



The *Hé*-Structure in the Subject Position Revisited

Fanjun Meng^{1,2(✉)}

¹ School of English Language, Literature and Culture,
Beijing International Studies University,
1 Dingfuzhuangnali, Chaoyang District, Beijing 100024, China
louismeng2010@gmail.com

² Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures, Tsinghua University,
1 Qinghuayuan, Haidian District, Beijing 100084, China

Abstract. The syntactic status of *hé* ‘和’ in Chinese [DP₁ *hé* DP₂] structure is ambiguous when occurring in the subject position. It could be a preposition or a conjunctive. Three views have been proposed to account for this ambivalence, namely, the context-deterministic account, the multi-categorizer account, and the preposition-taking-all account. This paper argues against the preposition-taking-all account from both theoretical and empirical perspectives, and proposes that *hé* in the subject position can be and should be coordinative. On the basis of this, this paper presents several advantages of reinstalling the preposition-conjunction dichotomy analysis of *hé*.

Keywords: *Hé* · Syntactic category · Semantics · Preposition · Conjunctive

1 Introduction

The identification of the syntactic status of *hé* in the subject position in Mandarin is a controversial issue. It falls into three basic types, which are referred to as the context-deterministic account, the multi-categorizer account, and the preposition-taking-all account. Firstly, it could be a preposition or a conjunctive and the specific identification of it is context-dependent [1–3]. The second typical view takes this syntactic object as a special hybrid category. To be specific, *hé* is taken to be a prepositional conjunctive [1] or a conjunctive preposition [4, 5].¹ Recently, there is a third view which takes all occurrences of *hé* in the subject position to be prepositional [6, 7]. Specifically, there is no conjunctive *hé* in the subject position in Chinese, and there is a subject-object asymmetry given that the specific instantiation of *hé* in the object position is exclusively conjunctive. In other words, the categorial identification of *hé* is a function of the syntactic position it occurs, namely when it occurs in the subject position it is a preposition, and it is a conjunctive when occurring in the object position. Therefore, there is not any corresponding counterpart of the English-type conjunctive *and* in

¹ [4] and [5] argue that the primary function of *hé* is prepositional but is with the function of a conjunctive. [1] instead argues that it is a conjunctive but with a prepositional function. Notice that this special hybrid category can also be taken as alternating between a conjunctive and a preposition.

Mandarin. Given this, [7] proposes that *hé*-DP₂ is a secondary predicate (SP) with *hé* as the relator, and that *hé* projects a maximal projection SP with PRO as its specifier according to [8]. Furthermore, [7] argues that SP is a *zhuijia chenshu*² to the first conjunct DP₁. Syntactically, it is a secondary predicate to DP₁; semantically, SP yields a conjunctive reading between PRO and DP₂ which is originally thought to be the result of DP₁-*hé*-DP₂, and this is done by co-indexing PRO and DP₁.

This article revisits the syntactic status of *hé* from both the theoretical and the empirical perspectives, and argues that the conjunctive *hé* is indeed present in Mandarin on the basis of a bunch of syntactic and semantic evidence. Furthermore, the evidence provided in [7] in arguing against the conjunctive status of *hé* is not as valid as they appear to be. Thus, the prepositional re-identification of the conjunctive *hé* in the subject position needs to be reexamined. Then we point out some of the advantages of assuming a preposition-conjunctor dichotomy.

2 A Preposition or a Conjunctor: Is This a Question?

The nominal *hé*-structure can appear in argument positions. When it occurs in the object position, the syntactic status of *hé* is a conjunctor. However, when it occurs in the subject position, its syntactic status is controversial. As introduced above, the identification of it is either context-dependent or multi-categorial. Take (1a) as an example. As indicated in (1b-c), it is ambiguous between two different readings: it refers to either the case where I watched a movie with her, or the case where both she and I each watched a movie. The two readings of (1a) can be disambiguated from each other by some syntactic or semantic diagnostics. For instance, the item *hé* in (1b) is a conjunctor which indicates the case where there are two different movies watched. On the contrary, the insertion of “zuowan (yesterday)” before “*hé* ta (with her)” in (1c)

- (1) a. Wo *hé* ta kan le yichang dianying.
 I *hé* her watch ASP one-CL movie
 ‘I watched a movie with her. / Both she and I watched a movie.’
- b. Wo *hé* ta dou kan le yichang dianying.
 I *hé* she DOU watch ASP one-CL movie
 ‘Both she and I each watched a movie last night.’
- c. Wo zuowan *hé* ta kan le yichang dianying.
 I last.night *hé* her watch ASP one-CL movie
 ‘I watched a movie with her last night.’
- d. Wo kanjian le Zhangsan *hé* Lisi.
 I saw ASP Zhangsan *hé* Lisi
 ‘I saw Zhangsan and Lisi.’

² The term *Zhuijia chenshu* is not defined in [7]. According to the context it appears in [7], the essential meaning of it is to add something to a preceding element.

suggests that the syntactic status of *hé* is prepositional, as indicated by the English translation. However, when the DP₁-*hé*-DP₂ structure occurs in the object position, *hé* is unanimously identified to be a conjunctive [1, 4].

Instead of keeping a conjunctive-preposition dichotomy, [7] argues that *hé* is not grammaticalized into a conjunctive yet, but at the same time departs from its verbal origin. Thus, they argue the only possible reading for *hé* is a preposition. Given the conjunctive reading of *hé* in the object position maintains, [7] claims there is a subject-object asymmetry. One of the benefits of this idea lies in its ability to formulate a specific condition to distinguish the conjunctive *hé* from the prepositional one; to be specific, it takes the category identification of *hé* as a function of its syntactic distribution: when it appears in the object position, it is a conjunctive, whereas the occurrence of *hé* in the subject position yields a prepositional reading only. This is called the preposition-taking-all account. In what follows, we will review the main claims and argumentations in [7].

[7] compares the differences between the subject *hé* construction with the object *hé* construction from the following four perspectives, namely, the tolerance of CSC (Coordinate Structure Constraint, CSC, [9]) violation in topicalization, focalization only of the first conjunct, the negation and A-not-A reduplication of the conjunctive. We have demonstrated that all these exceptions can be accounted for by mechanisms that are motivated independently, so that there is no need to assume the prepositional status of *hé*. They observe that the subject *hé* construction tolerates all these four violations. For the sake of space, this paper only focuses on the topicalization of the first conjunct, as indicated in (3), with (2) as the baseline example, which are all cited from [7].

(2) Zhangsan *hé*_{conj} Lisi zai butongde xuexiao xuexi.

Zhangsan *hé* Lisi at different school study
‘Zhangsan and Lisi study at different schools.’

(3) a. Zhangsan, wo renwei *t* *hé* Lisi zai butongde xuexiao xuexi.

Zhangsan, I think *hé* Lisi at different school study
‘lit. Lisi, I think Zhangsan and *t* studies at different schools.’

b. *Lisi, wo renwei Zhangsan *hé* *t* zai butongde xuexiao xuexi.

Lisi I think Zhangsan *hé* at different school study
‘lit. Lisi, I think Zhangsan and *t* studies at different schools.’

c. *Zhangsan, wo renwei baba xihuan *t* *hé* Lisi.

Zhangsan I think father like *hé* Lisi
‘lit. Zhangsan, I think my father likes *t* and Lisi.’

d. *Lisi, wo renwei baba xihuan Zhangsan *hé* *t*.

Lisi I think father like Zhangsan *hé*
‘lit. Lisi, I think my father likes Zhangsan and *t*.’

(3a) shows that the topicalization of the first conjunct is immune from the CSC, whereas (3b) demonstrates that the same cannot be applied to the second conjunct and the object *hé*-constructions. [7] argues that given CSC is a universal constraint that could not be violated; therefore, the grammaticality of (3a) suggests *hé* in the subject position is not a conjunct, but a preposition.

In this paper, we will show that the CSC violation exceptions can be accounted for by independently motivated mechanisms without assuming the prepositional status of *hé* and the preposition-conjunct dichotomy should be maintained.

3 The Potential Problems of the Prepositional Account of *Hé*

This section examines the potential problems of the prepositional account from both the theoretical and empirical perspectives, even though the preposition-taking-all account as proposed in [7] could capture the asymmetries in (3).

3.1 Theoretical Problems

Firstly, syntactic operations like passivization have changed the category of the subject and the object due to the different categorial identifications of *hé*. If *hé* in the subject position is prepositional, but a coordinator in the object position, then we predict that the demotion of the subject and the promotion of the object during the process of passivization as shown in (4a) to (4b) should not alter the syntactic category.³ However, this is not as predicted as the account claimed in [7] given that the prepositional *hé* originally contained in the subject position is altered to a conjunctive instance; similarly, the conjunctive *hé* generated originally in the object position is changed to a prepositional one. Evidently, this goes against the structure-preserving principle.

- (4) a. Zhangsan *hé*_{prep} Chenliu kanjian le Lisi *hé*_{conj} Wangwu.
 Zhangsan *hé* Chenliu see ASP Lisi *hé* Wangwu
 ‘Zhangsan and Chenliu saw Lisi and Wangwu.’
- b. Lisi *hé*_{prep} Wangwu bei Zhangsan *hé*_{conj} Chenliu kanjian le.
 Lisi *hé* Wangwu passive-marker Zhangsan *hé* Chenliu see ASP
 ‘Lisi and Wangwu were seen by Zhangsan and Chenliu.’

Secondly, *hé*-DP₂ as a SP is a *zhuijia chenshu* to the first conjunct DP₁, thus it is non-*at-issue* [10], which resembles the comitative structure, not coordination. Put differently, the prepositional account seems to target a comitative construction, not a coordinative structure.

³ Leave aside the debate on the labeling of *hé*-structure as an &P or a DP.

- (5) a. Zhangsan hé_{conj} Lisi zai chifan.
 Zhangsan hé Lisi at eat.rice
 ‘Zhangsan and Lisi are eating.’
- b. Zhangsan hé_{prep} Lisi zai chifan.
 Zhangsan hé Lisi at eat.rice
 ‘Zhangsan is eating with Lisi.’

In (5a), the agent of eating is *Zhangsan* and *Lisi*; in (5b), it could only be *Zhangsan*, and *Lisi* is just a participant accompanying the eater. We may wonder whether the prepositional account could capture this difference given that they are both comitative in nature according to [7]. The entity denoted by DP₂ does not appear to be the agent of the eventive predicate since SP and the predicate are not in a syntactic predication relation. The *zhuijia chenshu* function of SP constitutes another piece of collaborating evidence. The conjunctive reading forces SP to be an argument of the eventive predicate via predication; if so, the assumed null element PRO is also taken to be one of the participants of the eating event. However, this line of reasoning has three problems: Firstly, SP can only be an argument when it is identified to be nominal, but in fact it is a maximal projection headed by a prepositional phrase in the analysis of [7]. That is to say, it is difficult for the prepositional SP to form a predication relation in terms of syntax with the eventive predicate. Secondly, the eventive predicate is predicated of the same entity as its argument in figuring out the right semantics of (5b): one is PRO and the other is its controller—the first conjunct DP₁. If SP is the source of plurality, then it seems possible to equally take all these three elements, namely the first conjunct DP₁, PRO and the second conjunct DP₂, to be the eventive agents. Clearly, it is not so. Thirdly, *Zhangsan* and *Lisi* in the conjunctive construction share the same theta role. According to Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis (UTAH) as proposed in [11], *Zhangsan* and *Lisi* should occupy the same syntactic position, namely the subject position. However, according to the SP analysis, *Zhangsan* and *Lisi* are assigned divergent theta roles while both holding the subject position. If UTAH is equally applied in Chinese, then the phenomenon that two DPs with different theta roles are assigned to the same syntactic position turns out to be mysterious.

Thirdly, the distribution of PRO awaits further explanation. Following [8], [7] assumes the subject of the secondary predicate turns out to be PRO. That is to say, they end up claiming that PRO could be the null subject of a prepositional phrase. The cross-linguistic research on the distribution of PRO demonstrates that it distributes almost exclusively in non-finite clauses. Along with [7], we are led to take the prepositional phrase to be non-finite. However, this inference is unreasonable. Moreover, the topicalization of the first conjunct indicates that the DP₁-*hé*-DP₂ structure is contained within a finite clause since the domain that A'-movement crosses over can only be finite in nature [12]. Therefore, the observation of topicalization of the first conjunct in the first place invalidates the existence of PRO.

Fourthly, the interpretation of PRO is mysterious. Even if the SP analysis is reasonable, whether PRO is obligatorily controlled or not is still an issue. For this, we need to evaluate the satisfaction of the OC Signature [13], namely locality and PRO as a variable. As indicated in (6a), PRO as a variable is bound by the closest antecedent *Zhangsan*, whereas (6b) shows that PRO as a variable could also be controlled by *Zhangsan*, a further DP crossing over *Lisi*. Thus, we are now in a dilemma. On the one hand, the OC Signature is met, on the other, it is not. Furthermore, [6] takes “Zhangsan, Lisi” in (6b) as a real conjunction in Chinese, which is expected to control PRO as a single unit, yet this is not possible since *Zhangsan* could control PRO independently. What’s worse, Chinese is a pro-drop language, thus the subject can be silent. In this case, the real subject according to the SP analysis is the element before SP, namely *Zhangsan* in (6a) or “*Zhangsan, Lisi*” in (6b). When the subject is dropped, PRO ends up being controlled by a silent element *per se*, which itself needs to be identified by an entity in the discourse to begin with. This further confirms the non-obligatoriness of PRO construal in (6b) which reaches a conflicting conclusion as compared with (6a). Besides, the topicalization of the first conjunct leaves PRO to be bound by a lambda operator, which is rarely seen in the study of control.

(6) a. [(Zhangsan)_i]_[SP PRO_i hé Lisi]] dou lai le.

Zhangsan hé Lisi DOU come SFP

‘Both Zhangsan and Lisi came.’

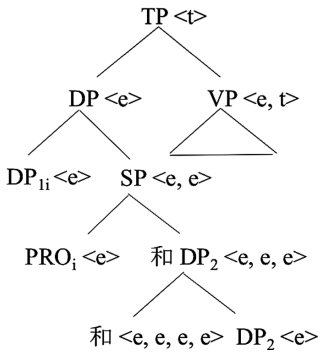
b. [(Zhangsan_i, Lisi_j)]_[SP PRO_{i/*j} hé tade_i mama]] dou lai le.

Zhangsan Lisi hé his mother DOU come SFP

‘Zhangsan, Lisi and his mother came.’

Fifthly, the semantic type of *hé* is dubious. Along with the prepositional account of *hé* and the Likeness Condition, when the first conjunct is of type *e*, the second conjunct should automatically be of the same type as well. As shown in (7), *e*-typed DP₁ requires the semantic type of DP₂ to be *e*, and SP to be $\langle e, e \rangle$ in order to yield an *e*-typed DP that is subsequently plugged into VP. The type of PRO is *e*, thus the semantic type of *hé*-DP₂ is calculated to be $\langle e, e, e \rangle$. Finally, the semantic type of *hé* is calculated out, namely $\langle e, e, e, e \rangle$. However, this type is not the semantic type for a typical transitive preposition, which should be $\langle e, e \rangle$. In other words, the semantic type assigned to the prepositional *hé* in this structure is a new type (What’s worse, we haven’t considered the case where DP is considered to be a generalized quantifier, and it will yield another different semantic type for *hé*). Put differently, we end up with two types of prepositional *hé* at least in terms of semantic type, though the conjunctive *hé* in the subject position and the prepositional one is reduced to a single syntactic category. Whether the reduction of syntactic category is preferred over the complication of semantic type requires further investigation.

(7)



Sixthly, the case assignment of *hé* poses a problem for the Chinese language. If *hé* in the subject position can be reanalyzed as a preposition, then it will assign an accusative case to its internal argument, and a nominative case and (together with the internal argument) an agent theta role to its subject, namely PRO. However, PRO must be ungoverned, thus it could not be case-marked, at least not a nominative case. Recently, cross-linguistic research observes that PRO could carry a morphological case in languages like Icelandic. If the distribution and the case-marking of PRO are indeed independent from each other as argued in [13],⁴ then PRO could be assigned a nominative case. If so, could we claim that the overt realization of PRO in Chinese could also be assigned a case? It seems reasonable to make such a claim. However, whether the DPs in Chinese could be case-marked is a controversial issue and is contradictory to Hu himself [14]. Therefore, the assumption of PRO brings in a controversial issue in Chinese which awaits further research.

Lastly, the labeling of the maximal projection SP is problematic. To project the unit that is composed of the subject and SP is another issue for [7]. For instance, when the *hé*-construction is in the object position, it is a self-contained projection;⁵ however, passivization leaves the label of it unspecified. This is undesirable since a syntactic operation should not change the category of a syntactic object. The prepositional analysis in [7] clearly goes against this generalization.

To sum up, the assumption of the prepositional status of *hé* faces a range of theoretical problems.

3.2 The Empirical Problems and the CSC Violation Revisited

For the sake of space, we only focus on the topicalization of the first conjunct.⁶ We will demonstrate that the subject-object asymmetry of the CSC violation in topicalization

⁴ We leave aside details of this controversial issue in this paper.

⁵ Set aside the specific label for it in this paper, be it &P or DP.

⁶ For more detailed responses to the remaining issues, please refer to [17].

could be accounted for without assuming the prepositional status of *hé* in the subject position.

Cross-linguistically, the violation of CSC is not unique to Chinese, nor is it unique to topicalization. Evidently, the prepositional analysis of *hé* faces empirical problems. For instance, [15] observes that the first conjunct in Serbo-Croatian as indicated in (8) is topicalized and is a clear violation of CSC, yet the remaining sentence still remains grammatical. The reason lies in the cliticization of the conjunctor *i* to the second conjunct *filmove*, leaving the trace of the conjunctor *-marked and deleted at PF. According to [15], this phenomenon could be explained by the following observation, that is, the nullification of the head deprives the islandhood of any given island. Put differently, the violation of CSC in the topicalization of the first conjunct could be saved by the head movement of the conjunctor and the deletion of the *-marked structure at PF; thus, the fact that the remaining sentence as shown in (8) is grammatical is captured.

- (8) ?Knjige_i je Marko [_{ConjP} t_i filmove] kupio
 book is Marko conj film buy
 ‘Marko bought a book and a film ticket.’

Another important correlation is that CSC islandhood avoidance occurs only in article-less languages. This implies that the scenario observed in Chinese might be treated on a par since Chinese is a language that lacks articles.

The next step is to argue that the Chinese conjunctor *hé* behaves like a clitic. Note that we are not trying to argue that *hé* is a clitic, but simply demonstrating that *hé* displays the properties of a clitic.

The theoretical approach adopted here is the framework of canonical typology. The canonical clitic theory as proposed in [16] claims that clitics stands between functional words and affixes. In other words, [16] argues that clitics exhibit a dual feature of these two categories: its formal properties are those of the canonical affix, but its distributional properties are those of the canonical function word. The first criterion (9i-a) is modified by [18] to accommodate the tonal Chinese languages. To be specific, the clitic should not be the same as the full-form functional item with regard to tonal patterns. Furthermore, this clitic should not bear stress or focus. According to the first distributional criterion, the clitic should be attached to its host, which is a phrase as well as a word, and it remains in the same position as its full-formed counterpart. The second distributional criterion holds that the clitic should take wide scope over conjuncts. We will go through them one by one.⁷

⁷ It should be pointed out that the Canonical Clitic Theory does not require the item to meet each individual criterion. As for whether *hé* meets the requirement in (9) awaits more solid evidence from experimental phonetics.

(9) (i) Canonical form properties for clitics

- a. Toneless or tonally unspecified; [18]
- b. Lacking prosodic prominence and hence is prosodically dependent on its host. [16]

(ii) Canonical distributional properties for clitics

- c. A clitic is placed with respect to the syntactic phrase bearing the functional property expressed by the clitic (a.k.a. the phrasal placement criterion); [16]
- d. A clitic canonically takes wide scope over a coordinated phrase with which it is in construction (also known as wide scope criterion). [16]

The linker *hé* is not stressed and is prosodically dependent on its host. [19] claims that functional elements are “generally stressless...even phonologically null.” As indicated in (10a), the cliticization of *hé* to the second conjunct is evidenced by the intolerance of the insertion of a plural suffix *-lia*, and the item could only be placed after the lexical string *hé Lisi*. Furthermore, since *-lia* could only be attached to a plurality element, which lends more support to the conjunctive reading of *hé*. Furthermore, (10a) and (10b) show that the host that *hé* is attached to is phrasal, not lexical. Finally, the scope of *hé* is over *meiyige nanhai* and *meiyige nühai*. As indicated in (10b), the meaning is “Every boy came and every girl came”, which could only be possible when *hé* takes the wide scope over the two conjuncts.

- (10) a. Zhangsan hé (*lia) Lisi (lia) dou canhui le.
 Zhangsan hé two Lisi two DOU attend.meeting SFP
 ‘Both Zhangsan and Lisi attended the meeting.’
- b. Meiyige nanhai hé meiyige nühai dou lai le.
 Every boy hé every girl DOU come SFP
 ‘Every boy and Every girl came.’

On the basis of the above analysis, the conjunctive *hé* could be considered as a clitic-like element. If so, the conjunctive-as-clitic movement account that is originally proposed for (8) could be extended to (3a-b), repeated here as (11a-b). This analysis could not only account for the grammaticality of (11a) but also the ungrammaticality of (11b). To be specific, the head movement of *hé* in the way of cliticization could invalidate the islandhood of *Zhangsan hé Lisi* in the subject position, and thus the extraction of *Zhangsan* is permitted and consequences of the CSC violation is repaired.

- (11) a. Zhangsan, wo renwei *t* hé Lisi zai butongde xuexiao xuexi.
 Zhangsan, I think hé Lisi at different school study
 ‘lit. Lisi, I think Zhangsan and *t* studies at different schools.’
- b. *Lisi, wo renwei Zhangsan hé *t* zai butongde xuexiao xuexi.
 Lisi I think Zhangsan hé at different school study
 ‘lit. Lisi, I think Zhangsan and *t* studies at different schools.’

In contrast, the ungrammaticality of (11b) could be captured in the following way: the item *hé* behaves like a clitic, thus it could not be stranded from its host — the second conjunct. In this way, the obligatory extraction of the host of *hé* from the coordination island is strongly prohibited. This stranding prohibition account could be extended to (3d) as well, repeated here as (12a). That is, the topicalization of *Lisi* to the left periphery leaves *hé* being stranded.

- (12) a. *Lisi, wo renwei baba xihuan Zhangsan hé *t*.
 Lisi I think father like Zhangsan hé
 ‘lit. Lisi, I think my father likes Zhangsan and *t*.’
- b. *Zhangsan, wo renwei baba xihuan *t* hé Lisi.
 Zhangsan I think father like hé Lisi
 ‘lit. Zhangsan, I think my father likes *t* and Lisi.’

The next question is how to explain the subject-object asymmetry regarding the tolerance of CSC violation in the subject *hé*-conjunction. That is, how to capture the grammaticality contrast between (11a) and (12b). We argue that the contrast could be attributed to the topic prominence of the Chinese languages. In other words, we could assume that there is an interpretable Topic feature on the Chinese subject. To put it more formally in syntactic terms, we assume that there is a [*u*Top] in the left periphery of the matrix clause that needs to be checked off, and the closest possible candidate for the valuation of this very feature is the subject that carries an [*i*Top] feature. It cannot be the object since it does not have a Topic feature; otherwise the locality condition of Agree is violated [20]. To be specific, if *Zhangsan hé Lisi* in the subject position as indicated in (11a) and (12b) is conjunctive in nature, then according to the feature percolation mechanism through spec-head agreement as implemented in [21], the [*i*Top] feature carried by the whole structure could be passed onto the first conjunct which occupies the spec position of this conjunctive structure, rather than the object occupying the complement position. Therefore, the [*i*Top] feature is transferred to *Zhangsan* only, not *Lisi*. Thus, the contrast between (11a) and (12b) is accounted for.

To sum up, the subject-object asymmetry with regard to the violation of CSC in topicalization of the first conjunct is captured without reanalyzing the conjunctive *hé* as a preposition. Furthermore, this paper has aligned Chinese with other article-less

languages which at the same time permit the CSC violation. In this way, the apparent CSC-violation is proved to be not unique to Chinese.

4 The Merits of a Preposition-Conjunctor Dichotomy

This section points out two pieces of merits of holding a preposition-conjunctor dichotomy.

Firstly, the dichotomy avoids the problems that are brought in by reducing the two instances of *hé* in the subject position to a single prepositional one.

One reviewer asks whether and what kind of consequences we will have to face in Chinese language teaching or in the computational parsing of Chinese if we identify the syntactic status of *hé* in a wrong way. The answer is definitely yes. Let's take the construction of Combinatory Categorical Grammar Bank as an example, the incorrect syntactic categorization will wrongly label the conjunctive *hé* as the prepositional one, and this will mislead us to choose and apply the wrong combinatory rules, consequently, a wrong syntactic parsing is yielded.

Secondly, holding a preposition-conjunctor dichotomy could account for the apparent CSC violation from a cross-linguistic perspective; meanwhile, it will also put Chinese into a cluster of languages that lack articles yet at the same time tolerate CSC violation. In this way, the CSC violation no longer stays as a rigid generalization and is violated as more empirical facts unfold.

5 Conclusion

This paper reexamines the syntactic status of *hé* in the subject position from both the theoretical and empirical perspectives. We argue that the reduction of the two instances of *hé* to a single syntactic category, namely preposition, could not cover all the linguistic facts that the conjunctive *hé* and prepositional *hé* pose, and might incur a range of potential problems as illustrated above. In this paper, we emphasize to return to the traditional preposition-conjunctor dichotomy. In this sense, the Occam's Razor could not be applied freely and should be keyed to the empirical facts; otherwise, oversimplification arises which will invite more problems than solutions.

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