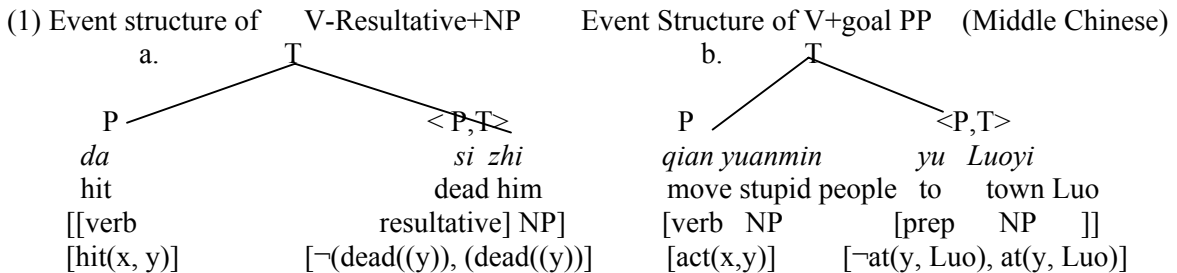


As previously observed in Zhang (2002), adverbial PPs underwent a positional shift from postverbal adjunct position (POST-ADJ) to preverbal adjunct position (PRE-ADJ) in Middle Chinese (220 CE to 960). This change affected most postverbal adverbial PPs, but the locative PPs split into those that shifted such as static locatives (e.g. *in the park*) and source locatives (e.g. *from the park*), and those that remained in postverbal position such as goal locatives (e.g. *to the park*). I argue that the locative split was motivated by the rise of a semantic constraint in Middle Chinese, and consequently adverbial PPs that indicate an end state ([end-st]) are usually allowed to appear in post-adjunct (POST-ADJ) position. Furthermore, I argue that goal locative PPs, having remained in POST-ADJ position, have been reanalyzed as a second member of verb compounds as in [V-P_{goal} [NP]]_{VP} on analogy with the structure of Middle Chinese resultative construction [V-R [NP]]_{VP} due to their similar event structures.

Studies of prepositional aspect (Fong 2007, Zwart 2005) claim that the telicity of directional prepositions is denoted by their indicating both an initial point and an endpoint. While a goal locative preposition denotes both an initial state ([init-st]) and an end state ([end-st]), one type of source locative preposition *from* is argued as indicating only [init-st] and static locatives (e.g. *in*) do not denote either of these temporal boundaries. After analyzing the aspectual roles of locative PPs from Old Chinese to Middle Chinese, I argue that POST-ADJ position in Middle Chinese began to constrain adverbial phrases to have an [end-st] property which contributes to event composition. This claim is further supported by the fact that quantifying adverbials which denotes the boundedness of events, such as iterative (e.g. *three times*) and durational (e.g. *for three days*) adverbials (as in De Swart 1991), shifted from PRE-ADJ position to POST-ADJ position in Middle Chinese.

In POST-ADJ position, goal locative PPs have been reanalyzed from [V [P NP]_{PP}]_{VP} to [V-P [NP]]_{VP}; Modern Chinese provides constituency evidence for their reanalysis (Sybesma 1999: 49). I argue that this reanalysis is motivated on analogy to the resultative construction [V-R [NP]]_{VP} in Middle Chinese, due to the similar aspectual roles that both resultatives and goal locative PPs contribute to event composition (Pustejovsky 1991, Tenny 1994).



In (1a), the resultative *dead* provides an end-point for the hitting event. This end point shifts a Process (P) of hitting to a Transition (T) of hitting someone dead. In (1b), a goal locative PP *to town Luo* functions to shift a Process (P) to a Transition (T) as well. Through the analogy, elements with a similar aspectual function were given a parallel syntactic analysis.

To summarize, the locative split in Middle Chinese is semantically motivated. Locative PPs were relocated to PRE-ADJ and POST-ADJ positions depending on whether they contribute [end-st] to event structures or not. Also, the reanalysis of postverbal locative prepositions as a second member of a verbal compound ([V [P NP]_{PP}]_{VP} to [V-P [NP]]_{VP}) is motivated on analogy to the resultative constructions in Middle Chinese.

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