

‘Again’ skipping in Mandarin Chinese*

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1 Introduction

It has long been observed crosslinguistically that *again* gives rise to an ambiguity between a *repetitive* reading, where it is an action that is repeated, and a *restitutive* reading, where it is the result state of an action that is repeated. To account for this ambiguity, a camp of linguists (e.g., von Stechow 1995, 1996) defends a scope analysis, which argues that such ambiguities can be perceived only if *again* occupies a position that allows for two different attaching points. A prediction from this argument is that preverbal *again* can only give rise to the repetitive reading, and indeed, it correctly predicts the nonambiguity of English examples like (1). However, this prediction is not correct in Mandarin (2) as observed by Xu (2012, 2016).¹

(1) Mulan again will close the door. ✓*repetitive*, ✓*restitutive*

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¹ Glossing abbreviations: 1 = first person, 3 = third person, ACC = accusative, CLF = classifier, ERG = ergative, EXP = experiential, F = feminine, FUT = future, INF = infinitive, M = masculine, PFV = perfective, PL = plural, PRS = present, PST = past, PTCP = participle, SG = singular.

- (2) Mulan you jiang guanshang na shan men.
 Mulan again will close that CLF door
 ‘Mulan will close that door, and ...’

- a. ‘She did that before.’ ✓*repetitive*
 b. *‘The door was in a state of being closed before.’ ✗*restitutive*

New observations make Mandarin *you* ‘again’ even more surprising. It is found that *you* can skip a certain set of embedding verbs and be interpreted as if it modifies a lower constituent (3).

- (3) Mulan you jiang xiang guanshang na shan men.
 Mulan again will want close that CLF door
 ‘Mulan will want to close that door, and ...’

- a. ‘She wanted to do that before.’ ✓*matrix repetitive*
 b. ‘She closed it before.’ ✓*embedded repetitive*
 (e.g.: Mulan is in a room, to which the door is open. No one has ever had a desire to close that door, but it is believed that Mulan will want to do that soon. She closed the door once before, but that was not anyone’s idea. She did that by accident.)
 c. ‘The door was in a state of being closed before.’ ✓*restitutive*
 (e.g.: Mulan moved to a new room, to which the door was manufactured closed. No one has ever closed or ever had a desire to close that door. Someone else opened it and invited Mulan in. She stepped into the apartment and left the door open, but it is believed that she will want to close it soon.)

(3a) is relatively less striking, but (3b) and (3c) are somewhat unexpected in the world pictured by the scope analysis. (3b) entails that Mulan closed the door before and had not necessarily had a desire to do that. A context where the meaning in (3b) is true but that in (3a) is not is included in (3b). (3c), then, only entails that the door was in a state of being closed before. Mulan did not necessarily desire, nor is she even expected to have acted closing the door. Similarly, a context where the meaning in (3c) is true but the other two are not is included in (3c).

I name the phenomenon observed in data along the lines of (3) ‘*again*’ *skipping*. This phenomenon poses a challenge to the scope analysis in the sense that while the ambiguity of *you* stays, it surfaces in a position so high

that the tense marker and the matrix verb stand between *you* and the lower phrase that constitutes its presupposition.

This thesis aims to provide an account for ‘again’ skipping and its relevant facts that challenge the scope analysis of the ambiguity of *again*, and the rest of it is organized as follows. Section 2 introduces the syntactic and semantic background of *again* crosslinguistically and of Mandarin *you* ‘again’ in particular. Section 3 outlines an extensive data set for ‘again’ skipping and establishes its correlation with restructuring. Section 4 provides an analysis of the state of affairs featuring movement and reconstruction. Section 5 concludes.

2 Background

As stated in the introduction, it has been well documented in the literature that *again* or its equivalent is crosslinguistically ambiguous between at least two readings — namely, the repetitive and restitutive readings. The repetitive reading presupposes the same eventuality had happened before, whereas the restitutive reading presupposes the result state of the event had held before. To illustrate, the sentence in (4) asserts that there exists an event of causing the door to be in a state of being closed, and the agent of that event is Mulan, while it presupposes one of (4a) and (4b).²

(4) Mulan closed the door again.

‘Mulan closed the door, and ...

a. ‘That had happened before.’ ✓*repetitive*

b. ‘The door had been in a state of being closed before.’ ✓*restitutive*
(e.g.: Mulan moved to a new room, to which the door was manufactured closed. No one has ever closed that door. Someone else opened it and invited Mulan in. She stepped into the apartment and closed the door.)

(4a) entails that there exists an antecedent event of causing the door to be in a state of being closed, and the agent of that event is also Mulan. (4b) does not entail that there exists an antecedent event of causing the door to be in a state of being closed; instead, it only entails that the door had been in a state

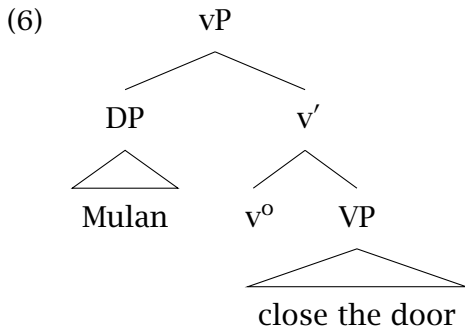
² There is a third conceivable reading, where the asserted event has an agent, and that agent is not necessarily identical to that of the antecedent event. For simplification, without loss of generality of the arguments made in this paper, this reading is intentionally neglected.

of being closed. There may or may not be an agent that caused the door to close. For a clearer picture of the reading in (4b), I include a context where this reading is true but that in (4a) is not.

2.1 Scope analysis

To account for the two-way ambiguity *again* gives rise to, among many others, von Stechow (1995, 1996), Beck & Johnson (2004), Beck (2005), and Bale (2005, 2007) defend a scope analysis (i.e., a structural as opposed to lexical theory). They argue that *again* has only one lexical entry, which I write out in (5), and the reading *again* yields depends on the constituent it is attached to, as I sketch the relevant constituents in (6) with simplification.³

$$(5) \llbracket \text{again} \rrbracket = [\lambda P_{vt}. \lambda e_v : \exists e' [\tau(e') < \tau(e) \wedge P(e')]. P(e)]$$



To be more precise, if *again* is attached to VP, within which the agent's information is missing at LF, it yields a restitutive reading as in (4b). Contrastingly, if *again* is attached to vP, it yields a repetitive reading as in (4a). In a nutshell, the scope analysis proposes that *again* triggers a presupposition, which comes from a predicate — a function that takes an event and returns a truth value — and that predicate is substantially the sister of *again*.

Assuming that adverbs remain in the position they are base-generated, and verbs move to v° during the syntactic derivation, a prediction by the scope analysis is that preverbal *again* can only be attached to a constituent not lower than vP and consequently can only yield a repetitive reading. This prediction is true in English (7). For discussion, see Beck & Johnson 2004, Bale 2005, and so on.

³ In this thesis, the letter I use to denote the type of events is *v*, not *ε*, *i*, or *s*.

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- (7) a. Again, [TP Mulan closed the door]. ✓*repetitive*, ✗*restitutive*
b. Mulan again [VP closed the door]. ✓*repetitive*, ✗*restitutive*

Mandarin raises a challenge to the above analysis. The challenge, along with a solution, is discussed in the next subsection.

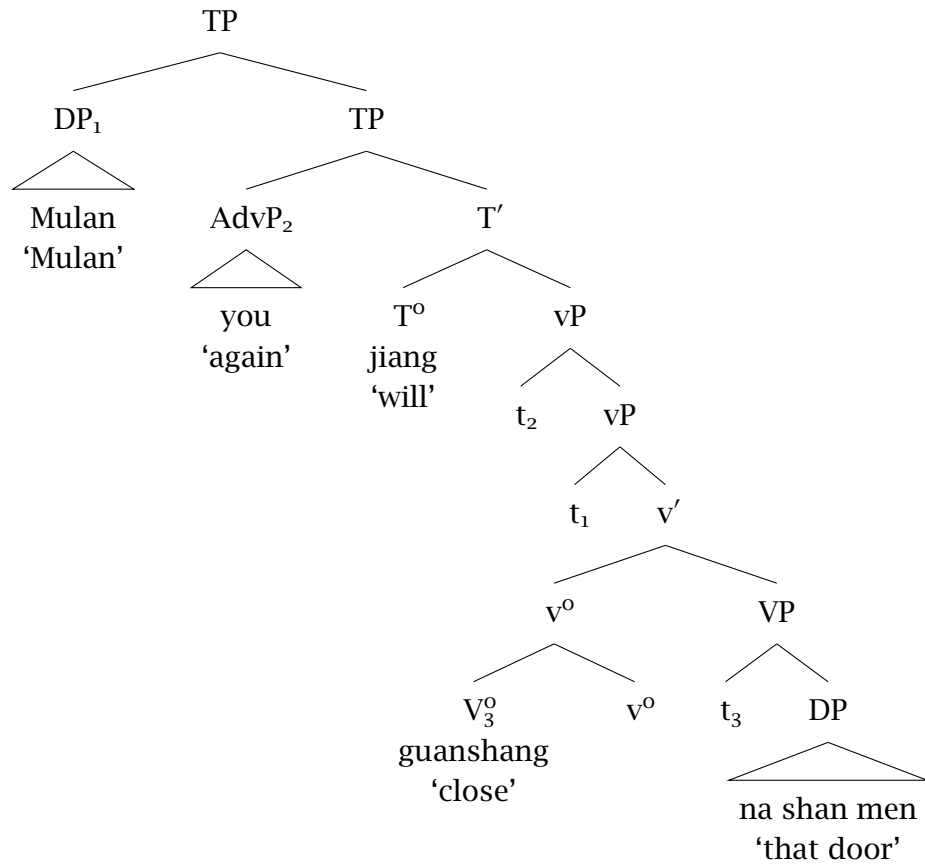
2.2 Mandarin *you*

Like English, Mandarin is a head-initial language. Unlike English, the only possible range of positions where Mandarin *you* 'again' can surface are positions higher than VP. Xu (2012, 2016) writes this requirement as in (8), and in (9) are examples illustrating it.

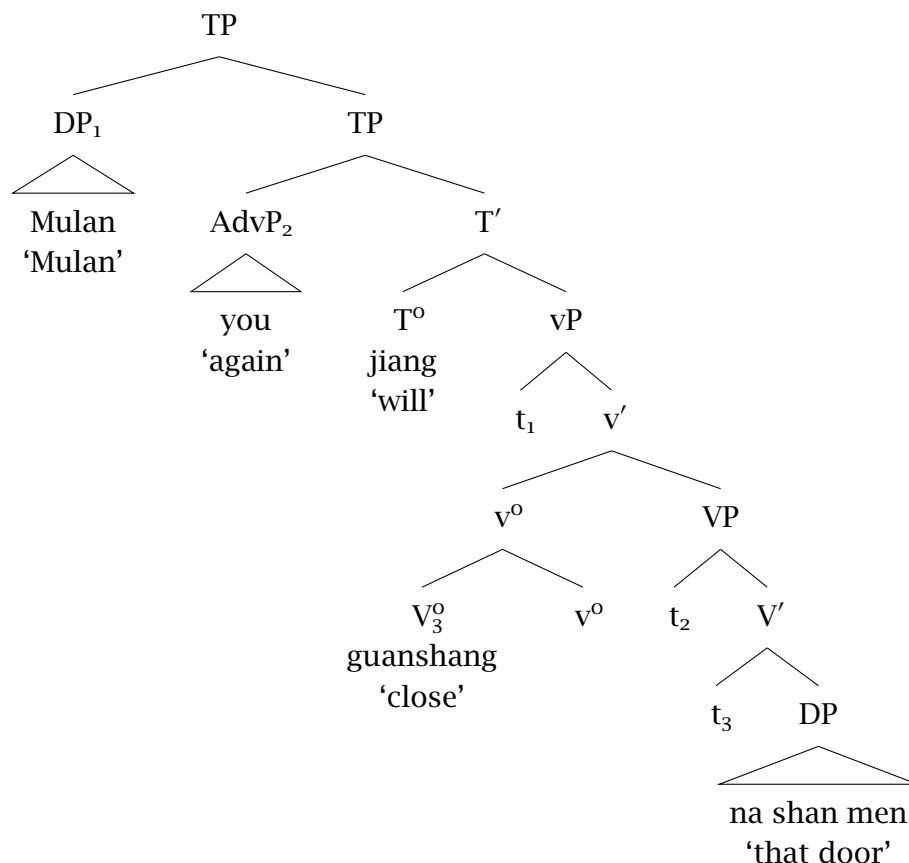
- (8) *Mandarin adverb requirement*
Adverbs must surface preverbally in Mandarin.
- (9) (Intended:) 'Mulan will close that door again.'
- a. Mulan you jiang guanshang na shan men.
Mulan again will close that CLF door
- b. Mulan jiang you guanshang na shan men.
Mulan will again close that CLF door
- c. *Mulan jiang guanshang na shan men you.
Mulan will close that CLF door again

Be that as it may, (9a) and (9b) are still ambiguous between repetitive and restitutive readings just like (4) is wherever *you* surfaces in the two possible positions, contrasted with (7), where English preverbal *again* can only yield a repetitive reading.

A possibility suggested by this discovery is that the assumption that adverbs do not move overtly does not hold in Mandarin, and this is exactly the possibility Xu ventured for. She adopts the Y-model and proposes that *you* is based-generated at one of two possible attaching points, one to vP and the other to VP, whence comes the ambiguity of *you* (10–11). It then moves to its surface position, and after that, reconstruction is applied so that *you* is interpreted low.

(10) *Repetitive reading*

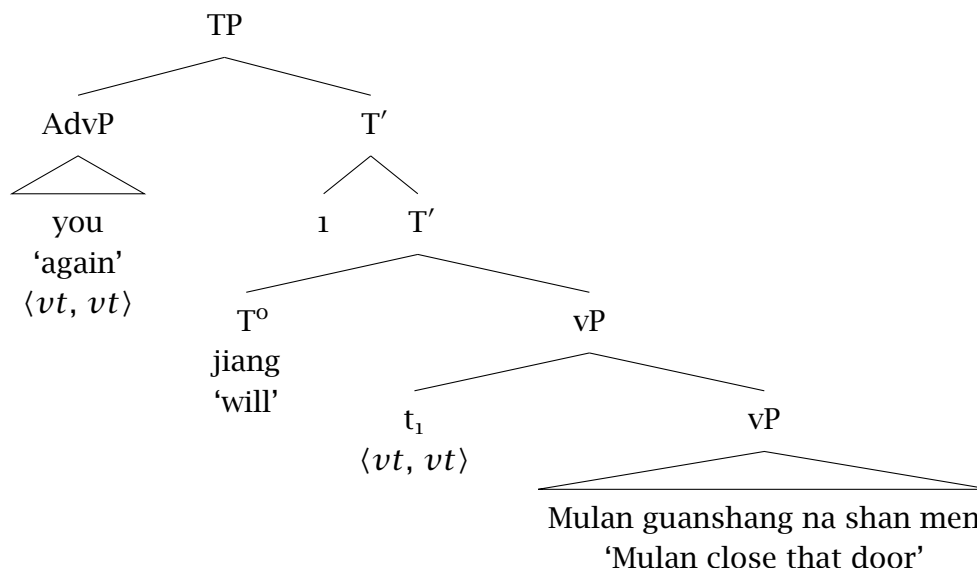
(11) *Restitutive reading*



(10) contains the surface structure of (9) that corresponds to a repetitive reading. There, *you* is base-generated in a vP-adjoined position and moves overtly to its surface position: somewhere c-commanded by the subject DP but c-commanding the tense morpheme. At LF, by reconstruction, *you* is interpreted in its base-generated vP-adjoined position, which, as discussed regarding (6), results in a repetitive reading. In (11), what is different from (10) is that *you* is now base-generated in a VP-adjoined position, but it undergoes a similar overt movement, after which, likewise, reconstruction at LF sends it back to its original VP-adjoined position. This position immediately c-commands the VP and offers *you* room to yield a restitutive reading.

Xu's proposal contradicts the common belief that adverbs do not move overtly, but I will attempt to justify movements of this kind in Mandarin in later sections. For now, the following subsection introduces syntactic and semantic reconstruction.

(13) *Semantic reconstruction*



In (13), the trace left by ‘again’ is of the same type as that of ‘again’ — namely, $\langle vt, vt \rangle$. At LF, the general idea of semantic reconstruction is that the sister of ‘again’ will eat ‘again’ for it to be interpreted where its trace is.

The distinction between the two mechanisms of reconstruction does not matter very much for present purposes. What is important for us is that reconstruction has the magic to make movements semantically vacuous.

2.4 Blocking effect of negation

A crucial piece of evidence in favor of the movement and reconstruction approach to the ambiguity of preverbal *you*, observed again by Xu (2012, 2016) from data resembling (14), is that intervening negation blocks the restitutive reading in simple Mandarin sentences.

(14) Mulan you mei guanshang na shan men.

Mulan again not.PFV close that CLF door

‘Mulan again didn’t close that door, and ...’

- a. ‘There had been another event of her not doing that.’ ✓*repetitive*
(e.g.: Mulan forgot to close the door to her room. The next day, once more, she forgot to do that.)
- b. *‘The door was in a state of being closed before.’ ✗*restitutive*
(e.g.: Mulan moved to a new room, to which the door was manu-

factured closed. No one has ever closed that door. Someone else opened it and invited Mulan in. She stepped into the apartment but forgot to close the door.)

In (14), when negation intervenes between *you* and the verb, the sentence is felicitous only under a context that supports the repetitive reading, where the presupposition of *you* must include negation. Since the only way for *you* to be interpreted in Xu's approach is through reconstruction, when negation intervenes, either the movement or the reconstruction of *you* across negation is blocked, and so is its restitutive reading.

Some readers might find the loss of restitutive readings counterintuitive: since repetitive readings entail the corresponding restitutive readings (15), when a repetitive reading holds, shouldn't the corresponding restitutive reading hold as well?

(15) [[Mulan closed the door again]]

a. *Repetitive reading*

It takes an event e and is defined *iff* there is an event e' such that $\tau(e') < \tau(e)$, and e' is an event of causing the door to be in a state of being closed, and the agent of e' is Mulan. If defined, it asserts that e is an event of causing the door to be in a state of being closed, and the agent of e is Mulan.

b. *Restitutive reading*

It takes an event e and is defined *iff* there is an event e' such that $\tau(e') < \tau(e)$, and e' is a state of the door being closed. If defined, it asserts that e is an event of causing the door to be in a state of being closed, and the agent of e is Mulan.

There are many claims in the literature where only the repetitive reading of *again* is available in certain configurations in certain languages. Among the most well-known examples are preverbal *again* in English as in (7) and some other 'again'-type elements listed in (16).

(16) a. *German preverbal wieder*

Wieder hat Hans das Auto repariert.

again has Hans the car repaired

'Again, Hans has repaired the car.'

(Pittner 2003: 368)

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- b. *Hindi/Urdu pre-DO* phir se
 dokTar-ne phir se anguThe-ko joR diyaa.
 doctor.M-ERG again thumb.M-ACC attach give.PFV.MSG
 ‘The doctor again attached the thumb.’ (Iyer to appear, adapted)
- c. *Kutchi Gujarati preverbal* pach-o
 reena dharvajo pach-o kol-y-o.
 Reena.F door.M again-MSG open-PFV-MSG
 ‘Renna again opened the door.’ (Patel-Grosz & Beck 2019: 18)

In these cases, what linguists mean is not that the restitutive reading is not entailed by the corresponding repetitive reading and is not true in a repetitive context. What they intend to convey instead is that an LF giving rise to only the restitutive reading does not exist. Translated into the scope analysis, this means there is no low attached *again* in the syntactic structure.

3 State of affairs

Now that we have an approach to the ambiguity of preverbal *you* in simple Mandarin sentences, we come back and look closer into our puzzle at hand: ‘again’ skipping.

3.1 ‘Again’ skipping embedding verbs

Recall the baseline example (3), where the first reading corresponds to a repetitive reading with respect to the matrix verb, while the other two conceivable readings it has seem rather unexpected for the scope analysis. These two readings are a repetitive reading with respect to the embedded verb and a restitutive reading, and they are felicitous even in contexts that do not support the presupposition that Mulan wanted to close the door. It is also important to mention where *you* can surface is limited: the only such positions are those before the matrix verb. No other positions, some rather intuitive ones parenthesized in (17), could be accepted.

- (17) Mulan jiang xiang (*you) guanshang na shan men (*you).
 Mulan will want again close that CLF door again
 ‘Mulan will want to close that door.’

Some other embedding verbs also give rise to a similar ambiguity of *you*:

- (18) Mulan you jiang bang Shang guanshang na shan men.
 Mulan again will help Shang close that CLF door
 ‘Mulan will help Shang close that door and ...’
- a. ‘Mulan helped Shang do that before.’ ✓ *matrix repetitive*
 - b. ‘Shang closed it before.’ ✓ *embedded repetitive*
 - c. ‘The door was in a state of being closed before.’ ✓ *restitutive*

Patterning with (3), (18) can yield a matrix repetitive reading (18a) and a restitutive reading (18c), plus a repetitive reading with respect to the embedded verb where the agent is the embedded subject as in (18b). More verbs that give rise to this kind of ambiguity are listed in (19–23).

- (19) *xuyao* ‘need’
- (20) a. *fanhui* ‘return’
 b. *lai* ‘come’
 c. *qu* ‘go’
- (21) a. *chenggong* ‘succeed’
 b. *dasuan* ‘intend’
 c. *shefa* ‘try’
- (22) a. *chengnuo* ‘promise’
 b. *weixie* ‘threaten’
- (23) a. *jihua* ‘plan’
 b. *jueding* ‘decide’
 c. *tuijian* ‘recommend’
 d. *xuanze* ‘choose’

A quick observation is that many of these verbs’ equivalents are considered restructuring verbs in many languages. (See, to name a few, Wurmbrand 1998 for German, Cinque 2006 for Italian and Spanish, and Homer & Bhatt 2020 for Hindi/Urdu.)

Z. N. Huang (2018) introduces three phenomena he argues to be tests for Mandarin restructuring verbs: aspect under control, focus fronting, and object fronting. Through these tests, we can determine which verbs in Mandarin are believed to be restructuring verbs and understand more about the relation between ‘again’ skipping and restructuring in Mandarin.

3.2 Tests for Mandarin restructuring verbs

The first test, *aspect under control*, refers to the phenomenon in which an aspect marker, such as the experiential marker *-guo*, appears low but can only receive a high interpretation (C.-T. J. Huang 1989, Li 1990, J.-W. Lin 2006, Grano 2014). This phenomenon is allowed by restructuring verbs, such as *shefa* 'try' (24a), but not by nonrestructuring embedding verbs, such as *xiangxin* 'believe' (24b).

(24) *Aspect under control*

a. *Restructuring verb: High interpretation of -guo*

Lisi shefa [xiuli-guo zhe tai jiqi].

Lisi try repair-EXP this CLF machine

'Lisi has tried to repair this machine.'

Not: 'Lisi tries to have repaired this machine.'

b. *Nonrestructuring embedding verb: Low interpretation of -guo*

Lisi xiangxin [wo mai-guo zhe zhong baoxian].

Lisi believe I buy-EXP this kind insurance

'Lisi believes that I have bought this kind of insurance.'

Not: 'Lisi has believed that I buy this kind of insurance.'

(Z. N. Huang 2018: 351)

The other two tests involve fronting of an element from the embedded clause to the matrix clause. The second test, *focus fronting*, brings forward a *wh*-indeterminate to yield a universal quantifier interpretation (Li 1992, Ernst & Wang 1995, Shyu 1995, Paul 2002, 2005, 2014, Cheng & Giannakidou 2013), while the third test, *object fronting*, preposes a nonsubject phrase to a position that precedes the matrix predicate (Ernst & Wang 1995, Shyu 1995, Paul 2002, 2005, 2014, T.-H. J. Lin 2015). (25a) and (26a) are examples of restructuring verbs allowing focus fronting and object fronting, respectively, whereas (25b) and (26b) are provided as examples in which the matrix verbs are not restructuring verbs and do not pass these two tests.

(25) *Focus fronting*

a. *Restructuring verb: OK*

Lisi [shenme shi]₁ dou shefa [ziji chuli t₁].

Lisi what matter all try self handle

'Lisi tries to handle everything himself.'

b. *Nonrestructuring embedding verb: **

*Lisi [shenme shi]₁ dou xiangxin [Zhangsan ziji chuli t₁].
 Lisi what matter all believe Zhangsan self handle
 Intended: ‘Lisi believes that Zhangsan handles everything himself.’
 (Z. N. Huang 2018: 352)

(26) *Object fronting*a. *Restructuring verb: OK*

Wo [zhe pian baogao]₁ hui shefa [jinkuai xie-wan
 I this CLF report will try as.soon.as.possible write-finish
 t₁].
 ‘I will try to finish writing this report as soon as possible.’

b. *Nonrestructuring embedding verb: **

*Wo [zhe pian baogao]₁ xiangxin [Lisi xie-wan-le t₁].
 I this CLF report believe Lisi write-finish-PFV
 Intended: ‘I believe that Lisi finished writing this report.’
 (Z. N. Huang 2018: 351)

Table 1 represents the compatibility of some embedding verbs with ‘again’ skipping and with Z. N. Huang’s (2018) three tests for Mandarin restructuring verbs. A checkmark indicates the verb of the corresponding row allows the phenomenon of the corresponding column, and an asterisk indicates the opposite. Overall, we find a correlation between ‘again’ skipping and the three tests for Mandarin restructuring verbs, especially a strong one between ‘again’ skipping and aspect under control. Based on this correlation, I argue that ‘again’ skipping can serve as another test for restructuring verbs in Mandarin, and restructuring is what makes the movement and reconstruction of *you* possible in ‘again’ skipping.

Careful readers must have noticed there are certain embedding verbs — which all have modal interpretations — that allow ‘again’ skipping and aspect under control but not the other two tests. This fact may be associated with the distinction between obligatory and optional restructuring verbs in languages like German (Bobaljik & Wurmbrand 2005) and with the semantic type of the arguments they take.

Embedding verb	AS	AUC	FF	OF
<i>bang</i> ‘help’	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>chenggong</i> ‘succeed’	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>chengnuo</i> ‘promise’	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>dasuan</i> ‘intend’	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>fanhui</i> ‘return’	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>jihua</i> ‘plan’	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>jueding</i> ‘decide’	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>lai</i> ‘come’	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>mingling</i> ‘order’	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>qu</i> ‘go’	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>shefa</i> ‘try’	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>tuijian</i> ‘recommend’	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>weixie</i> ‘threaten’	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>xiang</i> ‘want’	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>xuanze</i> ‘choose’	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>xuyao</i> ‘need’	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>bixu</i> ‘must’	*	*	✓	✓
<i>gan</i> ‘dare’	*	*	✓	✓
<i>keyi</i> ‘may’	*	*	✓	✓
<i>neng</i> ‘can’	*	*	✓	✓
<i>yunxu</i> ‘permit’	*	*	✓	✓
<i>bimian</i> ‘avoid’	*	*	*	*
<i>jujue</i> ‘refuse’	*	*	*	*
factive verbs	*	*	*	*

Table 1 Some Mandarin embedding verbs and whether they allow ‘again’ skipping (AS), aspect under control (AUC), focus fronting (FF), and object fronting (OF)

3.3 French *re-* and Italian *ri-*

Mandarin is not alone in having scope skipping effects of ‘again’, nor is it the only language in which we find a correlation between such effects and restructuring. (27) and (28) are reported from French and Italian, respectively.

(27) *French re-*

Il lui a re-fait [faire son devoir].
 he her have.PRS.3SG again-make.PST.PTCP do.INF her homework

a. *Matrix repetitive reading*

‘He has again made her do her homework.’

b. *Embedded repetitive reading*

‘He has made her redo her homework.’

(Vincent Homer, pers. comm.)

(28) *Italian ri-*

Ri-possiamo [prendere il vaporino].
 again-be.able.PRS.1PL take.INF the boat

a. *Matrix repetitive reading*

‘We again have the possibility of taking the boat.’

b. *Embedded repetitive reading*

‘We can retake the boat.’

(Cardinaletti 2003: 10)

An important point to make here is that the condition for the scope skipping effects of *re-* in French is the same as that for clitic climbing. In French, clitic climbing is acceptable with certain causative verbs (Kayne 1989 et seq.), and so is the scope skipping of *re-* (Vincent Homer, pers. comm.). One might conclude that in French, *re-* is so syntactically special that its behavior resembles clitics.

Italian shows a similar pattern: the scope skipping of *ri-* is only possible in configurations where clitic climbing is also possible (Nicoletta Loccioni, pers. comm.) as presented in table 2. Further, whereas the scope skipping effect is possible for the prefix *ri-*, it is not the case for free adverbs with a similar meaning like *di nuovo* ‘again’ (29).

Embedding verb	AS	CC
<i>andare</i> 'go'	✓	✓
<i>dovere</i> 'be obliged'	✓	✓
<i>fare</i> 'make'	✓	✓
<i>potere</i> 'be able'	✓	✓
<i>venire</i> 'come'	✓	✓
<i>volere</i> 'want'	✓	✓
<i>chiedere</i> 'ask'	*	*
<i>credere</i> 'believe'	*	*
<i>decidere</i> 'decide'	*	*
<i>impedire</i> 'impede'	*	*
<i>minacciare</i> 'threaten'	*	*
<i>pensare</i> 'think'	*	*
<i>permettere</i> 'permit'	*	*
<i>raccomandare</i> 'recommend'	*	*

Table 2 Some Italian embedding verbs and whether they allow 'again' skipping (AS) and clitic climbing (CC) (Nicoletta Loccioni, pers. comm.)

(29) Gianni di nuovo vorrà [chiudere la porta].

Gianni again want.FUT.3SG close.INF the door

'Gianni will again want to close the door.'

Not: 'Gianni will want to again close the door.'

(Nicoletta Loccioni, pers. comm.)

Cardinaletti (2003) proposes that *ri-* is the incorporated version of synonymous adverbs such as *di nuovo*, and this claim is substantiated by two pieces of evidence. First, *ri-* can be duplicated but only up to two times (30). Second, *ri-* always appears as the outermost prefix when it is combined with other prefixes (31).

(30) a. *ririfare* 'redo again'

b. **riririfare*

(Cardinaletti 2003: 13)

- (31) a. *ridisfare* ‘undo again’
 b. **disrifare*

(Cardinaletti 2003: 15)

As stated by Cardinaletti, the first piece of evidence aligns with Cinque’s (1999) generalization that repetitive adverbs in Italian can appear a maximum of two times within a sentence, and the second piece of evidence may imply that *ri-* comes into the syntactic structure later than lexical insertion. Her incorporation analysis is further supported by comparative observations in languages including German and Greek, where the repetitive prefix has the same lexical form as synonymous free adverbs (Cardinaletti 2003).

A side note is that the skipping effect is not commonly observed with adverbs other than *you* in Mandarin. Consider (32), where *you* is replaced by another event-internal adverb (i.e., an adverb that can modify a result state), and (33), where *you* is replaced by an event-external adverb.

- (32) a. Mulan jiang sidade guanshang na shan men.
 Mulan will completely close that CLF door
 ‘Mulan will completely close that door.’
 b. *Mulan jiang sidade lai guanshang na shan men.
 Mulan will completely come close that CLF door
 Intended: ‘Mulan will come to completely close that door.’
- (33) a. Mulan jiang manmande guanshang na shan men.
 Mulan will slowly close that CLF door
 ‘Mulan will slowly close that door.’
 b. Mulan jiang manmande lai guanshang na shan men.
 Mulan will slowly come close that CLF door
 ‘Mulan will slowly come to close that door.’
 Not: ‘Mulan will come to slowly close that door.’

(33b) shows that high event-external adverbs can only be interpreted in the wide scope, and since that only interpretation is impossible for an event-internal adverb, which can only modify a state, (32b) is unacceptable. A conclusion (32-33) support is that *you* is syntactically special in Mandarin just as *re-* and *ri-* are in French and Italian, respectively.

3.4 'Again' skipping adverbial adjuncts

Besides verbs, *you* can also “skip” adverbial adjuncts. In (34) are three contexts that have different information about time and location, and in (35) are three ways of saying the target sentence, ‘Mulan met Shang again in the garden on a Tuesday’, in Mandarin. These three ways are similar in that they bear the same information about time (Tuesday) and location (garden), but they are different in that *you* surfaces in different positions.

- (34) a. *Context 1: Garden and Tuesday*
Last week, Mulan met Shang in the garden on a Tuesday.
This week, ...
- b. *Context 2: Garden but not Tuesday*
Last week, Mulan met Shang in the garden on a Monday.
This week, ...
- c. *Context 3: Not Garden and not Tuesday*
Last week, Mulan met Shang in the palace on a Monday.
This week, ...
- (35) ‘Mulan met Shang again in the garden on a Tuesday.’
- a. Mulan zai Xingqi'er zai huayuan you yudao-le Shang.
Mulan at Tuesday at garden again meet-PFV Shang
- b. Mulan zai Xingqi'er you zai huayuan yudao-le Shang.
Mulan at Tuesday again at garden meet-PFV Shang
- c. Mulan you zai Xingqi'er zai huayuan yudao-le Shang.
Mulan again at Tuesday at garden meet-PFV Shang

In (34a), the information about both time and location matches the target sentence; in (34b), only the information about location matches the target sentence; and in (34c), the information about neither time nor location matches the target sentence. These differences notwithstanding, the observation is that all three utterances in (35) are felicitous in all three contexts in (35).

A parallel generalization for English has been elicited by Bale (2005), who claims that the meaning derived from a prepositional phrase is obligatorily a part of the presupposition of *again* iff that adjunct is contained within the sister of *again*. I adopt his assumption that adjacency to *again* maps to sisterhood with *again*, and doing so, we have a way of probing the structure using the presupposition of *again*. We know that within the domain of vP,

whatever is to the left of *again* in English or to the right of *you* in Mandarin is the source of presupposition. Conversely, assuming that a sentence's presupposition is a given, we can use it to tell where *you* is in the syntactic structure and present (34–35) in a new way as in (36). A generalization about the scope interaction between *you* and adverbial adjuncts in Mandarin follows in (37).

- (36) a. Mulan zai Xingqi'er zai huayuan you yudao-le Shang.
 Mulan at Tuesday at garden again meet-PFV Shang
 ✓'On a Tuesday, in the garden, Mulan met Shang again.'
 ✗'On a Tuesday, Mulan met Shang in the garden again.'
 ✗'Mulan met Shang in the garden on a Tuesday again.'
- b. Mulan zai Xingqi'er you zai huayuan yudao-le Shang.
 Mulan at Tuesday again at garden meet-PFV Shang
 ✓'On a Tuesday, in the garden, Mulan met Shang again.'
 ✓'On a Tuesday, Mulan met Shang in the garden again.'
 ✗'Mulan met Shang in the garden on a Tuesday again.'
- c. Mulan you zai Xingqi'er zai huayuan yudao-le Shang.
 Mulan again at Tuesday at garden meet-PFV Shang
 ✓'On a Tuesday, in the garden, Mulan met Shang again.'
 ✓'On a Tuesday, Mulan met Shang in the garden again.'
 ✓'Mulan met Shang in the garden on a Tuesday again.'

- (37) *Generalization of Mandarin 'again' skipping adverbial adjuncts*
 'Again' can take scope lower than its surface position but not higher.

Two immediate questions naturally ensue from this generalization. First, can the restitutive reading of *you* be derived in simple Mandarin sentences when adverbial adjuncts are intervening? Second, can matrix *you* skip restructuring verbs whose complement has an adverbial adjunct? These questions are answered in (38–39).

- (38) a. *Embedded repetitive context*
 Mulan closed the door from one side by accident. No one has ever wanted to close it before. Later, ...
- b. *Restitutive context*
 The door was manufactured close. No one has ever closed it or wanted to close it before. Mulan approached the door from one side. Later, ...

- (39) a. Mulan you jiang cong ling yi bian guanshang na shan
 Mulan again will from other one side close that CLF
 men.
 door
 'Mulan will close the door again from the other side.'
- b. Mulan you jiang xiang [cong ling yi bian guanshang na
 Mulan again will want from other one side close that
 shan men].
 CLF door
 'Mulan will want to close the door again from the other side.'

The sentences in (39) are both felicitous in both contexts in (38). (39a) shows that adverbial adjuncts do not block the restitutive reading of *you*, and (39b) shows that restructuring verbs do not block 'again' skipping of adverbial adjuncts. To summarize, the 'again' skipping effect is not affected by the intervention of adverbial adjuncts.

Having established that, we come back to the blocking effect of negation discussed earlier in this paper. Since negation is an adverb like 'again' in Mandarin (e.g., Li & Thompson 1981), Xu (2012, 2016) analyzes this effect as a Relativized Minimality (Rizzi 1990) one and treats it as a limitation on the movement of *you*:

(40) *Paraphrased Relativized Minimality*

Moving *X* across *Y* is prohibited if *X* and *Y* have certain characteristics in common, such as when *X* and *Y* are both adverbials.

(Rizzi 1990: 1, adapted)

This view has difficulties explaining 'again' skipping adverbial adjuncts. Alternatively, in principle, the blocking effect of negation could be a limitation on the reconstruction of *you* instead, as I demonstrate in later subsections.

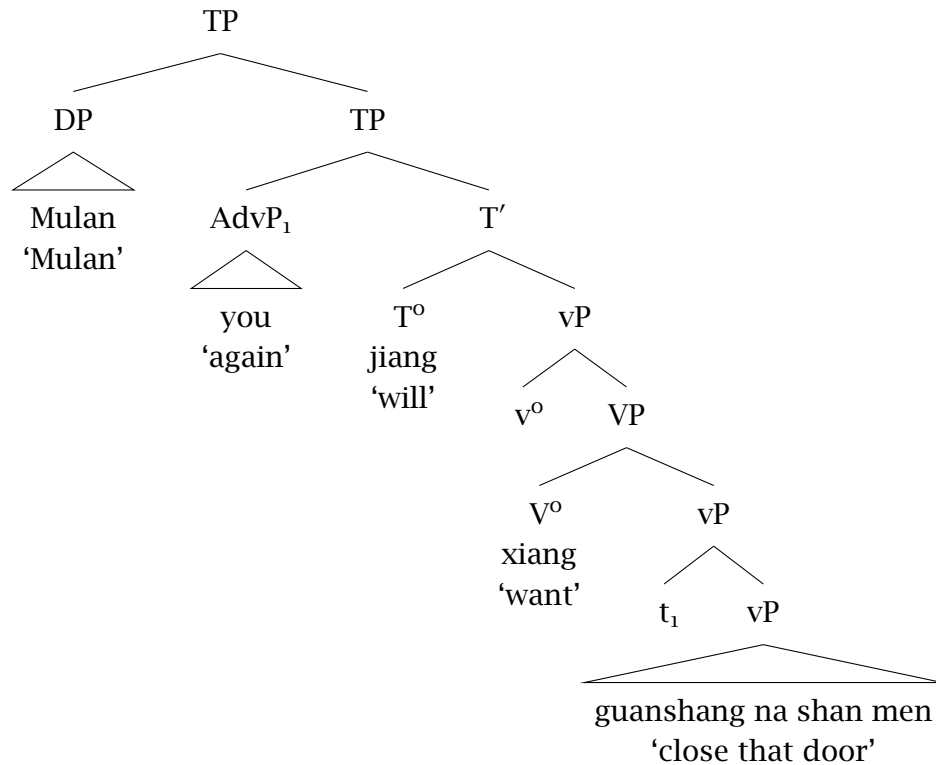
4 Analysis

In opening the analysis section, here is a recapitulation of the key observations we have made about Mandarin *you* 'again'. First, preverbal *you* is ambiguous. Second, intervening negation blocks its ambiguity. Last, *you* is uniquely capable of skipping restructuring verbs and adverbial adjuncts and being interpreted as adjoined to a lower position.

4.1 Movement and reconstruction

I adopt a movement and reconstruction approach, an approach theoretically similar to the proposal by Xu (2012, 2016) for the ambiguity of preverbal *you* in simple Mandarin sentences. (41) visualizes the surface structure for the embedded repetitive reading of *you* with respect to matrix ‘want’.⁵

(41) *Embedded repetitive reading*



The surface structure for the restitutive reading is only different in that *you* is base-generated in a VP-adjoined position instead of a vP-adjoined position.

4.2 Blocking the reconstruction and motivating the movement

Under this approach, I offer an alternative view that the blocking effect of negation is a limitation on reconstruction instead, and the source of this limitation is the positive polarity of *you*. My evidence is (42a), where *you*

⁵ Head movement and subject movement are again omitted for simplicity.

cannot surface under negation, but which can be rescued in the sense of Szabolcsi 2004 by adding another negation (42b).

- (42) a. *Meiyou ren you jiang xiang [guanshang na shan men].
 no person again will want close that CLF door.
 Intended: 'No one will want to close that door again.'
- b. Bu yiding meiyou ren you jiang xiang [guanshang na
 not necessarily no person will again want close that
 shan men].
 CLF door
 'It is not necessarily the case that no one will want to close that
 door again.'

It is not unheard of for adverbs to be PPIs. We have, of course, adverbs containing *some* (which is a PPI by itself), such as *somehow* and *somewhere*. Besides these, there are aspectual adverbial PPIs like *already* and *still* (Löbner 1989, Michaelis 1992, 1993, 1996).

Due to the positive polarity of *you*, when base-generated within the scope of negation, it must move out of negation, and for the same reason, it cannot reconstruct under negation. This concludes that such movements of *you* is optional except when it is under negation without any rescuer. We thus have ground to claim that there are two separate sources motivating the movement of *you*: one of them is its positive polarity, which forces it to move out of negation. This kind of movement may be an overt version of *escape* in the sense of Homer 2015, by which such modals as *must*, *ought to*, and *should* take scope over a clausemate negation, barring rescuing and shielding.

As for the other source, Xu (2012, 2016) had a proposal of Mandarin adverb requirement at PF, which has been stated verbatim in (8). Nevertheless, recalling the observations from (9) and (17), we see that what differentiates the possible surface positions of *you* in the two sentences is the complement category or size of the matrix verb. Under the consensus that there is no way PF, where the hierarchical structures of lexical items are lost, could determine whether *guanshang* 'close' is a matrix or embedded verb, the requirement that *you* must surface preverbally cannot come from PF. That said, a PF requirement cannot constitute the second source that motivates the movement of *you*, which thus remains mysterious.

I leave this other source of motivation for future work.

5 Conclusion

Mandarin *you* ‘again’ can “skip” restructuring verbs and adverbial adjuncts and be interpreted as if it is adjoined to a lower position. This “‘again’ skipping” effect patterns with tests for Mandarin restructuring verbs summarized by Z. N. Huang (2018) and is therefore proposed to serve as another test for Mandarin restructuring verbs. The scope skipping effect of ‘again’ and the correlation between this effect and restructuring are observed in Romance languages as well. I have elaborated on Xu’s (2012, 2016) account for the ambiguity of preverbal *you* in simple Mandarin sentences and proposed a movement and reconstruction analysis of ‘again’ skipping, for which I have argued that there could be two separate sources of motivation, one of which is the positive polarity of *you*.

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