

## Background

Chinese relative clauses (RC) can co-occur with demonstratives (Dem) and appear in **pre-/post-Dem** position.

☆ **RC-Dem**-CI-N

☆ **Dem**-CI-**RC**-N

[ying-le bisai de] **zhei/nei** wei xuesheng  
win-PERF game DE this/that CL student

**zhei/nei** wei [ying-le bisai de] xuesheng  
this/that CL win-PERF game DE student

‘this/that student (,) who won the game’

Previous claims: whether a RC is restrictive or appositive (/nonrestrictive) is correlated with its position

	<u>Chao, Huang</u>	<u>Lu, Tsai</u>	<u>Lin</u>	<u>Constant</u>
<b>pre-Dem</b> RC	restrictive	appositive	restrictive	restrictive
<b>post-Dem</b> RC	appositive	restrictive	restrictive	restrictive/appositive

## Problems

**Problem 1:** Chinese appositives are “integrated” ( Cinque 2008, Constant 2011, Del Gobbo 2017); the tests which led to disagreement are actually for testing **restrictives vs. non-integrated appositives** (e.g. English)

(1) John congratulated {every student who won the game/\*every student, who won the game}.

**Problem 2:** Different uses of demonstratives (Dissel 1999, Wolter 2004) have not been distinguished in the tests.

- **Deictic** use (or exophoric): extralinguistic demonstration to physical space
- **Anaphoric** use (or endophoric): anaphoric to previously-mentioned discourse referents (Roberts 2003, Jenks 2018):

(2) you yi wei xuesheng ying-le bisai. zhei/nei wei xuesheng hen xingyun.

have one CL student win-PERF game this/that CL student very lucky

‘A student<sub>i</sub> won the game. This/That student<sub>i</sub> was very lucky.’

## Main Claim

This paper argues for a correlation between different uses of Dems and restrictives/appositives distinction:

- **Deictic** use: the relative clauses which co-occur with the demonstratives can only be **appositive**;
- **Anaphoric** use: the relative clauses which co-occur with the demonstratives can be **restrictive/appositive**.

## Test A: Non-deniability

**Appositives** as conventional implicatures are not suspendible with epistemic riders (Potts 2005, Constant 2011):

(3) a. #If a student **won the game**, then the student, [<sub>appositive</sub> **who won the game**] was lucky.

b. If a student **won the game**, then the student [<sub>restrictive</sub> **that won the game**] was lucky.

(4) #The student, [<sub>appositive</sub> **who won the game**] was lucky, if he won the game. (the order is irrelevant)

If the result is “#” —> can only be appositive; If “√” —> can be restrictive, but can also be appositive (blocked)

### Results of Test A

- **Deictic use**

(5) a. <pointing to Jackie> #zhei/nei wei [ying-le bisai de] xuesheng hen xingyun, ruguo ta ying-le bisai.  
this/that CL win-PERF game DE student very lucky if he win-PERF game

b. <pointing to Jackie> #[ying-le bisai de] zhei/nei wei xuesheng hen xingyun, ruguo ta ying-le bisai.  
win-PERF game DE this/that CL student very lucky if he win-PERF game

‘This/that student, who won the game, was very lucky, if he won the game’

=> Both pre-Dem RCs and post-Dem RCs that co-occur with **deictic** demonstratives can **only** be **appositive**.

- **Anaphoric use**

(6) a. ruguo you yi wei xuesheng ying-le bisai, zhei/nei wei [ying-le bisai de] xuesheng hen xingyun.

if have one CL student win-PERF game this/that CL win-PERF game DE student very lucky

b. ruguo you yi wei xuesheng ying-le bisai, [ying-le bisai de] zhei/nei wei xuesheng hen xingyun.

if have one CL student win-PERF game win-PERF game DE this/that CL student very lucky

‘If a student won the game, this/that student who won the game was very lucky’

=> Both pre-Dem RCs and post-Dem RCs that co-occur with **anaphoric** demonstratives can be **restrictive**.

Must they be restrictive? —> Test B

## Test B: Root-level adverbs (for anaphoric use)

Root-level adverbs “frankly” can only occur in **appositives** but not in **restrictives** (Emonds 1979):

(7) If a student won the game, the {student, who is frankly lucky/#student that is frankly lucky} must be excited.

### Results of Test B

(8) ruguo you yi wei xuesheng ying-le bisai,

if have one CL student win-PERF game

a. zhei/nei wei [laoshishuo hen xingyun de] xuesheng yiding hen xingfen.

this/that CL frankly very lucky DE student must very excited

b. [laoshishuo hen xingyun de] zhei/nei wei xuesheng yiding hen xingfen.

frankly very lucky DE this/that CL student must very excited

‘If a student won the game, then this/that student, who is frankly very lucky, must be very excited.’

=> Both pre-Dem RCs and post-Dem RCs that co-occur with **anaphoric** demonstratives can be **appositive**.

## Analysis

**Promotion/Raising Analysis of RCs** (Anoun & Li 2003, Gobbo 2010, Lin & Tsai 2014):

(9) [<sub>DP</sub> [<sub>RC</sub> t<sub>i</sub> ying-le bisai ]-de [<sub>DP<sub>i</sub></sub> zhei/nei wei xuesheng ] ]

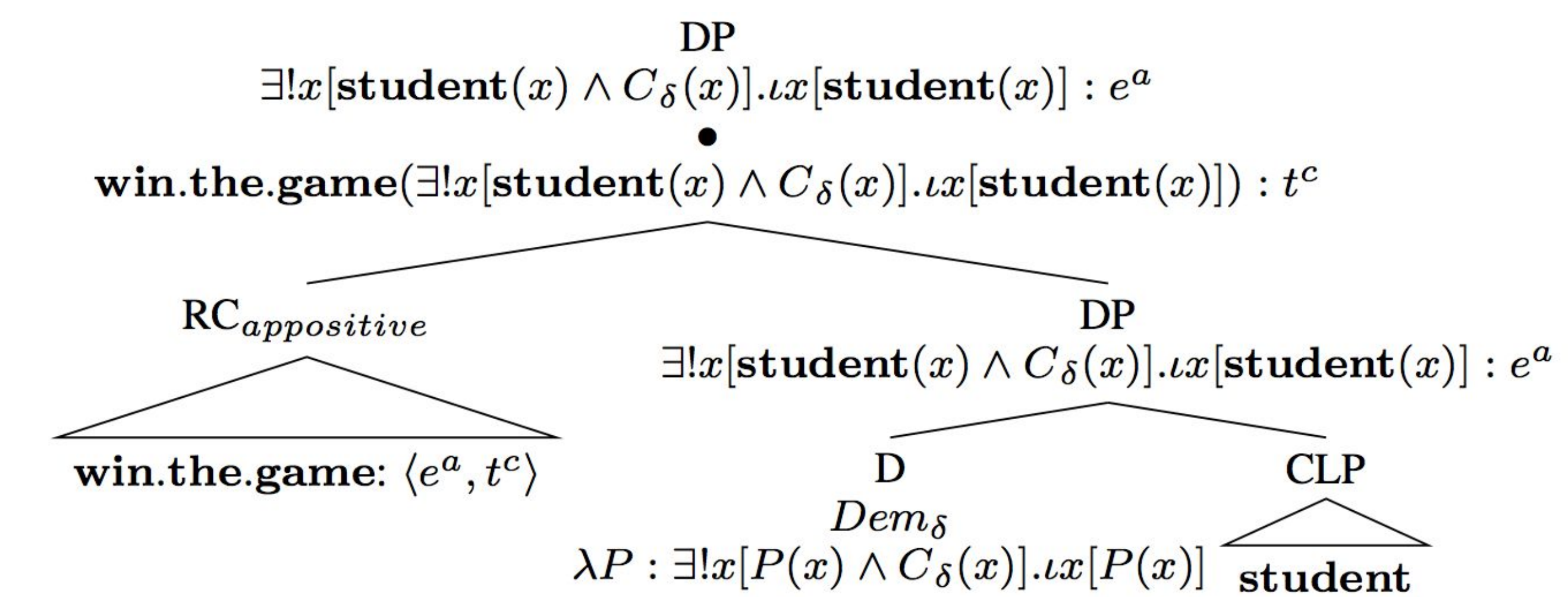
win-PERF game DE this/that CL student

### Deictic Dems ( $Dem_{\delta}$ )

- Presuppose the existence of a unique **salient (due to demonstration:  $C_{\delta}$ )** referent (Roberts 2002, 2003)

- RCs cannot further restrict a type  $e$  DP, thus can only be **appositive** (by CI application; Potts 2005)

(10)

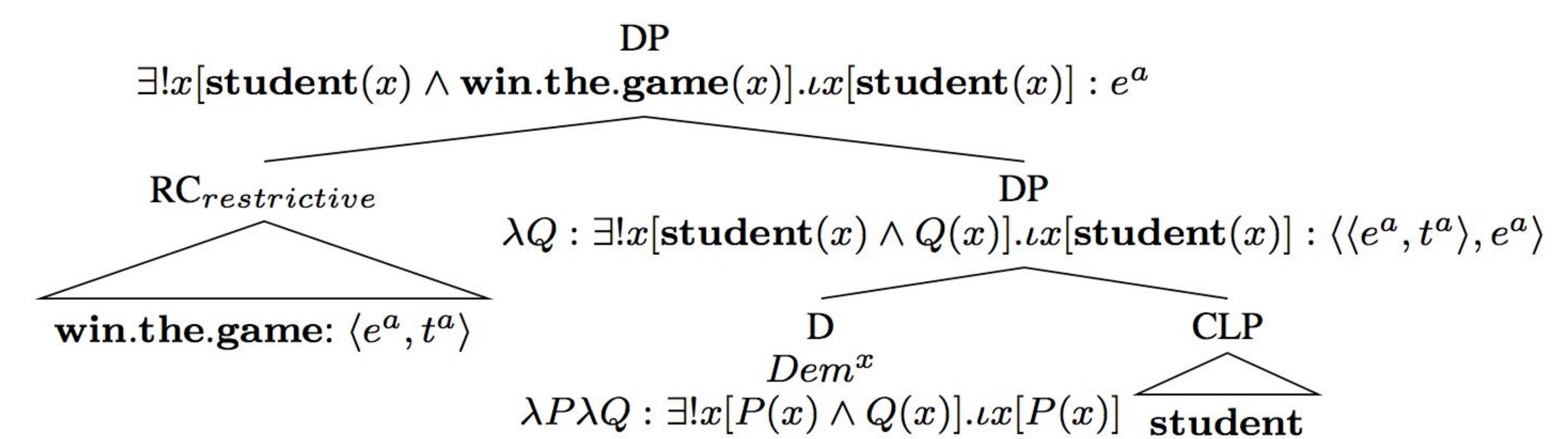


### Anaphoric Dems ( $Dem^x$ )

With an extra argument slot for an indexical property (Schwarz 2009, Jenks 2018); if it is taken up by:

- the RC => Restrictive (as in (11))
- a referential index => then the RC => Appositive

(11)



**Derive the linear order of post-Dem RCs:** successive head movement to yield the Dem-CL sequence (Constant 2011), which has no semantic consequences. The  $X^0$  complex can further move into a higher focus position:

(12) [<sub>FP</sub> [<sub>F'</sub> Dem-CL [<sub>DP</sub> ... [<sub>D'</sub> <Dem-CL> [<sub>CLP</sub> <CL> NP]]]]]

## Conclusions

The often-claimed correlation between **pre-/post-Dem** position and **restrictive/appositive** distinction of RCs is illusive; **Deictic/anaphoric** uses of demonstratives should be clarified when applying the tests.

**Selected References:** Jenks 2018. Articulated definiteness without articles; Del Gobbo 2017. More appositives in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in your Linguistics; Lin & Tsai 2014. Restricting Non-restrictive Relatives in Mandarin Chinese; Constant 2011. Re-diagnosing Appositivity. Del Gobbo 2010. On Chinese appositive relative clauses.