# Working Out Basic Patterns in Classical Chinese Syntax: Further Data on the Benefactive Ditransitive in Late Zhou

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This paper takes another look at two sub-types of ditransitive clause in Late Zhou Chinese: the privative and the benefactive. Such clauses are composed of a Verb and three bare NPs: [NP1 V NP2 NP3]. A perennial question concerns the status of 'NP2' in this array. While it has often been explained as a possessive adjunct to NP3, cross-constructional data confirm the phrase's independent NP status. The paper attempts to demonstrate the advantages of a more integrated approach to the study of Classical Chinese constructions

## 0. Introduction

Professor E.G. Pulleyblank's eminence in the field of Chinese historical linguistics imparts special force to his characterization of our knowledge of pre-Han grammar: "[w]e are still at the stage of struggling to work out the basic patterns of classical Chinese syntax" (1995:xiii). The student of linguistic history can never, of course, aspire to the depth of knowledge attainable through both the teasing out of native-speaker intuitions and the digital exploration of vast electronic corpora. One goal that can be pursued, however, involves going beyond the identification and description of basic constructions to focus on their inter-relations within the grammatical system to which they belong. Precisely how constructions delineated by the linguist are in fact related in the mind of the language-user – through 'derivation', 'inheritance', 'constraint-based unification', etc. – is a question which must be left to psycholinguists and neuroscientists. However, the efficient teaching of classical languages and the study of language history can be substantially advanced by the most precise and well-integrated description of constructions the surviving data will allow.

In this paper, we take up again the much-debated question of ditransitive constructions in late Zhou Chinese (LZC), bringing to bear a kind of evidence which the literature as we know it seems to have neglected. This brief study is offered to Professor Pulleyblank, in recognition of his long and profoundly influential career, and in sincere gratitude for his mentoring in years past.

## 1. The Ditransitive Array

Clauses consisting of a verb and three *bare* NPs, one pre-verbal and two post-verbal [NP1 V NP2 NP3], are attested in a number of functions in LZC, three of which will be treated here. The functional labels, 'donative' and 'privative' refer in the first instance to verb semantics, which then determines the distinct roles carried by the *first* of the two post-verbal NPs, NP2.

## 1.1 Donative Ditransitive

The most commonly attested type is found with verbs such as 'give', 'offer', 'show', 'teach', etc. Such clauses encode the transfer by Agentive NP1 of a Theme, NP3, to a Goal recipient NP2, [A V G T], as in (1).[1] Note that both the English and contemporary standard Chinese (CSC) translations of (1) are also cast in the ditransitive.

1. 野 人　　與 之 塊　　　　　　Zz B5.23.6/100.26
   bush person give 3O clod[2]
   The bush man gave him a clod of earth.

1a. *xiāngxià rén　　gěi　tā　yī kuài nítǔ*　(Shen 1981:101)
    country　person give　3O one clod earth

## 1.2 Privative Ditransitive

The ditransitive clause-form is also found with a much smaller class of verbs such as 奪 'snatch, seize', 賦 'levy' and 責 'demand'. Unlike the donatives cited above, verbs such as 奪 'snatch' and 責 'demand' are basically mono-transitive. In LZC, however, such transitive verbs may accommodate an additional post-verbal NP, the NP2, encoding a Source, the participant from whom the Theme, NP3, is removed: [A V S T]. The next example demonstrates that, unlike the donative in (1), a LZC ditransitive clause cannot always be rendered in CSC or in English as a ditransitive. In the two modern languages, NP2 in the LZC ditransitive is expressed as a possessive adjunct to NP3, not as an independent NP; this, of course, turns the LZC ditransitive clause into a mono-transitive: [NP1 V (NPa)NP2].

2. 使 奪　 之 宅　　　　Ls 25.6/165.21
   send snatch 3pO dwelling
   (He) had (someone) seize *their* dwellings.

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[1] Donative verbs are also attested with other orderings of their two postverbal NPs. Our focus here in on clauses in which a bare goal NP precedes a bare theme NP — that is, neither NP is introduced by an adposition. Liu Songchuan (1998) is comprehensive study of ditransitive clauses in pre-Qin Chinese, and as such, includes several sub-types not dealt with here.

[2] A list of abbreviations used will be found at the end of this article.

2a. *pài rén      qù qiǎngduó tāmen de  zhùzhái*
   send person go seize      3p pl  LK dwelling
   (He) sent people to seize *their* dwellings.

Clearly, the question of which privative verbs accept such an extra source argument is very much a language-specific matter. Thus, neither 'levy' nor 'demand' allow the ditransitive in English: *'We demanded them compensation'. Such language-internal facts should not, of course, be allowed to interfere with our analysis of LZC, an obvious methodological point that needs to be kept in mind in considering the third, most controversial type of LZC ditransitive.

## 1.3 Benefactive Ditransitive

The ditransitive array is also attested in LZC with a large number of basically mono-transitive verbs, such as 爲 'make; serve as'. Again, the 'extra' NP is NP2, the 'Beneficiary' of the action encoded by AVT: [A V B T]. The two examples below display the syntactic parallelism between benefactive and donative ditransitives in both LZC and English.

3. 冬　日　則　爲　之　饘　粥　夏　　日　則　與　之　瓜　　麷　Xz 10.46.6
   winter day then make 3O thick gruel summer day then give 3O melon barley
   In winter (he) makes them thick gruel; in summer (he) gives them barley with melon.

In the first clause of (3), the verb *wéi* 爲 is used transitively to mean 'make', but is followed by two bare NPs, the first the beneficiary of the action 'make thick gruel' 爲饘粥. The second clause is donative, with the verb 與 'give', already seen in (1). The English translation of both clauses parallels the LZC original in being ditransitive, while an CSC translation of the first clause of (3) requires the adposition *gěi* 'for' to mark the beneficiary: *dōngtiān tā **gěi** tā-men zhǔ xīfàn* (winter 3p for 3p pl cook gruel). A ditransitive rendering, without *gěi*, is ungrammatical: *\*dōngtiān tā zhǔ tā-men xīfàn*, intended as 'In winter, he makes them rice gruel'.

4. 原思爲之　宰　　與　之　粟　九　百　Ly 6.5/12.15
    PN  be 3O steward give 3O grain 9　100
    When Yuansi served him as Steward, Confucius gave him nine hundred measures of
    grain (as salary).

In (4), as in (3), both 爲, 'serve as', in the benefactive, and donative 與 'give' show two bare objects, the third-person oblique pronoun 之 'him' as NP2, and a lexical theme NP3, 'steward' and 'grain', respectively. Again, CSC is constrained to encode the NP2 benefi-ciary in the first clause of (4) as a possessive adjunct of NP3: *Yuánsī rèn Kǒngzǐ jiā **de** zǒngguǎn* PN assume PN household **LK** superintendent (Yang Bojun 1984:56, inter alia).

The use of ditransitive syntax to encode a benefactive construction is conspicuous by its absence from CSC, as further suggested by the syntactic options available for the two meanings of the verb *zhǎo* 找. In its donative sense, *zhǎo* means 'give change', allowing it to pattern as a ditransitive in (5a).

5a. *tā  zhǎo        wǒ wǔkuài wǔ*
    3p give.change 1p 5  $    5
    She gave me $5.50 in change.

But *zhǎo* also means 'look for', a sense which is neither donative nor privative, and hence, does not license the ditransitive (5b). The meaning 'look for something for someone' can only be expressed in CSC by using an adposition to introduce the beneficiary. As long as this requirement is met, there is more than one option available for the meaning 'look for something for someone', as suggested by (5c) and (5d).

5b. *\*tā  zhǎo      wǒ yīxiē  zīliào*
      3p look.for  1p some  material
    Intended: She looked for some material for me.

5c. *tā bāng wǒ  zhǎo    yīxiē zīliào*
    3p for   1p  look.for  some material
    She's looking for some material for me.

5d. *tā zhǎo      le yīxiē  zīliào    gěi wǒ*
    3p look.for AS some  material  for me
     She looked for some material for me.

The three sub-types of ditransitive presented here, the donative, the privative and the benefactive, are all found in LZC and in English, although the two languages obviously differ in which verbs permit the array. In contrast, CSC appears to lack the third, benefactive type altogether (Xu Qiting 2005:10-12; Shi Bing 2007:47). In that language, all cases of bare beneficiary NPs in such sentences as 'I knit *her* a sweater' or 'they wrote *us* a check' are encoded as adpositional phrases.

## 2. A Prolonged Syntactic Controversy

A very long-standing and at times acrimonious dispute in the analysis of the LZC ditransitives may be directly related to the difference between CSC and LZC described above. It has often been claimed that what we label 'NP2' in our templates for the privative and benefactive constructions is, in fact, not an NP at all, but a covert possessive adjunct of NP3, found overtly expressed in the CSC and English translations of 之 in 奪之宅 (snatch 3O dwelling), from (2), as *qiǎngduó **tāmen de** zhùzhái* 'seize *their* dwellings'. Proponents of this analysis, assuming that OC 奪 'snatch' can only be mono-transitive,

equate immediately post-verbal 之 (3O) with 其, the third-person possessive pronoun (3L). By the same assumption, 爲之饘粥 (make 3O thick gruel) in (3) is 'parsed' not as 'make them thick gruel', but as 爲其饘粥 (make 3L thick gruel), 'make their thick gruel'. This understanding of 之 as 其 has never been applied to the donative ditransitive, however. Thus, no one has ever suggested that 之'him' in 與之塊 'gave him a clod of earth' really means 與其塊 'gave his clod of earth'.

Among the numerous voices dissenting from this traditional analysis of NP2 as a possessive adjunct to NP3, He Leshi (2004) has demonstrated conclusively the *ad hoc* character of equating 之 with 其 in just those cases where NP2 is either a beneficiary or a source. She suggests that the refusal to admit the existence of these two ditransitive sub-constructions in LZC is directly related to the lack of non-donative ditransitives in the language of the analysts (2004: 22; cf. Li Zuofeng 2004:177-80). Thus, the reason 與之塊 'gave him a clod of earth' has never been interpreted as 與其塊 'gave his clod of earth' is simply that Chinese has always allowed the option of bare double objects with at least some donative verbs. Similarly, 爲之饘粥 is often claimed to mean 爲其饘粥 simply because the encoding of the beneficiary as a bare NP disappeared rather early from written Chinese and is no longer available in CSC.

He Leshi's study is a scrupulous analysis of the distinct uses of *post-verbal* 之 and 其 in the LZC corpus. In her argumentation, however, she scarcely departs from the methodological assumptions of most other parties to the dispute.[3] Over the decades, study after study has been published on the mono- vs. the di- transitive analysis of the data, in which the same examples are cited again and again, each new author seeming to find a slightly different way of affirming or denying that 之 is to be equated with 其.

It appears, however, that an important source of evidence on this question has been relatively neglected. The issue of the precise extension of the LZC ditransitive goes well beyond the confines within which the question is typically addressed — whether 之 (our 'NP2') should be equated under certain specific conditions with 其. LZC ditransitive clauses are not syntactic isolates, divorced from the rest of the language. If 'NP2' is an independent NP, that NP should be accessible to constructions that 'target' object NPs. As object NPs are not invariably confined to post-verbal positions, the question becomes whether and how the ditransitives interact with constructions in the language that require object NPs to appear in preverbal sites. A broader, cross-constructional approach to the problem of LZC ditransitives would assume that, if the initial phrase following verbs

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[3] For a brief history of this error, see Li Zuofeng (2004:177-78) and from the other side of the controversy, Yi Mengchun (2005:183-84). The equation of 之 as 'NP2' with 其 has been made by some of the most influential figures in modern Chinese philology, among them Wang Yinzhi and Yang Shuda. Pulleyblank (1995:32-33) has long been a strong proponent of the ditransitive analysis.

such as 奪 and 爲, etc., is indeed an independent NP (NP2), then evidence of its status as NP, not possessive adjunct, should be sought from syntactic alternations with the default VO order. Below we show that in constructions requiring the occurrence of an object in a pre-verbal position, the phrase we have labeled NP2 in the ditransitives invariably behaves like other, less controversial objects, that is, as an independent NP, not as an adjunct to a second, head NP. With one exception, the alternations studied below seem not to target adjuncts at all. It turns out that a number of LZC 'object-advancing' constructions provide rather unequivocal evidence on the nature of NP2.

## 3. Exposure in LZC

OC has a rich repertory of constructions that require an NP to appear 'exposed' in a position to the left of its default site within the canonical [SVO …] clause (cf. Pulleyblank 1995:69-75). The single label, 'exposure', will here be used even more broadly than in Pulleyblank as a cover term for any construction that requires the pre-verbal occurrence of an object NP. Our main aim will be to demonstrate that NP2 in the privative and benefactive arrays undergoes exactly the same sorts of exposure as the sole object of mono-transitive verbs. As part of our larger project of "working out the basic patterns", we will strive to be as clear as possible about how each of the exposure constructions we treat differs both formally and functionally from the others.

### 3.1 Promoting Source NP2 To Subject

Our first example examines the promotion of direct object to subject. In the first clause of (6), the object-promoting modal 可 in [可+V] 'may be V-ed' requires the direct object of 'grind' as its subject: 磨丹 'grind cinnabar' > 丹可磨 'cinnabar can.be ground' (The agent- oriented modal 可以, as in S 可以磨丹 'S can grind cinnabar', figures in (17) below.)

6. 丹 c　　可　磨　__c 也　而　不　可　奪　　__c 赤　　　　　　　　　Ls 12.4/60.11
　 cinnabar AP grind　　PL　LK NA AP snatch　　red
　 Cinnabar may be ground down, but cannot be deprived of redness.

In the second clause of (6), the same modal targets the source phrase, NP2, in the ditransitive use of 奪 'snatch': 不奪丹赤 'not snatch.from cinnabar (its) red' > 丹不可奪赤 'cinnabar not can.be deprived (of its) redness'. Such data demonstrate quite clearly that 可 targets the initial post-verbal source NP (NP2) following privative 奪 in precisely the same way it does the single object of a mono-transitive like 磨 'grind'.

### 3.2  Negative Attraction Of Pronominalized Beneficiary NP2

In another well-known syntactic alternation, canonically post-verbal pronoun objects tend strongly to be attracted to the position to the right of a matrix negative particle. (7) shows the canonical benefactive predicate 爲之後, lit. 'be for.him successor'.

7. … 欲 盡　殺 之 而　爲 之 後　　　　　　Ls 9.4/46.13
　　want exhaust kill 3O LK  be  3O  after
　　[Yu] wanted to kill them all and become his successor.

In (8), the ditransitive predicate 爲之後 is negated by 不, which then attracts the pro-nominal NP2 to yield, initially, 不之爲後; the negative and the attracted pronoun then contract to 弗: 弗爲後.

8. 宗 子 爲 殤　　而 死 庶　　子 弗 爲 後 也　Lj 7.32/55.14
　　cult son BE premature LK die plebian son N3  be after PL
　　When the scion of the main line dies prematurely, the son of a secondary wife does not
　　become his successor.

There are no known cases of structures such as ?不其爲後, where the pronominalized possessive adjunct, 其 (3L), is detached from its NP head and attracted across the verb by a matrix negative. The operation of negative attraction in (8) thus appears to identify NP2 之 in 爲之後 as an independent NP rather than as an adjunct.

### 3.3 Asking For The Identity Of Beneficiary NP2

The rule next investigated requires that objects interrogated by 誰 'who(m)', 何 'what', etc. occur in a site between the subject and the verb, [SVO] > [SO?V], as shown by the position of 誰 in (9).

9. 君　將 誰　　與 ___　　　　　Zz B11.13.2/428.19
　　lord  PA who(m) associate.with
　　With whom will the lord associate?

Example (10) shows a canonical ditransitive with the verb 爲 'act as'. In the second, ditransitive clause of (11), the NP2 is found interrogated by 誰 'whom'.

10. 箕 子 爲　　之 奴　　　　　　Ly 18.1/51.5
　　PN master serve.as  3O slave
　　Master Ji served him as slave.

11. 民　死　寡人　將　誰　爲　　　＿　君　乎　Ls 6.4/31.23
　　folk die　1p　PA who serve.as　　　lord QE
　　If the folk die, for whom will I be lord?

Consider next a second reading of (11).

11a. 民　死 寡人 將 誰 爲　　　君 ＿ 乎
　　folk die　1p　PA who serve.as　lord　　QE
　　If the folk die, who will I be for the lord?

In this second construal, the question word is understood as interrogating NP3, or, put another way, as asking for the subject complement of 爲 'serve as'. The reading is ungrammatical, however, as subject and object *complement* phrases, when interrogated, are not promoted, but remain in situ, as shown in (12) (cf. Pulleyblank 1995: 20, 91).

12. 子　爲 誰　　Ly 18.6/52.5
　　2p　be who
　　Who are you, Sir?

Thus, "exposed" 誰 in the original sentence, 寡人將誰爲君乎, can only be understood as the beneficiary NP2, 'for whom?'.[4]

### 3.4 Narrow Focus on Beneficiary NP2

　　　　The next example displays a second type of exposure which, like interrogation of the object, accommodates a direct object NP in the position between subject and verb. In this sub-type, however, the object is resumed immediately by pronominal 之. Such resumption, here symbolized by 'r', is not found following the interrogative pronouns 誰 'who(m)', 何 'what', etc. The construction [S Or V] encodes narrow focus on the object phrase, as shown in (13).

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[4] The rule about the interrogation of subject complements in situ leads us to expect that the meaning given in the translation of (11a) might have been expressed in LZC 寡人爲君誰. Unfortunately, such sentences have not been detected in the corpus. Ideally, we would also want to show that the second clause of (11) cannot be understood literally as 'whose will I be the lord?'; however, in the apparent absence of LZC verbal sentences which interrogate a possessive adjunct, as in 'Whose lord did he betray?', this demonstration is not possible. No only do we fail to find the analog of 'Whose lord did he betray', there appear to be no cases in which an adjunct is exposed alone for questioning while its head remains in situ: 'Whose ＿ did he betray lord?', or 'Who$_w$ did he betray his$_w$ lord?'.

13. 子 是 之 學　　　Me 5.4/29.27
　　2p this 3O study
　　You study *this*!

The benefactive can be used to assert a relation of kinship or succession, as already seen in 爲之後 'become for him successor' (7). Note how the following explication of the expression 爲人後 lit. 'be for.someone successor' in (14), employs first a ditransitive, 爲 之子, and then the same verb with a single, subject complement and possessive pronoun, 爲其子.

14. 爲 人　後 者 爲 之　子 也 爲人後者 爲 其 子　　Gong 8.15.2/94.28
　　be person after NM　　3O son PL　　　　NM　　3L
　　lit. 'Becoming for someone a successor is being for him a son; becoming for someone a successor is being his son.'

In (15), 'exposure for focus' operates on the NP2 beneficiary in the canonical clause 我 爲文王子 lit. 'I am for.King Wen a son', producing 我 文王之 爲子.

15. 我 文 王 之 爲 子　武 王之之爲 弟　　　　成 王之 爲叔父　　Xz 32.149.7
　　1p PN king 3O be son　PN　　younger.brother PN　　　　uncle
　　I am son to King *Wen*, younger brother to King *Wu* and paternal uncle to King *Cheng*.

Focus exposure clearly treats the initial, beneficiary object, NP2, of a ditransitive exactly as it does the direct object of 學 'study' in (13), placing it between subject and predicate, and resuming it with 之.

### 3.5 Exposure Of Beneficiary NP2 Left Of Subject

　　There are additional types of exposure in which an object is found to the left of both verb and default subject position: [(S)VO] > [O (S)V]. In each clause of (15), the site for the exposed beneficiary lies between subject and predicate: [S Or V …]. Canonical order in the benefactive, [A 爲 B T], is shown again in (16), where the verb is 爲 'make'. This implies 可以爲 走者 罔 'can make for.runners nets' as the canonical form related to the exposures in (17), where the canonical position for each NP2 is signaled by a blank line with a subscript.

16. 吾能　爲　之 足　　　　　Zc 117/57.16
　　1p able make 3O foot
　　I can make (it) feet (for it).

17. 走者 z __∅ 可以爲 __z 罔　游者 y __∅ 可以爲__y 綸　　飛者 f __∅ 可以爲__f 矰
　　 runNM　　AA make　　net swim　　　　　　fishline　fly　　　　　　string.arrow
　　 For runners, one can make nets, for swimmers, fishline, for fliers, arrows attached to string.[5]

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All three clauses in (17) lack subjects. The initial NP, 走者 'runner', cannot be the agent-subject required by 可以 in 可以爲罔 'can make net', as that construal would yield the unintended reading 'runners can make nets'. This implies that the exposed phrases lie to the left of the site occupied by subjects, in what is often referred to as 'topic position'. The null subject, '__∅', is represented in the translation by 'one', a pronoun LZC appears to have lacked. Note that if the exposed NPs in (17) were possessive adjuncts of the NPs in the predicate, they would probably be resumed by 其 within the predicate: ? 走者 可以 爲 其罔. Cf. (20) below.

## 3.6 Double Exposures
### 3.6.1 Object-To-Subject And NP2 To Pre-Predicate Position
　　　The next two examples are, like (6) above, based on the demand for object as subject triggered by 可, but each involves the exposure of a second phrase as well.

18. 求 也 [千 室　　 之 邑 百 乘　　 之 家]q　 可 使　 爲　　 之 q 宰 也　 Ly 5.8/9.25
　　 PN PL 1k chamber LK town 1c vehicle LK family AP send serve.as 3O steward PL
　　 Ran Qiu (is such that), a town of one thousand households or a family of one hundred
　　 chariots, (he) could be sent to serve *it* as steward.

Here Qiu 求, direct object of 使, 'send on mission; have do something' becomes subject of 可使, 'can be.sent, be.allowed to': 使求爲之宰 'send Qiu to serve them (as) steward' + 可 = 求也 可使爲之宰 'Qiu may be sent to serve them (as) steward'. That subject is then exposed further leftwards to make room for a second exposure, that of the coordinate NP2 of [爲 NP2 宰] 'serve NP2 as.steward'. (An example of this very benefactive occurred in (4) above.) The long, coordinate NP2, 'town of one thousand households (or) family of one hundred chariots', is exposed between the promoted subject and its predicate and is then resumed by 之 in the canonical site for NP2 within the predicate: 可使爲之宰也. While this second exposure in (18) shares the pre-predicate landing site with both the question-word and narrow focused phrases exemplified in (11), (13) and (15) above, three distinct resumption strategies — null, adjacent, and predicate-internal — begin to distinguish the several types of exposure exemplified so far, as schematized in (19).

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[5] Note that designating the runners, swimmers and fliers in (17) 'beneficiaries' of the action described in each clause involves not a little anthropocentrism.

19. Sub-types of exposure:

  a. Object-to-subject (patient subject, Sp) (6):        [Sp 可 V …], 可, no resumption;
  b. Negative attraction of Object prounoun (Op) (8):  [S **Neg**Op V … ], Neg, no resumption;
  c. Interrogated object (O?) (11):                [S O**?** V …], O?, no resumption;
  d. Narrow focus (Or) (13), (15):             [S O**r** V …], adjacent resumption;
  e. Beneficiary-to-topic (17):                 [B (S) V …], no resumption;
  f. Restrictor phrase (18), (20):             [S O V **r** …], remote resumption.

On the motivation for the exposure of NP2 in (18), suffice it to say here that, although the exposed phrase in this example happens to be a heavy, coordinate NP, the crucial factor determining its position is more likely to be semantic than phonological. In this type of assertion, modalized by 可 'can be V-ed', predicate phrases that encode limiting conditions on the assertion will tend strongly to occur outside the predicate itself: 'Ranqiu, *under such and such conditions / in the case of x or y,* may be sent to serve as steward'. A preliminary generalization might be: predicate-internal phrases which restrict the assertion of the predicate cannot be embedded within it, but are exposed as preconditions on the assertion. Here, it is the size of the community Ranqiu is deemed qualified to serve as steward that restricts the assertion 可使爲宰 'may be sent to serve as steward'. As that dimension of size is a property of the referent of the beneficiary phrase, it is the NP2 object of 爲 whose 'conditionalizing' content is laid out between the topical subject, Qiu, and the predicate, 'may be sent to …'. [6]

## 3.6.2 Object-To-Subject And Adjunct Of Single Object To Pre-Predicate Position

The next example is not a ditransitive clause, and thus contrasts significantly with (18). In (18) it was the Beneficiary NP that was exposed and resumed by 之 in its canonical position in the predicate. In (20) it is the possessive adjunct NP of 賦 'levy', the single object of 治 'order, bring under control' that is exposed in the same position as was the beneficiary (18), between the exposed subject and the predicate. We assume that the motivation for the exposures is the same in both cases, that (20) represents a second case of the exposure of a restrictor phrase, sub-type (19f).

20. 由 也 [千 乘 之 國]k 可 使 治 其 k 賦 也     Ly 5.8/9.22-23
   PN PL 1k vehicle LK state AP send order 3L levy PL
   Zilu (is such that), a state of one thousand chariots, (he) could be sent to administer *its* levies.

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[6] A convincing demonstration of these claims would require rather more space than is available here. Various conditions, both phonological and semantic, on embedding within the LZC predicate would require detailed investigation.

The exposed NP, 'a state of one thousand (war) chariots', functions as possessive adjunct of 賦 *fù* 'levy', direct object of mono-transitive 治 'order', as shown by its resumption with 其, the third person possessive. The resumption of an exposed beneficiary by 之, and an exposed possessive by 其 demonstrates not that '之 is sometimes to be understood as 其', but that the grammar distinguishes unmistakably between these two types of phrases. Both (18) and (20) are from the same section of the Confucian *Analects*; the grammatical difference between them shows quite clearly exactly how the grammar treats the initial object in the ditransitive as an independent NP object, distinguishing it from a possessive adjunct to an NP.

### 3.6.3 Domain Beneficiary NP2 And Narrow-Focused NP3

The next example combines a different pair of exposures from within a canonical benefactive clause. In (21), canonical [A V B T] has, we suggest, been reorganized as [B (A) T V].

21. 凡　民　利　　　是　生　　　　　Gy 275
    broad folk advantage  RS produce
    For any folk, it is advantage that one produces.

Example (21) appears to be the result of two exposures operating on a canonical benefactive predicate, [V B T], as both Beneficiary NP2 and Theme NP3 appear in preverbal sites. We assume the canonical form of the clause would be 生民利 'create for.folk advantage'. This understanding appears to be confirmed by Wei Zhao's 韋照 third-century paraphrase of (21): 謂爲民生利 "(this) means 'for the folk create advantage'" (Gy 276). The proposed canonical form, 生民利, is reminiscent of the following data.

22. 無生　　民　心　　　　　　Zz B1.1.4/2.12[7]
    NI produce folk heart
    Do not give rise to ambitions among the people.

23. 天　　生　　民 而 立 之 君　　Zz B9.14.6/256.25
    heaven produce folk LK stand 3O lord
    Heaven gave birth to the people and set up rulers for them.

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[7] In almost all of the ditransitive data reviewed here, NP2 is the object pronoun 之; however, the canonical form of (17), 可以 爲 走者 罔, as well as examples (22) and (25) all demonstrate that the NP2 site also accommodates mono- and poly-syllabic lexical NPs.

24. 我 有 圃　　生　之 杞　　　乎　　Zz B10.12.10/352.24
   1p have vegetable.plot produce 3O river-willow QE
   I have a plot for vegetables; do I grow river-willow for it (= there)?!

25. 樹　吾墓　檟　　　　　Zz B12.11.4/451.11
   plant 1p grave catalpa
   Plant catalpas for my grave.[8]

   The two exposures which yield (21), 凡民 利是 生, involve, in the first instance, the promotion of NP3 利 'advantage' to immediately preverbal position for narrow focus, where it is resumed by 是 'this'. This is parallel to (15), 我 文王之 爲子 (*Xunzi*) 'I am son to King *Wen*' and (13) 子 是之 學 (*Mengzi*) 'You study *this*!', except that the resumptive pronoun in the earlier *Guoyu* text, example (21), is 是 'this', rather than the 之 found in the two Zhanguo examples (Pulleyblank 1960; 1995:70). The close comparison of these three examples of narrow focusing suggests that the beneficiary NP2 (文王 in [15]), the direct object (是 in [13]) and the theme NP3 (利 in [21]) are focused in the same way, the difference between the two resumptives, 是 > 之, more a matter of diachronic variation than a distinction in case marking, beneficiary/object vs. theme. Recall that, while not a direct object in the semantic sense of 'patient', NP2 is nonetheless typically treated as such in the various exposures reviewed above. (See again [6], [8] and [11].)

   The second exposure in (21) targets the beneficiary NP2, 民 *mín*, which must occupy clause-initial position as complement of the universal quantifier 凡 *fán* 'in any case of' (Harbsmeier 1981:155-63; Pulleyblank 1995:127).

**3.7 Reflexive Beneficiary NP2**

   Each case of exposure reviewed above has confirmed that the phrases labeled 'NP2' in benefactive (and, occasionally, privative) ditransitives are treated exactly like other grammatical objects, i.e. as genuine NPs, not as possessive adjuncts of NP3. The NP status of the beneficiary is further borne out in ditransitive clauses which contain

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[8] Peyraube (2003:187) does not recognize (25) as ditransitive, treating it as a token of a separate construction in which a Locative occurs between the verb and the direct Object, [V L O]. There are precedents for this ordering in early Zhou texts (Yang Heming 1993: 57-58; Zhang Yujin 2004: 286), but the "separate construction" may be a mirage. Data of this sort typically occur with verbs of initiation, which have theme, rather than patient objects: 生 'produce; give rise to', 樹, 種, and 蓺, all 'plant', and 立 'set up', etc. Such verbs imply a goal location, just as the meaning of 'snatch' 奪 entails (but does not require mention of) a source. Thus, when an institution is established *for* a group of people, as in (23), it is typically founded *amongst* them, the beneficiary interpretable as a sort of personified location.

reflexives. The first two examples below show non-reflexive (26) and reflexive (27) clauses with the donative verb 給 'provide'.

26. 惡 能 給 若金      Ls 15.2/82.20
    how able supply 2p metal
    How can I provide you with cash (rewards)?!

27. 我 能 長 自給 魚      Hf 35.10.21
    1p able long RA supply fish
    I will be able to provide myself with fish forever.

In donative (27), the reflexive adverb 自 'self' is clearly standing in for the goal, NP2. This picture is confirmed by the identical behavior of 自 in benefactives with 爲 'make'.

28. 顏淵 死 顏路 請 子 之 車 以 爲 之 椁      Ly 11.8/26.28
    PN die PN request master LK cart IN make 3O outer.coffin
    When Yanyuan died, (his father) Yanlu asked for the master's cart to make him an
    outer coffin.

29. 見 桓 司馬 自 爲 石 椁      Lj 3.70/18.9
    see PN Marshall RA make stone outer.coffin
    (He) observed Marshall Huan making himself an outer coffin of stone.

(29) is unlikely to mean 'observed Huan make his own outer coffin of stone', reading 自 as somehow 'possessive'. That meaning would probably be expressed 見桓自爲其石椁 (PN RA make 3L stone outer.coffin), as suggested by examples like the following.

30. 大夫 之 子 有 食 母 士 之 妻 自 養 其 子 Lj 12.50/79.14
    grandee LK son have feed mother  knight LK wife RA rear 3Op son
    Sons of grandees have wet-nurses; wives of knights rear their own sons.

A final pair of examples will strengthen the claim that the syntax of the reflexives, 自 and 己, distinguishes clearly between the independent NP2 in benefactives and possessive adjunction.

31. 高止 好 以 事 自 爲 功   Zz B9.29.14/304.15
    PN like.to IN event self make merit
    Gaozhi is fond of (using events to make himself merit =) turning events to his own
    advantage.

In (31), 自爲功 is clearly ditransitive, meaning literally 'make for.self merit'. Compare this with (32), where 'adverbial' 自 cannot adjoin to an NP to encode reflexive possession.

32. 天　實 置 之 而 二三 子　以 爲 己 力　　　　Zz B5.24.1/103.8-9
　　heaven +FS set 3O LK 2 3 child IN be self strength
　　It is Heaven that has installed him, yet you fellows take (it) to be (the result of) your
　　own might.

In the rules governing the use of the LZC reflexives, there appears to be no ambiguity between beneficiary NPs and possessive adjuncts. The two types of phrases are kept as distinct here as we have shown them to be elsewhere in the grammar of LZC.

## 4. Conclusions

This study has sought to show how investigating Classical Chinese grammar cross-constructionally can uncover crucial evidence unavailable from other sources. The description of constructions in abstraction from the syntactic processes in which they participate often leads to ambiguities which cross-constructional perspectives may help to resolve. In the case examined here, the refusal to recognize a ditransitive benefactive in Late Zhou fails not only on the *ad hoc* understanding of NP 之 as adjunct 其, as many have already pointed out, it ignores evidence bearing directly on that claim of "convenient equivalence", the counterevidence coming from the interaction of the ditransitive with a number of other constructions. The "struggle to work out the basic patterns of classical Chinese syntax" is most effectively carried out on multiple fronts.

ABBREVIATIONS USED:

AA      agent-oriented ability: x 可 以 VP　　　'x can VP';
AP      (patient-oriented) ability/permission: x 可 V  'x can/may be V-ed';
AS      aspectual particle: 矣 roughly perfective, change of (cognitive) state
BE      benefactive: 爲 'for the sake / on behalf of'
+FS     subject focus particle 實
f       focus resumptive
LK      link: modifier to modified (NP 之 NP) / initial NP to predicate (NP 之 Pred) /
        predicate to predicate 而 / NP to NP, 與 or 於
NA      negative adjunct 不
NI      negative imperative 毋, also written 無
NM      nominalizer 者 'the one who', 'that which', etc.
NQ      negative quantifier 莫 'none, nothing, in no case'

N3      negative adjunct 不 + 3O = 弗 (< * 不 之)

PA      proximal adjunct 將 'almost / about to', etc.

PL      particle

pl      plural

PN      proper noun

QE      question/exclamation particle 豈 , 乎, 與 / 歟 (< 也乎) , etc.

r       resumptive

RA      reflexive adjunct 自

RP      reflexive pronoun 己

3L      3rd-person link / nominalizer in subjectless clause: 其 s

3O      3rd-person oblique, (in)direct object 之


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