

**Why particles are not particular:
Sentence-final particles in Chinese as heads of a split CP***

Waltraud PAUL wpaul@ehess.fr
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Abstract

Biberauer et al. (2009) claim that clause-final particles are categorially deficient. This move is motivated by the fact that a number of VO languages - among them Mandarin Chinese - display sentence-final particles (SFPs), which - when analysed as complementisers - violate the purportedly universal Final-Over-Final Constraint (FOFC). The FOFC excludes structures where a head-final projection dominates a head-initial one. In contrast, the present article argues that SFP in Chinese instantiate C in a three-layered split CP à la Rizzi (1997, 2004) and hence are “visible” for the FOFC. Furthermore, to equate WALS’ label *adverbial subordinator* with *complementiser* as Biberauer et al. (2008, 2009) do is shown to be problematic, given that it turns out to be a cover term for different categories. Accordingly, WALS’ results for the distribution of *adverbial subordinator* cannot be mechanically used as testing ground for the predictions made by the FOFC for the category C.

1. Introduction

Biberauer et al. (2009) claim that sentence-final particles (SFP) are categorially deficient. The motivation for this claim is that SFPs seem to be the major, if not the only source of exceptions to the FOFC prohibiting the combination of SFP with VO order. If accordingly SFP are excluded, the data from WALS for the distribution of “adverbial subordinators” neatly patterns with the FOFC, because with the exception of three cases, no VO language shows an “adverbial subordinator” in sentence-final position. The fact that Greenberg (1963:66) did not include particles in his typological studies, either, is adduced as an additional argument in favour of this approach (cf. Biberauer et al. 2009: 712).

This approach, however, is not without problems. First, it is generally understood that *particle* is just a cover term resorted to precisely when no satisfying analysis of a particular item can be provided. This was probably the reason why Greenberg (1963/66) excluded them, the more so as the concept of *functional categories* was only introduced much later; not being able to assign a categorial identity to the items called *particles* made it impossible for him to take them into account for his word order typology.

Second, to use data and figures from *The World Atlas of Language Structures* (WALS; cf. Haspelmath et al. (eds.) 2008) as evidence for the FOFC is anything but straightforward. In particular, the reinterpretation of WALS’ term “adverbial subordinator” as complementiser by Biberauer et al. (2009) is not self-evident at all. For “adverbial subordinator” clearly encompasses more categories than just C. This will be illustrated for Chinese where potential candidates for “adverbial subordinator” also instantiate the category of sentence-level adverbs, i.e. non-heads (cf. section 5 below).

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Furthermore, equating adverbial subordinator with C amounts to excluding C in non-embedded contexts. In the light of the prolific research on the split root CP inspired by Rizzi (1997), this is an odd move, because it dismisses as irrelevant the studies covering a large number of typologically different languages over the last two decades (Aboh 2006, Munaro & Poletto 2006, Endo 2007, Haegeman 2009, 2010). With respect to a language such as Chinese where complementisers are in general restricted to root contexts (cf. Paul 2007, 2009), the exclusive focus on embedding Cs leads to ignoring it completely. This is, however, highly unsatisfactory given that the traditional division of SFP into three distributional classes (cf. a.o. Chao Yuen Ren 1968: ch. 8.5, Zhu Dexi 1982, Hu Mingyang 1981) displaying a rigid relative order can be successfully recast as a split CP à la Rizzi (1997) (cf. Paul 2005, 2009), modulo some changes to be discussed below:

(1) Attitude > Force > C(low) > TP¹

Importantly, this three-layered CP has existed since the 6th c. B.C. (cf. Djamouri et al. 2009), against the background of constant SVO order attested since the earliest documents dating from the 13th c. B.C. (Djamouri 1987, Djamouri et al. 2008, to appear). Consequently, Chinese has been violating the FOFC for most of its history displaying - at least at the surface - a head-final CP dominating a head-initial (TP and) VP.

Whether this violation is apparent only because ultimately derivable from an underlying head-initial CP as in Kayne's (1994) antisymmetry approach, is beyond the scope of this article.² Instead, my main purpose here is to argue in favour of SFP as complementisers and against their being dismissed as "categorially deficient" in the sense of Biberauer et al (2009), i.e. as items neither associated with [\pm V] nor with [\pm N]. This also requires a comparison of SFP with the Chinese equivalents of conjunctions such as *because*, *if*, *although* etc. whose status is still under debate.

What I do hope to convince the reader of is that SFP are full-fledged functional elements of the category C and as thus part of the grammar. Accordingly, they have to be taken into account by a constraint such as the FOFC and cannot be treated as *quantité négligeable* somehow falling beyond its scope.

The article is organized as follows. Section two subjects the conclusions that can be drawn from the data in WALS and Dryer (1992) to a brief scrutiny. Section three argues in favour of the C status of the SFP in Chinese and gives a short overview of the three classes of root complementisers implementing the subprojections Low CP, ForceP and AttitudeP in the split CP represented in table (1). Section four provides evidence for the root vs. non-root asymmetry at work in the Chinese C system and introduces the so far neglected non-root C *de* and *dehua*. Section five briefly discusses the equivalents in Chinese of English subordinating conjunctions such *although*, *because*, *if* etc. and demonstrates that they do not form a homogeneous group, but must be further subdivided into sentence-level adverbs, on the one hand, and prepositions with clausal complements, on the other.

2. The World Atlas of Language Structures and Dryer (1992)

2.1. The World Atlas of Language Structures (WALS)

The data from WALS are presented as the crucial empirical basis underlying the claim made by the FOFC that VO languages lack sentence-final subordinating conjunctions, the sheer

¹ Note that (1) abstracts away from linear order.

² For an implementation of the Kaynean approach, cf. Munaro & Poletto (2006); for evidence that some SFP in West-Flemish are merged in sentence-final position, cf. Haegeman (2009, 2010).

number of the languages included in the WALS database, i.e. - 2650 - seemingly vouching for the solidity of this claim. Accordingly, a careful study of feature 94 “Order of adverbial subordinator and clause” is called for.³

According to Dryer (2008b), “adverbial subordinators” that are separate words correspond to the “subordinating conjunctions” of traditional grammar and are exemplified by items such *because, although, when, while, if* in English. Dryer (2008b: 10) also mentions the case where these adverbial subordinators “are formally adpositions combining with nominalized forms of verbs”. This is the case for the preposition *kárrí* in Krongo (Kugali, Sudan) rendered as ‘behind’ when in combination with a (genitive) NP, and as ‘after’ when occurring with the nominalized form of a verb in the genitive case (‘after drinking tea’). Among the clause-internal adverbial subordinators, one also finds enclitics attached to the first constituent in the subordinate clause as in the Australian language Yukulta (Tangkic, Queensland). Concerning cases of suffixal adverbial subordinators, Dryer includes case suffixes here, such as the instrumental *-inda* combining with gerunds to form ‘because’ clauses in Kannada (Dravidian, India).⁴

This is quite a heterogeneous group. It is true, though, that in the table combining word order types with the (clause-initial, -medial, or -final) position of the adverbial subordinator, subordinators with word status are distinguished from those with suffix status.⁵ No distinction ‘word vs. suffix’, however, is made for the mixed order type.

Let us assume then - for the sake of the argument - that only adverbial subordinators with word status are considered to be complementisers by Biberauer et al. (2009), at least in those cases where the word status is explicitly mentioned.⁶ For VO languages we obtain 279 cases of initial subordinator, and only 2 with final subordinator (Buduma and Guajajara). Note, however, the 30 VO languages displaying mixed order for their subordinator where it is impossible to know whether the subordinator is a word or an affix. Interestingly, Cantonese figures among the (S)VO languages with mixed order, while Mandarin Chinese is not included in the sample of languages examined for feature 94.⁷

2.2. Dryer (1992) on the distribution of C

Since WALS does not have a feature examining the category *complementiser* as such, let us turn to Dryer (1992) where the correlation between word order and the position of C is addressed explicitly. Referring to his own work (Dryer 1980) as well as Hawkins (1990: 225), Dryer (1992: 102) concludes that “[...] in fact it may be an exceptionless universal that final complementizers are found only in OV languages. [...] complementizers are therefore verb

³ Upon examination, the number of languages examined for feature 94 turns out to be 611, still impressive enough, but only a fourth of the total number of languages (i.e. 2650) included in the WALS database. It is thus not correct to state - as an anonymous reviewer does - that the lack of sentence-final subordinating conjunctions in VO languages has been confirmed for as many as 2650 languages. Whether in the light of this somewhat reduced number the correlation still counts as a quasi-incontestable robust empirical fact (as claimed by the same reviewer) remains for the reader to decide.

⁴ (i) Kannada (Sridhar 1990: 74) (example 12 of feature 94 by Dryer in WALS)
 Bisilu hecca:giruvudar-**inda**
 heat much.ADV.be.N.PST.GERUND.OBL-**INSTR**
 ‘since it’s very hot’

⁵ Only subordinating suffixes are mentioned, to the exclusion of other affixal forms.

⁶ Note that Biberauer et al. (2009) do not mention the further distinction made within that group by Kayne (1991) between conjunctions instantiating C such as *if, that* and conjunctions analysed as NPs located in Spec, CP such as *whether* and *when*.

⁷ This contrasts with Dryer’s (2008 : 12) statement that “Clause-final subordinators that are separate words are common in (i) an area in Asia stretching from India northeast through Myanmar and China into northeastern Asia [...]” (emphasis mine).

patterners, while the Ss they combine with are object patterners.” Unfortunately, Dryer (1992) does not provide any example of what he refers to as C.⁸ By contrast, when examining polar question particles, Dryer (1992: 103) draws an explicit parallel with English *whether* and discusses the possibility of analyzing polar question particles in peripheral (sentence-initial or sentence-final) position as complementizers. Here he likewise concludes to their status as verb patterners. Interestingly, Dryer’s (1992) example from the Australian language Mokilese displays a root question with a sentence-initial question particle, i.e. the mirror image of Chinese where the question particle is at the end of the sentence. (Note that Dryer 1992 does not include Chinese in his database).

2.3. *The problem of descriptive adequacy in WALS*

WALS also examines the position of polar question particles (cf. feature 92). When correlating it with word order, SOV and SVO languages in fact behave more or less alike, insofar as for both word orders the sentence-initial position is much rarer (24 and 40 languages, respectively) than the sentence-final position (106 and 110, respectively). While this time Chinese is included among the languages with the question particle in sentence-final position, no analysis as C of polar question particles (when in peripheral position) is evoked anymore. On the contrary, an extremely well-studied and easily accessible language such as French sees itself classified among languages marking polar questions with sentence-initial “particles”, e.g. the Australian language Mokilese just mentioned or !Xóǀ (Southern Khoisan, Bhotswana), and hence as the mirror image of Chinese. The “particle” alluded to is *est-ce que* (cf. Dryer 2008a), whose analysis as a particle is maintained despite Dryer’s acknowledging the composite status of *est-ce que* (‘verb plus demonstrative plus complementiser’). This analysis can, however, not be correct given the existence of the corresponding negated form ‘*n’est-ce pas que* + sentence’, which indicates that the copula in *est-ce que* is clearly identifiable as such. The sequence *est-ce que* can therefore not be analysed as a particle, i.e. as an X° whose sub-components are opaque to syntactic operations. Furthermore, *est-ce que* also occurs in *wh*-question and is then preceded by the *wh*-phrase, in other words, the alleged particle *est-ce que* is neither always sentence-initial nor does it exclusively serve to form yes/no questions. Accordingly, its description as a sentence-initial polar question particle appears patently inadequate. (For an in-depth discussion of *est-ce que*, cf. Munaro & Pollock 2005.) The fact that such a misleading analysis is proposed for a well-known language such as French is quite disturbing and casts doubt on the appropriateness of analyses in the case of languages where only second hand knowledge via consulting grammars is available. This is evidently the case for the majority of languages: WALS is dependent on the adequacy and exhaustiveness of the grammars used and must fail where the respective grammars fail.

This caveat might at first sight seem trivial and is easily acknowledged by everyone working with results from WALS, notwithstanding a certain schizophrenia observed when a generalization finds itself confirmed by the majority of languages in WALS’s database; in such a case the temptation of dismissing counterexamples as irrelevant in the face of the statistical predominance often is just too strong. However, the role played by WALS as an implicit typological standard of comparison influencing language-specific analyses is neglected, although it leads to a considerable bias in the language descriptions. Let us again

⁸ He contends himself with the following statement: “I will not cite data on the order of complementizer and S of the sort presented for other pairs of elements in this paper, but there seems to be little question that this is a correlation pair.” (Dryer 1992: 101). In the footnote accompanying this sentence, he adds: “I have collected data on the position of complementizers for some of the languages in my database, but there is not enough to be worth citing. The data collected to date does not contain any VO&SComp languages.” (Dryer 1992: 101; footnote 16).

illustrate this with Chinese, which is said to only have prepositions, and no postpositions (cf. WALS feature 85). At first sight, this seems plausible enough because in accordance with our “expectations” that VO languages have prepositions, but no postpositions. However, this claim is straightforwardly invalidated by Ernst (1988) who has clearly established the postpositional status for at least three items in their use as spatial locatives, i.e. *shang* ‘on’, *xia* ‘below’, and *li* ‘in’ (For further evidence in favour of the existence of postpositions in Chinese along with prepositions, cf. Djamouri/Paul/Whitman 2009). The fact that Ernst’s work was not taken up by further studies and as a result is not included in the description of Chinese by WALS in turn then serves as confirming evidence for those reluctant to admit the existence of pre- and postpositions, a situation conceived of as a typological “oddity”, albeit attested for other languages, e.g. German (which according to WALS, though, has prepositions only).⁹

To summarize, the language descriptions in WALS do not constitute “raw” data and consequently cannot be taken at face value. For they have gone through a filter consisting of our preconceived - and for that matter not always correct - ideas what pattern combinations to expect in languages. This “filter” either finds itself already incorporated into the analysis proposed by the specialist of the language at hand or is imposed subsequently by the way the language-specific analysis is processed in WALS.

3. The internal architecture of split CP in Chinese

Traditionally, Chinese linguists (cf. *a.o.* Zhu Dexi 1982, ch. 16) identify three distributional classes of SFP, whose relative order is fixed: [[[TP C₁] C₂] C₃]. These three classes can be recast as a split CP in the spirit of Rizzi (1997), as reflected in the labels assigned to each class in table 1. Note that the SFP within a given class are mutually exclusive.

Table 1 *The three classes of root complementisers*

(low C) C ₁	C ₂ (force)	C ₃ (attitude)
<i>le</i> currently relevant state	<i>ma</i> interrogative	<i>ou</i> warning
<i>lái</i> recent past	<i>ba</i> imperative	(<i>y</i>) <i>a</i> astonishment
<i>ne</i> ₁ continued state	<i>ne</i> ₂ follow-up question	<i>ne</i> ₃ exaggeration

In order to provide evidence for the C-status of SFP, a brief overview of the syntax and semantics of SFP is necessary. This overview can only give a general idea of the

⁹ It is the concept of *cross-categorical harmony* that assigns languages with both pre- and postpositions a “marked”, “exceptional” status. For in such a case, one type of adposition will be “disharmonious” with the main word order. In the case of Chinese, only prepositions are expected, because showing the same head-complement order as that displayed by verb and object. Ernst (1988: 231) himself discusses the tension between his own result of postulating postpositions and the predictions made by a parametric word order theory for a VO language such as Chinese, the same direction of Case assignment being expected for verbs and adpositions. This tension can be solved within the radically different view of the concept of cross-categorical harmony provided by Whitman (2008). Whitman (2008) argues in detail that cross-categorical generalizations are the result from well-documented patterns of language change, hence statistical in nature, but not part of UG. Exceptions to “harmonious” situations are therefore precisely what we expect; they arise when the historical origin of an item is different from the one observed in the languages having served as the basis for the generalization. Adpositions are a case in point; if they result from the reanalysis of V, as in the case of Chinese prepositions, they pattern with V, contrary to adpositions with a non-verbal origin, as in the case of Chinese postpositions. Note that in the new perspective provided by Whitman (2008), the statistical pre-dominance of certain correlations (e.g. VO and head-initial CP) is basically a matter of contingency and can therefore not be adduced as evidence for constraints of a grammatical nature such as FOFC.

complementisers and their hierarchy in Chinese and is by no means meant to be exhaustive nor to render the exact semantic import of each SFP. While the semantic import is the clearest in the case of SFP instantiation Force, it is much less straightforward to determine for the two other classes. Evidently, this only illustrates our insufficiency of comprehending the SFP and does in no way entail that the C_1 and C_3 classes are intrinsically “vague” or exclusively context dependent. In reality, the meaning of the SFP itself, the propositional content, the intonational contour and the extralinguistic context interact in a complex way which still needs to be analysed.¹⁰ (For a descriptive overview of SFPs, cf. a.o. Chao Yuen Ren 1986: ch. 5; Li & Thompson 1981, ch. 7.)

Before starting the discussion of SFP as such, some preliminary remarks concerning the phrase structure of Chinese are called for. Huang C.-T. James (1982, ch. 2) demonstrated in detail that IP as well as the lexical categories are head-initial (with the exception of the head-final NP), resulting in a uniformly right-branching structure for the IP/TP. Accordingly, any element after the object(s) of the verb must occupy a position outside the vP and by extension outside the IP/TP (given that the projections above vP up to TP such as AspP and AuxP are also head-initial).¹¹ This is precisely the case for SFP. In fact, their position outside the (core) sentence has long been known in the Chinese literature where they have always been described as being in relation with the entire sentence. Accordingly, SFP are formally equivalent *qua* their being located in (the different subprojections of) the sentence periphery above TP. With respect to their semantic import, however, they are not homogeneous at all, as can be easily deduced from the descriptions of the SFPs figuring in table 1 and from the discussion in the remainder of this section.

The analysis of SFP as complementisers goes back to Lee Hun-tak Thomas (1986) who was the first to claim C-status for the yes/no question particle *ma*. The analysis of *ma* as C has become standard since and has been substantiated by subsequent studies (cf. *inter alia* Tang Ting-chi 1989, Cheng Lisa 1991, Li Yen-Hui Audrey 1992). My proposal is to extend this analysis in terms of C to all SFP in Mandarin, drawing on research within the split CP approach of Rizzi (also cf. Li Boya 2006, Hsieh & Sybesma 2008 for Mandarin, and Sybesma & Li Boya 2007 for Cantonese).¹² We will see that SFP are not categorially deficient, as claimed by Biberauer et al. (2009). Their view of SFP seems to be partly motivated by the lack of phonetic substance and the clitic nature of SFP. However, similarly phonetically “weak” or “light” elements such as the article *the* in English are not refused categorial status (D^0) for that reason. In Chinese grammar as well, quite a number of monosyllabic items have been accorded full-fledged categorial status “in spite” of their surface clitic properties, such as the aspectual suffix *-le* (cf. (5) below) “leaning on” to the verb and the general classifier *ge* forming an intonational unit with the preceding numeral.

¹⁰ In the vast Chinese descriptive literature on SFP, more recent case studies of individual SFP start taking into account this complex interaction and include e.g. the role of sentence intonation, cf. a.o. Jiang (2008).

¹¹ This is somewhat simplified insofar as a (secondary) predication on the matrix object occupies a vP -internal position (cf. Huang C.-T. James 1984: 568ff; Paul 1988, ch. 7):

(i) Zhāngsān mǎi-le yī-dòng fángzi, [wǒ hěn xǐhuān ē.] (= Huang’s 1984: 569, (95))
Zhangsan buy-PERF 1-CL house 1SG very like
‘Zhangsan bought a house, which I really like.’

Such an analysis is evidently excluded for SFP, confirming their position above TP. Note that SFP were not discussed in Huang C.-T. James (1982).

¹² Strangely enough, the yes/no question particle *ma* is not considered as realizing the head *Force* by Li Boya (2006), although Rizzi’s split CP approach serves as the basis of her dissertation. Quite on the contrary, Li Boya (2006) goes as far as claiming that the clause-typing heads, i.e. Force and Mood in her work, always remain covert in Mandarin and Cantonese (whereas they may be realized overtly in Wenzhou). Like other studies on the Chinese SFP subsequent to Lee Hun-tak (1986) and Tang Ting-chi (1989), she takes the C-status of SFP for granted and does not attempt to demonstrate it explicitly.

3.1. *Low C*: *le*, *laizhe*, *ne*₁

Let us start with the SFP instantiating the lowest subprojection of *C* above TP.¹³

3.1.1. *Low C le*

The semantic import of the low *C le* is difficult to determine and still subject of ongoing research.¹⁴ There seems to exist no common denominator for all the different cases where *le* appears other than that it closes off the sentence and relates the event to the speech time indicating that it obtains as a new situation (whence Li & Thompson's (1981) description of *le* as signaling "currently relevant state").

- (2) [CP [TP Wǒ zuótiān dào Zhāng jiā chī fàn] le]
 1SG yesterday go Zhang home eat food clow
 'I went to the Zhangs for dinner yesterday.' (Chao Yuen Ren 1968: 798)
- (3) Āiyā , [shíyī diǎn bàn] le! (Chao Yuen Ren 1968: 798)
 oh 11 o'clock half clow
 'Goodness, it's (as late as) half past eleven!'
- (4) [C_{low}[TopP[TP Wǒ yī ān mén-líng] [Top' [TP tā jiù lái kāi mén] le]]]
 1SG once ring door-bell 3SG then come open door clow
 'As soon as I rang the door bell, he came and opened the door.'
 (slightly modified example from Chao Yuen Ren 1968: 799)

In (2), *le* signals that the proposition is presented by the speaker as her/his contribution relevant to the conversation at hand and can be paraphrased as 'here is what I have to say'. Example (3) illustrates that a situation can be new with respect to the subjective perception of the speaker. (4) finally shows that when an explicit reference time is provided ('as soon as I rang the bell'), *le* relates the event to that time.

Even though the semantic contribution of *le* often remains elusive, its presence imposes grammatical constraints. As already observed by Teng Shou-hsin (1973: 26), *le* interacts with material inside TP and in that respect is different from the SFP in the *C*₂ and *C*₃ positions. (This also holds for the low *Cs laizhe* and *ne*; cf. sections 3.1.2 and 3.1.3. below.)

- (5) a. [C_{low} [TP Tā chī-le fàn] le].¹⁵
 3SG eat-PERF food clow

¹³ Given the differences between Rizzi's hierarchy and the one proposed here for Chinese, the lowest subprojection is not labeled *Fin* as in Rizzi (1997), but *Clow* (cf. Paul 2005 for further discussion).

¹⁴ Li Yen-hui Audrey (1992: 153, note 16) tentatively suggests Infl-status for the sentence-final particle *le*. Given its unacceptability in relative clauses (cf. (39a) below), this cannot be correct, though. The same comment applies to Tang Sze-Wing (1998: 39 ff) who locates the SFP *le* and *laizhe* in T (and stipulates T-to-C movement in Chinese). Li Boya (2006: 171) - without further explanation - analyses *le* as the category *Deik*. The only other passage discussing *le* is p. 125 where it is likened to the SFP *le* in Cantonese "mark[ing] realization" and illustrated by example (i) (her glosses and translation):

(i) Wǒ xīn -lǐ biàn de gāoxīng hé qīngsōng de duo le
 1S heart-inside become DE happy and relieved DE much PRT
 'My heart has become much happier and more relieved.' (= Li Boya's (3b), p. 125)

¹⁵ Note that the verbal suffix *-le* indicating perfective aspect is distinct from the homophonous SFP *le*, "although" both behave as clitics on the surface and form a phonetic unit with the preceding word (cf. Chao Yuen Ren 1968, Teng Shou-hsin 1973). Unlike the SFP *le* realizing *C*, the perfective *-le* instantiates the head *Asp*^o situated above *vP* and attracting *V* (cf. Lin Tzong-Hong 2001; Paul & Whitman 2010).

‘He has eaten.’

- b. * [C_{low} [TP Tā méi chī fàn] le].
3SG NEG eat food clow

- c. [C_{low} [TP Tā méi chī fàn]].
3SG NEG eat food
‘He hasn’t eaten.’

- (6) [C_{low} [TopP Nà [Top’ [TP wǒ jiù bù děng tā] le]]].
in.that.case 1SG then NEG wait 3SG clow
‘In that case I won’t wait for him any longer.’

Let us first look at (6) with the “neutral” negation *bù*, compatible with stative and activity verbs (cf. *inter alia* Teng Shou-hsin 1973, Li & Thompson 1981, Ernst 1995, Hsieh Miao-Ling 2001, Lin Jo-wang 2003). The meaning of this sentence is derived in a straightforward compositional way which nicely reflects that *le* as C has scope over the entire sentence: *le* signaling that the proposition ‘I won’t wait for him’ obtains at the speech time (in the absence of any other reference time), we obtain ‘I won’t wait for him any longer’. (5b), by contrast, is unacceptable because there is a contradiction between the negation of the completion of an event mediated by *méi* and the requirement of *le* to relate this state of affairs to the speech time and present it as a newly obtained situation (also cf. Sybesma 1999: 64)

3.1.2. Low C *lái*zhe

*Lái*zhe usually indicates that the event time is recent past (7), but “recent past” can also apply to the speech time of a preceding utterance or refer to a former state of knowledge as in (8b) (cf. Chao Yuen Ren 1968: 810):

- (7) [CP [TP Nà màozi zài nàr guà -zhe] lái]zhe], [CP [TP zěnmě bù jiàn] le]?
that hat at there hang-DUR clow how NEG see clow
‘The hat was hanging there, how come it’s no longer here?’
(slightly modified example from Chao Yuen Ren 1968: 810)

- (8) a. Nǐ xìng shénme?
2SG call what
‘What’s your family name?’
b. [CP [TP Nǐ xìng shénme] lái]zhe]? (Chao Yuen Ren 1968: 810)
2SG call what Clow
‘What (did you just say) is your family name?’
‘What was your family name?’ (I forgot.)

Like *le*, *lái*zhe has access to material inside TP. It is incompatible with negation (both *bù* and *méi*), because in addition to locating the event in the recent past it also asserts its having taken place (cf. Song Yuzhu 1981: 275, Lü Shuxuang et al. (eds.) 2000: 348-349).¹⁶

¹⁶ Being realizations of the same C-subprojection, *le* and *lái*zhe cannot co-occur in the same sentence (cf. (ii)):

(i) Ta shuō shénme le / lái]zhe ?
3SG say what Clow/ Clow
‘What did he say?’

- (9) (a) Nǐ gāngcái shuō shénme láizhe ?
 2SG just say what Clow
 ‘What did you just say?’
- (b) Wǒ méiyǒu shuō shénme (*láizhe).
 1SG NEG say what Clow
 ‘I didn’t say anything.’
- (10) Wǒ (*méi) qù Tiānjīn láizhe.
 1SG NEG go Tianjin Clow
 ‘I have (not) been to Tianjin.’

The event assertion component of *láizhe* also accounts for the fact that only *wh*- questions are compatible with *láizhe* (cf. 9a), to the exclusion of *yes/no* questions formed by adding *méi yǒu* ‘not have’:

- (11) *Tā shuō huà méi yǒu láizhe ?
 3SG speak word NEG have Clow
 (‘Did he talk?’) (Lü Shuxiang et al. (eds.) 2000: 349)

Consequently, a *yes/no* question can only be followed by *láizhe* when an interpretation as a rhetorical question is possible, thus reinforcing the assertion. This is the case with *shì bù shì* ‘is it the case or not’ questions implying that the speaker presupposes a positive answer:

- (12) Zuótiān nǐ shì bù shì qù kàn xiāngshān láizhe?
 yesterday 2SG be NEG be go see Xiangshan Clow
 ‘Didn’t you go to see the Xiangshan yesterday?’
 (Lü et al. (eds.) 2000: 349)

3.1.3 Low *C ne*₁¹⁷

The low *C ne*₁ requires a TP complement containing a stative predicate (e.g. an adjective or a verb in the durative aspect):

- (13) [_{CP}_{low} [_{TP} Wàibiàn xià-zhe yǔ] ne].
 outside fall-DUR rain Clow
 ‘It is still raining outside.’
- (14) [_{CP}_{low}[_{TP} Yǒu yībǎi chǐ] ne], [_{CP} [_{TP} shēn dehěn] ne].
 have 100 foot Clow deep extremely Clow
 ‘It’s as much as a hundred feet, it’s quite deep.’ (Chao Yuen Ren 1968: 802)

To summarize, the low *C* heads *le*, *laizhe* and *ne*₁ have in common that they impose restrictions on their TP complement in terms of the properties of its extended VP. In other words, the low *C* heads in Chinese have as close a relationship with *T* as the *C* elements in

(ii) *Ta shuō shénme {le láizhe} / { láizhe le } ?
 3SG say what Clow Clow / Clow Clow

¹⁷ The low *C ne* is noted as *ne*₁ in order to distinguish it from the Force head *ne*₂ and the Attitude head *ne*₃ (cf. the three instances of *ne* in Table 1 above).

Indo-European languages and must therefore access the features of the T head, instead of only looking at the TP label (*contra* Cecchetto to appear).¹⁸

3.1.4. Some remarks on the feature make-up of C

A brief digression into the feature make-up of C, an issue so far not addressed in the Chinese literature, seems indicated here.¹⁹ The interaction of Clow with properties of the extended VP projection (aktionsart of the verb, presence/absence of negation etc.) suggests that Clow bears a verbal feature. If this turns out to be correct, Clow need to be taken into account by the FOFC, because CP will then be categorially identical with TP (in terms of the features [$\pm V$], [$\pm N$]) (cf. Biberauer et al. 2007) and/or on the same projection line as TP (cf. Biberauer et al. 2009), these being the conditions imposed on heads/projections having to obey the FOFC. In other words, the FOFC allows a “nominal”, but not a “verbal” head-final CP to dominate a head-initial TP. While the precise feature make-up of the C elements must be strictly determined within the synchronic grammar of Mandarin, let us nevertheless venture into the origin of the low C heads, notwithstanding the well-known fact that this kind of knowledge cannot be part of the native speaker’s linguistic competence. *Le* in general is linked etymologically to the verb *lái* ‘come’ (cf. Chao Yuen Ren 1968: 246, footnote 31). *Láizhe* can probably be decomposed into the verb *lái* ‘come’ and the locative verb *zháo* ‘adhere to, be in the proximity of’ (Redouane Djamouri, p.c.); the origin of the SFP remains nevertheless unclear (cf. Chen Qianrui 2005). Note, however, that well-established etymologies such as *le* < *lái* ‘come’ are proposed for the items taken in isolation and completely abstract away from the syntactic position of the items under investigation. Accordingly, they are of limited interest only, because very probably the SFP was simply homophonous with the verb proposed as its “source” and therefore written in the same way. (For a diachronic approach which does take into account the syntactic structures involved, cf. Aldridge 2010.) Finally, as to be expected, some SFPs are first attested as such, i.e. as SFPs, although with a different pronunciation due to subsequent sound changes. This is the case for *ne*: *ne* < *ni* < *li* (cf. Pan 2007: 81ff).²⁰

3.2. *C*₂ heads expressing the sentence type (*Force*): *ma*, *ne*₂, *ba*

As already mentioned above, the SFP *ma* indicating the *yes/no* question status of a sentence (cf. (15b)) was the first SFP to be analysed as C (cf. Lee Hun-tak Thomas 1986, Tang Ting-chi 1989):

¹⁸ Cecchetto (to appear) claims that Chinese C does not access the features of the T head, unlike C in Indo-European languages. He postulates this difference concerning the relationship of C with T precisely in order to account for the FOFC violating configuration present in Chinese, where a head-final CP dominates a head-initial TP.

¹⁹ Biberauer et al. (2008) attribute to Li Boya (2006) the view that C in Chinese is nominal. However, my own reading as well as an electronic search of her thesis produced no result for such a statement. To my knowledge, the question as to the feature make-up of C has so far not been addressed in Chinese linguistics, and at that point is certainly not backed up by any independent evidence going beyond the general parallel postulated between CP and the nominal domain.

²⁰ The “source” itself might also present a dilemma with respect to its verbal or nominal nature, as in the case of SFP in the Italian dialects Pagotto and Veneto from the North-Eastern area, examined by Munaro & Poletto (2006). They retrace personal pronouns as source for the SFP *ti* and *lu*, but temporal adverbs for the SFP *mo* and *po*. As in the case of C, for adverbs it is not evident, either, how to determine their nominal vs. verbal nature. Also note that irrespective of their different etymologies, these particles are all sentence-final and restricted to main non-declarative sentences.

- (15) a. Tā huì shuō zhōngwén.
3SG can speak Chinese
'He can speak Chinese.'
- b. [CP_{force} [TP Tā huì shuō zhōngwén] ma]?
3SG can speak Chinese FORCE
'Can he speak Chinese?'

Since *ma* turns a (declarative) sentence into a *yes/no* question, it must have scope over the entire sentence, whence the analysis of *ma* as a C-head taking a TP complement. The complement status of TP and the head status of *ma* are confirmed by the fact that *ma* imposes selectional restrictions: it can only select a non-interrogative TP and is therefore incompatible with TP-internal *yes/no* questions in the 'A-not-A' form and *wh*-questions (for 'A-not-A' questions, cf. Huang C. -T. James 1982):

- (16) a. [CP_{force} [TP Nǐ wèn-le shéi] (*ma)]?
2SG ask -PERF who FORCE
'Whom did you ask?'
- b. [CP_{force} [TP Shéi wèn-le nǐ] (*ma)]?
who ask -PERF 2SG FORCE
'Who asked you?'
- (17) [CP_{force} [TP Tā dǒng bù dǒng wèntí] (*ma)] ?
3SG understand NEG understand problem FORCE
'Does he understand the problem?'

As for the SFP *ne*₂, it is familiar to scholars in general linguistics because it has been claimed to play a crucial role in typing a sentence as question in *wh* in-situ languages such as Chinese (cf. Cheng Lisa Lai-Shen 1991). This is, however, invalidated by the well-known optionality of *ne*₂ in *wh*-questions (cf. (18)) and A-not-A questions (cf. (19)).²¹ (For a detailed study of *ne*₂, cf. Pan 2007)

- (18) Nǐ wèn-le shéi (ne) ?
2SG ask -PERF who FORCE
'(So) whom have you asked?'
- (19) Tā dǒng bù dǒng wèntí (ne) ?
3SG understand NEG understand problem FORCE
'(So) does he understand the problem?'

Ne thus contrasts clearly with *ma* which is incompatible with *wh*-questions and A-not-A questions (cf. (16) - (17) above).

Instead, *ne*₂ indicates that the question is not one asked "out of the blue", but is a follow-up of the preceding (linguistic or extra-linguistic) context, as indicated in (20) and (21):

- (20) Nǐ dǒng le . [CP_{force} [TP Tā dǒng bù dǒng] ne]?

²¹ For recent works challenging Cheng's (1991) *Clausal Typing Hypothesis*, cf. Bruening (2007) and Bruening & Tran (2006).

2SG understand Cl_{low} 3SG understand NEG understand FORCE
'You understand. (But) does he understand?'

- (21) Wǒ wèn-le Zhāngsān. [_{CP}force [_{TP} Nǐ wèn-le shéi] ne]?
 1SG ask -PERF Zhangsan 2SG ask -PERF who FORCE
 ‘I have asked Zhangsan. (And) whom have you asked?’

*Ne*₂ clearly instantiates a Force head C₂, as witnessed by its co-occurrence with the low C *le* in the order '*le ne*' (the opposite order '*ne le*' being excluded as expected):

- (22) [CP_{force} [ClowP [TopP Nà [TP nǐ wèn shéi]]]le] ne]?
in.that.case 2SG ask who Clow FORCE
‘So whom have you asked?’

To summarize, *ne*₂ is a Force head indicating the ‘follow-up’ nature of the question at hand and selects interrogative TPs (*wh*-questions and *yes/no* questions in the A-not-A form). *Ma*, by contrast, exclusively selects declarative TPs.

The imperative SFP *ba* is called “advisative” by Chao Yuen Ren (1968: 807) because of its “softening” effect. Accordingly, an imperative containing *ba* is understood as less harsh an order than the corresponding imperative sentence without *ba*:

- (23) [Kuài diǎnr zǒu] ba !
fast a.bit go FORCE
'Better hurry up and go!'
- (24) [Zánmen jiù zhème bàn] ba!
1PL then so do FORCE
'Let's just do it that way!'

Again, the rigid ordering with respect to the low C *le* indicates *ba*'s status of a Force head above the low CP:

- (25) [CP_{force} [C_{Plow} [TP Nǐ bù yòng gěi qián] le] ba] / *le ba.
2SG NEG need give money Clow FORCE / Clow FORCE
'Then you won't need to pay!' (Chao Yuen Ren 1968:807; example slightly changed)

3.3. *C*₃ heads expressing the speaker/hearer's attitude

The outermost, i.e. highest C elements encode the speaker/hearer's attitude, such as *ou* 'warning reminder' and *a* 'astonishment' (cf. Chao Yuen Ren 1968: 803 ; 808). Consisting of a single vowel, these SFP are phonetically fused with a preceding SFP.

- (26) Bù zǎo l'ou [=le +ou]! Kuài zǒu b'ou [=ba+ou]!
NEG early PART (fusion) fast go PART (fusion)
'It's getting late! Hurry up and go!'
- (27) Xiǎo Wáng a! [Nǐ hái méi shàng chuáng] a ?!
Xiao Wang PART 2SG still NEG go bed ATT
'Hey, Xiao Wang! Aren't you in bed yet?!'

- (28) [Nǐ yě yào qù] a?
 2SG also want go ATT
 ‘You are going as well?’ (Did I hear you right?)

As can be seen from the examples, the exact meaning of these SFP in AttitudeP is difficult to pin down and strongly depends on the context and intonation. This is typical of particles relating to the discourse; evidently, it is not incompatible at all with their analysis as heads in a split CP à la Rizzi (1997 (cf. *inter alia* Munaro & Poletto 2006, Haegeman 2010 and references therein).

3.4. SFP as selecting and projecting heads

As already mentioned above, it is the rigid relative ordering among SFPs which provides evidence for the analysis of a given SFP as either C₁, C₂, or C₃ in the split CP configuration ‘Attitude > Force > Clow. Below are some additional examples illustrating this point.

The Force heads *ma*, *ne*₂ and *ba* can only follow, but not precede the low C₁ *le*.

- (29) [CP_{force} [CP_{low} [TP Tā fā yán] le] ma] ?
 3SG issue speech Clow FORCE
 ‘Has he given a speech?’
- (30) [CP_{force} [CP_{low} [TP Tā dào nǎr qù] le] ne] (*le) ?
 3SG to where go Clow FORCE Clow
 ‘So where has he gone?’
- (31) [CP_{force} [CP_{low} [TP Nǐ bù yòng gěi qián] le] ba] / *le ba !
 2SG NEG need give money Clow FORCE Clow FORCE
 ‘Then you won’t need to pay!’

Finally, the SFP realizing the highest sub-projection in the split CP, *viz.* AttP, have to follow the Force heads:

- (32) Kuài zǒu b’ou [=ba + ou] / *ou ba !
 fast go PART (fusion) FORCE+ATT / ATT FORCE
 ‘Hurry up and go!’

The ordering restrictions can be neatly captured in terms of selectional restrictions imposed by the SFP as C heads on their complement (TP or phrase headed by an SFP of a lower subprojection). This implies that SFP project, in contrast to claims made by Toivonen (2003) and taken up by Biberauer et al. (2009), for whom the alleged non-projecting property of particles in turn confirms their “outlier” status and hence their not “counting” as counterevidence when violating the FOFC.²²

The selectional restrictions imposed by an SFP are also visible in the choice operated among the different heads of an appropriate subprojection. For example, the interrogative Force head *ma* in general cannot select a CP headed by the low C *láizhe* (in contrast to a CP

²² As pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, particles are explicitly noted as a “recurring”, i.e. “predictable” type of exception to the FOFC by Biberauer et al. (2009) and are accordingly assumed to differ in crucial ways from FOFC-respecting complementisers. I fail to see, though, why an exception would count as less of an exception and potential counterevidence when of a recurring type.

headed by the low C *le*, cf. (29) above), given that *láizhe* asserts the event in addition to locating it in the recent past:

- (33) *_{[ForceP [C_{low} [TP Tā fā yán] láizhe] ma] ?} (Lü et al. (eds.) 2000: 349)
 3SG issue speech Clow FORCE

Ma can only combine with *láizhe* if the resulting question can be interpreted as a rhetoric one and thus yields an interpretation compatible with the assertion mediated by *láizhe* (also cf. (12) above):

- (34) [Tā gāngcái bù shì hái zài zhèr láizhe] ma] ?
 3SG just.now NEG be still be here Clow FORCE
 ‘Wasn’t he still here a moment ago?’

We thus obtain the following architecture for the split CP in Mandarin (abstracting away from linear ordering):²³

- (35) Attitude > Force > C(low) > TP (cf. Paul 2006, 2008, 2009)

The main difference with respect to Rizzi’s (1997) hierarchy:

- (36) Force > Fin > TP (cf. Rizzi 1997)

lies in the presence of the additional head *Attitude* above *Force*. Accordingly, the SFP indicating the sentence type (Force) are not hosted by the highest C head available.

Note that this situation is not unique to Chinese, but also observable for e.g. West Flemish (cf. Haegeman 2009, this volume). Analysing sentence-final and sentence-initial discourse markers as C heads, Haegeman introduces the projection DiscourseP (above ForceP), comparable to the AttitudeP postulated here for Chinese. As in Chinese, the particles instantiating DiscourseP occur in root contexts only. They are analysed as heads by Haegeman because they may select a particular ForceP and display a rigid order when co-occurring with other particles.

To summarize this section, SFP have been argued to realize a three layered split CP, thereby adding Chinese to the languages displaying a highly articulated sentence periphery (along with e.g. Japanese, cf. Endo 2007). In contrast to Rizzi (1997, 2004), but in accordance with later work by i.a. Haegeman 2009 and Munaro & Poletto (2006), the existence of a speaker/hearer-related projection above ForceP (DiscourseP or AttitudeP) needs to be postulated in Chinese as well. Selectional restrictions imposed by the SFP (on their TP or C-subprojection complement) as well as the rigid ordering observed when they co-occur clearly indicate the head status of SFP as well as their ability to project. Accordingly, SFP are full-fledged functional categories located in the sentence periphery. They are not “categorially deficient” as claimed by Biberauer et al. (2009), notwithstanding their surface behaviour as clitics. SFP in Chinese are thus not comparable - neither functionally nor syntactically - to

²³ The hierarchy does not include the projections TopicP and *lián* ‘even’ FocusP also present in the sentence periphery (for a detailed discussion, cf. Paul 2002, 2005 and references therein).

(i) [_{TopP} Zhè-ge wàiguórén ([_{FocP} lián gǒuròu) [_{TP} tā ([_{FocP} lián gǒuròu) dǒu gǎn chī]]]
 this-CL foreigner even dog.meat 3SG even dog.meat all dare eat
 ‘This foreigner (even dog meat) he dares to eat (even dog meat).’

Note that in Mandarin Chinese focus with ‘even’ is acceptable both within and outside TP, whereas focus cleft is limited to the TP (cf. Paul & Whitman 2008).

tag-like or afterthought-like elements such as *hey*, *ok*, *right* conveying the speaker/hearer's involvement illustrated in *You want to be careful*, *hey/right/ok* (as suggested by an anonymous reviewer). First, to convey the speaker/hearer's attitude is the function of only one of the three classes of SFP, viz. the outermost class C₃. Second, the particles in English do not impose selectional restrictions on the TP they combine with and are not sensitive to TP-internal material such as the type of negation. Third, items such as *hey*, *right*, *ok* very probably are adverbs, i.e. XPs, not heads, and do not need to respect a rigid order. Last, but not least, note that SFP (both low C such as *le* and *ne*_I and Force heads such as *ma* and *ba*) are acquired well before the age of two years (cf. Lee Hun-tak Thomas et al. 2005).²⁴

4. The root vs. non-root asymmetry in the Chinese CP

As mentioned at the beginning of this article, the analysis of the SFP in Chinese as complementisers proposed here is an extension of the analysis of the yes/no-question marker *ma* as a complementiser (cf. Lee Huntak 1986, Tang Ting-chi (1988). It is also with respect to the interrogative *ma* that the limitation to root contexts was explicitly stated for the first time (cf. Li & Thompson 1981: 557, Tang Ting-chi 1988: 363ff). Note that so far the literature on the Chinese C system (from Cheng Lisa Lai-Shen 1991 up to the most recent studies by Li Boya 2006, Xiong Zhongrui 2007, Hsieh & Sybesma 2008 a.o.) has not acknowledged the systematic character of the root/non-root asymmetry and has at best stated the root-only distribution as the idiosyncrasy of an individual SFP (as in the case of *ne*, cf. Cheng Lisa Lai-Shen 1991, Li Yen-Hui Audrey 1992: 153), although some of the data underpinning that generalization were observed in earlier work (cf. Li & Thompson 1981, Tang Ting-chi 1988, Ross 1983). As to be discussed in this section, there are a few cases of SFPs occurring in non-root contexts. However, the basic asymmetry between root and non-root remains valid insofar as there is no split CP in embedded contexts, where not more than one C head is licit, if any.

4.1. Root only complementisers

As noted by Li & Thompson (1981:556-7) and (Tang 1988:363) the *yes/no* question particle *ma* cannot be part of an embedded clause, but must always be construed as belonging to the matrix sentence. This is straightforward in (37a): a sentential subject cannot contain *ma*; instead, the 'A-not-A' question form must be used here (37b):

- (37) (a) *[Ākiū lái ma] méi yǒu guānxi.
 Akiu come PART NEG have relation
 (b) [Ākiū lái bù lái] méi yǒu guānxi.
 Akiu come NEG come NEG have relation
 'Whether or not Akiu comes doesn't matter.'

In (38a), where the final position of the root clause coincides with the final position of the clausal complement, this 'root only' constraint must be deduced from the interpretational possibilities. As indicated, *ma* can only question the root clause, not the clausal complement,

²⁴ Importantly, the children never used the *yes/no* question C *ma* in *wh*-questions (cf. (16a-b) above)), thus indicating that they had perfectly grasped the selectional restrictions imposed by *ma*. Incidentally, the early acquisition of SFP against the background of SVO order also challenges the allegedly "marked" character of so-called "mixed", "disharmonious" languages and confirms the views expressed by Newmeyer (2005) and Whitman (2008) that considerations of "harmony" are not part of UG, hence not accessible to the child learner.

although *zhīdao* ‘know’ can also select an interrogative clause (38b). In the case of an embedded interrogative clause (cf. (37b), (38b)), only the ‘A-not-A’ question is possible.

- (38) (a) [[Tā bù zhīdao [Ākiū lái]] ma]?
 3SG NEG know Akiu come FORCE
 ‘Doesn’t she know that Akiu is coming?’
 [Excluded: ‘She doesn’t know whether or not Akiu is coming.’]
 (cf. Li & Thompson 1981:557; Tang 1988:365)
- (b) Tā bù zhīdao [Ākiū lái bù lái].
 3SG NEG know Akiu come NEG come
 ‘She doesn’t know whether or not Akiu is coming.’

As argued for in Paul (2007, 2009), the limitation to root contexts illustrated for the interrogative C *ma* holds for SFPs in general. Accordingly, they are excluded from relative clauses (39a) and noun complement clauses (40a) which are both subordinated to the head noun by *de* (itself one of the few [-root] C to be discussed immediately below):²⁵

- (39) a. [DP [TP Zuótiān chī yúròu (*le) de] rén] dōu bìng-le.
 yesterday eat fish CLOW SUB person all ill -PERF
 ‘The people who ate fish yesterday are all sick.’
 (slightly changed example from Ross 1983: 235)
- b. Wǒmen zuótiān chī yúròu le .
 1PL yesterday eat fish CLOW
 ‘We ate fish yesterday.’
- (40) a. [DP [TP Xià yǔ (*le)] de xiāoxi].
 fall rain CLOW SUB news
 ‘The news that it was raining’
- b. Xià yǔ le.
 fall rain CLOW
 ‘It is raining.’

In general, SFPs are also banned from clausal complements of verbs (41a) and sentential subjects (cf. (37a) above). Note that Mandarin Chinese lacks a C comparable to *that* in English heading clausal complements of verbs (42) and sentential subjects (43).²⁶

²⁵ The allegedly acceptable cases of the SFP *le* in relative clauses and noun complement clauses provided by an anonymous reviewer (cf. (i) and (ii)) were clearly rejected by my informants:

- (i) [DP[CP-root Juéding bù mǎi fángzi (*le) de] nàxiē rén] dōu zǒu -le
 decide NEG buy house Clow SUB those people all leave-PERF
 ‘Those people who have changed their mind and will not buy the house have all left.’
- (ii) [DP[CP-root Lǎobǎn yào mài gùpiào (*le) de] xiāoxi] shì jiǎ de
 boss want sell share Clow SUB news be false DE
 ‘The news that the boss will sell his shares is false.’

(Translation as provided by the reviewer, glosses slightly adapted.)

²⁶ An anonymous reviewer contests this view and refers to the current claim in the literature that a grammaticalized form of the verb *shuo* ‘speak’ instantiates such a complementiser (cf. Hsieh & Sybesma 2008 among many others):

- (i) Wǒ zǒngshì juéde shuō, shēnghuó lǐ quē -le diǎn shénme
 1SG always feel SHUO life in miss-PERF a.bit something

- (41) a. Tā gāngcái gàosu wǒ [Ākiū yǐjīng líkāi Běijīng (*le)].
 3SG just tell 1SG Akiu already leave Beijing CLOW
 ‘He just told me that Akiu had already left Beijing.’
- b. Ākiū yǐjīng líkāi Běijīng le.
 Akiu already leave Beijing CLOW
 ‘Akiu had already left Beijing.’
- (42) Tā shuō [Ākiū dé -le jiǎng].
 3SG say Akiu obtain-PERF award
 ‘She told me that Akiu had won a prize.’
- (43) [Ākiū dé -le jiǎng] shǐ wǒmen hěn gāoxìng.
 Akiu obtain-PERF award make 1PL very happy
 ‘The fact that Akiu won a prize made us very happy.’

Interestingly, there exist cases where the SFP *le* is acceptable within a propositional complement and a sentential subject.²⁷

- (44) Nǐ wèishénme méi gàosù wǒ [xiào -zhǎng bù qù Běijīng le]?
 2SG why NEG tell 1SG school-president NEG go Beijing CLOW
 ‘Why didn’t you tell me that the president doesn’t want
 to go to Beijing any more?’
- (45) [Xiào -zhǎng bù qù Běijīng le] bù suàn shénme xīnwén.
 school-president NEG go Beijing CLOW NEG count what news
 ‘That the president doesn’t want to go to Beijing any more
 is no real news.’

Without *le*, we would obtain a different interpretation for the embedded clause, namely ‘that the president doesn’t want to go to Beijing’. Accordingly, *le* seems to be a C which is acceptable not only in root contexts, but also in non-root contexts, provided no other non-root C is present (cf. (39a), (40a) above). Let us now turn to the exclusively non-root C *de* and *dehuà*.

‘I have always had the feeling that something is missing in life.’

However, if *shuō* were really a complementiser it would be expected to form a constituent with its following TP complement and remain as a block in the case of an afterthought construction, a prediction not borne out by the data. Also note that it is likewise impossible for *shuō* to follow the verb in (ii) :

- (ii) [(**Shuō*) shēnghuó lǐ quē -le diǎn shénme], wǒ zǒngshì juéde (**shuo*)
 SHUO life in miss-PERF a.bit something 1SG always feel SHUO
 ‘That something is missing in life, I have always thought so.’

Also note that a pause (indicated by a comma) is natural after *shuō* in (i), but not between *shuō* and the preceding verb.

Last, but not least, in the Chinese literature, none of the numerous papers on *shuō* or its equivalent in other Sinitic languages has ever provided well-formed examples where the alleged C *shuō* heads a sentential subject :

- (iii) (**Shuō*) shēnghuó lǐ quē -le diǎn shénme] zhēn kěxī
 SHUO life in miss-PERF a.bit something really pity
 ‘That something is missing in my life is really a pity.’

²⁷ Thanks to an anonymous reviewer for providing this type of data. Her/his examples were modified in order to render them more natural.

4.2. The exclusively non-root C *de* and *dehuà*

4.2.1. *De* in complex DPs vs. *de* in the propositional assertion construction

De closing off the relative clause (cf. (39a) above) was analysed as C by Cheng (1986). She fails, though, to note the systematic difference between the non-root-only nature of *de* in opposition to the other root-only C elements (cf. Paul 2007 for further discussion).

De in the *propositional assertion* construction is another instance of a non-root C (cf. Paul & Whitman 2008): the copula *shì* ‘be’ selects a complement headed by *de* which in turn takes as its complement a non-finite TP. As indicated by the translation ‘it is the case that...’ this construction is used in order to strengthen the assertion of the sentence as a whole:

- (46) Wǒ shì [CP(-root) [cónglái bù chōu yān] de].
1SG be ever NEG inhale smoke C(-root)
‘(It is the case that) I have never smoked.’
- (47) Wǒ shì [CP(-root) [dào sǐ dōu huì xiǎng-zhe nǐ] de].
1SG be until death all will think -DUR 2SG C(-root)
‘(It is the case that) I will think of you until I die.’
(based on example (10) by Li *et al.* 1998: 95)
- (48) Tā shì [CP(-root) [yīdìng huì [PP duì nǐ] hǎo yī-bèizi] de].
3SG be certainly will towards 2SG good 1-generation C(-root)
‘(It is the case that) he will certainly be good to you for an entire lifetime.’
(Li *et al.* 1998: 94, (C))
- (49) [TopP [DP Zhèi-ge dōngxī] [TP tā shì [CP(-root) [yīnggāi bān -de -dòng t_{DP}] de]]].²⁸
this-CL thing 3SG be must remove-able-move C(-root)
‘This thing, he should indeed be able to move it.’

The *de* in the propositional assertion construction selects a non-finite TP, as witnessed by the obligatory raising of the subject to the matrix subject position, whereas the non-root C closing off the relative clause selects a finite TP complement. Furthermore, extraction from the complement of *de* in the propositional assertion construction is possible (cf. (50)) and clearly contrasts with the non-extractability from a relative clause (cf. (51b)). (For further discussion, cf. Paul & Whitman 2008: section 6.3):

- (50) [TopP [PP Duì nǐ] [TP tā shì [CP(-root) [yīdìng huì t_{PP} hǎo yī-bèizi] de]]].
towards 2SG 3SG be certainly will good 1-generation C(-root)
‘(It is the case that) he will certainly be good to you for an entire lifetime.’
- (51) a. Tā hèn [DP [CP(-root) [TP [PP duì nǐ] huì hǎo yī-bèizi] de] (rén)].
3SG hate towards 2SG will good 1-lifetime C(-root) people
‘He hates people/those who will be good to you for an entire lifetime.’
- b. *[PP Duì nǐ]_i, [TP tā hèn [DP [t_i huì t_{PP} hǎo yī-bèizi de] (rén)]].
towards 2SG 3SG hate will good 1-lifetime C(-root) people
(*‘[To you]_i, he hates people/those who will be good t_i an entire lifetime.’)

²⁸ As can be seen from the gloss ‘able’, the *de* in the verbal compound *bān-de-dòng* ‘be able to move’ is a completely different word, not to be confounded with the non-root C *de*.

Last, but not least, *de* in complex DPs not only subordinates relative and complement clauses to the head noun, but any kind of modifier XP (PP, NP, QP, AP, adverbs) (cf. Paul 2007 for further discussion). This indicates that *de* in the complex DP ‘XP de NP’ and the *de* in the propositional assertion construction are different heads imposing different selectional constraints on their complements, while sharing the non-root C status. They visibly differ in their feature make-up and should perhaps be treated as homophonous items in the synchronic grammar of Chinese.²⁹

Analysing *de* in the *propositional assertion* construction as the head of the projection selected by the matrix verb *shì* ‘be’ allows us to correctly predict the unacceptability of SFPs within DeP (cf. (52)). Being the clausal complement of the matrix verb *shì* ‘be’, DeP represents an embedded context, whence the ban on SFP. This ban is absolute due to the presence of a non-root C, i.e. *de*; in this respect, the propositional assertion construction behaves on a par with relative clauses (cf. (39a), (40a) above).

- (52) [TopP[Zhèi-ge dōngxī]_i [TP tā shì [CP(-root) [yīnggāi bān -de -dòng t_i (*le)] de]]].
 this-CL thing 3SG be must remove-able-move Clow C(-root)
 ‘This thing, he should indeed be able to move it.’

Once we acknowledge that *de* in the propositional assertion construction heads the complement embedded under the matrix verb, we can account for the co-occurrence of this non-root C *de* with a low root C (e.g. *le*), construed with the matrix clause, in the order ‘*de le*’:

- (53) [CP_{low} [TP Wèntí xiànzài shì [C(-root) néng jiějué de] le].
 problem now be can solve C(-root) Clow
 ‘The problem can certainly be solved now.’
- (54) [CP_{low}[TopP [Zhèi-ge dōngxī]_i [TP tā shì [C(-root) [yīnggāi bān -de -dòng t_i] de] le]].
 this-CL thing 3SG be must remove-able-move C(-root) Clow
 ‘This thing, he should indeed be able to move it.’

The co-occurrence of the low C *le* with *de* would not be possible if *de* were a low root C on a par with *le* and likewise construed with the matrix clause, because SFP instantiating the same head (C₁, C₂ or C₃) are in a paradigmatic relation to each other and mutually exclusive (cf. table 1 above). Given that *le* instantiates the lowest C sub-projection within the split CP it cannot be preceded by another root C.

4.2.2. Non-root C dehuà

²⁹ Given this characterization of the two *de*’s, I fail to understand why “*de* in the cited examples clearly doesn’t function as a typical clausal subordinator”, as stated by an anonymous reviewer. Assuming that *that* is considered as the prototypical example of a clausal subordinator, because it indicates both the non-root nature of its projection as well as the sentence type (Force), then the *de* in the propositional assertion construction, conveying assertive force and heading the projection selected as complement by the verb *shì* ‘be’, certainly qualifies as such a clausal subordinator, too. As for the *de* in a complex DP, it is perhaps its “non-selective” nature as witnessed by the fact that all kinds of XPs are subordinated to the head noun by *de* that underlies the reviewer’s reluctance to accept an analysis of *de* as C. Note that this selective freedom of *de* has so far not been given a satisfying analysis. Cheng Lisa Lai-Shen (1986:319) e.g. simply states that “a complementizer, being a head, may or may not select a particular type of complement or specifier. English is an example of a complementizer selecting only I” as its complement. [...] *de*, if it is a complementizer in Mandarin, places no restrictions on the category of its complement.”(p. 319). She contends herself with this reformulation of the facts and does not pursue it any further. For a detailed discussion of this *de*, cf. Paul (2007) and references therein.

Dehuà heading conditional clauses is another non-root C. Following Gasde & Paul (1996), conditional clauses are analysed as clausal topics located in Spec, TopP:

- (55) [C_{Plow} [TopP [C(-root) Ākiū jīntiān líkāi Běijīng (*le) dehuà]
 Akiu today leave Beijing Clow C(-root)
 [TP tā hěn kuài jiù yào dào]] le].
 3SG very fast then will arrive Clow
 ‘If Akiu has left Beijing today, then he should be here very soon.’
- (56) [C_{Plow} [TopP [C(-root) Rúguǒ xià yǔ (*le)] dehuà] [TP wǒ jiù bù qù]].
 if fall rain Clow C(-root) 1SG then NEG go
 ‘If it rains, then I won’t go.’

Again, no SFP are allowed within the projection headed by *dehuà*, exactly as in the case of the projections headed by *de* (both in a complex DP and the propositional assertion construction).

The analysis of *dehuà* as a non-root C is confirmed by its behaviour in so-called “afterthought construction” (cf. Chao Yuen Ren 1968, Lu Jianming 1980):³⁰

- (57) a. [CP Láí -le ma], nǐ gēge (*ma) ? (Lu Jianming 1980)
 come-PERF FORCE 2SG brother FORCE
 ‘Has he come, your brother?’
- b. [TP Nǐ gēge láí -le] ma ?
 2SG brother come-PERF FORCE
 ‘Has your brother come?’

As evidenced by the position of *ma* in (57a), the constituent representing the “afterthought” part is adjoined to the right of the CP.

When the clause headed by *dehuà* plays the role of such an afterthought (cf. (58b)), crucially, *dehuà* is retained, confirming that *rúguǒ tā lái dehuà* forms a constituent (CP):³¹

- (58) a. Rúguǒ tā lái dehuà , wǒ jiù bù cānjiā huìyì le.
 if 3SG come C(-root) 1SG then NEG attend meeting CLOW
 ‘If he comes, then I won’t attend the meeting.’
- b. Wǒ bù cānjiā huìyì le , rúguǒ tā lái dehuà.
 1SG NEG attend meeting CLOW if 3SG come C(-root)
 ‘I won’t attend the meeting, if he comes.’

The non-root C *dehuà* must therefore be distinguished from particles (optionally) heading TopicP such as *me*, *ne* etc.:³²

³⁰ As observed by Chao Yuen Ren (1968 : 132), the afterthought part is likely to be read in a faster tempo, the preceding part constituting the main clause.

³¹ Incidentally, the unacceptability of the adverb *jiù* ‘then’ in the main clause in (58b), repeated in (i), argues against a derivation of the afterthought construction via right dislocation and confirms the adjunction to CP analysis proposed here. (For further discussion, cf. Gasde & Paul 1996, Paul 2009.)

(i) Wǒ (*jiù) bù cānjiā huìyì le , rúguǒ tā lái dehuà
 1SG then NEG attend meeting CLOW if 3SG come C(-root)
 ‘I won’t attend the meeting, if he comes.’

- (59) a. [CP[_{TopP} Quèshí [_{Top'} [_{Top°} ne] [_{TP} tā -de nénglì shì bǐ wǒ qiáng]]]].
indeed TOP 3SG-SUB ability be compared.with 1SG strong
'His abilities are indeed greater than mine.'
- b. [CP [_{TP} Tā -de nénglì shì bǐ wǒ qiáng]], quèshí (*ne).
3SG-SUB ability be compared.with 1SG strong indeed TOP
'His abilities are greater than mine, indeed.'

A particle such as *ne* instantiating the head *Topic* selects a TP-complement to its right (or another TopP, giving rise to multiple topics), whence the observed unacceptability of these topic particles in the afterthought part.

This analysis is confirmed by the co-occurrence of *dehuà* with a *Top°*, which would be impossible if *dehuà* were a *Top°* itself. For a topic XP can only be followed by one particle realizing *Top°* at a time (cf. Paul 2006 for further discussion):

- (60) a. [_{TopP} [_{C(-root)} [Yàoshì xià yǔ] *dehuà*] [_{Top'} [_{Top°} ne] [_{TP} wǒ jiù bù qù]]].
if fall rain C(-root) TOP 1SG then NEG go
'If it rains tomorrow, I won't go.'
- b. Wǒ bù qù , [_{C(-root)} [yàoshì xià yǔ] *dehuà*] (*ne).
1SG NEG go if fall rain C(-root) TOP
'I won't go, if it rains tomorrow.'

Last, but not least, note that extraction of arguments from the conditional clause headed by *dehuà* is allowed:

- (61) a. [_{TopP} [_{CP(-root)} [_{TP} Nǐ [_{PP} duì Lǐsì] yǒu yìjiàn] *dehuà*]
2SG towards Lisi have prejudice C(-root)
[_{TopP} nà [_{TP} wǒmen bìxū zhǎo língwài yī-ge rén]]].
then 1PL need search else 1 -CL person
'If you are prejudiced against Lisi, then we need to look for somebody else.'
- b. [_{TopP} [_{CP(-root)} [_{TopP} [_{PP} Duì Lǐsì] [_{TP} nǐ tǐp yǒu yìjiàn]] *dehuà*]
towards Lisi 2SG have prejudice C(-root)
[_{TopP} nà [_{TP} wǒmen bìxū zhǎo língwài yī-ge rén]]].
then 1PL need search else 1 -CL person
'If you are prejudiced against Lisi, then we need to look for somebody else.'

Dehuà is thus on a par with the non-root C *de* in the propositional assertion construction where extraction is also allowed (cf. (50) above). It contrasts sharply with the non-root C *de* in relative clauses, from which extraction is barred (irrespective of the presence/absence of the head noun, i.e. *huà* 'words'):

³² The co-occurrence of the topic head *ne* and Clow *ne* in the same sentence confirms their distinct categorial status:

(57) [CP [_{TopP} Wǒ [_{Top'} [_{Top°} ne] [_{TP} shéi lái tīng wǒ shuō]]] [_{C°} ne]]?
1SG TOP who come listen 1SG say FORCE
'And me, who will listen to what I say?'

This illustrates that there are several homophonous items *ne* realizing different categories.

- (62) a. Wǒ méi tīngdào [DP [CP(-root) [TP tā duì nǐ shuō] de] (huà)].
 1SG NEG hear 3SG towards 2SG say C(-root) word
 ‘I haven’t heard the words he spoke to you/what he said to you.’
- b. *[PP Duì nǐ] [TP wǒ méi tīngdào [DP [CP(-root) [TP tā t_{PP} shuō] de] (huà)].
 towards 2SG 1SG NEG hear 3SG say C(-root) word

Given that a complex DP headed by *huà* ‘words’ and containing a relative clause can probably be postulated as the source structure for the non-root C *dehuà*, the contrast between (62) and (61) illustrates that the reanalyzed item does not automatically retain the features of its source

To summarize, this section has introduced the so far neglected, exclusively non-root Cs *de* and *dehuà*. They contrast with the other C heads, which are limited to root contexts. Only the low C *le* seems to be acceptable in an embedded context as well. Crucially, this is only possible in the absence of any other non-root C; as soon as either *de* or *dehuà* are present, no other C is allowed. In other words, non-root contexts do not display a split CP, but only one C layer, as opposed to the three-layered split CP in root contexts. This illustrates the fundamental root vs. non-root asymmetry at work in the Chinese C system.

Just one brief remark on the FOFC. Given that in more recent work (cf. Biberauer et al. 2010: 82), this constraint is supposed to hold for C in embedded clauses only, the existence of the non-root C *de* and *dehua* is important, because contradicting the predictions made by the FOFC. Note in this context that in earlier stages of Chinese, the interrogative clause-final C *hū* for yes/no questions occurred both in root and embedded questions (cf. (63a-b), again giving rise to the structure precisely excluded by the FOFC:

- (63) a. Wǒ bù shì [CP(-root) [TP *pro* néng zhì fǒu] hū]. (Mengzi (2B2);
 1SG NEG know can arrive not.be FORCE 4th-3rd c. BC)
 ‘I don’t know whether he will be able to go there or not.’
- b. Bù zhī [CP(-root) [TP tiān qì Lǚ] hū]. (Shiji 33; 1542;
 NEG know heaven abandon Lu FORCE 2nd c. BC)
 ‘I do not know whether Heaven has abandoned [the state of] Lu.

Furthermore, other SFP at that period might likewise turn out to be able to occur both in matrix and embedded contexts (cf. Djamouri et al. 2009), suggesting that the root vs. non-root asymmetry observed for Modern Mandarin is a more recent phenomenon.

5. Subordinating conjunctions in Chinese

So far I have concentrated on providing evidence for the C status of SFP in Chinese and on exploring the syntactic and semantic constraints in the split CP. In this section, I turn to the equivalents in Chinese of English subordinating conjunctions such as *although*, *because*, *if*, whose status is still controversial. It is beyond the scope of this article to solve this problem; instead, I will only discuss those issues that allow to demonstrate that SFP and conjunctions in Chinese belong to different syntactic categories.

5.1. The categorial heterogeneity of so-called subordinating conjunctions

The attentive reader may have noticed the items *rúguǒ* and *yàoshi* glossed as ‘if’ in examples (56), (58) and (60) above and may have wondered whether these are not precisely clause-initial subordinating conjunctions complying with the FOFC:

- (64) [C_{Plow} [TopP [C(-root) [TP *Rúguo tā lái*] *dehuà*] [wǒ jiù bù cānjiā huìyì]] le].
 if 3SG come C(-root) 1SG then NEG attend meeting CLOW
 ‘If he comes, then I won’t attend the meeting.’ (= (58a))

Furthermore, this type of example where both *rúguǒ* ‘if’ and the non-root C *dehuà* are present seems at first sight to confirm a reviewer’s view that SFP are just the particle counterpart of a “full” element expressing a similar meaning, where this full element obeys the FOFC (cf. Biberauer et al. 2010, p. 53ff for a similar view). However, a closer examination reveals a quite different picture.

First, the “doubling” observed in the case of conditional clauses is unique, and there are no “corresponding full” counterparts for the numerous C heads discussed in section three above.

Second, a conditional clause is also acceptable with either the non-root C *dehuà* or *yàoshi/rúguǒ* ‘if’ on their own:

- (65) a. *Tā lái dehuà, wǒ jiù bù cānjiā huìyì le.*
 3SG come C(-root) 1SG then NEG attend meeting CLOW
 b. *Rúguo tā lái , wǒ jiù bù cānjiā huìyì le.*
 if 3SG come 1SG then NEG attend meeting CLOW
 ‘If he comes, then I won’t attend the meeting.’

In fact, conditional clauses are special insofar as they do not need any overt marking, but are identifiable as such *qua* their position in Spec, TopP:

- (66) [TopP [TP *Tā lái*] [TP_(root) *wǒ bù lái*]].
 3SG come 1SG NEG come
 ‘If he comes, I will not come.’

Third, besides *yàoshi* and *rúguo*, the Chinese equivalents for English subordinating conjunctions such as *suīrán* ‘although’, *jìrán* ‘since’, *yīnwèi* ‘because’, *zìcóng* ‘since (temporal)’ do not have an SFP as “counterpart”. Importantly, this group is not homogeneous, but in fact comprises (sentence-level) adverbs, on the one hand, and heads (prepositions), on the other.³³

As Lu Peng (2003, 2008) has argued for in great detail, *rúguǒ/yàoshi* ‘if’, *suīrán* ‘although’, and *jìrán* ‘since’ are sentence-level adverbs on a par with e.g. *xiǎnrán* ‘obviously,

³³ With respect to the P vs. C status of subordinating conjunctions, I follow the general consensus that items with lexical content such as ‘because’, ‘since’ etc. are analysed as P. In English, these prepositions behave differently from C such as *that*, *if* in that they allow sluicing:

(i) I left before Bill left, but Jane left after [e]
 (ii) *I know that/if Bill left, but Jane doesn’t know that/if [e]

Thanks to John Whitman for discussion of this point.

Huang C.-T. James (1982: 85) left open the P vs. C status of items such as *yīnwèi* ‘because’, concentrating on the head-initial character of their projection. Note that he analysed *rúguǒ* ‘if’ and *suīrán* ‘although’ as P/C-heads on a par with *yīnwèi* ‘because’, an analysis which remained unchallenged up to Lu Peng’s (2003) dissertation to be discussed immediately below.

naturally’, *xìnghǎo* ‘fortunately’, *kěxī* ‘unfortunately’ etc. Note that in Chinese, sentence-level adverbs can occur to the left or to the right of the subject. More precisely, they pattern with (DP) topics occupying the external or the TP-internal topic position (Spec, TopP) (cf. Paul 2002, 2005). For reasons of space, this will be shown only for the pair *xìnghǎo* ‘fortunately’ and *rúguǒ* ‘if’ (for further discussion, cf. Lu Peng 2003, 2008 §3.2):

- (67) a. [_{ext.TopP} Xìnghǎo [_{TP} wǒ [_{int.TopP} nà -fù huà [_{AspP} mài-le ge gāo jià]]]].
 fortunately 1SG that-CL painting sell-PERF CL high price
 ‘Fortunately, I sold that painting at a high price.’ (Lu Peng 2008: 164)
- b. [_{TP} Wǒ [_{int.TopP} xìnghǎo [_{int.TopP} nà -fù huà [_{AspP} mài-le ge gāo jià]]]].
 1SG fortunately that-CL painting sell-PERF CL high price
- c. [_{TP} Wǒ [_{int.TopP} nà -fù huà [_{int.TopP} xìnghǎo [_{AspP} mài-le ge gāo jià]]]].
 1SG that-CL painting fortunately sell-PERF CL high price

As illustrated in (67b-c), the DP *nà-fù huà* ‘that painting’ and the sentence-level adverb *xìnghǎo* ‘fortunately’ are interchangeable, both being internal topics. (68) below shows *rúguǒ* ‘if’ to have the same distribution as *xìnghǎo* ‘fortunately’:

- (68) a. Rúguǒ [_{TP} nǐ [_{int.TopP} yīngyǔ kǎoshì [_{AuxP} néng kǎo ge dìyī]]]
 if 2SG English exam can pass CL first
 wǒ jiù jiǎnglì nǐ yī-liàng xīn zìxíngchē.
 1SG then award 2SG 1-CL new bicycle
 ‘If in the English exam you can pass as first, I’ll reward you with a bicycle.’
- b. Nǐ rúguǒ yīngyǔ kǎoshì néng kǎo ge dìyī ...
 2SG if English exam can pass CL first
- c. Nǐ yīngyǔ kǎoshì rúguǒ néng kǎo ge dìyī ...
 2SG English exam if can pass CL first

Accordingly, *rúguǒ* ‘if’ is not a head and the following clause is not its complement. Instead, *rúguǒ* is a sentence-level adverb which shows the same distribution as DP topics, viz. it occupies the specifier of the TP-external or TP-internal TopP.³⁴

In contrast, *yīnwèi* ‘because’, *zìcóng* ‘since (temporal)’ etc. are heads and accordingly restricted to the position preceding their complement clause:

- (69) a. [_{PP} Yīnwèi [_{TP} Zhāng Sān zuótiān méi shōudào nà -fēng xìn]]
 because Zhang San yesterday NEG receive that-CL letter
 wǒ jīntiān gěi tā fā -le fēn chuánzhēn
 1SG today for 3SG send-PERF CL fax.
 ‘Since Zhang San didn’t receive the letter yesterday, I sent him a fax today.’
- b. *Zhāng Sān [_{PP} yīnwèi [_{TP} zuótiān méi shōudào nà -fēng xìn]]
 Zhang San because yesterday NEG receive that-CL letter
 wǒ jīntiān gěi tā fā -le fēn chuánzhēn.

³⁴ While semantically the sentence-level adverb *rúguǒ* ‘if’ may fulfill a function similar to that of the non-root C *dehuà*, it clearly belongs to a different syntactic category. To talk about “particle and non-particle counterparts of ‘the same’ category of element” as Biberauer et al. (2010: 54) do therefore does not seem appropriate.

1SG today for 3SG send-PERF CL fax

(Lu Peng 2008: 131)

The fact that constituents to the left of the P-heads *yīnwèi* ‘because’, *zìcóng* ‘since (temporal)’ etc. are clearly outside the causal/temporal clause is further illustrated in (70):

- (70) *Zuótiān [PP *yīnwèi* [TP *Zhāng Sān méi shōudào nà -fēng xìn*]
 yesterday because Zhang San NEG receive that-CL letter
wǒ jīntiān *gěi tā fā -le fèn chuánzhēn*.
 1SG today for 3SG send-PERF CL fax

(Lu Peng 2008: 182)

Zuótiān ‘yesterday’ can only be construed as matrix topic here and is then in contradiction with *jīntiān* ‘today’ in the matrix TP.

(70) thus contrasts sharply with (71a) where *míngtiān* ‘tomorrow’ to the left of *rúguǒ* is part of the conditional clause (in Spec, TopP), as shown by its compatibility with *hòutiān* ‘the day after tomorrow’ in the matrix TP:

- (71) a. [Míngtiān *rúguǒ Zhāng Sān hái méi shōudào nà -fēng xìn*]
 tomorrow if Zhang San yet NEG receive that-CL letter
wǒ hòutiān gěi tā fā fèn chuánzhēn.
 1SG day.after.tomorrow for 3SG send CL fax
 ‘If tomorrow Zhang San still hasn’t received the letter, I’ll send him a fax the day after tomorrow.’
- b. [*Rúguǒ Zhāng Sān míngtiān hái méi shōudào nà -fēng xìn*]
 if Zhang San tomorrow yet NEG receive that-CL letter
wǒ hòutiān gěi tā fā fèn chuánzhēn.
 1SG day.after.tomorrow for 3SG send CL fax
 ‘If tomorrow Zhang San still hasn’t received the letter, I’ll send him a fax the day after tomorrow.’

(Lu Peng 2008: 183)

The acceptability of (71a) is thus on par with that of (71b) where *míngtiān* occurs to the right of *rúguǒ* and the subject DP.

5.2. Chinese “subordinating conjunctions” and WALS’ “adverbial subordinator”

We have seen that the Chinese equivalents for English subordinating conjunctions are not a homogeneous group, but instantiate different categories, i.e. sentence-level adverbs (e.g. *rúguǒ* ‘if’, *suīrán* ‘although’, *jìrán* ‘since’), on the one hand, and prepositions (e.g. *yīnwèi* ‘because’, *zìcóng* ‘since (temporal)’), on the other. Incidentally, the latter comply with the FOFC, taking their (TP) complement to the right, while the former are simply not relevant, because not being heads.

Importantly, the heterogeneous nature of “conjunctions” in Chinese again highlights the problematic character of the re-interpretation of WALS’ term *adverbial subordinator* as C by Biberauer et al. (2009). While for the conjunctions with head status such as *yīnwèi* ‘because’ a C-status rather than P-status does admittedly not make much difference with respect to the parameter examined, i.e. the relative order between head and complement, an analysis in terms of C (or any other functional head) can in no way be extended to the sentence-level adverbs such as *rúguǒ* ‘if’. However, both classes would certainly be

considered as “adverbial subordinator” by WALS if Chinese were included in their data base for the relevant feature 94. And the cases where these adverbs occupy the external topic position to the left of the subject (cf. (65b) above) would then incorrectly count as instances of the order ‘adverbial subordinator - clause’, with the adverbial subordinator assigned the status of a head.³⁵

Given these problems which emerge within a single language, here Mandarin Chinese, it does not need much fantasy in order to realize that difficulties of this kind increase exponentially when including more languages. As a consequence, the results for the distribution of *adverbial subordinator* in WALS cannot serve as a testing ground for the FOFC. Because upon closer examination of each of the more than 600 languages included for feature 94, there will probably be quite a number of cases which will have to be crossed off the list of potential C elements, thus weakening the at first sight statistically solid empirical basis for FOFC. (Recall Dryer’s inventory of rather disparate items considered as *adverbial subordinator* in WALS as discussed in section 2.1 above.)

To summarize this section, we have seen that the equivalents of subordinating conjunctions such as *because*, *since*, *if* etc. in Chinese turn out to be either sentence-level adverbs or prepositional heads, and thus differ from the SFP instantiating the heads of the subprojections in the split CP. Even if the conjunctions with head status such as *yīnwèi* ‘because’, *zìcóng* ‘since (temporal)’ were analysed as C rather than P, they would still have to be distinguished from the class of C elements realized by SFP, given the differences in selectional restrictions for each class. For instance, *yīnwèi* ‘because’, *zìcóng* ‘since (temporal)’ do not seem to impose constraints on the extended VP in their complement clause (in terms of type of negation, *aktionsart* etc.), in contrast to what we have observed for the low Cs *le*, *láizhe*, *ne₁* (cf. section 3.1 above). We would then simply obtain two classes of C with different (surface) head directionality, parallel to the two classes of adpositions (pre- and postpositions) present in Chinese (cf. Djamouri/Paul/Whitman 2009). Importantly, such a scenario would in no way challenge the status of SFP as selecting and projecting C heads defended here.

6. Conclusion

SFP in Chinese have been analysed as heads of the subprojections in a three-layered split CP: Attitude > Force > C_{low} > TP. The C system in Chinese is characterized by a root vs. non-root asymmetry, because the large majority of C are limited to root contexts. In non-root contexts, only *dehuà* heading conditional clauses, *de* in the propositional assertion construction and *de* in complex DPs subordinating clauses to the head noun are attested. Crucially, there is no split CP in non-root contexts, where not more than one C is licit, if any.

Being projecting and selecting heads, SFP are clearly not “categorially deficient” (cf. Biberauer et al. 2009) or “syncategorematic” (cf. Biberauer et al. 2010, pp.81, § 5.1.2).³⁶ Nor are they unable to be “syncretic” as e.g. English *if*, which indicates both subordination and interrogativity (cf. Biberauer et al. 2010, p. 55). Quite on the contrary, in addition to an obligatory value for [\pm root] (parallel to the component ‘subordination’ in *if*), SFP always

³⁵ Probably, Mandarin would then count as a language displaying “mixed order” for adverbial subordinator and clause, on a par with Cantonese, which - unlike Chinese - is included in the database for feature 94.

³⁶ Biberauer et al (2010 : §5.1.3) define *syncategorematic elements* as follows: they are “(i) not c-selected, (ii) do not select, (iii) (therefore) occupy no fixed position in the clausal hierarchy; (iv) have surface scope determined by their position; (v) may violate consistent word-order patterns of the language; (vi) may violate the FOFC”. Curiously enough, they consider the Chinese Force head *ma* as such a “syncategorematic” element, remain, however, silent about the status of the numerous other root-Cs in Chinese.

involve other specifications: *laizhe* expresses both ‘recent past’ and ‘event assertion’, *ne* interrogativity and the fact that this is a follow-up question, *ma* interrogativity and (optionally) a bias what answer to expect (in contrast to the exclusively neutral ‘A-not A’ question); last, but not least, *dehuà* is compatible with conditions of all kinds except the necessary and sufficient condition ‘iff’ (cf. Lu Peng 2008: 30).

It is precisely the “syncretic nature” (to use Biberauer et al.’s (2010) term) of SFPs, i.e. the fact that an SFP is characterized by a complex bundle of semantico-syntactic features that makes it difficult to determine the precise feature make-up for each SFP, although its effects in terms of syntactic constraints and felicity conditions are clearly observable.

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