

# Island Effects and Episodic Eventualities in Chinese Topicalization<sup>1</sup>

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In this study note, I report two facts of Chinese syntax:

- (1) a. Island effects are present in topicalization of sentences that encode episodic eventualities;
- b. The specificity of nominals can be syntactically represented by word order in Chinese.

Episodic eventualities are those that can be spatio-temporally defined. They are specific eventualities. The fact listed in (1a) indicates that topicalization in sentences that encode episodic eventualities is an operation of movement in Chinese. The fact listed in (1b) suggests that specificity is an issue of syntax. If we regard episodic eventualities as specific eventualities, we wonder whether there is any relation between the syntax of specificity in the two cases.

This study note is organized as follows. I present the first fact in section 1, and the second fact in section 2. We then discuss the implications of the second fact to the so-called Complex NP Constraint in section 3. Finally, in section 4, we both make a conclusion and pose questions.

## 1. Episodic eventualities and island effects in topicalization

It has been claimed by some authors that topicalization does not show any island effect in Chinese (Xu & Lagnendoen 1985, X&La hence, etc.). Based on this claim, these authors assume that topicalization in Chinese cannot be derived by movement. In 1.1 through 1.4 below, we examine the adjunct, complex NP, subject, and *wh* islands in topicalization, respectively. We will see that none of the widely cited data that are used to show that there is no island effect encodes episodic eventualities. If we consider episodic eventualities, all the types of island effects show up.<sup>2</sup>

Episodic eventualities are specific eventualities, in contrast to the comparatively more stable states (cf. individual-level predicates), habitual eventualities, and irrealis eventualities, including those denoted by the sentences that contain modal verbs and modal adverbials.

In all of the relevant data, the *a*-sentences are in the canonical order, where no topicalization occurs. The *b*-sentences and the *c*-sentences are topicalization examples, where the left-peripheral topic is related to a gap in the clause. Both *a*- and *b*-sentences are episodic eventuality sentences, whereas the *c*-sentences are not.

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<sup>1</sup> Topicalization in Chinese is intriguing. No wonder it has always been Dieter's favorite. Thank you, Dieter. When our "regular" theories are challenged in this area, your smiling and happy hunting of truths are encouraging to me. I also thank Daniel Hole for his comments on this paper.

<sup>2</sup> Hu & Pan (2001) claim that "island constraints can be violated only if the topic NP moved out of the island is formally licensed by the verb in question or through predication." Empirically, however, their claim cannot cover the systematic contrasts with respect to episodic eventualities listed here. Theoretically, their assumption that secondary predicates must be controlled by the object of the matrix clause (p. 4) is not compatible with the following fact: subject-oriented secondary predicates and secondary predicates that have their independent subjects are observed in Chinese, as well as in other languages.

### 1.1 Episodic eventualities and the complex NP islands in topicalization

As mentioned, by X&La, most speakers find the following (2b) "quite unnatural." In this sentence, the clause-initial topic is related to a gap inside the complex NP of the clause. The marginal status of the sentence shows the Complex NP island effect. Similar to (2b), other b-sentences are all unacceptable. The c-sentences, however, are fine.

- (2) a. (Wo xiang) du-guo zhe ben shu de ren lai le.  
I think read-EXP this CL book MOD person come PRT  
'(I think) The person who read this book has come.'
- b. ??Zhe ben shu, (wo xiang) du-guo de ren lai-le. (X&La (64))  
this CL book I think read EXP MOD person come-PRF  
Intended: 'This book, I think the person who read came.'
- c. Zhe ben shu, (wo renwei) du-guo de ren bu duo. (X&La (61a))  
this CL book I think read-EXP MOD person not many  
'This book, (I think) the persons who read are not many.'
- (3) a. Wo kanjian-le hua zhexie hua de ren.  
I see-PRF draw these picture MOD person  
'I saw the person who had drawn these pictures.'
- b. \*Zhexie hua, wo kanjian-le hua de ren.  
these picture I see-PRF draw MOD person
- c. Zhexie hua, wo dou mei jian-guo xihuan de ren. (Cheng 1991)  
these picture I even all see-EPR like MOD person  
'These pictures, I have not seen anyone who likes them.'
- (4) a. Gangcai dasao zhe jian fangzi de ren zhengzai xiuxi.  
just.now clean this CL room MOD person PRG rest  
'The person who cleaned this room just now is taking a rest.'
- b. \*Zhe jian fangzi, gangcai dasao de ren zhengzai xiuxi.  
this CL room just.now clean MOD person PRG rest
- c. Zhe jian fangzi dasao de ren yiding hen duo.  
This CL room clean MOD person must very many  
'This room, (the) persons who {cleaned/clean} it must be many.'
- (5) a. Wo zhaodao-le shouyang zhege wanpi de haizi de ren.  
I find-PRF adopt this naughty MOD child MOD person  
'I have found a person who had adopted this naughty child.'
- b. \*{Zheme/Zhege} wanpi de haizi, wo zhaodao-le shouyang de ren.  
so/this naughty MOD child I find-PRF adopt MOD person
- c. Zheme wanpi de haizi, wo zhao-bu-dao yuanyi shouyang de ren.  
so naughty MOD child I can't-find like adopt MOD person  
'Such a naughty child, I cannot find a person who is willing to adopt her/him.'  
(Xu&Liu: 47)
- (6) a. Na ben [Akiu<sub>i</sub> chuban e<sub>j</sub>] de shu<sub>j</sub> chu-le zhengzhi wenti.  
that CL Akiu publish MOD book show-PRF political problem  
'That book that Akiu published got into a political trouble.'
- b. \*Akiu<sub>i</sub>, na ben [e<sub>i</sub> chuban e<sub>j</sub>] de shu<sub>j</sub> chu-le zhengzhi wenti.  
Akiu that CL publish MOD book show-PRF political problem
- c. Akiu<sub>i</sub>, xuduo [e<sub>i</sub> chuban e<sub>j</sub>] de shu<sub>j</sub> dou mai-de bu-cuo. (Tsai 1997)  
Akiu many publish MOD book all sell-DE not-bad  
'Akiu, many books that (he) published sell well.'

### 1.2 Episodic eventualities and subject islands in topicalization

- (7) a. Ta shuo-le zhexie shi rang wo dangshi hen chijing.  
he say-PRF these thing make I then very surprised  
'That he said these things made me very surprised at that time.'  
b. \*Zhexie shi, ta shuo-le rang wo dangshi hen chijing.  
these thing he say-PRF make I then very surprised  
c. Zhexie shi, ta shuo bu heshi. (X&La (51))  
these things he say not appropriate  
'That he says these things is not appropriate.'
- (8) a. Wo erzi xie-le na pian wenzhang rang wo gandao zihao.  
I son write-PRF that CL article make I feel pride  
'That my son wrote that article made me feel pride.'  
b. \*Na pian wenzhang wo erzi xie-le rang wo gandao zihao.  
that CL article I son write-PRF make I feel pride  
c. Na yang de wenzhang wo erzi neng xie zhen rang wo gandao zihao.  
that kind MOD article I son can write really make I feel pride  
'That kind of articles, that my son can write them makes me really pride.'
- (9) a. Baoyu zuotian tou-kan na ben huangse-xiaoshuo qihuai-le Daiyu.  
Baoyu yesterday secretly.read that CL yellow-novel anger-PRF Daiyu  
'That Baoyu read that porn novel secretly yesterday angered Daiyu.'  
b. \*Na ben huangse-xiaoshuo, Baoyu zuotian tou-kan qi-huai-le Daiyu.  
that CL yellow-novel Baoyu yesterday secretly.read anger-PRF Daiyu  
c. Na ben huangse-xiaoshuo, Baoyu zuotian tou-kann, yidianr ye  
that CL yellow-novel Baoyu yesterday secretly.read little even  
bu-qiguai.  
not-surprising  
'That porn-novel, that Baoyu read it secretly yesterday is not surprising at all.'

### 1.3 Episodic eventualities and WH islands in topicalization

It has been generally recognized that argument wh-phrases do not form either overt or covert movement chains in Chinese (esp. Tsai 1994). In contrast, adverbial wh-phrases do undergo covert movement in Chinese (Huang 1982, Tsai 1994, etc.). We thus consider only adverbial wh construction data.

- (10) a. Lao Wang zuotian zenyang piping-le na ge xuesheng?  
Lao Wang yesterday how criticize-PRF that CL student  
'How did Lao Wang criticize that student yesterday?'  
b. \*Na ge xuesheng, Lao Wang zuotian zenyang piping-le?  
that CL student Lao Wang yesterday how criticize-PRF  
c. Na ge xuesheng, Lao Wang meitian zenyang piping?  
that CL student Lao Wang everyday how criticize  
'How does Lao Wang criticize that student everyday?'
- (11) a. Lao Wang zuotian weishenme chi-le na fu zhong-yao?  
Lao Wang yesterday why eat-PRF that CL Chinese-medicine  
'Why did Lao Wang take that Chinese medicine yesterday?'  
b. \*Na fu zhong-yao, Lao Wang zuotian weishenme chi-le?  
that CL Chinese-medicine Lao Wang yesterday why eat-PRF  
c. Na fu zhongyao, Lao Wang weishenme yiding yao chi?  
that CL Chinese-medicine Lao Wang why definitely want eat  
'Why does Lao Wang definitely want to take that Chinese-medicine?'

- (12) a. Lao Li guancha-le Akiu ruhe banli zhe jian shi.  
Lao Li observe-PRF Akiu how handle this CL matter  
'Lao Li observed how Akiu handled this matter.'  
b. \*Lao Li guancha-le zhe jian shi Akiu ruhe banli.  
Lao Li observe-PRF this CL matter Akiu how handle  
c. Lao Li bu zhidao zhe jian shi Akiu yinggai ruhe banli.  
Lao Li not know this CL matter Akiu should how handle  
'Lao Li does not know how Akiu should handle this matter.'

#### 1.4 Episodic eventualities and adjunct islands in topicalization

- (13) a. Ni xi zhe jian zang yifu de shihou, wo zhengzai mai xiyi-ji.  
you wash this CL dirty clothing MOD time I PRG buy washing-machine  
'When you washed this dirty garment, I was buying a washing-machine.'  
b. \*Zhe jian zang yifu, ni xi de shihou, wo zhengzai mai xiyi-ji.  
this CL dirty clothing you wash MOD time I PRG buy washing-machine  
c. Zhe jian zang yifu, ni xi de shihou, kending yao hua bushao liqi.  
this CL dirty clothing you wash MOD time certainly must spend much energy  
'This dirty garment, when you wash it you will certainly have to make a lot of effort.'  
(Gasde & Paul 1996: 279)
- (14) a. Wo yaoqing zhe wei zuojia de shihou, zheng huan ganmao.  
I invite this CL writer MOD time PRG suffer cold  
'When I invited this writer, I was (just) suffering from a cold.'  
b. \*Zhe wei zuojia, wo yaoqing de shihou, zheng huan ganmao.  
this CL writer I invite MOD time PRG suffer cold  
c. Zhe wei zuojia, wo yaoqing de shihou, shi-bu-shi yinggai shuo ji  
this CL writer I invite MOD time be-not-be should say several  
ju zanmei de hua?  
CL praise MOD word  
'This writer, when I invite {him/her}, should I say a few praising words?'
- (15) a. (Zai) Ni mai zhe suo fangzi zhiqian, wo qu zhao-le yi ge gongzhengren.  
at you buy this CL house before I go seek-PRF one CL notary.public  
'Before you bought this house, I have consulted a notary public.'  
b. \*Zhe suo fangzi (zai) ni mai zhiqian, wo qu zhao-le yi ge gongzhengren.  
this CL house at you buy before I go seek-PRF one CL notary.public  
c. Zhe suo fangzi (zai) ni mai zhiqian, yinggai qu zhao yi ge gongzhengren.  
this CL house at you buy before should go seek one CL notary.public  
'This house, before you buy it, you should consult a notary public.'  
(Gasde & Paul 1996: 279, 283)

Note, however, topic gaps in non-temporal adverbials seem hard to be licensed, regardless of whether the eventuality is episodic or not:

- (16) a. \*Xiaoshuo, yinwei wo xihuan, jingchang qu shudian.  
novel because I like often go bookstore  
Intended: 'Novels, since I like them, I often go to bookstores.'  
b. \*Na ben xiaoshuo, yinwei wo mai-le, wu-le huoche.  
that CL novel because I buy-PRF miss-PRF train  
Intended: 'That novel, since I bought it, I missed the train.'

- c. \*Gao Qiang<sub>i</sub> na, Zhou Hua wei-le e<sub>i</sub> mei lai, zheng shengqi ne.  
 Gao Qiang PRT Zhou Hua because not come just mad PRT  
 Intended: 'As for Gao Qiang, Zhou Hua is being mad because he did not come.'  
 (Shi 2000: 398)

In the intended readings, the eventuality expressed by (16a) is not an episodic one, whereas that by (16b) is. Neither is acceptable.  
 Like in English, parasitic gaps are fine:

- (17) Na ben shu, yinwei wo xihuan t, zao jiu qu mai-le t.  
 that CL book because I like early then buy-PRF  
 'That book, because I like, I bought long time ago.'

### 1.5 Conclusion: Move in episodic eventualities!

The following data in (18) show that extraction of an object (18a, b) or from a complement (18c) in the episodic contexts is fine. The launching sites of the extraction are not islands.

- (18) a. Zhe pian wenzhang, wo jintian zaoshang kan-le.  
 this CL article I today morning read-PRF  
 'This article, I read this morning.'  
 b. Na fu zhongyao, Lao Li gangcai chi-le.  
 that CL Chinese-medicine Lao Li just.now eat-PRF  
 'That Chinese medicine, Lao Li took just now.'  
 c. Na fu zhongyao, wo kanjian Lao Li gangcai chi-le.  
 that CL Chinese-medicine I see Lao Li just.now eat-PRF  
 'That Chinese medicine, I saw Lao Li take just now.'

The contrast between the b-sentences in (2) through (12) and (18) is that of the island effects, and the contrast between the b-sentences and the c-sentences in (2) through (12) indicates that the island effects are seen in episodic eventualities, but not elsewhere.

Considering the contrast between specific eventualities and other eventualities with respect to the complex NP, subject, and the wh island effects, we claim that topicalization in specific eventuality-denoting sentences are derived by movement. Our claim is compatible with Li's (1998, 2000) conclusion that topicalization can be derived by movement. She drew her conclusion from her studies of various reconstruction effects of binding, idiom chunks, and the topicalization of PPs, which have no corresponding (null) pro-forms, the island effects of the PP topics, etc. Note that she does not separate episodic sentences from other sentences, and her data include both types.

As we said before, episodic eventualities are specific eventualities. Why does specificity play a role in island effects? In the next subsection, we present another fact from Chinese: the specificity of nominals can be syntactically represented by word order in Chinese. This second fact suggests that specificity is an issue of syntax.

## 2. Indefinite nominals with Outer Modifiers are exclusively specific

### 2.1 Outer and Inner Modifiers

In Chinese, RCs, as well as other types of modifiers of nominals (APs, PPs, possessors), can occur at either a left-peripheral position (Outer Modifier) or a non-peripheral position (Inner

Modifier) of nominals. In the former case, the internal order of the nominals is Modifier-de-Numeral-Classifier-N, as in the a-sentences below, and in the latter case, the order is Numeral-Classifier-Modifier-N, as in the b-sentences below.<sup>3 4</sup>

- (19) a. dai yanjing de san ge xuesheng (Outer RC)  
wear glasses DE three CL student  
b. san ge dai yanjing de xuesheng (Inner RC)  
both: 'three students who wear glasses'
- (20) a. zuixunxun de san ge xuesheng (Outer AP)  
drunk DE three CL student  
b. san ge zuixunxun de xuesheng (Inner AP)  
three CL drunk DE student  
both: 'three drunk students'
- (21) a. Li Jiaoshou de san ge xuesheng (Outer Possessor)  
Li professor DE three CL student  
b. san ge Li Jiaoshou de xuesheng (Inner Possessor)  
three CL Li professor DE student  
both: 'three students of Professor Li's'

All types of modifiers can occur in the Inner position, whereas not all can occur in the Outer position. Material-denoting modifiers, for instance, cannot occur as Outer Modifiers:

- (22) a. Akiu mai-le liang zhang boli (de) zhuozi.  
Akiu buy-PRF two CL glass DE table  
'Akiu bought two glass tables.'  
b. \*Akiu mai-le boli (de) liang zhang zhuozi.
- (23) a. Akiu mai-le wu shuang buxiu-gang (de) kuaizi.  
Akiu buy-PRF five pair stainless-steel DE chopstick  
'Akiu bought five pairs of stainless-steel chopsticks.'  
b. \*Akiu mai-le buxiu-gang (de) wu shuang kuaizi.

## 2.2 The exclusive specific reading of indefinites with Outer Modifiers

The semantic effect of this ordering difference is that an indefinite with an Outer modifier takes on a 'specific' and/or 'presuppositional' reading, exclusively. This is shown in the following four aspects.

Firstly, indefinites with an Inner modifier or without any modifier cannot (24b), whereas indefinites with an Outer modifier can (24a), occur as preverbal subjects, which cannot be nonspecific in Chinese generally (Chao 1968, Tsai 2001a, among others).

<sup>3</sup> In Chinese, if a demonstrative or a universal quantifier occurs with a modifier, the modifier can also occur in either the left-peripheral position of the nominal, as in (i-a), or an internal position, as in (i-b).

- (i) a. Xue wuli de na san ge xuesheng lai-le.  
study physics DE that three CL student come-PRF  
'Those three student who study physics have come.'  
b. Na san ge xue wuli de xuesheng lai-le.  
that three CL study physics DE student come-PRF  
'Those three student who study physics have come.'

There is a rich literature on the two orders (Chao 1968, Huang 1982, Tsao 1986, Hou & Kitagawa 1987, Li 1998: 226, among many others). Since the nominals in either order are presupposed, their difference, if there is any, is not that of specificity. We do not discuss such data in this paper.

<sup>4</sup> In order to focus on the general specificity effect of nominal-internal word-order, we avoid using the data where the numeral is *yi* 'one' in this paper. Like *ein* in German and *un* in French, *yi* has properties of an indefinite determiner, and interacts with relatives.

- (24) a. [dai yanjing de (na) san ge xuesheng] dao le (Outer RC)  
 wear glasses DE that three CL student come PRF  
 '(the) three students who wear glasses came.'
- b. \* [san ge (dai yanjing de) xuesheng] dao le (Inner RC)

Secondly, indefinites with an Inner modifier or without any modifier cannot (25b), whereas indefinites with an Outer modifier can (25a), occur as shifted object, which cannot be nonspecific in Chinese generally (Liu et al 1983: 270, Qu 1994, among others).

- (25) a. Akiu [Daiyu mai de (na) san ben shu] du-guo-le. (Outer RC)  
 Akiu Daiyu buy DE that three CL book read-EXP-PRF  
 'Akiu has read (the) three books which Daiyu bought.'
- b. \* Akiu [san ben (Daiyu mai de) shu] du-guo-le. (Inner RC)

Thirdly, the argument position following a (dis)appearance verb, which is a 'weak' position according to Huang (1987), is available to indefinites with an Inner modifier or without a modifier (26a), but not available to indefinite nominals with an Outer modifier (26b).

- (26) a. Jie-shang lai-le [san ge (dai yanjing de) xuesheng] (Inner RC)  
 street-on come-PRF three CL (wear glasses DE ) student  
 'On the street came three students who wear glasses.'
- b. \* Jie-shang lai-le [dai yanjing de san ge xuesheng] (Outer RC)

Fourth, indefinites with Outer modifiers cannot occur as objects of verbs of creation.

- (27) a. Daiyu ming-nian gei wo zhi san shuang ta ziji sheji de mao-wazi. (Inner RC)  
 Daiyu next-year for I knit three pair she self design DE wool-sock  
 'Daiyu will knit me three pairs of woolen socks which she designs herself.'
- b. \*Daiyu ming-nian gei wo zhi ta ziji sheji de san shuang mao-wazi. (Outer RC)

According to Diesing (1992: 111), indefinite objects of verbs of creation must have a nonspecific reading. The object of the following sentence is not presupposed.

- (28) I usually write a book about slugs.

Nominals with an Outer modifier have been assumed to be definite in Chinese and other languages (Chesterman 1991, Halliday 1985, Kölver 1978, McCawley 1988, Seiter 1978, Wu 1996). However, such nominals are not definite in Chinese for at least three reasons. First, unlike definite nominals, which allow the demonstrative *na* 'that,' such nominals cannot occur as equivative predicates, indicating that they are intrinsically individual-denoting and non-predicative, as shown in (29):

- (29) a. Baoyu he Daiyu jiu shi **na** liang ge wo tidao de nianqing-ren.  
 Baoyu and Daiyu exactly be that two CL I mention DE young-person  
 'Baoyu and Daiyu are the two young persons I mentioned.'
- b. Baoyu he Daiyu jiu shi wo tidao de **na** liang ge nianqing-ren.
- c. \*Baoyu he Daiyu jiu shi wo tidao de liang ge nianqing-ren. (Outer RC)

Second, such nominals cannot occur as objects of verbs of creation, as seen in (27) above, whereas no such constraint is seen on definite nominals. More data are listed below:

- (30) a. Baoyu meitian yao xie san fen guanyu shichang-jingji de baogao. (PP)  
 Baoyu everyday must write three CL about market-economy DE report  
 'Baoyu must write three reports on market economy everyday.'  
 b. \*Baoyu meitian yao xie guanyu shichang-jingji de san fen baogao.  
 c. Baoyu meitian yao xie **ta de na** ben guanyu shang-ren de xiaoshuo.  
 Baoyu everyday must write he DE that CL about business-men DE novel  
 'Baoyu must write his novel about business-men every day.'
- (31) a. Daiyu jingchang zai zhao-shang hua liang zhi hen ke'ai de xiaomao. (AP)  
 Daiyu often at table-on draw two CL very lovely DE kitten  
 'Daiyu often draws two very lovely kittens on the table.'  
 b. \*Daiyu jingchang zai zhao-shang hua hen ke'ai de liang zhi xiaomao.  
 c. Daiyu jingchang zai jia-li hua **ta de** hua.  
 Daiyu often at home-in paint she de picture  
 'Daiyu often paints her pictures at home.'

If demonstrativeless nominals with an Outer modifier are indefinite, and are presupposed indefinite (specific), we see a new type of presentation of specificity in nominals. In languages such as Turkish (Enc 1991, Diesing 1992, et al), Finnish (Kiparsky 1998), Hindi (Butt 1993), and Hebrew (Siloni 1997), specificity of nominals can be marked by morphological case. In Chinese, a case-less language, specificity of nominals can be affected by the position of nominal-internal modifiers.

Specificity has been represented nominal-internally in the literature. De Jong (1987) proposes that the features of D vary, corresponding to both the definiteness and Milsark's strong-weak contrast of indefinites. Milsark (1974) assumes that weak determiners, which give nonspecific readings, are structurally akin to adjectives, in contrast to strong determiners, which give specific readings. Developing Milsark's theory, Zamparelli (1996 [2000]) argues for a split DP hypothesis: the higher DP hosts determiners of nominals which have a specific reading, whereas the lower DP hosts determiners of nominals which have a nonspecific reading. In Zamparelli's approach, an exclusive specific reading of a nominal is related to a higher position of the determiner. Moreover, Zamparelli claims that "in some cases, an abstract functional head can be licensed if a modifier of the appropriate type is generated or moved into its specifier" (1996: v). Crisma (1991) and Cinque (1992) have proposed that modifiers of nominals such as adjectives are hosted in the specifiers of multiple functional projections.

The correlation between the Chinese nominal-peripheral position of Outer modifiers and their exclusive specific reading directly supports Zamparelli's nominal-internal structure approach to specificity.

### 3. Specificity and CNPC in general

In this section I link the correlation between nominals with a peripheral modifier and their exclusive specific/presupposed reading in Chinese to the so-called the Complex NP Constraint (CNPC) (Ross 1967). I will claim that the selective effect of Complex NP Constraint is the blocking effect of elements at a Specificity Operator position, and the correlation we revealed provides syntactic evidence for the existence of the operator position.

The so-called CNPC covers the contrast like the following:

- (32) a. Who did Poirot claim [that he saw \_ last week]?  
 b. \*Who did Poirot make [the claim [that he saw \_ last week]]?  
 c. \*This kid, I must call [the teacher [who punished \_ ]]

In the well-formed (32a), *who* is extracted from a complement clause of the verb *claim*. In the unacceptable (32b), *who* is extracted from a complement clause of the noun *claim*. In (32c), *this kid* is extracted from a relative clause (RC). Ross proposes that movement out of a complex NP is blocked, and Complex NPs are islands for movement.

However, it has been found that CNPC does not apply to nonspecific nominals: arguments can be extracted out of nonspecific nominals (See Szabolcsi & den Dikken 1999 for a review). In (33a) and (33b), the *wh*-arguments are extracted from the nonspecific DPs, but not definite and strong indefinite DPs (Fiengo & Higginbotham 1981, Manzini 1992, 1998, Diesing 1992). In (33c), the *wh*-argument is extracted from the complement clause of the nonspecific DP, but not that of the definite DP (Rothstein 1988).

- (33) a. Which man did you discover [{\*Mary's/?the/a} poem about \_ ]?  
 b. Who did you see [{\*these/\*every/∅} pictures of \_ ]?  
 c. Which man did they consider [{\*the/?∅} rumors [that Bob would betray \_ ]]?

Pollard and Sag (1994: 206) (see also Postal 1998: 167) present the following data, where *wh*-arguments are extracted from indefinite DPs:<sup>5</sup>

- (34) a. Which rebel leader would you favor a proposal that the CIA assassinate t?  
 b. Which Middle East country did you hear rumors that we had infiltrated t?

The data in (33) and (34) are similar to Diesing's (1992: 115) data in (35). In (35a), the object of the verb of creation *write* has an exclusive nonspecific reading, and the extraction from the object is fine. In (35b), the object of the experiencer verb *like* has an exclusive generic reading, which is not nonspecific, and the extraction from the object is not allowed.

- (35) a. What do you usually write a book about? (nonspecific)  
 b. \*What do you usually like a picture of? (not nonspecific)

Diesing (p.133) accounts for this contrast by the assumption that specific nominals adjoin to IP at LF, then a further extraction from the nominals violates the Constraint on Extraction Domain, which does not allow extraction from adjuncts (Huang 1982). In her account, the correspondence between the extractability and the specificity is represented by the structural position of the relevant nominals, rather than the internal structures of the nominals. Diesing's nominal-external mapping approach offers no account for the correlation between nominal-internal orders and specificity reading in Chinese. On the other hand, as noted by Hans-Martin Gärtner (p.c.), it is not clear how to deal with embeddings like (36), where the whole nominal is specific and the embedded one, *detective novels*, is not. At LF, the whole nominal should adjoin to IP, whereas the embedded one should not.

<sup>5</sup> Extraction of non-referential elements from complex NPs, however, is impossible.

(i) \*How long would you favor a proposal that the CIA keep him out of sight t.  
 See Heycock (1995), Cinque (1990), Postal (1998: 167), etc. Since such an extraction is not relevant to topicalization, we will not elaborate on it here.

(36) a (certain) writer of detective novels

We claim that the selective blocking effect of CNPC comes from the presence of a Presupposition Operator at the Spec of the upper DP, adopting the Split DP hypothesis of Zamparelli (1996 [2000]). The occurrence of this operator makes any A-bar movement out of the DP impossible. We thus propose an intervening A'-Specifier account. The syntactic evidence of this operator comes from nominal structures in Chinese.

If specificity is represented nominal-internally, as proposed by the Split DP hypothesis, problems like (36) are avoided. Eventually, specificity effects of nominals on clause-structures (Diesing 1992, De Hoop 1992, Ruys 2001) should be related to the internal structures of the nominals.

Based on the fact that the occurrence of an Outer modifier gives rise to an exclusive specific or presupposed reading, and the fact that such a modifier blocks extraction, we assume that the high position of the modifier is an operator position, it is at Spec of the upper DP, and the modifier there functions as a Presupposition Operator. We also assume that for definite nominals, an overt (such as a demonstrative) or null Presupposition Operator occurs.<sup>6</sup> Such an operator naturally blocks any phrase from moving out of the nominal. In contrast, if the Spec of the upper DP is not filled by the operator, as in the case of indefinites with an Inner modifier, extraction from the indefinites is possible. This accounts for the presence of CNPC effects in the definite and specific nominals, and their absence in nonspecific nominals. Thus, CNPC effects are reduced to the typical case of an intervening A'-specifier.

So far we have tried to explain why definite complex nominals cannot be extracted from. We have proposed that Complex NP Islands are in fact specificity islands. The nominal-internal orders in Chinese give syntactic evidence for the existence of a Presupposition Operator. The occurrence of the operator in definite and specific DPs blocks an A'-movement out of the DPs and thus makes the DPs islands.

#### 4. From the specificity of nominals to the specificity of eventualities?

This study shows that specificity of nominals can be syntactically encoded. If so, the specificity of eventualities might also be syntactically encoded. Then the interactions between episodic eventualities and the island effects exhibited in Chinese topicalization should not be surprising. It is not clear to us at this stage, however, how the interactions are computed.

I conclude that topicalization in sentences that encode episodic eventualities is an operation of movement in Chinese. It remains to be found out whether like the specificity of nominals, the specificity of clauses that encode episodic eventualities is also syntactically encoded, and how to account for the observed contrasts in the island effects.

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<sup>6</sup> It is also possible that an Outer modifier is followed by a demonstrative, to signal a definite nominal, as in (29b) and (i) of footnote 3, assuming that multiple Specs of the upper D is allowed. Alternatively, one can assume that the RC there has moved further away from the upper DP, and the demonstrative is at the single Spec of the upper DP. I leave the issue for further research.

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