

Resumptive Chains : Relativization vs. Left-Dislocation

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Two types of resumptive pronouns (henceforth RPs) are differentiated (Sells 1984): the ‘true’ resumptive ones and the intrusive ones that are used as the last resort to save the potential violation of the locality constraints. However, the debate is still focus on the following questions: First, typologically, is there a macrovariation (i.e. the same language uses only a specific type of RP (cf. Koopman 1983 for Vata, Engdahl 1985 for Swedish)) or a microvariation (i.e. the same language can use different types of RP (cf. McClosky 1990 for Irish, Rouveret 1994, 2011 for Welsh *et al.*)? Second, is a resumptive chain derived by movement (Sells 1984, Tellier 1991, Demirdache 1991) or by a special kind of movement (Rouveret 1994) or by Agree in the Minimalist Program (Rouveret 2011)?

Based on Mandarin data, this paper argues for the microvariation point of view. Four different cases are observed in Mandarin: 1) The gap is obligatory and the RP is forbidden; 2) the gap and the RP are in free alternation; 3) the RP is obligatory; 4) The intrusive pronoun is obligatory. Importantly, based on this distribution, we observe many distinct properties between a relative chain and a left dislocation chain.

The main claims that I make in this paper are the following ones:

1. A relativized chain is always established by the operation Agree in the MP framework, which stays independently from the fact that the relevant A'-dependency involves a gap or a RP. A left dislocation chain is established either by Agree if the gap strategy is used or by base-generation if the RP is used. In other words, Agree is always involved when the gap strategy is adopted.
2. Based on the proposal of Rouveret (1994, 2011), I propose that gap, RP and intrusive pronoun differ in their internal structures. A gap is inherently NP; an intrusive pronoun has [D- φ] as its internal structure; a RP in a relative chain has an extended form [[D- φ] NP] and it has a reduced form [D- φ] in a dislocation chain. These two claims can account for the following facts observed in Mandarin:

In **Relatives**: Island effects (cf. 1), crossover effects (cf. 3) and are observed both for RP and for gap because the chain is always established by Agree that works phase by phase. Thus Agree is sensitive to the island boundaries. Since the internal structure of the RP in a relative clause is [[D- φ] NP], the Condition C effects (cf. 5) can be observed due to the presence of the NP part. Gap can but RP cannot take a quantificational antecedent because being a NP, the gap can work as a bound variable; however, since the internal structure of the RP in a relative clause is [[D- φ] NP], which is similar to the structure of a definite expression, so it cannot function as a bound variable.

In **Dislocation**: when the **Gap strategy** is adopted, Agree is involved, which gives rise to the island effects (cf. 2) and crossover effects (cf. 4a). A gap can take a quantificational antecedent because it is a NP. However, when the **Resumptive strategy** is adopted, neither island effects (cf. 2) nor crossover effects (cf. 4b) is observed because the left-dislocated element is always base-generated and Agree is not involved. The internal structure of the RP or that of the intrusive pronoun is the reduced form [D- φ] that does not contain the NP part and therefore, no Condition C effects (cf. 6) is observed. RP can take a quantificational antecedent since its internal structure is [D- φ] that can function as a bound pronoun.

- (1) * Wo pengdao-le [Lisi renshi [yongbao-guo (**ta1**)] de na-wei nütongxue de] mingxing.
1S meet-Perf Lisi know embrace-Exp 3MS C that-Cl student C star
(‘I met the star that Lisi knew the girl who embraced.’)

- (2) Na-wei Faguo mingxing, wo pengdao-le [Lisi renshi [yongbao-guo
that-Cl French star 1S meet-Perf Lisi know embrace-Exp
*(**ta1**)]] de na-wei nütongxue.
3MS C that-Cl female.student
'As for that French star, I met the girl that Lisi knew who embraced (*him*).'
- (3) * [Na-ge hundan_i-ziji de laopo ba **ta1_j** gei sha-si-le] de na-ge ren_j
that-Cl bastard-self DE wife BA 3MS GEI kill-dead-Perf C that-Cl personne
(Lit.) 'The guy_i that the bastard_i's own wife killed (*him_i*)'
- (4) a. * Zhangsan_j a, nei hundan_j -ziji de laopo sha-si-le ____ .
Zhangsan Top that-Cl bastard-self DE wife kill-dead-Perf
(Lit.) 'As for Zhangsan_i, the bastard_i's own wife killed *him_i*.'
- b. Zhangsan_j a, nei hundan_j -ziji de laopo ba **ta1_j** gei sha-si-le.
Zhangsan Top that-Cl bastard-self DE wife BA 3MS GEI kill-dead-Perf
(Lit.) 'As for Zhangsan_i, the bastard_i's own wife killed *him_i*.'
- (5) * [Wo juede [ta_{1j} keyi ba **ta3_j** fabiao zai guojia yi-ji
1S think 3SM can BA 3OS publish at national first-rate
kanwu-shang]] de Zhangsan_j de lunwen
journal-on C Zhangsan of paper
'Zhangsan_j's paper that [I think that [he_j can publish (*it_j*) in the first-rate national
journals]]'
- (6) Zhangsan_j de lunwen, wo juede [ta_{1j} keyi (ba **ta3_j**) fabiao
Zhangsan of paper 1S think 3SM can BA 3OS publish
zai guojia yi-ji kanwu-shang]].
at national first-rate journal-on
'As for Zhangsan_j's paper, I think that [he_j can publish (*it_j*) in the first-rate national
journals]].'

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