Where does Mandarin *zhiyou* 'only' move? Not to *Cai*P!

Similar to the obligatory focus movement of arguments modified by *csak* 'only' in Hungarian(É.Kiss1998), Mandarin *zhiyou* 'only' also exhibits a fronting pattern: a canonically postverbal object DP (1a), when modified by *zhiyou*, must occur in either a clause-initial position or a post-subject position (1b). A pre-verbal particle *cai* optionally occurs.

(1) a. Yuehan chi-guo NIUROU   b. <zhiyou NIUROU> Yuehan <zhiyou NIUROU> (cai) chi-guo <*zhiyou NIUROU>
     John eat-EXP beef   only beef John only beef   CAI eat-EXP only beef
     'John has eaten [beef]$_F$.'   'Only [beef]$_F$ has John eaten.'

Proposal. This paper argues **(i)** *zhiyou*, bearing a strong [FOC] feature, must move (and pied-pipe its DP host) into the specifier of FocP, which situates in the left periphery (Cheung2013). This derives the clause-initial *zhiyou* as in (2a). **(ii)** The post-subject *zhiyou* can be derived by further topicalizing the subject (2b). **(iii)** The optional *cai* is an adverbial adjunct to *v*P, which adds an emphatic/corrective flavor.

(2) **My proposal:** a. [$_{FocP}$ [zhiyou NIUROU]$_1$ [$_{Foc'}$ Foc [$_{TP}$ Yuehan$_2$ [$_{T'}$ T [$_{vP}$ cai t_2 chi-guo t_1]]]]]
               b. [$_{TopP}$ Yuehan$_2$ [$_{Top'}$ Top [$_{FocP}$ [zhiyou NIUROU]$_1$ [$_{Foc'}$ Foc [$_{TP}$ t_2 [$_{T'}$ T [$_{vP}$ cai t_2 chi-guo t_1]]]]]]]

Arguments. My proposal differs from a previous one (Hole2017) which argues a *zhiyou*-phrase must stand in a Spec-Head relationship with a **scalarity** head *cai* (3). While Hole's proposal captures a nice parallel between 'only' and another focus-related construction *lian…dou* 'even' as in (4), there are **two arguments** not to analyze *zhiyou…cai* as the Spec-Head relation Shyu(1995) proposes for *lian…dou*.

(3) **Hole (2017):** [$_{TP}$ Yuehan$_2$ [$_{T'}$ T [$_{CAIP}$ [zhiyou NIUROU]$_1$ [$_{CAI'}$ cai [$_{vP}$ t_2 chi-guo t_1]]]]]
(4) <lian NIUROU> Yuehan <lian NIUROU> *(dou) chi-guo <*lian NIUROU>
     even beef   John even beef   DOU eat-EXP even beef
     'Even [beef]$_F$ has John eaten.'

First, it is unclear how to derive the clause-initial *zhiyou*. While Hole does not explicitly address this issue, a natural way to preserve the Spec-Head relation between *zhiyou* and *cai* and derive the clause-initial *zhiyou* is to have *zhiyou* move through Spec-CAIP to the left periphery (5). However, since the displacements of *zhiyou* to Spec,CAIP and to the clause-initial position both exhibit typical Ā-properties (6-8), such movement in (5) should be banned by *Criterial Freezing* (Rizzi2006). It also cannot be the case that the clause-initial *zhiyou*-phrase is base-generated and binds a null operator in Spec-CAIP, considering the reconstruction effects (8). Note such fronting is no problem for (4) as Shyu(1995) shows the movement of *lian*-phrase to Spec-DOUP is A-movement.

(5) **Extension of Hole's proposal:** [$_{CP}$ [zhiyou NIUROU]$_1$ [$_{C'}$ C [$_{TP}$ Yuehan$_2$ [$_{T'}$ T [$_{CAIP}$ t_1 [$_{CAI'}$ cai [$_{vP}$ t_2 chi-guo t_1]]]]]]]
(6) <[zhiyou zhe-ben shu]$_1$> Yuehan <[zhiyou zhe-ben shu]$_1$> cai renwei [$_S$ Lisi hui xihuan t_1]
     only this-CL book John   only this-CL book CAI think   Lisi will like
     '[Only this book]$_1$ does John think [$_S$ Lisi will like t_1].'   **(Long-distance extraction)**
(7) <*[zhiyou YUEHAN]$_1$> Lisi <*[zhiyou YUEHAN]$_1$> cai zhidao [t_1 xihuan de nvsheng]
     only John   Lisi only John   CAI know   like DE girl
     Int: 'Only John$_i$ did Lisi know the girl who he$_i$ likes.'   **(Island effect)**
(8) **Reconstruction effects**
     a. <[zhiyou zhe-ben guanyu taziji$_i$ de shu]$_1$> wo <[zhiyou zhe-ben guanyu taziji$_i$ de shu]$_1$> cai gei-guo Lisi$_i$ t_1
         only this-CL about himself DE book I   only this-CL about himself DE book CAI give-EXP Lisi
         '[Only this book about himself$_i$]$_1$ have I given Lisi$_i$ t_1'   **(Condition A)**
     b. <*[zhiyou zhe-ben guanyu Lisi$_i$ de shu]$_1$> wo <*[zhiyou zhe-ben guanyu Lisi$_i$ de shu]$_1$> cai gei-guo ta$_i$ t_1
          only this-CL about Lisi DE book I   only   this-CL about Lisi DE book CAI give-EXP he
         Int: '[Only this book about Lisi$_i$]$_1$ have I given him$_i$ t_1'   **(Condition C)**

Second, unlike the obligatory occurrence of *dou* in (4), *cai* is optional except when the string following the *zhiyou*-phrase contains just a bare verb (9). Although the nature of the constraint in (10) is unclear, the important point is that there's no overall ban on *zhiyou*-sentences without *cai*; *cai* appears to be necessary in some cases only to avoid violating (10).

(9) a. zhiyou NIUROU Yuehan (cai) { chi / xiang chi / chi-guo }.
      only beef   John CAI eat want eat   eat-EXP
      'Only [beef]$_F$ {does John eat / does John want to eat / has John eaten}'
    b. Yuehan zhiyou NIUROU { ?*(cai) chi / (cai) xiang chi / (cai) chi-guo }.
      John   only beef   CAI eat CAI want eat CAI eat-EXP
      'Only [beef]$_F$ {does John eat / does John want to eat / has John eaten}'
    c. zhiyou YUEHAN { ?*(cai) lai / (cai) xiang lai / (cai) chi niurou }.
      only John   CAI come CAI want come CAI eat beef
      'Only [John]$_F$ {will come /wants to come / eats beef}.'
(10) A constraint on the length of the string following a *zhiyou*-phrase: *…[*zhiyou*+DP] [$_{vP}$ V]…

Finally, Hole's scalarity-based analysis of *cai* comes from the observation that *cai* has a clear scalar use (cai_1) (11a). Yet he fails to notice that *cai* in *zhiyou*-sentences (cai_2) loses this scalar flavor: (11b) does not imply the prejacent 'entering only Harvard' counts as little. Instead, cai_2 in (11b) adds an emphatic flavor on the exclusive meaning brought by 'only'. (11b) means, it is only Harvard, **rather than any other schools**, that John got into, which can be uttered most naturally if there's an incorrect belief in the previous discourse that John also got into schools other than Harvard. In contrast, (11b) without cai_2 can be uttered out of the blue.

(11) a. Yuehan cai_1 kaoshang-le HAFO   b. <zhiyou HAFO> Yuehan <zhiyou HAFO> cai_2 kaoshang-le
      John   LITTLE enter-PERF Harvard   only Harvard John   only Harvard EMP enter-PERF
      'John merely got accepted to [Harvard]F .'   'Only [Harvard]F did John get accepted to.'
      (DOES IMPLY: 'Entering only Harvard' is 'little')   (DOES NOT IMPLY: 'Entering only Harvard ' is little)