Symposium on Word Order in Chinese

漢語詞序研討會

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**TTN Chinese Language Research Centre, Institute of Chinese Studies,
The Chinese University of Hong Kong**

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**Department of Chinese Language and Literature,
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May 17, 2012

Contents

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Preface

"Symposium on Word Order in Chinese" is organized by the T.T. Ng Chinese Language Research Centre of the Institute of Chinese Studies at The Chinese University of Hong Kong, co-organized by the Department of Chinese Language and Literature at The Chinese University of Hong Kong, and sponsored by the United College, The Chinese University of Hong Kong. This symposium aims at bringing together researchers who are concerned with the syntax of word order in Chinese and its syntactic derivation in the generative framework.

We received 22 high-quality abstracts from various countries in Asia, Americas, and Europe. The organizing committee came up with a list of prominent scholars to help with the review process. Abstracts were then matched to reviewers based on their specialties. After all of the abstracts were reviewed, the committee selected the abstracts with the highest average review scores. The authors of those abstracts were then invited to present their papers at the symposium. There are totally 5 regular presentations. The final result of this process is a collection of very interesting and professional papers related to the word order issues in Chinese.

We are honored to have Professor Richard S. KAYNE of New York University and Professor Wei-tien Dylan TSAI of National Tsing Hua University to be our keynote speakers and Professor Yen-hui Audrey LI of University of Southern California to be our invited speaker to give closing remarks.

The organizing committee wishes to put on record its profound appreciation for the authors who submitted abstracts, the 12 reviewers, the 4 session chairs, and particularly the efficiency and diligence of the research and administrative staff of the Centre and the assistant project coordinators of the Department who have made the preparation for the symposium so smooth and easy.

Program

May 17, 2012

LT8 Cheng Yu Tung Building, The Chinese University of Hong Kong

Program (version 1.0)

9:15-9:30	**Opening Remarks** Shengli FENG (Department of Chinese Language and Literature, The Chinese University of Hong Kong)

Session 1

Chair: Shengli FENG (Department of Chinese Language and Literature, The Chinese University of Hong Kong)

9:30-10:30	**Keynote Speaker:** Richard S. KAYNE Why We Were Led Astray by Directionality Parameters New York University

10:30-10:50	**TEA RECEPTION**

Session 2

Chair: Barry C.-Y. YANG (Department of Applied Foreign Languages/Language Center, National United University)

10:50-11:30	Hisao TOKIZAKI Prosody and Head-directionality in Chinese Sapporo University
11:30-12:10	Yam-Leung CHEUNG Some Problematic Word Order Issues in Chinese Dislocation Copying Construction The Chinese University of Hong Kong

12:10-2:00	**LUNCH BREAK**

Session 3

Chair: Dingxu SHI (Department of Chinese and Bilingual Studies, The Hong Kong Polytechnic University)

2:00-3:00 **Keynote Speaker:** Wei-tien Dylan TSAI
Merging Prepositions VP-externally in Chinese
National Tsing Hua University

3:00-3:40 Xiaoliang HUANG
Deriving the Num-Cl-(*de*)-N Order in Chinese
Université Paris Diderot - Paris 7, LLF - UMR 7110 CNRS

3:40-4:20 Jing JIN
Three Types of *de*-contained Measure Expressions in Mandarin Chinese
The Hong Kong Polytechnic University

4:20-4:40	**TEA RECEPTION**

Session 4

Chair: Thomas H.-T. LEE (Department of Linguistics and Modern Languages, The Chinese University of Hong Kong)

4:40-5:20 Jui-Yi Zoey CHUNG
On Word Order in Modals: A Case Study of Postverbal Modal CAN in Hakka
National Tsing Hua University

5:20-6:20 **Invited Speaker:** Yen-hui Audrey LI
Restricted Free Word Order in Chinese
University of Southern California

Version 1.0 – May 11, 2012

Abstracts

Some Problematic Word Order Issues in Chinese Dislocation Copying Construction

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This study investigates the derivation of the unusual word order of the Dislocation Copying Construction (DCC) in Chinese. A syntactic analysis based on scattered deletion is proposed.

<u>Phenomenon:</u> Though the DCC has been reported briefly in some studies on dislocation structures in conversational Mandarin and Cantonese (Meng 1992, Shi 1992), the structure of the DCC is far less well understood that that of RD (Lu 1982, Packard 1986). Like right dislocation, the DCC is marked by the characteristic word order in which the sentence-particle (SP) occurs in the non-final position of a sentence (1, 2). The major difference between the DCC and RD is that the post-SP element (also the dislocated part), e.g. *dou* (italic) in (1), has a copy (underline) in the pre-SP part (bold) in the DCC. However, no such copy is found in RD (2). (3, 4) are the Mandarin DCC and RD sentences respectively.

(1) **Keoi <u>dou</u> heoi Toiwaan** gaa, *dou*. (DCC)
    he   also go Taiwan SP also
    'He will also go to Taiwan.'

(2) Keoi heoi Toiwaan gaa, *dou*. (RD)
    he   go Taiwan SP also
    'He will also go to Taiwan.'

(3) **<u>Ni</u> shi laoshi** ba, *ni dagai*. (DCC)
    you be teacher SP you probably
    'You are probably a teacher.'

(4) Shi laoshi ba, *ni dagai*. (RD)
    be teacher SP you probably
    'You are probably a teacher.'

Based on a corpus of authentic conversational Cantonese, it is found that almost all the dislocated elements are subjects, topics, preverbal adverbs or a combination of these categories lined up in the same sequence as the pre-SP part.

<u>Questions:</u> First, is the post-SP part syntactically connected to the pre-SP part or is it just a separate utterance? Second, if the pre- and post-SP part are syntactically connected, how can DCC be represented structurally?

<u>A.</u> Syntactic Connectivity: The pre- and post-SP part can be shown to be syntactically connected based on Cheung's (2009) tests on Chinese RD (5, 6).

Cantonese: *Zinghai* 'only' test | Mandarin: *Daodi* 'the-hell' test

(5) <u>Keoi</u> heoi Toiwaan lo, keoi zinghai.
    he   go   Taiwan SP he   only
    'He only went to Taiwan.'

(6) <u>Ta</u> shi shei ne, ta daodi   (shi)?
    he be   who Q   he the-hell be
    'Who the hell is he?'

If the post-SP part forms an independent utterance in (5), one has to say that Cantonese *zinghai* can be used with no focused element or with an elided element. However, this is generally not true in Cantonese (Cheung 2009). Similarly, Mandarin *daodi* normally must c-command an (overt) *wh*-phrase in its scope (Huang and Ochi 2004). However, the acceptability of (6) suggests that the pre- and post-SP part should better not be considered as separate utterances. Instead, the pre- and post-SP part of the DCC are analyzed as integral parts of a single sentence.

    Further support can be drawn from the fact that if the post-SP part is indeed an independent utterance, it should be able to take a SP. Yet this is impossible, as shown in (7,8).

(7) *<u>Keoi</u> heoi Toiwaan lo, keoi zinghai gaa.
    he   go   Taiwan SP he   only   SP
    'He only went to Taiwan.'

(8) *Ta shi shei ne, ta daodi (shi) ne?
    he be who   Q he the-hell be Q
    'Who the hell is he?'

If the DCC involves only one sentence, it is predicted that there should only be one SP. As a result, the addition of an extra SP makes (7, 8) bad.

B. SCATTERED DELETION ANALYSIS: The analysis is to derive the DCC word order and copies in a principled way. We adopt Cheung's (2009) proposal that the SP is the head of a head-initial CP and takes the IP as its complement to its right underlyingly. We adopt the copy theory of movement (Chomsky 1993), and propose that in the DCC, the entire IP is copied and merged in the SpecCP to form a chain of links.

(9) a   [CP gaa [Keoi <u>dou</u> heoi Toiwaan]]
            SP   he   also go   Taiwan

    b   [Copy2 <u>Keoi dou</u> heoi Toiwaan] gaa, [Copy1 <u>Keoi dou</u> ~~heoi Toiwaan~~]

    c   [Copy2 Keoi <u>dou</u> heoi Toiwaan] gaa, [Copy1 ~~Keoi~~ <u>dou</u> ~~heoi Toiwaan~~]

Normally only the head of the chain (i.e. Copy2) is spelt out in a chain of links in linearization according to Linear Correspondence Axiom (LCA) (Kayne 1994). However, it seems that in the DCC sentences, the deletion is applied in both Copy1 and Copy2. Though such scattered deletion in a chain is not common, Nunes (2004) has reported some cases of scattered deletion. It happens when the copies become nondistinct for different reasons. It is proposed that in the DCC, Copy1 is subject to VP ellipsis (9b) and subject/topic deletion (9c). The deletion process is most likely to be motivated by the information structure of discourse. As a result, the spell-out of the distinct copies (Copy1 and Copy2) does not violate LCA.

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On Word Order in Modals:
A case study of postverbal modal CAN in Hakka

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This paper presents two types of postverbal modals *tet* in Sixian Hakka, a dialect spoken in the Southern Taiwan, in determining a fine-grained modal structure under the cartographical approach (Rizzi 1997, Cinque1999). Hakka as a SVO language has all its modals in the preverbal position with one exception, the modal *tet* which can occur postverbally as shown in (1). The postverbal modal *tet* causes a language-internal divergency of word order in modals and further challenges the Mirror Principle (Baker 1985). Our goal is to offer topography of the modal *tet* to capture the syntactic distribution and the semantic interpretation of the modal *tet* constructions. The proposed syntactic structures and derivations of *tet* are illustrated in (2): the deontic *tet* is merged above the *v*P followed by the V-to-*v*-to-Mod movement or *v*-to-Mod movement if a light verb is overtly realized as *zo* 'do' (Huang 1997, Lin 2001, Liu 2008 for Mandarin Chinese).

(1) a. Amin   <u>siid</u>-**tet**   ng-von   fan.   **V-*tet***
        Amin   eat- TET   five-CL   rice
        'Amin can [is permitted to] eat five bowls of rice. '
     b. Amin   <u>zo</u>-**tet**   siid ng-von   fan.   ***v*-*tet***
        Amin   do- TET   eat   five-CL   rice
        'Amin can [is permitted to] eat five bowls of rice. '
(2) a. [TP Amin [**ModP**$^{\text{Deo}}$ [*eat*$_i$ -*v*]$_j$-**TET** [*v*P*t*$_j$ [VP *t*$_i$ object]]] **(V-to-*v*-Mod mvt)**
     b. [TP Amin [**ModP**$^{\text{Deo}}$ **ZO-TET**   [*v*P   *t*$_i$ [VP *eat* object]]]] **(*v*-Mod mvt)**

Interestingly, the modal spectrum effect, the classic *ought-to-be* and *ought to do* deontics (Feldman 1986), is observed in the postverbal modal *tet* in regarding to its syntactic operations. The *v-tet* involved a shorter movement undergoes grammaticalized and receives the *ought-to-be* reading, while V-*tet* remains lowly expressing the *ought-to-do* meaning. As shown in (3), *v-tet* and V-*tet* express different level of orientedness: V-*tet* requires an Agent as subject, while the *v-tet* can license a temporal subject.

(3) a. _Amin /tiengongngid_   **zo-tet**   hi   toibed.
         Amin/ tomorrow   _v_-TET   go   Taipei
         'Amin is permitted go to Taipei.'   **_v- tet_: Agent   subject**
         'It is permitted to go to Taipei tomorrow.'   **_v- tet_: Temporal subject**

    b. _Amin/ *tiengongngid_   **hi-tet**   toibed.
        Amin / tomorrow   go-TET   taipei
        'Amin is permitted go to Taipei'   **V- _tet_: Agent subject**
        '*It is permitted to go to Taipei tomorrow.'   **V- _tet_: *Temporal subject**

Another way to justify the _ought-to-be_ and _ought-to-do_ dichotomy is from the flip-flop constructions (Lu 1993, Tsai 2001 for Mandarin Chinese). The flip-flop construction is allowed in the _v-tet_ construal, once _v-tet_ is grammaticalized as the _ought-to-be_ modal and takes the quantity subject as in (4b). By contrary, V-_tet_ as a _ought-to-do_ deontic requires a Doer/Agent to convey the permission meaning and thus (5b) becomes illicit.

(4) a. Id   ga-ngin   **zo-tet**   siid _id-vok   fan_.
         One   family   do-TET   eat   one-wok rice
          'One family can eat one wok of rice. '
    b. _id-vok   fan_   **zo-tet**   siid id   ga-ngin .
        one-wok rice   do-TET   eat   one family
         'One family can be fed by one wok of rice. '
(5) a. Id   ga-ngin   **siid-tet**   _id-vok   fan_
          One   family   eat- TET   one-wok rice
          'One family can eat one wok of rice. '
    b. * _id-vok   fan_   **siid-tet**   id   ga-ngin.
          One-wok rice   eat- TET   one family rice

Finally, the proposed construction in (2) can account for the the placement of the adverb: the _zo-tet_ can scope over the adverb, whereas the V-_tet_ becomes illicit in both order due to the fact that the V-to-_v_-to-Mod movement is blocked by Modifier Phrase (Rizzi 2004)

(6) a. Amin   **zo-tet**   _manman-e_   siid ia-von   fan.   **_v_-TET > Adverb: ok**
         Amin   do- TET   slowly   eat   this-CL   rice
         'Amin can [is permitted to] eat this bowl of rice slowly.'
    b. * Amin   _manman-e_   **zo-tet**   siid ia-von   fan.   **Adverb > _v_-TET: ***
          Amin   slowly   do- TET   eat   this-CL   rice
          Intended: 'Amin can [is permitted to] eat this bowl of rice slowly.'
(7) a. Amin   **siid-tet**   _manman-e_   ia-von   fan.   **V-TET > Adverb:***
         Amin   eat-TET   slowly   this-CL   rice
         'Amin can [is permitted to] eat this bowl of rice slowly.'
    b. * Amin   _manman-e_   **siid-tet**   ia-von   fan.   **Adverb > V-TET:***
          Amin   slowly   eat-TET   this-CL   rice
          Intended: 'Amin can [is permitted to] eat this bowl of rice slowly.'

This paper presents a topography of two types deontic modal _tet_ in Hakka, to account for the odd word order in postverbal modal construals and the asymmetries

between *ought-to-be* and *ought-to-do* deontics in the interaction with the adverbs (Lin 2001, Huang 2006, Tsai 2007) and in the flip-flop construction. Empirically, such analysis confirms the syntactic hierarchy proposed by Cinque (1999) and Tsai (2009, 2010) in that deontic modals are higher than VP, despite of the surface order. Theoretically, the syntax-semantic correspondence within these two types of *tet* also supports the topography account of the modality under the cartographic approach.

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Deriving the Num-Cl-(*de*)-N order in Chinese

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This paper offers a new analysis for the Num_{eral}-$Cl_{assifier}$-(*de*)-N_{oun} order, where Cl can denote count, mass or kind. Essentially, when *de* is absent in the surface, the sequence Num-Cl-N is analyzed either as a DP with a silent D^0 that gives a so-called 'amount' reading or as an NP expressing an 'individual' reading; when *de* is present, the Num-Cl-*de*-N order is analyzed as a DP that always gives the 'amount' reading. *De* always occupies the D^0 position whether it's overt or not. (1) shows the situation:

(1) Syntax-semantics mapping of the sequence Num-Cl-(*de*)-N

	Num-CL-N		Num-Cl-*de*-N	
	DP with covert *de*	**NP**	**DP with overt *de***	
Cl_{count}	Amount	Individual	Amount	*Individual
Cl_{mass}	Amount	Individual	Amount	*Individual
Cl_{kind}	*Amount	Individual	*Amount	*Individual

First, I will discuss the distribution of these two readings and most importantly, the semantic function of *de*. (2) presents an example with the count classifier *ge*:

(2) Zhe-jian jiaoshi keyi rongna [liang bai   ge (a.Ø / b.de) xuesheng]
    this-CL classroom   can   contain [two hundred CL (a.Ø / b.DE) student]
    'This classroom can contain two hundred students.'

(2a) is ambiguous between an individual reading denoting that the classroom can contain two hundred individuals who are students, and an amount reading indicating that the classroom has the capacity to hold the amount of two hundred students taken as a whole. The amount reading is particularly prominent when *de* is overtly present as in (2b), which has no such an ambiguity. This contrast suggests that: firstly, *de* can be compatible with Cl_{count} (c.f 2b), a phenomenon largely discussed in recent literature; secondly, the availability of the relevant readings depends on whether the semantic nature of the main verb is compatible with them or not.

(3) Zheli   zhan-zhe   [liang bai   ge   (a.Ø / b.*de) xuesheng]
    here   stand-ASP [two hundred CL   (a.Ø / b.*DE)   student]
    'Two hundred students are standing here.'

(3a) can only get an individual meaning and the presence of *de* is impossible in (3b) contrary to (2b). This is because the verb *zhan* 'stand' is semantically incompatible with the amount meaning. The contrast between (2) and (3) also holds for CL_{mass}:

(4) Zhangsan   zuo zhe-dao cai   yong-le   [san-bei   (a.Ø / b.de) jiu].

　　　Zhangsan   do   this-CL dish   use-ASP [three-cup (a.Ø / b.DE) wine]

　　　'Zhangsan used three cups of wine to cook this dish.'

Since *de* is not present overtly, (4a) is ambiguous between individual reading and amount reading. In (4b), only the amount reading is available. This contrast is again testable: the complex verb *da-sui* 'break' permits only the individual reading in (5a) and does not permit the presence of *de* at all, as shown in (5b):

(5) Zhangsan   dasui-le   [san-bei (a.Ø / b.*de) jiu].

　　　Zhangsan   break-ASP [three-cup (a.Ø / b.*DE) jiu]

　　　'Zhangsan broke three cups of wine.'

The fact that *de* gives the amount reading is also justified by a fraction determiner in (6), where Num-Cl should be considered as 1/3 of the car's price:

(6) Ni zhe-dian qian lian san-fen-zhi-yi liang (a.Ø / b.de) che dou   mai-bu-liao

　　　you this-little money LIAN one-third Cl (a.Ø / b.DE) car DOU   buy-not

　　　'With the money you have, you cannot even afford one-third of this car.'

The examples (2)-(6) suggest that the reading associated with *de*, overt or covert, is better understood in terms of amount than approximation as proposed in previous studies. The behaviour of count and mass classifiers can be analyzed as follows: when used to count the N in a trivial way, they lead to individual reading, but along with *de* which takes either an overt or a covert form, they denote an amount. This analysis makes a prediction on Cl_{kind}: given that being a certain kind is an inherent individual property, no amount reading is consistent with Cl_{kind} and consequently, *de* cannot appear. The conclusion is borne out by the following example:

(7) Xianggang haiyang gongyuan you   [shi-zhong (a.Ø / b.*de) shayu].

　　　Hong Kong ocean   park   have   [ten-kind (a.Ø / b.*DE) shark]

　　　'Ocean Park Hong Kong has ten kinds of shark.'

Once the distribution of individual and amount readings in (1) is explained, one would wonder how they are mapped into syntax. Starting from the original proposal of Simpson (2001) that *de* is an enclitic determiner which attracts some XP element to its Spec position, I further assume that *de* can be either overt or covert. This entails that all sequences involving the amount interpretation in (1) are DPs where *de* occupies D^0 position. In addition, following C&S (1998), I assume that the Num-Cl-(*de*)-N order is derived by the relativization of the head noun, which takes [Num-Cl] as its predicate. My proposal is crucially different from the original claim in that Cl does not have to be Cl_{mass}. This new analysis can be embedded within Kayne's account of N-final relative clauses, according to which in the structure $[D^0 [C^0 [IP]]]$, the head noun originating within IP moves to SpecCP and the remnant of IP moves to SpecDP. If C&S's relativization analysis is formulated as IP-raising to SpecDP, we get the

following derivation:

(8) a. $[_{DP}$ de $[_{CP}$ C^0 $[_{IP}$ N I^0 $[_{VP}$ Num Cl]]]]

b. $[_{DP}$ de $[_{CP}$ N_i C^0 $[_{IP}$ t_i I^0 $[_{VP}$ Num Cl]]]]

c. $[_{DP}$ $[_{IP}$ t_i I^0 $[_{VP}$ Dem Num Cl]]$_m$ de $[_{CP}$ N_i C^0 t_m]]

As for the sequence Num-Cl-N with individual reading, my proposal is that [Num-Cl] directly originates in the NP specifier position. Under this new account, the two interpretations associated with different kinds of classifier are coherently formalized.

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Three types of *de*-contained measure expressions in Mandarin Chinese

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This paper discusses the syntactic derivation of *de*-contained measure expressions in Mandarin Chinese. Against a widely assumed analysis on [Measure Phrase (MP)-*de*-N] which treats MP as a prenominal modifier and *de* as a modifier marker (cf. Chao 1968, Zhu 1982, Cheng & Sybesma 1998), I suggest instead that [MP-*de*-N] in Mandarin Chinese be divided into three types, as illustrated below:

(1) a. qi   bang   de   putao   (Type A)
       seven   pound   DE   grape
       'seven pounds of grapes'
    b. qi   bang   de   ying'er   (Type B)
       seven   pound   DE   infant
       'a seven pound infant'
    c. qi   bang   de   zhongliang   (Type C)
       seven   pound   DE   weight
       'the weight of seven pounds'

Notwithstanding a superficial similarity in terms of the linear word order, I observe that the above three measure expressions exhibit remarkable syntactic asymmetries. To be concrete, on the one hand, the Type-A construction differs from the Type-B and Type-C construction in that *de* is optional in the former but obligatory in the latter. On the other, the Type-B and Type-C construction behave differently in terms of (non-)licensing of topicalization, (im-)possibility of nominal ellipsis, and (in-)compatibility with demonstratives. Such a picture presents challenges to a unified account for the [MP-*de*-N] sequence.

To capture these asymmetries within a formal account, in this paper I propose three different structures for *de*-contained measure expressions in Mandarin Chinese, each corresponding to a particular type of [MP-*de*-N]. Specifically, for the Type-A construction, upon the observation that the presence of *de* is necessarily associated with a focus reading on MP (Jin in process), I adopt a DP-internal FocP analysis (Giusti 1996, Aboh 2004, Ntelitheos 2004, Corver & van Koppen 2009) and assume

de here as a focus marker which features a DP-internal movement from a lower specifier position to the higher [Spec, FocP], as visualized in (2). For the Type-B construction, in view of the neat semantic/syntactic parallelisms exhibited between this type of [MP-*de*-N] and the ordinary [modifier-*de*-modifiee] construction, I follow the spirit of Sio (2006) and Shi (2008) in assuming that *de* here is a modifier marker which heads its own projection and that [MP-*de*] is an adjunct of NP, as depicted in (3). As for the Type-C construction, I assume that a DP-internal predicate inversion (in the sense of Kayne (1994) and Bennis *et al.* (1998)) applies. In this case 'weight' and '7 pounds' underlyingly entertain a relationship of predication and the word order of [MP-*de*-N] is derived by means of inverting the predicate '7 pounds' to [Spec, DP], with *de* housed by D^0 (cf. Simpson 2002), as shown in (4). Based on such a trichotomous analysis, the syntactic and semantic asymmetries among different types of *de*-contained measure expressions can be derived straightforwardly.
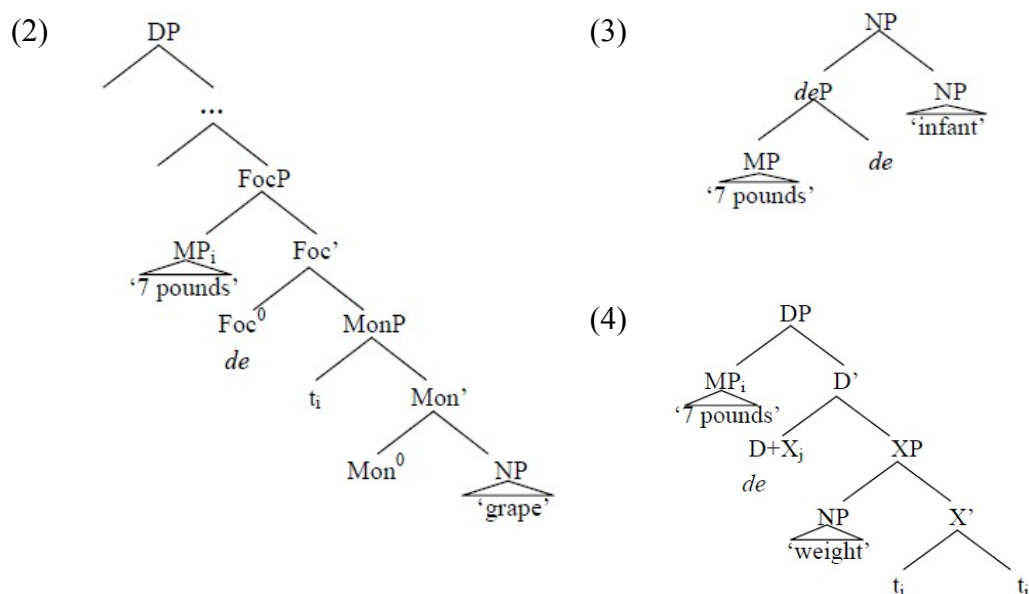
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Why We Were Led Astray by Directionality Parameters

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Evidence from cross-linguistic gaps/asymmetries, i.e. from the study of what is cross-linguistically missing, favors antisymmetry and disfavors directionality parameters. Antisymmetry holds of the language faculty because precedence, in the form of a right-to-left orientation for Merge, is built into the fabric of derivations, much as bottom-to-top orientation is. Neither orientation is subject to parametric variation.

Prosody and head-directionality in Chinese

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In this paper, I argue that Chinese is disharmonic in its head-directionality because tones on lexical items function as an output condition on the movement of complement to the specifier position. It is also argued that Chinese word order supports the idea that head- directionality is universally determined by prosodic strength realized as stress or tone.

The orders between head (H) and complement (C) in Chinese are disharmonic, as shown in (1) (Li and Thompson 1981, Dryer 1992, Feng 2002, Dryer and Haspelmath 2011).

(1) a. H-C: modal-V, negative-V, preposition-NP, V-O

  b. C-H: stem-affix, NP-postposition, V-aspect, clause-Q particle;

      modifier-N, degree word-A, PP-V, [*ba*-NP]-V

This has been a challenge to the principles and parameter theory (Travis 1984, Huang 1994).

Kayne (1994) argues that consistent C-H order is derived from H-C order by cyclic movement of complement to the specifier position, as in (2) (cf. Abels and Neeleman 2012).

(2) … X [$_{YP}$ … Y ZP] … → … X [$_{YP}$ ZP Y t] … → …[$_{YP}$ ZP Y t$_{ZP}$] X t$_{YP}$ …

Assuming this roll-up movement, Biberauer et al. (2008) propose the Final-Over-Final Constraint (FOFC) in (3), which prohibits complement movement from skipping cycles.

(3) *[$_{\beta P}$ [$_{\alpha P}$ α γP] β], where αP is the complement of β and γP is the complement of α.

FOFC correctly rules out the word orders that are absent or rare in the world's languages (e.g. [$_{IP}$ [$_{VP}$ V O] Aux] and [$_{CP}$ … [$_{VP}$ V O] C]). However, FOFC wrongly rules out a number of well-formed constructions in Chinese listed in (4).

(4) a. clause-Q particle orders   [$_{CP}$ … [$_{VP}$ V NP] C]   *xie Zhongguo zi ma?*

  b. prepositional phrase-V   [$_{VP}$ [$_{PP}$ P NP] V]   *cong Zhongguo lai le*

  c. relative clause-N   [$_{NP}$ [$_{VP}$ V O] *de* N]   *qi zixingche de ren*

Instead of assuming FOFC, I propose that Chinese C-H orders in (1b) are derived from H-C in the base if the derived structure observes the prosodic patterns in Chinese, as shown in (5).

(5)   a. $(_{TD}$ W … W S)   TD: tonal/sandhi domain, W: weak position, S: strong position

       b. $(_{Pwd}$ T N)   Pwd: prosodic word, T: tone, N: neutral/light tone

Right-Tone (5a) is the original Chinese pattern while Left-Stress (5b) is a system borrowed from Altaic languages. This mixed prosodic system makes Chinese word orders disharmonic.

Following the idea of Complement Prominence (Nespor and Vogel (1986) and Cinque's (1993), I argue that complement must be linearized in the strong position where citation tone is preserved (Right-Tone) and not neutralized (Left-Stress).

Complements in head-complement sequences in (1a) keep their citation tone in the case of sandhi (e.g. third-tone sandhi in Mandarin). Heads in (1a) (modal, negative, preposition, V) have non-neutral tone, which may change into another tone in sandhi. This is a well-formed pattern since the citation tone of the complement is kept unchanged and heads still have non-neutral tone. If the order was reversed by complement movement, the resulting complement-head structure would need to have Left-Stress (5b) in order to keep complement prominent. However, neutral tone on the right in (5b) would conflict with the fact that these heads have non-neutral tone. Thus, complement movement does not apply to (1a) even in (4).

Complements in complement-head order in (1b) keep their tone by Left-Stress (5b). Heads in (1b) are divided into two categories: clitics (affix, aspect, postposition, Q particle) and lexical words (N, A, V). Clitics have neutral tone and conform to Left-Stress (5b). On the other hand, lexical heads have tone and do not conform to (5b). However, they can be separated from the preceding complement by a prosodic boundary in order to keep their tone. Thus, complement movement applies to these constituents to derive complement-head order.

To sum, head-complement orders are determined by universal Complement Prominence and language particular prosody in (5) in Chinese. This study has a number of consequences in diachronic and dialectal linguistics and the architecture of grammar. As Hashimoto (1976) argues, classical Chinese and southern Chinese dialects have more tonal characters and more head-complement orders than present day Chinese and northern dialects. These correlated changes and variations are explained straightforwardly with the prosody- based theory of word orders presented here. Tokizaki (2011) argues that word-stress location decides head-complement orders in stress languages in the world. Then, disharmonic head- complement orders are no longer a problem for the minimalist program in that an output condition decides linearization of hierarchical structure. This idea of Universal Syntax and Parametric Phonology does away with head parameter in syntax (Feng 2002, Kayne 2011).

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Merging Prepositions VP-externally in Chinese
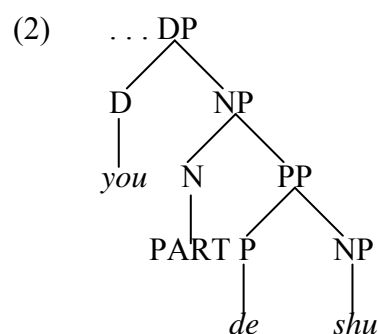
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One of the long-standing mysteries about Chinese partitive nominals has to do with their erratic distribution: A typical partitive such as *you de shu* 'some of the books' may appear in subject position, as in (1a), but not in postverbal object position, as in (1b). Interestingly enough, to save the latter construal, we may resort to object shift under contrastive focus, as evidenced by (1c):

(1) a. you **de** shu   bujian-le.
        have DE book   disappear-Prf
        'Some of the books have disappeared.'
    b. * Akiu   mai-le   you **de** shu.
         Akiu   sell-Prf have DE book
         'Akiu sold some of the books.'
    c. Akiu   you **de** shu   mai-le,   you **de** shu   mei   mai.
        Akiu   have DE book   sell-Prf   have DE book   have.not sell
        'Akiu sold some of the books, but not the other books.'

One way to approach the issue, as noted by Tsai (2003), is to assimilate the structure of Chinese partitive nominals to their English counterparts by postulating an implicit morpheme PART, while taking *de* to be the head of its PP complement, as illustrated below:

(2)   . . . DP
         ╱   ╲
        D   NP
        │   ╱ ╲
       you N   PP
             │   ╱ ╲
           PART P   NP
                │   │
               de *shu*

This proposal, however plausible in terms of semantics, goes against the traditional view that Chinese NPs are strictly head-final. Furthermore, given the determiner status of *you*, it remains unclear why there should be a subject-object asymmetry in regard to its distribution from a synchronic perspective.

    Inspired by Kayne (2002) and related works, we would like to entertain the possibility that the partitive construction is actually an instance of merging *de* outside VP. That is, we maintain the view that, at least in this particular case, *de* serves as a preposition rather than a determiner (contra Simpson 2003 and Saito et al. 2008). For

one thing, given the standard practice of merging *de* VP-externally as a probe, we would expect to find (1b) perfectly grammatical as a result of the following derivation:

(3)   . . .   [*mai-le*   [*shu*   *you*   PART]]
    ⇒   K-*de*   [*mai-le*   [*shu*   *you*   PART]]   (merger of K-*de*)
    ⇒   *shu*ᵢ K-*de*   [*mai-le*   [tᵢ   *you*   PART]]   (mvt of *shu* to [Spec, K-*de*])
    ⇒ *de* *shu*ᵢ K-*de*   [*mai-le*   [tᵢ   *you*   PART]]   (merger of *de*)
    ⇒ * [*mai-le*   [tᵢ   *you*   PART]]ⱼ   *de*   *shu*ᵢ K-*de* tⱼ   (*mvt of VP to [Spec, *de*])

This prediction, however, is not borne out, presumably due to a lack of EPP features on *de*. Instead, the focus construal of (1c) comes to the rescue, as encoded by *de*₍F₎ in the following derivations:

(4)   . . .   [*mai-le*   [*shu*   *you*   PART]]
    ⇒   K-*de*   [*mai-le*   [*shu*   *you*   PART]]   (merger of K-*de*)
    ⇒   *shu*ᵢ K-*de*   [*mai-le*   [tᵢ   *you*   PART]]   (mvt of *shu* to [Spec, K-*de*])
    ⇒ *de*₍F₎ *shu*ᵢ K-*de* [*mai-le*   [tᵢ   *you*   PART]]   (merger of *de*)
    ⇒ [tᵢ   *you*   PART]ⱼ   *de*₍F₎ *sh*uᵢ K-*de* [*mai-le*   tⱼ] (focus mvt of NP to [Spec, *de*])

The prepositional probe targets the small clause rather than the whole VP. As a result, the main predicate *mai-le* is left behind, which in turn gives the impression of object shift.

We therefore have a Kaynian account with a twist, which may well carry over to the following contrast in presence of topicalization:

(5) a. * shu,   Akiu   mai-le   you   **de** [e].
        book   Akiu   sell-Prf   have DE
        Lit. 'The books, Akiu sold some of.'
    b.   shu,   Akiu   you **de** [e] mai-le,   you **de** [e] mei   mai.
        book   Akiu   have DE   sell-Prf have DE   have.not sell
        Lit. 'The books, Akiu sold some of, but not some of.'

As expected, further extraction out of the postverbal object position is blocked, as in (5a), as the derivation has proved to be impossible. By contrast, there would be no problem to move the theme *shu* 'book' further to the topic position in (5b), since *you de* and *shu* do not form a constituent under our analysis given in (4). This move explains away the absence of preposition stranding effects, which actually   in other similar constructions, as evidenced by the contrast between (6a,b):

(6) a.   Akiu   mai-le   yi   bufen   **de** shu.
        Akiu   sell-Prf   one part   DE   book
        'Akiu sold part of the books.'
    b. * shu,   Akiu   mai-le   yi   bufen   **de** [e].
        book   Akiu   sell-Prf one part   DE
        Lit. 'The books, Akiu sold part of [e].'

All in all, we have shown that the subject-object asymmetry of (1a,b) can be resolved by merging *de* VP-externally as an "EPPless" probe, while the unusual shape of (2) is vindicated by the preposition stranding effect of (6b). The dramatic

improvement of (1c) is then attributed to the contrastive focus construal, and the extraction validity of (5b) to the non-constituency of object partitives. This working hypothesis therefore provides an explicit solution to the partitive puzzle, as well as the word order paradox within Chinese DPs.

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Call for Papers and Review

The call for papers was posted on our website in November of 2011. The deadline was February 17, 2012. At that time, a total of 22 abstracts were received, representing 8 countries and areas. We would like to thank our reviewers. The following prominent experts (in alphabetical order) kindly accepted our request to help with the review process.

Candice CHEUNG   Dingxu SHI
Shengli FENG   Andrew SIMPSON
Miao-ling HSIEH   Joanna Ut-seong SIO
Paul LAW   Jen TING
Wen Wei Roger LIAO   Ting-chi WEI
Chengsheng LIU   Niina ZHANG

Each abstract was blinded and assigned to a minimum of 2 reviewers. Each reviewer was requested to anonymously review the abstracts each and to rate them from one (*reject*) to five (*must accept*). After all of the abstracts were reviewed, we carefully read all the comments on those abstracts from the reviewers and selected the abstracts with the highest average review scores. The authors of those abstracts were then invited to present their papers at the symposium.

Organizing Committee

(in alphabetical order)

Ben AU YEUNG
Song-hing CHANG
Samuel Hung-nin CHEUNG
Shengli FENG
Che-wah HO
Ki-wai LO
Choi-chu SUEN
Sze-Wing TANG (Convener)
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Lila Lai-na WAN
Kiki Lai-ting WONG
Annie Man-ling WONG
King Yuk-king WONG
Eva Kam-fa YU

Appendix 1: Venue

LT8, 3/F., Cheng Yu Tung Building,
The Chinese University of Hong Kong

Cheng Yu Tung Building is located right next to the MTR University Station and adjacent to Hyatt Regency Hong Kong, Sha Tin. The main entrance of the building is facing towards a bus / mini-bus / taxi terminus. It takes only a couple of minutes to get to the building from the MTR University Station on foot. Lecture theatre LT8, the venue of the symposium, is on the third floor of the building, which can be reached by the elevators or by the stairs from the main entrance.

Appendix 2: Directions for Fast Food

There are two fast food restaurants within walking distance.

1. <u>Maxim's MX</u>
Maxim's MX is located in the MTR University Station, which is on the right hand side of Maxim's Cakes.

2. <u>Chung Chi Tang</u>
Chung Chi Tang is located in Chung Chi College, CUHK. Pass through the "tunnel" next to Maxim's Cakes in the MTR University Station to get to the CUHK campus. When you see the statue of the goddess, keep walking along Pond Crescent and you can find Chung Chi Tang, a building that looks like a triangular prism.

3. <u>Cafe 12</u>
Cafe 12 is located outside LT-8, the Symposium venue, on the third floor of Cheng Yu Tung Building.

Please refer to the map below for their locations.

崇基路

教堂路

眾志堂
Chung
Chi Tang

Tang

利樹培堂
Lee Shu
Pui Hall

進德路

Wen
Tan

牟路思怡
圖書館
Elizabeth Luce
Moore Library

池旁路

應林堂
Ying Lin
Tang

柏苑
Cypress
Lodge

Chung Chi Rd

崇基教堂
College
Chapel

松苑
Pine Lodge

Chapel Rd

蘭苑
Orchid
Lodge

Pond Crescent

方潤華堂
Fong Yun
Wah Hall

信和樓
Sino Bldg

何添樓
Ho Tim Bldg

方樹泉樓
Fong Shu
Chuen Bldg

李慧珍樓
Lee Wai
Chun Bldg

嶺南體育館
Lingnan
Stadium

大埔公路馬料水段

王福元樓
Wong Foo
Yuan Bldg

池旁路

嶺南體育館
運動場
Lingnam
Stadium
Sports Field

崇基學院行政樓
Chung Chi College
Administrative Bldg

Station Rd

Tai Po Rd (ma Liu Shui)

崇基路

C EXIT

美心MX
Maxim's Mx

利黃瑤璧樓
Esther
Lee Bldg

A EXIT

18

文林堂
Wen Lin
Tang

B EXIT

大學
University

△ Fast Food Restaurant

⭐ Venue of Symposium

鄭裕彤樓
Cheng Yu
Tung Bldg

⭐

香港凱悅
酒店-沙田
Hyatt Regency
Hong Kong
- Sha Tin

△

大埔公路馬料水段