



1. Background & research questions

Quantifier Concord

- Negative Concord (Zeijlstra 2004) [uNEG]
- Interrogative Concord (*wh*-movement) [uQ]
- Existential Concord (Kratzer 2005) [uE]
- Universal Concord?** [uV]?

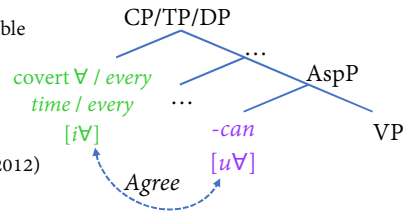
Research questions

- Do natural languages have Universal Concord? (Yes)
- What is the nature of the concord relation? (Agree)

3. Syntactic proposal: [uV] Agree

Agree with [uV] features

- can* bears an uninterpretable universal feature [uV];
- Universal quantifiers bear an interpretable counterpart [iV];
- Upward Agree. (Zeijlstra 2012)



Resolving the paradox:

- [uV] on *-can* must be checked by [iV] on quantifiers → delete [uV] before reaching LF → *-can* is not regarded as a quantifier → occurrence of V_s
- [uV] on *-can* cannot be checked by [iE] → non-occurrence of E_s

2. Data: a puzzle of *-can* and V

Cantonese verbal suffix *-can*

(P. Lee 2017: affixal quantifier)

- Only occurs in contexts with universal reading.
- Can co-occur with universal quantifiers.

- (1) *Aaming (cici / *jau jat ci) jam-can naai dou toutung*
 Ming every.time have one time drink-CAN milk DOU stomachache
 'Every time Ming drank milk, his tummy felt odd.' / *'There was once...'
- (2) *[(mui go / *jau gei go) keoi heoi-can ge gwokgaa] dou jau siwai*
 every CL have several CL 3SG go-CAN GE country DOU have protest
 'For every country he went, there were protests.' / *'For some of the countries...'

The problem of treating *-can* as a universal quantifier:

- Vacuous quantification bans co-occurrence with V_s:
- (3) **[(mui go keoi cici heoi ge gwokgaa) dou jau siwai]*
 every CL 3SG every.time go-CAN GE country DOU have protest

The problem of treating *-can* as a variable:

- Ungrammaticality of *-can* in existential contexts cannot be explained.
- ▶ A successful proposal should capture the occurrence of V_s and the non-occurrence of E_s in *-can* clauses.

4.1. An argument on [uV]

'Almost' test

- The constituent following *almost* must have quantificational force:

- (4) *keoi [pp tung [caa-m-do [gogo jan]]] dou king-dou gai*
 3SG with almost every person/they DOU talk-able chat
 'He can chat with almost everyone/*them.'

- Can* does not have any quantificational force, contrast with *every time*:

- (5) *[keoi caa-m-do [cici daa gei]] ne, aamaa dou wui faatnau*
 3SG almost every.time play video.game / play-CAN video.game TOP mum DOU will become.mad
 'Almost every time he played video games, his mum got angry.'

4.2. Arguments on covert V

'Almost' test

- Can* clauses have quantificational force

- (6) *Caa-m-do ne, V keoi ceot-can gaai zau wui dit cin*
 almost TOP 3SG go-CAN out then will fall money
 'It is almost the case that every time he went out, he lost money.'

Aspectual verb raising (T. Lee to appear)

- May occur before subjects iff the subjects are quantificational:

- (7) *hoici [cyunbou jan dou] haau-dou hou singzik*
 begin every person DOU / Ming get-able good result
 'It begins to be the case that everybody/*Ming is getting good results.'

- Can* clauses have quantificational force:

- (8) *hoici V keoi daa-can gei aamaa zau wui faatnau*
 begin 3SG play-CAN video.game mum then will become.mad
 'It begins to be the case that every time he played video games, his mum got angry.'

4.3. Arguments on Agree: Intervention effects

Rizzi (2001, 2004): Feature-based Relativized Minimality

- Locality condition on syntactic dependencies
- Quantificational feature: *wh*, neg, measure, focus ... [Qu]

- ▶ **[... V/ every time_[iV] ... {negation/ focus/ measure}_[Q] ... [-can_[uV]] ...]*

- (9) *keoi [V/ cici mou daai(*-can) syu] dou wui bei jan naau*
 3SG every.time NEG bring-CAN book DOU will get person scold
 'Every time he hadn't brought the book, he got scolded.'

- (10) *[V/ cici dak keoi jung(-can) gaan fong] dou hou zing*
 every.time only 3SG use-CAN CL room DOU very quiet
 'Every time that he was the only one who was using the room, the room was quiet.'

- (11) *keoi [singiat_[iV] / *jauzansi_[Q] tai-can syu] dou fanzoek*
 3SG always sometimes read-CAN book DOU fall.asleep
 'He always/*sometimes falls asleep while reading books.'

- *X ... Z ... Y (Z c-commands Y but not X)*
 [Qu] [Qu] [Qu] (Z is of the same 'superfeature' as X)
 Intervention

- ▶ *[... V/ every time_[iV] ... {temporals/ locatives/ wh-variables} ... [-can_[uV]] ...]*

- (12) *[V/ cici ziuzou jam(-can) naai] dou toutung*
 every.time morning drink-CAN milk DOU stomachache
 'Every time (I) drank milk in the morning, my tummy felt odd.'

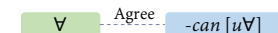
- (13) *[V/ cici hai deitit-dou king(-can) dinwaa] dou bei jan naau*
 every.time at subway-LOC talk-CAN telephone DOU get person scold
 'Every time (I) had a call on the subway, I got scolded.'

- (14) *[V/ mouleon binggo lai(-can)] keoi dou naau*
 no.matter who come-CAN 3SG DOU scold
 'He scolds at whoever comes.'

Note: Chinese nominal whs have no inherent quantificational force (Tsai 1994 a.m.o.)

5. Concluding remarks

Complete the picture of Quantifier Concord



Also consider: Mandarin *mei ... dou* as an instance of Universal Concord (Dong 2009), with *mei* carrying a uninterpretable quantifier feature. Yet, *mei* has quantificational force. Treating *mei ... dou* as [V] Agree may weaken the notion of interpretability.

Beyond the nominal domain

- Kratzer (2005): D-quantifiers can be concord elements
- A(ffixal)-quantifiers can also be concord elements (e.g. *-can*)
- How about A(dverbial)-quantifiers?