Лингвистика

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Adverbial adjuncts in Late Archaic Chinese

The distribution of adverbial adjuncts in Late Archaic Chinese (LAC) demonstrates similarities and differences with that in modern Mandarin. Aspecto-temporal, comitative, epistemic, evaluative, iterative, reciprocal, sequential, subject-oriented and temporal adverbials in LAC are restricted to preverbal positions; duration and frequency adverbials in LAC are attested in both preverbal and postverbal positions. Nevertheless, degree, instrumental, locative and source adverbials only appear preverbally. By means of scrutinising the clausal positioning of preverbal adverbial adjuncts and their relative sequence with subject, negation and modal verbs, I propound a hierarchy of adverbials and medial elements in the left periphery and sentence-internal domain.
Key words: Late Archaic Chinese, adverbial adjuncts, distribution, hierarchy

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Наречия
в позднем древнекитайском языке

Дистрибуция наречных адъюнктов в позднем древнекитайском языке демонстрирует сходства и различия с таковым в современном китайском. Видовременные, комитативные, эпистемические, оценочные, итеративные, реципрокальные, последовательные, субъектно-ориентированные и временные наречия в позднем древнекитайском связаны с предглагольными позициями; наречия длительности и частоты представлены как пред-, так и с постглагольными позициями. Тем не менее, наречия степени, инструментальные, локативные, а также наречия начальной точки в позднем древнекитайском появляются только предглагольно. На основании детального исследования расположения предглагольных наречных адъюнктов в клаузе, их расположения по отношению к подлежащими, отрицательным и модальным глаголам я предлагаю иерархию наречий и медиальных элементов на левой периферии и внутри предложения.

Ключевые слова: поздний древнекитайский, наречные адъюнкты, дистрибуция, иерархия

1. Introduction

Based on syntactic criteria, the Chinese language can be divided into four major chronological stages: Archaic, Medieval, Modern and Contemporary. Following previous research [Wang, 1958; Zhou, 1963; Peyraube, 2003; among many others], I term Archaic Chinese in the Warring States (475–221 BC) era as Late Archaic Chinese (henceforth LAC).

As a consistent written language separate from the colloquial form of Chinese [Wu, 1980; Pulleyblank, 1995], Classical Chinese is very concise, as reflected by the limited amount of words and their modifiers [Luo, 2018; Xia, 2018] including adverbials. Nevertheless, I still attempt to investigate adverbial adjuncts in LAC, despite limited data. One reason I intend to unveil LAC is that "[t]he field of formal syntax has only recently started to develop coherent and universal theories of adverbial adjuncts, and the application of these theories to Mandarin is just beginning" [Ernst, 2014], not to mention the research concerning LAC. The other reason I focus on LAC is that Archaic Chinese exhibits robust syntactic features that are discrepant from those of the Chinese language at later stages, such as word order flexibility of prepositional phrases in LAC [He, 1982, 1989, 1992; Lu, 1982; Sun, 1991, 1996; Hsueh, 1995; Peyraube, 1996, 1997]; moreover, following LAC, there was a transitional period with multiple typological changes [Shi, 2002; Xu, 2006; Peyraube, 2008; Aldridge, 2015]. In this paper, I discuss adverbial adjuncts in LAC.

Most words in LAC, including adverbials, are monosyllabic. Adverbials in LAC arepredominantly adverbs, but they can also be nouns, adjectives or prepositional phrases [Peyraube, 2008]. The most common morpheme preceding DPs in adjunct PPs is 以 *yi*, which I treat as a preposition heading PPs, following the traditional analysis [Wang, 1958, 1962; Zhou, 1959; Xiang et al., 1988, p. 94; Yang, He, 1992; Peyraube, 1996, 1997; Hsueh, 1997; Guo et al., 1999, p. 337; Djamouri, 2009; among many others]. Aldridge (2012) regards *yi* as a high applicative (in the sense of [Pylkkanen, 2002]) above VP within *v*P, which selects a DP argument in its specifier and moves to *v*, deriving a YI-DP-VP order. Her argument is that both movements of focused DPs and VPs target the outer specifier of *v*P, so when YI-DP is postverbal, raising of focused DPs is expected to be blocked, and that is to say, a *DP-VP-YI pattern formed by focus fronting with *yi* stranded in its base position should not be attested. I have postulated that a preposed element occupies a specifier position of some functional projection above *v*P, instead of the edge of *v*P, so the assumed blocking effect due to VP fronting should not exist. This prediction is indeed borne out, as proved by availability of VP-*wh-yi* data in LAC. The VP-DP-YI ordering also shows that VP movement targets a node above *v*P, rather than the specifier of *v*P, as the VP is higher than the fronted DP landing in some functional projection above *v*P. Moreover, VP-*yi-wh* constructions predicted by this applicative approach are never attested [Wang, 2013].

In terms of the distribution of PPs, according to Feng (2014), PPs basically appear postverbally in Archaic Chinese, yet the relative ordering between PPs and main verbs has shifted from Archaic to Medieval Chinese. From

Medieval Chinese onwards, most locational and instrumental PPs could alternatively occur preverbally.

Apart from PPs, DPs can also function as adjuncts in LAC. For instance, DPs can act as point-time expressions in LAC, as in (1).

(1) 吾今則可以見矣 (孟子・滕文公上)
    Wu   jin   ze   keyi   jian   yi
    I   today   then   can   see   Decl
    'Today I can see (him) then'

This paper is divided into five sections. In Section 2 I present the distribution of adverbials in preverbal and postverbal positions. In Section 3 I focus on preverbal adverbials and propound a hierarchy among various categories of adverbials, negation and modal verbs in the CP area and sentence-internal domain. In Section 4 I investigate available theories explaining the syntax of adverbial adjuncts and postverbal adverbials in Mandarin, and argue that the prosodic approach [Feng 1996, 1997, 2000, 2003, 2009, 2012, 2015] is unable to account for adverbial adjuncts in LAC.

LAC comprises well-known texts such as the *Analects* and *Mencius* [Peyraube, 2003, 2008]. LAC data in this paper is drawn from the Chinese Text Project (https://ctext.org/) which is an open-access digital corpus including over 30,000 titles and five billion characters. LAC examples I have selected from this database cover a wide range of discourses and genres, ranging from historical narrative, political essay and philosophical prose to ethical writing, medical text and ritual record. To justify the grammaticality of specific constructions, at least one example needs to be attested in the online corpus. In terms of ungrammaticality of specific constructions, due to the limit of historical syntactic research, lack of positive evidence cannot be proved, so I resort to the fact that negative evidence is not available either.

2. Distribution of adverbials

In Mandarin there is a strong tendency towards preverbal positioning of adverbials. Nearly all adverbials in Mandarin are obligatorily preverbal [Huang, 1982; Li, 1990; Tang, 1990; among many others], except for postverbal duration, frequency, resultative and manner expressions (traditionally known as 'descriptive complements'). Such distribution is unexpected for Mandarin as a head-initial SVO language, because SVO languages typically permit most of adverbials to occur both preverbally and postverbally, whereas only SOV languages typically forbid postverbal adverbials [Ernst, 2002, 2003, 2014].

According to my observation, the distribution of adverbial adjuncts in LAC is consistent with the attribute of typical SVO languages, namely, adverbial adjuncts in LAC can occur both preverbally and postverbally.

In LAC, resultative expressions and manner expressions (those known as 'descriptive complements') can appear postverbally, as shown in (2a) and (2b) respectively. As can be seen from (2b), the two sentences extracted from the same text and sharing the same meaning display opposite word orders PP-VP and VP-PP, showing that in LAC descriptive complements can precede or follow verbs.

(2) a. 鞭之見血 (管子 · 大匡)

Bian	zhi	xian	xue
whip	3.OBJ	appear	blood

'(The duke) whipped him (until he) bled'

b. 以羊易之... (孟子 · 梁惠王上)

Yi	yang	yi	zhi
with	sheep	change	3.OBJ

我非愛其財而易之以羊也

Wo	fei	ai	qi	cai	er	yi
I	not	love	3.GEN	cost	Conj	change

zhi	yi	yang	ye
3.OBJ	with	sheep	Decl

'Exchange it with a sheep … It is not that I cared about the cost and exchanged it with a sheep'

Nevertheless, postverbal resultative expressions and manner expressions are not discussed in this paper. Cross-linguistically, resultative expressions are sometimes treated as complements. As for postverbal manner expressions, despite evidence from selection and argument structure, they are analysed as complements due to word order and the possibility of extraction out of them [Huang, 1982; Ernst, 1994, 2014; Huang et al., 2009].

Reason adverbials in LAC only appear in preverbal positions, parallel to those in modern Mandarin, as in (3a) and (3b-c) respectively. Since reason adverbials are cross-linguistically 'high' adverbials, they are not discussed in this paper either.

(3) a. 夫子胡不入乎? (莊子 · 德充符)

Fuzi	hu	bu	ru	hu?
sir(you)	why	not	enter	Q

'Why do you not enter?'

b.
Ni	weishenme	bu	jinqu?
you	why	not	enter

'Why do you not enter?'

c.
*Ni	bu	jinqu	weishenme?
You	not	enter	why

Before exploring LAC adverbials that are flexible to either precede or follow VPs, I present nine types of adverbials based on my own categorisation, which have identical distribution to their counterparts in modern Mandarin: aspecto-temporal, comitative, epistemic, evaluative, iterative, reciprocal, sequential, subject-oriented and temporal adverbials (4a–i). These adverbials are restricted to preverbal positions, parallel to their modern counterparts.

According to Meisterernst (2004, 2013), 將 *jiang* and 且 *qie* are two common examples of aspecto-temporal adverbs, and both of them locate a situation in the future. Note that apart from the aspecto-temporal adverb *jiang,* (4a) also contains an epistemic adverb 蓋 *gai.*

(4) a. 吾聞子蓋將不欲立我也 (公羊傳・哀公六年)

Wu	wen	zi	gai	jiang	bu	yu
I	hear	you	probably	FUT	not	want

li	wo	ye
inaugurate	me	Decl

'I heard that you probably would not want to inaugurate me'

b. 孔子與之坐而問焉 (論語・憲問)

Kongzi	yu	zhi	zuo	er	wen	yan
Confucius	with	3.OBJ	sit	Conj	ask	Decl

'Confucius sat with him and asked'

c. 能凝之，則必能并之矣 (荀子・議兵)

Neng	ning	zhi	ze	bi	neng
can	unite	3.OBJ	then	definitely	can

bing	zhi	yi
annex	3.OBJ	Decl

'(If one) can unite it, then can definitely annex it'

d. 夫子循循然善誘人 (論語・子罕)

Fuzi	xunxunran	shan	you	ren
Confucius	convincingly	be.good.at	guide	person

'Confucius is convincingly good at guiding people'

e. 秦師又至 (左傳・文公二年)

Qin	shi	you	zhi
Qin	army	again	arrive

'(If) Qin's army arrives again'

f. 道不同，不相為謀 (論語・衛靈公)

Dao	bu	tong,	bu	xiang	wei	mo
approach	not	same	not	mutually	make	plan

'(Those whose) approaches are not the same cannot make plans for each other'

(4) g. 先行其言，而後從之 (論語・為政)

Xian	xing	qi	yan,	er	hou	cong	zhi
first	fulfil	GEN	word	Conj	then	follow	3.OBJ

'(Gentlemen) fulfil their words first, and then follow them'

h. 夫子喟然歎曰 (論語・先進)

Fuzi	kuiran	tan	yue
Confucius	sentimentally	sigh	say

'Confucius sentimentally sighed and said'

i. 吾今則可以見矣 (孟子・滕文公上)

Wu	jin	ze	keyi	jian	yi
I	today	then	can	see	Decl

'Today I can see (him) then'

Additionally, duration and frequency adverbials in LAC are also analogous to their counterparts in modern Mandarin in respect of distribution. However, different from the above-mentioned nine types of adverbials that are restricted to preverbal positions, duration and frequency adverbials appear in both preverbal (5a, b) and postverbal positions (6a, b).

(5) a. 三日不食 (孟子・滕文公下)

San	ri	bu	shi
3	day	not	eat

'(He) did not eat for three days'

b. 季文子三思而後行 (論語・公冶長)

Jiwenzi	san	si	er	hou	xing
Jiwenzi	thrice	think	Conj	then	act

'Mr Ji thinks thrice and then acts'

(6) a. 余不食三日矣 (國語・吳語)

Yu	bu	shi	san	ri	yi
I	not	eat	3	day	PERF

'I have not eaten for three days'

b. 鮑叔祓而浴之三 (管子・小匡)

Baoshu	fu	er	yu	zhi	san
Baoshu	hold.ceremony	Conj	take.bath	3.OBJ	thrice

'Baoshu held ceremonies and (let) him take a bath thrice'

I suggest that degree, instrumental, locative and source adverbials in LAC, however, are different from their counterparts in modern Mandarin, as the latter are restricted to preverbal positions. According to data I have collected from the LAC corpus, adverbial adjuncts indicating degree,

instrument, location and source can be found in both preverbal and postverbal positions.

Common degree adverbials in LAC are 極 *ji* 'extremely' and 甚 *shen* 'very', and they can occur in front of predicative adjectives, as in (7a, b).

(7) a. 樂極和, 禮極順 (禮記 · 祭義)
   Yue   ji   he,   li   ji   shun
   music   extremely   harmonious   etiquette   extremely   smooth
   'Music is very harmonious; etiquette is very smooth'

 b. 吾甚恐 (孟子 · 梁惠王下)
   Wu   shen   kong
   I   very   scared
   'I am very scared'

Alternatively, degree adverbials *ji* and *shen* can follow predicative adjectives, as in (8a, b).

(8) a. 峻極于天 (禮記 · 中庸)
   Jun   ji   yu   tian
   tall   very   as   sky
   '(It is) very tall, like the sky'

 b. 丙怒甚, 不肯來 (韓非子 · 內儲說上)
   Bing   nu   shen,   bu   ken   lai
   Bing   furious   very   not   willing   come
   'Bing was very furious and not willing to come'

Instrumental adverbial adjuncts in LAC are predominantly PPs headed by the preposition 以 *yi* 'with'. *Yi*-DP can either precede or follow the same group of main verbs, as shown in (9a, b), (10a, b) and (11a, b).

(9) a. 弓以招士 (左傳 · 昭公二十年)
   Gong$_i$ yi t$_i$ zhao   shi
   bow   with   summon   official
   '(he) summoned officials with a bow'

 b. 招虞人以弓 (*ibid*)
   Zhao   yuren   yi   gong
   summon   ranger   with   bow
   '(he) summoned with a bow'

(10) a. 將以戈擊之 (左傳 · 昭公二十五年)
   Jiang   yi   ge   ji   zhi
   Fut   with   spear   strike   3.OBJ
   '(He) will strike him with a spear'

(10) b. 武子擊之以杖 (韓非子 · 外儲說下)

    Wuzi   ji   zhi   yi   zhang
    Wuzi   strike   3.OBJ   with   cane
    'Wuzi struck him with a cane'

(11) a. 君子不以其所以養人者害人 (孟子 · 梁惠王上)

    Junzi   bu   yi   qi   suo   yi   yang
    gentleman   not   with   3.GEN   SUO   with   nurture
    ren]   zhe]   hai   ren
    person   ZHE   harm   person
    'Gentlemen do not harm people using that with which they nurture people'

    b. 不害之以實[1] (晏子 · 景公問明王之教民何若晏子對以先行義)

    Bu   hai   zhi   yi   shi
    not   harm   3.OBJ   with   penalty
    '(One) do not harm them with penalties'

It is worth mentioning that when *yi* introduces a non-interrogative DP, there are some instances where this non-*wh*-DP undergoes fronting to a position preceding the preposition, generating a DP-*yi*-VP surface order, as in (9a), but such movement is not obligatory, as in (9b), (10) and (11). When *yi* takes a *wh*-DP, this *wh*-complement undergoes obligatory movement, landing in a site before the head position. As can be seen from (12a) and (12b), such obligatory *wh*-preposing takes place in both instances involving preverbal and postverbal *wh*-PPs.

(12) a. 何以報我? (國語 · 晉語四)

    He_i yi t_i bao   wo?
    what   with   requite   me
    'What with (will you) requite me?'

    b. 救饑何以? (*ibid*)

    Jiu   ji he_i yi t_i?
    solve   famine   what   with
    'What with to solve the famine?'

Locative PPs are predominantly postverbal in Archaic Chinese [Peyraube, 1996], but they can also precede VPs. The two clauses in Example (13) share parallel meanings and contain the identical PP 'in wild fields', and they are extracted from the same source, yet these two clauses display opposite word sequences PP-VP and VP-PP. Similarly, another locative PP *yu ci* in (14)

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[1] The translation of *shi* into 'penalty' is proposed by Liu (2015) and Li and Yan (1996, p. 186).

also displays flexible distribution and occupies either a preverbal or postverbal position (14a, b). It is notable that (13) involves PP inversion between the head preposition and its complement, which is a robust aspect of LAC [He, 1982, 1989, 1992; Lu, 1982; Sun, 1991, 1996; Hsueh, 1995; Peyraube, 1996, 1997].

(13) 野于飲食...渝食于野 (墨子・非樂上)

Ye$_i$	yu t$_i$	yin	shi	…	yu	shi	yu	ye
Wild.field	at	drink	eat	…	abuse	food	at	wild.field

'(They) ate at wild fields … abused food at wild fields'

(14) a. 吾見子于此止矣 (國語・吳語)

Wu	jian	zi	yu	ci	zhi	yi
I	see	you	at	here	cease	Decl

'Our meeting ceases here'

b. 必死于此 (國語・晉語四)

Bi	si	yu	ci
definitely	die	at	here

'(I will) definitely die here'

Analogous to other adjuncts mentioned previously, source adverbials also demonstrate flexible distribution. In (15), PPs headed by the same preposition 於 *yu* can occupy alocation preceding or following the same verb 取 *qu*.

(15) a. 於此取之 (山海經・海外西經)

Yu	ci	qu	zhi
from	this	take	3.OBJ

'Take it from this'

b. 亦乃取於是者也 (莊子・知北遊)

Yi	nai	qu	yu	shi	zheye
also	be	take	from	this	Decl

'(It) is also taken from this'

To summarise, I suggest that LAC displays similarities and differences with modern Mandarin regarding the distribution of adverbial adjuncts. Aspecto-temporal, comitative, epistemic, evaluative, iterative, reciprocal, sequential, subject-oriented and temporal adverbials in LAC are constrained in preverbal positions, parallel to their counterparts in modern Mandarin; duration and frequency adverbials in LAC are free to occur preverbally or postverbally, which is also an attribute of their counterparts in Mandarin. Other adverbial adjuncts in LAC, however, are distinct from their modern counterparts that are confined to preverbal positions. To be more specific, degree, instrumental, locative and source adverbials are attested in both preverbal and postverbal locations in the LAC corpus.

3. Hierarchy of preverbal adverbials

In this section I investigate the hierarchy of preverbal adverbial adjuncts in LAC. Although adverbial adjuncts indicating degree, instrument, location and source are attested in both preverbal and postverbal positions, an overwhelming majority of adverbial DPs and PPs occur in front of VPs. For the sake of more available data, I limit my discussion within the domain above VP.

According to Ernst (2002, p. 143), adverbials can be divided into three categories based on scope:

1) participant adjuncts that have no scope requirements;

2) predicational adjuncts that have strict scope requirements; and

3) functional adjuncts that have loose scope requirements.

Ernst (2014) also propounds a relative order among cases of preverbal predicational adverbials in Mandarin (16) and provides examples to justify this sequence (17)–(19):

(16) Discourse-oriented > Evaluative > Epistemic >
Subject-oriented > Manner/degree

(17) Zhangsan   (dagai)   hui   hen   congming   de
Zhangsan   probably   will   very   intelligent   DE
(*dagai)   anpai   shiqing.
probably   arrange   matter
'Zhangsan probably will arrange the matter intelligently.'

(18) Lisi   (buxing)   yiding   (*buxing)   yao
Lisi   unfortunately definitely unfortunately will
liuzai   xuexiao   gongzuo,   buneng   huijia.
stay.in   school   work   can't   go.home
'Lisi unfortunately must stay at school and work instead
of going home.'

(19) Wangwu   (hen   bulimao   de)   dasheng
Wangwu   very   impolite   DE   loud
(*hen   bulimao   de)   baoyuan.
very   impolite   DE   complain
'Wangwu impolitely complained loudly.'

(From [Ernst, 2014, p. 52–53])

With regard to preverbal adverbial adjuncts in LAC, they also form a hierarchy according to their clausal positions, which I claim is as follows based on available data:

(20) Time > Subject > Discourse-oriented > Evaluative >
    Aspecto-temporal/Epistemic > Degree > Subject-oriented >
    Duration/Manner > Negation > Modal verb > Sequence >
    Comitative /Instrument > Reciprocal

Following Ernst's (2002, 2014) research on a range of languages, including Mandarin, I assume that the cross-linguistic fact of discourse-oriented adverbials preceding evaluative adverbials applies to LAC as well. Although my presumption cannot be supported by evidence extracted from the corpus, no counterexample has been attested either. The statement of discourse-oriented adverbs being lower than TP is justified by one and only one interrogative sentence where the adverb intervenes between a pronominal DP subject and a *wh*-DP predicate (21).

(21) 是誠何心哉? (孟子·梁惠王上)
    Shi   cheng   he   xin   zai?
    this   exactly   what   mentality Q
    'What mentality exactly (is) this?'

To justify the proposed hierarchy, I start with adverbials expressing time point, which is the only type of adjuncts in LAC appearing in the left periphery above TP. In Example (22a), a DP 今 *jin* 'today' indicating time point precedes the subject *wu* 'I'. Apart from the CP area, temporal adverbials are also found sentence-internally, as in (22b) that is from the same source as (22a). Due to lack of enough data, the exact location of temporal adverbials in the sentence-internal domain cannot be pinpointed. In (22c), though *jin* is in front of an evaluative adverb 誠 *cheng* 'indeed', there is lack of a subject, so whether *jin* is in the CP or sentence-internal domain cannot be decided, and it is unreasonable to presume a TP > Time > Evaluative order.

(22) a. 今吾尚病 (孟子·滕文公上)
        Jin   wu   shang   bing
        today   I   still   ill
        'Today I am still ill'

    b. 吾今則可以見矣 (*ibid*)

        Wu   jin   ze   keyi   jian   yi
        I   today   then   can   see   Decl
        'Today I can see (him) then'

    c. 今誠為文也 (韓非子·外儲說右上)
        Jin   cheng   weiwen   ye
        today   indeed   contribute   Decl
        'Today (they have) indeed contributed'

Evaluative adverbs intervene between TP and epistemics. (23a) shows that an evaluative adverb is lower than the subject, and (23b) shows that it is higher than an epistemic 'definitely'. It is worth mentioning that the morpheme 誠 *cheng* functions as a discourse-oriented adverb 'exactly' when preceding a *wh*-DP predicate (21), yet the same morpheme is interpreted as an evaluative adverb 'indeed' in a pre-verbal context (see (22c) and (23b)).

(23) a. 是誠在我 (孟子・滕文公上)

    Shi   cheng   zai   wo

    this   indeed   rely.on   me

    'This indeed relies on me'

  b. 秦王誠必欲伐齊乎? (戰國策・韓策三)

    Qin   wang   cheng   bi   xu   fa   Qi   hu?

    Qin   king   indeed   definitely   want   attack   Qi   Q

    'Does the King of Qin indeed definitely want to attack Qi?'

In terms of epistemics, as speaker-oriented adverbs, they are located higher than 'will' in Mandarin, because adverbials taking wider scope precede those taking narrower scope [Ernst, 2014].

(24) Zhangsan   {yiding/dagai/haoxiang}   hui   ying

    Zhangsan   definitely/probably/apparently   will   win

    zhe-chang   bisai.

    this-CL   game

    'Zhangsan will definitely/probably/apparently win this game.'

(From [Ernst, 2014, p. 58])

Nonetheless, in LAC epistemics and the aspecto-temporal adverb 將 *jiang* 'will' demonstrate flexible relative ordering, and both *bi jiang* (25a) and *jiang bi* (25b) constructions are attested.

(25) a. 故必將撞大鐘 (荀子・富國)

    Gu   bi   jiang   zhuang   da   zhong

    so   definitely   Fut   strike   big   bell

    'So (they) will definitely strike big bells'

  b. 將必求之 (國語・周語中)

    Jiang   bi   qiu   zhi

    Fut   definitely   seek   3.OBJ

    '(I) will definitely seek it'

The next category in the hierarchy is degree adverbials. A degree adverb may follow the aspecto-temporal adverb *jiang* (26a) or epistemic *bi* (26b), justifying their relative ordering as proposed in (20). Note that 皆 *jie*

'all' in (26b) is a subject quantifier that only quantifies an NP to its left [Harbsmeier, 1981; Aldridge, 2013].

(26) a. 蓋將甚敬而不急 (莊子・人間世)
     Gai   jiang   shen   jing   er   bu   ji
     probably Fut   very   respect Conj not   rush
     '(They) probably will respect (me) very much but not rush'

    b. 必皆非之 (墨子・尚同上)
     Bi   jie   fei   zhi
     definitely all   deny 3.obj
     '(They) definitely all deny it'

The adjuncts following degree adverbials are subject-oriented ones. In Mandarin, subject-oriented adverbials are generally in the form of AP-*de*, and they assign some quality to the subject, either being an evaluation of the subject in agent-oriented expressions or a representation of the subject's mental state in mental-attitude expressions. Under both circumstances, subjects can control the event, or at least refrain it from being performed [Ernst 2002, 2014]. In LAC, subject-oriented adverbials are generally in the form of AP-*ran*. In (27), *xinxinran* describes the mental status of the subject, i.e. being pleased.

(27) 舉欣欣然有喜色而相告曰 (孟子・梁惠王下)
    Ju   xinxinran you   xi   se   er   xiang
    all   joyfully   have   happy expression Conj   mutually
    gao   yue
    tell   say
    '(They) all joyfully had happy expressions and told each other'

In the hierarchy, what is below a subject-oriented adverbial may be a duration or manner adverb, but the relative ordering between duration and manner adjuncts cannot be decided due to lack of data. In (28a), the adverb *xinran* (= *xinxinran* in (27)) describing the subject's mental status precedes a DP adverbial indicating duration, and in (28b), the same subject-oriented adverb precedes a manner adverb 大 *da* 'loudly', yet no examples are attested to demonstrate the relative order between duration and manner adjuncts.

(28) a. 欣然七日不食 (淮南子・脩務訓)
     Xinran   qi   ri   bu   shi
     joyfully 7   day   not   eat
     '(He) joyfully did not eat for seven days'

(28) b. 王欣然大笑曰 (韓詩外傳 · 卷十)

  Wang xiran da xiao yue

  king joyfully loudly laugh say

  'The king joyfully laughed loudly and said'

Regarding negatives, they intervene between duration/manner and sequential adverbials in the hierarchy. As can be seen from (28a) (and (5a)), the negator *bu* is preceded by the duration DP. (29) shows that negation is followed by an adverb *xian* expressing sequence.

(29) 主人不問，客不先舉 (禮記 · 曲禮上)

  Zhuren bu wen, ke bu xian ju

  host not ask guest not first start

  '(If) hosts do not ask, guests (should) not start first'

Following sequential adverbs, the next adverbial category is either comitative or instrument adverbials, but their relative order cannot be pinpointed. In LAC, it is common for comitative and instrument adverbials to occupy preverbal positions after negation, as in (30a) and (30b). Furthermore, there are data indicating that comitative/instrumental adverbials may follow sequential adverbs (31a, b). Since sequential adverbs are lower than negation (29), it is justifiable to suggest an order of Neg-Sequence-Comitative/Instrument.

(30) a. 孟子獨不與歡言 (孟子 · 離婁下)

  Mengzi du bu yu Huan yan

  Mencius alone not with Huan converse

  'Mencius alone did not converse with Huan (me)'

 b. 君王不以鞭箠使之 (國語 · 吳語)

  Junwang bu yi bian chuishi zhi

  Your.Majesty not with whip enslave 3.OBJ

  'Your Majesty did not enslave them with a whip'

(31) a. 使楚人先與吳人戰 (左傳 · 定公五年)

  Shi Chu ren xian yu Wu ren zhan

  make Chu person first with Wu person fight

  'Make Chu people fight with Wu people first'

 b. 然必先以規矩為度 (韓非子 · 有度)

  Ran bi xian yi gui ju wei du

  Conj definitely first with compasses ruler do measurement

  'But (he) definitely makes measurements with compasses and rulers first'

The fact that comitative and instrumental adjuncts both intervene between negation (or more specifically, sequence adverbs) and VP are not unexpected, as they both take the form of P-DP. As for the fact that their relative ordering cannot be pinpointed, it is consistent with Ernst's (2014) statement: comitative and instrumental PPs, as participant adjuncts indicating roles for additional participants in an event, cross-linguistically have greater freedom in a hierarchy determining rigid linear ordering of adverbials [Ernst, 2014].

The lowest adjuncts in the hierarchy are reciprocal adverbs that follow comitative/instrument adverbials, as in (32a, b) where *xiang* 'mutually' is to the right of a comitative PP or an instrument PP.

(32) a. 安與之相靡 (莊子・知北遊)

An	yu	zhi	xiang	mi
peacefully	with	3.obj	mutually	comply

'(People) mutually comply with it in a peaceful manner'

b. 皆以水火毒藥相虧害 (墨子・尚同上)

Jie	yi	shui	huo	duyao	xiang	kuihai
all	with	water	fire	poison	mutually	harm

'(They) all harm each other with water, fire and poison'

I would like to point out that what immediately follow negatives in the hierarchy are actually modal verbs, though they are not adjuncts. 可以 *keyi* (33a) and 能 *neng* (33b) are common modal verbs in LAC, and they still exist in modern Mandarin, keeping their original meanings. In Mandarin, *keyi* is 'be permitted to' while *neng* is 'be able to' [Lin, Tang, 1995; Lin, 2011]. (33b) contains a preposed pronoun *zhi* that raises from its base position within VP and lands in a preverbal position between negation and the modal verb. Pronoun fronting in the context of negation is prevalent, as negators usually 'trigger' raising of pronouns in LAC. However, there are exceptions: (33a) involves the same pronoun *zhi,* yet it stays in its base position, hence the canonical order of Neg-Mod-V-Pron. For pronoun fronting to negation in LAC, its nature, motivation and disappearance in the modern period, as well as the fact that a pronoun in an identical construction undergoes fronting in some cases but does not in other cases, are beyond the research scope of this paper.

(33) a. 吾不可以僭之 (左傳・哀公五年)

Wu	bu	keyi	jian	zhi
I	not	can	betray	3.obj

'I cannot betray him'

(33) b. 未之能行 (論語・公冶長)
  wei   zhi_i   neng   xing t_i
  not.yet 3.OBJ   can   execute
  '(He) could not execute it yet'

Data demonstrates that modal verbs are located higher than sequential adverbs (34), and hence comitative/instrument PPs (35). In Example (35a) and (35b), the modal verb *neng* follows negators *bu* and *wei* and precedes PPs indicating comitative and instrument respectively, so it is safe to say that modal verbs intervene between negation and comitative/instrument adjuncts. Since (35b) is a negative environment, the preposition *zhi* raises out of its base position following a preposition and lands in a position outside the PP. Again, in this paper I do not account for the fact that (35a) does not involve pronoun fronting, though it shares the same pronoun and same Neg-Mod-PP-VP canonical order with (35b).

(34) a. 可以先防 (黃帝內經・刺法論)
  Keyi   xian   fang
  can   first   prevent
  '(We) can prevent (it) first'

  b. 有能先登者 (韓非子・內儲說上)
  You   neng   xian   deng   zhe
  there.be can   first   mount   the.one.who
  '(If) there are those who can mount first'

(35) a. 而王公不能與之爭名 (荀子・儒效)
  Er   wanggong   bu   neng   yu   zhi
  Conj   the.nobility   not   can   with   3.OBJ
  zheng   ming
  compete fame
  'Yet the nobility cannot compete with them for fame'

  b. 未之能以出 (公羊傳・昭公二十五年)
  wei   zhi_i   neng   yi t_i   chu
  not.yet 3.OBJ   can   with   present
  '(I) have not been able to present (sacrifices) with it'

So far, the hierarchy proposed in (20) shows that speaker-oriented adjuncts, including discourse-oriented, evaluative and epistemic adverbs, precede negators and hence modals in LAC, as in (36a–c). This observation is in accord with Ernst's (2008, 2009, 2014) argument based on Mandarin that all types of speaker-oriented adverbials must precede negators and modals, as they are positive polarity items that cannot be included in the scope of negation or modality.

(36) a. 幸而不亡 (左傳・昭公十八年)
　　　Xinger　　　bu　　　wang
　　　fortunately　not　　perish
　　　'(Our country) fortunately did not perish'

　　b. 則诚不善矣 (晏子・景公問治國之患晏子對以佞人讒夫在君側)
　　　Ze　　　cheng　bu　　shan　yi
　　　then　　indeed　not　kind　Decl
　　　'Then (they) are indeed not kind'

　　c. 吾王庶幾無疾病與 (孟子・梁惠王下)
　　　Wu　　wang　shuji　　wu　　　jibing　　yu
　　　my　　lord　probably　not.have　disease　Decl
　　　'My Lord probably does not have diseases'

It is noteworthy that in LAC when more than one adverbial of the same function co-occur, they follow specific orders. For instance, frequency adverbial DPs 日 *ri* 'daily' and 三 *san* 'thrice' co-exist in the same preverbal domain of the same sentence, and *ri* precedes *san*, yet the *san-ri pattern (without changing the original meaning) is never attested.

(37) 吾日三省吾身 (论语・學而)
　　Wu　　ri　　san　　xing　　wu　　shen
　　I　　daily　thrice　examine　GEN　body
　　'I daily examine myself thrice'

In Mandarin, if 'daily' and 'three times' co-occur, 'daily' also needs to precede 'three times', but the former is preverbal and the latter is postverbal, regardless of the verb's transitivity.

(38) a. Zhangsan　　meitian　　ku　　sanci.
　　　Zhangsan　　daily　　cry　　3.times
　　　'Zhangsan cries three times a day.'

　　b. *Zhangsan　　meitian　　sanci　　ku.
　　　Zhangsan　　daily　　3.times　cry

　　c. Zhangsan　　meitian　　chi　　sanci　　yao.
　　　Zhangsan　　daily　　eat　　3.times　medicine
　　　'Zhangsan takes medicine three times a day.'

　　d. *Zhangsan　　meitian　　sanci　　chi　　yao.
　　　Zhangsan　　daily　　3.times　eat　　medicine

Similarly, when two adverbials expressing accompaniment, e.g. a comitative PP and an adverb, co-exist in the same sentence, there is a fixed order:

(39) 民欲與之偕亡 (孟子・梁惠王上)

Min	yu	yu	zhi	xie	wang
people	want	with	3.Obj	together	die

'People wish for his death, even though they should die with him'
(Lit. 'People want to die with him together')

This PP-Adverb order applies to comitative constructions in Mandarin as well:

(40) a.

Zhangsan	xiang	he	Lisi	yiqi	lai.
Zhangsan	want	with	Lisi	together	come

'Zhangsan wants to come together with Lisi.'

b.

*Zhangsan	xiang	yiqi	he	Lisi	lai.
Zhangsan	want	together	with	Lisi	come

4. Accounts of adverbials

There are two main approaches to the syntax of adverbial adjuncts. One approach is referred to as the F-Spec theory, proposing that UG provides a universal, rigidly ordered sequence of functional heads to license adverbs, with each head licensing one narrow adverb class in its specifier. This theory is in line with the Linear Correspondence Axiom [Kayne, 1994] that forbids right-adjunction and derives alternative orders of adverbs and heads by upward movement of heads across adverbs or roll-up movement. A reversed surface order VP-PP-AdvP, therefore, can be generated from acanonical order AdvP-PP-VP via two leftward movements [Cinque, 1999, 2004, 2006]. The other approach is the semantically based adjunction theory that permits right-adjunction in some cases, unlike the F-Spec theory. This theory generally assumes that adverbials are adjoined to maximal projections, and their relative ordering and combinations are predominantly affected by the interaction between their semantics and rules of semantic composition, so when there are clashes or violations of principles, ungrammaticality arises [Ernst, 2002; Haider, 2004; Nilsen, 2004).

Ernst (2014) reviews these two main approaches and points out issues for both of them. The F-Spec theory entails exceptions to principles such as the Head Movement Constraint [Travis, 1984], duplication of licensing heads and ill-understood movement triggers; additionally, the prediction on the ordering of adverbial modifiers, along with the associated prediction of 'transitivity' (viz. if adverbial A precedes B and B precedes C, then A precedes C) are not borne out. As for the semantically based adjunction theory, it relies on semantic interpretation to rule out unfeasible orders, yet it fails to provide explicit semantic accounts of requirements for each adverbial

category; moreover, there is lack of precise elaboration of how particular orderings do or do not produce well-formed representations.

To account for the postverbal positioning of duration/frequency adverbials in Mandarin, Soh (1998) proposes that duration and frequency adverbials are base-generated within (shells of) lexical VPs and stay in situ, while verbs move across them to *v*. The tree structure for (41a) involving a V-DO-Adv order is in (41b), where the specifier node of FP provides a landing site for a fronted object.

(41) a. Zhangsan   da-le   (ta)   haojici   (*ta).
     Zhangsan   hit-PRF   s/he   many.time   s/he
     'Zhangsan hit her/him many times.'

   b.
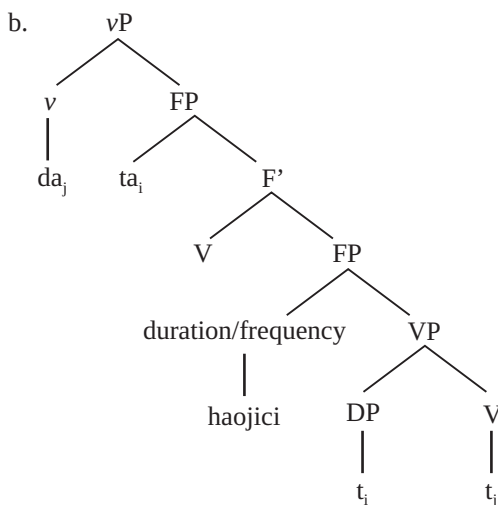
(Adopted from [Ernst, 2014, p. 65–66])

Nonetheless, I argue that this approach cannot explain the postverbal distribution of duration/frequency adverbials, as it yields a wrong word order. For Example (41a), with the adverbial staying in situ, if the verb raised to *v* and the direct object occupied [Spec,FP], the perfect particle *le* had to land in the head of the functional project, and hence an ungrammatical construction *V-DO-*le*-Adv.

Feng (2000, 2003) argues that postverbal PPs in Mandarin cannot be explained by syntax or morphology; instead, their behaviours are prosodi-cally constrained syntactic phenomena. It is difficult for a syntactic or morpho-logical theory to account for a ban of pronouns and definite NPs in [V NP PP]. A prosodic analysis, however, can explain the ungrammaticality of VPs

taking pronouns or definite NPs in their argument positions. Pronouns and definite NPs, given their semantic antecedents in discourse, are anaphoric elements, so they are metrically invisible to prosodic operations and do not generally attract stress. Based on metrical property of stress attraction between anaphoric constituents (marked with 'L(ight)') and non-anaphoric constituents (marked with 'H(eavy)'), *[V pronoun/definite-NP PP] and [V indefinite-NP PP] are represented as [V NP_H P + NP_L] and [V *NP_L P + NP_H] respectively. Similarly, [V + *pron + PP] and [V + [P + *(pron)] PP + NP] are represented as [V [P $NP_L]_{PP}$ NP] and [V [P *$NP_H]_{PP}$ NP] respectively. To account for the syntactic behaviours of postverbal PPs in Mandarin, Feng (2003) postulates the following:

(42) *Government-based Nuclear Stress Rule* (*G-NSR*)
Given two sister nodes C1 and C2, if C1 and C2 are selectionally ordered, the one lower in selectional ordering and containing an element governed by the selector is more prominent.

(43) *Invisibility Condition*
In Chinese, anaphoric elements are prosodically invisible constituents that have no bearing on prosodic analysis.

(44) *Structural Removing Condition* (*SRC*)
Remove all the prosodically invisible elements (with their syntactic branches) from the tree structure, when NSR applies.

(From [Feng, 2003, p. 1091–1094])

Nonetheless, I argue that this prosodic approach for postverbal PPs in Mandarin cannot be employed to account for the syntax of preverbal or postverbal adverbial PPs in LAC.

First, I demonstrate that the prosodic theory does not apply to postverbal PPs in LAC.

For postverbal PPs in Mandarin, the prosodic analysis correctly predicts the grammaticality of [V NP_H P + NP_L] and ungrammaticality of [V *NP_L P + NP_H]. In LAC, the [V NP_H P + NP_L] construction also exists, as shown in (45a) that contains an indefinite NP (NP_H) 'people' and a definite NP (NP_L) 'the boundaries of territories'. Nevertheless, what the prosodic approach does not expect in modern Mandarin is a [V NP_H P + NP_H] pattern, yet it is indeed attested in LAC, as shown in (45b) involving an indefinite NP_H 'etiquette' functioning as a prepositional complement. (45a) and (45b) are examples involving instrumental adverbials, while (46a) and (46b) contain locative PPs with unstressed/stressed prepositional complements respectively, and both verbal complements in (46) a reprosodically stressable. In a word, LAC allows both [V NP_H P + NP_L] [V NP_H P + NP_H] constructions, yet the latter is unexpected for the prosodic account targeting Mandarin.

(45) a. 域民不以封疆之界 (孟子・公孫丑下)
    Yu   min   bu   yi   fengjiang   zhi   jie
    restrict   people   not   with   territory   GEN   boundary
    '(A ruler) does not enclose people with the boundaries
    of territories'

    b. 治民不以禮 (荀子・大略)
    Zhi   min   bu   yi   li
    manage   people   not   with   etiquette
    '(If one) does not manage people with etiquette'

(46) a. 盜跖死利于东陵之上 (莊子・駢拇)
    Dao   Zhi   si   li   yu   Dongling   zhi   shang
    theft   Zhi   die.for profit   at   Dongling   GEN   top
    'Zhi the theft died for profit at the top of (Mt) Dongling'

    b. 渝食于野 (墨子・非樂上)
    Yu   shi   yu   ye
    abuse   food   at   wild.field
    '(They) abused food at wild fields'

Moreover, the prediction concerning the ban of anaphoric constituents in complement positions preceding PPs, viz. the ungrammaticality of [V *NP_L P + NP_H], is not borne out in LAC. In (47a), at hird person singular pronoun *zhi* intervenes between a verb and a PP; similarly, in (47b), a definite DP consisting of a genitive *qi* and a NP *zi* appears in an argument position. Data in (47) validate the grammaticality of [V NP_L P + NP_H] in LAC.

(47) a. 吾求之於度數 (莊子・天運)
    Wu   qiu   zhi   yu   dushu
    I   seek   3.OBJ   from   principle
    'I sought it from principles'

    b. 隊其子於井 (墨子・七患)
    Zhui   qi   zi   yu   jing
    drop   GEN son   to   well
    '(If she) drops her son into a well'

It is worth pointing out that in (47) the propositional complements are indefinite, non-anaphoric constituents, yet in other examples anaphoric elements can appear in postverbal PPs, as in (48a) and (48b-c) that contain a pronoun and definite DPs respectively. Taking both (47) and (48) into consideration, it is reasonable to state that LAC allows [V NP_L P + $NP_{H/L}$] constructions, which is unexpected for the prosodic analysis targeting Mandarin.

(48) a. 以其時考之則可矣 (孟子・公孫丑下)

    Yi   qi   shi   kao   zhi   ze   ke   yi

    with   GEN   trend   examine   3.OBJ   then   appropriate   Decl

    'It is then appropriate to examine it with its trends'

    b. 則移其民於河東 (孟子・梁惠王上)

    Ze   yi   qi   min   yu   he   dong

    then   migrate   GEN   people   to   river   east

    'Then (I) migrated my people to the east of the river'

    c. 說之以其行 (晏子・景公問善為國家者何如晏子對以舉賢官能)

    Shuo   zhi   yi   qi   xing

    judge   3.OBJ   with   GEN   behaviour

    'Judge him with his behaviours'

Second, in terms of preverbal PPs in LAC, they are not prosodically constrained either.

According to the prosodic theory accounting for PPs in Mandarin, anaphoric constituents are prosodically invisible, so these light forms are rejected from argument positions while requested inside locative PPs, namely, object NPs cannot be metrically lighter than locative NPs [Feng, 2003].

In LAC, however, when anaphoric constituents act as prepositional complements within PPs, argument positions do not have to be taken by non-anaphoric elements. That is to say, both $[P + NP_L \text{ V } NP_H]$ and $[P + NP_L \text{ V } NP_L]$ are felicitous, and argument DPs can, but do not have to, be heavier than DPs within PPs. Data show that DPs functioning as verbal complements are permitted to be heavier than DPs functioning as prepositional complements (49), or prosodically equally-weighted with them (50). In (49), a pronoun that is prosodically light acts as a propositional complement, while the argument position is occupied by a stressable indefinite DP that is heavier than the PP.

In (50a), a definite DP is headed by a determiner *ci* and it acts as a prepositional complement, but the following argument is also a DP headed by the same determiner, which means object DPs do not have to be heavier than PPs and they can both be located in unstressed positions. In (50b), both VP- and PP-internal positions are non-stressable: the former is occupied by a definite DP and the latter is occupied by a pronoun.

(49) 君子以此坊民 (禮記・坊記)

    Junzi   yi   ci   fang   min

    gentleman   with   this   protect   people

    'Gentlemen protect people with this'

(50) a. 予將以此道覺此民也 (孟子・萬章下)

Yu jiang yi ci dao jue ci min ye
I   FUT   with DET principle enlighten DET people Decl
'I will enlighten these people with these principles'

b. 不以其道得之 (論語・里仁)

Bu yi qi dao de zhi
not with GEN principle obtain 3.OBJ
'(If one) does not obtain them with principles'

Regarding the statement that argument DPs can, but do not have to, be heavier than DPs within PPs, apart from $[P + NP_L\ V\ NP_{L/H}]$ constructions, there is another potential pattern, viz. $[P + NP_H\ V\ NP_H]$, and it is indeed attested. In (51), both DPs functioning as a prepositional complement and verbal complement are indefinite, hence metrically heavy forms. Their coexistence in the same sentence indicates that both DPs in VP and PP can carry stress and thus be prosodically equally-weighted.

(51) 猶以一杯水救一車薪之火也

You yi yi bei shui jiu yi che
be.like with one glass water rescue one cart
xin zhi huo ye
firewood of fire part
'It is like fighting a fire of a cart-full of firewood with a glass of water'

(孟子・滕文公下; [Peyraube, 2003, p. 143])

What is even more surprising is that in LAC DPs acting as verbal complements can be lighter than those as prepositional complements, exactly opposite to Mandarin. That is to say, LAC permits $[P + NP_H\ V\ NP_L]$ structures. In (52), an object DP occupies an unstressed position while a PP occupies a stressed position. Note that in (52) the prepositional complement raises from its base position following the preposition to a landing site preceding its head.

(52) 信以成之 (論語・衛靈公)

Xin_i yi t_i cheng zhi
integrity with accomplish 3.OBJ
'(Gentlemen) accomplish it with integrity'

5. Conclusion

In this paper I demonstrate that the distribution of adverbial adjuncts LAC is not identical to that in modern Mandarin. Aspecto-temporal, comitative, epistemic, evaluative, iterative, reciprocal, sequential, subject-oriented and

temporal adverbials in LAC are only attested in preverbal positions, similar to their counterparts in modern Mandarin; duration and frequency adverbials in LAC are attested in both preverbal and postverbal positions, parallel to their counterparts in Mandarin. However, degree, instrumental, locative and source adverbials in LAC are different from their modern counterparts that are restricted to preverbal positions: these four categories of adverbials can be found in both preverbal and postverbal locations in the LAC corpus. I also scrutinise the clausal positioning of preverbal adverbial adjuncts and suggest their relative ordering with subject, negation and modal verbs in the CP area and medial domain. The specific hierarchy I propose is in (53) (=(20)). Note that due to lack of data in the LAC corpus, the relative orders between aspecto-temporal and epistemic adjuncts and between comitative and instrument adjuncts cannot be identified.

(53) Time > Subject > Discourse-oriented > Evaluative >
    Aspecto-temporal/Epistemic > Degree > Subject-oriented >
    Duration/Manner > Negation > Modal verb > Sequence >
    Comitative/Instrument > Reciprocal

As for the theory explaining adverbial adjuncts, though Feng's (2003) prosodic approach accounts for adverbials in modern Mandarin, it cannot be successfully applied to LAC. Therefore, in future research I intend to posit a theory to account for the distribution and hierarchy of adverbial adjuncts in LAC.

As identified by Rissanen (1989), there are three main problems associated with using diachronic corpora:

1) 'the philologist's dilemma' that the employment of corpora may replace in-depth knowledge of language history which needs to beobtained from the study of original texts in their contexts;

2) 'God's truth fallacy' that corpora may be used to generate representative conclusions of entire language periods, neglecting the limitations language speakers of the contemporary period are not intuitively aware of;

3) 'the mystery of vanishing reliability' that the more variables used in sampling and coding corpora in respect ofperiods, genres, age, gender etc., the more difficult it is to fully represent each one and achieve statistical reliability.

There is no denying the fact that my research on LAC is potentially subject to all these three risks.

Apart from addressing the above-mentioned issues, future research could answer three questions raised in Feng (2014):

1) timing problem of why most new prepositions appear during the Han Dynasty following the LAC period [He, 1984];

2) position problem of why new prepositions are generated in preverbal positions;

3) category problem of why new prepositions mostly (if not exclusively) precede verbs.

Moreover, pronoun fronting in the context of negation in LAC, including its nature, motivation and disappearance in modern Mandarin, as well as existence/nonexistence in identical environments, is also worth investigating.

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