèng-shàng yú wáng* 奉上于王 **HAND/UP-UPSIDE** IN-RELATION-TO KING “**handed** (it) **up** to the king” *contextually retrievable implicit object N1*

1.2.2.6.5. **VPttoN.+S** *xuān-yù(sic!) guó rén* 宣語國人: ‘...’ **PUBLISH-TALK STATE PERSON** “**announce to the citizens of the state: ‘...’**”
preceding a sentence with which it is in construction

1.3. {**P...**} Strongly grammaticalised constituents, grammatical particles

1.3.1. Monosyllabic particles {p...}

1.3.1.1. Adnominal particles **padN** *ā mǔ* 阿母 **NOUN/PREFIX** MOTHER “mother”

1.3.1.1.1. **padNpro** *ā shéi* 阿誰 **NOUN/PREFIX** WHO “who?”

1.3.1.1.1.1. **padNpro.adN** *ā shéi fèn shàng shì* 阿誰分上事 **NOUN/PREFIX** WHO FATE ABOVE > ON MATTER “is a part of **whose** allotted fate”

1.3.1.2. Adsentential particles **padS** *gài yǒu zhī yǐ* 蓋有之矣 **IN/FACT** HAVE/EXIST OBJECT/PRO MODAL/PART “**In fact** this is so.”

1.3.1.2.1. **padS.postN{TOP}** *shèng zé wú bù néng* 聖則吾不能 **SAGE** > **SAGEHOOD THEN** EGO NOT ABLE “As for sagehood, **then** I am incapable of it.” *in construction with a preceding nominal topic.* [NB: Some might want to declare *zé* 則 “then” deverbial from “model oneself after” and thus not a **p** but a **v**. But in the present context this seems thoroughly implausible.]

1.3.1.2.2. **padS1.postS2** *qiě ěr yán guò yǐ* 且爾言過矣! **MOREOVER** YOU WORD EXCEED > MISTAKE “... **Moreover**, your words are mistaken.” *in construction with S2, to which **MOREOVER** implicitly makes reference*

1.3.1.2.2.1. **padS1.post-S2** *wǒ yù rén sī rén zhì yǐ* 我欲仁斯仁至矣。 **EGO** > ONE WANT HUMANE, **THIS/THEN** HUMANE > HUMANENESS ARRIVE “When one desires benevolence then benevolence will arrive.” *not just in construction with but modified by preceding S2*

1.3.1.3. Adverbial particles **padV** *dào yì yǒu dào hū* 盜亦有道乎 **THIEF ALSO** HAVE WAY QUESTION “Do thieves **also** have a Way?”

1.3.1.3.1. **padV.postN{SUBJ}** *wǒ zé bù xiá* 我則不暇 **EGO THEN** NOT LEISURE “I, **for my part**, have not the leisure to do this.” [NB: This **EGO** is contrastive, and one might take this as evidence to show that the sentences is in construction with a preceding one to which it implicitly refers... One might want to declare *zé* 則 “then” deverbial from “model oneself after”, but in the present context this seems implausible. 待考]

1.3.1.3.1.1. **padV.post-N** *zhōng dào ér fèi* 中道而廢 **MIDDLE WAY** AND GIVE/UP “give up **while** midway” *being modified by a noun*

1.3.1.3.1.2. **padV.postN{SUBJ}:adS** *héshàng fāng wén fó guāng gù nǎi zì lái* 和尚方聞佛光故乃自來 MONK2 ONLY/JUST HEAR BUDDHA LIGHT THEN-THEN' SELF > ON/OWN/INITIATIVE COME “As soon as the monk heart about the Buddha light, he then came along on his own initiative.” *modifying a sentence*

1.3.1.3.2. **padV_1.adV_2** *Qín měi pò zhū hóu xiě fàng qí gōng shì* 秦每破諸侯寫放其宮室 QIN **WHENEVER** DESTROY THE/SEVERAL FEUDAL LORD COPY-IMITATE GENITIVE/PRO > THEIR PALACE-BUILDING “Whenever Qin destroyed a feudal lord it made copies of their palaces and buildings.” *the modified verbal expression modifying another verbal expression*

1.3.1.3.3. **padV{PRED}.postN{SUBJ}:adS** *zǐ rú bù yán zé xiǎo zǐ hé shù yān* 子如不言，則小子何述焉？ YOU/SIR (**RESEMBLE**>)IF NOT SPEAK, THEN SMALL FELLOW HOW TRANSMIT FROM/IT “If you do not speak up, then what do we, little ones transmit?” *p between subject and predicate, and the subject/predicate construction modifying a sentence*

1.3.1.3.4. **padV.postN:post-S** *wú hài yǐ chū rén nǎi kě zhì* 五害已除人乃可治 FIVE HARM ALREADY REMOVE PERSON **THEN** ABLE GOVERN>BE/GOVERNED “the thieves **then** abandoned (them)” *modified by a preceding sentence*

1.3.1.3.4.1. **padV.(postN{SUBJ}:)post-S** *Xiàng yōu yì yōu* 象憂亦憂 XIANG WORRY **ALSO** WORRY “When Xiàng was worried, he **also** worried.” *contextually retrievable implicit subject* [NB: The semantics of 亦 ALSO is related to that preceding sentence.]

1.3.1.3.5. **padV.postadN** *rén ér bù néng yán ...* 人而不能言... MAN **AND** > **WHO** NOT ABLE SPEAK... “A man **who** cannot speak...(is such-and-such)” *modifying a preceding noun in the manner reminiscent of a relative clause* [NB: One might want to claim that the N in this formula is in fact predicative, an N{PRED} “to be a man and not to be able to speak...”. But note that the noun *rén* 人 “man” is referred back to as the subject of what follows.]

1.3.1.3.6. **padVt.postN{OBJ}** *shēn qiě bù ài* 身且不愛 PERSON **MOREOVER** > **EVEN** NOT LOVE>CARE/FOR “even his person he did not care for” *transitive verbal*

1.3.1.3.7. **padV_1.postV_2** *xué ér shí xí zhī* 學而時習之 STUDY **AND** TIME/SEASON PRACTISE OBJECT/PRO “to study **and** rehearse in due time”

1.3.1.4. Postnominal particles **ppostN** *shī hū* 師乎！ MASTER **QUESTION** > **EMPHATIC/PART** “My master!”

1.3.1.4.1. **ppostadN{PRED}** *mǎ yě* 馬也 HORSE MODAL/PART “(It) is a horse.” 孔子也 “(He) is Confucius.” *It may be argued that the predicative use of nouns is actually primary, and uses like that as subject or object secondary... 待考)

1.3.1.4.2. **ppostadN{TOPIC}.adS** *shì yuè yě yǔ* 是月也雨 THIS MONTH MODAL/PART RAIN “During this month it rained.”

1.3.1.4.3. **ppostN{SUBJ}.+V{PRED}** *qí yán yě shàn* 其言也善 GENITIVE/PRO WORD MODAL/PART GOOD “his words, for that matter, are good”

1.3.1.4.3.1. **ppostNpr{SUBJ}.+V{PRED}** *Huí yě bù yú yě* 回也不愚也 HUI MODAL/PART NOT STUPID MODAL/PART “Huí (German *der Huí*) is not stupid.”

1.3.1.4.3.2. **ppostNpr{SUBJ}.postV{PRED}** *xián zāi Huí yě* 賢哉回也 TALENT EXCLAMATORY/PART HUI MODAL/PART “How talented Huí is!”

1.3.1.4.3.3. **ppostNpr{OBJ}.postVt** *yù(sic!) zhū Liáng yě yuē*: 語諸梁也曰 ... TELL IT-TO LIANG MODAL/PART SAY: ... “told me, Liang: ...”

1.3.1.5. Postsentential particles **ppostS**

1.3.1.5.1. **ppostadS** *mǎ bù jìn yě* 馬不進也 HORSE NOT PROCEED MODAL/PART “It was that the horse would not proceed.”

1.3.1.5.1.1. **ppostadS1.adS2** *wén yú zhū hóu yě zé...* 聞於諸侯也則... HEAR FROM VARIOUS FEUDAL/LORD MODAL/PART THEN... “When this comes to the attention of the feudal lords, then...”

1.3.1.6. Postverbal particles **ppostV**

1.3.1.6.1. **ppostadV** *Guǎn Zhòng zhī qì xiǎo zāi* 管仲之器小哉 GUANZHONG GENITIVE/PART INSTRUMENT > QUALIFICATIONS SMALL EMPHATIC/PART “Guǎnzhòng's format/professional competence is so small!”

1.3.1.6.1.1. **ppostadV(0)** *shàn zāi* 善哉 GOOD EMPHATIC/PART “Good!”

1.3.1.6.1.2. **ppostadV.+N{SUBJ}** *shàn zāi wèn hū* 善哉問乎 GOOD EMPHATIC/PART ASK EXCLAMATORY/PART “It is good, this question!”

1.3.1.6.1.2.1. **ppostadV_1.adV_2** *yǔ qí shē yě nìng jiǎn* 與其奢也寧儉 WITH > INSTEAD/OFF GENITIVE/PART EXTRAVAGANT MODAL/PART RATHER FRUGAL “rather than being extravagant it is better to be frugal”

1.3.1.6.1.3. **ppostadV.adN** *chī cǎo dī hàn* 喫草底漢 EAT GRASS GENITIVE/PART FELLOW “a grass-eating fellow” [First attested in Middle Chinese. Contrast similar but categorially different **nppostadV.adN** *zhī* 之]

1.3.1.6.1.3.1. **ppostadV(adN)** *xiāng sì di* 相似底 MUTUAL RESEMBLE GENITIVE/PART “(the thing) **which** is similar” *construction with implicit nominal head NB: There is no corresponding form with the pronoun *zhī* 之.* [NB: First attested in Middle Chinese.]

1.3.1.7. Complex Particles {**PP...**}

1.3.1.7.1. **PP{PRED}** *wū-hū* 嗚呼 “Alas!”

1.3.1.8. Adnominal PPs **PPadN**

1.3.1.8.1. **PPadN.adV** *suī-wēi* *Chǔ guó zhū hóu mò bù yù* 雖微楚國諸侯莫不譽 **EVEN/IF LACK CHU STATE THE/VARIOUS FEUDAL/LORDS NONE NOT PRAISE** “**Even without Chǔ** the feudal lords everyone would praise (him).”

1.3.1.8.2. **PPadN.postS** ...*kuàng-fù yú shì* ... 況復餘事 **HOW/MUCH/MORE AGAIN SURPLUS MATTER** “..., **how much less** the other tasks?”

1.3.1.9. Adsentential PPs **PPadS** *yóu shàng yǒu Guǎn shū Cài shū zhī shì* 猶尚有管叔、蔡叔之事 **STILL-NONETHELESS EXIST GUANSHU CAISHU GENITIVE/PRO MATTER** “**Nonetheless** there is the matter of Guǎn shū and of Cài shū” [NB: The case of *Yóu shàng* 猶尚 “Nonetheless” which can be taken to open a new sentence contrasting to a preceding sentence differs significantly from *rán hòu* 然後 “only then” and *ruò gǒu* 若苟 “if really” which in each case must be taken to form part of one single complex sentence.]

1.3.1.9.1. **PPadS1.adS2** *ruò-gǒu xián zhě bù zhì* ... 若苟賢者不至... **IF-IF/REALLY TALENT SUBJECT/WHICH/PRO NOT ARRIVE ...** “**If** the men of talent do not arrive ...”

1.3.1.9.2. **PPadS1.post-S2** *Jì Wénzǐ sān sī ér hòu xíng* 季文子三思而後行 **JI WENZI THREE REFLECT AND AFTERWARDS ACT** “*Jì Wénzǐ* reflected three times on things **and only then** (he) acted.”, *nán nǚ wú bié, fǎn yú qín shòu, rán-zé lǐ yì lián chǐ bù lì* 男女無別，反於禽獸，然則禮義廉恥不立 **MALE FEMALE LACK DIFFER RETURN IN-RELATION-TO BIRDS BEASTS BE/SO-THEN RITUAL RECTITUDE PROBIETY SHAME NOT ESTABLISH** “Men and women were not kept apart, they returned to the state of brutes, **and thus** propriety, rectitude, purity and the sense of shame were not established.”

1.3.1.10. Adverbial PPs **PPadV** *yòu-fù* 又復問 “(He) asked **again**.”

1.3.1.10.1. **PPadV_1.postV_2** *gāo ér qiě dà zhě* 高而且大者 **HIGH AND MOREOVER BIG > GREAT THE/SUBJECT/WHICH** “those who are high **and** great”.

1.3.1.10.2. **PPadV.post-S** *jūn suī qiáng běn qù gēng ... mín yóu-ruò bù zú yě* 君雖疆本趣耕...民猶若不足也。 RULER EVEN/IF STRONG>STRENGTHEN BASIS PRIORITISE AGRICULTURE ... PEOPLE **STILL LIKE** NOT SUFFICIENT MODAL/PART “Even if the ruler emphasises what is basic and gives priority to agriculture ... the people will **still** not be in sufficient supply.”

1.3.1.11. Postnominal PPs **PPpostN**

1.3.1.11.1. **PPpost-N.+S** *wù yě-zhě suǒ yǐ yǎng xìng yě* 物也者所以養性也 THING **MODAL/PART SUBJECT/WHICH/PRO** OBJECT/OF/FOLLOWING/VT/WHICH/PRO USE NOURISH NATURE “As for things in general they are that with which one nurtures one’s nature.”

1.3.1.11.1.1. **PPpost-Npr.+S** *Tāng Wǔ yě-zhě* 湯武也者 ... TANG WU **MODAL/PART SUBJECT/WHICH/PRO** ... “As for Tāng and Wǔ, ...” [NB: this is one of the cases where the PP is probably not even a constituent. 待考]

1.3.1.11.1.2. **PPpost-Nab{NOMINALISED TOPIC}.+S** *bù shòu yě-zhě shì yì ...* 不受也者是亦... NOT ACCEPT **MODAL/PART SUBJECT/WHICH/PRO** “As for the fact that he did not accept it, this was surely...”

1.3.1.12. Postsentential PPs **PPpostS**

1.3.1.12.1. **PPpostadS** *jì zhě jiào zhī běn yě-yǐ* 祭者教之本也已 SACRIFICE SUBJECT/WHICH/PRO TREACH GENITIVE/PRO BASIS **MODAL/PART STOP>MODAL PARTICLE** “Sacrifice is **definitely** the basis of instruction.” [NB: The case of the final particle *yǐ* 已 is notoriously difficult because there is no doubt that its function as non-negatable particle is deverbal, the modal meaning “definitely” of the final particle *yǐ* 已 clearly deriving from the verbal meaning “to finish”. In the common formula *ér yǐ* 而已 “and that finishes it” *yǐ* 已 does not count as a particle at all: *yǐ* 已 “finishes it” is verbal and negatable.]

Anaphora, Co-reference, and Scope

In CLAVIS SYNTACTICA, we have considered the categories of constituents (**n**, **v**, **p**, **NP**, **VP** etc.) as well as the features of such constituents (**nm**, **nab**, **npro**, **vi** etc) and relations between such constituents and those other adjacent constituents and with which they are taken to be “in construction” (**vadN**, **vtoN**, **nadV** etc) .

By limiting the analysis to these categories, syntactic features and syntactic relations, the CLAVIS presents basic features of grammatical analysis, but it omits the crucial area of co-reference and anaphora between often non-adjacent and non-explicit (understood) constituents as well as important matters of scope. The present appendix presents basic patterns of co-reference and of what I call “scope” in classical Chinese syntactic structure. Such patterns must be understood if one is to construe the semantics of classical Chinese sentences correctly. The underlying principles of anaphora and of scope are a central part of classical Chinese grammar.

The Main Types of Anaphoric or Cataphoric Co-reference in Classical Chinese

Referential nominal anaphora will be written with subscripts “_{-m, -n}”. \emptyset_{-n}
 zì wéi zhī hū \emptyset_{-n} 自_{-n} 為_{-n} 之_{-n} 乎? SELF PRODUCE IT/ZHI QUEST/HU “does (the man) \emptyset_{-n} himself_{-n} produce them?”

Verbal anaphora is written with subscripts “_{-v, -w}” gǔ zhī rén jiē yòng zhī 古
 之_{-v} 人皆[用之]_{-v}, 吾何為獨不然_{-v}? OLD ‘S MAN ALL/JIE USE IT/ZHI. I WHAT FOR
 ALONE/DU NOT LIKE-THIS/RAN “The ancients all used it, why should I not do so?”

Sentential anaphora will be written with subscripts “_{-s, -t}” Fāng Wú zhī zhī
 方吾知之_{-s} FANG WU UNDERSTAND IT/ZHI “Fāng Wú understood this.” jīn yě bù
 rán 今也 不然_{-s} NOW JUDGE/YE NOT LIKE-THIS/RAN “Nowadays it is not like **that**.”

Non-referential or generic nominal, verbal or sentential anaphoric co-reference will be written with subscripts “_{-nx, -ny; -vx, -vy; -sx, -sy}” respectively. zhī
 jǐ rán hòu zhī rén \emptyset_{-nx} 知_{-nx} 己_{-nx} 然後知人 KNOW SELF LIKE-THIS/RAN AFTERWARDS
 KNOW MAN “Having understood oneself only then one understands others.”

Cataphoric co-reference will be written with subscript “_{>i, >x, >s}” wú wén
 zhī yuē. 吾聞之_{>s} 曰:[...] I HEAR IT SAY: ... “I have heard it said: “...” Buddhist
 Chinese: rú shì wú wén 如是_{>s} 吾聞 LIKE THIS I HEAR “I have learns as follows...”

Incorporated anaphora will be written out with bracketing of the index
 “_{-(n), -(m)}”. cì zhū rén 賜_{-(n)} 諸_{-(m)} 人 GIVE IT-TO OTHER “gave **it to** someone else”

Verb-reflexivising double subject-object-anaphora is written with subscripts “_{-nm, -mm}” fū zǐ zì dào yě [夫子] 自_{-n} 道_{-mm} 也 MASTER SELF SPEAK JUDGE/YE
 “You Master, **yourself**_{-n} speak-of yourself_{-n}” SJ 30.98

Plural distributive anaphora refers back to **each** member of the antecedent set separately, and this is may sometimes be made explicit with subscript “_{-n/}”.

gǔ zhī xué zhě wèi jǐ [古之學者]_[-n] 為己_[-n]

ANCIENT 'S STUDY SUBJECT-WHICH WORK-FOR SELF

“The scholars of old worked (**each**) for themselves.”

Plural collective anaphora refers back to **all** the members of the antecedent set “X_[-n]”

此_[-n] 必有變，君不如殺之_[-n]。
cǐ bì yǒu biàn, jūn bù-rú shā zhī

THESE MUST HAVE REVOLT YOU HAD-BETTER KILL THEM

“These people are sure to revolt, you should kill them.”

Anaphoric relations in classical Chinese differ importantly from those found in languages like English or German. For a detailed summary of anaphora and co-reference relations in classical Chinese grammar the reader must be referred to my draft paper “Co-reference Relations in Classical Chinese”. A detailed Powerpoint presentation coreference relation in classical Chinese with over 200 structurally different examples is available.

Co-referent X_[-n] versus X_[-n'] or X_[-s] versus **scope** X_[-s']

For a word like *yì* 亦_[-n] “(like-**this**)-wise > also” which has incorporated reference to an X_[-n] one must distinguish between the co-referent to which *yì* 亦_[-n] makes anaphoric co-reference X_[-n] and the scope which *yì* 亦_[-n] governs or refers back to, which is written as X_[-n']. An example will make clear how this is supposed to work:

舜_[-n] 人也，我_[-n'] 亦_[-n] 人也；

Shùn rén yě, wǒ yì rén yě

SHUN MAN JUDGE/YE EGO LIKE-THIS-WISE MAN JUDGE/YE

Shùn_[-n] is a person. (But) I_[-n'] am also_[-n] a person.”

Shùn is the point of comparison *yì* 亦 “also” refers back to, and *wǒ* 我 is what is being compared or contrasted to that point of comparison.

Scope relations can coexist with anaphoric relations:

[古之人]_[-n] 皆[用之]_[-v]，吾_[-n'] 何為獨_[-n] 不然_[-v]？

gǔ zhī rén jiē yòng zhī

OLD 'S MAN ALL/JIE USE IT/ZHI. I WHAT FOR ALONE/DU NOT LIKE-THIS/RAN

“The ancients all used it, why should I not do so?”

Here is a tricky case of anaphoric relations across various predicative expressions:

Occasionally one wants to say that anaphoric correlations obtain between omitted constituents and between constituents of different syntactic types.

Ø_{-nx} 人_{-pred} 而_{-(pred)} Ø_{-nx} [不能言]_{-[pred']} Ø_{-nx} 何以為人
rén ér bù néng yán hé yǐ wéi rén

PERSON AND/YI NOT ABLE SPEAK WHAT USE BE MAN

“Someone who is a person but **in spite of that** is in incapable of speaking, by what means can he count as a person?”

We must take *rén* 人 “is a man” predicatively like 不能言 “is incapable of speaking”.

NOTE:

Implicit lexicalised deictic/indexical reference may be marked with square brackets in the subscript

“X_{-[i]}”, as in *lái* 來_{-[i]} ARRIVE “arrive [**at this place**]”, *qù* 去_{-[i]} LEAVE “leave [**this place**]”.

In the standard syntactic notation of TLS these verbs would be interpreted as transitive verbs with a lexically determinate implicit object, i. e. **vt[oN]**. But the important point is that the lexicalised reference is deictic and not anaphoric.

A detailed grasp of the grammatical conventions of anaphora, co-reference, and scope in classical Chinese are essential for the interpretation of the texts. Since they are not covered by any analysis of syntactic categories with their adjacent relations they need detailed separate treatment.

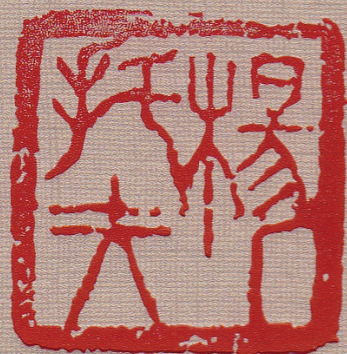
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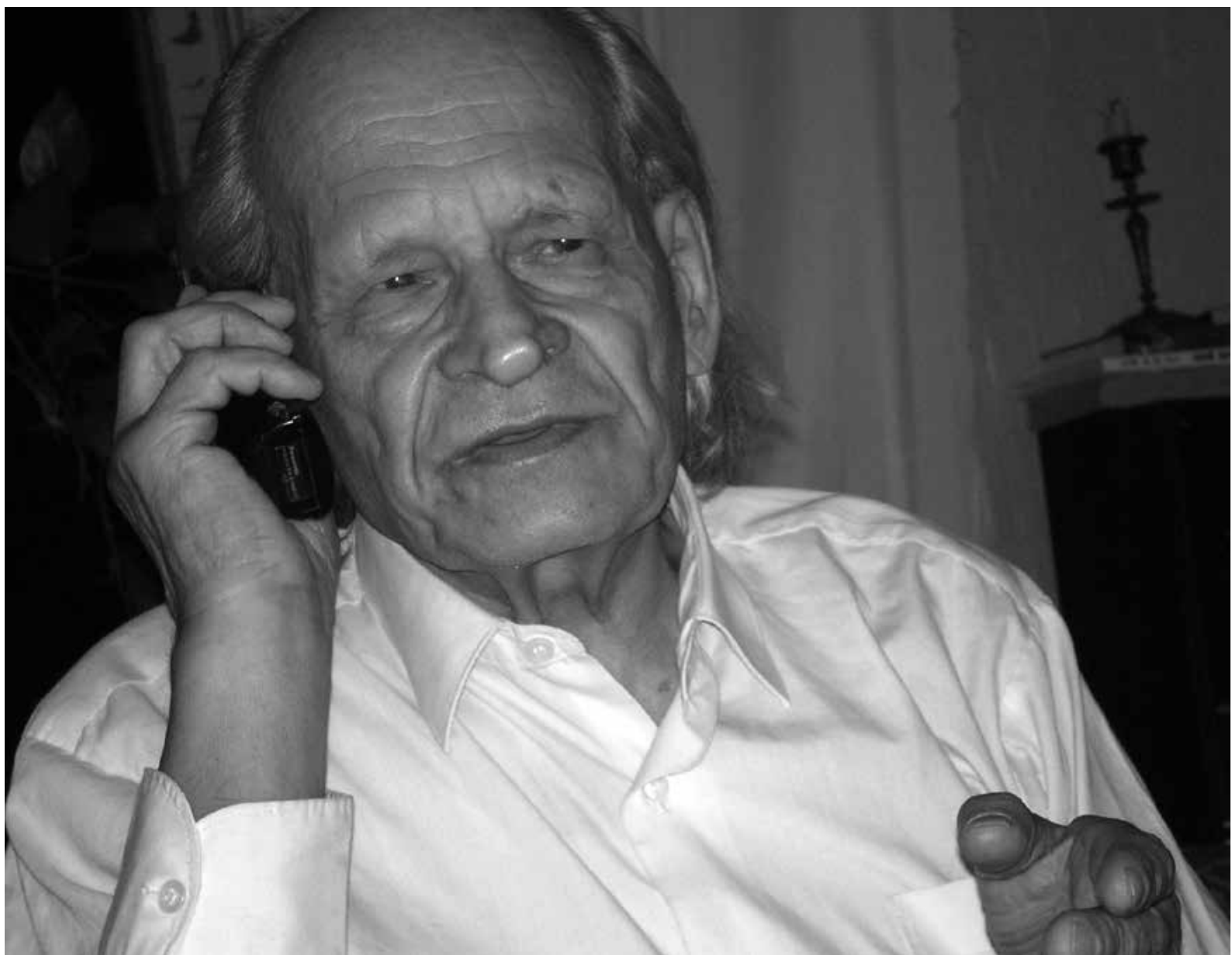
梅廣，上古漢語語法，台北：三民，2015.

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**К 90-ЛЕТИЮ
С. Е. ЯХОНТОВА**





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PROBLEMS IN CHINESE AND GENERAL LINGUISTICS

*Sergey Yakhontov anniversary volume
in honor of his 90th birthday*

Saint Petersburg
2016

Санкт-Петербургский государственный университет

ПРОБЛЕМЫ КИТАЙСКОГО И ОБЩЕГО ЯЗЫКОЗНАНИЯ

К 90-летию С. Е. Яхонтова

Санкт-Петербург
2016

ББК 81(5Кит)
УДК 811.581
П78

Ответственный редактор:
канд. филол. наук Елена Николаевна Колпачкова

Редакционная коллегия:
доктор филол. наук О. И. Завьялова,
доктор филол. наук В. Б. Касевич,
канд. филол. наук Н. С. Яхонтова

П78 Проблемы китайского и общего языкознания. К 90-летию С. Е. Яхонтова / Отв. ред. Е. Н. Колпачкова. — СПб.: Изд-во «Студия «НП-Принт», 2016. — 656 с.

ISBN 978-5-901724-27-9

Сборник подготовлен в связи с 90-летием со дня рождения выдающегося лингвиста, одного из основателей отечественной школы китайского языкознания Сергея Евгеньевича Яхонтова. В издание вошли избранные статьи из научного наследия юбиляра, ранее разбросанные по различным изданиям, по большей части малотиражным, и практически недоступные до сих пор читателю, а также работы коллег, последователей и учеников, продолжающих и развивающих основные направления исследований С. Е. Яхонтова. Тематика статей отражает необычайно широкий круг научных интересов ученого, включающий проблемы фонетики, грамматики, диалектологии, сравнительно-исторического и общего языкознания, лингвистической типологии.

ББК 81(5Кит)
УДК 811.581

ISBN 978-5-901724-27-9

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