

Subordinate affixes in Cantonese and intervention effects

YIP Ka Fai, CUHK (mingyipkf@link.cuhk.edu.hk)

Recall: Tsai (2008)

- ▶ Incompleteness effects (完句問題) and tense anchoring

- ▶ Outer aspect vs. Middle/Inner aspect

^{OK}Asp-to-T *Asp-to-T

(1) *Akiu zai ku.* 阿Q**在**哭 (1st type)

‘Akiu is crying.’

(2) % *Akiu ku-zhe.* %阿Q哭**著** (2nd type)

- ▶ Can be ‘salvaged’ by quantificational adverbs (QAs)

(3) *Akiu yizhi pao-zhe.* 阿Q**一**直跑**著**

‘Akiu is running continuously.’

“Third” type of aspects

- ▶ Tang (2016): Cantonese VV-*haa* (Mandarin V-*zhe*-V-*zhe*)

(4) * *Aaming haamhaam-haa*. * 阿明喊喊吓 (3rd type)

(5) * *Akiu ku-zhe-ku-zhe*. * 阿Q哭著哭著

- ▶ Cannot be ‘salvaged’ by QAs

(5) * *Aaming jatzik haamhaam-haa*. * 阿明一直喊喊吓

(6) * *Akiu yi-zhi ku-zhe-ku-zhe*. * 阿Q一直哭著哭著

- ▶ Can only form subordinate clauses:

(7) [*Aaming haamhaam-haa*] *fan-zoek-zo*. [阿明喊喊吓] 瞓著咗

(8) [*Akiu ku-zhe-ku-zhe*] *shui zhao le*. [阿Q哭著哭著] 睡著了

‘Ming/Akiu fell asleep while crying.’

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‘Ming/Akiu fell asleep while crying.’

“Subordinate affixes”

▶ The paradox:

▶ Scope mismatch:

[**Subordinator** [Clause]]

[Main clause]

[Ming [_{AspP} cry-cry-*haa*]]

[fell asleep]

▶ *zai* = Asp-to-T

▶ *VV-haa* = Asp-to-C?

▶ Note: *VV-haa* = verbal affix

Chinese has V-to-v while does not have V-to-T (Tsai 2001)



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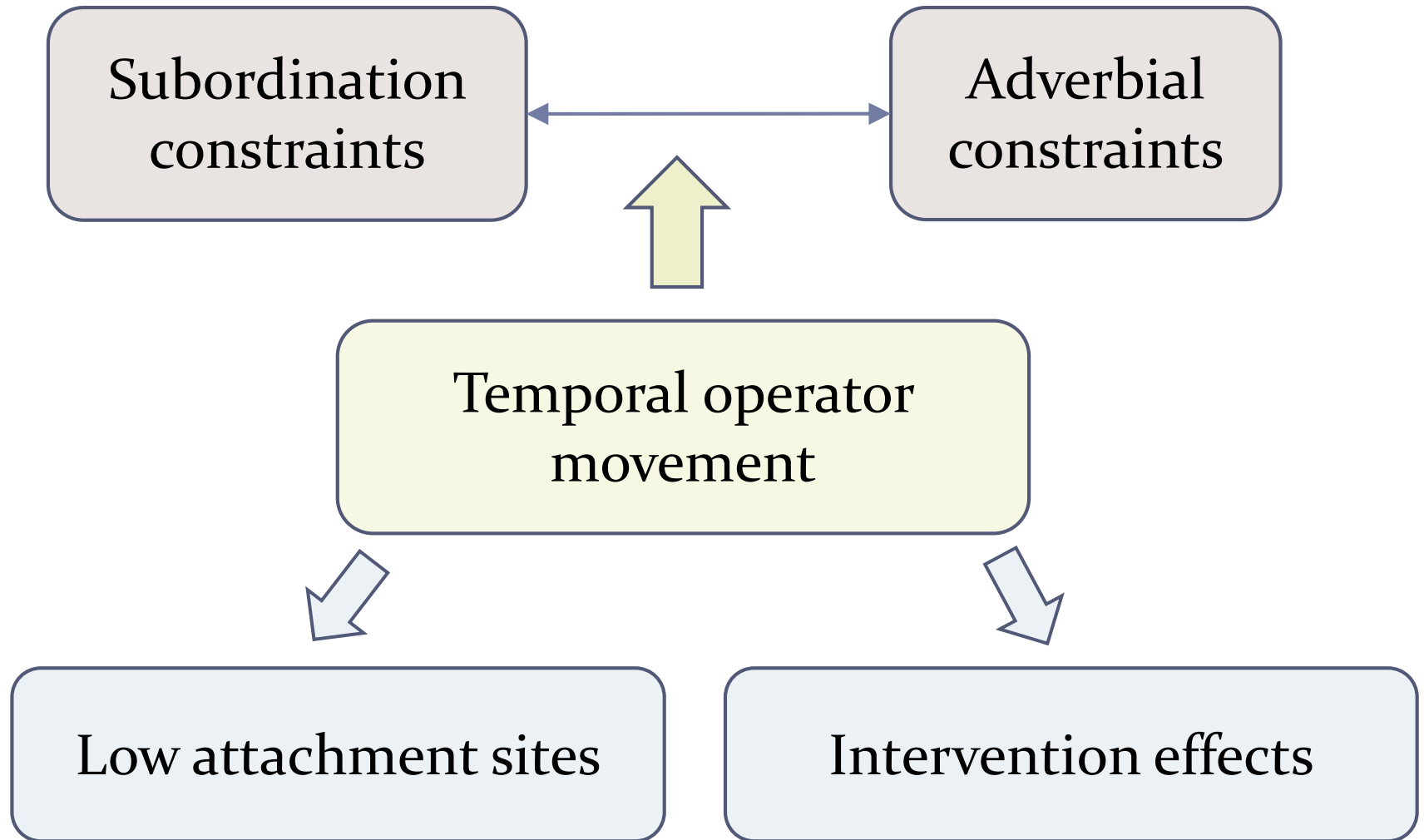
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Outline



Introduction
○○○●

Two constraints
○○○○

Proposal
○○○○○○○○

Intervention effects
○○○○○○○○○○

Conclusion
○○



Two constraints

Subordination constraints

- ▶ (9) (*hai*) *Aaming haamhaam-haa (gozan)*, *(*ngo-zau-zo*).
(係)阿明喊喊吓(個陣)，*(我走咗)
'While Ming is crying, I left.'
- ▶ Obligatory subordination
- ▶ With temporal interpretation only
- ▶ Compare:
(10) Staying in New York, they did not visit their parents.
(temporal/ concessive/ causal)

-
- ▶ Cannot occur in subordinate clauses other than temporal ones

[Context: I hate crying,]

- ▶ (11) **janwai Aaming haamhaam-haa, soji ngo zau-zo.*
*因為阿明喊喊吓，所以我走咗
'Since Ming is crying, I left.' (causal)
- ▶ (12) **seojin wai Aaming haamhaam-haa, daan ngo m-wui zau.*
*雖然阿明喊喊吓，但我唔會走
'Although Ming is crying, I am not leaving.' (concessive)

Adverbial constraints: QAs vs. non-QAs

▶ QAs:

▶ (13) **keoi jatzik haamhaam-haa, ngo zau-zo.*

* 佢一直喊喊吓，我走咗

‘I left while he was crying continuously.’

▶ (14) **ngo singjat taitai-haa syu (gopaai), keoi heoi-zo leoihang.*

* 我成日睇睇吓書(個排)，佢去咗旅行

‘(In the period that) I am often reading books, he went to a trip.’

▶ Non-QAs: Temporal

(15) *keoi camjat haamhaam-haa, ngo zau-zo.*

佢尋日喊喊吓，我走咗

‘I left while he was crying yesterday.’

▶ Non-QAs: Locative

(16) *keoi hai deitit-dou haamhaam-haa, ngo zau-zo.*

佢喺地鐵度喊喊吓，我走咗

‘I left while he was crying on the subway.’

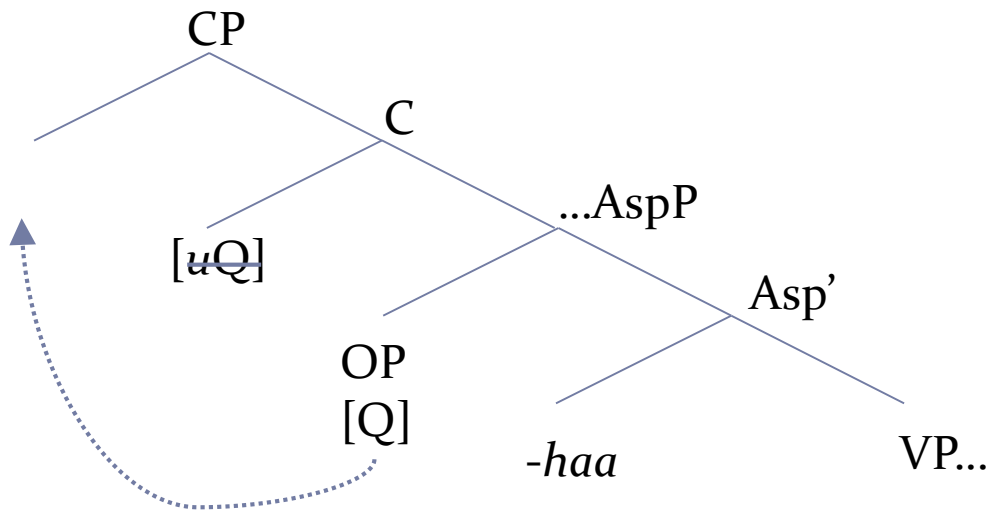


Proposal



Temporal operator movement

Proposal: temporal operator movement

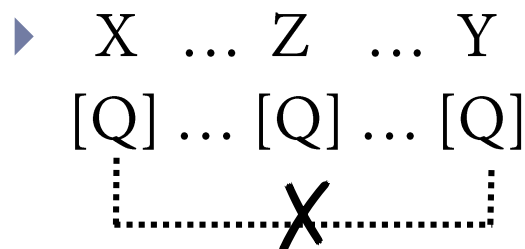


The temporal operator
moves to check $u[Q]$

Rizzi (2001, 2004):

Feature-based Relativized Minimality

- ▶ X, Z, Y: same structure types (in terms of superfeatures)
 - Argumental: person, number, gender, case [Arg]
 - Quantificational: *wh*, neg, measure, focus ... [Q]
 - Modifier: evaluative, epistemic, neg, measure ... [Mod]
 - Topic
- ▶ Z intervenes between X, Y (Z c-commands Y but does not c-command X)

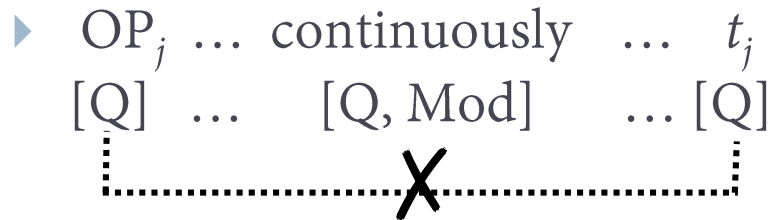


Intervention effects

Deriving adverbial constraints

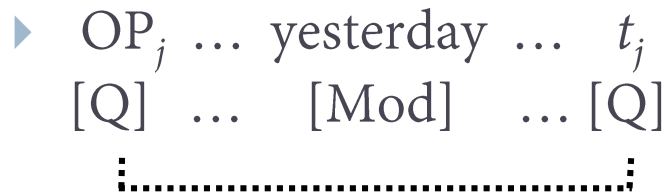
- ▶ Intervention effects by QAs (measure)

(17) *He *jatzik* cry-cry-*haa*, I left.



- ▶ No intervention effect is induced by non-QAs

(18) He *camjat* cry-cry-*haa*, I left.

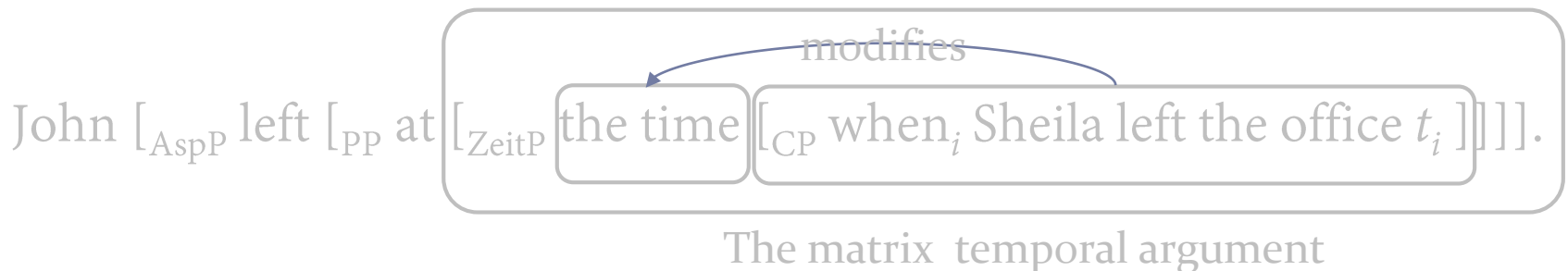


Temporal adverbial clauses as relatives

- ▶ Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria (2004):
- ▶ Temporal arguments ZeitP (introduced by P) are at Spec,AspP, which can be modified by temporal relatives
 - ▶ The base-generation site of temporal operators: AspP

$[_{CP} \text{ when}_i \text{ Sheila } [_{AspP} \text{ left the office } t_i]]$

- ▶ The attachment site of temporal adverbial clauses: AspP



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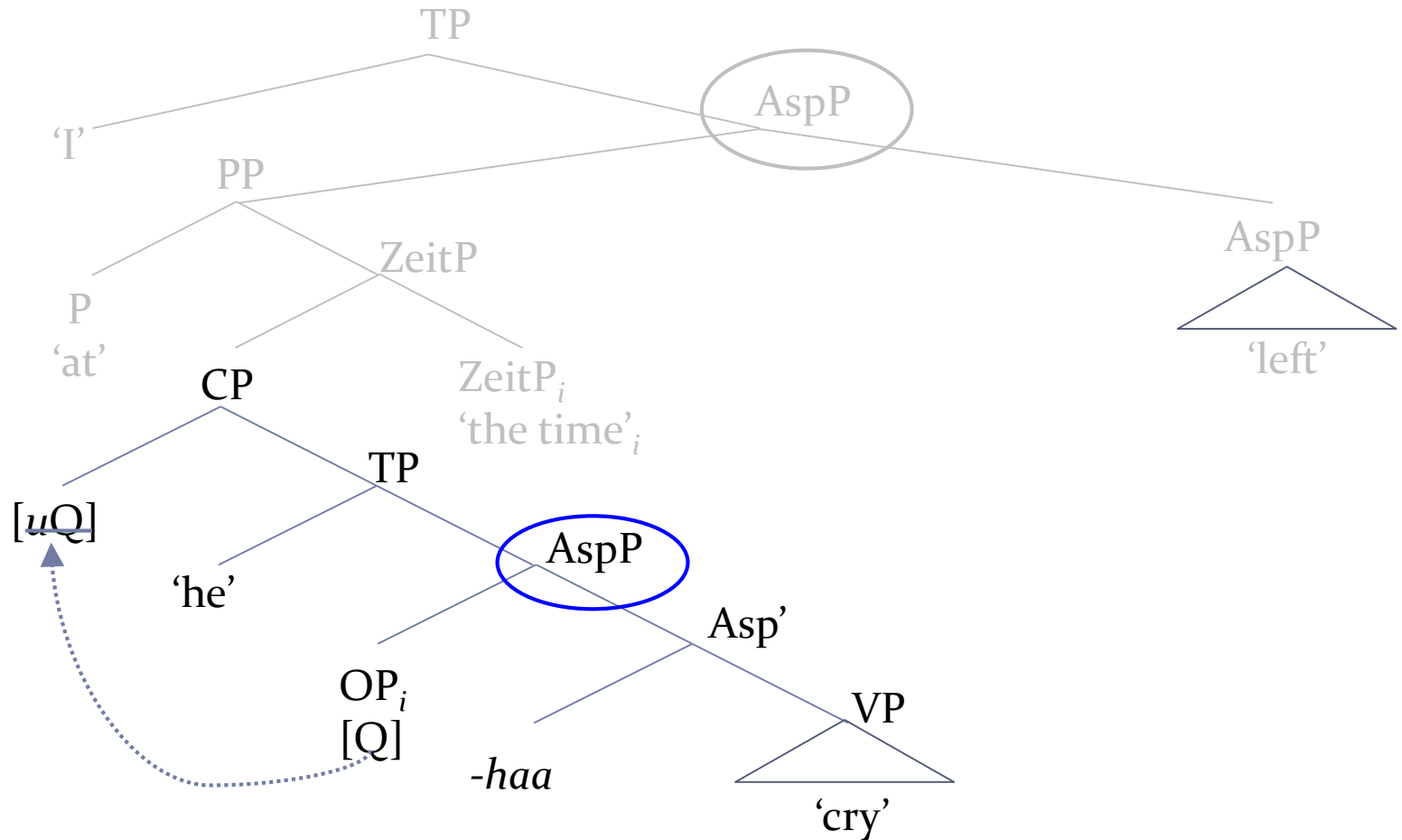
$[_{CP} \text{ when}_i \text{ Sheila } [_{AspP} \text{ left the office } t_i]]$

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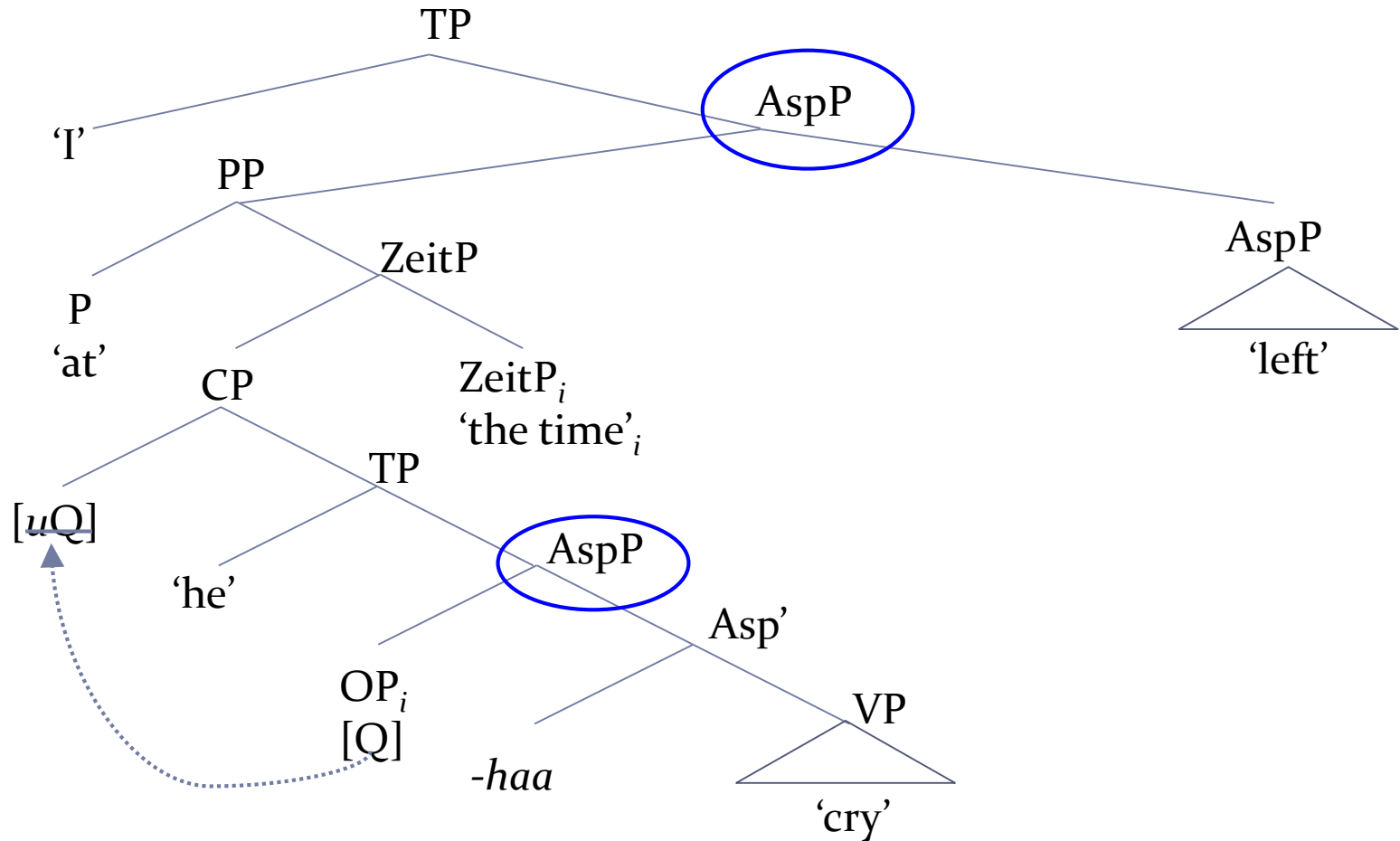
John $[_{AspP} \text{ left } [_{PP} \text{ at } [_{ZeitP} \text{ the time } [_{CP} \text{ when}_i \text{ Sheila left the office } t_i]]]]$.

The matrix temporal argument

Ngo [hai keoi haamhaam-haa gozan] zau-zo 我喺佢喊喊吓嗰陣走咗
 'I left while he was crying.'



Ngo [hai keoi haamhaam-haa gozan] zau-zo 我喺佢喊喊吓嗰陣走咗
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Introduction
 ○○○○

Two constraints
 ○○○○

Proposal
 ○○○●○○

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 ○○○○○○○○

Conclusion
 ○○

Deriving subordination constraints

- ▶ Modifiers need a modifiee → obligatory subordination
- ▶ Temporal interpretation arises with temporal operator movement → temporal interpretation only
- ▶ Attaches to AspP → cannot occur in non-temporal subordinate clauses having different attachment sites
 - ▶ Causal clauses: CP (Haegeman 2003)
 - ▶ Concessive clauses: CP (Haegeman 2003)



Introduction
○○○○

Two constraints
○○○○

Proposal
○○○○●○

Intervention effects
○○○○○○○○

Conclusion
○○

Low attachment sites

- ▶ Dynamic modals: lower than vP (D. Tsai 2015)

(19) *keoi* [_{vP} *m-gam* [[*taitai-haa syu*] *fan-zoek*] *gaa*.

佢 [_{vP} 唔敢 [[睇睇吓書] 訓著]] 㗎

‘He dare not to fall asleep while reading books.’

- ▶ vP -particle *faat* 法 (Cheng 2011, Tang 2017)

(20) *keoi* [_{vP} *dim coeng go faat*] ? 佢 [_{vP} 點唱歌法] ?

‘How did he sing the song?’

(21) *keoi* [_{vP} *dim* [[*taitai-haa syu*] *fan-zoek*] *faat*] ?

佢 [_{vP} 點 [[睇睇吓書] 訓著] 法] ?

‘How did he fall asleep while reading books?’



Intervention effects

Intervention effects

- ▶ Rizzi (2001, 2004)
 - ▶ Quantificational: *wh*, neg, measure, focus..... [Q]
- ▶ Two [Q]-operator movements recognized in Chinese:
 - ▶ A-not-A operators: move to CP (Huang 1991)
 - ▶ *Weishenme* ‘why’: move to CP (Tsai 1994, 1999)
- ▶ Temporal operators are *wh* and bear [Q]
 - ▶ *VV-haa* will exhibit intervention effects in the same fashion of A-not-A operators and *weishenme*

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Focus

▶ Soh (2005)

(22) **ni zhi xi-bu-xihuan yige ren?* *你只喜不喜歡一個人？

‘Do you only like one person?’

(23) **ni zhi renwei Lisi weishenme kan zhentan-xiaoshuo*

*你只認為李四為什麼看偵探小說？

‘What is the reason *x* such that you only think Lisi reads detective novels for *x*?’

▶ Intervention effects to VV-*haa* by focus:

(24) **Aaming zinghai siksik-haa ni wun min, ngo zyu-zo zek daan.*

*阿明淨係食食吓呢碗麵，我煮咗隻蛋。

‘While Ming is eating only the noodles, I boiled an egg.’

Focus

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'While Ming was eating only the noodles, I boiled an egg.'

Existential operator: you 有

- ▶ Wu (1997), Soh (2005)

(25) **youren*/ **meiyouren pao-bu-pao?*

*有人/ *沒有人跑不跑?

‘Does somebody/ nobody run or not?’

(26) **youren*/ **meiyouren weishenme cizhi?*

*有人/ *沒有人為什麼辭職?

‘What is the reason x such that for x somebody/ nobody resigned?’

- ▶ Intervention effects to VV-*haa* by *jau* 有:

(27) **jaujan*/ **moujan paaupaau-haa, haauzoeng zau lai-zo.*

*有人/ *有人跑跑吓，校長就嚟咗。

‘While somebody/nobody is running, the principal comes.’

Existential operator: you 有

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Negation

- ▶ (28) **Ta mei/ bu pao-bu-pao?* *他沒/不跑不跑?
'Does he not run (yet)?'
- (29) **Ta mei/ bu weishenme cizhi?* *他沒/不為什麼辭職?
'What is the reason x such that for x he did not resign (yet)?'
- ▶ Intervention effects to VV-*haa* by negations:
(30) **ngo mei/m-/mhai taitai-haa syu, keoi lai wan ngo.*
*我未/唔/唔係睇吓書，佢嚟搵我。
'While I am not reading books (yet), he looks for me.'

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Quantificational adverbs

▶ Law (2006)

(31) **Zhangsan changchang tiaobu-tiaowu?*

*張三常常跳不跳舞？

‘Does Zhangsan often dance?’

(32) **Zhangsan changchang weishenme tiaowu?*

*張三常常為什麼跳舞？

‘What is the reason x such that for x ZS often dances?’

▶ Intervention effects to VV-*haa* by QAs:

(33) **ngo singjat taitai-haa syu (gopaai), keoi heoi-zo leoihang.*

*我成日睇睇吓書(個排)，佢去咗旅行。

‘(In the period that) I am often reading books, he went to a trip.’

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‘(In the period that) I am often reading books, he went to a trip.’

Wh-nominals

▶ Huang (1982)

(34) *ni xiang zhidao [shui xi-bu-xihuan ta]?*

你想知道 [誰喜不喜歡他] ?

‘For which person x , you wonder whether x like him?’

(35) *ni xiang zhidao [shui weishenme da-le Zhangsan]?*

你想知道 [誰為什麼打了張三] ?

‘For which person x , you wonder why x beat Zhangsan?’

▶ Chinese *wh*-arguments/ nominals (D. Tsai 1994 etc.)

▶ As variables without inherent quantificational force → no [Q]

▶ Unselectively bound by the interrogative operator

▶ Alternatively (Dong 2009, E. Tsai 2015) : introduce Hamblin sets quantified by Q

▶ NO intervention effect to VV-*haa* by *wh*-nominals :

▶ (36) *bingo fanfan-haa, lousi zau faatnau ne?*

邊個瞓瞓吓，老師就發嬲呢？

‘Who is the person x such that the teacher gets angry while x is sleeping?’

(37) *Aaming binjat siksik-haa faan (gozan), jaujan wan keoi aa?*

阿明邊日食食吓飯(嗰陣)，有人搵佢啊？

‘Which date is the date that someone looks for Ming while he is having meals?’

Intervention effects (summary)

	Interveners	VV- <i>haa</i>	A-not-A	<i>weishenme</i>
a.	Focus	*	*	*
b.	Existential operator <i>you</i>	*	*	*
c.	Negation	*	*	*
d.	Quantificational adverbs	*	*	*
e.	<i>Wh</i> -nominals	OK	OK	OK



Conclusion

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- ▶ Motivated by adverbial constraints & subordination constraints:
 - Temporal operator movement in *haa*-clauses
- ▶ Derives the “incompleteness effects”
- ▶ Predicts the attachment sites
- ▶ Predicts the intervention effects
- ▶ Also constitute a new piece of evidence to a movement derivation to temporal adverbial clauses without *haa* (cf. Liou 2003)

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An implication: Aspects are not just aspects

	Type	Related to:	Standalone?
<i>zai</i>	1 st	Asp, T	Yes
<i>-zhe</i>	2 nd	Asp	No, incompleteness effects
<i>VV-haal</i> <i>V-zhe-V-zhe</i>	3 rd	Asp, CP	No, subordination constraints

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Thank you!

