

Focus and Archaic Chinese Word Order

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This paper challenges a widely held assumption that the existence of constructions in Archaic Chinese in which an object appeared in preverbal position provides evidence that Pre-Archaic Chinese had OV basic word order. I argue that the preverbal objects in questions – *wh*-phrases and focused NPs – could not have been base-generated in their surface positions but rather must be analyzed as having undergone syntactic movement. I further show that the trigger for this movement was focus.

1. Introduction

This paper analyzes two constructions employing preverbal objects in Archaic Chinese and proposes that the object in both cases achieves its position through syntactic focus movement. In arguing that the OV order seen in these constructions is a derived order, this paper also contributes to the debate on Archaic Chinese basic word order by challenging an assumption in the field that preverbal object positioning in these constructions constitutes evidence for basic OV order.

Although texts show the language to have predominately SVO word order, there are some contexts in which the object appeared in preverbal position. One such case was when the object was a *wh*-phrase. In the examples in (1), non-interrogative objects appear post-verbally, while *wh*-words precede the verb.¹

- (1) a. 天下 之 父 歸 之 ,
 Tianxia zhi fu gui zhi
 world Gen father settle here
 其 子 焉 往 ? (Mencius 7)
 qi zi yan [vp wang t_{yan}]?
 3.Gen son where go
 ‘If the fathers of the world settled here, where would their sons go?’

¹ Unless otherwise indicated, all examples are taken from Warring States Period (5th-3rd centuries BCE) texts.

- b. 吾 誰 欺? 欺 天 乎?
 Wu shei [VP qi t_{shei}]? Qi tian hu?
 I who deceive deceive Heaven Q
 ‘Who do I deceive? Do I deceive Heaven?’ (Analects 9)

Another context in which OV order can be observed is the fronting of pronominal objects in the context of negation. (2a) shows that pronominal objects remain in their base positions when negation is not present. (2b) shows fronting of the object to a position following the negative quantifier *mo*.

- (2) a. 夫 人 幼 而 學 之，
 Fu ren you er xue zhi,
 Dem person young Conj study 3.Obj
 壯 而 欲 行 之。
 zhuang er yu xing zhi.
 mature Conj want do 3.Obj
 ‘When a person is young, he studies this. When he matures, he wants to put it to practice.’ (Mencius 2)
- b. 吾 先 君 亦 莫 之 行 也。
 Wu xian jun yi mo zhi xing ye.
 1 former lord also none 3.Obj do Decl
 ‘None of our former lords did this either.’ (Mencius 5)

The preverbal positioning of the objects in examples like (1) and (2) have prompted Wang (1958), Feng (1996), Xu (2006), and many others to suggest that the unmarked position for pronominal objects in Archaic or pre-Archaic Chinese may have been preverbal, while full NP objects remained in post-verbal position. The validity of this position is challenged, however, by the fact that object fronting was not limited to pronouns. (3) shows that full NPs could also occur in post-verbal (3a) or pre-verbal (3b) position.²

² For reasons which are not yet well understood, NP-fronting was more common with *yi* ‘use’ than with other verbs. In this paper, I tentatively assume *yi* to be a light verb heading a functional projection on the clausal spine. Detailed analysis of the position and function of YI is the subject of future research. See Zou (1993), Sybesma (1999), Whitman (2000), Whitman & Paul (2005), and others for similar treatment of modern Mandarin *ba*, whose functions overlap in significant ways with Archaic Chinese YI.

- (3) a. 所 謂 大 臣 者, 以 道 事 君。 (*Analects* 11)
 Suo wei da chen zhe, yi dao shi jun.
 Rel call great minister Det use Way serve lord
 ‘One who is referred to as a great minister serves his lord according to the Way.’
- b. 弓 以 招 士, 皮 冠 以 招 虞人。
 gong yi zhao shi, pi guan yi zhao yuren.
 bow use call gentleman leather cap use call gamekeeper
 ‘(He) summoned a gentleman in his employ by use of a bow, and the gamekeeper
 by use of a leather cap.’ (*Zuozhuan*, Zhao 20)

Returning to the debate regarding basic word order in Archaic Chinese, Li & Thompson (1974), Wang (1958), La Polla (1994), Feng (1996), Xu (2006), and others view preverbal objects in (1)-(3) as vestiges of basic OV order in pre-Archaic Chinese, while Djamouri (2005), Peyraube (1996), Shen (1992), Djamouri, Paul, and Whitman (2007), Djamouri & Paul (2009), and others argue that VO has been the basic order throughout the attested history of Chinese and that there is no evidence for earlier OV basic order. In this paper, I contribute argumentation for the VO analysis. I show that that OV orders could not have been base-generated. I further identify a motivation for the movement, which is focus.

2. *WH*-movement

In this and the following two sections, I examine two of the cases of object fronting introduced in the previous section and show that neither of them should be analyzed as base-generated OV order. In this section, I show that the preverbal objects in *wh*-questions could appear in a position which could not be analyzed as the verb's complement. I also argue that *wh*-fronting was syntactic movement and not cliticization. In section 3, I show that full NPs could appear before the light verb *yi* only when they were focused and therefore should also be analyzed as having undergone syntactic movement.

I do not discuss pronoun fronting to negation in this paper. This phenomenon is addressed in Aldridge (in preparation), where I also propose a syntactic movement analysis, specifically object shift for the purpose of checking structural accusative case.

2.1. *WH*-movement as opposed to base generation

In this subsection, I show that *wh*-fronting cannot be analyzed as base-generated OV order. First, note that the landing site for *wh*-movement was not immediate preverbal position. (4) shows that *wh*-phrases precede negation. Since the *wh*-phrase is not adjacent to verb which selects it, this position cannot be analyzed as the base position for the object.

- (4) a. 何 城 不 克? (Zuozhuan, Xi 4)
He cheng bu ke?
 what city not conquer
 ‘What city would (you) not conquer?’
- b. 然則 我 何 爲 乎 何 不 爲 乎?
 Ranze wo he wei hu? **He bu wei hu?**
 then I what do Q what not do Q
 ‘Then what should I do? What should I not do?’ (Zhuangzi 2.10)

Similar evidence comes from long distance *wh*-fronting. The *wh*-phrase appears in a position to the left of the matrix verb and is separated from the verb which selects it, i.e. the embedded verb. Hence, these *wh*-phrases also cannot be analyzed as base-generated in their surface positions.

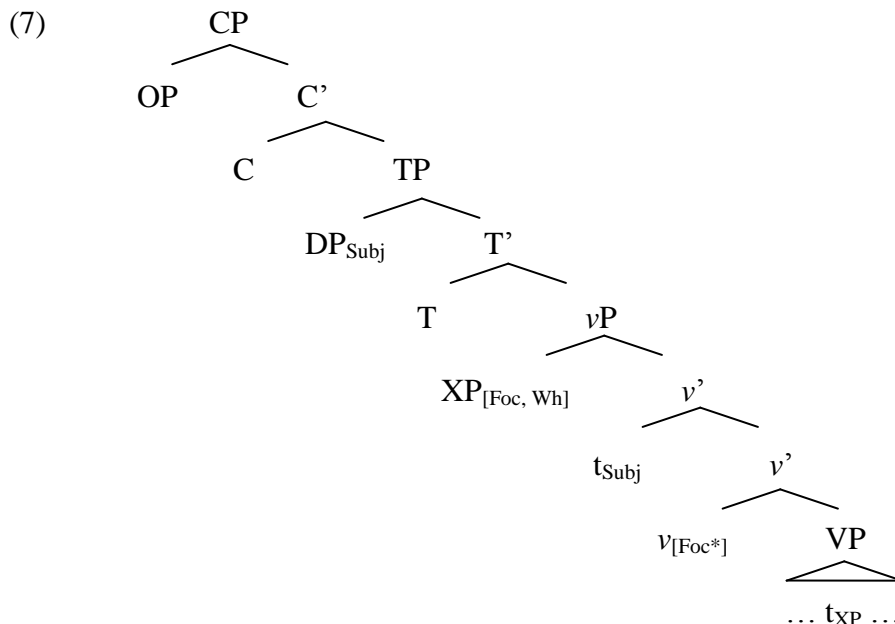
- (5) a. 公 誰 欲 與?
 Gong **shei** yu [yu e]?
 you who want give
 ‘Who do you want to give (it) to?’ (Zhuangzi 3.2)
- b. 吾 誰 敢 怨?
 Wu **shei** gan [yuan e]?
 I who dare resent
 ‘Who do I dare to resent?’ (Zuozhuan, Zhao 27)

The next set of examples shows *wh*-fronting from subject position in an embedded clause. Aldridge (2009) argues that the causative verb *shi* is an ECM verb and not an object control verb. On this analysis, the *wh*-words preceding *shi* in (6) are not internal arguments selected by *shi* but are rather the subjects of the embedded clausal complements.

- (6) a. 若 子 死， 將 誰 使 代 子?
 Ruo zi si, jiang **shei** shi [e dai zi]?
 if you die Mod who make replace you
 ‘If you die, who shall I have replace you?’ (Hanfeizi 22)
- b. 吾 誰 使 正 之?
 Wu **shei** shi [e zheng zhi]?
 I who make correct 3.Obj
 ‘Who shall I have correct it?’ (Zhuangzi 2)

I assume Aldridge’s (2010) analysis of *wh*-movement in Archaic Chinese as fronting to a focus position in the edge of *vP*. This analysis is informed by similar proposals of A’

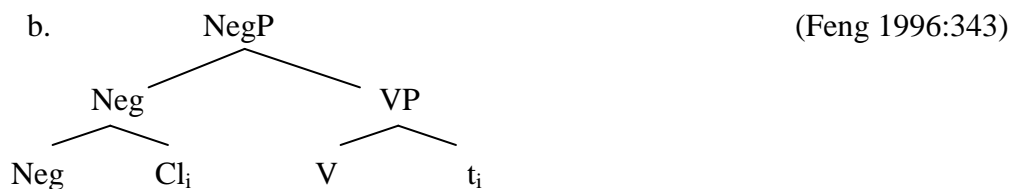
positions for topic and focus in the vP layer in Italian (Belletti 2004) and modern Mandarin (Paul 2005).



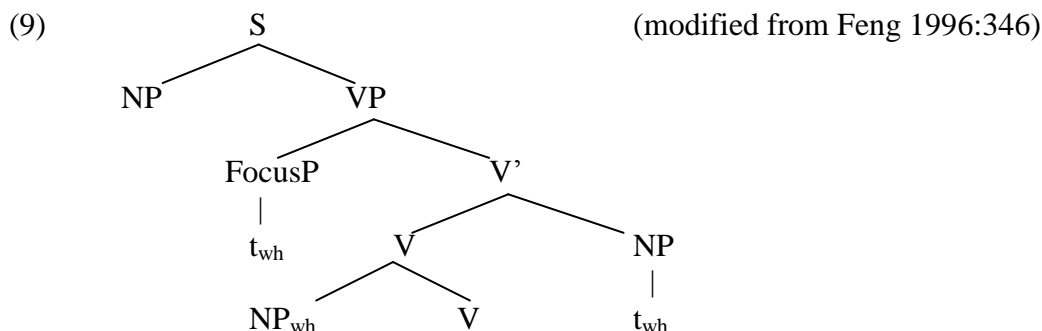
2.2. *WH*-movement not cliticization

Aldridge (2010) additionally argues that *wh*-fronting was not cliticization, contra Feng (1996). Feng (1996) proposes that pronoun fronting to negation and *wh*-movement were both instances of cliticization. In the context of negation, the pronoun raises out of VP and right-adjoins to the negator.

- (8) a. 不 患 人 之 不 己 知。
 Bu huan ren zhi bu ji zhi ____.
 not worry others Gen not self understand
 ‘Do not worry that others do not understand you.’ (Analects 1)



For *wh*-movement, Feng claims that the *wh*-word first moves to the edge of VP, where it receives a focus interpretation. Subsequently, the *wh*-word is left-adjoined to the verb.



Examples (4) and (5) in section 2.1 present problems for this analysis, because the *wh*-phrase appears separated from the VP where it was base merged. The examples in (4) further show that *wh*-fronting targets a VP-external position above negation. The possibility of phrasal *wh*-movement in (4a) also suggests that *wh*-movement is syntactic and not prosodic cliticization.

Furthermore, it is clear that *wh*-movement and pronoun fronting to negation are not the same type of movement. Note (10), where *wh*-word *yan* ‘where’ undergoes *wh*-fronting.

- (10) 天下 之 父 歸 之 ，
 Tianxia zhi fu gui zhi
 world Gen father settle here
 其 子 焉 往？ (Mencius 7)
 qi zi **yan** [VP wang t_{yan}]?
 3.Gen son where go
 ‘If the fathers of the world settled here, where would their sons go?’

On the other hand, the non-interrogative counterpart *yan* ‘there’ does not front in the context of negation. The interrogative ‘where’ and non-interrogative ‘there’, both pronounced *yan* in modern Mandarin, are also reconstructed in Archaic Chinese with the same or very similar pronunciations (Wang 1958)³. Crucially, both are reconstructed as mono-syllabic and having a coda consonant. Therefore, we do not expect them to behave differently with respect to prosodic processes.

³ Thanks to Zev Handel for first pointing out to me that the reconstruction of the two pronouns should be similar, if not the same.

- (11) a. 出 妻 屏 子， 終身 不 養 焉。
 Chu qi bing zi, zhongxhen bu yang yan.
 dispatch wife discard child lifelong not care.for 3.Dat
 ‘(He) sent his wife away and abandoned his children and was not cared for by them for the rest of his life.’ (Mencius 8)
- b. 晉 國 天下 莫 強 焉。
 Jin Guo Tianxia mo qiang yan.
 Jin nation world none strong 3.Dat
 ‘The Jin nation, in the world, no one is stronger than them.’ (Mencius 1)

Likewise, the asymmetry in (12) and (13) is also unexpected on Feng’s analysis. In addition to objects in verbal projections, objects of prepositions also undergo *wh*-fronting.

- (12) a. 王 誰 與 爲 善？ (Mencius 6)
 Wang [shei [yu e]]wei shan?
 king who with be good
 ‘With whom will the king be good?’
- b. 如 佞 去， 君 誰 與 守？ (Mencius 8)
 Ru Ji qu, jun [shei [yu e]] shou?
 if Ji leave you who with serve
 ‘If I (Ji) left, with whom would you serve?’

The situation is different with negation, however. Negation is not able to attract a pronoun from inside a PP.

- (13) a. 齊 人 莫 如 我 敬 王。
 Qi ren mo [ru wo] jing wang.
 Qi person none like me respect king
 ‘Of the people of Qi, none respect the king as I do.’ (Mencius 4)
- b. 不 與 之 爭 能。
 Bu [yu zhi] zheng neng.
 not with 3.Obj dispute ability
 ‘(He) does not dispute ability with them.’ (Xunzi 12)

In sum, based on the landing site of the movement shown in (4) and (5) and the lack of similarity between *wh*-fronting and pronoun fronting to negation, I conclude that *wh*-movement and pronoun fronting should not be analyzed as the same type of movement. The fact that *wh*-fronting could target a phrasal constituent, as shown in (4a), further argues that *wh*-movement could not have been cliticization.

2.3. *WH*-words not 2nd position clitics

A second analysis based on cliticization is offered by Shi and Xu (2001). Their proposal is similar to Feng (1996) in that they also claim that Archaic Chinese *wh*-words were simultaneously clitics and focused constituents. Specifically, Shi and Xu propose that Archaic Chinese *wh*-words were Wackernagel-type second position clitics. They also carried a [+F] focus feature which provided the motivation for their movement.

This proposal suffers from some of the same weaknesses as Feng (1996). The possibility of phrasal movement in (4a) is particularly damaging. There is also very clear evidence that Archaic Chinese *wh*-words were not restricted to second position. For example, if the modal *jiang* appears in the clause, an object *wh*-word must follow the modal and cannot move to its left. This leaves the *wh*-word in third position in the clause.

- (14) 我 將 何 求? (Zuozhuan, Xi 28)
 Wo jiang **he** qiu?
 I will what ask:for
 ‘What will I ask for?’

In contrast, when we examine a language which uncontroversially has second position clitics, we see that the clitics are in fact required to dislocate in cases like (14) so that they surface in second position in the clause. I illustrate this with examples from Seediq⁴, an Austronesian language spoken in Taiwan. Like many Formosan and Philippine languages, the language has second position clitic pronouns. Basic word order is VOS, as shown in (15a), with the full NP subject in clause-final position. If the subject is a clitic pronoun, however, it will attach to the first prosodic word in the tensed clause. In (15b), this is the main verb. In (15c), the main verb is preceded by a tense auxiliary, and the clitic moves up to attach to the auxiliary.

- (15) a. Mari patis **Ape**.
 buy books Ape
 ‘Ape buys books.’
 b. Mari=**ku** patis.
 buy=I book
 ‘I buy books.’
 c. Wada=**ku** mari patis.
 Perf=I buy book
 ‘I bought books.’

Returning to Archaic Chinese, (16) shows subject *wh*-words in clause-initial position. Aldridge (2010) argues that subjects in Archaic Chinese underwent A-movement to

⁴ The Seediq data cited in this paper are taken from the author’s own field notes.

[Spec, TP]. Consequently, subject *wh*-phrases were not in the c-command domain of the focus probe on *v* triggering *wh*-movement to the edge of *v*P. This proposal is supported by additional evidence from Wei (1999) that subject *wh*-phrases occupied a position higher than object *wh*-phrases, which Aldridge proposes is in-situ in [Spec, TP]. In the examples in (16), we see subject *wh*-words in initial position in the clause. Note that the subject *wh*-word in (16a) precedes the modal which the object *wh*-word follows in (14).

- (16) a. 誰 將 治 之? (Yanzi Chunqui 13)
Shei jiang zhi zhi?
 who will govern them
 ‘Who will govern them?’
- b. 誰 能 出 不 由 戶? (Analects 6)
Shei neng chu bu you hu?
 who can exit not from door
 ‘Who can exit other than through the door?’

Note further that Shi and Xu’s (2001) analysis cannot be salvaged by claiming that *shei* ‘who’ does not exhibit the clitic behavior that *he* ‘what’ does. Like *he*, *shei* also undergoes *wh*-movement when it is base merged in a position c-commanded by *v*, as seen above in (1b), (5), (6), and (12).

One final weakness for both Shi and Xu (2001) and Feng (1996), is that since cliticization targets prosodically weak elements, we do not expect these constituents to be focused. Returning to Seediq, this language has strong pronouns in addition to the weak clitics. The strong pronouns appear in argument positions in a declarative clause. For the subject, this is clause-final position, as in (17a). Note that the subject is also resumed by a clitic, which functions as an agreement marker. The strong pronoun can also be fronted to clause-initial position for focus, as in (17b). However, a clitic cannot be focused in this way, as in (17c).

- (17) a. Wada=ku mari patis yaku
 Perf=I buy book I
 ‘I bought books.’
- b. Yaku wada mari patis.
 I Perf buy book
 ‘It was I who bought books.’
- c. *Ku wada mari patis.
 I Perf buy book
 ‘It was I who bought books.’

This subsection has presented additional evidence for the syntactic analysis of Archaic Chinese *wh*-movement by arguing that these can not be analyzed as second position clitics.

2.3. Syntactic movement => cliticization: *WH*-movement

A cliticization analysis of Archaic Chinese *wh*-movement is also severely challenged by the change which took place between Archaic and early Middle Chinese. In this subsection, I show that syntactic *wh*-movement was reanalyzed as cliticization in the Han period (2nd century BCE). Thus, *wh*-questions in this period had noticeably different properties from those of the Archaic period examined in the preceding two subsections.

Early in the Han period, movement of phrasal *wh*-constituents was lost, as shown in (18b). In contrast, monosyllabic *wh*-words continued to undergo fronting, as in (18a). This asymmetry was noticed by Feng (1996) and is correctly predicted by his cliticization analysis.

- (18) a. 子 將 何 欲? (Shiji 86)
 Zi jiang **he** [v_P yu *the*]?
 You Mod what want
 ‘What do you want?’
- b. 此 固 其 理 也, 有 何 怨 乎?
 Ci gu qi li ye, [v_P you **he yuan**] hu?
 this Adv Dem way Decl have what complaint Q
 ‘This is the way things are; what complaint could you have?’ (Shiji 81)

Wh-fronting was lost from a PP, which is also predicted by Feng’s analysis that clitics were hosted by verbs and not other categories.

- (19) 陛下 與 誰 取 天下 乎?
 Bixia [yu **shei**] qu tianxia hu?
 sire with who conquer world Q
 ‘Sire, with whom will you conquer the world?’ (Shiji 55)

Long distance fronting was also lost in the Han period. What is observed instead is movement within the embedded clause. Again, this is predicted by Feng’s analysis, assuming that the *wh*-word attaches within the VP where it is base-generated.

- (20) a. 諸 君 欲 誰 立?
 Zhu jun yu [**shei** li ___]?
 all gentleman want who stand
 ‘Gentlemen, who do you want to place (on the throne)?’ (Shiji 43)

- b. 吾 敢 誰 怨 乎? (Shiji 31)
 Wu gan [shei yuan ___] hu?
 I dare who resent Q
 ‘Who do I dare to resent?’

I suggest here that Feng’s (1996) cliticization analysis of *wh*-fronting be applied to the innovated process which emerged in the Han period. The fact that Feng’s analysis correctly accounts for the Han period phenomenon, however, also serves to emphasize the inappropriateness of this approach in accounting for the very different type of *wh*-movement in the preceding period.

To summarize the discussion in section 2, I have established that the preverbal positioning of Archaic Chinese *wh*-words does not constitute evidence for base-generated OV word order, since the position for pre-verbal *wh*-phrases is not the complement of the verb selecting this constituent. I have also shown that *wh*-fronting in Archaic Chinese was not cliticization, since this movement was not limited to prosodically weak elements, was not associated with a specific host such as the verb, and did not target a particular prosodic position, i.e. second position, in the clause. Finally, I have shown that the cliticization analysis of Archaic Chinese *wh*-movement is further damaged by the change from syntactic *wh*-movement to cliticization that takes place in the Han period. I therefore maintain Aldridge’s (2010) analysis that preverbal *wh*-phrases in pre-Han Archaic Chinese achieved their position via syntactic focus movement.

3. Preverbal NPs and identification focus

The other type of pre-verbal object which I examine in this paper is the fronting of full NPs to the left of the light verb YI. The examples from section 1 are repeated below. (21a) shows the NP following YI. (21b) shows NPs preceding YI. Let me point out in passing here that (21b) shows parallel clauses. Nearly all cases of NP fronting to the left of YI are cases of this type, which I suggest below is related to focus.

- (21) a. 所 謂 大 臣 者， 以 道 事 君。
 Suo wei da chen zhe, yi dao shi jun.
 Rel call great minister Det use Way serve lord
 ‘One who is referred to as a great minister serves his lord according to the Way.’ (Analects 11)
- b. 弓 以 招 士， 皮 冠 以 招 虞人。
 gong yi zhao shi, pi guan yi zhao yuren.
 bow use call gentleman leather cap use call gamekeeper
 ‘(He) summoned a gentleman in his employ by use of a bow, and the gamekeeper by use of a leather cap.’ (Zuozhuan, Zhao 20)

The table in (22) summarizes the occurrences of YI with post- and pre-verbal NPs in the first eleven⁵ chapters of the 5th century BCE text *Zuozhuan*. Post-verbal NPs make up the overwhelming majority.

(22) Zuozhuan (Yin-Ding)

<u>YI NP:</u> 841 (70%)	<u>NP YI:</u> 368 (30%)			
<u>YI NP VP</u> 637 (53%)	<u>V (NP) YI NP</u> 204 (17%)	<u>NP YI VP</u> 121 (10%)	<u>SHI YI VP</u> 152 (12%)	<u>WH YI VP</u> 95 (8%)

Of the pre-verbal NPs, a significant number are *wh*-words. Given that the language had *wh*-movement, as argued in section 2, these examples pose no problem for the current proposal that pre-verbal objects achieved their position through movement.

- (23) a. 失 忠 與 敬， 何 以 事 君？
 Shi zhong yu jing, he yi shi jun?
 lose loyalty and respect what YI serve lord
 ‘Having lost loyalty and respect, what does one serve his lord with?’
 (*Zuozhuan*, Xi 5)
- b. 吾 何 以 堪 之？
 Wu he yi kan zhi?
 I what YI rate 3.Obj
 ‘How do I rate such treatment?’
 (*Zuozhuan*, Xi 30)

The largest number of fronting cases involves the demonstrative pronoun *shi*. *Shi* is fronted in all but one of the examples I have found in the *Zuozhuan* involving *shi* and YI.

⁵ There are only twelve chapters in the *Zuozhuan*, so this chart very nearly reflects the entire text.

- (24) a. 夫 名 以 制 義， 義 以 出 禮，
 Fu *ming* **yi** zhi yi, yi **yi** chu li,
 Dem name YI set right right YI emerge rites
 禮 以 體 政， 政 以 正 民。
li **yi** ti zheng, zheng **yi** zheng min,
 rites YI embody govt. govt. YI correct people
 是 以 政 成 而 民 聽。
shi **yi** zheng cheng er min ting.
 SHI YI govt. mature Conj people obey
 ‘With a name, (a ruler) determines the codes of righteousness; from righteousness the rites of proper conduct emerge; the rites determine the form of good government; with good government, the people are led into correct conduct. It is in this way that the government matures and the people become obedient.’
 (*Zuozhuan*, Huan 2)
- b. 既 無 德 政， 又 無 威 刑，
 Conj wu de zheng, you wu wei xing,
 since not.have virtuous govt. Conj not.have imposing penalty
 是 以 及 邪。
shi **yi** ji xie.
 SHI YI reach evil
 ‘(He) lacks both virtuous government and an imposing penal code. This is what has led to evil.’

Recall from section 1 that Wang (1958), Feng (1996), Xu (2006), and others have noted that pre-verbal objects in Archaic Chinese tend to be pronominal. If there truly is a correlation to be grasped here, it may be related to the semantic nature of pronouns themselves. As anaphoric elements, they take antecedents in the preceding discourse. Note that this is true for all of the cases involving fronted *shi* in (24). In (24b), for example, *shi* refers to the lack of good government and a strong penal code introduced in the immediately preceding context. It is also clear that *shi* is focused, serving to exhaustively identify this antecedent as the subject of the following predicate. This exhaustivity is characteristic of the particular type of focus that Kiss (1998) terms identificational focus.

Two fundamental characteristics of identificational focus are that it requires movement and is exhaustive. Kiss contrasts this with information focus, which does not require movement and need not be exhaustive. In (25b), for example, the focused constituent remains in situ and the interpretation is not exhaustive. In the identificational focus example in (25c), on the other hand, the focused constituent moves to a focus position in the CP layer. The interpretation is also exhaustive.

Hungarian (Kiss 1998:249-250)

- (25) a. Hol jartal a nyaron?
 where went.you the summer.in
 ‘Where did you go in the summer?’
- b. Jartam **OLASZORSZAGBAN**. (Information Focus)
 went.I Italy.to
 ‘I went TO ITALY [among other places].’
- c. **Olaszorszagban** jartam. (Identificational Focus)
 Italy.to went.I
 ‘It was Italy where I went. (and nowhere else)’

(26) provides evidence for the analysis of NP fronting in Archaic Chinese as involving identificational focus. In both examples, the NP preceding YI is offered as the only option available. This is particularly clear in (26a), since it is stated in the preceding clause that the lords have nowhere else to turn. Then their only option is to depend on the Rites.

- (26) a. 臣 聞 諸侯 無 歸，
 Chen wen zhuhou wu gui,
 I hear lords not.have return
 禮 以 爲 歸。 (Zuozhuan, Zhao 4)
 li yi wei gui.
 Rites YI Cop return
 ‘I hear that when the lords have nothing else to turn to, it is to the Rites that they turn.’
- b. 何 以 事 君？
 He yi shi jun?
 what YI serve lord
 穆子 曰： 吾 以 事 君 也。
 Muzi yue: Wu yi shi jun ye.
 Muzi say I YI serve lord Nom
 ‘With what do you serve our lord? Muzi said, “It is with myself that I serve our lord.”’ (Zuozhuan, Zhao 15)

Kiss additionally points out that identificational focus is compatible with a contrastive interpretation. This is also true in Archaic Chinese. NP fronting with YI is very frequently found in parallel constructions which are in turn employed to express contrastive focus. In (27a), for example, the purposes of governance and a penal code are being contrasted with each other.

- (27) a. 君子 謂
 Junzi wei
 good.man say
 鄭 莊 公 失 政 刑 矣。
 Zheng Zhuang gong shi zheng xing yi.
 Zheng Zhuang lord lose govt. penalty Asp
 政 以 治 民，
 Zheng yi zhi min,
 govt. YI govern people
 刑 以 正 邪。
 xing yi zheng xie.
 penalty YI correct evil
 ‘Superior men say that Lord Zhuang of Zheng has misplaced the concept of good government and a penal code. Government is used to govern the people; a penal code is used to correct evil.’
 (Zuozhuan, Yin 11)
- b. 楚 國 方城 以 爲 城，
 Chu guo Fangcheng yi wei cheng,
 Chu state Fangcheng YI be wall
 漢 水 以 爲 池。
 Han Shui yi wei chi.
 Han river YI be moat
 ‘The Chu will use Mt. Fangcheng as their castle wall and the River Han as their moat.’

(28) provides additional evidence of contrastive focus. While hunting, the Lord Tian of Qi tries to summon the gamekeeper by waving his bow, but the gamekeeper does not respond, as stated in (28a). The gamekeeper explains that different signals should be used to summon different people. This contrast is stated in (28b). NP-YI is used to express each of them. A flag is used to summon an official, a bow for a gentleman, and a leather cap for the gamekeeper. Not only is a contrast evidence among these three cases, but there is also a sense of exhaustivity. Since the gamekeeper did not see a leather cap, he did not approach. In other words, it is only with a leather cap that a gamekeeper can be summoned.

- (28) a. 齊 侯 田 于 沛， 招 虞人 以 弓， 不 進。
 Qi Hou tian yu Pei, zhao yuren yi gong, bu jin.
 Qi Lord hunt in Pei call gamekeeper use bow not come
 ‘When the lord of Qi went hunting in Pei, he summoned the gamekeeper using his bow, but he did not come.’
 (Zuozhuan, Zhao 20)

- b. 昔 我 先 君 之 田 也，
 Xi wo xian jun zhi tian ye,
 past I former lord Gen hunt Nom
 旃 以 招 大夫， 弓 以 招 士，
jin **yi** zhao daifu gong **yi** zhao shi,
 flag YI call official bow use call gentleman
 皮 冠 以 招 虞人。 (Zuozhuan, Zhao 20)
pi **guan** **yi** zhao yuren.
 leather cap use call gamekeeper
 ‘In the past, when our former lord went hunting, (he) summoned top official with flag, a gentleman in his employ with a bow, and the gamekeeper with a leather cap.’
- c. 臣 不 見 皮 冠， 故 不 敢 進。 (Zuozhuan, Zhao 20)
 Chen bu jian pi guan, gu bu gan jin.
 I not see leather cap, so not dare approach
 ‘I did not see a leather cap, so (I) did not dare to approach.’

Kiss (1998) further points out that identificational focus is incompatible with universal quantification. A universal quantifier can receive informational focus, as in (29a). But this is not possible with identificational focus, which is conveyed with a cleft construction in English, as in (29b).

English (Kiss 1998:253)

- (29) a. Mary invited *everybody*. (Information focus OK)
 b. *It was everybody that Mary invited. (Identificational focus out)

There is indirect evidence that the same restriction holds in Archaic Chinese. Universal quantification is expressed in Archaic Chinese by means of a preverbal quantifier which quantifies over the VP. The NP selected by YI can be universally quantified, but all examples I have found involve postverbal YI. This suggests, at least indirectly, that fronting is incompatible with universal quantification, as is expected if fronting the NP results in identificational focus.

- (30) a. 公 知 之， 盡 以 寶 行。 (Zuozhuan, Wen 16)
 Gong zhi zhi, **jin** [yi bao] xing.
 lord know 3.Obj all YI treasure go
 ‘The lord learned of it and left with all the treasure.’

- b. 盡 以 其 寶 賜 左右。 (*Zuozhuan*, Wen 16)
Jin [yi qi bao] ci zuoyou
 all YI 3.Gen treasure bestow retainers
 ‘(He) bestowed all of the treasure on his retainers.’

From the discussion in this section, we can conclude that pre-verbal objects were not base-generated in their surface positions. NP-fronting was motivated by a specific information structure-related trigger, i.e. identificational focus, which has been cross-linguistically demonstrated to require movement.

4. Conclusion

The main purpose of this paper has been to show that preverbal objects in Archaic Chinese do not offer evidence for base-generated OV word order but must rather be analyzed as having undergone syntactic movement. I focused in this paper on *wh*-fronting and NP fronting with the light verb YI. Secondly, I have argued that movement in these cases was a type of focus movement.

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