

Introduction

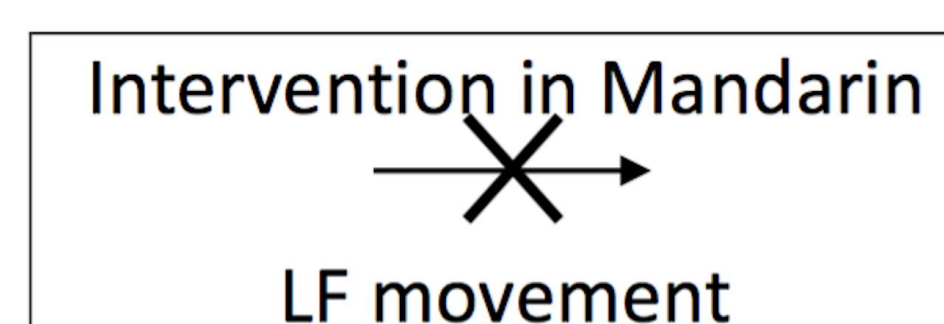
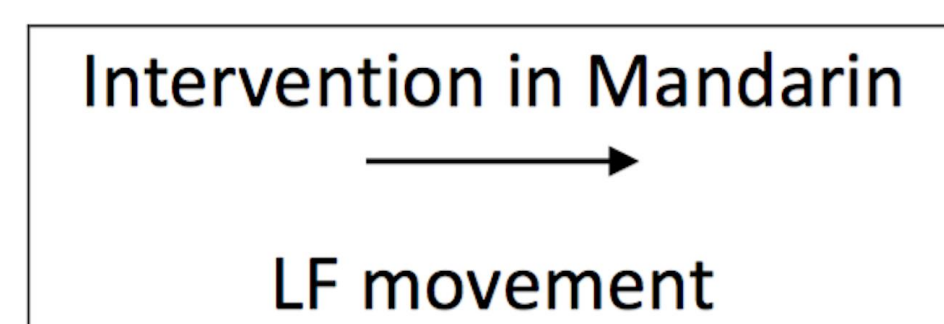
Background

- Previous studies argue as to whether or not Mandarin wh-phrases undergo covert movement (e.g. Huang 1982, Lin 1992, Aoun and Li 1993, Tsai 1994).
- Beck (1996) and Beck and Kim (1997): intervention effects supported to diagnose LF-movement in German and Korean.

Intervention effects exist in Mandarin.

- **The problem:** Previous analyses (e.g. Soh's separation principle (2005)) do not explain all data (e.g. DFP intervention effect).
- **The solution:** Unified analysis with feature checking relations

→ Intervention effect may not be diagnostic for LF-movement.



Purpose of this study

1. Unify the focus intervention effect and the intervention effect caused by Duration/Frequency Phrases (DFPs) in Mandarin Chinese (MC) wh-construals.
2. Soh's (2005) distinction between covert phrasal movement for wh-nominals and covert feature movement for wh-adverbs in MC can be reduced to a generalized constraint on feature checking relations.

Previous analysis and the data they don't capture

- **Wh-words:** (Tsai 1994, 1999, Soh 2005)
 1. wh-nominal (*sheme* 'what', *shei* 'who', *na CL* 'which CL', *nali* 'where', *weisheme* 'purpose why')
 2. wh-adverb (*weisheme* 'reason why')
- **Focus intervention effect:** (Soh 2005)
 1. Both wh-nominals and wh-adverbs undergo movement at LF.
 2. The focus marker *zhi* 'only' block LF-movement of a wh-adverb (1), but not LF-movement of a wh-nominal (2).
 3. Wh-nominal → covert phrasal movement
Wh-adverb → covert feature movement

(1) Wh-adverb with *zhi* 'only'

- a. ni renwei Lisi weisheme **zhi** kan na bu dianying
you think Lisi why only watch that CL movie
'What is the reason X such that you think Lisi only watched that movie for x?'
- b. *ni **zhi** renwei Lisi weisheme kan na bu dianying
you only think Lisi why watch that CL movie

(2) Wh-nominal with *zhi* 'only'

- a. ta **zhi** mai sheme?
he only buy what?
'What is the thing x such that he only bought x?'

- **DFP intervention effect:** (Soh 1998, Zhang 2010)

DFP such as *liang ci* 'twice' blocks covert wh-movement in MC.

(3) Wh-adverb with a DFP

- a. *Lisi **liang ci** weisheme kan na bu dianying
Lisi two time why watch that CL movie
- b. *Lisi weisheme **liang ci** kan na bu dianying
Lisi why two time watch that CL movie
- c. Lisi weisheme kan na bu dianying **liang ci**
Lisi why watch that CL movie two time
'What is the reason x such that Lisi watched that movie for x twice?'

(4) Wh-nominal with a DFP

- a. *ta **liang ci** mai sheme? c. ta mai sheme **liang ci**?
he two time buy what he buy what two time
- b. *ta mai **liang ci** sheme?
he buy two time what

New analysis with feature checking

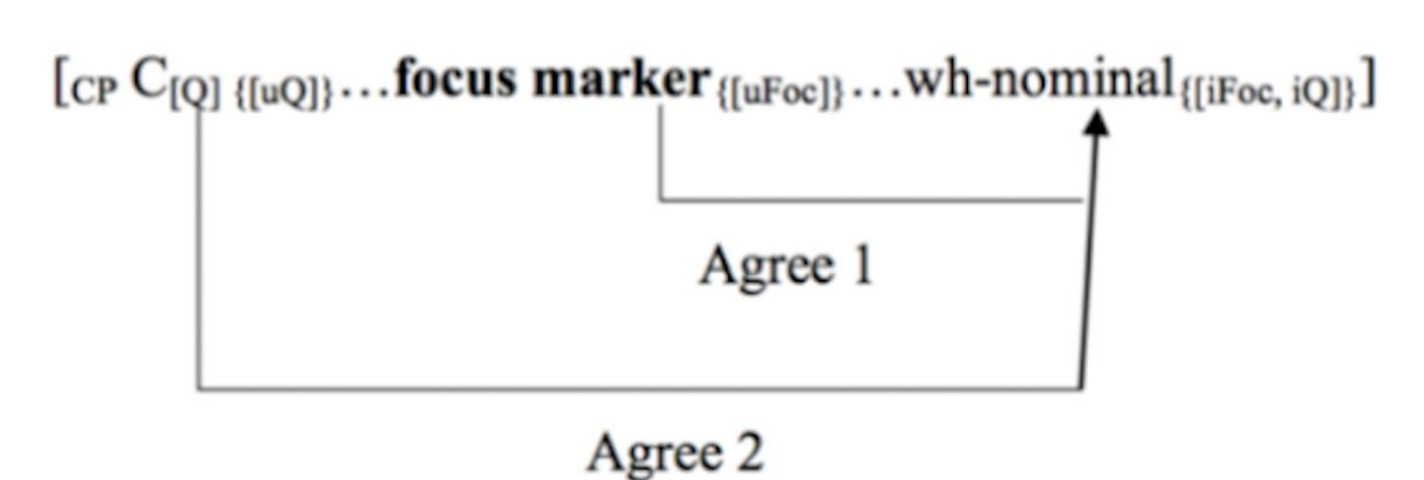
Proposals

1. Different syntactic positions of the focus marker *zhi* and the DFP:
 - 1) DFP: first merge with the vP-internal VP
 - 2) The focus marker: must precede the vP
2. A generalized feature checking relation between C and any wh-element.
3. The revised feature system (revised based on Li (2011) and Li and Cheung (2012)):
 - a. Wh-nominal: {[iFoc, iQ]}
 - b. Wh-adverb: {[iQ]}
 - c. C_[Q]: {[uQ]}
 - d. Focus marker: {[uFoc]}
 - e. Non wh focused phrase: {[iFoc]}


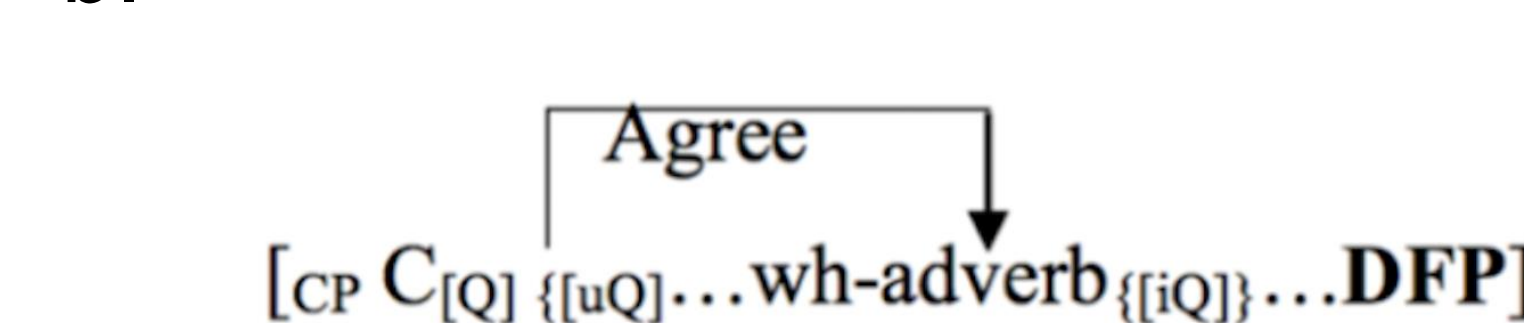
(5) Wh-adverb with *zhi* 'only'




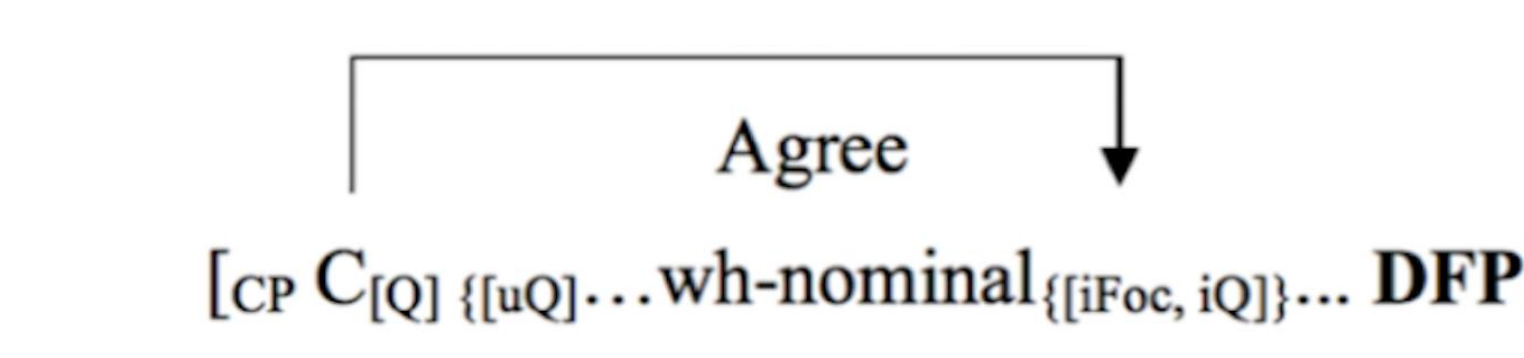
(6) Wh-nominal with *zhi* 'only'



(7) Wh-adverb with a DFP

- a.  [CP C_[Q] {[uQ]}] ... **DFP** ... wh-adverb {[iQ]}
- b.  [CP C_[Q] {[uQ]}] ... wh-adverb {[iQ]} ... **DFP**

(8) Wh-nominal with a DFP

- a.  [CP C_[Q] {[uQ]}] ... **DFP** ... wh-nominal {[iFoc, iQ]}
- b.  [CP C_[Q] {[uQ]}] ... wh-nominal {[iFoc, iQ]} ... **DFP**

Conclusion

- Constraint unification is attained.
- Category-specific movement-type distinctions (phrasal for nominals vs featural for adverbs) are eliminated.
- An independently motivated lexical featural reanalysis is provided.
- Intervention effects may not be diagnostic for LF-movement.

Acknowledgements

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Selected References

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