

## CONTENTS

---

*List of Figures* page xii  
*List of Tables* xiii  
*Acknowledgments* xvi  
*Conventions Used in the Examples* xviii  
*List of Abbreviations and Symbols* xix

**1 Some Preliminaries** 1

- 1.1 Readership 1
- 1.2 A Natural Laboratory 2
- 1.3 Periodization of the Chinese Language and the Dating of Texts 5
- 1.4 Historical Texts 7
- 1.5 The Structure of the Contents 8

**2 Copular Word and Construction** 10

- 2.1 Introduction 10
- 2.2 The Copular Particle *Yě* 11
- 2.3 The Focus Marker *Yě* 14
- 2.4 The Copula *Shì* 18
- 2.5 Copula and *Wh-* Movement 24

**3 Focus and *Wh-* Words** 27

- 3.1 Introduction 27
- 3.2 The Licensing of *Wh- In Situ* 29
- 3.3 Focus Constructions and *Wh-* Questions 35
- 3.4 Topicalization and the Landing Site of *Wh-* Words 40
- 3.5 The Emergence of the Copula *Shì* 46
- 3.6 *Wh-* Words in Preposition Phrases 57

**4 Serial Verb Construction** 62

- 4.1 Introduction 62
- 4.2 Conjunctions of Verbs and Clauses 62

- 4.3 The Decline of the Co-ordinate Connective *Ér* 66
- 4.4 Fusion across Clauses 70
- 4.5 The Resultative *Chéng* 71
- 4.6 The Resultative *Bù-Dé* 74
- 5 Disyllabification 78**
  - 5.1 Introduction 78
  - 5.2 Disyllabic Words 80
  - 5.3 Motivations for Disyllabification 81
  - 5.4 The Development of Disyllabic Words 84
  - 5.5 Effect on the Resultative Construction 86
  - 5.6 Fusion of Verb and Resultative 89
  - 5.7 Constraint of the Number of Syllables 98
- 6 Resultative Construction 106**
  - 6.1 Introduction 106
  - 6.2 The Syntax of the Resultative Construction 108
  - 6.3 The Origin of the Resultative Construction 116
  - 6.4 The Separable Resultative Structure 120
  - 6.5 Frequency and Idiomatization 124
  - 6.6 Context for Fusion 135
  - 6.7 Extension 139
- 7 Information Structure 142**
  - 7.1 Introduction 142
  - 7.2 Information Structure 143
  - 7.3 The Change in Topicalization 144
  - 7.4 The Change in Focusing 147
  - 7.5 The Focus Construction 150
  - 7.6 Changes in Assigning Definiteness 151
  - 7.7 Non-question Functions of *Wh*- Words 157
  - 7.8 The Existential Construction 160
  - 7.9 The Principle of Action–Resultative Ordering 164
- 8 The Passive Construction 175**
  - 8.1 Introduction 175
  - 8.2 Optionality of the Agent in Passives 177
  - 8.3 The Semantics and Syntax of Passives 178
  - 8.4 The Agent Noun in the Passive Structure 179
  - 8.5 From Optional Agent to Obligatory Agent 183
  - 8.6 Passive with an Obligatory Agent 193

- 8.7 Lexical Sources for Passive Morphemes 196
- 8.8 The Development of Passive Structures 200
  
- 9 The Disposal Construction 203**
  - 9.1 Introduction 203
  - 9.2 Hypotheses about Its Origins 205
  - 9.3 Functions of the Disposal Construction 212
  - 9.4 Two Historical Motivations 227
  - 9.5 Other Related Constructions 234
  - 9.6 Disposal Markers: *Ná*, *Guǎn*, and *Gěi* 237
  - 9.7 Language Contact 239
  - 9.8 Effect on Other Structures 241
  - 9.9 Competition between *Jiāng* and *Bǎ* 243
  
- 10 Verb Copying and Reduplication 246**
  - 10.1 The Verb-Copying Construction 246
  - 10.2 Verb Reduplication 265
  
- 11 The Comparative Construction 273**
  - 11.1 Introduction 273
  - 11.2 Comparatives in Old Chinese 274
  - 11.3 Comparatives in Modern Chinese 279
  - 11.4 The Comparative Marker *Bǐ* 282
  - 11.5 Comparatives in Contemporary Chinese 287
  - 11.6 Suffixes of Adjectives and Adverbs 291
  
- 12 The Ditransitive Construction 296**
  - 12.1 Introduction 296
  - 12.2 Relation to the Instrumental Construction 297
  - 12.3 Relation to the Disposal Construction 298
  - 12.4 Assimilation by the Resultative Construction 300
  - 12.5 Bidirectional Transfer 314
  
- 13 Aspect and Tense 326**
  - 13.1 Introduction 326
  - 13.2 Conditions for the Emergence of Aspect Suffixes 330
  - 13.3 The Emergence of Aspect Suffixes 334
  - 13.4 Inchoative and Continuous Aspects 350
  - 13.5 Interaction between Aspect Suffixes 352

- 13.6 Diverse Forms across Dialects 356
- 13.7 Future Tenses 360
- 13.8 Auxiliary Verbs of Aspect 364
  
- 14 Negation 368**
  - 14.1 Introduction 368
  - 14.2 Affirmation and Negation of the Perfective Aspect 368
  - 14.3 The Establishment of the System for Negative Markers 371
  - 14.4 Characteristics of the Old Negative Systems 373
  - 14.5 New Developments of Perfective Aspect Marking 383
  
- 15 The Boundedness of the Predicate 386**
  - 15.1 Introduction 386
  - 15.2 The Boundedness of Verbal Predicates 387
  - 15.3 The Boundedness of the Adjectival Predicate 390
  - 15.4 Effects of the Boundedness Tendency 392
  
- 16 Classifiers 396**
  - 16.1 Introduction 396
  - 16.2 The Emergence of the Classifier System 397
  - 16.3 Motivations for Noun Classifiers 400
  - 16.4 The Emergence of Verb Classifiers 403
  - 16.5 Reduplication of Classifiers 406
  
- 17 Demonstratives from Classifiers 411**
  - 17.1 Introduction 411
  - 17.2 The Demonstrative Puzzle 413
  - 17.3 Changes in Demonstratives 420
  - 17.4 From Classifier to Demonstrative 427
  - 17.5 The “Semantic Primitive” Hypothesis 437
  
- 18 Distal Demonstratives from Phonological Derivation 439**
  - 18.1 Introduction 439
  - 18.2 Dialect Variants of Demonstratives 442
  - 18.3 Correlations between Proximal and Distal Demonstratives 446
  - 18.4 Derivation from Proximal to Distal Demonstratives 448
  - 18.5 Iconicity between Acoustic Property and Distance 466
  
- 19 Pronouns, Plurals, and Diminutives 470**
  - 19.1 Introduction 470
  - 19.2 Pronominal Systems in Old Chinese 471

19.3	The Emergence of Plural Morphemes	475
19.4	Classifiers and Plurals	478
19.5	Word Formation for Uncountable Nouns	480
19.6	Further Development of the Classifier <i>Gè</i>	481
19.7	The Emergence of Diminutive Inflection	483
<b>20</b>	<b>Structural Particles</b>	<b>488</b>
20.1	Introduction	488
20.2	Structural Particles in History	489
20.3	Classifiers and the Structural Particle <i>De</i>	493
20.4	Functions of the Structural Particle <i>De</i>	495
20.5	Demonstratives and Structural Particles	498
20.6	Grammaticalization of the Structural Particle <i>De</i>	506
<b>21</b>	<b>Word Order and Relative Clauses</b>	<b>511</b>
21.1	Introduction	511
21.2	Changes in the Constituent Order	514
21.3	The Relative Clause and the Head Noun in Old Chinese	520
21.4	Typological Change in the Relative Clause Structure	529
21.5	Development toward Consistency	538
<b>22</b>	<b>Conclusions</b>	<b>544</b>
22.1	The Momentum of Language Change	544
22.2	Changes in Cluster	546
22.3	Patterns of Grammatical Change	549
22.4	Drivers of Language Change	551
22.5	Construction Schema	552
	<i>References</i>	558
	<i>Primary Sources of Texts</i>	575
	<i>Index</i>	578