1. Different Types of Light Verbs in English

In English, there are different types of predicates that can be analyzed in terms of the empty verbal head of Larson's (1988) (and subsequently Hale and Keyser 1993; Huang 1997; and many others), which empty verb structures involve, for example, ditransitive verbs (1a), resultative verbs (1b), object control verbs (1d), monotransitive verbs (1e), ergative verbs (1f), unergative verbs (1g), and unaccusative verbs (1h), and so on, as seen in (1):

(1) a. Ditransitive verbs
   I will get you a present.
   I will show you a picture.

b. Resultative verb
   He painted the house green.
   The ink turned the paper black.

c. V + PP(D) + CP
   He agrees with me that the paper will turn bad.
   He learned from his brother that study has no fine.
   He suggested to him that they should try safe argument.

d. Object Control
   What decide you to take linguistics?
   She persuaded me to try phonology-free syntax.

e. Monotransitive + Ditransitive
   He read me the letter.
   He ordered me a taxi.
   He sent me a card.

f. Ergative Verbs
   The window breaks.
   He broke the window.
In what follows, I will provide, based on Feng (2000, 2005), various examples from Archaic Chinese to show that light-verb syntax with an abstract "generic light verb" (on par with the generic light noun like ge in Modern Chinese) was freely operative in pre-Buddhism Chinese (i.e., before the first century A.D.), and is different from medieval and Modern Chinese.

2. Light Verbs in Classical Chinese: Traditional Observations

There has been some confusion regarding the grammar of Chinese, which is conceived as "practically the same not only among the dialects but even between modern speech and the classical language" (Chao 1976: 99). In fact, there is at least a crucial difference between modern speech and the classical language that has well been recognized by traditional linguistics, namely, the causative, putative, purposive, and denominative structures, as seen in (4).

(4) a. Causative 砍而小之
    Zhōu ěr xiǎo zhī.
    Cut and small it.
    'cut it and make it smaller'

b. Putative 登泰山而小天下
    Dēng Tái shān ér xiǎo tiān xià
    Climbing Tai Mountain and small world
    'On top of the Tai Mountain you will feel the world is so small.'

c. Purposive 死國可乎?
    Sǐ guó kě hū
    Die country can?
    'Can I die for the country?'

d. Denominative 君子不器
    Jūn zǐ bù qì
    Learned-men not utensil.
    'An honorable man is not an utensil.'

The syntactic operation of the above sentences had vanished after the Han Dynasty (206 B.C. – 220 A.D.), even if there are sporadic examples of light-verb structures observed in Modern Chinese, for example:

(5) Causative Lù-huà xiào yuán
    Green-ize campus
    'to make campus green'

Putative Zhōng lì qīng wén
    Heavy science light humanity
    'to consider science more important than humanities'

Benefactive Fēiwù zá guó
    Service country
    'to do service for one's country'
Note that the examples given in (S) are not freely (or systematically) formed in Modern Chinese, even if some linguists considered examples in (S) and particularly in (6) to be derived by light-verb movement (Feng 2000; Lin 2001), as shown in the tree structure of (6a):

```
(6)
```

```
(6)
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All these examples may give analysts an impression that the same syntactic operation observed in Archaic Chinese is still operative in modern times. However, it is important to note that the grammar of light verbs (or the "non-canonical objects") is not freely operable in Modern Chinese without an idiomatic or conventionalized context. For example:

(7)

```
a. *Tā jīngcháng chí Dàhuá Fǎdiàn
   He often EAT Royal Restaurant.
   'He often eats at Royal Restaurant.'
```

```
b. *Zhègè shì yìzhī kāi 1:30.
   This driver always drive 1:30
   'This driver always drives for the 1:30 Duty.'
```

```
c. Nǐ qǐ zěnbú dào / *chāi.
   You cut this knife / *fork.
```

3. Light Verbs in Classical Chinese: New Observations

In Feng (2005), I proposed that the light-verb syntax in Classical Chinese is freely operative, substantially similar to English. In fact, there have been tremendous works done on the subject of light-verb syntax, not only synchronically and diachronically, but also empirically (Shi 2007) and theoretically (Tsai 2007, 2009, 2012; A. Li 2012; and references cited therein). As we will see below, an increasing number of light-verb structures in Classical Chinese have been uncovered, and the following examples represent most of the cases that have been observed in the literature on light-verb expressions in Archaic Chinese (among others, see Chen 1999; Feng 2003/2005; Shi 2007; and references cited therein). For example:

```
a. Place: [at N V]
   且起雲際，霧捲舟越，〈顧延年《橘白馬賦》〉
   Dān shuā yóu yán, zhòu mò jìngyuè (Yún Yán nián, Zhě bái mǎ fù)
   'At dawn (1) scrub (the horses) in Youyan and by noon (1) fodder them in Jingyue.'
```

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b. 〈費遂〉乃公際遂攀結，將使田孟傳而道之。《左傳·昭公二》
   (Fèi Suí) nǎi yǐ gōng jì suì pān jié, jiāng shǐ tián Mèng zhǔ ěr dào zhī. (Zuòzhuàn·zhāo gōng èr)
   'Fèi Suí then with duke plan expel Huachu, will send hunt Mengzhu and qiān zhǐ, dismiss him.
   (Huá Fèi Suí) then planned with the duke to expel Huachu (from the state),
   and was about to send him to hunt at Mengzhu area and thence banish him.'
```

```
c. Ní qǐ zěnbú dào / *chāi.
   You cut this knife / *fork.
```

```
d. Chi dà wàn / *píngzi
   Eat *big bowl / plate.
   'To eat with a big bowl / *plate.'
```

Feng (2000) characterizes the type of phenomenon given (7) in terms of "idiomsyncretic or idiomatic usages" (成語化), while "conventionalized meaning" (Lin 2001) and "institutionalized meanings" (A. Li 2012) are also used to generalize the properties of the light-verb syntax in Modern Chinese. The question is this: Is Archaic Chinese more like Modern Chinese in the sense that the light-verb syntax is idiomatized or conventionalized, or is it more like English in that light-verb structures are relatively free productions of the syntax? Before we answer these questions, let us look at the data from Archaic Chinese in the following section.
b. Source: [from 從 NV]

日出東方。《左傳·僖公十年》
Rì chū dōng fāng
Sun rise east direction

The sun rises from the east.' Zhubangzi-dàn zì fāng.

朝發白帝，暮到江陵。（白帝）
Zhāo fā Baidì, mù dào Jiānglíng (Shí jīng zhū-dì jìng zī shi)
Morning depart Baidì, evening arrive Jiānglíng

(Ome) departs from Baidì in the morning and arrives at Jiānglíng in the evening.

予取予求，不亦爾乎。《左傳·僖公九年》
Yú qù yú qiú bù yì ěr hū (Zhuóshuān-xì gōng 7 nián)
Me take me seek not you fault

(You) took from me and pleaded to me, (but I) didn’t find fault with you.

c. Target [face/toward](低/朝 NV)

使人召百里，已適諸侯矣。《韓非子·外儲說右上》
Shì rén zhào bā lǐ Xīshāo, yì tāo Zhèhuì yì
Send someone summon Xīshāo, already escape feudal lord Přt.

(ī) sent someone to summon Xīshāo, but (Xīshāo) had already fled to the feudal lord. Hayfīl-li wāi chū shuò yǔ shāng.

派公至戚聞，與之皆事金帛財物之府分之。《漢書·師丹傳》
Péi gōng zhī qīng Xīyuán, zhī jiāng jiě zhèng zōu jìn bó cān wèi zhī
Péi duke arrive Xīyuán, all general each compete run gold silk wealth’s fā fēng zhī
storehouse share them.

When Duke Péi arrived at Xīyuán, all the generals rushed at the (royal) storehouse of gold, silk and valuables to share them. Hánshù Xiāde Zhūhuán

楚籍子令諸侯之大夫饑王粟。（《左傳·昭公二十八年》
Zhāo Jiànzǐ lìng zhūhuì zhī dà fū jiā shì wàng sù (Zhuóshuān-xī gōng 25 nián)
Zhāo Jiànzǐ order feudal-Lord’s officer distribute grain king

Zhāo Jiànzǐ gave orders to the officers of feudal lord to distribute grain to the king.

欲其入我門之，（孟子·梁思下）
Yù qì rù ér bì zhī mén (Méngzǐ wèi zhòng xià)
Desire his enter but close him gate

'To want him to enter but close the door on him.'

李纘，晉昭之緋。（《左傳·僖公十五年》
Qín jī, Jìn bì zhī dī (Zhuóshuān-xī gōng 15 nián)
Qín no harvest, Jin block it grain-sale

When Qín suffered from a bad harvest, the Jin state blocked its grain sale to Qín.

d. Effect of action(to 對 NV)

書之曰：‘不及黃泉無相見也。’（《左傳·僖西元年》
Shí zhī yuè bù jí huáng quán wò xiàng jīn yè (Zhuóshuān-yīn gōng yuè nián)
Oath her say not reach yellow spring no each meet Přt.

'(He) swore an oath to her and said: “until we reach the underworld, we shall never see each other.”'

奴公，怒曰曰：“謀及婦人，死無宜哉！”（《史記·魯世家》
Lì gōng nù jù yuè móu jì fù rén sǐ gù yì zāi (Shǐjīng zhōng shí jiù)
Li duke angry Ju say: plan with women death certainly should Přt.

"Duke Li was angry at Jin and said, "He made plan with his wife, so he deserves to die!""

夫義若人，聞義莫喜而吊之矣。《國語·魯語下》
Fū yì rén wén yì méi xǐ ér liào zhī yǐ (Guóyǔ lù yǔ xià)

Fū yì rěn wén yì méi xǐ ér liào zhī yǐ (Guóyǔ lù yǔ xià)
sorrow

'A person who is trustworthy to others will surely rejoice at their joy and mourn for the sorrow.'

迷鹿子，子將為子不利。（《左傳·昭公二十七年》
Mí lù ěr zì jiāo zì, zì jiāng wéi zì bù lí (Zhuóshuān-xī gōng 27 nián)
I nearly misfortune you, you will do you not profitable

'I have almost brought misfortune on you. You will do something unfavorable to yourself.'

屬夫妾妻妾（孟子·離婁下）
Jiāo qī qī qī qī qī qì qì qì qì qì qì qì qì qì qì (Méngzǐ lí lì xià)

Arrogant his wife concubine

'(He) behaved arrogantly towards his wife and concubine.' Méngzǐ lì lí xià.

且王巧臣，若社稷何？《左傳·宣公十二年》
Qī jùn ér táo chén, rú shè jì hé
Moreover ruler and flee subject, how state (gods of soil and grain) what

'Moreover, if a ruler flees in facing a subject (or, run away on the subject), what do you say to the gods of the land and grain?' Zhubangzi-wù gōng 12 nián.

e. Constitute [with 與 NV]

吾討之，誰敢仇之？《左傳·定公四年》
Jū tào zhī, shuí gǎn chóu zhī (Zhuóshuān-dìng gōng 4 nián)
Ruler attack Subject, who dare enemy him

'A ruler punishes his subject, there is no one who dares to be his enemy.'

君子成之人，小人反之。《論語·魏語》
Jūn zǐ chéng rén zhī fǎn zhī, xiǎo rén fǎn shí (Lùn yǔ Yuèyuán)

Honored men complete people’s success, small men are opposing it.

'Honorable men fulfill people’s success, and small men are opposing to it.'

f. Reason [for 因 for NV]

歸而飲之。（左傳·昭公五年）
Guī ér yǐn zhī (Zhuóshuān-yīn gōng 5 nián)
Return and drink (over) arrival (cf. On your victory we have a drink)

'(The troops) returned and a sacrificial drinking was held because of their arrival.'

討其二子楚也。（左傳·成公九年）
Tóu qī ér ěr Chǔ yě (Zhuóshuān-chéng gōng 9 nián)
Attack their two at Chu Přt.

'(Chu State) attacked them for their betrayal of the Chu.'
冬暖而儿饥寒，年饥而妻饥。(韩愈《送李之常》)
Dong nuǎn ér ér hào hán, nián jī hào yī qī fū jī (Hàn yù, Jīn xué)

Winter warm but child howl cold, year abundant but wife weep hungry
Although the winter is warm, your children howl because of coldness; although the year brings a bumper harvest, your wife weeps because of hunger.

王勃曰：“大将军，朝朝朝朝，死也。”《左传·成公10年》
Wáng bó yuē: dà zhōng jūn, cháo cháo cháo cháo, sǐ yě. (Lǐ bó, Jīn xué)

King angry say: great disgrace state, next morning you discharge die art
The king got angry and said, "(you are) a great disgrace to the state. Tomorrow morning you will shoot and die of the art (of archery)" (cf. Go to play, okay, but you will die for the play)."
Zuòzhān chéngzhèng 10 nián.

遥遥乎寝迹其下，不为金斧，安所困哉！《庄子·逍遥游》
Xiàoyáo hū qǐn jì qí xià, bù wèi jīn fǔ, ān suǒ kùn zāi! (Zhuó yuē, Jīn xué)

Roam around sleep lie-down its under, not die young metal axe... where Prt. can xū zuò difficult better prt.
"Roam around and fall asleep under it. It survived early death by the axe. Where is the reason to be endangered and suffer?" Zhuàngzǐ xiāo yào yōu yóu.

Reciprocal: [give+ RECIP]
宋有百钱《左传·哀公7年》 (cf. Hamburger meal)
Sòng yǒu bǎi qián (lǎo wēi) (Song state) hundred (set of) sacrificial animals us
'Song state gave us a hundred sets of animals.' Zuò zhān chén 5 nián.

牛羊父母，仓廪父母。《孟子·万章上》
Niú yáng fù mǔ, cāng lǐn fù mǔ (Méngzǐ wàn zhāng shàng)
Ox sheep father mother barn storehouse father mother
'Give the oxen and sheep to my parents, and the storehouses also to my parents.'

施之士，而命之氏。《左传·昭公8年》
Shī zhī shì ér mìngh zhī shì (Zuò zhān yǐn 5 nián)
Grant them land and designate them clan name
'He grants them territory and designates them clan name.'

h. Purposive: [為(for) N V]
召死之，皆仲不死。《論語·微問》
Shào sǐ zhī, zhī zhòng bù sǐ (Shào Hū, jūn zōng bù sǐ)
Shào Hū die him Guán Zhōng not die
"Shào Hū died for him, but Guán Zhōng did not." Lóng yú xiān wēn.

文嘉著三，。《左传·僖公33年》
Wén jiā zhe sān, (zuò zhān bāo 626 b.c.)
Wen Yíng petition three commander
Wen Yíng petitioned for the three commanders.
Zuò zhān xī 33 nián.

丈夫死国，妇人死夫，义也。《元史·忠义》
Zhīngfū sì guō, fūér sì fū, yì yě (Yuán shǐ zhōng yì)
Men die state, women die husband, righteousness Prt.
'It is righteousness that men die for their state and women for their husbands.'

1. Resemble: [N (不)如/像V] perform/resemble
(i) A resembles B
君者臣父父子子《論語·子路》
Jūn zhě chén fù fū zǐ zǐ (Lún yǔ zǐ lù)
Lord lord, subject subject, father father, son son
‘Lords behave like lords, subjects behave like subjects, fathers behave like fathers, sons behave like sons.’ Lún yǔ yà yǒng yōu.

剑不鬼，似鬼似鬼《論語·季氏》
(Cornered) jian bù guǐ, sì guǐ sì guǐ (Lún yǔ jì shì)
(Cornered) beaker not beaker, beaker Prt beaker Prt.
The cornered beaker does not look like a beaker. What a beaker! What a beaker!

君子不器《論語·為政》
Jūnzǐ bù qì (Lún yǔ wéi zhèng)
Honorable men not utensil
'Gentlemen (learned men) do not behave like instruments.' Lún yù wéi zhèng.

昔惠公不君《左传·宣公二年》
Jì lìng bù gōng jùn
Jìn Lǐng duke not lord
'Duke Líng of Jin state does not behave like a lord.' Zuò zhān xuǎn 5 nián.

(ii) A resembles B Adjective [如 V N]
山中人兮芳《楚辞·九歌·山鬼》
Shān zhōng rén xī fāng (Dúsú Ŭ chì jù tān gǔ)
Mountain inside person Prt. fragrant flower (Dúsú)
'The mountainous lady is fragrant like the Dúsú flower.'

诸善能得走兽耳，狗也。《史记·秦始皇本纪》
Zhū shàn néng dé zǒu zhòu ěr, gǒu yě (Shǐ jì qín shǐ wáng běn jì)
All you merely can get run beast only, achievement dog Prt.
'All of you could only capture the scaring beast, and so your achievement is that of (hunting) dogs.'

J. Causative: [make+动 NV]
(i) A causes B to be (come) C
匠人斫之小之。《孟子·梁惠王下》
Jiàng rén zhuó zhī xiǎo zhī (Méngzǐ lǐng huì wáng xià)
Carpenter man strike and small it
'The carpenters cut and made it small.'

因其所大而及之，因其小而小之。《庄子·秋水》
Yīn qǐ suǒ duò ér dà zhī, yīn qǐ suǒ xiǎo ér xiǎo zhī (Zhuó zǐ qiū shuǐ)
Based its prt. big and big it, by its Prt. small and small it
'To make it bigger based on where the size is big and make it smaller based on where the size is smaller.'

盗例以觀之，《左传·僖公32年》
Dào lì yǐ guān zhī, (zuò zhān jīn 32 nián)
Fatigue army thereby raid distant
'To toll an army (with a long march), and raid a distant place with it.'
齊衰公與魯君飲，醉之。《史記‧齊太公世家》
Qi Xiang Duke with Lu ruler drink, drunk him
'Queen Xiang of Qi state drank with the ruler of Lu state and made him drunk.

(i). A causes B to be (come/with) C
公教其曰曰：必堅而足'！《左傳‧襄公25年》
Gong ji qi shou yu bu duan er suo (Zuo zhuang-ai gong 25 nian)
Duke baldered his hand say must cut your foot
'The duke bends his fingers like a baldered and said: 'I will certainly cut your feet!'”

解父女我，推食食我。《史記‧孫侯列傳》
Jie yi yi wu tui shi ai wo (Shi ji-hui yi ren hua li zhuang)
Remove clothes cloth me push food feed me
'He took off his garments to cloth me, and gave up his food to feed me.'

生死而肉骨也。《左傳‧襄公22》
Sheng si er ruo gue yi (Zuo zhuang-xiang gong 22 nian)
Life death and meat bone Prt.
'He let the dead have life, and the bare bones have flesh.'

夫人之，可不夫人之乎？《谷梁傳‧僖公8年》
Furen zhi, wo ke bu furen zhi hu (Gu lang zhuang-xi gong 8 nian)
Wife her, I can not wife her Prt.
'When the text’ calls her ‘the wife,’ can I avoid calling her ‘the wife’?

k. Treatment: [take B Ato be C 如]
時充國年七十餘，上老之。《漢書‧儒林傳》
Shi Chongguo nian qi shi ye, shang lao zhi (Han shu-zhuan chong gu zhuang)
Time Chongguo age seventy over, emperor old him
'At that time, Chongguo was seventy odd years of age, and the emperor treated him as an elderly.'

鼎鑄玉石。《杜牧《阿房宮賦》》
Ding zhuang yu shi jin hui zhi li (Diu mu, Diangong fu)
Cauldron shallow pan jade stone gold lump of earth pearl gravel
'They treat a cauldron as a pan, jade as stone, gold as a lump of earth, and pearl as gravel.

孟婆苦我，聞國策。《東周列國》
Mengpo ke wo, wen guo ce (Dong Zhou lei guo)
'Lord Mengchang treated me as a guest (respect me).' (Zhan guo ci ji ci 4)

甘其食，美其服，安其居，樂其俗。《老子‧道德經》
Gan qi shi mei qi fu an qi ji bu li qi
Sweet such food pretty such clothes comfortable such dwelling delightful such custom
'They consider such food delicious, such clothes beautiful, such dwelling comfortable, and such custom delightful.' Laozi Dao De Jing.

Beijing: [為 (be) A at B]
故平昔之巨人，功過徹之。《孟子·公孫陽上》
Gu zhi ban gong zhi ren, gong bie bei zhi
Therefore work half ancient’s people achievement necessarily double it
'Therefore, his work is half the work of people of ancient times, but his achievement is twice as much as that of people of ancient times.' Mengzi-geng zhuo chuo yang.

大元使上士，上士位中士，中士位下士。《孟子·萬章上》
Da yin shi shang shi, shang shi bei zhong shi, zhong shi
Great-officer double high-officer, high-officer double middle-officer, middle-officer double low officer
'Great officers (income) is twice as much as high ranking officers, high ranking officers’ (income) is twice as much as middle ranking officers, middle ranking officers’ (income) is twice as much as low ranking officers.' Meng zhi-xun zheng xia.

武安由此驅逐，治軍甲第。《史記‧魏其武安侯列傳》
Wu an you ci zhi jiao, zhi zhi bei zhi di
Wu An from this more arrogant, govern residence first all manson.
'From then on (marquis) became even more arrogant, and built his residence to be the best of all mansions.' Shi ji wei ci an hua li zhuang.

布帛冠織。《論語·顏回傳》
Bu bao guan zhi (Han) jian
Bu often hat (first place) army
'Bu often was a chief commander of army.' Han shu-gong bao zhuang.

惠子相梁，惠子相之。《莊子·秋水》
Huizi xiang liang, zhuang zi xiang zhi (Zhuang zi-qiu shui)
Huizi minister Liang state Zhuangzi go see him
'Master Hui became a minister of Liang state, so master Zhuang went there to see him.'

古之王者建國君民，教學為先。《禮記·學記》
Gu zhi wang zhai guo quan min, jiao xue wei xian (Li ji-xue ji)
Ancient’s king. Prt. establish state lord subjects, teach learn be priority
'Those who were kings of the old times, in establishing a state and playing a ruler of their subjects, made teaching and learning their priority.'

m. Instrument: [do A by B]
驚禽子飛，禽之殺之。《詩經·小雅·庭燎》
Jing qin zi fei, qi zhi sha zhi (Shijing Xiao ya Yi shao)
Aix gallericulta prt. fly, net it and basket it.
'When the Aix gallericulta about to fly, (one may like) to net them and to basket them.'

All the examples given above can be reformulated with following patterns:

(9) (a) Place: [at Place Vi/t] = [Vi/t Place]
(b) Source: [from Source V] = [V Source]
(c) Target: [face/toward Direction V] = [to V Direction]
(d) Comitative: [to be with someone V] = [to V someone]
(e) Reason: [because N V] = [to V N]
Needless to say, widespread light-verb phenomena existed in Archaic Chinese, which indicates that the light-verb structures were freely construed at that time (i.e., around 400 B.C.). Comparing Archaic Chinese with English, we see that there are many parallel light-verb expressions between the two languages as well. The following examples show the similarity of the two languages, and also a typological difference between Modern Chinese and Classical Chinese. For example:

As seen above, there are identical structures between English and Chinese in terms of light-verb operations. On the other hand, the same (or similar) expressions are not allowed in Modern Chinese, indicating that the light-verb syntax must operate

1. 《汉书·萧望之传》：“亲用宁能保我耶！”
2. 《汉书·刘辅传》：“欲用齐女文氏母天下。”
3. 《列·月令》：“是月也，命邅歧毕草。”
4. 《史记·萧望之传》：“萧望之自号，闰人宾之，惧，呼曰：‘太子欲杀我!’
5. 《史记·萧望之传》：“故宋康侯、齐哀周侯。”
differently between English and Archaic Chinese on the one hand, and Modern Chinese on the other hand.

Although Archaic Chinese and English exhibit similarities in light-verb syntax as seen above, the light-verb structures involving instruments, locatives (path, destination), and temporal in English, as indicated by A. Li (2012), are different from those involving benefactive, recipients, and comitatives because the former is acceptable, while the latter may cause ungrammatical results in compound formations. For example:

(11) Instruments: Axe-murderer
Temporals: Sunday driver/riding
Locatives: sky-walker/ing
Comitatives: “friend-goer/ing (someone who goes a place with friends)
Benefactives: “baby-worker/ing (someone who does work for the baby)

How can we account for the grammatical contrasts between English and Archaic Chinese? There have been proposals (A. Li 2012) explaining the differences in English and Modern Chinese. A. Li (2012) claims that in a synthetic language, the lexical items specify whether they are transitive (requiring a canonical object) or intransitive (not requiring a canonical object), or requiring lexical specification of the argument structures of verbs (verb vs. V-ing/er), while in analytic languages, on the other hand, the lexical items do not specify whether they are transitive (requiring a canonical object) or intransitive (not requiring a canonical object). Thus, there are different structures that are allowed by different languages (English is less analytic than Modern Chinese so the light-verb structures are more restricted than Modern Chinese).

Although this hypothesis is insightful, we still face the question of whether Archaic Chinese is typologically more similar to English or Modern Chinese. Given that Archaic Chinese systematically permits light-verb operations, which is obviously different from the syntactic type of Modern Chinese but closer to the type of English, in the sense that more light-verb structures were permitted with richer morphological markers in that language (Classical Chinese had more affixes than medieval and Modern Chinese). What is the difference between Classical Chinese and Modern Chinese, on the one hand, and Classical Chinese and English, on the other? The following section will deal with these questions.

A. Li (2012) also observed that No-Case marking languages allow non-canonical objects, where Overt-Case-marking languages do not allow for such objects. Thus, case marking is another possible reason for non-canonical object (i.e., light verb) structures occurring in different languages. How to account for the difference between Classical Chinese (that permits free light-verb construction, i.e., all the non-canonical objects in Modern Chinese are indeed ‘canonical’ in Archaic Chinese) and Modern Chinese (that permits only non-canonical object construction through idiomatization or conventionalization) needs to be explored in future studies.

For example, an ‘s-causative prefix may exist in Archaic Chinese (see Yakhotov 1960; Mei 2012).

These structures will generate what has traditionally been called CAUSATIVE (to make something physically into (be/become/be with) something else), PUTATIVE (to make something psychologically into (be/become/be with) something else), PURPOSIVE (to do something for someone/something), and DENOMINATIVE (to perform an action as ...’ or ‘to act as ...’) constructions in Classical Chinese. Examples given in (9) also show that more complex thematic relations may be involved in the V’ events. That is, the extra-arguments selected by the light verbs have more complex theta-relations with the V’ event. Let us first look at English:

(13) (a) Recipient NP: [... get [the teacher] [a present]]
(b) Experimenter NP: [... persuade [me] [to take syntax]]
(c) Participant NP: [... read [me] [a book], [... pass [me] [salt]], [... buy [me] [a book]]
(d) Participant PP: [... He agrees [with me] [that the paper turns red]]
[... I learned [from him] [that study has no fine]]
[... he suggested [to him] [that he does safe syntax]]
[... he may lie [to you]]
[... he protested [to the prime minister]]
The extra-arguments located under SPEC of VP have different thematic relations with their predicate V: it can be an experiencer, a recipient, or a participant, and sometimes called an outer object or 'non-canonical' object in Modern Chinese (Huang 2009; Li, 2012). When compared with the extra-arguments in Classical Chinese, we see that thematic relations between the NPs under SPEC are more complex than those in English, as seen in (9).

Comparing the thematic relations between elements under the SPEC of VP and the V in both English and Classical Chinese, I would like to suggest that the structures in Classical Chinese may involve a more abstract light verb, say, INVOLVE or DO, that selects a DP/PP (as involve) and a VP (for the event that the involve is involved in),32 that is:

![Diagram]

The tree diagram in (14) illustrates a thematic structure of the DP/PP in SPEC of VP with the event V; and the whole thematic structure can be interpreted as follows: (there) INVOLVE (light-v) a participant (NP in Spec of VP) in an event/action (V-bar).

Evidence supporting this hypothesis comes from the fact that in Classical Chinese, the thematic relation of the NP in SPEC of VP may or may not be introduced by a phonetically realized light verb (or P, in traditional terms). In other words, there was no overt functor that assigned theta role to the NP in SPEC of VP in Classical Chinese, and there was no corresponding P in later developments of the language to be used to specify the thematic relation between the participant NP and the V action in modern Chinese either. Let's look at the following examples first.

(15) a. 郡公其而歸，《左傳·宣公8年》
Zhēng Gōng [tāo qì shì] ér guì (Zuòzhūhuì-xì gōng S niàn)
Zheng Duke [run his army] and back.
'Duke Zheng runs away from his army and went back to his home.'

b. 使人召姬孟，已逃諸侯矣，《韓非子·外儲說右上》
Shì rén zhào jī mēng, yǐ tāo zhū hóu yǐ (Zuòzhūhuì-xí zōu gōng S niàn)
Send people call Zhī Ma, already [tāo Zhū hóu] yǐ.
'Send people call Zhī Ma, already run [tāo feudal lord] prêt.
'When sending people to get Zhī Ma, he has run to the feudal lord already.'
Hàn fēisuí-wéi zhī máo yǔ shàng.

32 The abstract INVOLVE could simply be represented just by the DO. Thanks go to Jim Huang for this suggestion.

The light verbs co-commanding the verb tāo 'run away' can be specified with a thematic feature of from' in (15a) and to' in (15b). However, the thematic feature in (15c), that is, the thematic relation between the event tāo 'run away' and the involve chén 箔 'subject,' cannot easily be specified by any existent (or later developed) prepositions as 'from,' 'to,' or even 'because.' Because the discourse sentence does not mean that the lord runs away because there is a subject. Instead, the sentence contrasts the lord with the subject, on the one hand, and on the other hand, it emphasizes the action 'run away' that took place just in front of the subject'. In other words, there is no oneto-one correspondence between a light-verb structure (in Archaic Chinese) and a PP structure (in later development).31 Without having a later developed (correspondent) preposition (from the covert light verb) as a theta-role assignment indicator, what would be the thematic relation between the action tāo 西 and the entity chén 禦 in (15c)? A more plausible answer, I would like to suggest, is to propose that an abstract relation INVOLVE is functioning here. That is, the subject chén 西 is simultaneously involved in tāo 西 when the action took place. The specific relation between the involve and the action is not what the structure is about.

Another support of this analysis comes from the fact that light-verb expressions like mián wèi‘relieve/cancel him death > free from death > execute him death penalty/cancel his death penalty’ (16a) cannot be structured in modern Chinese with a ditransitive verb structure (16c); instead, it can only be paraphrased with a pseudo-possessive form, as in (16b).

(16) a. 當我玉面免死也，故不離宮以拜。《左昭·十七年》
Chāo yù yuán mián wèi, gǎn bā jí shòu yì bāi (Zuòzhūhuì-xí gōng S niàn)
Give me jade and relieve me die, dare not head-down and make a courtesy call.
'(you have) given me the jade and freed me from death (or canceled my death penalty), how dare I not bow my head and make a courtesy call?

b. 免他的死
Míng tā de sǐ
'free from death penalty'
To cancel his death penalty' or 'to free him from a death penalty'

31 See Li A (2012) for a similar argument for Modern Chinese.
structures in Archaic Chinese are grammaticalized into [PP+VO] structures later on. It follows that although the thematic relation licensed by the abstract light verb INVOLVE were not grammaticalized totally during the typological change from syntactic to analyticity, the new [PP+VO] structures during and after the Han Dynasty resulted from the grammaticalization of covert light verbs becoming overt ones (either a lexical verb, a functional light verb, or a co-verb).

Given the above analysis, expressions in Archaic Chinese such as 小 at 'to evil Sui' will be analyzed as "performed an action of 小 at 'make evil thing' where 小 at 'is involved in that action." 22 What is the specific way that Sui is involved in that action? World knowledge will tell, for example, either as 'saying bad things to Mr. Sui' or as 'did bad things to Mr. Sui', and so on. It is not the responsibility of the light-verb syntax to give specifications as to how Mr. Sui is involved in the 'bad things'; rather, it is the world-knowledge that interprets the relations specifically in different situations (or contexts) where the action took place.

The INVOLVE can therefore be understood as a covert generic light verb, exactly on par with the generic light verb that functions to hold a syntactic position (for the light noun in Classical Chinese, see Huang 2009; Feng 2012). The generic light verb gives a broadest thematic relation to the NP under SPEC with the V under the VP, and it acts just like the generic classifier in that could replace different and specific classifiers in Modern Chinese. Thus, we have three types of parallelisms of light function in the language: (1) light verb parallels light noun; (2) generic light nouns parallels generic light verb; (3) the grammaticalization of generic light nouns > specific light nouns parallels to that of generic light verbs > specific light verbs around the time of the Han Dynasty.

Given the above analysis, it becomes plausible that the abstract INVOLVE/DO is expected to have a counterpart when it became a phonologically realized one in medieval and Modern Chinese. In other words, if there is a phonetically covert generic light verb in Archaic Chinese, when the covert light verbs were grammaticalized into overt ones, there would also be a phonetically realized generic light verb later on, functioning as the counterpart of the covert one in Archaic Chinese. As seen in the following examples, this prediction is borne out.

The Modern Chinese light verb gao is an overt light verb, and it can be perfectly analyzed as an INVOLVE type light verb in Modern Chinese. Although gao is often translated as 'DO', it has different connotations and interpretations when it occurs with different types of (non-canonical) objects in Modern Chinese, for example:

(17) gao = DO (cleaning/manufacture/work/activity搞衛生/生產/工作/活動, etc.)
   gao = GET (water/material搞點水/材料, etc.)
   gao = SET (firmly搞定, etc.)
   gao = PLAY (ghost/tricks搞鬼, etc.)
   gao = MAKE (joke/搞笑, etc.)
   gao = CARRY OUT (business搞商業, etc.)

22 《史记·高祖列传》: "公言以難為外心於齊而權難於齊,公之罪一也."

Regarding the different usages of gao in (17), one may say that there are nine (or more) different gao in Modern Chinese. However, a simple and unified solution would be to consider gao as a generic light verb used for different thematic relations between the action and the entity involved in that action. Note that if light-verb typologies differ in terms of phonologically realized (overt) in Modern Chinese accord with its analytic properties, and phonetically unrealized (covert) in Archaic Chinese accord with its synesthetic properties (Feng 2005, 2009; Huang 2009), then it is expected that there should be two types of generic light verbs given the hypothesis presented here, that is, one is overt (phonetically realized) in Modern Chinese and the other is covert (phonetically unrealized) in Archaic Chinese. Obviously, what is predicted by the theory is what we see in reality.

5. Theoretical Implications

The proposed generic light verb in this study has a number of theoretical implications. First, it is well known that there are ambiguous interpretations of a light-verb expression, for example:

(18) a. Qin min 勤民 (Zuo Zhuan)
   Work people
   (i) 'To make people to work' ("奉事盡力, 而食勤民" 《左傳·僖33》)
   (ii) 'To work for people' ("令尹其不勤民, 實自敗也" 《左傳·僖28》)

b. Weng we 王我
   King me
   (i) 'To consider me to be the king' ("躍江東老者懾而王我, 何面目見之" 《史記》)
   (ii) 'To make me to be the king' ("讓欲吳王我乎? " 《左傳》)
   (iii) 'To be a king of mine' (cf. 王天下)

c. Qi zhi 漢之
   Wife her/him
   (i) 'To take her as a wife'
   (ii) 'To find a wife for him'

Theoretically, generic light verbs with an abstract content, regardless of whether it is phonetically realized or not, will inevitably be interpreted ambiguously as having different thematic relations between the entity and the action (under the V) in which the entity is involved, causing the light-verb construction to have different semantic effects. This is borne out by evidence from Archaic Chinese, as seen in (18).

The different semantic interpretations are also expected in contexts where the relations between the action (event) and the participant (involver) are established
under different social-cultural conditions. In other words, the culture-dependent relation between the involve (the NP) and the event (V') can be established by world knowledge synchronically, diachronically, or even cross-linguistically. Thus:

(19)  

‘father him’ in Classical Chinese (like respecting a father)  

father him in English: to give birth to him [like what fathers do!]

Of course, when one reads liao wo liao, one cannot understand what it exactly means until one knows what the word ‘liao’ means linguistically, culturally, as well as ethnically in the society where the sentence is formed. Given the INVOLVE/DO light-verb hypothesis, this type of cultural-semantics is expected because the INVOLVE/DO light verbs are so generic and abstract that any form of possible relations between the event and the involve would be allowable by the generic light verb proposed here. In other words, syntax provides a structure, INVOLVE/DO (covert or overt) licenses possible thematic relations between an entity (the involve) and an action (denoted by the V'), and finally, it is the world-knowledge (about nature, society, culture, etc.) that interprets what a specific relation will be in the real world at that time and place.  

A further expectation under this analysis is that the semantic effects can be different between overt and covert light verbs. For example, ‘to make the gravy thin’ and ‘to thin the gravy’ could have two (even if slightly) different meanings: the former may be used to express a procedure (when teaching someone how to cook), while the latter can be used to express what one wants. The different expressive effect can be seen again in the following examples:

(20)  

a. He taught me English. = The process of teaching may be completed.  

b. He taught English to me. = It is in the process of teaching.

Given the light-verb syntax discussed in this chapter, the different semantic interpretations would be a natural consequence of a covert light-verb operation that triggers verb-movement and an overt light-verb operation in which no verb-movement is motivated. Thus, in Chinese, as Feng (2000) argued, shui xiao chuang ‘sleep (on) a small bed’ the light-verb construction is not equivalent to the counterpart of zhi xiao chuanger shang shui ‘on a small bed sleep.’ Different structures may motivate different interpretations semantically (see also A. Li 2012 for a similar argument).

Regarding the different semantic interpretations between overt and covert light-verb syntax discussed here, some of the questions raised by Culicover and Jackendoff (2005: 55) may be reconsidered under the current theory, for example: Which particular nouns can become verbs? Given a particular noun, which of many possible derivations into a denominal verb is possible? And finally, given a particle structural realization of a denominal verb, how does the syntactic derivation encode all of the idiosyncratic information that can be expressed in a lexical entry, but that does not follow systematically from syntactic alternation? Obviously, these questions involve some important issues, as discussed in this chapter. As seen earlier, all nouns in Classical Chinese are syntactically permissible to become a verb (with speaker’s motivation, of course), therefore and therefore there is no such question as to which noun can become a verb in Archaic Chinese. On the other hand, covert light-verb operations in Modern Chinese are created by idiomatization, which means that no noun is freely permissible to become a verb unless it is conventionalized (and idiomatized) in specific situations, a factor that activates the light-verb operation in L-syntax of Modern Chinese. As for English, it is possible that English is typologically neither so synthetic (as Archaic Chinese) nor so analytic (as Modern Chinese); as a result, the operation of covert light verb is neither so free (as it was in Archaic Chinese) nor so rigid (as it is in Modern Chinese), which may be on par with the different degrees of richness of INFLEX corresponding to different types of pro-drop effects among languages.

The current comparative study between classical and Modern Chinese, and between Chinese and English, however, shows how the analysis of light verb syntax in Classical Chinese can inform an understanding of syntactic phenomena in English and Modern Chinese, and how insights that are possibly gained in the study of classical languages can in turn shed interesting new light on patterns in modern languages like Mandarin Chinese and English. Although more research needs to be done in this area, the present study raises interesting and important questions for future studies, and the results of this research may provide some fresh perspectives not only on Chinese but also on other, genetically unrelated languages.

Acknowledgments

This chapter was presented at the TELAB-8 Conference and I would like to thank Jim Huang, Dylan Tsoi, Ning Zhang, Li Shen, and Mamoru Saito for comments and suggestions that improved this work.

References


For example, kuo 'fire' were not used as a verb with a non-canonical object like a 'book' in Archaic Chinese (see (104)), however, when the chance (or need) is there, it can be used as verb such as kuo qi shu 火其書 'fire their book > to burn their books' written by Han Yu 繼愈 (768–824) of the Tang Dynasty.
1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the roles of selection and incorporation in complex predicate formation. I consider lexical complex predicates in Japanese, the resultative serial verb construction in Edo, and compound verbs in Chinese, exemplified in (1)–(3), respectively.

(1) Hanako-ga Taroo-o osa-tosita
	Hanako-NOM Taroo-ACC push-makew.fall-Past
	' Hanako pushed Taroo and made him fall.'

(2) Oto suu Uyi-de
	Oto push Uyi fall
	'Oto pushed Uyi, which made him fall.'

(3) Ta-be-xui (jiu le
	he crink-drunk wine Nsp.
	'He drank (wine) and became drunk.'

(2) instantiates a serial verb construction with two independent verbs. But I assume, following the analysis proposed in Saito (2001), that the second verb covertly incorporates into the first and forms a complex predicate.

The three constructions are subject to different constraints. Thus, a Japanese lexical complex predicate cannot be formed with the two verbs in (2) or (3), as shown in (4).

1 This is a revised version of part of the material presented in a colloquium at Harvard University in 2003 and in a syntax seminar at the University of Connecticut in 2005. I would like to thank Jim Huang, Jonathan Bobaljik, and Diane Lillo-Martin, among others, for helpful comments. I benefited from discussions with many people at various occasions. Special thanks are due to Mark Baker and Jim Huang for their extensive help with the analysis as well as the data. Shengli Feng, Seng-hian Lau, and Dylan Tsai also kindly provided me with relevant data from Classical Chinese and Chinese dialects. I regret that I was unable to discuss them in this version of the paper.