Extraction Competition and Movement Asymmetries in Archaic Chinese
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1. Introduction

Movement to [Spec, CP] in Late Archaic Chinese:
⇒ Subject but not object topicalization
⇒ Nominalized object relative clauses
⇒ Nominalized adverbial clauses

Parameter for LAC (Late Archaic Chinese; 5th-3rd C. BCE)

(1) LAC Parameter
DPs move agnostically to value case.

Results in Extraction Competition
⇒ Subjects move to [Spec, CP] for licensing.
⇒ Object movement is only possible when the subject has inherent case (i.e. genitive case, in a nominalization).

Change in EMC (Early Middle Chinese; beginning in 1st C. BCE)
⇒ Loss of case distinctions, especially genitive case on embedded subjects

Reanalysis: Nominative subject occupies a lower position.
⇒ Object movement is free.

2. Extraction Competition in Late Archaic Chinese

2.1. Theoretical Framework

Chomsky (2008) C-T Inheritance:
1. T Inherits [uφ] from C. [uφ] case licenses the subject and forces it to move to [Spec, TP].
2. [Spec, CP] is available for other types of movement.

(2) a. What did you buy?
C-T Inheritance is not universal. Direct subject movement to [Spec, CP] takes place under certain conditions. (Ouali 2006; Gallego 2014; Legate 2014; Martinović 2015; Erlewine 2016; Aldridge, in press)

(3) **Condition on Feature Inheritance**
Uninterpretable features are inherited.

**Proposal:** Nominative case in LAC is not a probe.
Subjects move agnostically to [Spec, CP] to value case.

2.2. **Topicalization**

Object topicalization in modern Mandarin:
⇒ Object movement to clause-initial position, leaving a gap in VP.

(4)  
\begin{align*}
\text{a.} & \quad \text{我很喜歡音樂。} \\
& \quad \text{Wo} \quad \text{hen} \quad \text{xihuan} \quad \text{yinyue.} \\
& \quad \text{I} \quad \text{very} \quad \text{like} \quad \text{music} \\
& \quad \text{‘I like music.’} \\
\text{b.} & \quad \text{音樂，我很喜歡。} \\
& \quad \text{Yinyue} , \quad \text{wo} \quad \text{hen} \quad \text{xihuan} \quad \text{__} . \\
& \quad \text{music} \quad \text{I} \quad \text{very} \quad \text{like} \\
& \quad \text{‘Music, I like.’} \\
& \quad \text{(Huang et al. 2009:199)}
\end{align*}

**LAC:** DPs enter the derivation with unvalued case features and undergo agnostic movement to the phase edge. (Bošcović 2007, Saito 2016)
(5)  

a. 鄭伯亦惡之。  
   (Zuozhuan, Xi 31)  
   Zheng bo yi __ wu zhi.  
   Zheng earl also dislike 3.OBJ  
   ‘And the Earl of Zheng also disliked him.’

b. C/TP  
   DP[NOM] C/T’  
   Zheng Bo  
   C/T vP  
   <DP[Case]> v’  
   v VP

In LAC, topicalized objects had to be resumed by overt pronouns.  
⇒ Object topics do not move from inside VP but are base generated high.

(6)  

a. 子路，人告之以有過。  
   (Mencius 3)  
   Zilu ren gao zhi yi you guo.  
   Zilu person tell 3.OBJ YI have error  
   ‘Zilu, someone told him he made a mistake.’

b. 晉國，天下莫強焉。  
   (Mencius 1)  
   Jin Guo Tianxia mo qiang yan.  
   Jin nation world none strong 3.DAT  
   ‘The Jin nation, in the world, none is stronger than them.’

c. C/TP  
   DP_i C/TP  
   Jin Guo  
   DP[NOM] C/T’  
   Tianxia  
   C/T vP  
   <DP[Case]> v’  
   v VP  
   V DP_i  
   yan

The lack of object topicalization in LAC correlates with the lack of object pro-drop.
(7) Q: 君饋之粟，則受之乎？

Jūn kuì zhī sù, zé __ shòu zhī hū?

‘If his lord gives him grain, then should (he) take it?’

A: 受之。(Mencius 10)

__ shòu zhī.

receive 3. OBJ

‘Yes, he should.’

Huang (1984): A null object is the trace of a moved topic.

⇒ LAC lacked object topicalization.

⇒ LAC lacked null objects.

2.4. Relative clauses

Separate strategies for subject and object relativization:

⇒ Subject relativization: Operator movement to [Spec, CP]

(8) a. 夫執輿者為誰？ (Analects, Weizi)

Fu [[zhi yu] zhe] wei shei?

DEM control carriage DET COP who

‘Who is the one driving the carriage?’

b. 欲戰者 (Zuozhuan, Cheng 6)

[[yu zhan] zhe]

desire fight DET

‘(those) who desire to fight’

c. DP

C/TP ZHE

DP C/T’

| OP C/T vP

<OP> v’

v VP

⇒ Object relativization: Embedded subject is assigned genitive case.

⇒ Allows object movement over the subject

(9) a. 其北陵，文王之所避風雨也。 (Zuozhuan, Xi 32)

Qi bei ling [Wen Wang zhi suo [vp bi feng yu __ ]] ye.

3.GEN north hill Wen’ king GEN REL escape wind rain COP

The north hill is [where the (Zhou) king Wen took shelter from the storm].
b. 人之所畏

ren zhi suo wei __
‘what people fear’

2.5. Adjunct embedded clauses

Assertive/indicative embedded clauses have nominative subjects.

(10) a. 臣聞皋落氏將戰。

Chen wen [Gaoluo shi jiang zhan].
I hear Gaoluo tribe will fight
‘I hear that the Gaoluo tribe is going to fight.’

b. 以為士者正其言,必其行。

Yiwei [shi zhe zheng qi yan, bi qi xing].
think serve DET correct 3GEN word certain 3GEN behavior
‘… think that one who serves speaks correctly and acts with certainty.’

Adverbial clauses have genitive subjects.

(11) a. 宋殤公之即位也,公子馮出奔鄭。

[Song Shang gong zhi jiwei ye],
Song Shang duke GEN ascend NMLZ
prince Feng leave flee Zheng
‘When the Song Duke Shang ascended the throne, the prince Feng left and fled to Zheng.’

b. 皮之不存,毛將安傅?

[Pi zhi bu cun], mao jiang an fu?
skin GEN not exist hair will where attach
‘If there were no skin, there where would the hair attach?’

⇒ Operator movement to [Spec, CP] in temporal and conditional clauses.

LAC temporal and conditional clauses:
⇒ EA must be genitive to allow operator movement.

(12)

```
 C/TP
  OP
    C/T'
      C/T
      vP
        DP[GEN] wang zhi
        v'
        v
        VP
```

2.6. LAC summary

LAC subjects move to the CP edge for licensing.
Lower arguments cannot move over a nominative subject.
Subjects need inherent (genitive) case to allow movement over them.
⇒ Nominalized object relatives and adjunct clauses

3. Loss of Extraction Competition in Early Middle Chinese (EMC; 1st C. BCE – 2nd C. CE)

Change: Loss of case distinctions, especially genitive case on embedded subjects

Consequences: (Loss of Extraction Competition)
⇒ Learners reanalyze erstwhile genitive subject as nominative.
⇒ Subject occupies a lower position. (Nominative case feature is inherited by T.)
⇒ [Spec, CP] is free for other movements.

New parameter: Subject movement is triggered by an EPP feature [uD].
⇒ Uninterpretable features must be inherited.

3.1. Loss of genitive case on embedded subjects

LAC: Possessors were marked with genitive case.
EMC: Possessors could be unmarked.
possessor

13. a. 諸侯之地方百里。  (LAC: 4th C. BCE; Mencius, Gaozi 2)

feudal.lord GEN land square 100 li
‘The fiefdoms of the lords are square and consist of 100 li.’

13. b. 侵奪諸侯地方。  (EMC: 1st C. BCE; Shiji; Xiang Yu)

Qin duo [zhuhou _ di].
invade confiscate feudal.lord land
‘(They) reduce and confiscate the fiefdoms of the lords.’

LAC: GEN subject in factives, adjunct clauses, sentential subject, psych complements
EMC: NOM subject in all embedded clause types

temporal adverbial

14. a. 始臣之解牛之時，所見無非牛者。  (LAC: 4th C. BCE; Zhuangzi 1.3)

[[Shi chen zhi jie niu] zhi shi],
beginning HUM GEN dissect cow GEN time
suo jian wu fei niu zhe.
REL see not.have not.be cow DET
‘When I started butchering cows, what I saw was nothing but the entire cow.’

14. b. 項籍少時，學書不成，去學劍，又不成。  (EMC: 1st C. BCE; Shiji; Xiang Yu)

[Xiang Ji shao shi], xue shu bu cheng,
Xiang Ji young time study book not succeed
qu xue jian.
discard study sword
‘When Xiang Ji was young, he studied (the great) books, but he was not successful, so he gave up and studied swordsmanship.’

c. CP
   OP
      C’
        C
          TP
             DP[NOM]
                T’
                   vP
                      <DP[uCase]>
                          v’
                            v
                              VP

3.2. Loss of relative clause asymmetry

LAC object relative clauses: Obligatory SUO; subject in genitive case
EMC object relative clauses no longer require SUO.

**ZHE in object relative**

(16) a. 君王將何問者也？  
Junwang jiàng he [[pro wen __] zhe] ye?  
‘What is it that Your Majesty will ask?’

b. 我請君塞兩耳無聽談者。  
Wo qǐng jun sāi liàng ěr  
wu ting [[pro tan __] zhe].  
‘I asked my lord to close his ears and not listen to what (he) says.’

**SUO in subject relative**

(17) … 求捕所與淮南謀反者未得。  
‘… requested the arrest of those who planned to rebel with Huai Nan, but (they) were not yet captured.’

Eventually, one strategy can be employed for both subject & object relativization.

⇒ Modern Mandarin DE is diachronically related to ZHE (Lü 1943, Ohta 1958, Cao 1986, Feng 1990, and others).

⇒ In object relatives, subject moves to [Spec, TP] and values nominative case.

⇒ Operator moves from inside VP to [Spec, CP] over nominative subject.

(18) a. [Lisi mai de] shu  
Lisi buy DE book  
‘book which Lisi bought’

b. [mai shu de] ren  
buy book DE person  
‘person who bought the book’
3.3. Topicalization and null object pronouns

Null objects increase in the Middle Chinese period.

(19)  

a. 胡急擊之。 (EMC: 1st century BCE; Shiji; Li Jiangjun)  
Hu ji ji zhi.  
Huns suddenly attack 3.OBJ  
‘The Huns suddenly attacked them.’

b. 胡急擊。 (EMC: 2nd century CE; Hanshu; Li Guang)  
Hu ji ji __.  
Huns suddenly attack  
‘The Huns suddenly attacked (them).’

Topicalization over a nominative subject:

(20)  

百神所食，聖人謂當與人等。 (EMC: 1st century CE; Lunheng 69)  
[Bai shen suo shi]; shengren renwei  
100 god REL eat saint believe  
[ __i dang yu ren deng.  
should as person same  
‘What the various gods eat, saints believe (it) should be the same as for people.’
Subject movement triggered by $[\mu D]$ (EPP feature)

3.4. Emergence of A/A’ distinction

LAC relativization targeted the closest structurally case licensed argument.

$\Rightarrow$ Subject of embedded clause extracted in object relative clause

(21)  
\[
\text{CP} \\
\text{DP}_{\text{ACC}} \quad \text{C’} \\
\text{C} \quad \text{TP} \\
\text{DP}_{\text{NOM}} \quad \text{T’} \\
\text{T}_{[\mu D]} \quad \text{vP} \\
\langle \text{OP} \rangle \quad \text{v'} \\
\langle \text{DP}_{[\mu \text{Case}]} \rangle \quad \text{v'} \\
\text{v} \quad \text{VP} \\
\text{V} \quad \text{DP}_{\text{ACC}}
\]

(22)  
\begin{align*}
a. \quad & \text{凡所使治國家, 禮府, 邑里,} \\
& \text{Fan} \quad [\text{CP OP} [\text{vp suo} [\text{vp shi} [\text{tp top zhi guojia, guanfu, yili}]]]] \\
& \text{generally REL make govern nation bureaucracy city} \\
& \text{此皆國之賢者也。} \\
& \text{ci jie guo zhi xian zhe ye.} \\
& \text{DEM all nation GEN wise DET COP} \\
& \text{‘Those whom we make govern the nation, the bureaucracies, and the cities are generally all among the wise people of the nation.’} \\
b. \quad & \text{王使人學之, 所使學者} \\
& \text{Wang shi ren xue zhi, [CP OP [vp suo [vp shi [tp top xue zhe]]]]} \\
& \text{king send person study 3.OBJ REL send study DET} \\
& \text{未及學而客死。} \\
& \text{wei ji xue er ke si.} \\
& \text{not.yet able study CONJ teacher die} \\
& \text{‘The king sent someone to study it; but before the one he sent to study was able to learn (it), the teacher died.’}
\end{align*}
(23) 是所使夫百吏官人為也。 (*Xunzi 11*)

Shi [CP OP [vP suo [VP shi [TP [fu baili guanren] [vP wei top ]]]]] ye
dem rel make dem clerk official do cop

‘This is something which one makes those clerks and officials do.’

4. Conclusion

**Late Archaic Chinese Parameter**

Case is not a probe, so it is not inherited.

Extraction Competition Late Archaic Chinese:

- Subject pro-drop; no object pro-drop
- Nominalized object relative clauses
- Nominalized adverbial clauses

**Early Middle Chinese Parameter**

C/T has an EPP feature, so inheritance takes place.

Object movement over a nominative subject:

- Object topicalization & pro-drop
- No clausal nominalization
- One relativization strategy for both subjects and objects

Trigger for reanalysis: Loss of genitive case for embedded subjects

- Forces learners to reanalyze erstwhile genitive subject as nominative subject in a lower position
- Results in C-T inheritance
- Frees [Spec, CP] as landing site for other movements

References


