Chinese Relativization: Ordering at the Syntax-Phonology Interface, PhD Dissertation.

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The main concern of this dissertation is Chinese word order, with a special focus on Chinese relative clauses. Chinese is generally considered a head-initial language. Nevertheless, judging from the surface word order, relative clauses appear to be head-final. This fact seems to violate the Head-Direction Parameter according to which all phrase categories in one language are either head-initial or head-final. I propose a theory from a syntax-phonology interface perspective, arguing that (i) relative clauses in Chinese receive a head-initial modifier phrase analysis, following Rubin (in prep.); (ii) de is a clitic-like element that lowers to the first relevant XP it finds, a special movement operation at the syntax-phonology interface. The main argument is built upon the evidence that de behaves like a clitic. I argue that there are in fact two types of clitics in Chinese, one being toneless and another being tone-bearing. The former lacking tone and stress appears in the enclitic position, while the latter always appears in the proclitic position. The differential behavior of these two types of clitics is triggered by the absence of a foot in toneless clitics. It is this absence which forces lowering of de. The generalization based on the behavior of these two types of clitics is accounted for in an Optimality framework. I also show that the position of other functional categories such as aspectual markers and sentence-final particles in Chinese is influenced by their prosodic status.

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