The Old Chinese Determiner *zhe*

Edith Aldridge, University of Washington

14.1 Introduction

This paper proposes a unified analysis of three uses of the functional morpheme *zhe* in late archaic Chinese (5th -3rd Centuries BC). One function of *zhe* was to form a relative clause. (1a) shows a relative clause formed on the subject of a verbal predicate. In (1b), the relative head is the subject of an adjectival predicate. *Zhe* can only relativize on subject position. A different morpheme *suo* is used to relativize on VP-internal positions, as will be discussed in section 4.

(1) a. 欲戦者可謂眾矣。 (*Zuozhuan*, Cheng 6)

[[ e Yu zhan] zhe] ke wei zhong yi.

desire fight ZHE Pot say majority Asp

‘(Those) who desire to fight can be said to form the majority.’

b. 仁者不憂。 (*Analects*, Zihan)

[[ e Ren] zhe] bu you.

virtue ZHE Neg worry

‘One who is virtuous does not worry.’
In the examples in (2), the zhe constituents do not contain a gap. The function of zhe is to nominalize the clause so that it can appear in argument position. (2a) shows a sentential subject, while the two zhe constituents in (2b) are complement CPs.

(2) a. 以 尨 衣 純 而 玺 之 以 金銑 者

[Yi mang yi chun er jue zhi yi jinxian zhe]
with impure clothe pure Conj jade 3.Obj with gold ZHE

寒 之 甚 矣。

han zhi shen yi.
cold Gen extreme Asp

‘To clothe the pure with impure colors and (replace) his jade pendant with gold is cold (heartedness) in the extreme.’

b. 吾 聞 用 夏 變 夷 者

Wu wen [yong Xia bian yi zhe]
I hear use Chinese change foreigner ZHE

未 聞 變 於 夷 者 也。

wei wen [bian yu yi zhe] ye
not hear change by foreigner ZHE Decl

‘I have heard of using Chinese (culture) to change the ways of foreigners but have not heard of being changed by foreigners.’
Given examples like those in (2), it is clear that *zhe* is not simply a relativizer. Rather, *zhe* is frequently assigned the more general designation of nominalizer (Yang & He 1992, Han 1995, Pulleyblank 1995, He 2004, and others), since in both (1) and (2) it selects a verbal, adjectival, or clausal projection and creates a nominal phrase which can appear in argument position in the clause. This analysis does not extend, however, to instances like (3), in which *zhe* takes an NP as its complement, given that NP is itself a nominal category. He (2004) proposes that this is a different type of *zhe*, designating it as a ‘discourse particle’ (語氣詞). Interestingly, *zhe* often attaches to topicalized constituents, as is the case in (3). For example, the paragraph preceding (3b) in the text is a lengthy discussion conducted by two wives on the odd behavior of their spouse, who has a habit of going to cemeteries to enjoy the offerings of food and wine left for the spirits.

(3) a. 夫二人者，魯國社稷之臣也。
[[NP Fu er ren] *zhe*], Luguo sheji zhi chen ye.
Dem two person ZHE Lu nation Gen minister Decl
‘These two men (will become) ministers of Lu at the national level.’

(Zuo zhuan, Cheng 16)

b. 良人者所仰望而終身也。
[[NP liangren] *zhe*] suo yangwang er zhongshen ye.
husband ZHE SUO look.up.to Conj lifelong Decl
‘A husband is someone we should look up to our entire lives.’

(Mencius, Lilou 2)
However, proposing different types of *zhe* introduces the obvious problem of a nonuniform analysis. An additional problem is the lack of precision afforded by this analysis. For instance, the designation ‘discourse particle’ is not clearly defined. It is also not accurate to assume that the *zhe* constituent is always a topic, as I discuss in section 2. Furthermore, He’s nominalizing category fails to distinguish between relative clause formation in (1) and clausal nominalization in (2).

Zhu (1983) offers a more precise analysis by distinguishing *zhe* constituents which involve a gap, as is the case with the relative clauses in (1), from those which do not involve a gap, as in (2) and (3). The former, he dubs ‘other-referring’ (轉指), since the reference of the *zhe* constituent is the gap and not the overt part of *zhe*’s complement. The other type is called ‘self-referring’ (自指), since the reference is to the constituent itself. Zhu’s analysis, however, still suffers from the problem of not being able to make a connection between the two types of *zhe*.

In this paper, I propose a uniform account of the three uses of *zhe* exemplified in (1)-(3). I analyze *zhe* as a determiner which can select a nominal or clausal complement and project a DP. In relative clauses, *zhe* additionally binds the head position inside the clause. Thus, the proposal in this paper is consistent with Zhu’s dichotomy between the relativizer and non-relativizer. Unlike Zhu, however, I treat *zhe* uniformly as a determiner, varying only in whether it serves as an operator.

14.2 *Zhe* as a determiner

I argue that the different functions of *zhe* can be given a uniform account by analyzing *zhe* as a type of determiner. Significantly, the earliest known example of *zhe* is one in which it selects a
nominal complement. (4) is taken from the *Shangshu*, which is believed to have been written between 800 and 700 BCE, several centuries before the late archaic period examples in (1) – (3).

(4) 曰時五者來備，各以其敘，
Yue [shi wu zhe] lai bei, ge yi qi xu
say Dem five ZHE come provide each with 3.Gen turn
庶草蕃蕪。(Shangshu, Hongfan)
shu cao fanwu
Dem plant flourish
‘If these five (elements) have been provided, and each in their turn, then the plants will flourish.’

According to the DP Hypothesis (Szabolcsi 1983, Abney 1987, Longobardi 1994, among many others), an NP must combine with a determiner in order to occur in argument position. The NP is treated as a predicate; the determiner picks out a particular member or members from the extension of that predicate. In the words of Cheng and Sybesma (1999:513), a determiner “has the function of mediating between the description (predication) provided by the NP and whatever specific entity in the real world to which the description is applied.” In (5) ‘the’ picks out the unique individual in the discourse with the property of being a house.

(5)  
\[\text{DP} \quad \text{D} \quad \text{NP} \]
\[\text{the} \quad \text{house}\]
Adding positions for demonstratives and number phrases (Ritter 1992), this yields the following preliminary analysis of the *zhe* DP in (6).

(6)

```
                      DP
                     /   \
                    shi   D'
                   /     \        
                  NumP    D
                 /       \     /
                wu      NP    zhe
                   |      /    |
                    pro   
```

To take the analysis a step further, however, the nominalizing function of *zhe* is more aptly captured by analyzing it as a lower functional head in DP. Marantz (1997), Harley and Noyer (1999, 2000), and others have proposed that lexical categories are not inherent features of lexical items but are rather determined by the structural environment. Hence, the head of the complement of *v* is understood as a VP. Likewise, the head of the complement of a determiner is interpreted as a nominal category. To make the parallel more direct, I suggest that the determiner responsible for categorizing an NP is *n*, a functional category located in DP between NP and D.

(7)

```
                      DP
                     /   \
                    DEM   D'
                   /     \        
                  GEN    nP
                 /       \     /
                NP/CP    n
                   |      /    |
                    ZHE   
```
Initial evidence for this proposal is the fact that zhe cooccurs with other elements in the DP layer, for example demonstratives and genitives.

(8)  a. 夫 三 子 者 之 言 何 如? (Analects, Xianjin)

[Dem three gentleman ZHE Gen word what like 'How about what those three gentlemen said?']

b. 庾公之斯 衛子 之 善 射 者 也。 (Mencius, Lilou 2)

Yugongzhisi Weizi well shoot ZHE Decl ‘Yugongzhisi is a skilled archer of Wei.’

There is also clear evidence that the position of zhe is structurally lower than D. (9) and (10) show zhe relative clauses with an adverbial modifier. The adverb can optionally appear with genitive case. If the adverb takes genitive case, it is interpreted as having wide scope with respect to the zhe constituent, as in (9). Xue zhe is a relative clause meaning ‘one who studies’ or ‘those who study’. The adverbhou ‘later’ is interpreted outside of the constituent headed by zhe, modifying the entire relative clause ‘those who study’. Specifically, Mencius is referring to the next generation of scholars who will succeed him in observing the ways of the ancient kings.

(9) 守 先 王 之 道

shou xian wang zhi dao observe ancient king Gen principle
以待後之學者。 (Mencius, Tengwen 2)

yi dai [hou zhi [xue zhe]]

C await later Gen study ZHE

‘(He) observes the principles of the ancient kings in order to await future scholars.’

In contrast to this, the lack of genitive marking forces the adverb in (10) to be interpreted inside the relative clause. _Hou si zhe_ is a humble first person expression. It can be translated literally as ‘one who will die later’, in other words someone younger than the interlocutor. This cannot mean ‘a future dead person’, since all humans are mortal and therefore future dead people.

(10) 天之將喪斯文也

Tian zhi jiang sang si wen ye

Heaven Gen will extinguish this culture Nom

後死者不得與於斯文也。 (Analects, Zihan)

[hou si zhe] bu de yu yu si wen ye.

later die ZHE not can be with this culture Decl

‘If Heaven intends to extinguish this culture, then I (one who will die later) should not be able to have contact with it.’

Additional evidence that genitive phrases are structurally higher than the position of _zhe_ comes from the difference between internally and externally headed relative clauses. The head in a relative clause in old Chinese can either follow or precede the clause. When the head follows
the clause, the genitive marker intervenes between the head and the clause, as in (11a). The relative head in final position is clearly external to the clause, since it is dislocated from its argument position, which for subjects must be preverbal, typically clause-initial, position. (11b) and (11c) show relative clauses with the head NP in initial position, which could be understood as argument position for a subject. When the head NP precedes the clause, *zhe* is required at the end of the entire constituent. The difference between the two types is that the head nominal in (11b) precedes the genitive case marker, while in (11c) there is no genitive marking on the head nominal.

(11) a. 豈若從避世之士哉。  
(Analects, Weizi)
how like follow escape world Gen gentleman Excl

‘How could that compare to following a gentleman who escapes from the world?’

b. 馬之死者十二三矣。  
(Zhuangzi, Mati)
[ma   zhi [si  zhe]]  shi  er  san   yi.
horse Gen die ZHE 10 2 3 Asp

‘Of the horses, 2 or 3 out of 10 have died.’

c. 臣弑其君者有之。
[
chen    shi  qi  jun]  zhe]  you   zhi.
minister assassinate 3s.Gen lord ZHE exist this

‘Ministers who assassinate their lords do exist.’  (Mencius, Tengwen 2)
The question that needs to be addressed here is whether the head nominals in both (11b) and (11c) are internal to the constituent headed by zhe. In other words, does the presence or absence of genitive marking in (11b) and (11c) have the same structural correlate we observed for the adverbs in (9) and (10)? What I argue here is that the genitive marker occurs only in externally headed relative clauses, i.e. when the head NP is located structurally outside the constituent selected by zhe.

This is shown by the difference in information status of the head NP in (11b) and (11c). Williamson (1987) has shown convincingly that heads of internally headed relative clauses are indefinite. The head nominal in (11b), however, is definite, a discourse topic in fact. The preceding discourse is a story about a horse trainer who brands his horses, shaves them, bridles them, and confines them to stables. Ma in (11b) refers to the horses which he endeavors to train, a good number of which end up dying. The head nominal in (11c), on the other hand, is indefinite. This is the first mention of chen (‘minister’) in the discourse. This fact lends itself to an analysis under which the head in (11c) is internal to the clause and hence is located in a position below zhe. In (11b), the head NP is located in the specifier of DP, structurally higher than the n position of zhe, allowing this NP to be interpreted as definite and not as a variable bound by zhe.

This analysis is further supported by the distribution of zhe relatives in existential constructions. We see in (12) that the head nominal preceding the clause cannot take genitive marking. Bearing in mind the well-known definiteness effect on complements of existential verbs, the ungrammaticality of genitive marking in (12) receives a natural account: genitive marking makes the head definite and therefore precludes its appearing in an existential construction.
(12) a. 今 有 同 室 之 人 (*之) 鬥 者。(Mencius, Lilou 2)

Jin you [tong shi zhi ren] (*zhi) dou zhe].

now exist same house Gen person Gen fight ZHE

‘Now (let’s say) there are people from the same house fighting.’

b. 有 人 (*之) 日 攪 其 鄰 之 雞 者。

you [ren (*zhi) ri rang qi lin zhi ji zhe].

exist person Gen daily steal 3.Gen neighbor Gen chicken ZHE

‘There is someone who steals chickens from his neighbor every day.’

(Mencius, Tengwen 2)

The preceding evidence has been shown to support the proposal in (7). Zhe is a functional category n positioned between D and NP. It functions as a determiner in the sense that it semantically binds the variable introduced by the predicate NP and projects a phrase which can appear in argument position.

(13)a. 良 人 者 所 仰望 而 終身 也。

[[NP liangren] zhe] suo yangwang er zhongshen ye.

husband ZHE SUO look.up.to Conj lifelong Decl

‘A husband is someone we should look up to our entire lives.’

(Mencius, Lilou 2)
Demonstratives and genitive constituents are located in the DP layer, above $nP$. This captures the fact that genitive phrases are not interpreted in the scope of $zhe$, since $n$ does not c-command them.

(14) a. 後之學者

later Gen study ZHE

‘future scholars’

b. $DP$

$hou$ $D'$

$zhi$ $nP$

$TP$ $n$

$zhe$
As a determiner, we might also expect that \textit{n} makes a semantic contribution to the DP. The preceding examples in which \textit{zhe} takes an NP complement are all definite or generic. Examining additional textual evidence, in the first eight chapters (roughly half) of the \textit{Zuozhuan} (4\textsuperscript{th}-5\textsuperscript{th} centuries BCE), we find fourteen examples of \textit{zhe} phrases built on NPs. All of them are either definite or generic.

\begin{enumerate}
\item [(15)] \textit{Zuozhuan (Yin – Cheng)}
  \begin{itemize}
  \item Definite NP+ZHE: 11
  \item Generic NP+ZHE: 3
  \end{itemize}
\end{enumerate}

As mentioned in section 1, He (2004), Dong (2001), Zhang (2006), among others, have proposed that one function of \textit{zhe} is to mark topics. However, if we examine the syntactic distribution of the NP+\textit{zhe} examples summarized in (15), we discover that not all of them occur in clause-initial topic position. A significant number are found in post-verbal object position. Since topics in both old and modern Chinese are required to be preverbal, this indicates that \textit{zhe} cannot be a topic marker.

\begin{enumerate}
\item [(16)] Definite NP+ZHE
  \begin{itemize}
  \item Subject/Topic: 7
  \item Object: 4
  \end{itemize}
\end{enumerate}

(17) shows an example of a \textit{zhe} phrase in object position, following the verb \textit{shi} ‘lose’.
14.3 *Zhe* with a clausal complement

The previous section proposed an analysis of *zhe* as a type of determiner which takes an NP complement. This proposal accounts for the examples in (3), in which *zhe* selects an NP. The relative clauses in (1) and nominalized clauses in (2) can be accounted for by assuming slight variations on the structure proposed in section 2.

14.3.1 Nominalizing *zhe*

The analysis of NP+ *zhe* extends almost directly to cases in which *zhe* nominalizes a clause. In this case, *zhe* selects a TP instead of an NP. Then projects a determiner phrase which can appear in argument position in the clause.

(18) a. 陶冶 亦 以 其械器易粟者,
    [Taoye yi yi qi xieqi yi su zhe]
craftsman also take 3.Gen ware trade grain ZHE
其為厲農夫哉？
(Mencius, Tengwen Gong 1)
qi wei li nongfu zai?
then consider burden farmer Q

‘Craftsmen also trading their wares for grain, do you consider this a burden on farmers?’

The semantic contribution discussed in section 2 can also be observed when zhe takes a clausal complement. The constituent as a whole expresses given information. In (19), the zhe constituent appears in clause-initial position as a topic. It is clear from the text that the zhe constituent expresses given information, since the preceding discussion centers on the fact that the Jin king has presented his son with a certain type of clothing and pendant before sending him to lead the army on a military campaign. The son is puzzled by the gifts, at which point in the discourse, the prince’s retainer utters (19) to explain the king’s meaning.

(19) 以尨衣純而玦之以金銑者
[Yi mang yi chun er jue zhi yi jinxian zhe]
with impure clothe pure Conj jade 3.Obj with gold ZHE
寒之甚矣。

han zhi shen yi.
cold Gen extreme Asp

‘To clothe the pure with impure colors and (replace) his jade pendant with gold is cold (heartedness) in the extreme.’

However, as in the case of NP+zhe, TP+zhe does not necessarily occur in topic position and can also appear post-verbally, as in the case in (20). These nominalized clauses do, however, represent given information. This is particularly obvious in the case of (20b), since all intellectuals in pre-modern China read the Confucian classics, including the Mencius, and were therefore familiar with Mencius’ position on human nature.

(20) a. 吾聞用夏變夷者
Wu wen [yong Xia bian yi zhe]
I hear use Chinese change foreigner ZHE

未聞變於夷者也。 (Mencius, Tengwen 1)
wei wen [bian yu yi zhe] ye
not hear change by foreigner ZHE Decl

‘I have heard of using Chinese (culture) to change the ways of foreigners but have not heard of being changed by foreigners.’

b. 余固以孟軻言人性善者，
Yu gu yi [Meng Ke yan ren xing shan zhe]
I so take Mencius say human nature good ZHE
14.3.2 Relativizing zhe

The relativizing zhe also selects a TP complement. The difference between the relativizing and nominalizing zhe is that the former serves as a relative operator binding the head position inside the clause. Interestingly, when zhe functions as a relative operator, it does not add any semantic or pragmatic import like definiteness.

One important fact for the analysis I propose below is that archaic Chinese relative clauses were not formed through movement. This is evident from the fact that the head position can be contained within a syntactic island. (21a) shows that zhe relative clauses can be formed on the possessor of the subject. Movement from the possessor position in the subject NP would violate the Left Branch Condition. Likewise, zhe relative clause formation can invoke apparent violations of the Coordinate Structure Constraint. The gap in (21b) is inside one of the conjoined TPs.

(21) a. 我 未 見 力 不 足 者。

wo wei jian [TP [DP e_i li] bu zu ] zhe_i

I not.yet see strength not suffice ZHE

‘I have yet to see someone whose strength is not sufficient.’ (Analects, Liren)
b. 莫之為而為者
[[TP mo zhi wei] er [TP e, wei]] zhe,
noone him force and do ZHE
‘one who no one forces him and (he) does (it)’ (Mencius, Wanzhang 1)

The theoretical foundation for the analysis I propose is the idea that a determiner can take a relative clause as its complement (Williamson 1987, Kayne 1994, and others). The function of the determiner is to bind the head position within the clause (Basilico 1996). The head position in the relative clause is a nonreferential DP, typically a gap pro in subject position in the clause which is coindexed with and bound by zhe. Assuming that the derivation proceeds bottom up and syntactic operations are limited to the current phase and the edge of the preceding phase (Chomsky 2000, 2001, 2004), we derive the restriction that zhe forms a relative clause only on a VP-external position. By the time zhe is merged into the derivation, the VP has been spelled out and is no longer visible to the computational system. Object relative clauses in old Chinese require a binder in the edge of vP. These will be discussed in the next section.

(22) a. 欲戰者可謂眾矣。 (Zuozhuan, Cheng 6)
[[e Yu zhan] zhe] ke wei zhong yi.
desire fight ZHE Pot say majority Asp
‘(Those) who desire to fight can be said to form the majority.’
When the head nominal is a possessor, the pro in the specifier of the subject DP will be bound by zhe.

(23) a. 我 未 見 力 不 足 者。

wo wei jian [TP [DP e1 li] bu zu ] zhe1

'I have yet to see someone whose strength is not sufficient.' (Analects, Liren)

This analysis also accounts straightforwardly for internally headed relative clauses. In internally headed relative clauses, the head nominal in subject position is treated as a variable and bound by zhe. Treating the head position as a variable accounts for the definiteness effect on
internally headed relative clauses proposed by Williamson (1987) and demonstrated in (11) and (12) in section 2.

(24) a. 臣弑其君者有之。

[[chen shi qi jun] zhe] you zhi.

minister assassinate 3s.Gen lord ZHE exist this

‘Ministers who assassinate their lords do exist.’ (Mencius, Tengwen 2)

b. 

```
  NP
   /\n  TP  n
   /|
 chen_i T’ zhe_i
   /   |
   T   vP
      /|
     shi qi jun
```

To summarize the proposal put forth in sections 2 and 3, zhe is a determiner n which can select either an NP or a TP. When it selects a TP, it either serves merely to nominalize the clause or it can function as an operator binding the head position inside a relative clause. This allows a uniform analysis of zhe as a determiner and solves the problem posed by previous accounts based on disparate types of zhe.

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, the relativizing zhe does not add any sense of definiteness. At present, I have no explanation as to why this should be the case, but it may be indicative of the path of historical change. As a determiner selecting an NP, zhe’s function was to semantically bind the variable introduced by the predicate NP and also to indicate the definiteness of the constituent. When zhe began to select TP complements, a split took place. The
nominalizing zhe retained the definiteness contribution, while the relativizing zhe retained the variable binding function, only replacing semantic binding with syntactic binding.

Whatever the correct analysis of the loss of definiteness in relativizing zhe, the proposal I have put forth of the types of zhe as involving either syntactic or semantic binding meshes with Zhu’s (1983) intuition that the difference centers on whether zhe’s complement contains a gap. Beyond Zhu’s proposal, however, I have shown how the seemingly disparate functions of zhe can be subsumed under a single analysis of zhe as a determiner.

14.4 Object relative clauses

Object relative clauses also serve to support the dichotomy between the function of variable binding and that of supplying definiteness. While zhe is used to form a relative clause on subject position, a distinct functional morpheme suo is employed to relativize on VP-internal elements. (25a) shows a headless relative formed on a direct object. (25b) has an external head preceded by the genitive marker.

(25)a. 人 之 所 畏 不 可 不 畏。  
[ren zhi suo wei] bu ke bu wei.
person Gen SUO fear not can not fear
‘What people fear cannot not be feared.’

b. 仲子 所 居 之 室  
[Zhongzi suo ju zhi shi]
Zhongzi Rel live Gen house
‘the house in which Zhongzi lives’
In contrast to *zhe*, which relativizes on vP-external positions, it is reasonable to assume that *suo* resides in the edge of the vP phase and serves as the binder for the variable position in VP.

(26) a. 魚，我所欲也。  

Yu wo suō yu ye.  

Fish I SUO want Decl  

‘Fish is something I want.’

b.  

\[
\begin{tikzpicture}
  \node {TP} [grow'=up] {
    \node {wo} [grow'=left] {
      \node {T} [grow'=left] {
        \node {<wo>} [grow'=left] {
          \node {SUO} [grow'=left] {
            \node {yu} [grow'=left] {
              \node {pro} [grow'=left]{}
            }
          }
        }
      }
    }
  }
\end{tikzpicture}
\]

A relative clause formed with *suo* can additionally appear with *zhe*. The gap inside VP is bound by *suo*. Therefore, *zhe* must be the nominalizing *zhe*. If it did carry an index, this would result in vacuous quantification, since the gap in VP is already bound by *suo*.

(27) a. 狄人之所欲者吾土地也。  


Di person Gen SUO desire ZHE our land Decl  

‘What the Di want is our land.’  

(Mencius, Lianghui Wang 2)
Since *zhe* is not a syntactic binder in *su*o relative clauses, this predicts that a *su*o+VP+*zhe* constituent is interpreted as definite. This prediction is indeed borne out. *Su*o+VP appears freely in any nominal position, and is frequently indefinite. (28) shows indefinite *su*o+VP relatives as a direct object and as a nominal predicate, respectively.

(28) a. 仁者以其所愛及其所不愛。

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Ren} & \text{zhe} \quad \text{yi} \quad [\text{qi} \quad \text{su}o \quad \text{ai}] \quad \text{ji} \quad [\text{qi} \quad \text{su}o \quad \text{bu} \quad \text{ai}] \\
\text{virtue} & \text{ZHE} \quad \text{take} \quad 3.\text{Subj} \quad \text{SUO} \quad \text{love} \quad \text{extend} \quad 3.\text{Subj} \quad \text{SUO} \quad \text{Neg} \quad \text{love} \\
\text{‘A virtuous person takes what he likes and extends it to those whom he does not like.’} \\
\end{array}
\]

(\textit{Mencius, Jinxin 2})

b. 魚，我所欲也。

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Yu} & \text{[wo} \quad \text{su}o \quad \text{yu}] \quad \text{ye.} \\
\text{fish} & \text{I} \quad \text{SUO} \quad \text{want} \quad \text{Decl} \\
\text{‘Fish is something I want.’} \\
\end{array}
\]

(\textit{Mencius, Gaozi 1})
In contrast to this, *suo*+VP+zhe tends overwhelmingly to refer to discourse topics. This is clearly shown in (29a), where the context indicating that speakers have things to say is established in the first clause. In (29b), since the husband is clearly sated and drunk when he returns, there is a clear implication that he has consumed food and beverages. As the natural assumption is that he did not eat alone, it is understood as given that there should be a companion to which *suo*+VP+zhe is referring.

(29) a. 言者有言，
Yan zhe you yan,
speak ZHE have speech
其所述者特未定。 (Zhuangzi, Qiwu)
[qi suo yan zhe] te wei ding.
they SUO say ZHE but not uniform
‘Ones who speak have things to say, but what they have to say is not uniform.’

b. 其良人出，则必餍酒肉而返。
Qi liangren chu, ze bi yan jiu rou er fan
Dem husband leave Conj always fill liquor meat Conj return
其妻問所與飲食者，
Qi qi wen [suo yu yin shi zhe]
Dem wife ask SUO with drink eat ZHE
Whenever the husband went out, he would come back well fed and liquored. His wife asked who he ate and drank with, and (the answer was) all rich and powerful people.'

(30) summarizes the distribution of $suo+\text{VP}$ and $suo+\text{VP}+\text{zhe}$ in the *Mencius*. The overwhelming majority of $suo+\text{VP}+\text{zhe}$ constituents appear in either subject or fronted topic position, i.e. clause-initial position. Given that subject position in Chinese is generally restricted to definite DPs, we can see from (30) that $suo+\text{VP}+\text{zhe}$ constituents are generally required to be definite.

(30) $\begin{align*}
\text{SUO+VP} &= 159 \\
\text{SUO+VP+ZHE} &= 35
\end{align*}$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SUO+VP = 159</th>
<th>SUO+VP+ZHE = 35</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Clause-initial:</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-subject argument:</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predicate:</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Traditional approaches, including He (2004), Pulleyblank (1995), and Yang & He 1992, analyze both $\text{zhe}$ and $\text{suo}$ as nominalizers, given that both functional categories generally select non-nominal complements but participate in projecting a nominal category which can occur in argument position, typically by binding the gap in a relative clause. However, I have already suggested that designating $\text{zhe}$ simply as a nominalizer fails to distinguish between the
nominalizing and relativizing zhe. Furthermore, it should be pointed out that suo has only the relativizing function, i.e. it must bind a gap in VP. This restriction is not accounted for on the traditional approach. But if we assume, as I have suggested in section 2, that syntactic treatment of a constituent as nominal is the function of n, then we can account for why suo has only the binding function. Specifically, this is because suo is v, which is a verbal, not nominal, functional head.

14.5. Conclusion

In this paper, I have proposed that the seemingly disparate functions of the archaic Chinese functional category zhe can be given a uniform analysis by analyzing zhe as a type of determiner which can select either a nominal or clausal complement. Semantically, the basic function of zhe is to bind the variable introduced by its complement. If this variable is a syntactic gap, as in a relative clause, then zhe serves as the binder for this gap. If there is no syntactic gap, then the binding is merely semantic binding and zhe marks the constituent it projects as definite.

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1 For Marantz, Harley, and Noyer, the relevant functional category in DP is the determiner itself. The discussion in this section may help to refine their original proposal.

2 I propose that the clausal complement of *zhe* is TP and not CP for two reasons. First is the parallelism with nominal structure. Assuming that DP and CP are both phases, NP and TP are sub-phase level categories, selected by a determiner (D or *n*) and C, respectively (See Chomsky (2000, 2001, 2004) for discussion of the theory of phases and their role in sentence derivation). The other reason for positing TP as the complement of *zhe* is the fact that there is no positive evidence that archaic Chinese embedded clauses were even capable of projecting a CP layer. For example, discourse particles, including interrogative markers, are never found in embedded domains. *Wh*-words are likewise disallowed in embedded clauses. Headless relative clauses were the only way to express embedded constituent questions.

3 Head nominals in *suo* relative clauses always follow the clause. There is no *suo* relative clause type corresponding to (11b), in which the head precedes the clause.