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 HÀnxuéwéndiàn 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 handout has been published in two parts in 汉语史学报 as 古汉语句法系统简略. 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.

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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 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.

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² The 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 a 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 adverbal modifi-

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Formula</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Xab</td>
<td>abstract X (noun), as in nab “abstract noun”, e. g. yi 義 “righteousness”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xc</td>
<td>count X (noun), as in nc “individually counted noun”, e. g. mǎ 馬 “horse”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xi</td>
<td>intransitive X (verb), as in vi “intransitive verb”, e. g. wò 卧 “sleep”</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Christoph Harbsmeier

**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. *dì* 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* 尧 “(Emperor) Yao”

**Xpred** predicative X, as in **npred** “predicative noun”, e. g. *mǎ yě* 马也 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* 杀 “kill”

**Xtt** ditransitive X (verb), as in **vtt** “verb with two objects”, e. g. *yǔ* 与 “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* 雨雪 雨雪. [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* 葡㨴 “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 tui 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 \[vt[0N]\], e. g. fā 发 ISSUE “shoot off [an arrow]” [NB: “Shoot off an arrow” is recognised in the lexicon as a meaning of fā 发. 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 \[vt(0N)\], 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 rèn zhèng 人政 PERSON ADMINISTRATION “administration by (the agent) persons” fā 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).

XpostadY “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 怒甚 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 zhǐ yǒu 未之有 NEVER IT HAVE “it has never existed”. (I include this category
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 I 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 lǜ 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 lǜ 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 隱陽 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 隱陽 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.+F wèi 唯 “only” in wèi 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 HER/IT/HIM之.]

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

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

VPadN “complex deverbal”, e. g. `<i>zūn guì zhī chén</i>` 尊貴之臣 HON-OUR 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. `<i>shèn shàn</i>` 甚善 INTENSE GOOD “very good” (cf. `<i>shèn</i>` 甚 “be intense”)

vpostadV (deverbal, postposed), e. g. `<i>nù shèn</i>` 怒甚 ANGRY INTENSE “got very angry”

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

ppostadV (grammaticalised postposed), e. g. `<i>shàn zāi</i>` 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 ěr yì, bù yì yòu sān 父一而吏, 不 onViewCreated 存 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 yī zhī mín 六 益之民 六 “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. rèn yù bù rèn ěr yì 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 zhē 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 THIRTEEN HUNDRED “The Songs are three hundred in number.” *complex number phrase as plain intransitive verb*.
1.5.1. **VPi{NUM}@age** 七\(\text{十}\)而从心所欲 **SEVEN TEN** AND FOLLOW MIND THAT/WHICH DESIRE “When I was seventy years old** I followed my heart's desires.” [Since \(\text{suì}\) 岁 “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” 天\(\text{無}\)二日 **HEAVEN LACK TWO SUN** “There are no two suns in Heaven”.

2.1. **v{NUM}@adN** “five contextually retrievable implicit N” 父\(\text{一}\)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 Ne” 三\(\text{有}\)士 **GENTLEMAN EXIST THREE** “As for gentlemen there are three kinds of (them).” 3. **v{NUM} (adN)** “X kinds of the contextually retrievable implicit Nab” 不\(\text{孝}\)大 **NOT FILIAL LACK OFFSPRING COUNT/AS 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 follows” 子\(\text{絕}\)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” 益\(\text{者}\)三友 **ADD THOSE-WHO THREE FRIEND** “Those who make progress befriended three kinds of people.” [Note that this analysis is of the phrase as traditionally understood. Analysis is never of expressions as such. It is always of expressions as understood/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” 稣\(\text{有}\)臣五人 **SHUN HAVE MINISTER FIVE PERSON** “Shun had five ministers”. [NB: \(\text{Rén}\) 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 稣有五臣 **SHUN HAVE FIVE MINISTER** which we have come to expect NOT to find, but which does occasionally occur.]
3. \(v\{\text{NUM}\}a\text{dN}\) “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. \(v\{\text{NUM}\}a\text{dN}@V=\text{ordinal}\) “the number v (of the contextually determine category N)”, “the Nth”, \(sān\ yuè\ 三\ 月\ THREE\ MOON\ “third\ month,\ March”\) 1.; 2. \(v\{\text{NUM}\}(a\text{dN})\) “the number v (of the contextually determine category N)” \(sān\ yuè\ 三\ “…\ THREE\ SAY\ “the\ third\ (item)\ is...”\).

4. \(v\{\text{NUM}\}a\text{dV}\) “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. \(v\{\text{NUM}\}a\text{dV}\) “X times” \(Jī\ Wénzǐ\ sān\ sī\ ér\ hòu\ xíng\ 季文子三思而後行\ Ji\ WENZI\ THREE\ REFLECT\ AND\ AFTERWARDS\ ACT\ “Ji\ Wénzǐ\ reflected\ thrice\ before\ he\ acted”\).

4.3. \(v\{\text{NUM}\}a\text{dV}\) “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. \(v\{\text{NUM}\}a\text{dV}\) “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. \(v\{\text{NUM}\}(a\text{dV})\) “(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. \(v(a\text{dV})\) “(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. \(v\{\text{NUM}\}p\text{ost-N}\) “X Ns” \(tiān\ xià\ yǒu\ dà\ jiè\ ěr\ 天下有大戒二\ HEAVEN\ UNDER\ EXIST\ PROHIBIT>PROHIBITION\ TWO\ “In\ the\ world\ there\ are\ two\ great\ prohibitions”\).

5.1. \(v\{\text{NUM}\}p\text{ost-N}@\text{ordinal}\ chén\ zhī\ zuì\ yī\ yē\ 臣之罪一也\ MINISTER/EGO\ GENITIVE/PART\ ONE\ MODAL/PART\ “This\ is\ my\ first\ of-fence”\).
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. Shānhǎigǔjí 1978, 1.20.

6.3. **vt{NUM}oN@strength** “be X times superior to N” yǒu rén yǔ cǐ bǎi zǐ 存實興波子 “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 chí 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.postV kui 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 \( vt + \text{prep} + N \) instead of the clumsier \( vt_1 + vt_2(0) o N \). The lexically determinate subject of the preposition is the nominalised transitive verb preceding it.]

\[ vt[0]+N.postV 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 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 lì, 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 zhī 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>OBEDY “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 > OBEDY “When the ruler is honoured then the people will obey.”

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\[ \text{padS1.adS2}, \text{ e.g. rú shàng zūn zé mín cóng 如上尊則民從 IF ABOVE > RULER HONOUR THEN PEOPLE FOLLOW>OBElY “If the ruler is honoured then the people will obey.}

\[ \text{PPadv_1.post-v_2}, \text{ 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.}

\[ \text{vpostS1.adS2}, \text{ e.g. liù zǔ wén yǐ, jí shí fō yì 六祖聞已, 即識意 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 嘘呼 “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 獯zi 女子 “woman”, and more clearly in the modern rzązi 句子 “phrase” (which, of course, is not attested in pre-Buddhist Chinese).
- **ppostadV**, as in 善哉GOOD PARTICLE/ZAI “good!”
- **ppostadV.adN** 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. 王崩 KING DIE “The king died.”
- **《V-p.postN{SUBJ}》** (marked verbal sentence with an explicit subject), e. g. 妻死矣 WIFE DIE PERFECTIVE-PARTICLE “The wife has died!”
- **《V0》** (verbal sentence consisting of a logically subjectless verb) e. g. 雨 RAIN “it was raining”.
- **《V(0)}** (verbal sentence with an implicit contextually retrievable subject), e. g. 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 yì 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 TƗng 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 ěr 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, verbs 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:

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<tr>
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<td>vt</td>
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<td>padpostN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nadN</td>
<td>vtt</td>
<td>padpostS</td>
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<tr>
<td>nadV</td>
<td>vadN</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP NPc, NPm, NPab, NPpro, NPadN, NPadV, etc.</td>
<td>vpostV</td>
<td>PP, PPadN, PPadS, PPadV, PPpostN, PPpostS, PPpostV</td>
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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/ruuling 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 np), 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 虽鄰不覲也 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” *preceeded 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 mǐn** 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: **mǐn** 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 BRELLOW METAL “brellow 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 BRELLOW 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 basically has six kinds of EMOTIONS
"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 礼人 PROPRIETY PERSON “persons of propriety” *modifying a noun, denominal adjective*

1.1.1.4.3.  nab.adV xīn yuē 心悦 HEART BE/PLEASED “(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 fū 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.]

〜 548 〜
1.1.1.5.4.1. npro.postN:adNPab:.adS Wén wáng zhī zhì Qí yě 文王之治岐也 "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 马者 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-N{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 何必 “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 … 难有十尧 … 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 猪人立 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, ZhuƗng Zhōu, came yesterday” *the adverbal 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 tàng 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 傷於 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 máo ér 貓兒 CAT SUFF “cat (NOT: kitten)”, tū 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 耄 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-zi 君子 RULER SON “gentleman”
1.1.2.1. NP{PRED} complex nominal predicative noun Kǒngzǐ shèn- grén Mèngzǐ xián rén 孔子聖人，孟子賢人 CONFCUCIUS 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 ㄍǒng-ｚǐ ㄒｉǎｏ ｂǎｉ 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 ㄍǒng-ｚǐ 孔子曰: ... CON-FUCIUS SAY: ...“Confucius said: ...” [Compare the non-referential use in ｚｉ ｙǒｕ ｓｈｅｎｇ ｍｉｎ ｙí ｌáｉ, ｗèｉ ｙǒｕ ㄍǒngｚǐ ｙě 白有生民以來，未有孔子也 SINCE HAVE LIVE PEOPLE SO-AS-TO COME NEVER EXIST CON-FUCIUS 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} ｓｕī ｙǒｕ ｓｈｉ ㄏｕánɡ-ｄì ｂù ｎéｎɡ ｃｈì (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) ｃｉ-ｚǐ ｔｕó 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 ｓｈｉ ｅｒ ｃｉ-ｚǐ 七十二弟zeńg 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 ㄏｕán ｇǒnɡ ｂù ｚｈǐ 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: ｋǔ ｙǒｕ ｅｒ ｄào 哭有二道 LAMENT EXIST TWO WAY “In lamenting there are two ways.”]

1.1.2.5.1. NPab.pr ｗú ｃｈáｎɡ 無常 “Impermanence (personified)” ｗú-ｃｈáｎɡ ｌài ｑｉān ｙīn 無常來引 LACK CONSTANT COME DRAG PULL “Impermanence comes to drag them away.” *personified*

1.1.2.5.2. NPab.adN ｗǎnɡ-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 ｅｒ 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-yúán 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 },'为Ӫ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 ZHI EARL GENITIVE/PRO BE-MAN MODAL/PART GREEDY “The Earl of Zhi was greedy by nature”. *the modifying noun being a proper name*

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

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

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

1.1.2.7. Complex pronouns **NPpro** 吾儕小Ӫ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 xīng 汝等自性 YOU-PLUR/SUFF SELF NATURE “your self-natures” *modifying another noun*

1.1.2.7.4. **NPpro.adV** gōng-zī chū yíng 俄自出迎 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 忍何所作 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 NPadN 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 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 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/VPadN shì-sú fàn fǔ 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/VPadN zhōng-xīn zhī rén 忠信之人都 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 NPadV 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. NPadV.postN{SUBJ} shàng yī-rì wèi tài 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 NPadS sì-miàn huǒ qǐ 四面火起 FOUR-FACE FIRE ARISE “on all sides fire broke out”
1.1.2.10.1. **NPadSS** 孜-者 yǒu rén 昔者有人 … … **FORMERLY**
THE/SUBJECT/WHERE 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** 今日穀國 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** 爺時佛在 **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 ūr shī 爺時 “at that (i.e. just specified in the preceding S2) time”].

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

1.1.2.11.1. **NP[post-N]** fū-zǐ shēn 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\[post=npro\] 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\[post-npro\]\[post=npro\] 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: 笑 LAUGH “laugh”, 大笑 LARGE LAUGH “laugh aloud”, 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 白馬 “white horse”

1.2.1.1.1. v(ad)N 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 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 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 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 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) 今三彊服三 NOW THREE STRONG SUBMIT MODAL/PART “Now the three strong (states) have submitted”.

1.2.1.1.4.2. vadN 深旨 DEEP MEANING “deep meaning” *modified noun abstract*

1.2.1.1.4.3. vadN{PRED} 凡十二人 GENERAL TEN-TWO PERSON “summarising > in all they were 12 people” *modified noun predicative*
1.2.1.4.4. **vad.VadN** 空大谷 *kōng dà gǔ* EMPTY LARGE VALLEY “empty large valley” *modified noun itself again modified by verb*

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

1.2.1.6. **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 ēr yào zhī 病敔 完成 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 AS-SOCIATE 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 賓退出，必復命 GUEST WITHDRAW NECESSARY AGAIN RETURN COMMAND “When the guest hard 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. \( \text{vpost-V.postadN dē bīng jì zhòng} \) 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 \( \text{vpostS yòng shì niú wéi} \) USE THIS BUDDA DO “What are you using this ox for?” *in construction with a preceding sentence*

1.2.1.5.1. \( \text{vpostadS cháng yǐ yù(sic) wǒ lái} \) “試以語我來。” 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. \( \text{vpostS1.adS2 liù zǔ wén yǐ} \) 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 \( \text{vpostV} \) 未 “or not?” rǔ bīng yù wèi 汝病愈未 YOU DISEASE HEAL NOT/YET “Has your disease been cured or not?”

1.2.1.6.1. \( \text{vpostV sǐ jiǔ yǐ} \) 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. \( \text{vpostV.adN sān shí yú nián} \) 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 \( \text{vi zuì ér wò} \) 醉而臥 DRUNK AND SLEEP “got drunk and dozed off”

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

1.2.1.7.1.1. \( \text{vi.red:adN xiǎo xiǎo mìng lì} \) 小小名利 SMALL-SMALL FAME PROFIT “fame and profit, which are insignificant” *modifying a noun*
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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. vi_2 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 vt0N 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!) wò 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 yān-yān 暗暗 “[It] was getting dark” *reduplicated*
1.2.1.7.9.3. **vi0ad.npro zǎo zhē nǚ zhī jīng1 jiī(sic!) 早者女之精貴 (穉) (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”; Gân Mào wáng Qin qiè 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 Qi.”
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 unpronominable complement objects vt+N jūn zhī suǒ wèi chāng shí wéi rén ròu ér 君之所嘗伏唯Ӫ肉耳 “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 unpronominable “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 視吾所從學 師 rdf “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 yì shì 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 yī 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}) yi ɡào 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 sònɡ 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 chénɡ 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) sònɡ 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” vttvN1.+pre+N2 chuán tiān xià yú Shùn 傳天下於舜 TRANSFER HEAVEN UNDER IN-RELATION-TO SHUN “transfer the empire to Shun”

1.2.1.10.3.1. vtt[0]oN1.+pre+N2 bǐ zhī yú shān 比之於山 COM- PARE 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.)+pre+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 vttvN.+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]* **ENCOURAGE** BATTLE “encour-aged (people) to give battle” 教習慈仁 **TEACH** PRACTICE KIND HU-MANE “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 zhī 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 zì 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.*|*postN2|*pro|*postN2 cǐ zhī wèi rén* 此謂仁 **THIS** OBJECT/PRO HUMANE “this [one] calls benevolence”

1.2.1.12.2.1.1. *vtt[0]*|*oN1.*|*pro.*|*postVt cǐ wèi zhī yào dào* ↔ **this** 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 王請鈥ibur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 nàn fēi wǔ lǐ yī pái-huái 孔雀東南飛五䟼一䟼ˈ電話"South-east fly the pea-cocks, 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 tui* 賢良遂進而姦邪並退 TAILED 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]
1.2.2.1.2. VP[adN][post=npro_1] pín-jiàn 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 xí 有頃孔子歎息 EXIST MOMENT CONFUCIUS SIGH-BREATHE “After a while Confucius sighed…”

1.2.2.2.1. VPAdS1.adS2 suī-rán rú cǐ 雖然如↔, …ALTHOUGH-BE/SO RESEMBLE THIS... “Although (things) stand like this…” *sentence connectives*

1.2.2.2.1.1. VP0adS1.postS2 yú-shì Lǔ duō dào 於是魯多盜 BE/IN-THIS > THEREUPON LU MANY THIEF “Thereupon thieves proliferated in Lǔ” *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” 達 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-shí dà fù 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: “Bowing 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. **VPi0** postadS1.postS2 jū yǒu qǐng 居有頙, ... 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]** zhān-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 ēr-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. **VP(0)** hé-rú 何如 WHICH/OBJECT RESEMBLE “(This contextually determinate thing) is why?” *has a contextually retrievable implicit subject*

1.2.2.5. Transitive VPs {VPt...}

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

1.2.2.5.1.1. **VPt[0]** oN qǐng-wèn kè 請問亊 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 訪問問其方 DŽNj ḍ pragmatic BEG ASK > 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 problematisation 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] respectfully agree (with the contextually determinate point made).” *the implicit object is contextually retrievable* [NB: Contrast the much more common **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 understanding of what is being said.]
A Summary of Classical Chinese Analytic Syntax...

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 NOT FORGET FORMER RULER SO/AS-REACH 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 zhi-yú láo 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 qìng-wèn Jiè Zītúī ān zài 請問介子推安在? ASK SAY JIEZITUI WHICH/PLACE/OBJECT/PRO BEI-IN “May [I] ask: where is Jiè Zītūī?” *the VP with implicit lexically retrievable subject*

1.2.2.5.2.2. VPt0oS ān-yǒu jiàn fù bèi zhi 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 jiā-líng 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**

*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* 可以 CAN-SO/AS EAT “can eat”; also, involving idiomatic neg-raising: *bù-yù zhàn* 不欲戰 NOT WISH BAT-TLE “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 CAN-SO/AS 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 LACK EQUAL “[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* 唯願説之 ONLY-HOPE EXPLAIN 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-jie yú wǒ* 來交接於我 COME CONTACT IN/RELATION/TO EGO “came to make contact with me”

1.2.2.5.4.1. **VPt[+prep+N]**

*Xìan Zhēn bù fǎn-míng* 先贊不反命 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 自天子至於庶人 ... 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 自天地之剖 Bởi 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 VPt0+N2 xī-zhì zhī lín zhōng 徕置之林中 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.  VPt(t(N1.))+N2 lì-wéi shàng qīng 立為卿 ESTABLISH-BECOME “establish (him) as top minister” *N1 contextually retrievable implicit object*

1.2.2.6.2.  VPt(t(N1.))(+N2) jí àn zé shòu-yǔ 吉安則授與 吉安 THEN PASS/ON-GIVE “Jī ān then gave [it] to [him]” 若不啟休み ... IF NOT INFORM-TELL ... “If (you) do not inform (him) (of this)...*N1 and N2 contextually retrievable implicit objects*

1.2.2.6.3.  VPt[t(N1.]+N2 tòu-fù gōu hè 投鉤溝壑 THROW-AP-PROACH 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 VPt0+N1.+prep+N2 xuān-yán zhī yù chóng 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.  VPt+prep+N1.postVtoN2 yòng shi xiǎo dēng gōng-yǎng yú jì 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.  VPt(t(N1.))+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. VPtoN.+S xuān-yù(sic!) guó rén 宣語國人: ‘…’ PUBLI SH-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 fēn 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 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 “then” deverbal 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 “then” deverbal 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 fěi 中道而廢 MIDDLE WAY AND GIVE/UP “give up while midway” *being modified by a noun*
1.3.1.3.1.2. \textit{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. \textit{padV_1.adv_2 Qin 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. \textit{padV\{PRED\},postN\{SUBJ\}:adS zǐ rú bù yán zé xiǎo zǐ hé shù yān}子如不言,則小子-divider shù yān 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. \textit{padV.postN\{OBJ\} wú hài yǐ chú rén nǎi kě zhì}五害すこと allow GOVERN>BE/GOVERNED “the thieves then abandoned (them)” *modified by a preceding sentence*

1.3.1.3.4.1. \textit{padV.(postN\{SUBJ\}:post-S Xiàng yōu yì yōu}象憂亦憂 XIANG WORRY ALSO WORRY “When Xiäng 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. \textit{padV.postadN rěn 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 rěn 人 “man” is referred back to as the subject of what follows.]

1.3.1.3.6. \textit{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. \textit{padV_1.postV_2 xué ér shí xì 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 \textit{ppostN shī hū} 師乎! MASTER QUESTION > EMPHATIC/PART “My master!”
1.3.1.4.1. ppostadN{PRED} mǎ yě 马也 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 雨也 RAIN THIS MONTH MODAL/PART “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 also HUI MODAL/PART NOT STUPID MODAL/PART “Hui (German der Hui) is not stupid.”

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

1.3.1.4.3.3. ppostNpr{OBJ}.postVt yù(sic!) zhū Liáng yě yuē: 言諸梁也曰... 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 马不进也 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... Hearer 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 zāì 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 zāì 善哉 GOOD EMPHATIC/PART “Good!”

1.3.1.6.1.2. ppostadV.+N{SUBJ} shàn zāì 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 yù qí shē yě nìng jiǎn 與其奢也寧儉 WITH > INSTEAD/OF 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 dì hàn 喪草底漢 EAT GRASS GENITIVE/PART FELLOW “a grass-eating fellow” [First attested in Middle Chinese. Contrast similar but categorially different npropostadV.adN zhī 之]
1.3.1.6.1.3.1. **ppostadV(adN)** xiāng sì di 相似底 MUTUAL RESEMBLABLE 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** 喃呼 "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/LOORDS NONE NOT PRAISE "Even without Chǔ the feudal lords everyone would praise (him)."

1.3.1.9. **Adsentential PPs** PPadS 
1.3.1.9.1. **PPadS1.adS2 ruò-gǒu xián zhě bù zhì …** 若苟繚者不至 … IF-IF/REALLY TALENT SUBJECT/WHICH/PRO NOT ARRIVE … "If the men of talent do not arrive …"

1.3.1.10. **Adverbial PPs** PPadV 
1.3.1.10.1. **PPadV_1.postV_2 gāo ér qiè 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** jùn suī qiáng běn qù gēng ... mín yóu-ruò bù zú yè 君雖彊本趣耕...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** Tăng Wǔ yě-zhě 湯武也者 ... TANG WU MODAL/PART SUBJECT/WHICH/PRO ...“As for Tăng 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 己 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 己 clearly deriving from the verbal meaning “to finish”. In the common formula ér yǐ 而己 “and that finishes it” yǐ 己 does not count as a particle at all: yǐ 己 “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”. Ø 自為之乎? SELF PRODUCE IT/ZHI QUEST/HU “does (the man)Ø himself produce?”

**Verbal anaphora** is written with subscripts “-v, -w” 吾聞之. I hear it say: “...”

**Sentential anaphora** will be written with subscripts “-s, -t” Fang Wu zhi zhi 今也不然 NOW JUDGE/YE NOT LIKE-THE/SHAN “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. 知己 然後知人 KNOW SELF LIKE-THE/SHAN AFTERWARDS KNOW MAN “Having understood oneself only then one understands others.”

**Cataphoric** co-reference will be written with subscript “-i, -x, -s” wú wén zhi yù. 我聞之. “I have heard it say: “...””

**Incorporated** anaphora will be written out with bracketing of the index “-(n), -(m)”. ci zhù rén 賜諸人 GIVE IT TO OTHER “gave it to someone else”

**Verb-reflexivising double subject-object-anaphora** is written with subscripts “-m-m, -m-m” fú zì zì dào yě 書子道也 MASTER SELF SPEAK JUDGE/YE “You Master, yourself speak-of yourself” 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]，為己 
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]}”

此必有變，君不如殺之

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

舜人也，我亦人也;  
Shùn rén yě, wǒ yì rén yě  
SHUN MAN JUDGE/YE EGO LIKE-THIS-WISE MAN JUDGE/YE

Shùn is a person. (But) I am also a person.”

Shùn is the point of comparison yì “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:

[gǔ zhī rén jiē yòng zhī]，吾何為獨不然

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.

\[ \text{Ø} \_\text{nx} \text{人} \_\text{pred} \_\text{ér} \_\text{pred} \_\text{Ø} \_\text{nx} \text{[不能言]} \_\text{pred'} \_\text{Ø} \_\text{nx} \text{何以為人} \]

\text{rén er bù néng yán hé yǐ wéi rén}

PERSON AND/\text{yi} NOT ABLE SPEAK WHAT USE BE MAN

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

We must take \textit{rén} “is a man” predicatively like \textit{不能言} “is incapable of speaking”.

\textbf{NOTE:}

\textbf{Implicit lexicalised deictic/indexical reference} may be marked with square brackets in the subscript

“X\_[i]”, as in \textit{lái} \textbf{arrive} \textit{[at this place]}”, \textit{qù} \textbf{leave} \textit{[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. \textit{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.

\textbf{Further Reading:}

ПРОБЛЕМЫ КИТАЙСКОГО И ОБЩЕГО ЯЗЫКОЗНАНИЯ

К 90-ЛЕТИЮ С. Е. ЯХОНТОВА
Сергей Евгеньевич Яхонтов
PROBLEMS IN CHINESE AND GENERAL LINGUISTICS

Sergey Yakhontov anniversary volume
in honor of his 90th birthday

Saint Petersburg
2016
ПРОБЛЕМЫ КИТАЙСКОГО И ОБЩЕГО ЯЗЫКОЗНАНИЯ

К 90-летию С. Е. Яхонтова


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 учёного, включающий проблемы фонетики, грамматики, диалектологии, сравнительно-исторического и общего языкознания, лингвистической типологии.