Island (in)sensitivity in Chinese Topicalization

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Park, Hyunjun & Park, Myung-Kwan. (2020). Island (in)sensitivity in Chinese topicalization. *The Linguistic Association of Korea Journal, 28*(3), 55-70. This paper argues that topicalization in Chinese is generally island-sensitive. However, Zhang (2002) notes that the complex NP composed of a relative clause (RC) can be transparent for movement like topicalization when the immediately higher clause outside it contains a stable-state denoting predicate, but it cannot be otherwise. To account for the island obviation of Chinese topicalization with such a predicate, we adopt Han and Kim's (2004) analysis of double relatives in Korean, where the double subject construction occurs with the first major subject nominal relativized from the RC that modifies the second grammatical subject nominal. In fact, we show that in a parallel fashion, topicalization in Chinese does not invite as island violation with a stable-state denoting predicate because the predicate allows double subjects. More specifically, topicalization proceeds licitly from the edge of the RC to the immediately adjacent outer Spec of TP granted by a stable-state denting predicate. To the extent that the present analysis of the island obviation in question is successful, this paper strengthens the movement thesis for topicalization in Chinese.

Key Words: topicalization, rrelativization, stable-state predicate, double subjects, island effects, island obviation

1. Introduction

Xu and Langendoen (1985) argue that topicalization in Chinese does not induce any island effects because a topic element can be generated without involving movement. As observed by Zhang (2002), however, Chinese topicalization is sensitive to the predicate distinction inside islands. Zhang notes that island effects arise in episodic eventuality contexts equivalent to specific eventualities, but they do not in stable state contexts. Grounded on Zhang's (2002) empirical claim, Pan (2014a) goes on to argue that topicalization and cleft formation in Chinese cannot be analyzed as a single unitary phenomenon, extending wh/*shi*-preceded cleft pivot (SCP) ex-situ constructions into four distinct types based on the two ingredients of extraction and base-generation.[1] The paradigm of these data involving wh/scp-elements in Chinese also confirms that there is a distinction between episodic eventuality contexts and stable state contexts in terms of island sensitivity. In other words, the island effects are detected only in episodic eventualities in Chinese, but not elsewhere. Thus, the predicate distinction related to island sensitivity is found in such constructions as topicalization in (1), *wh*-ex-situ in (2), and clefting in (3).[2]

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1) Chinese *wh*-phrases at the left periphery can occur as a topic or a focus derived via movement or by base-generation. Pan (2014a) shows four possible combinations: base-generated *wh*-topic, extracted *wh*-topic, base-generated *wh*-foucs in the left-periphery and extracted *wh*-focus. There has been a heated debate as to whether Chinese topicalization is derived either by movement or by base-generation. Zhang (2002) argues that Chinese topicalization is derived from movement and sensitive to islands in episodic eventualities' contexts, whereas Xu and Langendoen (1985) argue that it cannot be derived by movement. Meanwhile, Pan (2014a, 2014b) tries to reveal more complex kinds of topicalization in Chinese in terms of a combination of extraction and base-generation. In this paper, we argue that Zhang's (2002) analysis of Chinese topicalization is on the right track by showing that apparent island-insensitive topicalization involves structure analogous to Korean double relative clauses. In this vein, we are in keeping with a unified movement analysis of topicalization in Chinese.

2) Abbreviations used in the examples are as follows: ACC: accusative, ADN: adnominal, CL: classifier, DE: de (的), COP: coupla, DECL: declarative, EXP: experiential, NOM: nominative, NOMI: nominal, PART: particle, PAST: past, PERF: perfective, Q: question.

(1) a. ??Zhe ben shu, (wo xiang) du-guo de   ren   lai-le.   (topicalization)
        this CL book I think   read-EXP DE person come-PERF
        Intended: 'This book, I think the person who read came.'

   b. Zhe ben shu, (wo xiang) du-guo de   ren   bu **duo**.
       this CL book I think   read-EXP DE person not many
       'This book, (I think) the person who read are not many.'

<div align="right">(Zhang, 2002)</div>

(2) a. ??Na-bu   dianying, kan-guo de   ren   lai-le?[3)]   (*wh*-ex-situ)
        which-CL movie   see-EXP DE person come-PERF
        Intended: 'Which movie did the person who saw (it) come?'

   b. Na-bu   dianying, kan-guo de   ren   bu **shao**?
      which-CL movie   see-EXP DE person not few
      'Which movie, the people who saw (it) are many?'

(3) a. *Shi na-bu   dianying, kan-guo de   ren   lai-le.   (clefting)
        be that-CL movie   see-EXP DE   person come-PERF
        Intended: 'It is that movie that the person who saw (it) came.'

   b. Shi na-bu dianying, kanguo de   ren   hen **duo**.
      be that-CL movie   see-EXP DE person very many
      'It is that movie that the people who   saw (it) are many.'

<div align="right">(Pan, 2014b)</div>

The run-of-the-mill topic in the sentence-initial position of (1a) is displaced from inside the complex NP structure. This sentence is not acceptable. On the other hand, (1b) is perfectly acceptable. The only difference between (1a) and (1b) lies in the type of predicates inside the CNP. (1a) contains a predicate denoting an episodic eventuality context, whereas (1b) contains the one denoting a stable state context. In the latter, no island effects arise. The same contrast also holds between the (a)-sentences and (b)-sentences of (2) and (3).

In this paper, we will argue that the obviation of island effects in such sentences as (1b), (2b), and (3b) vis-à-vis (1a), (2a), and (3a) is to be analyzed on a par with the comparable obviation of the effects in relativization of Korean and Japanese as in (4) and (5), initially noted by Kuno (1973) for Japanese and Han and Kim (2004) for Korean.[4)]

(4) [$_{RC1}$ [$_{RC2}$ e$_i$ e$_j$ tha-ko tani-nun]   cha-ka$_j$ mesci-n]   sinsa$_i$ (Korean)
            e$_i$ e$_j$ ride   drive-ADN car-NOM$_j$ stylish-ADN gentleman
   'the gentleman$_i$ [$_{RC1}$ who$_i$ the car$_j$ [$_{RC2}$ which$_j$ e$_i$ is driving e$_j$] is stylish]'

(5) [[kite-iru]   yoohuku-ga yogorete-iru] sinsi   (Japanese)
       wearing-is suit-NOM   dirty-is   gentleman
   'gentleman who the suit [he] is wearing is dirty'

<div align="right">(Han and Kim, 2004)</div>

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3) An anonymous reviewer points out that the following Korean example is completely grammatical.
   (i) etten yenghwa-lul po-n   salam-i   wa-ss-ni?
   which movie-ACC see-ADN person-NOM come-PAST-Q
      'Which movie did the person who saw (it) come?'
   We argue that (2a) in Chinese and (i) in Korean cannot be assimilated because 'na-bu dianying' in (2a) is overtly topicalized to sentence-initial position, but 'etten yenghwa' is the object inside the RC with a RC head 'salam' that, as generally assumed, undergoes covert movement. An anonymous reviewer also points out that the criteria for distinguishing eventive predicates from stative predicates are unclear in this paper. For the moment, we leave this question open.
4) The Korean data are presented in the Yale system of Romanization which follows the morpho-phonemic spelling principles of the Korean alphabet.

Following the lead by Han and Kim (2004), where apparently Double relative clauses (RC(s)) in Korean and Japanese stem from double subject constructions which are excellently formed with stative verbs or adjectives inside RCs, we argue that (1b), (2b), and (3b) involve the structure quite comparable to that of double RCs in Korean and Japanese. More specifically, the apparently displaced topic element in (1b), (2b), and (3b) does not originate from inside the RC island, but from the outer specifier of TP or [Spec, TopP] (that a major or topicalized subject occupies) outside the inner specifier of TP (that a grammatical subject occupies) in the higher clause, as represented below with (2b):

(6)
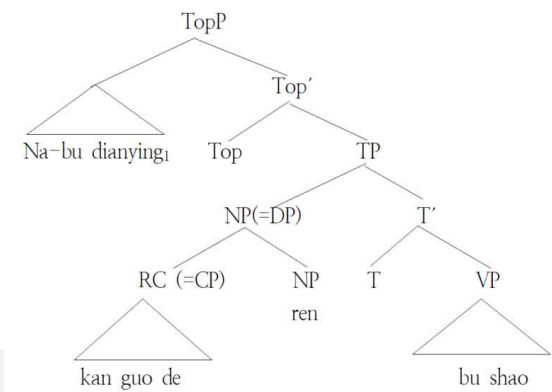
Along this line of analysis, we will investigate both the issue at hand and the coverage of Korean/Japanese-type double subjects in various constructions of Chinese. The consequence of this analysis will be that we can provide a uniform movement analysis of topicalization in Chinese, showing that its peculiar behaviors in the context of stable state predicates fall out from the cross-linguistically attested syntactic structure that the stative predicates give rise to.

2. Obviation of Island effects in Korean relativization

The RC head NP in Korean occurs to the right of a RC, as in (7).

(7) a. Subject-extracted relative clause
    [$_{CP}$ [$_{TP}$ e Yengi-lul cohaha]-nun] namca
          e Yengi-Acc like -ADN   man
     'The man who likes Yengi'
   b. Object-extracted relative clause
    [$_{CP}$ [$_{TP}$ Cheli-ka   e cohaha]-nun] yeca
          Cheli-NOM e   like -ADN   woman
    'The woman who Cheli likes'
   c. Adverbial relative clause
    [$_{CP}$ [$_{TP}$ Cheli-ka   e Yengi-lul   cohaha-nun] iyu
          Cheli-NOM e Yengi-ACC like-ADN   reason
    'The reason why Cheli likes Yengi'

It may be assumed that Korean relativization employs the operation analogous to *wh*-movement in English even though it does not have any overt relative pronoun. Suppose that in Korean, an empty relative pronoun or operator moves to the position of the specifier of CP ([Spec, CP]), thus being associated with the gap within the RC of (8).

(8) a. [$_{CP}$ OP$_i$ [$_{TP}$ e$_i$ Yengi-lul cohaha]-nun] namca

b. [$_{CP}$ OP$_i$ [$_{TP}$ Cheli-ka e$_i$ cohaha]-nun] yeca

c. [$_{CP}$ OP$_i$ [$_{TP}$ Cheli-ka e$_i$ Yengi-lul cohaha-nun] iyu

However, a question that arises with respect to this wh-movement analysis is: how the movement analysis based on empty operators (EO(s)) can account for the absence of island effects in the following cases involving double RCs of Korean.

(9) a. [$_{RC1}$ [$_{RC2}$ e$_i$ e$_j$ cohaha-nun] kangaci-ka$_j$ cwuk-un] ai$_i$

　　　　　　 e$_i$ e$_j$ like-ADN dog-NOM$_j$ die-ADN kid$_i$

'the kid [$_{RC1}$ who$_i$ the dog [$_{RC2}$ which$_j$ e$_i$ liked e$_j$] died]'

'the kid who the dog which [he] liked died'

b. [$_{RC1}$ [$_{RC2}$ e$_i$ e$_j$ tha-ko tani-nun] cha-ka$_j$ mesci-n] sinsa$_i$

　　　　　　 e$_i$ e$_j$ ride drive-ADN car-NOM$_j$ stylish-ADN gentleman

'the gentleman [$_{RC1}$ who$_i$ the car [$_{RC2}$ which$_j$ e$_i$ is driving e$_j$] is stylish]'

'the gentleman who the car that [he] is driving is stylish'

c. [$_{RC1}$ [$_{RC2}$ e$_i$ e$_j$ kackoiss-nun] khemphwute-ka$_j$ Mac-i-n] kyoswu$_i$

　　　　　　 e$_i$ e$_j$ have-ADN computer-NOM$_j$ Mac-COP-ADN professor$_i$

'the professor [$_{RC1}$ who$_i$ the computer [$_{RC2}$ which$_j$ e$_i$ has e$_j$] is Mac]'

'the professor who the computer which [he] has is [a] Mac'

(Han and Kim, 2004)

The relative clauses in (9) are not the same in structural make-up as those in (7). The relativization applies twice in (9). First of all, the object *kangaci* 'dog' in the position of e$_j$ in RC2 in (9a) has been relativized via the EO, which is associated with *kangaci-ka* 'dog-NOM' in the subject position of RC1. Afterwards, the subject *ai* 'child' in the position of e$_i$ in RC2 has been relativized via another EO, which is associated with the head NP *ai* 'child'. Note that this second instance of the EO from the RC2 to the RC1 is supposed to incur a CNPC, but the whole construction in (9a) is perceived as acceptable. Then, another question is raised. Are RCs in Korean sensitive to island constraints?

The answer to this question is positive, since island effects arise in another type of RC constructions as in (10).

(10) a. *[wuli pan haksayng-i [$_{CNP}$ [e$_i$ kapcaki mikwuk-ey

　　　　 our class student-NOM e$_i$ suddenly America-to

　　　　 ka-n] sasil-ul mola-ss-ten] sensayngnim$_i$

　　　　 go-ADN fact-ACC not.know-PAST-ADN teacher$_i$

　　　　 'the teacher who$_i$ a student from our class didn't know [$_{CNP}$ the fact that e$_i$ suddenly

　　　　　 went to America]'

b. *[John-i [$_{CNP}$ [kangto-ka e$_i$ hwumchy-ess-ta-nun] sosik-ul tul-un] posek$_i$

　　　 John-Nom thief-NOM e$_i$ steal-PAST-DECL-ADN news-ACC hear-ADN jewel$_i$

　　　 'the jewel which$_i$ John heard [$_{CNP}$ the news that the thief stole e$_i$]'

c. *[[$_{AC}$ John-i ku namca-lul e$_i$ manna-ss-ki

　　　 John-NOM that man-ACC e$_i$ meet-PAST-NOMI

　　　 ttaymwuney] Sue-ka hwakana-n] sikan$_i$

　　　 because Sue-NOM be.angry-ADN time$_i$

　　　 'the time when$_i$ Sue was angry [$_{AC}$ because John met that man e$_i$]'

(Han and Kim, 2004)

The subject NP e$_i$ in the complex NP (CNP) in (10a) is relativized via an EO and associated with the head NP *sensayngnim* 'teacher' in the RC. The object NP e$_j$ in CNP in (10b) is relativized to the head NP *posek* 'jewel' in the RC. The adjunct e$_i$ in the adjunct clause (AC) in (10c) is relativized to the head NP *sikan* 'time' in the RC as well. The ungrammaticality of (10a), (10b), and (10c) clearly indicates that island effects are also operative in Korean RCs.

In order to explicate the contrast in island effects between examples in (9) and those in (10), Han and Kim (2004) propose that double RCs in Korean essentially involve double subject/nominative constructions that are independently available in this language as in (11).

(11) a. Ku ai-ka   kangaci-ka cwuk-ess-ta.
       that kid-NOM dog-NOM   die-PST-DECL
       'As for that kid, the dog died.'
    b. Ku   sinsa-ka   yangpok-i telep-ta.
       that gentleman-NOM suit-NOM   dirty-DECL
       'As for that gentleman, the suit is dirty.'

(Han and Kim, 2004)

There are two nominative Case-marked NPs in (11a-b). The first nominal NP serves to mark 'topicality' or 'aboutness' in sentence or discourse contexts, whereas the second nominal NP represents the syntactic/grammatical subject. At the same time, the first NP is in a semantic relation with the second NP. Syntactically, it has been suggested that the second NP and the verbal sequence forms a phrase TP in (12), which in turn serves as a clausal predicate, thereby being combined with the first NP adjoined to the TP (Choi 1937; Park 1973; Yoon 1989).

(12) a. Kangaci-ka   cwuk-ess-ta.
       dog-NOM   die-PAST-DECL
       'The dog died.'
    b. Yangpok-i telep-ta.
       suit-NOM   dirty-DECL
       'The suit is dirty.'

The verbal sequence in double subject/nominative constructions tends to only be formed with stative verbs or adjectives (Kim 1990, Han and Kim 2004). Accordingly, the first subject/nominative NPs of such verbal sequences in (11) can feed into relativization as in (13). By contrast, those of other verbal sequences with an episodic eventuality-denoting verb are resistant to undergoing relativization in (14).

(13) a. [$_{RC}$ e$_i$ [kangaci-ka cwuk-un]] ai$_i$
         e$_i$ dog-NOM die-ADN kid$_i$
       'the kid whose dog died'
    b. [$_{RC}$ e$_i$ [yangpok-i telewu-n]] sinsa$_i$
         e$_i$ suit-NOM dirty-ADN gentleman$_i$
       'the gentleman whose suit is dirty'
(14) a. *[$_{RC}$ e$_i$ [kangaci-ka haymbeke-ul   mek-un]] ai$_i$
         e$_i$ dog-NOM hamburger-ACC eat-ADN   kid$_i$
       'the kid whose dog ate hamburger'
    b. *[$_{RC}$ e$_i$ [yangpok-i hwamyen-ul kamchwu-n]] sinsa$_i$
   e$_i$ suit-NOM screen-ACC hide-ADN   gentleman$_i$

'the gentleman whose suit blocks the computer screen'

Han and Kim thus claim that the source sentences for double RCs in Korean are double subject/nominative constructions. In (15a), the second subject/nominative NP *kangaci* 'dog' is relativized, and the first subject/nominative NP is base-generated in TP-adjoined position and associated with the TP-internal empty *pro*.

(15) a. Ai-ka$_i$ [$_{RC}$ pro$_i$ e$_j$ cohaha-nun] kangaci-ka$_j$ cwuk-ess-ta.
     kid-NOM   pro$_i$ e$_j$ like-ADN   dog-NOM$_j$ die-PAST-DECL
     'As for the kid, the dog that he liked died.'
  b. [$_{RC1}$ e$_i$ [[$_{RC2}$ pro$_i$ e$_j$ cohaha-nun] kangaci-ka$_j$] cwuk-un] ai$_i$
      e$_i$ pro$_i$ e$_j$ like-ADN   dog-NOM$_J$ die-ADN kid$_i$
     'the kid whose dog which he liked died'

Likewise, the RC construction in (15b) is derived by relativizing the first subject/nominative NP adjoined to the outer specifier of TP [Spec, TP] in (15b). This first NP is in turn associated with the empty pro in the RC2. In other words, this gap is not created by relativization out of the complex NP, but by the binding relation linking the first NP with the empty pro in the RC2. Therefore, there is no island violation involved in the formation of the double RCs. The corresponding tree structure of (15b) is as in (16).
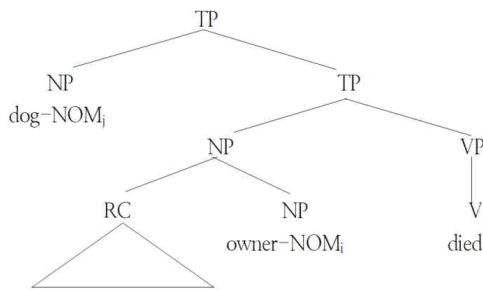
(16)
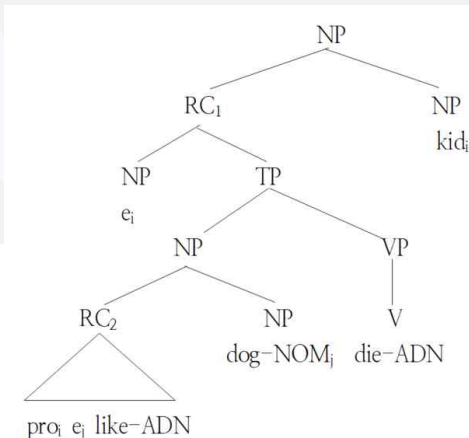
(Han and Kim, 2004)

A major (or the first) subject in a double subject/nominative construction can also be associated with *pro* in RC-internal object position as in (17).

(17) a. Ku kangaci-ka$_j$ [[$_{RC2}$ e$_i$ pro$_j$ khiwecwu-n] cwuin-i$_i$]   cwuk-ess-ta.
     that dog-NOM$_j$ e$_i$ pro$_j$ keep-ADN owner-NOM$_i$ die-PAST-DECL
   'As for that dog, the owner who kept him died.'

    b.

(Han and Kim, 2004)

In (17a) the first subject/nominative NP 'kangaci' is associated with the object *pro* in the RC2. The second subject/nominative NP 'cwuin' in (17a) has been relativized and serves as a head of the RC1. Then the resulting double RC in (18a) is represented in (18b).

(18) a. [RC1 e_j [RC2 e_i pro_j khiwecwu-n] cwuin-i_i   cwuk-un] kangaci_j
           e_j   e_i pro_j keep-ADN owner-NOM_i die-ADN dog_j
       'the dog who the owner who kept [him] died'
   b.
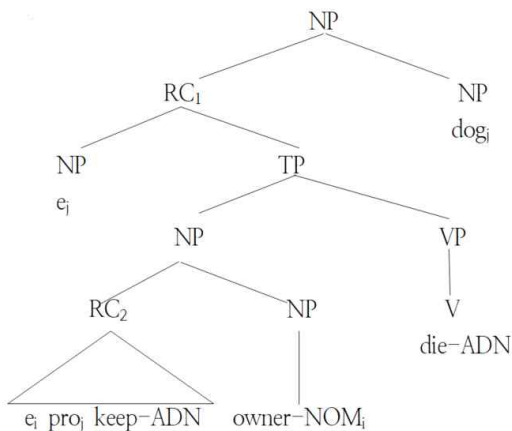
(Han and Kim, 2004)

Note that the apparent object gap inside the RC2 is relativized to serve as a relative head without involving movement, viz. via the binding strategy for the empty *pro*. The double subject/nominative strategy for relativization can be extended to Japanese which also deploys a double subject/nominative construction and the *pro* drop device. as in (19).

(19) a. sinsi-ga   yoohuku-ga yogorete-iru.
         gentleman-NOM suit-NOM   dirty-is
   b. [[kite-iru] yoohuku-ga yogorete-iru] sinsi
        wearing-is suit-NOM   dirty-is   gentleman
      'gentleman who the suit [he] is wearing is dirty'
   c. [RC1 e_i [RC2 pro_i e_j kite-iru] yoohuku-ga_j yogorete-iru] sinsi_i
           e_i   pro_i e_j wearing-is suit-NOM_j   dirty-is   gentleman_i

As earlier noted by Kuno (1973) and Kuroda (1978), the double subject/nominative construction in Japanese is acceptable as in (19a). The first subject/nominative NP *sinsi* 'gentleman' is relativized from (19a), where it is

associated with the *pro* subject adjoined to the specifier of RC-internal TP without inducing an island violation.

3. Topic structures in Chinese

There has been a heated debate over whether topics are derived by movement or base-generated in Chinese. If topicalization in Chinese is derived by movement, it should be sensitive to locality constraints on movement. Xu and Langendoen (1985) initially argue that topicalization in Chinese does not display any island effect because topics in Chinese are base-generated. However, Zhang (2002) argues that there are cases where island effects are detected. Specifically, Zhang (2002) notes that island effects only occur in episodic eventualities, but they do not in stable state contexts. In this paper, we will show that the obviation of island effects in topicalization of Chinese can receive a principled analysis along the line of Han and Kim (2004), which as demonstrated in the previous section provides an account for the comparable obviation of island effects in double relative clauses of Korean and Japanese.

Note first that Chinese also has double subject constructions when two nominal elements occur with a stative predicate (Teng 1974, Shyu 1995), even though in this language there is no overt case marker such as '(n)un' as a topic marker and 'ka' as a nominative case marker available to Korean

(20) a. Ta duzi   e.
        he stomach hungry
        'He is hungry.'
     b. Ta tou teng.
        he head painful
        'He has a headache.'
     c. Ta kou ke.
        he mouth thirsty
        'He is thirsty.'

(Teng, 1974)

The relationship between the first nominal elements such as 'ta', 'ta', 'ta' and the second nominal elements such as 'duzi', 'tou', 'kou' in (20) concerns possession, and thus a genitive 'de' may be inserted between the first and the second nominal elements. Another feature of the double subject construction in Chinese is that the predicate element is a stative intransitive.[5)6)] Despite these general characteristics, however, the first nominal and the second nominal elements in this construction do not always form a constituent, as follows.

(21) a. (Ouzhou a) xianjin guojia   nanren bi   nüren pingjun-shouming duan.

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5) When double subject constructions in Chinese are formed with eventive predicates, it seems that grammaticality is much degraded than with stative predicate.
   (i) na ge haizi xiaogou si le.   (stative predicate)
       that CL kid dog   die PERF
       'As for that kid, the dog died.'
   (ii) ??na ge haizi xiaogou jiao le.   (eventive predicate)
        that CL kid dog   bark PERF
        'As for that kid, the dog barked.'
6) Syu (1995) claims that the predicate element of the double subject construction in Chinese can be either a stative intransitive such as an adjective or copulative predicate, or an eventive verb as in (i):
   (i) Daxiang bizi shen-chu le langan.
       elephant trunk stretch-out Asp fence
       '(An) elephant's trunk stretched across the fence.'

(Europe)   civilized countries male   compare with women average-life-span shorter

'In Europe, in civilized countries the average life-span of men is shorter than that of
women.'

   b. (Ouzhou a) xianjin   guojia   de nanren bi   nüren   pingjun-shouming duan.

     (Europe)   civilized countries DE male   compare with women average-life-span shorter

   c. Ouzhou a, <u>xianjin   guojia</u>   zuijin <u>nanren</u> bi nüren   pingjun-shouming duan.

     'In Europe, civilized countries recently the average life-span of men is shorter than that
of women.'

   d. *Ouzhou a, <u>xianjin guojia de</u> zuijin   <u>nanren</u> bi nüren pingjun-shouming duan.

     'In Europe, men of civilized countries recently have shorter average life-span than
women.'[7]

<div align="right">(Shyu, 1995)</div>

The first nominal *xianjin guojia* 'civilized countries' and the second nominal *nanren* 'male' in (21b) are connected by the genitive 'de' and is thus taken to form a single constituent. However, this is not always true. The two nominals can be separated by an adverb as in (21c). This fact indicates that these two nominal elements do not necessarily form a single constituent and thus the first nominal does not need to adjoin to the second nominal for double subject constructions. In other words, it is suggested that the first nominal serves as a TP-adjoined (or Spec of the outer TP) subject of the clausal predicate whose subject is the second nominal, as argued by Han and Kim (2004). More examples of the double Subject construction in Chinese are also taken to have the structure suggested.

(22) a. xiang   bizi chang.

     elephant nose long

     'Elephants' noses are long.'

   b. Zhangsan nü pengyou duo.

     Zhangsan girl friend   many

     'Zhangsan has lots of girlfriends.'

   c. Zhei ge nühai yanjing hen   da.

     that CL girl   eye   very big

     'This girl's eyes are very big.'

   d. Zhei ban xuesheng ta   zui   congming.

     This class student   3sg most intelligent

     '(In) that class of students, s/he is the most intelligent.'

<div align="right">(Li and Thompson, 1981)</div>

To reiterate, it is to be noted that, as in (22a-d), the double subject construction in Chinese seems to be perceived as more acceptable when the predicate element in this construction is stative verbs rather than activity verbs, in line with Teng (1974), Kim (1990), Han and Kim (2004).

Allowing for double subjects in this language, Chinese typically allows the empty pronoun *pro* in all argument positions (Huang 1982; Huang, Li, and Li 2009).

(23) Zhangsan$_i$, [[$_{RC}$ e$_i$ xihuan de] ren]   hen   duo.

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7) The first NP and the second NP do not necessarily form a single constituent. Therefore, the two NPs can be separated by an adverb as in (21c). On the other hand, it is not acceptable to insert the genitive *de* between the first NP and the second NP when a sentential adverb intervenes.

Zhangsan   e$_i$ like   DE person very many
'Zhangsan$_i$, people who [he$_i$] likes are many.'

Note that the subject *pro* in the relative clause is associated with the first nominal *Zhangsan* in major subject position. Recall Han and Kim's (2004) suggestion that double RCs should exist if a language has a double subject/nominative construction and the empty pronoun strategy. Chinese is a *pro*-drop language and allows for double subjects constructions. If so, let us see how topicalization in Chinese displays the obviation of island effects using double RCs in Chinese on a par with its counterpart in Korean and Japanese.

The examples in (24) are double subject constructions where the second nominal is modified by the RC that contains the empty pro that the first nominal associates with.

(24) a. na   ge haizi siyang de xiaogou si   le.
         That CL kid keep DE dog   die PERF
         'As for that kid, the dog which [he] kept died.'
    b. na   ge shenshi   xihuan de yangzhuang zang le.
         that CL gentleman like DE suit   dirty PERF
         'As for that gentleman, the suit [he] liked is dirty.'

On top of the simple kind of double relatives in (25a-b), the two nominal elements of double subjects constructions in (24a-b) can be relativized as in (26a-b). For example, (26a) is derived from the double subject construction in (24a), where the two RC heads underwent 'double' relativization from the RC that apparently modifies the second nominal.

(25) a. [$_{RC}$ e$_i$ [xiaogou sidiao de]] haizi$_i$.
            e$_i$ dog   die DE kid$_i$
         'the kid whose dog died'
    b. [$_{RC}$ e$_i$ [yangzhuang zang de] shenshi$_i$
            ei suit   dirty DE gentleman$_i$
         'the gentleman whose suit is dirty'
(26) a. [$_{RC1}$ [$_{RC2}$ pro$_i$ siyang e$_j$ de] xiaogou$_j$ sidiao de] haizi$_i$
              pro$_i$ keep e$_j$ DE dog$_j$ die   DE kid
         'the kid whose dog which kept died.'
    b. [$_{RC1}$ [$_{RC2}$ pro$_i$ xihuan e$_j$ de] yangzhuang$_j$ zang de] shenshi$_i$
              pro$_i$ like e$_j$ DE   suit   dirty DE gentleman
         'the gentleman whose suit which [he] likes is dirty'

In addition to the first nominal being associated with the RC-internal *pro* in subject position, it can also be associated with the RC-internal *pro* in object position, as in (27a-b). For example, the major subject in the double subject construction of (27a) is associated with the RC-internal *pro* in object position. This major subject can be relativized as in (27b). (27a) and (27b) are ruled in without invoking an island violation, thanks to the *pro* strategy.

(27) a. na zhi xiaogou$_j$ [$_{RC}$ e$_i$ siyang pro$_j$ de] zhuren$_i$ si le.
         that dog$_j$ e$_i$ keep pro$_j$ DE owner$_i$ die PERF
         'As for that dog, the owner who kept him died.'

    b. [$_{RC1}$ e$_j$ [$_{RC2}$ e$_i$ siyang pro$_j$ de] zhuren$_i$ si de] xiaogou$_j$

e_j e_i keep pro_j DE owner die DE dog_j
'the dog who the owner who kept [him] died'

Since relativization and topicalization are taken as the different sides of the same coin (Kuno 1973), the examples from Zhang (2002) and Pan (2014b), repeated below, can now be accounted for in terms of the double subject analysis for them that we have advocated up to now.

(28) a. ??Zhe ben shu, (wo xiang) du-guo de ren   lai-le.   (topicalization)
   this CL book I think read-EXP DE person come-PERF
   Intended: 'This book, I think the person who read came.'
  b. Zhe ben shu, (wo xiang) du-guo de ren   bu **duo.**
   this CL book I think   read-EXP DE person not many
   'This book, (I think) the person who read are not many.'
(29) a. ??Na-bu   dianying, kan-guo de ren   **lai-le.**   (*wh*-ex-situ)
   which-CL movie   see-EXP DE person come-PERF
   Intended: 'Which movie did the person who saw (it) come?'
  b. Na-bu   dianying, kan-guo de ren   bu **shao?**
   which-CL movie   see-EXP DE person not few
   'Which movie are the people who saw (it) many?'
(30) a. *Shi na-bu   dianying, kan-guo de ren   **lai-le.**   (cleft construction)
   be that-CL movie   see-EXP DE person come-PERF
   Intended: 'It is that movie that the person who saw (it) came.'
  b. Shi na-bu dianying, kanguo de ren   hen **duo.**
   be that-CL movie   see-EXP DE person very many
   'It is that movie that the people who saw (it) are many.'

Topicalization in (28a), (29a), and (30a) turn out not to be allowed since the source structure for topicalization, that is, the double subject construction is not available when the predicate element is the one that encodes episodic eventuality. As pointed out above, Zhang (2002) notes that island effects arise in topicalization in the sentences contain verbs denoting episodic eventuality. In other words, island effects in Chinese topicalization are manifested in episodic eventualities, but not in non-episodic eventualities such as stable states, habitual eventualities, and irrealis eventualities. Since (28b), (29b), and (30b) consist of a stative verb, it follows that they do not display any island effects. They can further be represented as involving the double subject structure.

(31) a. Zhe ben shu_j, [$_{NP}$ [$_{RC}$ e_i du-guo e_j de] ren_i]   bu **duo.**
   this CL book e_i read-EXP e_j DE $person_j$ not many
  b. Na-bu $dianying_i$, [$_{NP}$ [$_{RC}$ e_i kan-guo e_j de] ren_i]   bu **shao?**
   which-CL movie   ei see-EXP e_j DE $person_i$ not few
  c. Shi na-bu $dianying_j$, [$_{NP}$ [$_{RC}$ e_i kanguo e_j de] ren_i hen **duo.**
   be that-CL movie e_i see-EXP e_j DE $person_i$ very many

Note that the double subject analysis for certain instances of topicalization in Chinese hinges on the fact that when the island obviation of topicalization arises only in this structure, the RC containing the gap that the apparently topicalized (or first major subject) nominal is associated with modifies the second nominal of the double subject construction. Topicalization in Chinese is subject to island effects in other various contexts as in (32).

(32) a. Complex NP (relative clause) in object position:

    *Luxun$_i$, wo xihuan [e$_i$ xie] de shu.

    Luxun I like   write DE book

    'Luxun, I like the books that [e$_i$ wrote].'

  b. Complex NP (complement clause of nouns) in object position:

    *Zhangsan$_i$, wo tingshuo-le [Lisi ma-le e$_i$] de yaoyan.

    Zhangsan I hear-PERF Lisi insult-PERF DE rumor

    'Zhangsan$_i$, I heard the rumor that [Lisi insulted e$_i$].'

  c. Sentential subject:

    *Meiguo$_i$, [Zhangsan qu-le   e$_i$ lüxing] shi women dou hen jingya.

    America Zhangsan go-PERF travel make us all very surprised

    'America$_i$, that [Zhangsan went to e$_i$ for travelling] made us very surprised.'

  d. Adjunct clause (adverbial clause of cause/purpose):

    *Faguo$_i$, weile Zhangsan neng qu e$_i$ nianshu], ta mama gei ta

    France for Zhangsan can go study his mother for him

    zhao-le ye-wei fawen laoshi.

    find-PER one-CL French teacher

    'France, [in order for Zhangsan to be able to go to ei for studying], his mother found a French

    language teacher for him.'

  e. Adjunct clause (conditional clause):

    *[(Yi-ge) nenggan de nühair]$_i$, [ruguo Zhangsan qu   e$_i$], ta baba cai hui gaoxing.

    one-CL capable DE girl if Zhangsan marry his father then will happy

    '[A skillful girl]$_i$, [if (and only if) Zhangsan marries to e$_i$], his father will be happy.'

<div align="right">(Pan, 2014a)</div>

It is to be underscored that topicalization in Chinese exhibits island effects, but that the RC modifying the second subject nominal in the double subject construction is apparently transparent to the association with the topicalized (or first major subject) nominal, which we have termed the island obviation of topicalization.

    Likewise, wh-ex-situ/topic and cleft constructions exhibit island effects in other contexts not employing the double subject construction. (33a-f) and (34a-e) represent wh-ex-situ/topic and cleft constructions, respectively.

(33) a. Complex NP (relative clause) in object position:

    *[Na-ge zuojia]$_i$, ni xihuan [[$_{NP}$ e$_i$ xie] de [$_{N°}$ shu]]?

    which-CL writer you like write DE book

    'Which writer x (is the one that) do you like the book that [x wrote]?'

  b. Complex NP (complement of noun) in object position:

    *[Na-ge laoshi]$_i$, Zhangsan bu xiangxin [$_{NP}$ [Lisi zuotian ma-le e$_i$] de [$_{N°}$ yaoyan]]?

    which-CL teacher Zhangsan not believe Lisi yesterday insult-PERF DE rumor

    'Which teacher x (is the one that) does Zhangsan not believe the rumor that [Lisi insulted e$_i$]?'

  c. Sentential subject:

    *[Na-ge guojia]$_i$, [Zhangsan qu e$_i$ lüxing] hui shi dajia dou hen jingya?

    which-CL country Zhangsan go trip will make everyone all very surprise

    'Which country x (is the one that the fact that) will [Zhangsan will have a trip in x] make everyone surprised?'

  d. Adjunct clause (adverbial clause of purpose):

*[Na-ge   guojia]ᵢ, [weile Zhangsan neng qu eᵢ nianshu], ta mama gei ta   zhao-le   yi-wei
which-CL country for   Zhangsan can go study   his mother for him find-PERF one-CL
fawen laoshi.
French teacher
'Which country x (is the one that) did [in order for Zhangsan to be able to go to x for his
studies] his mother find a French language teacher for him?'

  e. Adjunct clause (conditional clause):

*[(Yi-ge) shenme-yang de nühair]ᵢ, [Zhangsan qu   eᵢ], ta baba cai hui gaoxing?
one-CL what-kind DE girl   Zhangsan marry   his father then will happy
'[What kind of girl]ᵢ, will [if (and only if) Zhangsan marries to eᵢ] his father be happy.'

  f. *Wh*-island:

*[Na-wei   laoshi]ᵢ, Zhangsan zuotian   shenme-shihou pengdao-le eᵢ?
which-CL teacher Zhangsan yesterday when   meet-PERF
'Which teacherᵢ, when did Zhangsan meet yesterday eᵢ?'

(Pan, 2014a)

(34) a. Complex NP (relative clause) in object position:
    *Shi Luxunᵢ, wo xihuan [eᵢ xie] de shu.
    be Luxun I   like   write DE book
    'It was Luxun whose book I liked.'

  b. Complex NP (complement clause of nouns) in object position:
    *Shi Zhangsanᵢ, wo tingshuo-le [Lisi ma-le eᵢ]   de yaoyan.
    be Zhangsan I   hear-PERF Lisi insult-PERF DE rumor
    'It was Zhangsan who I heard the rumor that Lisi insulted.'

  c. Sentential subject:
    *Shi Meiguoᵢ, [Zhangsan qu-le   eᵢ lüxing] shi women dou hen   jingya.
    be America Zhangsan go-PERF   travel make us   all   very surprised
    'It was the US that the fact that Zhangsan had a trip made us surprised.'

  d. Adjunct clause (adverbial clause of cause/purpose):
    *Shi Faguoᵢ, weile Zhangsan neng qu eᵢ nianshu], ta   mama gei ta
    be France for   Zhangsan can go study   his mother for him
    zhao-le   ye-wei   fawen laoshi.
    find-PERF one-CL French teacher
    'It was France that in order for Zhangsan to be able to go to for his studies, his mother found a
    French language teacher for him.'

  e. Adjunct clause (conditional clause):
    *Shi [(Yi-ge) nenggan de nühair]ᵢ, [ruguo Zhangsan qu   eᵢ], ta baba cai hui gaoxing.
    be one-CL capable DE girl   if   Zhangsan marry   his father then will happy
    'It was a capable woman who if (and only if) Zhangsan marries to, his father will be happy.'

Up to now, we have assumed that the island obviation of topicalization from the double subject construction is due to the apparent application of relativization/wh-movement. In fact, not relativization/ wh-movement but the binding strategy linking the base-generated topic with the empty *pro* inside the RC comes into play, overcoming the expected island effects. The immediate question raised is why such a binding strategy is not freely available in the examples of (32a-e) & (33a-f) & (34a-e) that show island effects. The unacceptability of these sentences casts serious doubt on the validity of the binding strategy using the empty *pro*. We rather suggest following Abe (2019) that the apparent island obviation of topicalization is fulfilled by

the interaction between edge/adjacency effects and multiple Spec's in the double subject construction.[8] For concreteness, let's reconsider the representations in (31a-c), repeated below, which are the detailed structures of the (b)-examples of (28)-(30).

(35) a. Zhe ben shu$_j$, [$_{NP}$ [$_{RC}$ e$_i$ du-guo e$_j$ de] ren$_i$] bu **duo**.
      this CL book   e$_i$ read-EXP e$_i$ DE person$_j$ not many

    b. Na-bu dianying$_i$, [$_{NP}$ [$_{RC}$ e$_i$ kan-guo e$_j$ de] ren$_i$] bu **shao**?
       which-CL movie   ei see-EXP e$_j$ DE person$_i$ not few

    c. Shi na-bu dianying$_i$, [$_{NP}$ [$_{RC}$ e$_j$ kanguo e$_i$ de] ren$_j$ hen **duo**.
       be that-CL movie   e$_i$ see-EXP e$_j$ DE person$_i$ very many

    Remember that in these sentences, the matrix predicate allows the outer Spec of TP that houses the major subject or topicalized element. Crucially, the available outer Spec of TP at hand is linearly adjacent to the edge of the following RC where the nominal leaving behind e$_i$ escapes through. We are in keeping with Bachrach and Katzir's (2009) that string-vacuous movement from a launching site to a landing site does not invite an island violation even when an island intervenes.[9] Thus, in (35a-c) the derivational step of movement from the edge of the RC to the outer Spec of TP in the course of topicalization does not induce island effects. This leads us to the stronger claim that topicalization in Chinese always proceeds via literal movement and that the apparent island obviation in topicalization arises owing to the additional TP specifier and its adjacency with the RC edge in the double subject construction.

4. Conclusion

    We have first noted that topicalization in Chinese display island effects in episodic eventuality contexts equivalent to specific eventualities, but not in stable state contexts. In order to provide a proper analysis for this peculiar phenomena, we have adopted Han and Kim's (2004) double subject-based analysis of double RCs, which goes: the first nominal subject is relativized from the RC that modifies the second nominal subject. Building on this analysis, we have demonstrated that the obviation of island effects in Chinese topicalization with stable state denoting predicates follow from the fact that these predicates in Chinese also allow the outer layer of TP that houses the first major subject or topicalized element. In tandem, the string adjacency from the edge of the RC modifying the second subject to the outer layer of TP enables topicalization to get away with an island violation. All in all, topicalization in Chinese is island sensitive, but its island obviation in clauses containing stable state denoting predicates are accounted for by the independently motivated structure that the predicates make available.

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8) Abe's (2019) analysis concerns only relativization in Japanese. We doubt whether Abe's analysis is indeed effective because what he captures is the edge effects that hold in the root or highest clause of a sentence: only the edge element (in fact the subject NP) positioned in the root or highest clause of a sentence is transparent to movement like relativization. Alternatively, we suggest that in languages like Korean and Japanese which are a head-final language, the subject NP in the adjectival/adverbial clause with a subordinator at its end is 'led into a garden path' or 'misanalyzed' as a subject of the root/highest clause of a sentence. This is why though apparently displaced out of an island, this subject NP is allowed to be relativized into the RC head. Meanwhile, unlike relativization, topicalization in Japanese and Korean seem to take roughly the same strategy than topicalization in Chinese.

9) As in (35a-c), string-vacuity or linear adjacency is determined not on the overt structure but the covert structure where traces like an intermediate trace are represented. The following contrast taken from Tsai (1997) also indicates that the demonstrative or the definite determiner in (ia) that induces the so-called Specificity effects precludes the availability of [Spec,DP] where the topicalized element moves through, but the numeral adjective in (ib) does not.

  (i) a. *Akiu$_i$, na ben [e$_i$ chuban e$_j$] de shu$_j$ chu-le zhengzhi wenti.
      Akiu that CL publish DE book show-PER political problem

    b. Akiu$_i$, xuduo [e$_i$ chuban e$_j$] de shu$_j$ dou mai-de bucuo.
      Akiu many publish DE book all sell-DE not-bad
      'Akiu, many books that (he) published sell well.'

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