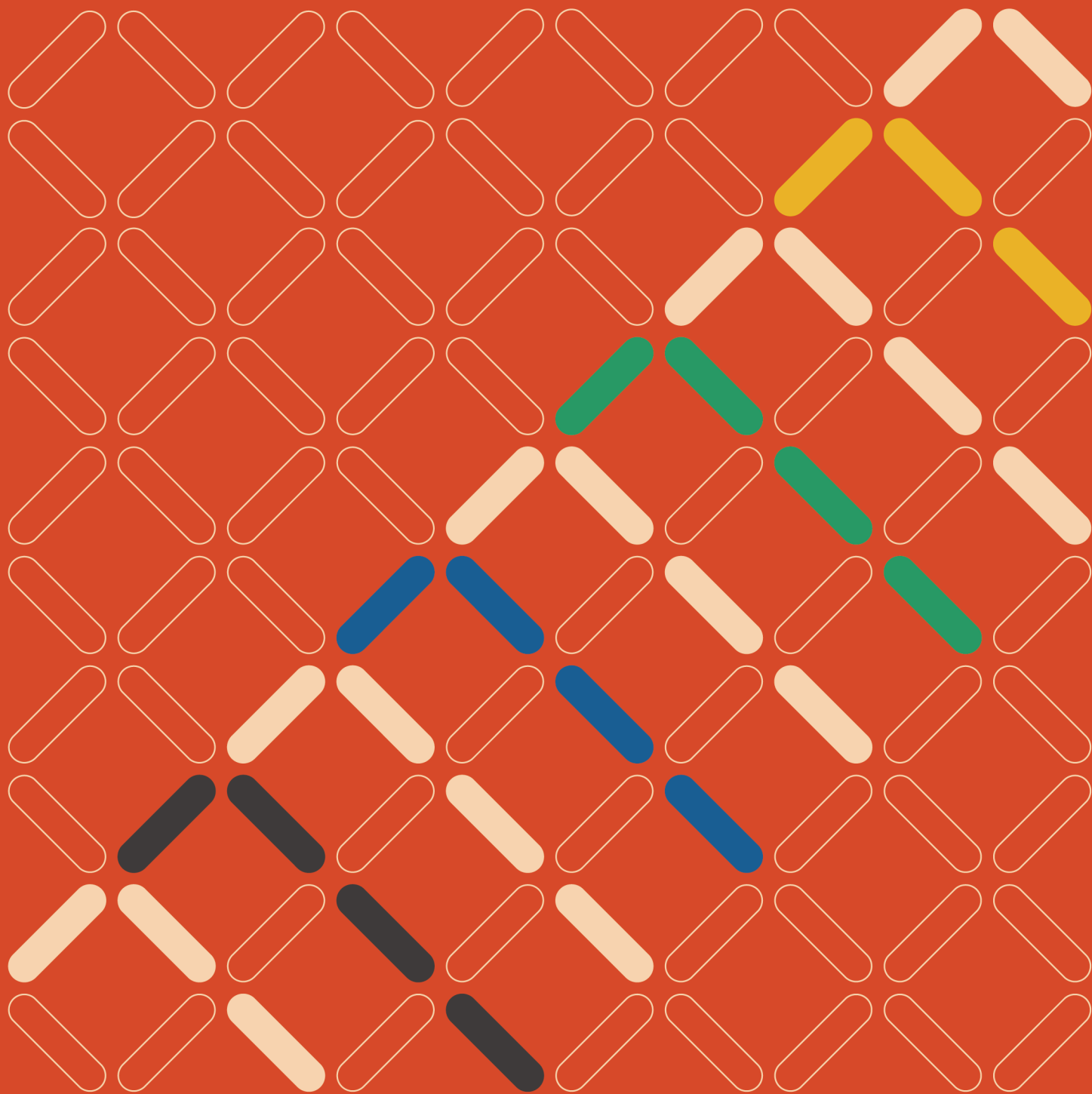




# 第六屆 句法製圖國際研討會

THE 6<sup>TH</sup> INTERNATIONAL WORKSHOP  
ON SYNTACTIC CARTOGRAPHY

論文提要集  
ABSTRACT BOOK

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## 簡 介

「第六屆句法製圖國際研討會」於 2025 年 10 月 31 至 11 月 1 日在香港中文大學舉行。本屆研討會由香港中文大學中國文化研究所吳多泰中國語文研究中心、香港中文大學中國語言及文學系、香港中文大學日本研究學系聯合句法製圖國際研究協會共同主辦。有賴香港中文大學文學院大力支持，謹此致謝。

句法製圖國際研討會始於 2015 年，由句法製圖國際研究協會和北京語言大學共同發起組織，兩年一屆，旨在為關注句法製圖的專家和學者提供交流的機會與平臺。自第三屆起，組委會依照英文字母順序確定會議主題，為活動增添一絲趣味與創意。本屆研討會以字母「D」為主軸，聚焦 **Determiners**（限定）、**Definiteness**（有定）、**Degree**（程度）、**Discourse**（話語）等句法學問題，吸引來自世界各地的七十餘名專家學者匯聚一堂，討論分享最新研究成果。此外，本屆會議亦榮幸邀得哈佛大學及台灣師範大學的黃正德教授和句法製圖理論奠基人之一、法蘭西公學院及錫耶納大學的 **Luigi Rizzi** 教授蒞臨並作主題演講。

句法製圖國際研討會成功舉辦五屆，成果斐然，已成為具有國際影響力的重要學術交流平臺。適逢創辦十週年之際，第六屆會議首次移師境外，於香港中文大學舉辦，饒有意義。作為本港首個有關句法製圖的專題會議，深信本屆研討會在繼承往屆傳統的同時，能進一步促進海內外學者在句法製圖及相關理論研究方面的交流與合作，提升學界對句法製圖研究的關注，推動句法製圖研究的發展。

香港中文大學

中國文化研究所吳多泰中國語文研究中心

「第六屆句法製圖國際研討會」籌備委員會

2025 年 10 月

## Introduction

The 6th International Workshop on Syntactic Cartography (IWSC-6) is set to take place from October 31 to November 1, 2025, at The Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK). IWSC-6 is jointly organized by the T. T. Ng Chinese Language Research Centre of the Institute of Chinese Studies, CUHK; the Department of Chinese Language and Literature, CUHK; the Department of Japanese Studies, CUHK; and the International Association of Syntactic Cartographic Studies (IAOSCS). We extend our sincere gratitude to the Faculty of Arts, CUHK, whose generous support has made this event possible.

IWSC is a biennial event initiated by IAOSCS and Beijing Language and Culture University in 2015. It aims to serve as a platform for linguists to discuss and exchange ideas on syntactic cartography. Beginning with IWSC-3 in 2019, each edition of IWSC has selected its topics based on alphabetical order, adding a playful and creative dimension to the programme. Accordingly, IWSC-6 centres on topics initiated by the letter “D”, drawing over seventy linguists from around the world to explore and share their insights and findings on syntactic issues such as Determiners, Definiteness, Degree, and Discourse. The event is further graced by keynote speeches from Professor C.-T. James Huang of Harvard University and National Taiwan Normal University and Professor Luigi Rizzi of Collège de France and University of Siena. Professor Rizzi, in particular, is recognized as one of the founders of cartographic syntax.

After five successful editions, IWSC has established itself as a prominent international platform for academic exchange. IWSC-6 not only marks the 10th anniversary of the event but is also especially significant as it is being held outside Chinese Mainland for the first time, making its debut at CUHK. As the first conference in Hong Kong dedicated to syntactic cartography, IWSC-6 is expected to follow the tradition of previous editions, while further promoting collaboration among linguists worldwide interested in syntactic cartography and related theories, drawing greater academic attention to this field, and contributing to its continued development.

Organizing Committee

The 6th International Workshop on Syntactic Cartography

T. T. Ng Chinese Language Research Centre, Institute of Chinese Studies

The Chinese University of Hong Kong

October 2025

## Infinitival Questions and the Finiteness Distinction in Chinese

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This paper investigates the finiteness distinction in Chinese through the lens of *know-wh* constructions. We focus on cases where an epistemic verb such as *zhidao* ‘know’ embeds an infinitival question. While epistemic verbs typically select finite CP complements, we show that some of these verbs also license non-finite embedded questions expressing deliberate or practical knowledge. These infinitival questions encode the subject’s *de se* intention and involve a performative modal component:

(1) Zhangsan *zhidao* [PRO (yao) *zuo shenme*]. [infinitival Q]

Zhangsan know MOD do what

‘Zhangsan knows what to do.’ (*describing Zhangsan’s deliberate knowledge*)

Empirical evidence of our claim comes from a wide range of diagnostics: (i) *akrasia* and *parity* contexts demonstrate that infinitival questions differ from finite ones in expressing the agent’s intention to act (Jerzak & Kocurek 2025); (ii) obligatory *de se* readings are observed in infinitival questions (Roberts 2009); (iii) the distribution of modals, including the performative modal *yao* ‘must’ and prohibitive *bie* ‘don’t’ in Chinese, indicates that only goal-oriented priority modals are licensed in infinitival questions (Bhatt 1999); (iv) VP-ellipsis and the subject-object asymmetry confirm the existence of PRO in infinitival questions; and (v) incompatibility with past reference indicates that infinitival questions pattern with the non-finite *woll*-clause (Wurmbrand 2014).

We analyze infinitival questions as *self-directives*, akin to embedded imperatives (Kaufmann 2012, 2021). Infinitival questions contain a performative priority modal, which is logophorically anchored to the matrix world, time, and participants, yielding the non-finite control properties. This logophoric anchoring is captured via a Perspective Phrase (Dayal 2023; Huang & Liu 2000; Nishigauchi 2014; Speas & Tenny 2003; Sundaresan 2018) in the embedded clause, which also explains why they can only be embedded under “epistemically reflective” verbs, such as *know*, *remember*, *decide*, *tell*. (Roberts 2009:11).

Our findings establish that Chinese exhibits a robust finiteness distinction even in embedded questions, reconfirming that such a distinction exists in languages without overt tense or person

marking. It is suggested that the finiteness distinction is based on how the world-time coordinate is encoded in grammar (Bianchi 2003; Huang 2022; Liao & Wang 2022).

**Selected references:**

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## Dependencies and locality – The role of cartographic representations

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Ever since Chomsky's proposal of the A over A principle and Ross' discovery of Island constraints (Chomsky 1964, Ross 1967), it is a major tenet of generative grammar that core syntactic dependencies obey locality principles. Two conceptually and formally distinct notions of locality have been discussed:

- Impenetrability: certain syntactic configurations are impervious to syntactic dependencies.
- Intervention: a syntactic dependency cannot hold across an intervener with certain properties.

This duality of locality raises several questions: what is the division of labor between the two concepts? Can one entertain the radical hypothesis that one of the concepts may entirely subsume the other? The possibility of a reductionist approach is enhanced by the observation that, under standard assumptions, the two concepts overlap in part, so that the familiar strategy of redundancy reduction may be invoked.

The main point I would like to stress in this presentation is that detailed cartographic representations of the left periphery and of other zones of the tree may have a critical role to play in the debate on locality. Here I would like to compare the empirical scope of two major representatives of the two concepts of locality: the Phase Impenetrability Condition, PIC (in the classical version of Chomsky 2001 and in more recent variants), and featural Relativized Minimality, fRM. The two principles overlap, e.g., in capturing core cases of the Wh-island constraint:

(1) \* What do you wonder [<sub>CP</sub> who [ \_\_ bought \_\_ ] ]

This is excluded, under standard assumptions, by PIC (because the edge of the subordinate CP phase is already occupied) and by fRM (because of the intervention of *who* in the wh-dependency of *what*).

## 交际结构与语体语法

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本文从制图理论角度讨论交际结构与语体语法，包括（但不限于）：交际（传递信息、交流思想、表达情感等）的结构属性为“距离”，交际的语言结构为“语距”。语言的结构有距离，故语法形式自有交距属性。在这个基础上，文章讨论具有语距属性的语法结构，如 Dative Construction (give B X vs. \*donate B X)、Adj+er (colder vs. \*difficulter)、SFP (他不在吧? vs. He's not there, right?) 以及语言变异的语体属性等等，据以探索语言如何在实际交际中 (among interlocutors) 用“语距”来结构自己，实现传达“意义、思想和信息”的目的。

## 西安话句末语气词初探——以“些”为例

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自从分裂 CP 假说（Rizzi 1997）和句法制图理论（Cinque & Rizzi 2008）提出以后，对句子左缘结构的句法性质进行精细描写，从而勾勒出人类语言的普遍性特征成为生成语法学研究的主要目标之一。蔡维天（2010）考察了汉语模态词的分布及语法特点，发现不同模态词的诠释高度不同，可以分成三大类，分别对应（Rizzi 1997）提出的标句层、屈折层以及词汇层。邓思颖对粤方言句末助词进行了系列研究（邓思颖 2019a, b；Tang 2020；Tang 2020；邓思颖 2025），认为句末助词也存在于句子的标句层、屈折层以及词汇层中，提出句末助词的层级框架：[标句层 [屈折层 [词汇层 ……事件]时间]焦点/程度/感情]，不同的句末助词分属于这三个层级，表达不同的意义。然而，此框架是否具有普遍性，是否适用于所有语言的句末助词尚需验证。本文拟以西安话的句末语气词“些”为例，探讨西安话句末语气词的句法性质及边缘结构。西安话属于陕西官话，为西北官话的代表，在语法上与普通话比较接近，“些”似可以与普通话“嘛”“啊”“呀”等语气词互换，但在某些句法结构中“些”又表现出与普通话语气词的不同：1）“些”可用于祈使句、感叹句或疑问句中，表达不同的语气，分别如例（1）所示，此时“些”可以对应普通话的“嘛”“啊”“呀”等；2）“些”可以与“嘛”“呢”共现，例（2）所示，但它必须是最后一个，出现在句末；3）“些”不能用于一般陈述句、断言句或带模态词的句子中，如例（3）所示。本文首先对西安话的句末语气词进行描写，梳理其分布、意义和使用限制；然后在句法制图理论下分析其句法性质及其在句法结构中的位置；最后将“些”的分布和使用与普通话及其他方言（粤方言）的语气词或句末助词进行对比，探究“右缘”语气词的共性与差异，揭示句子边缘结构的普遍性。

- (1) a. 来些！/走些！/去些！/吃些！/说些！/念些！（表示请求、催促）  
b. 你个瓜娃些！（表示遗憾、责备）  
c. 这是啥些？（跟在疑问词之后，表示不理解、难以置信）  
d. 去不去些？（在征求意见之余，表示一种不耐烦的情绪）
- (2) a. 这是啥嘛些/\*些嘛！根本不值这些钱！（表示一种不屑）  
b. 你想咋呢嘛些/\*呢些嘛/\*嘛些呢/\*嘛呢些。（表示一种极度的不耐烦）
- (3) a. \*下雨咧些。/\*他病咧些。/\*门已经开咧些。/\*他已经走咧些。

- b. \*他是王老师些。
- c. \*他可能/应该/必须来些。

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## 从 QUD 的角度看 “了<sub>2</sub>” 的语篇功能

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本研究关注汉语句末助词“了<sub>2</sub>”在不同语境中的语篇功能，并借助“讨论中的问题”（Question under Discussion，简称 QUD）对其作形式化的分析，旨在更好地了解该词的语篇功能。本文认为“了<sub>2</sub>”主要表达“状态改变”（change of state）之义（Li & Thompson 1981），具有界变标记词（transition marker）的功能（Soh & Gao 2006；Soh 2009），即从 $\neg p$ 到 $p$ 的转变，见（1a），在某些语境中也表达反预期义，如（1b）：

- （1）a. 张三喜欢吃鱼了。（ $\neg p$ ：张三不喜欢吃鱼  $\rightarrow p$ ：张三喜欢吃鱼）  
 b. 咱们给张三介绍个女朋友吧。--张三有女朋友了。  
 （ $\neg p$ ：张三没有女朋友  $\rightarrow p$ ：张三有女朋友）（引自 范晓蕾 2021：285）

“了<sub>2</sub>”的转变义通过对话的信息更新实现，与询问方的信息状态（information state）有关，表现为其对在议（at-issue）命题的真值条件确定程度不同，包括：不确定 $\neg p$ 的真值、倾向于 $\neg p$ 为真、明确 $\neg p$ 为真。这不同于Soh（2009）提到的“说话时间前非 $p \rightarrow$ 说话时间 $p$ ”。以状态类谓词“有”为例：

- （2）a. 李四以前没有女朋友吗？--是啊，不过现在他有女朋友了。  
 b. 李四还没有女朋友吧？他脾气那么暴躁。--不啊，张三有女朋友（了）。

（2a）中言者对命题 $\neg p$ “李四没有女朋友”的真值条件不确定并在说话时间  $UT_1$ （utterance time，简称 UT）时向听者确认当下时间该命题的真值，听者则先肯定在  $UT_1$  前存在命题 $\neg p$ 并在  $UT_2$ （ $UT_1$  先于  $UT_2$  时）借助“了<sub>2</sub>”为二者的言谈共识（common ground，简称 CG）引入命题 $p$ （即 $\neg p \rightarrow p$ ）；（2b）中言者在  $UT_1$  时偏向于 $\neg p$ ，而听者在  $UT_2$  反驳了该表述，同时借助“了<sub>2</sub>”引入命题 $p$ ，更新了CG的内容（即 $\neg p \rightarrow p$ ），也带来了反预期效应。由此可见，“了<sub>2</sub>”的语篇功能是更新言谈双方的信息状态且其辖域内命题为对话的“在议”内容。

当询问者明确 $\neg p$ 为真时，此语境下的“了<sub>2</sub>”更新了询问者的信息状态（即 $\neg p \rightarrow p$ ），句子无反预期效应，以状态类谓词“喜欢”为例，见（3）：

（3）语境：今天中午张三要来李四和王五的家做客，因为张三不喜欢吃鱼，所以他们以往聚餐总是不吃鱼。

王五：你准备做什么吃的？

李四：我准备做鱼。

王五：你为什么要做鱼？

李四：因为张三喜欢吃鱼了。

(3) 中“王五”在 UT 时的知识状态中含有  $\neg p$  (即“张三不喜欢吃鱼”)，而“李四”则通过“了<sub>2</sub>”引出了  $p$  的存在，更新了会话参与者的 CG，实现了  $\neg p$  到  $p$  的变化。

此外，上述观察也适用于其他类型的谓词（即活动、达成、完结），举例如下：

(4) A：小王今天没睡觉吗？他精神咋那么差？B：不是啊，小王睡觉了。（活动）

(5) A：小王没房子吧？我们去北京找他住哪呀？ B：不是啊，他买房了，住得下。（达成）

(6) A：小王脚受伤了，他最后没爬到山顶吧？B：不是啊，他爬到山顶了。（完结）

**关键词：**“了<sub>2</sub>”；状态改变；“讨论中的问题”（Question under Discussion）；预期

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## 結合歷時演變探析動詞重疊結構「VV」與「V（一）下」的句法

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漢語重疊形式「VV」是具有程度義（degree）的動詞結構，表動量小、時量短、程度輕，因此兼表時量和動量語義（朱德熙 1982）。呂叔湘（1985）將其稱為「嘗試相」，即後來學者所說的「嘗試體」（隋娜、胡建華 2016）。「VV」另與「V — V」、「V（一）下」在形式及語義上皆有高度相似性。有學者將「— V」看作一個結構體作 V 的補語（熊仲儒 2016）；也有學者認為「V — V」已經通過重新分析實現了辭彙化（鄧盾、綦晉 2023）。究其來源，動詞重疊結構「VV」脫胎於「V — V」中數詞「一」的省略（李宇明 1998；張赫 2000），「V 了 V」和「V 了一 V」則是添加體標記「了」的變體（邢福義 2000）。若將「VV」獨立出來當作一種「體」，便將「VV」同其他幾種形式完全割裂，否認了它們的同源性與同質性；將「— V」看作整體的方案則不能解釋（1a）這種不合法的句子；而將「V — V」看作詞的方案，則違反了「辭彙完整性原則」（黃正德 1988），即詞不能被擴展，如（1b）。除此之外，根據朱德熙（1982）提出的動詞判斷測試「動詞可以形成正反問句」，重疊後的動詞並不能形成正反問句，如（1c）所示。因此，可擴展為「V（了）（一）V」的「VV」尚未凝固為詞，而應看作句法重疊。

（1）a. \*一看電影也不看。 b. 看了（一）看。 c. \*看（一） 看不看（一） 看電影？

「V（一）下」同樣具有程度義，既表示時量，又表示動量。「（一）下」也已經泛化，不指涉具體數值。也就是說，「V（一）V」與虛指的「V（一）下」是語義等值的，替換後不會影響語義。從歷時角度來看，本文認同劉世儒（1965）、張赫（2000）的研究，認為「V（一）V」來源於魏晉南北朝時期出現的「動詞+數詞+借用動量詞」結構。與這些借用動量詞搭配的動詞常為虛義動詞「作、打、與」；到宋金時期，還出現了與借用動量詞同形的前接動詞，也就是「V — V」，而隨著計數義的虛化，數詞「一」便逐漸省略。幾乎同時，「V 一下」除了計數用法外，也發展出了不實際計數的虛指用法。從語法化的角度來看，動詞重疊結構和虛指的「V（一）下」系出同源，如下所示：

（2）作/打/與— V（實指）→ Lv — V（實指）→ V — V（實指）→ V（一）V（虛指）  
↘ V 一下（實指）→ V（一）下（虛指）

動詞重疊結構「VV」來源於「作/打/與+一 V」的組合，而「作、打、與」都是泛指意義的動詞，實際動作義不強，辭彙意義輕。也就是說，「作/打/與+一 V」結構其實可以看作「顯性輕動詞+一 V」。其後出現的「V 一 V」形式，則是輕動詞觸發的動詞拷貝，且下位拷貝（lower copy）在 PF 中沒有刪除，得以保留。產生初期，「一 V」仍是實際計數的數量短語，當發展出非實際計數的語義時，「一 V」的句法位置也隨之改變。

本文認為，現代漢語已經虛化的「（一）V/下」其實是一個高度語法化的有自己功能投射的功能短語。因其與「程度」（degree）有關，本文稱之為 DegP，以「一 $\emptyset$ 」為中心語，其中「 $\emptyset$ 」可以拼讀（spell-out）為「下」或 VP 中的核心動詞，「一」則由於高度虛化而可以在語音上省略。在句法層級上，Deg 選擇 VP 為其補足語小句。除此之外，Deg 還可以選擇體短語 AspP2（Tsai 2008）作其補足語，因而當句子中出現體標記「了 Asp2」時，其語序為「V 了（一）V/下」。在語義上，「（一） $\emptyset$ 」已經不再承擔計數功能，而是虛化為一個表示動量小、時量短、程度輕的功能性成分。當「 $\emptyset$ 」為顯性形式「下」時，下層拷貝在 PF 同音刪除，而當「 $\emptyset$ 」為隱性形式時，只有語義而沒有語音，站不住腳，動詞下層拷貝的語音形式在 PF 複製到「 $\emptyset$ 」的位置並在原位刪除，實現「音義俱全」。

### （3）教（一）教/下他句法學。

LF : [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>V'</sub> [~~教一 $\emptyset$~~ -DO] [<sub>DegP</sub> ~~教一 $\emptyset$~~  [<sub>VP</sub> 他 [<sub>V'</sub> 教 句法學]]]]]]

↑

PF : [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>V'</sub> [~~教一~~教/下-DO] [<sub>DegP</sub> ~~教一 $\emptyset$~~  [<sub>VP</sub> 他 [<sub>V'</sub> 教 句法學]]]]]]

## “的”字领属结构的句法分类

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“的”字领属结构（“NP<sub>1</sub>的 NP<sub>2</sub>”）在不同语境下呈现出来的多义现象向来受到学界的关注。以（1）为例，该句在不同的语境下可以有三种不同的解读：

（1）他的头发理得好。

A 语境：“他”指被理发者。整个句子的意思为：他的头发被理得好。（His hair is cut well.）

B 语境：“他”指理发者。整个句子的意思为：他理的头发理得好。（The hair that he cut cuts well.）

C 语境：“他”指理发者。整个句子的意思为：他理头发理得好。（He cuts hair well.）

在此基础上，我们将“的”字领属结构暂且分为不含动词型、省略动词型和隐含动词型三种，分别对应真领属结构、隐性关系结构和伪领属结构：

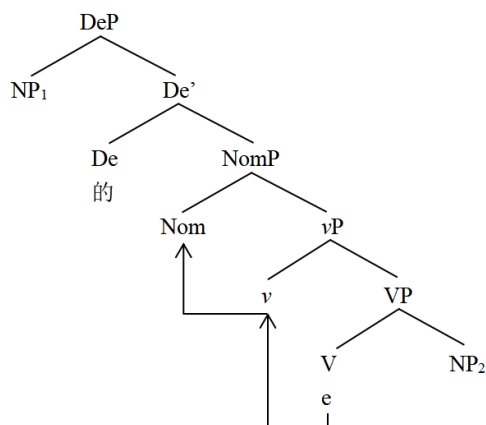
（2）不含动词型（真领属结构）：他的眼睛很好看。

（3）省略动词型（隐性关系结构）：他（唱）的黄梅戏唱哭了观众。

（4）隐含动词型（伪领属结构）：他的 e 老师当得好。

真领属结构表达领属义，其内部不含动词。隐性关系结构表达关系义，其内部包含一个被省略的动词，该动词可以通过语境来还原。伪领属结构表达事件义，其内部存在一个无法补出的隐含的空动词 e。其中最受关注的就是像“他的老师当得好”这样的伪领属结构。

在本文的分析框架下，伪领属结构是一个以“的”为中心语的最大投射 DeP，其中 NP<sub>1</sub> 作为“的”的指示语，而“的”选择了一个名物化短语 NomP 作为其补足语。在 NomP 的内部，还应存在一个轻动词短语 vP，用于表达事件义。在句法推导的过程中，空动词 e 会先移位至 v 的位置，以满足轻动词的要求，随后再移位至 Nom 的位置，以满足名物化的要求。在不考虑具体成分的情况下，伪领属结构的内部构造应该如下图所示：



而根据其表达的不同事件类型，伪领属结构还可进一步分为技能性、指派性、关涉性（包括蒙受类和致使类）三种，分别对应活动事件、状态事件、变化事件和致使事件：

- （5）技能性伪领属结构：他的 e 篮球打得好。（活动事件—DO）
- （6）指派性伪领属结构：张三的 e 原告，李四的 e 被告。（状态事件—BE）
- （7）蒙受类关涉性伪领属结构：他泼我的 e 冷水。（变化事件—BECOME）
- （8）致使类关涉性伪领属结构：他生我的 e 气。（致使事件—CAUSE+BECOME）

由此可知，几乎所有类型的事件都可以出现在伪领属结构的内部。此外，该方案还可用于解释英汉在伪领属结构上的参数差异，同时让我们更加深刻地认识到“的”在汉语句法中的特殊地位。

## 从祈使到条件——再探“使”的语法化

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以往研究偏重语义即从使役到条件阐释“使”从使役动词到假设连词的语法化，仅提到“使”字句不带主语这一过渡形式，显然不足以揭开“使”语法化的全部真相，诸如假设连词只引导非实然条件句，而使役动词无此情态限制，既可用于实然句，也可用于非实然句；假设连词后接独立句，即非兼语式，不同于使役动词最初出现的兼语式；“使”字句不带主语是演变的结果还是原本如此？有鉴于此，本文重新考察上古汉语语料，同时借助中古梵汉佛经对勘材料，尝试寻找“使”字语法化的有力形式标志。

研究初步探明，祈使句或是“使”语法化为假设连词的典型句法环境。

(1) 为国家者，见恶如农夫之务去草焉，芟夷蕴崇之，绝其本根，勿使能殖，则善者信矣。（《左传·隐公六年》）

(2) 凡悦人勿吝也，身必从之，言及则明举之而毋伪。凡交毋烈，必使有末。（《郭店楚简·性自命出》60）

(3) 卫人有夫妻祷者，而祝曰：“使我无故，得百束布。”（《韩非子·内储下》）

(4) 今或谓人曰：“使子必智而寿”，则世必以为狂。（《韩非子·显学》）

(5) 今巫祝之祝人曰：“使若千秋万岁。”（《韩非子·显学》）

(6) 使女（汝）有马千乘乎！（《左传·哀公八年》）

(7) 帝命曰：“使晋袭于尔门。”（《国语·晋语二》）

甲骨文中已有“使”字祈使句，无论从无主句，非兼语式，还是祈使句表达非实然情态等句法特点，都与假设连词“使”引导条件句高度契合，一脉相承。通过分析上古汉语语料和中古梵汉佛经对勘材料，从形态句法上辨析了动词“使”的两种用法：一是用于兼语式中表致使的“使<sub>1</sub>”，其构造的是一个以“使”为主要动词的VP结构；二是用于句首构造祈使句的“使<sub>2</sub>”。“使<sub>2</sub>”具有虚拟性、无主语和带独立小句的句法特点，这与假设连词“使”的句法特点高度吻合。说明祈使句与假设句在深层语义上是相通的，具有跨语言的共性，由此确认“使<sub>2</sub>”或许才是假设连词的真正来源。

## 檳城閩南語句末共享信息標記的視角編碼

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在馬來西亞檳城閩南語根句句末助詞範疇當中，聽說雙方持有信息的（不）對稱性是有意義參數。雙方信息的對稱性在話語中扮演著將在言信息盡快納入共識的功用。本文嘗試考察「（說話人認為）雙方共享信息」在句法上的體現。

基本表現：高調的[lo<sup>53</sup>]、[la<sup>53</sup>]是根句層次的句末助詞，它們基本不內嵌，可搭配陳述句和祈使句，而在疑問句中受限。語義上，它們都編碼了聽說雙方共享某信息的要素，即通過[lo<sup>53</sup>]、[la<sup>53</sup>]，說話人標記了自己認為聽說雙方的信息是對等的。

[lo<sup>53</sup>]要求聽說雙方都持有在言命題 *p* 的證據，如例(1)。此語義要求證據事件對聽說雙方具可及性。在搭配說話人報導自己的私人感受時，因說話人的直接證據對聽話人不可及，直接證據解讀會被阻擋，如例(2b)，只能強制取間接證據解讀，如例(2a)。

(1) 發生啥物事？——我跋倒[lo<sup>53</sup>]。 =我摔倒，並且我們都看到我**有傷口證據**。

(2) 麵好吃[lo<sup>53</sup>]。

(a) 我們都聽別人說麵很好吃。(b) #我們都感受到說話人自己感受到麵很好吃。

句末[la<sup>53</sup>]則標示了說話人認為聽說雙方應共享信息 *p*，預設 *p* 已存在於共識集合當中，如例(3)。

(3) A：「我的小妹昨昏有去上學。」——B：「你有小妹？」——A：「有[la<sup>53</sup>]！」

句法表現：本文採用 Speas & Tenny (2003) 延續 Cinque(1999)對於句法邊緣結構的分析，認為言語行為域包含以下四個投射：[saP speaker …[[evalP Seat of Knowledge…[evidP…[episP…]]] [saP\* …hearer]]]。其中，語用角色並不是初始的成分，而由句法位置而定。具體來說，對於一個言語行為層，說話人是言語施事、說話內容是言語主體，而聽話人則是言語目標。

[lo<sup>53</sup>]、[la<sup>53</sup>]的句法位置處於 evalP：當態度主語是第一人稱時，態度謂語「講」和「感覺」的賓語分別為 saP 和 evalP 結構，[lo<sup>53</sup>]、[la<sup>53</sup>]可以內嵌其中，而「知」和「看著」的賓語則分別為 evidP 和 episP，則[lo<sup>53</sup>]、[la<sup>53</sup>]不能內嵌其中。

- (4) 我講/感覺：[<sub>saP/evalP</sub> 阿李毋是一個好人 {la<sup>53</sup>/lo<sup>53</sup>}]  
 (5) 我知/看著，[阿李毋是一個好人 {\*la<sup>53</sup>/\*lo<sup>53</sup>}]  
 (6) [<sub>saP</sub> speaker ... [<sub>evalP</sub> Seat of Knowledge...la<sup>53</sup>/lo<sup>53</sup> [p]]]

當態度主語是第三人稱時，[lo<sup>53</sup>]、[la<sup>53</sup>]卻不能內嵌在調語「感覺」的賓語之內，而只能內嵌在調語「講」之內。此外，如果第三人稱 SoK 顯性出現，[lo<sup>53</sup>]、[la<sup>53</sup>]也不能取窄域。這顯示，[lo<sup>53</sup>]、[la<sup>53</sup>]要求 SoK 必須與最近說話人同指。

- (7) 阿明講：[<sub>saP</sub> 阿李毋是一個好人 {la/lo}] → [Speaker<sub>i</sub>...講[<sub>saP</sub> RptSpk<sub>j</sub>...SoK<sub>j</sub>... {la/lo}]]  
 (8) 阿明感覺[<sub>evalP</sub> 阿李毋是一個好人 {\*la/\*lo}] → [Speaker<sub>i</sub>...感覺[<sub>evalP</sub> SoK<sub>j</sub>... {\*la/\*lo}]]  
 (9) 對阿明來講，阿李毋是一個好人 {\*la/\*lo} → [Speaker<sub>i</sub>...SoK<sub>j</sub>... {\*la/\*lo}]]

編碼共享信息：[lo<sup>53</sup>][la<sup>53</sup>]分別表示信息 p 及其證據事件對於聽說雙方來說可識別。它們從之上的 SoK、乃至說話人、聽話人角色取得人稱特徵，分別將[evidP]或[episP]的判斷者參數(judge parameter)與離[lo<sup>53</sup>]/[la<sup>53</sup>]最近的說話人+聽話人共同索引。也即，聽說雙方共享信息的語義是通過將示證/認識情態層次與 saP 層次的角色聯繫起來而達成的語義效果。在主句環境，共享信息主體「聽說雙方」即是當下會話的兩名參與者；而內嵌於被報導事件中時，最近的說話人和聽話人為被報導事件的說話人與聽話人，因此共享信息主體也只能是被報導事件的聽說雙方。

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## 常德话中几个“吵”，什么“吵”？

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“吵”是两湖地区（湖南、湖北）西南官话中一个常见的句末助词，它可以出现在陈述、祈使、疑问三大句类句末（1-3），同时它也可以出现在陈述句中（4），本文以常德临澧话“吵”为对象，探讨常德片西南官话中“吵”的层次与话语功能（discourse function），进一步完善常德话左缘结构图谱。

以往研究多认为“吵”出现在陈述句中表示确认，出现在祈使句中表示命令，出现在是非疑问句中时表示揣测，类似于“吧”（4），但对于正反问、选择问和特指问句中的“吵”则有不同的处理，阮秀娟（2021）认为襄阳话中“吵”不能用于选择问和特指问，但郑庆君（2002）、易亚新（2007）指出常德话中“吵”可以用于所有类型的问句，吴翩翩（2009）、杨润芊（2023）的研究发现武汉话的“吵”同样可以出现在所有类型问句之中，常德和武汉话中“吵”的分布是比较一致的，疑似襄阳话比较特殊或语料存在问题。虽然大多数研究都指出“吵”在不同句类中有不同的分布情况，但并没有对“吵”在西南官话左缘系统的位置进行过深入研究，也未曾指明这些“吵”应该从分还是从合，具体实现了什么样的话语功能，本文拟在上述研究基础上解决这一问题。

本文认为常德话中至少应该存在三个不同的“吵”，第一个是在 iForce<sup>0</sup> 位置的“吵<sub>1</sub>”，这个位置的“吵”可以出现在陈述、祈使和是非问三类句子中，标示句子的语力，我们将三类句子中出现的“吵”处理为一个成分，主要是由于我们发现这三种句子的分布呈现互补的情况，陈述句中出现的“吵”，其谓语一般名词性较强，如事态句（state-of-affairs sentences，例 5a）、普通的名词谓语句（5b）、形容词谓语句（5c）、判断句（1）等，而是非问句中出现的“吵”，谓语的动词性较强，通常由动词或者更为复杂的动词性短语担任（3），祈使句中“吵”则以单用主语和动词的形式为主（2），人称则使用第一、第二人称，较少用第三人称。此外，它们的功能其实比较一致，都与“确认”（confirmation）这个功能相关，陈述句中表示的是对命题的确认，祈使句中则表示对命令的确认，疑问句中是对某个说话者所了解的信息向听话者寻求确认。

第二个“吵”是在正反问、选择问、特指问以及修饰性问句如反问句中出现的“吵<sub>2</sub>”，此时“吵<sub>2</sub>”表现出说话人的情感态度，处于左缘较高的层次，可以作为 AttP<sup>0</sup>，有强烈的主观性，部分句子甚至不需要听者的回答（6）。

第三个“吵”是句中的“吵<sub>3</sub>”，一般作为话语标记（discourse marker），通常要接后续句，不论从位置上还是功能上来说，都和前两类有巨大差别。从各自的分布以及话语功能的角度，我们认为常德话中“吵”的分工明确，适宜处理为三个不同的成分。

根据我们的观察发现，一般来说，语言中的是非问句和非是非问句的标记都是不同的，如普通话的是非问句末助词一般用“吗”而特殊问句通常用“呢”，英语中是非问通过主语助动词倒置实现，特殊问句则由 WH 词实现。汉语方言的情况，如常德话、武汉话“吵”同时出现在是非问和特殊问句的情况是较少的，将出现在这两类问句中的“吵”处理为不同的“吵”也能得到类型学方面的支持。

- （1）她是你的妹妹吵<sub>1</sub>。（她是你的妹妹呀）
- （2）你快点走吵<sub>1</sub>！（你快点走啊）
- （3）张三今朝还来吵<sub>1</sub>？（张三今天还来的吧）
- （4）你屋里的伢儿吵<sub>3</sub>，还在外头野。（你家里的孩子，还在外面玩呢）
- （5）a.他还在读书吵<sub>1</sub>。b.而今还是六月间吵<sub>1</sub>。（现在还是六月间呀）  
       c.出去打工也比在屋里强吵<sub>1</sub>。（出去打工也比在家强呀）
- （6）你吃不吃吵<sub>2</sub>？（你到底吃不吃呀！）

## 關於羌語方向前綴(Directional prefixes)的內部體標記分析

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作為藏緬語系的分支，羌語與藏語同為 SOV 語言。羌語依靠方向前綴表示動作的完成與否。因此，方向前綴被普遍認為是表達完成體的體標記（Lapolla & Huang 2003, Huang & Zhou 2006, Huang 2010）。下列例文中方向前綴的部分**標黑**。

- |                      |           |     |                      |           |                 |
|----------------------|-----------|-----|----------------------|-----------|-----------------|
| (1) t <sup>h</sup> e | stuaxa    | dza | (2) t <sup>h</sup> e | stuaxa    | sə-dza          |
| 3sg                  | meal/rice | eat | 3sg                  | meal/rice | <b>DIR</b> -eat |
| 'I'm having a meal.' |           |     | 'I had a meal.'      |           |                 |

在以往的研究中發現，羌語的方向前綴出現了以下幾種性質：i) 能出現在不符合完成體出現的語境，如情態動詞句中(3)。ii) 能改變（Vendler 1967）提出的動詞分類（Lapolla & Huang 2003）。如例(4) (5)中，方向前綴將狀態動詞‘相信’（state）轉變為實現動詞‘信了’（achievement）。iii) 量化賓語是方向前綴完全實現有界解釋（telic reading）的重要條件，當有量化信息[+q]時，方向前綴才真正實現有界解釋。

- |                           |                  |                   |                                 |                  |          |                     |
|---------------------------|------------------|-------------------|---------------------------------|------------------|----------|---------------------|
| (3) ʔu                    | dzuku            | t <sup>h</sup> e: | <b>da</b> -ta                   | t <sup>h</sup> i |          |                     |
| 2sg                       | key              | DEM               | <b>DIR</b> -find                | must             |          |                     |
| 'You must find that key.' |                  |                   |                                 |                  |          |                     |
| (4) qa                    | t <sup>h</sup> e | eidze             | (5) qa                          | t <sup>h</sup> e | xsi-təm  | <b>de</b> -eidze    |
| 1sg                       | 3sg              | believe           | 1sg                             | 3sg              | three-CL | <b>DIR</b> -believe |
| 'I believe him.'          |                  |                   | 'I believe in you three times.' |                  |          |                     |

方向前綴在事件結構中的貢獻可通過 MacDonald（2008）內部體機制進行解釋。（MacDonald, 2008）的框架下，vP 內部引入內部體 Asp 並將謂語事件分為起始事件（initial event, ie）和終止事件（final event, fe）。當量化賓語為[-q]時，Asp 僅激活起始事件（ie），事件無界，方向前綴不引發體變化；當量化賓語為[+q]時，Asp 的語義範圍可延伸至 VP 右邊的終止事件（fe），從而引發方向前綴的有界解釋。

- |                      |     |                   |                      |     |       |                   |
|----------------------|-----|-------------------|----------------------|-----|-------|-------------------|
| (5) t <sup>h</sup> e | pie | tə-χua            | (6) t <sup>h</sup> e | pie | xsize | tə-χua            |
| 3sg                  | pig | <b>DIR</b> -sell. | 3sg                  | pig | three | <b>DIR</b> -sell. |
| 'He sold pigs'       |     |                   | 'He sold three pigs' |     |       |                   |
- c. [<sub>VP</sub> DP [<sub>v'</sub> [<sub>AspP</sub> (<ie>) DP [<sub>Asp'</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> (<fe>) DP (<sub>[±q]</sub>) [<sub>V'</sub> [<sub>V</sub>]]] DIR]] v]]

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## 评价词语的制图理论分析

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汉语的“果然、竟然、居然”和“势必、必然、必定”都表示对于事态发展的评价。前者表示当前命题内容与说话人预期的比较，比如“果然”表示事实与所说或所料相符（吕叔湘主编 1999），或说明已实现事件是说话人先前认为会高概率实现的事件（周韧 2022）；后者表示说话人估计当前命题成为事实的可能性，比如“势必”就表示当前命题内容必然会成为现实或者成真的概率极大（张斌 2001）。也就是说，“果然”类表示说话人对已然事件的主观判断，“势必”表示说话人在预判未然事件的发展方向。

这些词语的句法功能并不是修饰谓语，而是对当前命题小句加以说明，所以有人称之为“高谓语”（张谊生 2010），也有人按照话语逻辑处理为表示概率的话语标记（陈振宇等 2022），或者是按照表面上的语法功能称为连接副词（侯学超 1998）。从句法角度分析，这些词语都牵涉到复句或复杂句。例（1）中的“果然”所表达的语义，大致上相当于例（2）中前句对后句的描述或说明，或者相当于例（3）中介词短语的语义功能。除了“果然”之外，大部分这类词语不能出现在句首，但与当前命题的话语、语义、句法关联大致相同。只是“竟然”等评价已然事件，“必定”等评价未然事件。

（1）果然，镇国顺利通过了初选。

（2）跟我预想的一模一样，镇国顺利通过了初选。

（3）镇国正如我所预料的那样顺利通过了初选。

这两类词语如果在同一个句子里出现，只能是“果然”类在前，“势必”类在后，所以会有（4a）（4b）之间以及（5a）（5b）之间的对立。

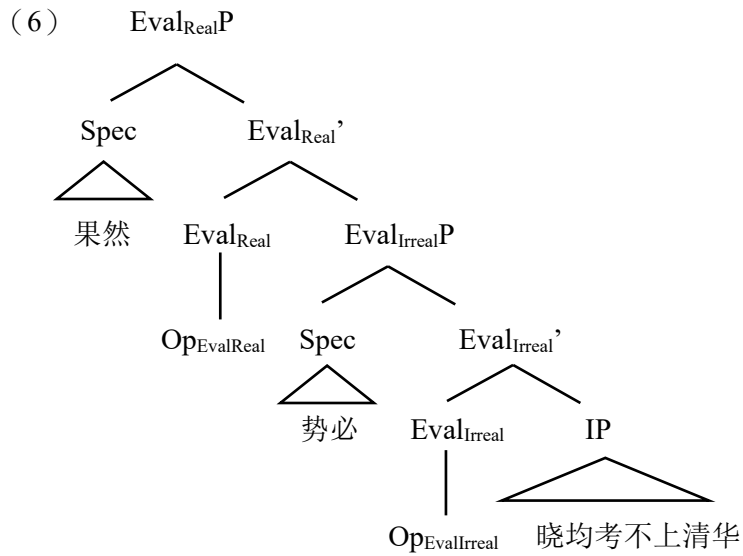
（4）a. 镇国竟然势必进入公司。

b. \*镇国势必竟然进入公司。

（5）a. 晓均果然必定考不上清华。

b. \*晓均必定果然考不上清华。

这两类词语的句法特性可以通过它们的句法地位加以解释。本文采用制图理论的基本思路（Rizzi 1997, 2015, Cinque & Rizzi 2008），假设“果然”类是已然评价副词，其最大投影  $Eval_{Real}P$  的原始句法位置在 IP 之上，是 Split CP 的一个层次；而“势必”类是未然评价副词，其最大投影  $Eval_{Real}P$  的原始位置在 IP 之上， $Eval_{Real}P$  之下，也是 Split CP 的一个层次。相关部分的结构位置是图 6。



这两类词语的句法特性类似于 Rizzi (1997) 设定的 **ForceP**，充当句子成分，但不是传统意义上的主、谓、宾、定，也不是状语，而是表示小句命题同语篇的关联，语义上相当于谓语，但句法功能和认知情态动词非常接近。

## 製圖理論框架下重慶話是非問句語意及句法分析

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針對漢語普通話，粵語及閩南語疑問句的研究，學者們已經進行了豐富且詳細的分析，積累了大量優秀的研究成果(Huang, 1991; Cheng, 1997; Hsieh, 2001; Tang, 2020)。重慶話作為西南方言中被廣泛使用的一種方言，但其疑問句的具體特徵尚未得到有系統性的完整分析。本文著重重慶話是非問句的功能區別，並運用製圖理論確定它們在句中的結構位置。

我們主張重慶話的三種是非問句 (A-not-A 問句、否定詞問句、句末疑問語氣詞問句) 除了各別表達不同的“預設傾向”外，也與句末助詞有特別的選擇關係。從語義和功能上來看，A-not-A 問句以及否定詞問句用作信息獲取問句(information-seeking questions)，不包含說話人預設傾向(presupposition)，不涉及提示背景命題(discourse background proposition)，其用法與普通話中 A-not-A 問句，否定詞問句一致。而重慶話中疑問語氣詞問句則與普通話中“嗎”和“呢”標記的疑問語氣詞問句表現出很大差異。普通話“嗎”通常被認為是漢語是非問句的標記，而“呢”則用於 *wh*-問句句末。然而在重慶話中，首先 *wh*-問句沒有語氣詞標記。其次重慶話中有三個疑問語氣詞（“*mai*”，“*suo*”，“*ha*”）呈互補分佈的用於是非問句句末，其作用是提示背景命題，表示說話人預設傾向，並尋求聽話人對命題內容(proposition)進行確認，我們將這類是非問句歸類為信息確認問句(confirmation-seeking questions)。

姚瑤、石定栩 (2015) 將說話人基於判斷得出的命題稱為背景命題，與之對應的是句子本身為本句命題，且特定的句法成分可以觸發背景命題。例如陆志軍、石定栩(2024) 指出“哪”字作為反問標記，可以從言外行為層面否定斷言，將本句命題 $\neg p$  納入背景信息中，如例(1)中說話人想要推理的背景命題為[我有功夫看小說]，本句命題為[我沒有功夫看小說]。聽話人根據句中信息[每周专业课就有三四十节]及“哪”字從言外行為層面否定背景命題，判斷該背景命題的可信度為 0，並納入雙方共識背景(common background) 中。

(1) 他随后又各有补充，“每周专业课就有三四十节，我哪有工夫看小说?!” (陆志軍、石定栩，2024)

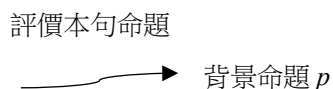
湯麗、許又尹(2024)提出重慶話中疑問語氣 “*mai*” , “*suo*” , “*ha*” 也是觸發命題背景的成分。 “*mai*” 表示向說話人求證命題背景是否正確如例(2)； “*suo*” 提示命題背景與本句命題相反如例(3)。“*ha*” 表示命題背景與本句命題一致如例(4)。三者都用來表示確認，卻提供不同的命題背景信息。

(2) 張三下週回重慶 *mai* ? (說話人求證背景命題[張三下週回重慶]是否正確)

(3) 你週末去加班 *suo* ? (說話人提出背景命題[你週末不去加班]與本句命題[你週末去加班]相反)

(4) 你媽媽喜歡吃蘋果 *ha* ? (說話人確認背景命題[你媽媽喜歡吃蘋果]與本句命題[你媽媽喜歡吃蘋果]一致)

基於陆志軍、石定栩(2024)的理論框架，我們進一步完善並提出，ForceP 中心語有評價本句命題，言外提示背景命題的作用，如(5)所示。



(5) [<sub>ForceP</sub> “*mai*”, “*suo*”, “*ha*” [<sub>TP</sub> T ...]]

從句法結構上看，基於製圖理論框架，為了確認 A-not-A 結構，句末疑問語氣詞，否定詞問句分別在句子結構中的位置，我們檢驗它們與特定句子成分或結構之間的轄域關係，例如是否能準允 *wh* 無定解讀，對情態詞、否定詞的選擇限制，與副詞 “確實” 的互動關係，可嵌套性分析等。我們認為，信息獲取問句位如 A-not-A 問句，否定詞問句位於 TP 中，信息確認問句包括 “*mai*” , “*suo*” , “*ha*” 標記的疑問語氣詞問句位於 CP 中的 ForceP 中，位置低於其他說話人態度相關語氣詞 (AttP)，如(6)。

(6) [AttP...[<sub>ForceP</sub>  $\phi$  [<sub>TP</sub>  $\phi$ ...]]]

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## 汉语布洛卡氏失语症存现句产出障碍及其阐释

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失语症患者由于大脑语言中枢受损会出现各种语言障碍。临床上的两类失语综合征分别对应语法系统的两个过程：失语症患者在相似轴（similarity axis）受损时出现选词错误，是沃尼克氏失语症的典型症状，而邻近轴（contiguity axis）受损时出现连词障碍或句子构建问题，是布洛卡氏失语症的典型症状（Jakobson, 1971）。相对于正常人的语言，语言的不稳定状态更能反映出语言系统的内在本质（Jakobson, 1941）。

汉语的存现句分两种：“有”字句和非“有”字句（Huang Li & Li, 2009）。在布洛卡氏失语症的存现句产出中，我们发现存在两种情况：患者在产出“有”字类存现句时并无困难，但是在产出非“有”字类存现句时却存在明显的障碍。在启动产出检测时，尽管检测者会变换各种表示存现意义的动词，如“卧着，开着，摆着”，患者产出的存现句均为“有”字句，如“门外有一棵树，桌上有个烟，门外有一条狗”。乱序句谜的检测结果表明当存现句为非“有”字句时患者无法正确产出。如何解释失语症存现句产出的分离效应？失语症句法障碍的这种分离效应如何助益我们认识大脑的语言官能？

针对此，本研究试图从对汉语存现句的重新分析中寻求答案。整个分析过程自始至终把握存现句的两个关键特征——非宾格动词（Unaccusativity）（Burzio, 1986）和**动词后 NP 的定指效应（Definiteness Effect）**（李京廉，2009）。重新分析的关键是对汉语存现句“方位名词+存现动词+NP”中的方位名词的重新认识。借用蔡维天（2017）关于蒙事论元（affectee）的分析视角，我们发现汉语存现句中位于句首的方位名词既不是省略介词的地点状语，也不是内容模糊不清的主语，而是可以看成是一个受到一个“存在事件”影响的蒙事论元（affectee，或者叫历事论元 experiencer）。这个蒙事论元与表示蒙受的轻动词 UNDERGO 形成一个中心语为 UNDERGO 的 vP，作用是引介一个地点论元做主语。这样，典型的汉语存现结构就是一个由两层轻动词组成（下层为 ExistentialP，上层为 UndergoP）的轻动词短语，可称为二元存现结构。下层的 ExistentialP 则是一元存现结构。从理论角度，该分析解决了对汉语存现句方位名词是状语还是主语的争执，明确了动词后 NP 在一元和二元存现句中的赋格不同的事实，从而也调和了英语和汉语存现句在分析时的分歧。

对于本研究中失语症存现句产出中的分离效应，该分析可以提供很好的解释：当存现短语 ExistentialP 的中心语为显性“有”时，患者产出没有问题；但是当 ExistentialP 的中心语为隐性“有”时，下面的非宾格动词需要中心语移位（head-move）至隐性中心语位置，此时患者的产出出现困难。关联到大脑的语言官能，有不少失语症研究（Grodzinsky, 1990, 2021, Thompson et al., 2012）证实布洛卡氏失语症在论元移位和非论元移位方面存在障碍。本研究则提示失语症患者在中心语移位方面也存在障碍。换言之，是患者大脑损伤导致的内在语法系统的中心语移位障碍，导致了其在存现句产出时的分离效应。失语症句法障碍的这种规律性特征也从侧面证实了生成语法有关中心语移位理论的神经现实性。

注：该研究与存现句动词后 NP 的定指效应（Definiteness Effect）相关。

汉语程度短语 (DegP) 作定语的语义组合和句法生成

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汉语形容词短语及相关词组作定语有带“的”和不带“的”两种，本文分别称作有标定语和无标定语，而“的”（记作定语标记）的隐现条件及其理论解释一致存有争议。定语标记的隐现情况如下：状态词和程度短语作定语必须带标记（“雪白的衬衫，最大的教室”），区别词通常不带标记（“大型机械”），性质形容词选择性带标记，但意义有区别。对于定语标记的隐现条件有几种主要的观点：功能区分——有标定语表示描写，无标定语表示属性；松紧相似性——有标定语的修饰关系松散，无标定语的修饰关系紧密；有界性——有标定语是“无界（定语）+无界（中心语）”，有标定语是“有界（定语）+无界（中心语）”；韵律搭配（不赘述）。

随着学界对于 AP 及相关形式有了更深刻的认识，我们可以从语义组合和句法生成角度为定语标记的隐现提供更具普遍性的解释。基于程度短语假设和程度语义学，我们认为区别词的语义类型更接近普通名词，表类属义，语义类型为<e>；状态词和程度短语都是程度义被满足的程度短语 DegP，表特征，语义类型为<et>；性质形容词情况复杂一些，其中具有等级性且不能作无标定语（如“痛的牙/\*痛牙”“漂亮的书签/\*漂亮书签”），语义类型为<d,et>，而一些兼具类属义和等级性，并且分别作无标定语或有标定语，如（“干<sub>1-类属义</sub>毛巾/干<sub>2-等级性</sub>的毛巾”），前者语义类型为<e>，后者语义类型为<d,et><sup>1</sup>。由于形容词和动词都是谓词，在句法分布上有共性，我们将动词短语(VP)作为参照也纳入对比，定语标记隐现情况和语义类型对应如下：

表 1 形容词相关词类和短语的语义类型和作定语时标记隐现情况

|      | 区别词       | AP1   | AP2        | DegP |      | VP     |
|------|-----------|-------|------------|------|------|--------|
| 语义特征 | 表类属       |       | 表等级        | 表特征  |      |        |
| 例词   | “大型”      | “干 1” | “痛/漂亮/干 2” | “雪白” | “最大” | “穿白衣服” |
| 语义类型 | <e>       | <e>   | <d,et>     | <et> |      |        |
| 作定语  | 无标        |       | 有标         | 有标   |      |        |
| 作谓语  | 有标：“是……的” |       | 无标         | 无标   |      |        |

<sup>1</sup> 参考沈阳&郭锐（2014:218）从句法功能角度分成“谓语型”和“定语型”。

回到句法问题上，Sproat & Shih (1988)认为汉语形容词定语“的”和定语从句中的“的”一样，Paul(2005)则基于非等级形容词做有标定语，认为带“的”形容词只是定语，而非定语从句。我们尝试从语法语义两个角度构建一个更具普遍性的解释。

当区别词和 AP1 作定语时，语义类型为<e>，可直接和中心语(<e>)进行语义组合，基础生成于定语位置，不需要定语标记。当 DegP 作定语时，从语义组合角度看，不能直接语义类型为<e>的中心语直接组合，和 VP 一样是从谓语位置进行关系化移位，因此需要加定语标记。那么问题是 AP2 构成的定语是基础生成于定语位置还是从谓语位置通过关系化移动而来？最简单的方案是：AP2 基础生成于谓语位置，和一个零形式程度算子组合，以满足其程度义，将其语义类型转化为<et>，句法性质为 DegP，从而表示特征，和一般的程度短语一样经历关系化，作有标记定语。在此理论框架下，AP2 和 DegP 作定语的情况可以合并，只不过一个含隐性(covert)程度语素，一个含有显性(overt)程度语素，也就是说，表面上的性质形容词、状态词和程度短语作定语带“的”都是从谓语位置通过关系化生成的。

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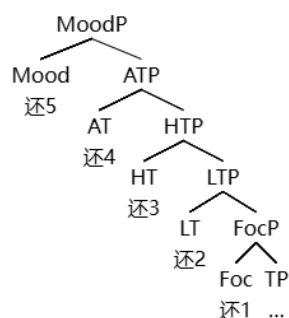
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## 晉語句末“還”句法位置的製圖分析

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晉語中廣泛存在含語氣詞“還”表輕貶意義的句式，前人對此已有一定的考察與描寫，並提出兩種語法化路徑，分別為“副詞→話題標記→句末助詞”（邢向東，2006；宗守雲，2015）和“副詞→句末助詞→話題標記”（黑維強、高怡喆，2017）。本文借助句法製圖的理論和方法，認為晉語句末的“還”在 CP 層內分佈於多個句法位置，根據層級由低到高可分為焦點核心（Foc）“還<sub>1</sub>”、左置話題核心（LT）“還<sub>2</sub>”、懸垂話題核心（HT）“還<sub>3</sub>”、關涉話題核心（AT）“還<sub>4</sub>”、以及語氣核心（Mood）“還<sub>5</sub>”，更高的層級反映出言者更高的主觀程度。同時，因為“還<sub>4</sub>”所在結構的關涉話題和 TP 在句法上分別生成、韻律上各自實現為語調短語，根據馮勝利（2017）“一句一調”的理論，“……還<sub>4</sub>”及其後的小句分別重新分析為一句並各自實現為句調短語，“還<sub>5</sub>”由此成為句末語氣助詞。晉語句末的“在”可表徵為：



以太原話（晉語并州片）為例：

- (1) a. 你還<sub>1</sub>荷不動十斤土？（強調焦點“你”）  
 a'. 你荷不動十斤土還<sub>1</sub>？（強調焦點“十斤土”）  
 b. 十斤土<sub>i</sub>還<sub>2</sub>，你（還<sub>1</sub>）荷不動 t<sub>i</sub>？  
 （“還<sub>2</sub>”標記左置話題“十斤土”，“還<sub>1</sub>”強調“你”，“十斤土”由 TP 中移位生成）  
 b'. \*十斤土<sub>i</sub>還<sub>2</sub>，你荷不動 t<sub>i</sub>（還<sub>1</sub>）？  
 （“還<sub>2</sub>”標記左置話題“十斤土”，“還<sub>1</sub>”無法強調語跡或“十斤土”，也無法強調“你荷不動”，因此該句非法。此時“還<sub>1</sub>”位置出現“還”則只能理解為繼續

副詞表“仍然”，句法位置在 TP 內而不在 CP 範域。同時注意，不能根據線性詞序認為是後句“還<sub>1</sub>”接入“還<sub>2</sub>”，對比：\*十斤土你還<sub>2</sub>，你荷不動 t<sub>i</sub>？）

c. 十斤土<sub>i</sub>還<sub>2</sub>，你荷動 t<sub>i</sub>咗哇？

（反問變為疑問，“還<sub>2</sub>”標記左置話題“十斤土”，“十斤土”由 TP 中移位生成）

c'. 十斤土<sub>i</sub>還<sub>3</sub>，你荷動這袋袋<sub>i</sub>咗哇？

（“還<sub>3</sub>”標記懸垂話題“十斤土”，“十斤土”在話題位置基礎生成並與 TP 內成分同指）

d. 十斤土還<sub>4</sub>，你肯定沒問題。

（“還<sub>4</sub>”標記話題“十斤土”，“十斤土”在話題位置基礎生成，TP 內找不到其語跡或照應，二者的聯繫依賴話語環境獲得解讀）

d'. 十斤土還<sub>5</sub>！你肯定沒問題。

（重新分析後“還<sub>4</sub>”與完句的感歎句調合併，生成句末語氣助詞“還<sub>5</sub>”）

e. 十斤土不算重，大娃娃咧還<sub>5</sub>！

（“還<sub>5</sub>”為句末語氣助詞，獨立完句）

f. 外還<sub>5</sub>！

（“還<sub>5</sub>”為句末語氣助詞，且“外還”正在逐步凝固成詞表“那當然”或“沒什麼”）

## 藏语体标记的完句性与指别度

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“完句性”（completeness effects）与“不完句性”（marginality/incompleteness）相对而言，不完句性是指句中主要句法成分具足的情况下，句子仍不能单独使用的情况（Tang 2022:397）。英语中的小句需要通过时制进行完句，如果没有时制，则该小句不能做一个独立性的的小句。汉语中不同的体标记具有不同的完句功能，由此可以划分不同句法层次的体标记（Tsai 2008）。

对于非时制语言来说，具备完句性的语法标记很多，如念力词或语气词，以及体貌词或模态词（蔡维天 2019），而 Tang（2022）对粤语中 20 多个动词后缀，分别按照完句性做了分类，类型（1）是具有完句性的，可以构成一个独立的小句；类型（2）和（3）都不能作独立小句，但是类型（2）可以通过一些句法手段转化为独立性小句（marginality），（3）则始终是非独立的（incompleteness）。

我们发现藏语（藏巴哇话）中的体标记具有同样的句法表现，根据完句性表现将它们可以划分为具有完句性、有限完句性和不完句性三类不同的体标记。具有完句性的体标记有完成体、惯常体、进行体和持续体标记，可以表达独立的命题；有限完句性的体标记，只有满足特点语境或者句法或语义条件才能完句，完整体、趋向体、将行体都属于这一类；还有一类体标记其不完句程度更深，不能通过任何句法手段使其称为独立性小句，这类定性为副动词。

第二节主要从完句条件、非完句形式的使用条件以及句法层次三个方面展开对完句现象的句法分析。属于有限完句性的小句，作为独立小句需要一定的句法条件，这些句法条件和命题锚定有关，主要分为 IP 层和 CP 层两类。有限完句性、不完句性的小句都不能成为独立且完整的小句，其句法使用价值与非限定形式的句法适用范围有关，而这些体标记都属于藏巴哇话的非限定形式。完句性、有限完句性和不完句性小句在小句范围上有所不同，呈现出限定性层级现象。

第三节从指别度来看，动词短语的限定性（finiteness）和名词短语的有定性（defininteness）有相似之处，两者在概念上同源于拉丁语的 finitum。动词短语和名词短语一方面可以表达事物的一般属性，一方面可以指称事物的具体情况。名词短语需要投

射为 DP 进行解读，动词短语需要投射为 IP 进行解读，以实现小句的命题锚定（anchoring），而 Wiltschko（2014）提出的普遍脊柱假设认为名词性短语和动词性短语在功能层级上是具有共同性的，即分为：分类层 > 视点层 > 锚定层 > 联结层。通过探讨动词性短语的指别度问题，我们希望对比名词短语的指称分类，看 IP 层锚定之后的动词短语是否类似于定指、特指、通指等与之平行的区分。

综上，完句性属于限定性的问题，与命题锚定有关，而命题锚定与指别度相关。藏语和汉语同样属于无时制语言，因此体标记扮演了十分重要的角色。我们希望通过考察体标记在动词短语完句性和指别度方面的差异，来探寻名词短语和动词短语限定性概念的异同。

## 句法制图理论视角下上古汉语“其”的语法化研究

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本文的主要考察对象是上古汉语中虚词“其”的用法，将句法制图理论与历史语言学相结合，探讨上古汉语的代词“其”到副词“其”的演变路径问题，探究“其”是如何从限定词（Determiner）“其”逐渐演变为表示程度（Degree）的“其”以及带话语功能（Discourse）的“其”的。

在上古汉语学界，虚词“其”的用法引起了不少讨论。Nivison（1992）较早提出甲骨文中的“其”是代词的说法。受此影响，Keightley（2020）也认为甲骨文中的“其”全部是用作代词的。Takshima（2020）则认为甲骨文中的“其”仅有一部分是用作代词的。张玉金（2022、2023）对甲骨文“其”全部为代词说和部分为代词的说法进行商榷，认为甲骨文中的“其”还是应看作副词。我们认为，甲骨文中的“其”还是应当视为代词，后者可进一步细分为主位代词与副位代词两种，而副位代词还不能完全视为副词。在这一点上，“其”的用法和“自”有相似之处：上古汉语中的“自”既可以作为宾语代词（参见（1）和（2））亦可作为副位代词，起强调作用（参见（3）和（4））。虽然起强调作用的“自”论其功能很像副词，但程工（1999）已从形式句法的角度论证了这种用法下的“自”依然具有代词性质。

（1）夫兵，犹火也；弗戢，将自焚也。（《左传·隐公四年》）

（2）齐高固来逆女，自为也。（《左传·宣公五年》）

（3）于天子，则诸卿皆行，公不自送。（《左传·桓公三年》）

（4）雍子自知其罪，而赂以买直。（《左传·昭公十四年》）

“其”虽然与“自”的分布略有不同，但也存在副位代词的用法，此时“其”用作复指代词，回指主语，句法上则附着于动词，这种情况延续到春秋战国时期，例如：

（5）我来自东，零雨其蒙。（《诗经·豳风·东山》）

（6）北风其凉，雨雪其雱。……北风其喈，雨雪其霏。（《诗经·邶风·北风》）

春秋战国以后，“其”演变为副词，可以表示“祈使、意愿、推测、疑问、反诘”等多种语气，魏培泉（1999）把它看作非实然（irrealis）的成分，户内俊介（2023）对此也有所阐发。用于主谓之间的副词“其”，例如：

（7）纳而不定，废而不立，以德为怨，秦不其然。（《左传·僖公十五年》）

（8）孟尝君贤，而又齐族也，今相秦，必先齐而后秦，秦其危矣。（《史记·孟尝君列传》）

用于主谓之前的副词“其”例如（有学者也处理为连词）：

（9）不知天将以为虐乎？使翦丧吴国而封大异姓乎？其抑亦将卒以祚吴乎？（《左传·昭公三十年》）

（10）今老邪？其欲干酒肉之味邪？其寡人亦有社稷之福邪？（《庄子·徐无鬼》）

（11）今陛下有成王之尊而无数子之佐，虽欲崇雍熙，致太平，其可得乎？（《后汉书·翟酺传》）

根据“其”的上述用法，我们认为“其”本来是完整的代词，占据主语位置，做主位代词，但由于“其”在句法成分上相对简单，之后慢慢演变为附着词（clitic）D，附着于邻近的中心语之上。当“其”附着于动词之后，慢慢与动词词组的关系更为紧密，发展出VP层副词的用法，当“其”上移并附着于C之后（也即Roberts所说的D>C的演变），逐渐演变为CP层副词的用法（例如，上移至AttitudeP，得到语气副词的用法）：

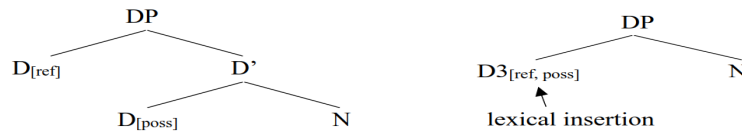
（12） a.  $[_{TP} t [_{T'} T [_{VP} \text{其-V} \dots]$       b.  $[_{AttP/CP} \text{其-C/Att} [_{TP} t [_{T'} T [_{VP} V \dots]$

## Anaphors as Possessive DPs: A First Phase Approach

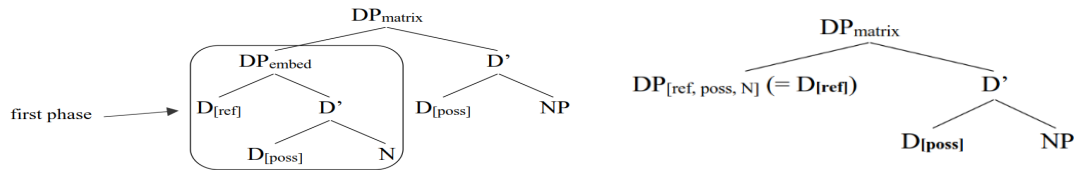
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This paper justifies the claim that anaphors are formed from features that are syntactically distributed on multiple nodes but morphologically realized as single units. Specifically, partially following Davis (2023), the possessive feature [poss], reflexive feature [ref] and [phi] enter the derivation separately but get clustered by means of fusion (or spanning) before vocabulary insertion. [Poss] resides in a projecting D while [ref] and [phi] in non-projecting Ds, which, equivalent to bare phrases, occupy Specs of  $D_{[poss]}$ .  $D_{[poss]}$  projects into a possessive DP. When  $D_{[phi]}$  is realized, a complex anaphor (e.g., *ta-ziji*) is formed and when it is not, a simplex one (e.g., *ziji*) is formed.



Morphosyntactic properties of anaphors in languages such as Mongolian, Chinese, Japanese and many others suggest that a possessive DP is in fact a “nested” structure in that  $D_{[ref]}$  (Spec of  $D_{[poss]}$ ) itself is structurally a possessive DP with “self’s N’s NP” semantics. Call the word-internal DP “First Phase DP”, notated as “ $DP_{embed}$ ”.



“First Phase” here refers to a property that a pronoun has a word-internal phrasal structure, which is unfolded to interplay with or have an impact on the morphosyntactic properties of that pronoun. The spell-out of  $DP_{embed}$ , with a “self’s N” meaning, or  $DP_{embed} + D_{[poss]}$ , with a “self’s N’s” meaning, has to do with the parameterized way in which features on Ds and case feature are assembled in syntax and with language-specific spell-out rules. The morphology that would otherwise spell out  $DP_{embed}$ , comes to spell out  $D_{[ref]}$  in  $DP_{matrix}$ . N, the lexical core of  $DP_{embed}$ , is realized as either a body(part) noun, or a noun-like element, or a nominalizing suffix (or root).

The First Phase possessive structure ( $DP_{embed}$ ) may or may not be “squeezed out” in  $DP_{matrix}$  due to language-specific spell-out rules. If it is not squeezed out, there will be two possessive markers

in a possessive anaphor in principle. However, this would cause “haplology” and/or a morphological bottleneck (e.g., *zi-shen-de-buzu*, not \**zi-de-shen-de-buzu*, in Chinese). On the other hand, possessive anaphors would have a recursive possessive structure, which is more complex and less preferred. Few languages thus have a recursive possessive anaphor. The squeeze-out of the First Phase or at least the “suppression” of the possessive marker in it takes place, thereby leading to the desired morpho-syntactic compactness of anaphors. This leads to the fossilization of an affix or a word, which would otherwise spell out N in DP<sub>embed</sub>, as a bound morpheme of an anaphor (e.g., *zi-shen* (自身)). The First Phase possessive structure of DP<sub>embed</sub> is evidenced by body(part) anaphors such as *öör-in-bey* (ᠥᠣᠷ ᠤᠨ ᠪᠡᠢ/өөрийн бие) in Mongolian, *ji-sin* (自身) in Japanese, and *zi-shen* (自身) in Chinese, which all mean “self’s body” literally. They, however, differ as follows. In Japanese and Chinese, [poss] in DP<sub>embed</sub> is suppressed, while it is realized in Mongolian (i.e. the genitive marker *-in*). Mongolian *öör* ‘self’ can also be used independently as anaphors, unlike Japanese *ji* ‘self’ and Chinese *zi* ‘self’, which all spell out D<sub>[ref]</sub> in DP<sub>embed</sub>. Unlike Chinese *shen* ‘body’, Mongolian *bey* ‘body’ and Japanese *mi* ‘body’ can be used independently as anaphors, with [poss] in DP<sub>embed</sub> unrealized. All the languages have developed alternative spell-out forms of N in DP<sub>embed</sub>, i.e., *zi-ji* (自己), *ji-bun* (自分), and *hubi* (ᠬᠤᠪᠢ/XYBL). (References left out)

## Mandarin Denials at the Syntax-Discourse Interface

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**Background** A denial is a speech act that aims to remove a previously asserted proposition from being included in common ground. Unlike an assertion, denials require a prior context (cf. Repp 2013). In Mandarin, *wh*-words *nali* ‘where’ and *shenme* ‘what’ are characterized by their function as denials in discourse, expressing disagreement with a previous utterance. As in (1) and (2), these *wh*-words occupy distinct syntactic positions from their interrogative counterparts and no longer function as constituent questions but denials. In this research, we refer to these *wh*-words as non-canonical *wh*-items.

- (1) *Zhangsan nali qu guo Yidali?! (2) Shenme Zhangsan qu guo Yidali?!  
Zhangsan where go ASP Italy what Zhangsan go ASP Italy  
‘No way Zhangsan has been to Italy!’ ‘It is not the case that Zhangsan has been to Italy!’*

**Observation** Previous literature (Pan 2015; Yang 2015) tends to unify these two non-canonical *wh*-items under similar syntactic accounts. We, however, argue that separate analyses should be proposed to better elucidate the distinctions between the two items. Some major distinctions are as follows: First, *nali* can license negative polarity items (NPIs) such as the indefinite *wh*-word *shei* ‘who’ or *renheren* ‘anybody,’ aligning with the observation in Hsieh (2001). Conversely, *shenme* in (4) cannot license NPIs.

(Context: A said that Zhangsan liked Xiaomei. B is denying this.)

- (3) *Zhangsan nali xihuan guo Xiaomei/shei/renheren?! Hushuobadao!  
Zhangsan where like ASP Xiaomei/ who/ anybody nonsense  
‘There is no way that Zhangsan liked Xiaomei/ anybody! Nonsense!’  
(4) *Shenme Zhangsan xihuan guo Xiaomei/ \*shei/ \*renheren?! Hushuobadao!  
what Zhangsan like ASP Xiaomei/ who/ anybody nonsense  
‘It is not the case that Zhangsan liked Xiaomei! Nonsense!’**

Second, although these two non-canonical *wh*-items both perform denials *Shenme* is capable of targeting an implicature or a presupposition to deny. As in (6), *shenme* is correcting the scalar implicature in terms of one’s familiarity with a book, which is infelicitous with *nali* in (5).

- (5) *Zhangsan nali fan guo na- ben shu?! #Ta yandu guo ne!*

Zhangsan where flip ASP that-CL book 3SG study ASP SFP

‘No way Zhangsan has flipped through that book! #He has studied it!’

(6) *Shenme* Zhangsan fan guo na-ben shu?! Ta yandu guo ne!

what Zhangsan flip ASP that-CL book 3SG study ASP SFP

‘It is not the case that Zhansan has flipped through that book. He has studied it!’

Third, in terms of scopal interaction, we observed that *shenme* could scope over evaluative adverb to deny, contrasting with *nali* as shown in (7) and (8).

(7) *Ta nali* (\*xinghao) mei shou-shang?! Ta shou duan le ne!

3SG where fortunately NEG receive-injury SG arm break ASP SFP

Int: ‘There is no way he fortunately didn’t get hurt! His arm is broken!’

(8) *Shenme* xinghao ta mei shou-shang?! Ta shou duan le ne!

what fortunately 3SG NEG receive-injury 3SG arm break ASP SFP

‘It is not the case that he fortunately didn’t get hurt! His arm is broken!’

**Analysis** We consider the above contrasts stem from the distinct syntactic mechanisms of these two non-canonical *wh*-items. *Nali* only functions as a propositional denial; we propose that it is a Common Ground (CG) operator in Evidential Phrase, implying the lack of evidence supporting the targeted proposition is in CG. The structure comes with an ASSERT operator in ForceP; together, *nali* performs propositional denial in discourse. Semantically, *nali* conveys the opposite truth value of the prejacent, making it a valid NPI licenser. In contrast, *shenme* can serve as an implicature denial, presuppositional denial, or a form denial under Geurt (1998)’s typology of denials. We attribute the versatility to *shenme*’s echoic property, giving rise to the metalinguistic negation interpretations. Syntactically, we suggest that *shenme* occupies a position beyond CP, and presumably associates with Speech Act Phrase (SAP). This higher position enables it to scope over evaluative adverbs and operate on quotative content with various clausal types.

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## What is elided in Yami comparatives?

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This research proposes *root-ellipsis*, a novel (non-movement) approach, to explain the elliptical site in Yami comparatives, in the sense of Comrie and Zamponi's (2019). Yami is a Batanic language of Taiwan and a Philippine-type language in terms of the symmetrical voice system. Yami exhibits ergative alignment and predicate-initial word order. According to Rau & Dong (2006, 2018), the comparative interpretation is yielded by reduplicant, demonstrating that the property of comparison undergoes reduplication, e.g., *ma-tava-tava* 'fatter' (< *ma-tava* 'fat'), as shown in (1).

- (1) ya=ma-tava-tava            o            kagling aka    no    manok.  
 3S.ABS=AV-RED~fat   ABS            goat    AKA    ERG    rooster  
 'The goat is fatter than the rooster.'

Additionally, the comparative clause is introduced by the complementizer *aka*. The target *kagling* 'goat' is marked with absolutive case whereas the standard *manok* 'rooster' is in ergative case.

*Root-ellipsis* can demonstrate what is indeed elided in Yami comparatives. This approach further clarifies that the comparative clause is indeed introduced by the linker *a* and *ka* should be re-analyzed as a remnant of nominalization. This approach can explain the ungrammaticality of eliding the property of standard and the case-switching on the standard. *Root-ellipsis* on both entity-comparison and event-comparison are respectively illustrated in (2).

- (2) a. ya=ma-tava-tava    o    baka    a    [*ka*    [*tava-tava*    no    ino]]  
 3S.ABS=AV-RED~fat   ABS    cow    LK    NMZ    RED~fat    ERG    dog  
 'The cow is fatter than the dog (is fat).'
- b. ya=ma-gza-gza            a            <om>palalayo    si            Salang            a  
 3S.ABS=AV-RED~fast   LK            <AV>run            ABS    S                    LK  
 [*ka*    [*palayo-*    ni            Paloy]]  
 NML run            ERG    P  
 'Salang runs faster than Paloy (runs).'

The elliptical sites in (2) reveal that the roots of nominalized predicates in the comparative clauses are identical to the roots of finite predicates in the matrix clauses. Accordingly, the identical roots are marginally elided in terms of the analysis of matching (see Lechner 2001, 2004).

Moreover, once a predicate undergoes nominalization, the subject of the intransitive clause must be marked with ergative case in (3b), contra to (3a).

- |                                                       |                                                        |
|-------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| (3) a. ka=ma-tava.<br>2S.ABS=AV-fat<br>'You are fat.' | b. ka-tava=mo!<br>NML-fat=2S.ERG<br>'How fat you are!' |
|-------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|

As a result, (3) verifies the elliptical sites in (2) are the roots of nominalization.

Overall, *root-ellipsis* exhibits in Yami comparatives.

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## Determiner or Classifier: which is a Phasal Head?

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The paper focuses on the contributions of two functional elements: determiners (D) and classifiers (CL) in Chinese nominal phrases. We argue that it is the CL, rather than D, that qualifies as the phasal head as defined in Chomsky (2000 et seq.) based on the following observations: Firstly, CLs and their functional equivalents are crosslinguistically more universal if Borer's (2005) assumption is adopted that CLs and plural morphology are realizations of the same morpheme —Division (DIV); by contrast, properties commonly attributed to D, such as definiteness are capable of being denoted by a heterogeneous set of elements, including demonstratives, possessor, proper names, even possessive phrases. This fact cannot be easily reconciled with the definition of a phasal head. Moreover, D seems to be absent in many languages, Chinese, for an instance, may freely use so-called bare nominals as arguments, as shown in Chierchia (1998) among others. Secondly, CLs seem to be transitive, a hallmark of a phase head, on a par with v\*/Voice in the verbal domain, in the sense that they can select a complement as well as introduce specifiers like numerals and quantifiers; Ds, on the other hand, do not apparently manifest such a property. Thirdly, CLs also differ from determiners in their ability to assign a value to their complements by forming an agreement-like relation with the latter. Take Chinese as an example, the complement of *ge* (个) is more likely a human, that of *zhi* (只) an animal, while that of *tai* (台) an artifact. Fourthly, CLs behave like a phase head in allowing movement or ellipsis of the complement, as in *Wo mai-le pingguo liangge* 'I bought apples two-CL' and *Wo mai-le liangge* 'I bought two-CL'. Ds, on the other hand, are not known for such a property. On the contrary, they generally disallow an complement to precede them, nor can they be stranded.

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## Scrambling as a Rescue Strategy: Focus, Topics, and Intervention in Mandarin Chinese

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Intervention effects refer to interpretive or grammatical disruptions that occur when a scope-bearing element, such as a quantifier (see (1a), (2a)) or focused element (see (3a)), intervenes between a *wh*-phrase and its licensing operator (Rizzi, 1990; Beck, 1996; Beck & Kim, 1997).

| (1) Universal Quantifier                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | (2) Negative Quantifier                                                                                                                                                                | (3) Focused element                                                                                                                                                                                      |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| a. Tongxue-men dou kan -le shenme/na yi -bu<br>Classmate PL all see ASP what / which one-CL<br>dianying?<br>movie<br>What did each of the classmates watch?/Which movie<br>did each of the classmates watch? (Only pair-list reading)                                | a. Meiyou ren xiang kan<br>No people want see<br>*shenme/na yi -bu dianying?<br>what/which one-CL movie<br>What does no one want to see?/<br>Which movie does no one want to<br>watch? | a. Lian Zhangsan dou<br>LIAN Zhangsan DOU<br>xihuan *shei/*na wei<br>like who/ which CL<br>jiaoshou?<br>professor<br>Who is it that even Zhangsan<br>likes?/Which professor does<br>even Zhang San like? |
| b. Na yi-bu dianying/?Shenme tongxue-men dou kan-le?<br>Which movie did all the classmates watch?/what did all<br>the classmates watch? (Non-pair-list reading)                                                                                                      | b. Na yi-bu dianying/*shenme,<br>meiyou ren xiang kan?                                                                                                                                 | b. #Shei/na wei jiaoshou lian<br>Zhangsan dou xihuan?                                                                                                                                                    |
| c. Shenme, tongxue-men ne, dou kan-le? Laoshi-men<br>What, classmate PL NE all see ASP? Teacher PL<br>ne, dou mei kan.<br>NE all not see<br>As for the classmates, what did they all watch? As for the<br>teachers, none of them watched it. (Non-pair-list reading) | c. ? Tongxuemen ne, shenme,<br>meiyou ren xiang kan?<br>As for the classmates, What<br>does no one want to see?                                                                        | c. Shi shei lian Zhangsan<br>COP who LIAN Zhangsan,<br>dou xihuan?<br>DOU like<br>Who is it that even<br>Zhangsan likes?                                                                                 |

In many languages, *wh*-in-situ elements can avoid intervention effects via scrambling. While few studies have explored this phenomenon in Mandarin Chinese, this research shows that scrambling can likewise rescue such effects. When a topic is overt and salient, *wh*-focus elements can be rescued. When the topic is covert or not salient, scrambling still rescues *wh*-focus as long as its landing site is identifiable. In contrast, *wh*-topics can always be rescued. This asymmetry reflects Mandarin's topic-prominent nature: the left periphery always hosts a Topic projection (Xu, 1985). This view is supported by the following:

**First**, when a *wh*-focus lands above the invisible Topic Phrase, the sentence becomes ungrammatical. This is because topic operates at the utterance level, while focus is confined to the propositional domain (Neeleman & Vermeulen, 2012). Consequently, a focus element in situ cannot move across an in-situ topic. In (2b), *meiyou ren* cannot serve as a Topic, and the ungrammaticality after scrambling arises from the presence of an invisible Topic Phrase. **Second**, a *wh*-focus cannot land within the TopP, as it cannot be licensed there. In contrast, scrambled D-linked *wh*-phrases can move into the TopP layer (Pan, 2011). In (1b), *tongxue-men* functions as a overt but non-salient Topic Phrase. Scrambling a *wh*-focus yields ungrammaticality, but scrambling a *wh*-topic results in a grammatical sentence and removes the intervention effects.

**Third**, non-D-linked *wh*-phrases like *shenme* can occupy the TopP only in echo questions, where discourse provides sufficient D-linking. If (1b), (2b), and (3b) are interpreted as echo questions, scrambling *shenme* to the left periphery becomes grammatical. This indicates that discourse-induced D-linking allows *shenme* to function as a topic and enter TopP. **Finally**, if we adopt a finer structural distinction between TopP and FocP, we can account for cases where *wh*-focuses are licensed in FocP under certain discourse conditions. In (3c), placing the *wh*-focus after the focus marker *shi* renders the sentence grammatical. Likewise, when an overt discourse topic is made salient, even scrambled *wh*-focuses can be licensed in the FocP below the TopP to avoid intervention effects. For instance, in (2c), the sentence becomes more acceptable.

- a. ...[tại sao [những cuốn sách đó] thì cô ấy có thể đọc...  
 why PL CLF book DEM<sub>2</sub> TOP PRN.DEM possible read,  
 ‘I don't know why he was able to read those books...’

- b. ...?[những cuốn sách đó] thì tại sao cô ấy có thể đọc  
 PL CLF book DEM<sub>2</sub> TOP why PRN.DEM possible read

Finally, while there is clear evidence for a distinct base position for Vietnamese *why*—Shlonsky & Soare’s ReasonP—there is no evidence for the involvement of **Int** in explaining the “\*Why-to constraint” (which also obtains in Vietnamese): the revised analysis presented here dispenses with the need for movement (whether overt or covert).

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## Discourse Anchoring of Temporal Adverbials in Japanese: A Cartographic Approach to the Syntax of Time and Perspective

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This study explores how Japanese temporal expressions—such as *korekara* (“from now”), *saki ni* (“ahead/first”), and *mukashi* (“long ago”)—encode spatial metaphors of time and how these are structurally realized in the left periphery of the clause. Drawing on the cartographic framework (Rizzi 1997, 2004), we argue that such elements serve as discourse-related anchors for temporal perspective and occupy dedicated projections within the CP domain. Specifically, we propose a hierarchy consisting of TimeFrameP, PerspectiveP, and DiscourseOrientationP, corresponding to distinctions in deictic orientation, narrative grounding, and topic continuity.

We situate this proposal within the broader cross-linguistic literature on the spatialization of time (e.g., Boroditsky et al. 2001), noting that Japanese, like Mandarin, allows for both horizontal (front/back) and vertical (up/down) metaphoric mappings. Acceptability judgment tasks and corpus data from BCCWJ reveal that certain temporal adverbials in Japanese are restricted to sentence-initial positions and interact with the topic-comment structure, evidencing their high syntactic status. For example, *korekara* and *saki ni* are incompatible with certain scope-bearing elements in the IP domain, indicating a position above TP.

Our findings support a view of the discourse-time interface as syntactically encoded, with temporal adverbials functioning as structural operators that mediate between cognitive mappings and discourse planning. This contributes to the cartographic study of Discourse (D) elements and their interaction with temporal deixis.

### Examples:

(1) *Korekara wa jishin no jikan o taisetsu ni shitai.*

‘From now on, I want to value my own time.’

(2) *Saki ni ikimasu.*

‘I’ll go ahead.’

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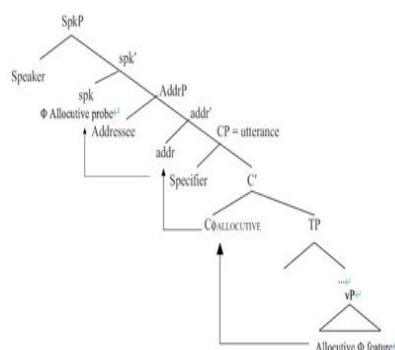
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**Jie HE**

The paper aims to explain the grammatical divergence between colloquial and formal registers by examining the interface between syntax and discourse. In Mandarin Chinese, monosyllabic and disyllabic word pairs exhibit a contrast in register: monosyllabic forms tend to be colloquial, while disyllabic forms are more formal (Feng et al., 2020):

- Previous studies often focus on vP-internal structural differences, proposing that monosyllabic verbs occur in lower syntactic positions and convey informality, whereas disyllabic verbs appear higher and indicate formality (Feng 2015, Luo 2017 and Wang 2018). However, such accounts struggle to explain mismatches between higher adverbials and lower verbs in (2). The scope of register features ( $\phi$ -allocutive feature, indicating the level of formality in languages such as Basque and Japanese) extends beyond the vP level.

- To address this, the paper adopts Miyagawa's (2022) proposal of a Speech Act Phrase (SAP), which extends the cartographic structure beyond CP to accommodate the participants of the speech act—the Speaker and the Addressee. Although Mandarin lacks overt allocutive agreement, it still selects different registers based on the relationship between the speaker and the addressee and such selection constitutes the allocutive agreement in Mandarin.



Based on studies on Chinese morphology by Feng (2007, 2009), Wang (2009, 2023) and Si (2019), the paper proposes that disyllabic verbs serve as morphological register markers carrying an uninterpretable  $\phi$ -allocutive feature. The feature undergoes a number of head movements through  $v$ , T, and C up to the SAP layer, where  $\phi$ -allocutive feature is finally assigned by matching with the addressee via the probe-goal mechanism (Chomsky 2008).

This analysis accounts for important syntactic phenomena: (1) register consistency—high-level adverbs must match the lower verb in register; (2) The disyllabic verb form cannot be used in A-not-A questions: the C node is occupied by the uninterpretable feature [-Q], blocking the movement of the  $\phi$ -allocutive feature and resulting in the failure of register assignment; (3) The formal register structure resists topicalization—the TopP in the split CP similarly blocks the upward movement and valuation of the register-related  $\phi$ -allocutive feature.

The analytical framework gives a unified explanation for multiple syntactic phenomena related to register in Mandarin Chinese and provides supporting evidence for the universal principle of the Strong Uniformity: all languages, including morphologically poor ones like Mandarin, possess mechanisms to encode speaker-addressee dynamics syntactically. This contributes to a deeper theoretical understanding of the syntax-discourse interface and mechanisms of register.

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## Double topicalizations: mechanisms for the displacement of topics in Mandarin

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This article focuses on topicalization in Mandarin Chinese. Two types of topic positions are identified: external topic position and internal topic position (Paul, 2002), as in (1).

- (1) a. 衣服我洗了。 b. 我衣服洗了。

Discrepancy between the two kinds of topic is observed in control and non-control constructions (Grano, 2015; Huang, 2018). In non-control constructions, inner topic is allowed in the embedded clause but disallowed in the matrix clause, as in (2a-b), while outer topic can be licensed in both embedded and matrix clauses, as in (2c-d). In control constructions, by contrast, topicalization is excluded in the embedded clause, as in (3).

- (2) a. 我相信[李四[这篇报告<sub>i</sub>]写完了<sub>t<sub>i</sub></sub>]。 b. \*我[这篇报告<sub>i</sub>]相信[李四写完了<sub>t<sub>i</sub></sub>]。  
c. 我相信[[这篇报告<sub>i</sub>]李四写完了<sub>t<sub>i</sub></sub>]。 d. [这篇报告<sub>i</sub>]我相信[李四写完了<sub>t<sub>i</sub></sub>]。  
(3) a. \*我逼李四[[这篇报告<sub>i</sub>]写完了<sub>t<sub>i</sub></sub>]。

In addition to (inner and outer) topicalization of the embedded object, similar performance is observed in the topicalization of the embedded subject in the non-control construction:

- (4) a. \*我[李四<sub>i</sub>]相信[<sub>t<sub>i</sub></sub>写完了这篇报告]。 b. [李四<sub>i</sub>]我相信[<sub>t<sub>i</sub></sub>写完了这篇报告]。

Furthermore, this discrepancy not only holds for the topicalization of core-arguments, but also applies to dangling topics, as in (5).

- (5) a. 我相信[李四[水果]喜欢苹果]。 c. \*我[水果]相信[李四喜欢苹果]。  
b. 我相信[[水果]李四喜欢苹果]。 d. [水果]我相信[李四喜欢苹果]。  
e. 我[水果]逼李四[只吃苹果]。 f. [水果]我逼李四[只吃苹果]。

We argue that in Mandarin, all the outer topics are uniformly derived through movement to the left periphery in the clause structure, while inner topics can either be moved from an object position or be directly base-generated. Following Wood and Marantz (2017), we propose that InnerTopics are introduced by independent functional heads akin to Applicative, extending the argument structure of the predicate (i.e., the case of dangling topic). In this case, InnerTopic is

actually an A-position while OuterTopic is an A'-position. As a result, the displacement of an Object to InnerTopic constitutes an A-chain, while the displacement of Object/Subject/InnerTopic to OuterTopic constitutes an A'-chain. Given the chain uniformity, it is impossible to move an argument from the OuterTopic of the complement clause to the InnerTopic of the matrix clause. This explains why inner topicalization of an embedded argument is never allowed in the matrix clause of a non-control construction, as in (6).

- (6) a. [OuterTopicP Topic [TP Subject ... [OuterTopic ~~Topic~~ [TP ...]]]]  
 b. [TP Subject [InnerTopicP Topic ... [TP Subject [InnerTopicP ~~Topic~~ ...]]]  
 c. [OuterTopicP Topic [TP Subject [InnerTopicP (Topic) ... [TP Subject [InnerTopicP ~~InnerTopic~~ ...]]]]  
 d. \*[TP Subject [InnerTopicP TopicP ... [OuterTopic ~~TopicP~~ ... [TP Subject [<sub>VP</sub> V Object]]]]]

In addition, following Grano (2015) and He (2024), control constructions involve a defective embedded clausal structure which lacks left periphery. Therefore, it is impossible to have outer topicalization in the embedded clause of control constructions. Besides, as control constructions involve PRO as the embedded subject, the internal topic position is hard to be identified, and this results in the intolerance of the inner topicalization in the embedded clause of the control construction as well, as in (7).

- (7) \*[TP Subject ... [<sub>VP</sub> V (Object) [Outer/InnerTopicP Topic [CP PRO to VP]]]]

## Dynamic phasehood: Explaining non-ATB extraction from coordination

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This study argues that the dynamic view to phasehood enjoys an empirical advantage the literature has not discussed: it explains grammatical and ungrammatical non-ATB extraction from coordinate structures in a syntactic way, independently of the interpretive approach to them (Lakoff 1986, Na & Huck 1992, Kehler 2002, Chaves 2012, etc.).

**Motivation.** (Extraction from) coordination is traditionally taken to be constrained by the Law of Coordination-of-Likes (LCL; Williams 1978, Sag et al 1985, Bowers 1993, Beavers & Sag 2004, Chaves 2006, etc.) and Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC; Ross 1967, Grosu 1973, Goldsmith 1985, Postal 1998, Stjepanović 2014, Oda 2017). Non-ATB extraction generally causes ungrammaticality as in (1), but there are exceptions such as (2) (see Lakoff 1986, Deane 1991, Kehler 2002, etc.). Existing analyses crucially rely on LCL and CSC, which is seriously questioned by recent studies on coordination of unlike categories and the external restrictions on the syntactic position of coordination (Prażmowska 2014, Przepiórkowski and Patejuk 2021, Przepiórkowski 2022, Patejuk and Przepiórkowski, 2023, a.o.). These studies reveal that LCL and CSC are most likely empirical descriptions of distribution of (extraction from) coordination, rather than independently-motivated constraints. This study shows that data such as (1-2) may be explained under dynamic phasehood, dispensing with LCL and CSC.

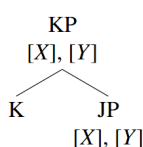
(1) a. \*Who<sub>i</sub> did you see John and friends of t<sub>i</sub>? (adapted from Bošković 2020)

b. \*Who<sub>i</sub> did you see friends of t<sub>i</sub> and John? (adapted from Bošković 2020)

(2) [What kind of cancer]<sub>i</sub> can you eat herbs and not get t<sub>i</sub>? (Zhang 2009)

**Dynamic phasehood.** In early phase-theoretic framework, only CPs, (transitive) vPs and DPs are phases (Chomsky 2000, 2001; Ticio 2003; Bošković 2005; a.o.), while lexical projections (e.g., VPs, NPs, PPs, Aps) are not. Later, a dynamic view to phasehood where non-phases can become phases under certain mechanism is argued for (Bobaljik and Wurmbrand 2005, den Dikken 2007, Gallego and Uriagereka 2007a, 2007b, Takahashi 2010, 2011, Gallego 2010, Bošković 2014a, 2014b, etc.). This study adopts the system of Bošković (2014a, 2014b, 2016). Its crucial properties

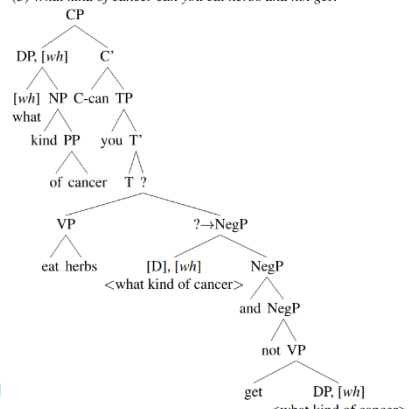
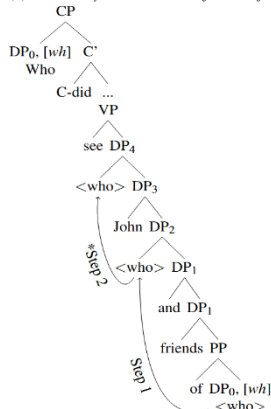
(3) include: (i) some feature/property ([X] in (3)) of a projection JP determines the locus of phasehood via percolation, and (ii) the system is strictly No-Look-Ahead (NLA). Thus, in (3), before K merges in, the phasehood of JP is



unspecified, because whether  $[X]$  will percolate cannot be determined *prior to* the merger of  $K$ . I also take coordinators to be functors transmitting features of  $\text{Conj2}$  (Di Sciullo & Williams 1978; Zhang 2023; Neeleman et al 2023; etc.),

**Explaining the data.** In (1a), *who* firstly moves to the edge of  $\text{DP}_1$  phase (Step 1). When *John* merges in and extends the projection into  $\text{DP}_3$ , *who* moves to  $\text{DP}_3$  phase edge (Step 2), which takes place within the same phrase. This violates the antilocality condition that movement must cross at least one projection (Abels 2003, Grohmann 2003, Bošković 2014, 2016a, a.o.); see (4) for illustration. On contrary, (2) obeys antilocality as in (5); the status of *Neg* in English is important here, a point of linguistic variation. The case (1b), lastly and interestingly, has ambiguous structures as in (6a-b), where  $\text{Conj1}$  may or may not contain the  $\text{DP}$  *friends of*.

(4) \*Who did you see John and friends of? (5) What kind of cancer can you eat herbs and not get?



(6) a. \*Who<sub>i</sub> did you see friends of  
 [DP-phase, *wh* [DP, *wh* *t*<sub>i</sub>] [DP-phase and  
 John]]]?

b. \*Who<sub>i</sub> did you see [DP-phase, *wh* [DP, *wh*  
 friends of *t*<sub>i</sub>] [DP-phase and John]]?

In either case of (6), the *wh*-word cannot be extracted along for the following reasons. If *wh*-feature percolates onto the coordinate

structure (Fortuny 2024), *who* cannot be targeted by minimal search in (6a), while in (6b), only the largest DP can move in entirety.

## From Demonstrative to Discourse: The cartographic footprint of Cantonese *gam2*

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**Introduction.** The Cantonese *gam2/gam3* ‘(like) this/that’ is well documented as adverbial demonstratives that denote quality, manner or degree (Sio & Tang 2007, 2008, Arsenijevic et al. 2016, i.a.). This talk discusses two less studied usages specific to *gam2*. *Gam2* in these usages appear in the right periphery, rather than pre-verbally.

(1) a. Zoengsaam sik-zo di me **gam2** aa3?

Zoengsaam eat-PFV CL.PL what GAM2 SFP

‘What did Zoengsaam eat?’

(Lee 2018, (33b))

b. Keoi waa keoi duk-gan fu-hoksi zaa3 **gam2** lo1.

3SG say 3SG study-PROG associate-degree SFP GAM2 SFP

‘S/he said s/he is enrolled in associate degree program only.’

([forum](#), modified)

I argue that *gam2* in (1a) develops into an Event-type SFP (in the sense of Tang 2015b, 2020), whereas *gam2* in (1b) is used as a tag signaling self-confirmation (cf. Wiltschko & Heim 2016). The study of these usages of *gam2* reveals how elements in the inner periphery may migrate to the outer periphery (cf. negative *wh*-construction; Cheung 2008, Tsai 2007, 2008). This pattern also contrasts with SFPs like *ho2* and *wo5*, which arguably originate from the outer periphery (Tang 2015b, 2020, 2025).

**From D to inner periphery:** *Gam2* in (1a) serves an event-type SFP (Tang 2015b, 2020). It can follow some event-type SFPs like *mat1zai6* in (2), but it precedes some others like *tim1* in (3). As with other event-type SFPs, it can be used in both declarative clauses (2-3) and interrogative clauses (1a).

(2) kyut Waitaaming D wui tai-m-hei ging mat1zai6 **gam2** lo1.

lack Vitamin D will raise-not-able power SFP GAM2 SFP

‘(One) will be unmotivated if s/he lacks Vitamin D.’

([social media](#), modified)

(3) Haauzoeng zung giu ngo m-hou gong coetheoi **gam2** tim1.

Principal also ask 1SG not-good say outside GAM2 SFP

‘Principal also asked me not to tell others.’

([forum](#), modified)

I develop the idea in Umbach & Gust (2014) and Arsenijevic et al. (2016) and suggest that the semantic contribution of SFP *gam2* is not truth-conditional; instead, it establishes contextually determined, *ad-hoc* kinds of *situation* (denoted by the adjacent clause). By avoiding commitment to a precise situation, it comes with a pragmatic effect of *softening*.

**From D to outer periphery:** *Gam2* in (1b) serves as a self-confirmational tag. As is obvious in (1b), *gam2* as a tag always follows SFPs, and it can also take its own SFPs. I suggest that *gam2* in (1b), like other tags, are conjoined with the main clause (Wiltschko & Heim 2016, Tang 2025, Bill & Koev 2025). However, unlike other tags, it is not an interrogative clause, but a declarative one that refers roughly to the preceding utterance. It shares the core functions of establishment of kinds (Arsenijevic et al. 2016), i.e., *proposition* kinds. Discourse-wise, it is used similarly to confirmationals but it requires no response from the addressee, i.e., it indicates self-confirmation. It represents a re-statement of the preceding utterance, leading to a reinforcement of meaning (cf. Tang 2015a), and consequently marks the completion of discourse (cf. Lee T.-H. 2020). It follows that *gam2* in this usage fails to be conjoined with interrogative clauses, as in (4).

- (4) \*Keoi duk-gan fu-hoksi me1 **gam2(jeong2)** lo1  
 3sg study-PROG associate-degree SFP.Q GAM2JEONG2 SFP  
 Int.: ‘Is s/he enrolled in associate degree program on?’

**The cartographic footprint of *gam2*.** Diachronically, *gam2* is originated from the classifier *go3* (Cheung 2013, Wu & Lai 2020), and it travels a long way from an adverbial demonstrative to an appositional adverbial (Cheung 2007), a structural particle (Peng 2003, Sio & Tang 2007, 2008), to an SFP (SPF; Lee M. C.-Y. 2018), and finally to a tag.

- (5) a. DP → VP: Classifier *go3* > (Adverbial) Demonstrative *gam2/gam3*  
 b. VP → CP: Structural particle *gam2/gam3* > SFP *gam2* > Tag *gam2*

## *There's always that. But this is different.*

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There is a tight morphosyntactic link between demonstratives (DEMs) and locative adverbs (LAs). Even though DEMs are often placed in D (cf. Abney, 1987), it is clear that they are not morphosyntactic primitives (cf. Kayne, 2004; Baunaz & Lander, 2018).

In this talk, we explore the substantive and structural make-up of distal vs. proximal DEMs, e.g., *th-at*, *th-is*. These forms basically articulate into two components: a definite morpheme, identical in both, and a deictic component, with regard to which they contrast. This contrast is closely related to that between the LAs, *there* and *here*. In fact, DEMs and LAs are, often transparently, in a structural containment relation (cf. Heine & Kuteva, 2007; Diessel, 2023), such that, e.g., *that* structurally corresponds to *the there*, and *this* to *the here* (cf. Leu, 2007). We will note and address two puzzles. (A) the structural containment relation between DEM and LA can go both ways (1-2), leading to a chicken-and-egg type situation.

1. DEM  $\supset$  LA: *det där* 'that'  $\supset$  *där* 'there' (analogously for *det här* 'this')      Swedish
2. DEM  $\subset$  LA:      *nà* 'that'  $\subset$  *nà-r* 'there' (analogously for *zhè* 'this')

(B) it is commonly the distal DEM (or LA) rather than the proximal variant that's (diachronically or synchronically) related to other left-peripheral function words, such as the definite article, complementizer, interrogative proforms (cf. Diessel, 1999).

We will take a comparative look at various DEMs and LAs, and elucidate their internal syntax. Taking seriously the intuition that *there* means '*at that place*' and that *here* means '*at this place*', which in turn, however, means '*where I am*', we show that distal and proximal are not simply isomorphic variants of one another, but are structurally distinct.

- 3a. distal *there* ('at that place') contains:      [strong def], [loc], PLACE
- b. proximal *here* ('where I am') contains:      [weak def], [exist], SPEAKER

We will decorticate DEMs and LAs in a number of languages, unearthing recurrent reflexes of the ingredients in (3). By way of example, (4) shows (a) *there*, (b) *here*, and (c) *where*.

|     |            |    |          |    |           |              |
|-----|------------|----|----------|----|-----------|--------------|
| 4a. | d- o -r -t | b. | h-/i/-r  | c. | w- o (-r) | German (G)   |
|     | th-e-re    |    | h-/i/-re |    | wh-e-re   | English (E)  |
|     | l- à       |    | (i-)c -i |    | [U]       | French (F)   |
|     | _ ch -ay   |    | _ k -ay  |    | m- _ -ay  | Quechua (Q)  |
|     | 4-na -r    |    | 4-zhe-r  |    | 3- na -r  | Mandarin (M) |

We propose that Quechua (Weber, 1989) lines up *-ay* with E *-re*, G *-r*, and M *-r*, and has *ch-* (cf. locative *-chaw*) in distal (4a), where F has locative *à* ‘at’ and E has locative *at* (5a). In proximal (4b), Q has the existential copula *k(a)-*, where E has *i-* of BE (cf. Kybalchych, 2016, on *if* as BE+WH). M definiteness in *nà*, *zhè* is a floating tone (cf. as in Nko, Diakite, 2018). F illustrates the distinct definite articles, *c-/l-* (Kayne&Pollock, 2010) for distal and proximal LAs, cf. E and G (a) vs. (b). And G *o*, E *e*, M *na* relate the interrogative (c) to the distal (a).

|     |         |    |        |    |          |         |
|-----|---------|----|--------|----|----------|---------|
| 5a. | th- at  | b. | th- is | c. | wh- at   | English |
|     | ce-l- à |    | ce-c i |    | qu-[U] à | French  |

These and other reflexes of the ingredients postulated in (3) support the proposal that *this* eventually resolves into a first person existential clause, while *that* remains in a loop. This is far from the last word on the matter, but it puts the infinite regress puzzle (A) in a different light, and it gives us a structural handle on the grammaticalization asymmetry (B).

## Two Types of Postpositional Degree Adverb Structures in Chinese

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This paper provides a syntactic analysis of two postpositional degree adverb structures in Chinese (“X 极了” and “X 得很”), and compares the similarities and differences between the two in terms of syntactic motivation, projection of locus, and carrying features. It is proposed that the two types of structures, though seemingly contradictory superficially, actually share a common syntactic underlying structure. The generation of both types of structures is driven by the features of the functional head: X moves to the specifier of AffP due to the attraction of [+affirmative] feature from the affirmative projection (AffP) in the inflectional domain. Diachronic and dialectal evidence indicates the difference lies in whether the AffP head is overt or covert: the “得” in “X 极了” exists in a covert form, while the “得” in the “X 得很” is externalized overtly.

**Keywords:** X-*JI-LE*; X-*DE-HEN*; Postpositional Degree Adverb; Extreme complement of degree; *DeP*; AffP

## On the exclusive particle *qiang* ‘only’ in Sixian Hakka

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This work examines the syntactic position of the focus-sensitive particle *qiang* ‘only’ in Sixian Hakka, which excludes alternatives in the sentence. *Qiang* can occur before the verb or in sentence initial position, as exemplified in (1a-b). Unlike English *only*, it cannot occur after the verb and before the object, as shown in (1c).

- (1) a. Amin        **qiang**        voi        gong        in-vun        (tin).  
          P.N.        only        can        speak        English        only  
          ‘Amin can only speak English.’
- b. **Qiang**        Amin        voi        gong        in-vun        (tin).  
          only        P.N.        can        speak        English        only  
          ‘Only Amin can speak English.’
- c. \*Amin        voi        gong        **qiang**        in-vun        (tin).  
          P.N.        can        speak        only        English        only  
          Intended reading: ‘Amin can speak only English.’

In (1a), *qiang* can focus associate with the elements within its c-commanding domain—the verb phrase, the object, or the verb—but not with the subject. This observation aligns with the c-command condition on focus association, as established in the literature (Jackendoff 1972; Rooth 1985; Tancredi 1990; Aoun & Li 1993; McCawley 1996; Bayer 1996, among others), as in (2).

- (2) A focus-sensitive operator must c-command its associate. (Erlewine 2017:329)

In (1b), by contrast, *qiang* can focus associate only with the subject, patterning similarly to sentence-initial *only* in English. Previous literature (Taglicht 1984; Bayer 1996) distinguishes two types of English *only*: the adverbial type and the adnominal type. The sentence-initial *only* belongs to the latter, where its c-command domain contains only the subject. This raises the question: can we analyze sentence-initial *qiang* in Sixian Hakka as being adnominal, parallel to the English case? If this analysis is correct, we would expect *qiang* in Sixian Hakka to likewise exhibit two types of exclusive particles: an adverbial type and an adnominal type. An adnominal *qiang* should then be able to appear pre-nominally, just as English *only* can occur before the object (e.g., *John can speak only English*). However, this prediction is not borne out, as evidenced by (1c).

In this work, we investigate the grammatical properties of *qiang* in Sixian Hakka, evaluating three approaches to exclusive particles found in other languages: (1) the adverbial/adnominal distinction approach, (2) the unified adverbial approach (Jacobs 1983, 1986; Buring & Hartmann 2001; Erlewine 2017), and (3) the bipartite approach (Bayer 1996; Kayne 1998; Quek & Hirsch 2017; Sun 2021). We then propose an analysis that best accounts for *qiang* in Sixian Hakka.

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## Sentence-Final Particles in Late Archaic Chinese

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Despite the large number of research that study the discourse functions and hierarchical order of sentence-final particles (SFPs) in modern Chinese languages, few have attempted to apply the cartographic approach on SFPs in Archaic Chinese. Attempts are taken in Djamouri & Paul (2019) and Pan (2021), where a partial hierarchy of *yě*, *hū*, and *zāi* is proposed. Nonetheless, as Pan (2021) points out, a detailed analysis of more SFPs in Archaic Chinese is still called for.

This study aims to bridge this gap by identifying the discourse functions and functional positions of eight common SFPs in late Archaic Chinese (5<sup>th</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), i.e., *yě* (也), *yǐ* (已), *yǐ* (矣), *ěr* (耳), *hū* (乎), *yǔ* (與), *fū* (夫), and *zāi* (哉). This study uses data from the Analects, the Mencius, and the Book of Rites in the Academic Sinica Ancient Chinese Corpus.

It is found that: *yě* can be analysed as an assertive particle and assigned as the head of FinP; *yǐ*<sub>1</sub> expresses a realization of state and heads S.AspP; *ěr* conveys the meaning of restrictive focus and heads OnlyP; *yǔ* turns a declarative into a polar question so it heads iForceP; *fū* and *zāi* expresses the speaker's mood and attitude so they head AttP. It is observed that *hū* can turn a declarative into a polar question, but it can also appear in non-interrogatives, where it expresses the speaker's attitude. Therefore, I propose that there are two different *hū*: one (*hū*<sub>1</sub>) heads iForceP and one (*hū*<sub>2</sub>) heads AttP. Similarly, *yǐ*<sub>2</sub> can express a realization of state like *yǐ*<sub>1</sub> but it can also express the speaker's attitude in other occasions, so two different *yǐ*<sub>2</sub> are proposed: one (*yǐ*<sub>2a</sub>) heads S.AspP and one (*yǐ*<sub>2b</sub>) heads AttP. Mapping these SFPs to the above functional projections predicts that they follow the order in (1) when they appear in clusters:

(1) TP < FinP (*yě*) < S.AspP (*yǐ*<sub>1</sub>, *yǐ*<sub>2a</sub>) < OnlyP (*ěr*) < iForceP (*hū*<sub>1</sub>, *yǔ*) < AttP (*yǐ*<sub>2b</sub>, *hū*<sub>2</sub>, *fū*, *zāi*)

This prediction is mostly borne out, except for the Att particles, which should not co-occur if they compete for the same position. However, the co-occurrence of *yǐ*<sub>2b</sub> with *hū*<sub>2</sub>, *fū*, *zāi* is found, suggesting that there are two layers of AttP. The hierarchy of the ten SFPs is as below:

(2) [AttP<sub>2</sub> [AttP<sub>1</sub> [iForceP [OnlyP [S.AspP [FinP [TP ... ] *yě*] *yǐ*<sub>1</sub>, *yǐ*<sub>2a</sub>] *ěr*] *hū*<sub>1</sub>, *yǔ*] *yǐ*<sub>2b</sub>] *hū*<sub>2</sub>, *fū*, *zāi*]

According to Pan's (2015, 2019, 2021) Subjectivity Scale Constraint, only the low C layer, i.e., S.AspP and OnlyP, can be embedded, while the rest (Force and Attitude layers) can only appear

in root clause. The same would be expected in late Archaic Chinese. However, while we successfully predicted that  $h\bar{u}_1$ ,  $y\check{u}$ ,  $y\check{i}_{2b}$ ,  $h\bar{u}_2$ ,  $f\bar{u}$ , and  $z\bar{a}i$  only appear in root clauses, there is no clear evidence that  $y\check{i}_1$ ,  $y\check{i}_{2a}$ , and  $\check{e}r$  can be embedded. Although few instances of possibly embedded  $y\check{i}_{2a}$  and  $\check{e}r$  are found, they appear in root clause-final position, as in (3) (analysis shown in (4)).

(3) Hé bì xiǎogōng ěr

Why must xiaogong er

“Why must it be only xiaogong (a type of mourning suit)?”

(4) [<sub>IP</sub> Hé [<sub>MP</sub> bì [<sub>OnlyP</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> xiǎogōng] ěr]]]

This can be explained by assuming that, in addition to sentential aspect and focus, they carry certain discourse functions related to the high C layer, which cannot be expressed in embedded clause. This suggests that they might be further decomposed into different functional projections (e.g.,  $\check{e}r$  can be decomposed into OnlyP and AttP), as in Tang (2006) and Sybesma & Li (2007). Cheng (2015) points out that the projections must be adjacent for PF merge to occur, explaining why these particles can only be in root clause-final position even when they are embedded.

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# On the Definiteness Effect of Double Object Construction Between Japanese and Chinese

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The Definiteness Effect has long served as a key topic in the study of grammar. Previous studies demonstrate a strong correlation between the Definiteness Effect and licensing in English and Mandarin Chinese. Definite NPs are excluded from syntactic structures such as existential sentences(Li 2009) and double object structures(Chen 2004) etc. However, few studies have explored how the Definiteness Effect varies among East Asian languages.

Yu(2013) examined the passivization of giving expressions with trivalent predicates in Chinese and Japanese respectively, noticing that when indirect objects are promoted in Chinese retained-object passives, they tend to be definite, while retained direct objects tend to be indefinite. Japanese, however, does not impose such strict definiteness constraints.

| Mandarin Chinese                      |      |       |       |     |           |       | Japanese                              |     |       |     |      |     |      |     |                |
|---------------------------------------|------|-------|-------|-----|-----------|-------|---------------------------------------|-----|-------|-----|------|-----|------|-----|----------------|
| 我                                     | 被    | 小偷    | 偷     | 了   | 很多        | 书。    | 私                                     | は   | 泥棒    | に   | たくさん | の   | 本    | を   | 盗ま-れ-た。        |
| 1SG                                   | PASS | thief | steal | PFV | very-many | book. | 1SG                                   | TOP | thief | DAT | many | GEN | book | ACC | steal-PASS-PFV |
| "I was stolen many books by a thief." |      |       |       |     |           |       | "I was stolen many books by a thief." |     |       |     |      |     |      |     |                |
| 我                                     | 被    | 小偷    | 偷     | 了   | 那本        | 书。    | 私                                     | は   | 泥棒    | に   | その   |     | 本    | を   | 盗ま-れ-た。        |
| 1SG                                   | PASS | thief | steal | PFV | that      | book. | 1SG                                   | TOP | thief | DAT | that |     | book | ACC | steal-PASS-PFV |
| "I was stolen the book by a thief."   |      |       |       |     |           |       | "I was stolen that book by a thief."  |     |       |     |      |     |      |     |                |

This study explores the definiteness condition in double object construction in Mandarin Chinese and Japanese. Specifically, native speaker acceptability judgment tasks (a 2x2 factorial experiment focusing on the (in)definiteness of direct and indirect objects respectively) will be conducted to testify the linguistic intuition. Mandarin Chinese is expected to display a strong Definiteness Effect and Japanese a weak one. The results gives empirical evidence for parametric variation in the Definiteness Effect across languages.

Under the framework of Phase Theory, the above-mentioned asymmetry between Mandarin and Japanese can explained as follows: In Mandarin Chinese, object licensing is strictly regulated at the phase level, particularly at the  $\nu$ P phase, where Case and  $\phi$ -features of NPs must be valued and checked before Spell-Out. Definite NPs, being inherently feature-rich (possessing [+definiteness] and strong D features), require immediate and local licensing within the  $\nu$ P phase. If a definite direct object remains in situ without raising to the phase edge, it may cause feature-checking failure, resulting in ungrammaticality. Indefinite NPs, being feature-poor or default in

feature specification, can remain within the lower domain without triggering such violations. In contrast, Japanese exhibits more flexible object licensing mechanisms:  $\varphi$ -feature valuation is weaker and may proceed beyond the narrow  $vP$  phase. There is no strong requirement to check definiteness features immediately within  $vP$ . Consequently, definite and indefinite NPs can freely appear as direct or indirect objects without causing phase-level derivational crashes.

Our finding shows that the Definiteness Effect in Mandarin can be seen as a visibility condition on NP licensing at the  $vP$  phase. The absence of a strong Definiteness Effect in Japanese reflects parametric weakening of phase-imposed feature checking requirements.

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## A Comparative Cartographic Investigation of Left-Dislocation (LD), Hanging Topic (HT), and Aboutness Topic (AT) between Japanese and Chinese

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This paper investigates, based on and growing out of Nakamura (2022), how different the occurrence restrictions among topic elements are between Japanese and Chinese. Before getting into the detailed discussion, let us first define the Left Dislocation (LD) and Hanging Topic (HT). López(2016:404) depicts the differences between LD and HT shown in (1a&b).

- (1) a. XP(HT) [...Res... (pro)]    b. XP(LD)[...Res...<XP>]

HT does not always have to have the resumptive element in the original position, while LD has to. In contrast, AT does not have any element in the original position. Based on these, let us begin the discussion.

- (2) a. **Wo de jia ren    baba,    cong na jia yinhang,** wo yijing ti/wei ta    jiedao    hen duo    qian    le  
IDE family-people, father    from that-CL bank    I    already    for him borrow    very much    money MOD  
'As for my family, my father, from that bank, I already borrowed a lot of money for him.'  
*Wo de jia ren=AT, baba=HT, cong na jia yinhang=LD*
- b. **\*Baba, wo de jia ren,    cong na jia yinhang,** wo yijing ti/wei ta    jiedao    hen duo    qian    le  
*Baba=HT, wo de jia ren=AT,    cong na jia yinhang=LD*
- c. **\*Baba, cong na jia yinhang, wo de jia ren,**    wo yijing ti/wei ta    jiedao    hen duo    qian    le  
*Baba=HT, cong na jia yinhang=LD, wo de jia ren=AT*

- (3) Aboutness Topic>Hanging Topic>Left Dislocation>Lian Focus>IP

Based on the data shown in (2a-c), Badan and Del Gobbo (2010) advocate (3), in which the rigid order of topic elements is clarified. When we investigate Japanese data, however, different pictures emerge.

- (4) a. **?\*Watasi-no kazoku(-de)-wa,    titi(-wa), ano-gyinkoo-kara watasi-wa kare-no tame-ni**  
I-Gen    family-(among)-Top father-Top that bank-from    I-Top    he-Gen for-Dat  
suden tagaku- no kane-o kari-teiru    ndesu  
already much money-Acc borrow-Past Decl *Watasi-no kazoku=AT, titi=HT, ano-gyinkoo=LD*
- b. **Watasi-no kazoku(-de)-wa, titi-no-tame-ni, ano-gyinkoo-kara watasi-wa sudeni    tagaku-no kane-o**  
I-Gen    family-(among)-Top    father-Gen for    that bank-from    I-Top    already    much money-Acc  
kari-teiru    ndesu  
borrow-Past Decl *Watasi-no kazoku=AT, titi=AT/CT, ano-gyinkoo=LD*

c. Titi-no-tame-ni, watasi-no kazoku(-de)-wa, ano-gyinkoo-kara watasi-wa sudeni tagaku-no kane-o  
 father-Gen for I-Gen family-(among)-Top that bank-from I-Top already much money-Acc  
 kari-teiru ndesu

borrow-Past Decl

*Titi=AT/CT, watasi-no kazoku=AT, ano-gyinkoo=LD*

(5) Ano-gyinkoo, titi-no-tame-ni watasi-wa soko-kara sudeni tagaku-no kane-o kari-teiru ndesu  
 that bank father-Gen for I-Top that-from already much money-Acc borrow-Past Decl

'From that bank, I already borrowed much money for my father.'

*Ano gyinkoo=LD, titi=AT/CT*

(4a) shows that the AT-HT-LD order is not acceptable in Japanese. (4b) demonstrates that multiple ATs can occur in a sentence. In (4b,c&5), *titi* designates either AT or Contrastive Topic (CT), depending on the context. In addition, (5) provides evidence that LD can occur sentence initially. This not expected under (3), which dictates the rigid occurrence of topic elements in Chinese and in Italian, which is advocated in Molár, Egerland, and Winkler (2019). Summing up, this paper has argued that in Japanese, topic elements occur with a less restricted way. The theoretical implication of this paper is that we have cast some doubts on what Molár, Egerland, and Winkler (2019) and Badan and del Gobbo (2010) have proposed.

## Beyond the Question: Deriving Denial and Disapproval in Vietnamese Non-Canonical Interrogatives

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**Keywords:** *denial, disapproval, non-canonical interrogative, cartography, syntax*

**Background** Vietnamese exhibits two curious non-canonical interrogatives found exclusively in colloquial speech, see (1/2). Both are of the X-*wh-mà*-X configuration, involving two identical instantiations of an X, a *wh*-word, and a modal particle *mà*.

- |                                    |                                                 |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| (1) Khóc <i>gì</i> mà khóc?!       | (2) Khóc <i>đâu</i> mà khóc?!                   |
| cry what MP cry                    | cry where MP cry                                |
| ‘Why are you crying?!’             | ‘Why is it that you/they are crying?!’          |
| (= It isn’t right for you to cry!) | (= It isn’t the case that you/they are crying!) |

**Observation** The *wh*-items are nonargumental, allowing paraphrasing as *why*-like expressions: *gì* ‘what’ brings about a disapproval reading, while *đâu* ‘where’ a denial reading. The same *wh*-items follow the preposition *vì* ‘for’ in regular *why*-questions: *gì* corresponds to a purpose- or reason-seeking question (3), *đâu* a reason-seeking question (4).

- |                                     |                                         |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| (3) Tí đi Đài Bắc <i>vì</i> cái gì? | (4) <i>Vì</i> <i>đâu</i> Tí đi Đài Bắc? |
| Tí go Taipei for CL what            | for where Tí go Taipei                  |
| ‘What did Tí go to Taipei for?’     | ‘Why did Tí go to Taipei?’              |

**Research questions** How do these special readings come about? What is the function of *mà*? How can the X-*wh-mà*-X word order be derived?

**Analysis** The *wh*-items in (1/2) are introduced by an applicative head identified as light verb FOR (cf. Tsai 2021; Phan & Tsai 2022), yielding the *why*-like interpretation of FOR-*what* and FOR-*where* (cf. English *what for*, *wherefore*; German *für was*, *wofür*). FOR has preposition *vì* in regular questions (3/4) as its overt counterpart. In Vietnamese, *what-for* and *where-fore* questions concern a purpose for or a reason of an event. We link the disapproval reading to a speaker’s assertion that a justifiable reason or motivation for a discourse-salient act as inquired by a purpose/reason-seeking question is unavailable. The denial reading is linked to an assertion that there lacks a valid reason for a doxastic state as inquired by a reason-question.

X-*wh-mà*-X constructions involve at least four components: an interrogative clause type, a modal particle, an assertive illocutionary force, and a negative attitude. The *wh*-items introduced by FOR enter an unselective binding relation with an implicit Q-operator (Tsai 1994, 1999) in Clause Type Phrase (CTP), typing the clause as an interrogative. Modal particle *mà* (lit. ‘but’)

enters an Agree relation with  $CT^0$  responsible for inducing an empty-set reading for the *wh*-phrases (cf. Phan & Tsai 2022; Brown 2023). A force shift turns an information-seeking intention into an assertion with a negative “whining” attitude: the speaker raises a QUD but asserts that he knows the answer to the interrogative raised (an empty answer set) and has no desire to be informed by the other interlocutor about it, effectively yielding either a denial or a disapproval reading. Movement of the first X and the *wh*-element across modal particle *mà* to FocP is required to derive the correct linear order and to explain prosodic prominence facts.

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## Directive Force meets Genericity: A Cartographic Approach to Two Types of Italian Negative Imperatives with Infinitival Morphology

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**Background.** Imperatives cross-linguistically tend not to feature overt subjects (Platzack & Rosengren, 1997; Zhang, 1990) and are characterized by negative incoffability (Zanuttini 1997). In Italian, to negate a true imperative in (1), infinitival morphology is employed (2):

| (1) Positive Imperative (2sg) | (2) Negative Imperative (NI/GI)     |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Mangia i funghi!              | Non mangiare i funghi velenosi!     |
| Eat-IMP.2SG the mushrooms     | NEG eat-INF the poisonous mushrooms |
| ‘Eat the mushrooms!’          | ‘Don’t eat the mushrooms!’          |

**The Issue.** In (2), the interpretation of the subject (which in imperatives coincides with the addressee (Portner 2004)) is ambiguous between a 2<sup>nd</sup> prs sg reading, or a generic reading. (2) may be uttered aloud (2<sup>nd</sup> prs sg reading) or be a rule appearing in a guide addressed to a general audience, where the subject is interpreted as ‘people in general’/‘whoever reads the guide’. Under a cartographic lens, this work addresses this puzzling contrast between Negative Imperatives (2sg) (NI) and Generic Imperatives (GI, Pak. et al. 2024, Isac 2015), along with a set of syntactic properties (I-IV) which, despite NI and GI sharing the same superficial form (2), vary in unexpected ways. **Empirical Asymmetries.** (I) Restriction on indexicals (Pak et. al 2024): GI are incompatible with indexicals in Kaplan (1989)’s sense, e.g. 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns, demonstratives used deictically, and temporal indexical elements such as *domani* ‘tomorrow’ and *adesso* ‘now’; (II) Temporal Interpretation: GI are rules which are always valid, while NI express directives which apply at the time of the utterance and are compatible with *domani* and *adesso*; (III) Clitics: NI admit clitic climbing (Non-NEG li-CL.3PL mangiare-INF!/\*Don’t eat them!’), while GI only display enclisis; (IV) NI admit 2<sup>nd</sup> prs sg vocatives, while GI do not appear with vocatives at all. **Cartographic Analysis.** Independent lines of research converge in suggesting that imperatives are reduced and lack the CP layer. Pak al.’s (2024: 655) idea of GI having “a deficient context and/or clausal structure”, comes from their incompatibility with 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns, which are licensed by elements in the LP (a.o., SigurLsson 2004, Bianchi 2006). Acquisition data (Rossi 2023, Salustri & Hyams 2003, 2006) shows that imperatives are acquired before structures involving the LP and overproduced as analogues of Root Infinitives (Rizzi 1993/1994). On these grounds, and considering all the puzzling behavior of NI and GI, I suggest the following structural analyses:

- (3) Negative Imperatives (2sg) (NI): [NegP [JussP [(clitic) AspP [InfP (clitic) [VP]
- (4) Generic Imperatives (GI): [NegP [JussP [InfP (clitic) [VP]

Following Kayne (1991), InfP is a low position where infinitives check their morphology. NI contain a null aspectual head (which in some languages is morphologically realized, c.f. Zanuttini 1997; c.f. also Kayne 1992, who analyzes it as a null modal) which enables clitic climbing. GI, by contrast, are structurally more reduced and lack this functional element. In jussive clauses, the Jussive head (JussP, Zanuttini et al. 2012) hosts an operator that agrees with and binds the subject, encoding second person features and yielding the **Directive force** of imperatives compositionally. In NI, the subject is regularly interpreted as 2<sup>nd</sup> person. Instead, GI involve a ‘quasi-universal’ arbitrary pronoun (Roberts 2019) involving a generic operator, which scopes over the whole sentence: whence the incompatibility with indexicals, vocatives and adverbs referring to the present and the future.

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## Relational Adjectives: Solving the Predicative Puzzle with Discourse Movement

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“Relational Adjectives: Solving the Predicative Puzzle with Discourse Movement”

This paper is concerned with a long-standing puzzle with adjectival direct modification in DP and proposes a novel solution in the framework of syntactic cartography (Rizzi 1997).

The distinction between *direct* (attributive) and *indirect* (predicative) modification is well established, though debates continue regarding its universality. Direct modifiers differ from indirect ones in terms of their structural smallness (Sadler & Arnold 1994), ordering rigidity (Sproat & Shih 1991; Scott 2002; Cinque 2010; Panayidou 2010; Laenzlinger 2011; Bross 2020), non-gradable semantics (\**very* / \**too* / \**more nuclear energy*; \**totally present editor*), and crucially, lack of the predicative use (\**The editor is present* (< *the present editor*)). Denominal relational adjectives (“RADjs”) (Bally 1944; Fábregas 2014) behave as exemplary direct modifiers in all respect, except that a problem remains with the predicative use criterion. Although RADjs are usually attributive-only (1) and (2), in certain contexts they occur in the predicative position, as illustrated in (3).

- (1) a. \*My appointment this afternoon is **dental**. (Rae 2010: 49)  
b. \*L’élection est **présidentielle**. (lit. The election is presidential) (Bortolotto 2016: 68)
- (2) a. I wish I had some {**musical** talent/\*talent which was **musical**}. (Levi 1979: 258)  
b. Rita wants to edit a {**linguistic** journal/\*journal which is **linguistic**}. (ibid.)
- (3) a. Her infection turned out to be **bacterial**, not **viral**. (Levi 1979: 254)  
b. That interpretation is **presidential**, not **judicial**. (ibid.)

The copular constructions in (3) should not be confused with the polysemous use of the denominal adjective as a gradable qualitative adjective, such as *His portrayal is far too theatrical* (‘exaggerated’). The adjectives in (3) are synonymous with their uses inside DPs, such as *her bacterial infection* and *that presidential interpretation*.

Levi (1978) argues that (3) involves the head-noun deletion in modification, while McNally & Boleda (2004) take it as a sign that RADjs are ordinary intersective adjectives. We defend the direct-modifier status of RADjs and argue, contrary to McNally & Boleda (2004), that the construction in (3) is derived from the corresponding DP. Unlike Levi’s original deletion analysis, we propose that the derivation involves discourse-related syntactic movement. Concretely, our analysis adapts Hiraiwa & Ishikawa’s (2012) cartographic analysis of Japanese cleft sentences,

where TopP and FocP select FinP. We propose that in our case, FocP selects a DP like (4). Focus movement then transposes the (focused) AP from inside the DP up to the specifier of the FocP, as indicated in (5).

(4) [DP her [AP bacterial [NP infection]]] DIRECT MODIFICATION

(5) [FocP [AP bacterial] Foc [DP her [AP bacterial [NP infection]]]] FOCUS MOVEMENT

Next, TopP merges and the remnant movement transposes the remaining DP up to Spec, TopP.

(6) [TopP [DP her infection] Top [FocP [AP bacterial] Foc]] REMNANT MOVEMENT

The copular verb *be* is inserted as the phonetic realization of the Foc head, just as *da* ‘be’ in the Japanese cleft sentence (Hiraiwa & Ishikawa 2012).

This analysis is superior to the deletion analysis in correctly explaining the licensing conditions of the construction in (3). First, RAdjs in the predicative position “are consistently and markedly more acceptable when used in an explicit or implicit comparison than when they are used alone” (Levi 1978: 260). This is precisely because the RAdj should carry [+Foc] feature to undergo focus movement. Next, the copular construction becomes unacceptable with an indefinite subject, as in (2). The subject in (3) must be definite because it occupies the topic position, representing old information. Other issues, including the grammaticality (or lack thereof) of focus-first sentences like *Bacterial is her infection* (from (5)), will also be explored in the presentation.

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## The Left Periphery of Noun Phrases: With Special Reference to Chinese *De* Constructions

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The present study investigates the left periphery of noun phrases within the framework of the Syntactic Cartographic Approach, with special reference to Chinese *de* constructions. On the surface, Chinese exhibits a word order distinct from that of many other languages, particularly Indo-European ones. However, at a deeper level, the base-generated sequences conform to the same universal hierarchy proposed by Scott (2002), Cinque (2009), and others. Building on the Strongest Position in syntactic cartography (Cinque & Rizzi 2010; Kayne 1994) and the Split-DP hypothesis (Giusti 2016; Giusti & Iovino 2014; Caruso 2016; Asadimofarah & Darzi 2020; Si 2004, 2009, 2014, 2017, 2023; Samo & Si 2022), this study argues that Chinese *de* is associated with discourse-related features at the syntax–pragmatics interface within nominal phrases, functioning as a marker of different Split-DP layers. These features may trigger the movement of DP-internal elements to [Spec, *DeP*], thereby resulting in the reordering of modifiers within the nominal structure.

**Keywords:** left periphery, noun phrases, *De*-constructions, strongest position of syntactic cartography, Split-DP hypothesis

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## Adverbs at the Discourse Level: How Context Helps Linguists Map Positions Targeted by Sentence Adverbs in the Left Periphery

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Several works on adverbs establish a set of syntactic properties to distinguish sentence adverbs (SAs) from low/VP adverbs (Jackendoff 1972; Bellert 1977; Cinque 1999; among others). While existing studies enumerate these diagnostic tests, most do not specify the contexts in which the test sentences should be evaluated. This lack of contextual specification is unproblematic when a test sentence can be uttered out of the blue. A well-documented example is the restriction against SAs appearing in sentence-final position unless de-accented (Belletti 1990; Cinque 1999; Laenzlinger 2011). This is illustrated in (1), which features an SA, and (2), which features a low adverb: only the former is disallowed in this context.

- (1) O João mente \*(,) *provavelmente*. ('J. tells lies, *probably*'). (Brazilian Portuguese)  
(2) O João mente *sempre*. ('J. *always* tells lies.')

The main goal of this presentation is to test data used to diagnose the syntactic properties of SAs, subjecting it to contexts capable of identifying the discourse or information-structural “flavours” associated with the adverb in each test sentence. Three varieties of Portuguese—namely, Angolan, Brazilian, and Mozambican Portuguese—are examined from a comparative perspective. In doing so, diagnostic tests traditionally used to determine the syntactic status of SAs are reinterpreted as responses to contexts that highlight the discourse-pragmatic properties associated with the adverb in the test sentence.

One example of a property frequently cited to distinguish SAs from low adverbs is that SAs cannot appear alone within cleft sentences (Greenbaum 1969; Núñez 2003; among others). This is shown by the contrast between (3), where the adverb *cedo* ('early',  $\text{Asp}_{\text{celerative(II)}}$ , a low adverb) is perfectly acceptable in the cleft sentence (3B), and (4), where the epistemic adverb *provavelmente* ('probably', an SA) is ungrammatical in the same structure.

### (3) *cedo* ('early'; $\text{Asp}_{\text{celerative(II)}}$ ) — a low adverb:

A: — Achei que ele tivesse feito a tarefa só no fim do dia, horas antes da aula.

B: — Jamais! Foi *cedo* que o Pedro fez a tarefa — ninguém nem precisou cobrar.

(A: — I thought he had done the assignment only at the end of the day, just hours before class.

B: — No way! It was *early* that Pedro did the homework — no one even had to ask.)

**(4) *provavelmente* ('probably'; Mod<sub>epistemic</sub>) — a high adverb:**

A: — Você viu ele fazendo mesmo? Porque ele costuma inventar ...

B: — \*Olha, foi *provavelmente* que ele fez a tarefa — estava tudo preenchido certinho, mas vai saber.

(A: — Did you actually see him doing it? He often makes things up...

B: — Well, it was probably that he did the task — everything was filled out properly, but who knows.)

The contexts in (3A) and (4A) emphasise that, from an information-structural perspective, adverbial clefts may involve contrastive focus. This approach allows for a more precise determination of the position that the SA occupies in the left periphery (i.e., Rizzi's CP field) in each test sentence.

To this end, the paper will examine four diagnostic tests, each embedded within a context modelled after those proposed by Rizzi (2004). These contexts facilitate a clearer connection between the syntactic properties typically associated with high/SAs, their information-structural roles, and the positions they target within the left periphery.

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## How to Say *Don't* in Chinese Embedded Negative Imperative Clause

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The question of whether true imperatives can appear in embedded clauses remains a point of contention in linguistic research. Some scholars argue that imperatives are restricted to root clauses and cannot be embedded (Platzack & Rosengren, 1998; Han, 2000). In contrast, others have identified examples suggesting that embedded imperatives do occur under certain conditions (Platzack, 2007; Portner, 2007; Crnić & Trinh, 2009; Kaufmann, 2014). This debate extends to Mandarin Chinese, where the use of negative imperatives, typically marked by *Bie*(別) or *Bu*(不)+*Mod* to express the meaning of “don’t do...”, raises similar questions. While these markers seem to appear in embedded contexts, their status as true imperatives and the nature of their embedding are not clearly understood (Yue, 1999; Yip, 2016).

On the surface, such negative imperative constructions are found in a range of embedded environments:

- (1) [誰 別/不要 出席這次會議] 不太重要。
- (2) 張三勸告/希望[李四 別/不要 出席這次會議]。
- (3) 張三認識的 [那個 別/不要 出席這次會議的人] 是李四。

However, whether these embedded clauses truly qualify as imperatives remains in question. A key criterion for imperatives is that the subject must have [+2<sup>nd</sup> person] feature. The failure of the blocking effect indicates that the subject appears to be embedded are likely not [+2<sup>nd</sup> person] (Huang & Liu, 2001). Besides, in Chinese, while negative imperative markers such as *Bie*(別) or *Buyao*(不要) types can appear in embedded clauses, their affirmative counterparts, like *Qing*(請) or *Geiwo*(給我) types, cannot:

- (4) 張三<sub>i</sub>懇求李四<sub>j</sub>[<sub>CP</sub> 別/不要/\*請/\*給我 傷害自己<sub>i<sub>j</sub></sub>]。
- (5) 張三<sub>i</sub>表揚了[[<sub>CP</sub> 應該 別/不要/\*請/\*給我 傷害自己<sub>i<sub>j</sub></sub>]的那個人<sub>j</sub>]。

The failure of the blocking effect and the asymmetry suggests that true negative imperatives cannot be embedded. Instead, they may constitute a distinct construction that resembles imperatives in form but differs in function and syntactic behavior.

This prompts a reconsideration of the syntactic structure of embedded negative imperatives, as well as the syntactic status and hierarchical position of Chinese negative imperative markers. Within the framework of cartography theory (Rizzi, 1997; Cinque, 1999), and in conjunction with

studies on the hierarchy of modality (Tsai 2008), we argue that embedded negative imperative markers function as subject-oriented deontic modals and are likely located below TP and AspP. The embedded imperatives also project a null argument logophoric PRO (Landau, 2015; Stegovec 2019), which is logophorically bound by the closest speaker.

**Keywords:** Don't, imperative clause, embedded, negation

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## When *gei* Meets Disposal: Decomposing the Voice system in Mandarin

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**Introduction:** Mandarin *gei* is a multifunctional item whose canonical usages are featured with its argument introducing function, namely, taking an NP as its complement. Besides, *gei* can be attached to a verb directly, showing intriguing properties: (i) *Gei* can be combined with a transitive verb to form a passive-like construction (1a), encoding an affected meaning and demoting the external argument (EA). (ii) This *gei* can also be attached to an unaccusative verb (1b), constituting a violation of Burzio's generalization (Burzio, 1986). In addition, *gei* in (1b) is syntactically optional but semantically enhances an affected sense. (iii) *Gei VP* can be embedded in the disposal *ba* construction, which syntactically introduces a causer (Sybesma, 2008). Underneath *ba*, *gei* becomes overall optional, as in (2a/b).

**Research questions:** (1) Why is this passive-like morpheme *gei* compatible with unaccusatives? (2) Why does *gei* show optionality depending on the verb type and the occurrence of *ba*? (3) How does the optionality of *gei* in *ba* construction shed light on the argument structure in general?

**Literature review:** Within the generative approach, *gei* is viewed as a light verb  $V_{BECOME/UNDERGO}$  to construct a complex unaccusative verb (Tang, 2006; Huang, 2013), as the functional core of an antipassive structure (Ye and Pan, 2014), as a middle Voice marker (Shen and Sybesma, 2010), or as a realization of Voice<sub>[-D]</sub> (Yang and Cheng, 2023). These proposals generally predict *gei* can freely occur within a *ba* construction, which is falsified by linguistic facts.

**The proposal:** The current research reevaluates this *gei* from the perspective of *ba* construction. Classifying *ba* construction into 16 semantic types, we examine their compatibility with *gei* and find out that only *ba* constructions that entail strong resultativity can co-occur with *gei*. Besides, agentive adverbials and instrumental PPs indicate the availability of a semantically active causer in *geiVP* sentences. By adopting the neo-constructivist approach to argument structure, particularly the four-way classification of Voice system (Alexiadou, 2012, 2014; Alexiadou et al, 2015). We propose that (i) this *gei* is the realization of thematic non-active Voice bearing the feature bundle  $\{\lambda(x), -D\}$ , which semantically encodes a causer/agent while syntactically cannot introduce EA, see (3); (ii) Chinese also obtains a phonologically null, expletive Voice<sub>{ $\emptyset$ , -D}</sub>, which neither syntactically nor semantically introduces the EA, as in (4).

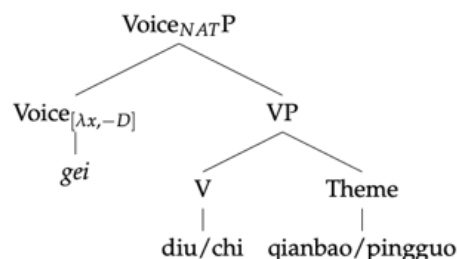
**The accounts:** The apparent violation of Burzio's generalization is an illusion since *gei* does not construct a passive structure over an active VoiceP but is a non-active Voice built up on VP to encode a semantically causative but syntactically unaccusative structure. The optionality of *gei* is in its nature the alternation of a thematic non-active Voice and an expletive one. For unaccusative verbs, such alternation is allowed since these verbs are semantically compatible with both causative and anticausative readings (change of state). While transitive verbs allow thematic non-active Voice to encode a causer semantically and suppress it in syntax, alternating with the expletive Voice gives rise to a semantic crash at CI interface. This predicts that if the causer argument can be retrieved via other means, alternation with  $\text{Voice}_{\{\emptyset, -D\}}$  is possible. This is exactly what we see with *ba* construction in (5).

**Implications:** If the non-active Voice analysis of *gei* is on the right track, its optionality under the disposal *ba* indicates that a causative head in Chinese constantly encodes a Voice stacking structure, needs not vary arbitrarily in complement size (*v*P or VoiceP), against Pylkkänen (2008).

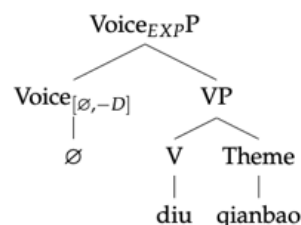
- (1) a. Pingguo \*(gei) chi le.  
 Apple GEI eat SFP  
 'The apple was eaten.'  
 b. Qianbao (gei) diu le.  
 Wallet GEI lose SFP  
 'The wallet was lost.'

- (2) a. Nana ba pingguo (gei) chi le.  
 Nana BA apple GEI eat SFP  
 'Nana ate the apple.'  
 b. Xiaoming ba qianbao (gei) diu le.  
 Xiaoming BA wallet GEI lose SFP  
 'Xiaoming lost the wallet.'

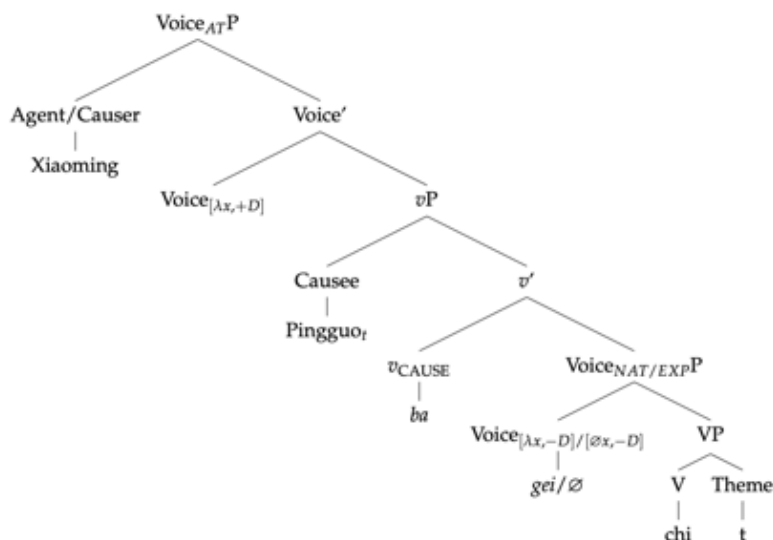
(3)



(4)



(5)



## The cartography of sentence final particles in Japanese

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**Purpose.** This study scrutinizes the semantic and grammatical properties of sentence final particles (SFPs) in Japanese and attempts to pinpoint their structural positions in the clausal periphery. The SFPs under investigation are *wa*, *zo*, *ze*, *sa*, *yo*, *i*, *sira*, *ne*, and *na*.

**Semantic properties.** Based on descriptions of the semantic functions of Japanese SFPs in the literature, we divide these SFPs into three classes: Class I contains *wa*, *zo* and *ze*, Class II comprises *sa*, *yo*, *i*, and *sira*, and Class III subsumes *ne* and *na*. Class I SFPs mark Focus (in the sense of Tang 2010) by virtue of expressing what the speaker is most concerned about: *wa* emphasizes that the speaker has noticed a certain situation (Nitta 2003), *zo* is used to alert the addressee (Kaiser et al. 2013), and *ze* is used to call the addressee's attention (ibid.). Class II SFPs mark degree of certainty: *sa* and *yo* express the speaker's high degree of certainty about the proposition (Endo 2007; Miyagawa 2022), whereas *i* and *sira* express uncertainty (Miyagawa 2022). Class III SFPs, viz. *ne* and *na*, are used to solicit the addressee's response (Endo 2007; Miyagawa 2022).

**Grammatical properties.** SFPs belonging to the same class cannot coexist (e.g., *\*wa-zo*, *\*sa-yo*, *\*ne-na*). This observation confirms the above classification, since SFPs belonging to the same class are in complementary distribution and thus occupy the same structural position. SFPs from different classes can cooccur, displaying a strictly fixed ordering, viz. Class I < Class II < Class III (e.g., *wa-yo*, *zo-i*, *yo-ne*, *i-na*, *wa-yo-ne*, *wa-i-ne*). Furthermore, all the SFPs under investigation only occur in root clauses and are not embeddable.

**Structural position.** Given the root distribution of these Japanese SFPs, we conclude that they are structurally higher than CP (Lau 2019; Miyagawa 2022). This conclusion meshes well with the view that the domain above CP is the locus of discourse-related information such as speech acts and illocutionary force (Ross 1970; Speas and Tenny 2003; Tang 2010, etc.). Moreover, the three classes of Japanese SFPs can be directly mapped to the hierarchical structure of SFPs in Mandarin and Cantonese proposed by Tang (2010, 2020), who argues that there are three projections (FP = Force Phrase) hosting SFPs above CP: FP1 (Focus), FP2 (Degree), and FP3 (CoA = call on the addressee). Specifically, Class I SFPs occupy Focus, Class II SFPs occupy Degree, and Class III SFPs occupy CoA, as in (1).

- (1) [FP3 [FP2 [FP1 [CP ...] Focus] Degree] CoA]  
Focus: *wa*, *zo*, *ze* (Class I)

Degree (of certainty): *sa, yo, i, sira* (Class II)

CoA: *ne, na* (Class III)

**Contributions.** This study (i) provides a neat and straightforward account of the facts about the semantic and grammatical properties of Japanese SFPs, (ii) offers cross-linguistic evidence for the hierarchical structure of SFPs proposed by Tang (2010, 2020), and (iii) substantiates the view that discourse-related information is syntactically represented (Ross 1970; Speas and Tenny 2003, etc.).

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## The Mirative Particles *Shuo* and *Shi* in the Kunming Dialect – A Cartographic Perspective

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The Kunming dialect is classified as a dialect of Southwestern Mandarin. This paper differentiates SFPs *shuo shi* from verbal *shuo shi* at the end of sentences in the Kunming dialect.

There are two Sentence-Final Particles (SFPs), *shuo*[ʂo<sup>31</sup>] and *shi*[ʂɿ<sup>44/212</sup>] in this dialect, both of which encode mirative meanings (i.e., unexpectedness from the speaker's perspective). These two particles typically occur in declarative sentences or rhetorical questions. When added at the end of an exclamatory or imperative sentence, the exclamatory or imperative sentence is quotative, which surprises the speaker, such as (1) and (2) meaning that the speaker is surprised and does not approve of the notion of the speech. *Shi* at the end of a sentence can be replaced with *shuo* but not vice versa.

- (1) *Mo ke shang xue shuo.*  
 Don't go go to school SFP  
 Someone unexpectedly said, "Don't go to school."

- (2) *Zhen ne haoqiao shi.*  
 really pretty SFP  
 Someone unexpectedly said, "It's really pretty."

Apart from the SFP *shuo* which indicates an evaluation beyond expectation, there also exists another SFP *shuo* meaning 'hear about' in this dialect. The former is of evaluation while the latter is of evidentiality. The evidential *shuo* might simultaneously appear with the mirative *shi* in a sentence (see(3)), and the order is fixed as *shuo shi*, not *shi shuo*. In addition, the co-occurrence of the evidential *shuo* and the mirative *shuo* is not well formed. Due to the meaning of hearing about, *shuo shi* can not be used if the speaker is a witness. From above, it can be known that the mirative *shuo* is higher than the evidential *shuo* in CP. According to SFPs used in succession, mirative SFPs *shuo* and *shi* are lower than attitude SFP *a* in the syntactic hierarchy (see(4)).

- (3) *Xiao Li ke shang xue le shuo shi.*  
 Xiao Li go go to school SFP<sub>1</sub>-ASP SFP<sub>2</sub> SFP<sub>3</sub>  
 I heard that Xiao Li unexpectedly had gone to school.

- (4) AttP > MiraP > EvidP > AspP

Since SFPs in this dialect have no neutral tone, particles *shuo* and *shi* used in succession should be distinguished from verbal *shuo shi* 'say that' at the end. The SFPs *le* and *la* can help to

distinguish the two. Merely one *le* at the end does not lead to sentence completion. Additional SFPs are required following *le*. In contrast to this, *la* at the end can lead to sentence completion. So, *shuo shi* appearing after *le* are SFPs, and *shuo shi* following *la* is verbal.

## Epistemological Features of Definite DPs in Topicalization

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Rizzi's (1997) Cartography theory and Split-CP Hypothesis propose that the left periphery of a sentence consists of multiple projections: ForceP, TopP, FocP, and FinP, with TopP serving as the designated position for topic phrases. Two main approaches explain topicalization: the base-generation theory and the movement-based theory. A key issue in topicalization is the role of definiteness in licensing topic DPs. In traditional analysis, only definite DPs can be topicalized (Hankamer, 1971). However, some scholars argue (Xu, 2003) that indefinite DPs can also function as topics. The boundary between definiteness and indefiniteness of DP is not clear, and the problem of what kind of DP can be topicalized remains unsolved. For this problem, Zhang Xiaorong's Survive Syntactic Theory (Stroik & Putnam, 2013) proposes a novel view, explaining topicalization in derivational terms. In Survive Syntactic Theory, a topic DP must survive feature checking and re-merge at higher projections. The compatibility between features like [TOP] and [ $\pm$ definite] accounts for the blocking effects observed in certain topic constructions in Chinese.

However, Zhang's analysis cannot explain the grammaticality of sentences in which a definite DP is moved out of another definite DP and topicalized. According to Zhang's survive syntactic theory, the inner definite DP cannot move out of the outside definite DP. However, there are grammatical examples violating this rule. To explain this phenomenon, this paper posits an additional feature under definiteness: the speaker and listener's epistemology. Regarding definite DPs, some are entities known by both the speaker and the listener, and others are only known by the speaker. This research finds that only when the speaker and listener's epistemology features coincide can two definite DPs match and prevent further movement. On the contrary, if the speaker and listener's epistemology features of two DPs are different, even if the two DPs are both definite, they cannot create an island for topicalization movement.

This paper proposes a refinement for Zhang's 2018 analysis of DP movements in Chinese topicalization by subdividing the features of definite DPs. While the new analysis explains the grammaticality of moving a definite DP out of a definite complex DP in specific sentences, it needs to be supported by more empirical evidence. The division of definite DPs' epistemology also needs theoretical support. In addition, the new analysis still meets the problem of categorization ambiguity. Therefore, future studies may analyze more data from large-scale corpora and be more complete on the epistemological features of definite DPs.

**Keywords:** Cartography Theory, Topicalization, Definiteness, Survive syntactic theory, Speaker

and Listener's epistemology

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## Cleft Constructions in Japanese: Focus in the Low Periphery

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This paper proposes that Japanese cleft constructions have a focus phrase below TP, offering new insight into the TP-internal periphery—a domain proposed by Belletti (2004)—which remains understudied in Japanese compared to the split CP (Rizzi, 1997). In clefts, the topic marker *wa* follows the presupposed clause, and the focus phrase precedes the copula:

- (1) Ken-ga tabeta no wa, kono ringo-o da.  
Ken-NOM ate C TOP this apple-ACC COP  
'What Ken ate was this apple.'

Following Hiraiwa & Ishihara (2012, H&I), I propose that clefts derive from in-situ focus (*no da*) constructions. However, unlike H&I, the copula is the head of FocP below TP. The focus phrase moves to Spec, FocP below TP as in (2a), and the presupposed clause raises to Spec, TopP above TP as in (2b).

- (2) a. [TP [FocP kono ringo-o<sub>i</sub> [CP [TP Ken-ga *t<sub>i</sub>* tabeta ] no] da]].  
b. [TopP [CP [TP Ken-ga *t<sub>i</sub>* tabeta ] no]]-wa [TP [FocP kono ringo-o<sub>i</sub> *t<sub>j</sub>* da]]].

This diverges from H&I, who analyze the structure as monoclausal, with the focus inside CP.

- (3) a. [FocP kono ringo-o<sub>i</sub> [FinP [TP Ken-ga *t<sub>i</sub>* tabeta ] no] da].  
b. [TopP [FinP [TP Ken-ga *t<sub>i</sub>* tabeta ] no]]-wa [FocP kono ringo-o<sub>i</sub> *t<sub>j</sub>* da]].

However, tense mismatch data suggest a biclausal structure. In clefts (4) (and also in in-situ focus constructions), the embedded clause and the copula can bear different tenses.

- (4) Ken-ga kyo yom-u no wa, kono hon dat-ta.  
Ken-NOM today read-PRES C TOP this book COP-PAST  
'It was this book that Ken was supposed to read today.'

Additionally, Moriyama (2022) shows that negative polarity items (e.g. *dochira* 'either') in the focus phrase are licensed by negation, implying that the focus phrase is below NegP and TP:

- (5) Ken-ga detekita no wa, dochira-no bill-kara de mo nakat-ta.  
Ken-NOM came.out C TOP either-GEN building-from COP even NEG-PAST  
'Ken didn't come out of either building.'

When focus is negated, the topic marker *wa* appears between the copula and negation:

- (6) Ken-ga tabeta no wa, kono ringo de wa nakat-ta.  
Ken-NOM ate C TOP this apple FOC TOP NEG-PAST  
'It was not this apple that Ken ate.'

These observations support that the focus phrase is positioned below TP, NegP, and lower TopP—contrary to H&I’s CP-internal analysis.

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## A cartographic analysis of the particle *to* in Chengdu Dialect

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The sentence-final particle *to* (哆) in Chengdu (a dialect of Southwest Mandarin) has long been thought to always occur at the final position of imperative sentences, causing a precondition interpretation (Zhang et al. 2001; Wang & Ma 2015). For example:

(1)

Child: 妈, 我 想 看 电视。

ma    ɲo    ɕiaŋ    k<sup>h</sup>an    tiansɿ

mom I    want watch TV

‘Mom, I want to watch TV.’

Mom: 作业            做完        了            哆!

tsoŋje            tsu-wan    lo            to

homework finish    Inchoative Pre-Con

‘Finish your homework first (and then you watch TV)!’

In Yang (2002) and Xing (2004), *to* (哆) is seen as the result of the grammaticalization of an imperative SFP *zhe* (着) that is associated with durative aspect in ancient Chinese.

This research adopts the syntactic cartography approach (Rizzi 1997) and proposes that there are two *to* (哆) in Chengdu, and both of them share similar lexical semantics with adverb *xian* (先), i.e., priority in relative temporal order. One is realized at the head position of imperatives in the CP domain and causes a precondition interpretation (***to2***) with its lexical semantics, while the other, as an adverb encoding the relative temporal order of events (***to1***), is located in the vP domain. Several tests can show their differences: 1) clauses with ***to1*** can be embedded as subordinate clauses, while sentences with ***to2*** cannot; 2) ***to1*** takes scope under deontic modals and dynamic modals, while ***to2*** heads a higher projection; 3) ***to1*** can occur in the middle of a sentence, while ***to2*** can only be located at the sentence-final position. Thus, ***to1*** and ***to2***, as different syntactic elements, have the following hierarchical relation.

(2) ***to1*** < vP < ..... < CP < ***to2***

Pragmatically, deontic modality sentences (DMSs) may contribute directive speech act as imperatives do (Nuyts et al. 2010), while the former have truth values and the later don’t and there are essential syntactic differences between them (Han 1999; Portner 2007). One of the reasons

why *to1* and *to2* used to be seen as one is that DMSs are seen as a subtype of imperatives in the literature, such as Yuan Yulin (1993), or the other way round, such as Tang's (2012) analysis on Cantonese *Sin*. Possibly because of this, the two distributions of *to* are not differentiated in Zhang et al. (2001), Yang (2002) and Xing (2004), although in these studies we can see examples that show *to* occurring in both imperatives and DMSs.

**Keywords:** *to* in Chengdu; SFP; sufficient condition; Cartography

**Selected Refereces:**

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## Two types of first person singular pronouns in Mandarin Chinese

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In Mandarin Chinese, *ziji* ‘self’ can be either an anaphor or an independent pronoun. In (1), the independent pronoun *ziji* ‘self’ (henceforth *ziji*) is sentence-free and “refers to the 1st person singular; it can be replaced with *wo* ‘I’ without much loss of meaning”(Yu 1992: 292). However, *ziji* cannot be always interchanged with *wo* (2). This study will investigate the differences of *ziji* and *wo* in the matrix clause and explore the syntactic structure of the two types of first person singular pronouns.

- (1) 自己/我是乡下人。 (adapted from Yu 1992: 291)
- (2) a.#自己和你一样是乡下人。 b.我和你一样是乡下人。

It is observed that *ziji* is felicitous in the context where the speaker makes a report to general audience. For example, in (3), the speaker calls himself *ziji* when reporting his self-reflection about his error to the group. The contrast in (4) shows that the speaker cannot report the self-reproach to specific audience, including *wode fumu* ‘my parents’ and *ni/nin* ‘you’, etc.

**Context:** 我在会上向大家做检讨：

- (3) 自己是乡下人，没什么经验，抱歉给大家造成了损失。 (general audience)
- (4) a.自己这样做，对不起父母，对不起子女，对不起大家。 (general audience)
- b.#自己这样做，对不起我的父母/你/您/他。 (specific audience)

By contrast, *wo* is not restricted to the context involving general audience in (5).

- (5) a.自己这样做，对不起父母，对不起子女，对不起大家。 (general audience)
- b.我这样做，对不起我的父母/你/您/他。 (specific audience)

The above observation shows that though both *ziji* and *wo* refer to the first person singular, *ziji* only serves as the sentential subject while *wo* functions as both the sentential subject and the speaker. The reason why *ziji* is used felicitously before general audience is that the speaker intends to report the event from an objective perspective, being devoid of his relationship with the subject. It is thus assumed that *ziji* takes only the thematic role in the event instead of the discourse role. By contrast, *wo* as both the subject and the speaker can take both the thematic role and the discourse role. This assumption is supported by *ziji*’s inability to perform the speech act as shown in (6).

- (6) a.\*自己宣布会议现在开始。 b.我宣布会议现在开始。

Based on the above observations, it is proposed that pronouns can be classified into two types:

DPs with reference denotations only and DPs with both reference denotations and discourse roles. Syntactically, *ziji* as a pronoun unable to take the discourse role is analyzed as a pure DP, while *wo* taking both the thematic and discourse role is categorized into the second type, the structure of which is beyond DP and the discourse role ‘speaker’ in the common ground should be included in the structure. Despite the semantic referent shared with *wo*, *ziji* is not identical with *wo* in discourse reference, i.e., to act as the ‘speaker’. Suppose the semantic referent be indexed as  $i$  and the discourse referent as  $j$ , the syntactic structures of *ziji* and *wo* are sketched as follows (cf. Ritter and Wiltschko 2019):

- (7)     a. [GroundP<sub>spk</sub> SPEAKER<sub>j+i</sub>... [IP [DP 自己  $i$ ]...]]  
           b. [GroundP<sub>spk</sub> SPEAKER<sub>j+i</sub>... [IP [GroundP<sub>spk</sub> 我  $j$  [DP 我  $i$ ] ...]]]

## Prominent Space and Silent time: The Syntax of Spatial Deixis in Zhoushan Dialect and Related Issues

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Space, or more precisely spatial deixis, plays a central role in certain languages in anchoring events to the speech act, much like tense in most European languages. This paper investigates a set of locative enclitics in the Zhoushan dialect—*tʃ33*, *kɛ52*, and *tʃ35*—which serve such anchoring function and traditionally described as encoding proximate, distal, and neutral spatial relations. Three properties of these enclitics merit particular attention (for our purpose). First, the system they form is trinary, and crucially, the spatial reference they construct is not solely speaker-based but also hearer-oriented. Second, beyond their core spatial semantics, these enclitics contribute additional interpretive effects—e.g., conveying continuity or duration. Third, specific enclitics are systematically associated with particular clause types—for example, *tʃ35* is characteristically found in imperatives and volitional contexts. These facts raise several theoretical questions: (1) can these enclitics be analyzed as the spatial realization of the anchoring head? (2) how can the trinary, addressee-sensitive system be represented syntactically? (3) are the additional interpretive effects semantically encoded by the enclitics themselves? (4) do the distributional tendencies reflect deeper syntactic mechanisms?

This paper posits that locative enclitics in the Zhoushan dialect constitute an anchoring category (Wiltschko 2014), as indicated by their linear position and functional properties. However, they do not exhaust the inventory of elements within the anchoring layer. More specifically, the anchoring layer is proposed to comprise three sub-layers: a time layer, a speaker-location layer, and an addressee-location layer. Correspondingly, the point-of-view (aspectual) layer can be further subdivided into a temporal layer and a spatial layer, each encoding distinct dimensions of event structure. Accordingly, both spatial phenomena—such as the trinary deixis system—and temporal phenomena—including continuous aspect and imperative/volitional interpretations—can be modeled as the result of interactions among AnchrP, PovP, and VP. These interactions are governed by binary relational features such as “preceding”, “following”, “including”, and “being included in”, which aligns with Klein (1994) and Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria (2000), and offers a refinement of Wiltschko’s (2014) anchoring model.

**Key words:** Spatial deixis; Anchoring; Aspect; Zhoushan Dialect

**Reference:**

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## Syntax and semantics of Mandarin *zhishao*

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This study examines the Mandarin item *zhishao* ‘at least’, proposing modification to previous analyses. Superlative modifiers like *at least* in English and its counterparts in other languages commonly exhibit different readings. The first is usually called “epistemic”(EPI), the second “concessive”(CON) or “evaluative”, and the third “rhetorical”. Classical English examples are shown in (1a) to (1c) respectively:

(1) Three uses of English *at least* (Kay 1992):

- a. Mary received calls from at least three soldiers.
- b. At least, this one’s cooked.
- c. I see her every day, at least when I’m in town.

Scholars disagree on whether these uses require separate lexical entries (Kay 1992, Nakanishi & Rullmann 2009, Coppock & Brochhagen 2013, Cohen & Krifka 2014, a.o.), or can be unified under a single denotation (Biezma 2013, Chen 2024). Biezma (2013) proposes that the CON reading shares the same lexical entry with the EPI reading, as partly shown in (2), with differences arising from contextual factors: (i) the type of scale or QuD they associate with, and (ii) whether higher alternatives in the scale are known to be false. Chen (2017, 2019, 2024) follows this approach in studying Mandarin *zhishao*.

(2) The semantics of *at least* by Biezma (2013):

Let  $\alpha$  be a proposition, and  $[\alpha]_{A,i}$  the set of alternatives of  $\alpha$  ordered according to  $\leq_i$ , where  $\leq_i$  is a contextually salient order of alternatives and  $\forall \gamma \in [\alpha], \gamma \in \text{QuD}$ .

$$[[\text{at least } \alpha]] = \lambda w. \exists \beta, \gamma \in [\alpha]_{A,i} \text{ s.t. } \gamma <_i \alpha <_i \beta \ \&$$
$$[\alpha(w) \vee \beta(w)] \ \& \ \forall \mu \in [\alpha]_{A,i}, \mu <_i \alpha, [\neg \mu(w) \vee \alpha \text{ entails } \mu]$$

This paper re-examines Mandarin *zhishao* from semantic and syntactic perspectives. I argue that the semantics in (2) is not accurate enough, as it presupposes a focus/QuD congruence—that the focus alternatives of the prejacent directly correspond to members in the QuD answer set, and can be ranked by a total order to form a “scale”. However, cases lacking focus/QuD congruence are common. I therefore propose:

(3) The semantics of “*at least/zhishao*  $\alpha$ ”:

(a) The current QuD is a contextually salient degree question, roughly translatable as “how  $G_{qud}$  is  $x_{qud}$ ”.

(b) Let  $Ans_Q$  be the QuD answer set with members ranked by a contextually salient total order or partial order  $\leq$ .

(c) Let  $\alpha$  be a proposition, with two possibilities: (i) focus/QuD congruence exists, i.e.,  $\alpha$  contains a focus, and the focus alternative set of  $\alpha$  matches  $Ans_Q$ . (ii) there is no focus/QuD congruence.

(d) “*at least/zhishao*  $\alpha$ ” provides a partial answer to the QuD, i.e.,  $x_{qud}$  is  $d-G_{qud}$ , where  $d$  is deduced from  $\alpha$ , and  $d$  is neither the upper nor lower bound according to the order relation.

Core ingredients include: (i) presupposition of a degree QuD; (ii) accommodation of cases without focus/QuD congruence; (iii) compatibility with both total and partial orders. While EPI readings typically involve focus/QuD congruence, CON readings typically lack this congruence, with the required “partial degree answer” deduced from a pragmatically strengthened version of the prejacent. The proposed semantics in (3) offers wider empirical coverage than (2) and accounts for the superlative modifier’s syntactic distribution in different readings: for CON readings, *zhishao* or *at least* is more comfortable in clause-initial or pre-verbal positions as the prejacent undergoes pragmatic strengthening (e.g. via exhaustification); for rhetorical uses, the item typically appears clause-initially, probably at a discourse level, relating to “a scale of rhetorical commitment or assertive force” (Kay 1992).

## A Finer Cartography of Mandarin Nominals: topic, focus, and two types of DEM

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**Data** Four positions are possible for *A-di?/de* in Jianghuai Mandarin/JM and Standard Mandarin /SM: (i) [Dem Q Cl *A-di?/de* N] (See 1) (ii) [Dem *A-di?/de* Q Cl N] (See 2), (iii) [*A-di?/de* Dem Q Cl N] (See 3), and (iv) [Dem<sub>1</sub> *A-di?/de* Dem<sub>2</sub> Q Cl N] (See 4). The **canonical** order is (i) where *A-di?/de* is located between CL and N. This order can yield either a neutral interpretation, or informational/contrastive focus meanings if accompanied by phonetic stress. The orders in (ii), (iii) and (iv) are **uncanonical orders** where *A-di?/de* is situated between Dem and Q, before Dem and between two Dem-s respectively. *A-di?/de* must be accompanied by phonetic stress in (ii), but both stressed as well as unstressed *A-di?/de* may appear in (iii) and (iv). In terms of semantics, the patterns in (ii), (iii) and (iv) have a contrastive focus reading as well as a grouping effect reading. The schema in (iii) and (iv) also have exclusiveness interpretation. For (iv), these two demonstratives are distinct in that Dem<sub>1</sub> bears light tone and indicates definiteness while Dem<sub>2</sub> bears the fourth tone and indicates proximal deixis in SM. Additionally, in JM, these two demonstratives are represented by different syllables. The relevant interpretations are given after the examples in (1)-(4).

- |     |                                                                                                           |                                                                                                           |      |                                                                                  |          |          |      |
|-----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|----------|------|
| (1) | zhè                                                                                                       | sān                                                                                                       | gè   | piàoliàng-de/[piàoliàng-de] <sub>-FocINF/CONTR</sub>                             |          | hái.zi   | (SM) |
|     | tjì:                                                                                                      | sièn                                                                                                      | gù:  | p <sup>h</sup> ièonièn-di?/[p <sup>h</sup> ièonièn-di?] <sub>-FocINF/CONTR</sub> |          | tsiá.ts? | (JM) |
|     | this                                                                                                      | three                                                                                                     | CL   | beautiful-DE/ beautiful-DE                                                       |          | child.ZI |      |
|     | 'these three beautiful children'                                                                          |                                                                                                           |      |                                                                                  |          |          |      |
| (2) | zhè                                                                                                       | *piàoliàng-de/[piàoliàng-de] <sub>-FocCONTR + GE</sub>                                                    | sān  | gè                                                                               | hái.zi   | (SM)     |      |
|     | tjì:                                                                                                      | *p <sup>h</sup> ièonièn-di?/[p <sup>h</sup> ièonièn-di?] <sub>-FocCONTR + GE</sub>                        | sièn | gù:                                                                              | tsiá.ts? | (JM)     |      |
| (3) | [piàoliàng-de] <sub>-TOP</sub> /[piàoliàng-de] <sub>-FocCONTR + GE + EX</sub>                             | zhè                                                                                                       | sān  | gè                                                                               | hái.zi   | (SM)     |      |
|     | [p <sup>h</sup> ièonièn-di?] <sub>-TOP</sub> /[p <sup>h</sup> ièonièn-di?] <sub>-FocCONTR + GE + EX</sub> | tjì:                                                                                                      | sièn | gù:                                                                              | tsiá.ts? | (JM)     |      |
| (4) | zhe                                                                                                       | [piàoliàng-de] <sub>-TOP</sub> /[piàoliàng-de] <sub>-FocCONTR + GE + EX</sub>                             | zhè  | sān                                                                              | gè       | hái.zi   | (SM) |
|     | tjì?                                                                                                      | [p <sup>h</sup> ièonièn-di?] <sub>-TOP</sub> /[p <sup>h</sup> ièonièn-di?] <sub>-FocCONTR + GE + EX</sub> | tjì: | sièn                                                                             | gù:      | tsiá.ts? | (JM) |

(**Informational Focus** (Exp1, with stress on *A-di?/de*): there are three children in the context and the speaker wants to refer to all. **Contrastive Focus** (Exp1, 2, 3 & 4, with stress on *A-di?/de*): there are more than three children in the context and the speaker wants to refer to the three beautiful ones. **Grouping Effects** (Exp2, 3 & 4, with *A-di?/de* before Q): children in the general background (e.g., in the world) are divided into different groups by the number of

three. The speaker wants to refer to one beautiful group. For Exp2, the beautiful group may be not exclusive, i.e., one or more than one. **Exclusiveness** (Exp3 & 4): the beautiful group is **exclusive**, i.e., one and only one. **Definiteness** (Exp4): an extra definite interpretation on the exclusive group. **Topic interpretation** (Exp3 & 4, without stress on A-*di?*/*de*): ‘beautiful’ is the background information.)

**Puzzle** Following Rizzi (1997), scholars have attempted to figure out the cartographic structure of a Mandarin DP (Li 1998, Cheng & Sybesma 1999, Huang et al., 2009, Wang 2012, Lin 2012, etc.). Several topic/focus-related functional layers have been proposed above DEM and below Q-CL. However, these functional layers are proposed to be headed by *de* which results in a fixed position of AP-*de* inside a nominal, contra the fact in (2) – (4) (Zhang 2015). In addition, the contrastive/informational distinction, the grouping effect interpretation, and the exclusiveness requirement remain to be unsolved puzzles. Also, early scholars (Li & Thompson 1981, a.m.o) mention that Mandarin demonstratives have two usages: [+deix] and [+def]. It is unclear in existing works how these two usages will interact with the cartographic structure of a Mandarin DP like (4).

**Analysis** To account for the distribution and the interpretations of A-*di?*/*de*, it is proposed that the A-*di?*/*de* in (i) is the underlying order, and (ii), (iii) and (iv) are derived by **nominal-internal phrasal movement** of (*zhe*) A-*di?*/*de* (cf. adjective fronting in Bangla, Syed 2014). **Stressed A-DI?/DE** in (ii), (iii) and (iv) are argued to be result of phrasal movement driven by [+FOC<sub>CONTR</sub>, +GE, ±EX] to the specifiers of two focus projections, one higher (above DEM<sub>DEIX</sub>P) and one lower (between DEM<sub>DEIX</sub>P and QP), where different semantic meanings are formed. **Unstressed A-*di?*/*de*** in (iii) and (iv) is argued to be a topic, and TopP is on the top. The DEM<sub>DEF</sub>P is generated as a specifier of a nominal, cf. DEM<sub>DEIX</sub>P as a functional layer. (5) shows the finer cartographic structure in which A-*di?*/*de* experiences a topic-driven movement.

(5) [<sub>TopP</sub> A-*di?*/*de* [<sub>FocCONTR+GE+EXP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> DEM<sub>DEIX</sub> [<sub>FocCONTR+GEP</sub> [<sub>QP</sub> Q [<sub>CIP</sub> CL [<sub>NP</sub> t<sub>A-di?/de</sub> N]]]]]]]]]

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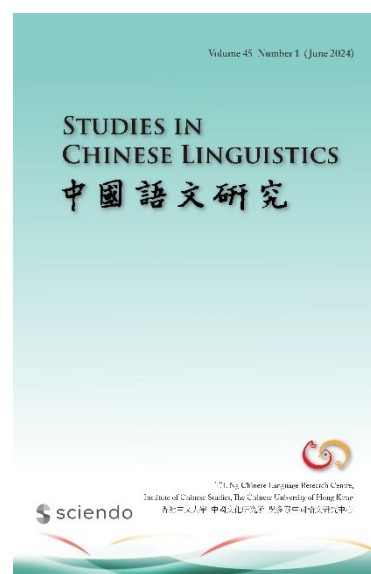
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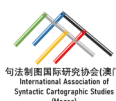


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