

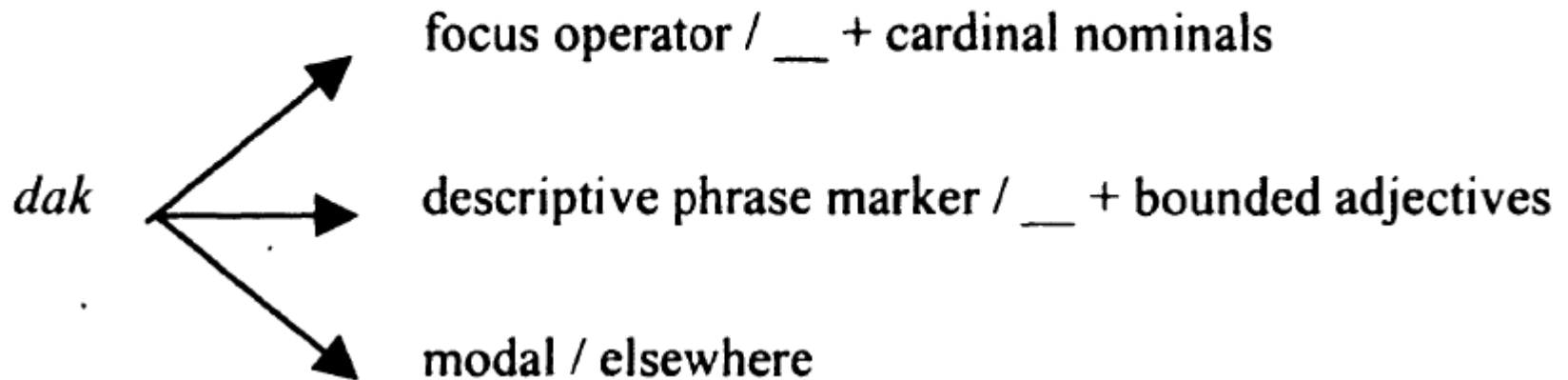
Cantonese verbal suffix *dak* and intentionality

Ka-Fai YIP The Chinese University of Hong Kong
mingyipkf@gmail.com

Introduction

- ▶ Tang (2000,2002): three types of verbal suffix *dak* according to post-*dak* environment:

Conditions of the emergence of various postverbal dak's



Introduction



Distribution



Not modal *dak* with AE



Intentionality



Higher than vP



▶ Fourth *dak*? (*dak*₄)

- ▶ No modal meaning
- ▶ Realization/ actualization of situation (Luke 1999, Peng 2010 and Shan 2012)

佢搵得你就梗係有困難啦。

Keoi wan-dak₄ nei zau ganghai jau kwannaan laa. (Luke 1999:216)

he find-DAK you then must-is have difficulties SFP

‘Now that he found you, he must have some sort of difficulties.’



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Distribution



Not modal *dak* with AE



Intentionality



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-
- ▶ Claim 1:
This *dak* is not modal *dak*
 - ▶ Claim 2:
This *dak* encodes intentionality
 - ▶ Working hypothesis:
This *dak* is an functional head higher than *vP*

Distribution of *dak*

Truth condition, verb and subject

Truth condition

- ▶ The truth condition of *dak* is different from modal *dak*
 - ▶ No contradiction:
 - ▶ context: Anyone who opened a certain door without permission will be punished.

佢唔開得道門。依家佢開得道門，就會畀人罰。

He m-hoi-dak^{Mod} dou mun.

he not-open-DAK CL door

Jigaa keoi hoi-dak₄ dou mun, zau wui bei jan fat.

now he open-DAK CL door then will BEI someone punish

‘He is not allowed to open the door. Now that he opened it, he will be punished.’



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Intentionality

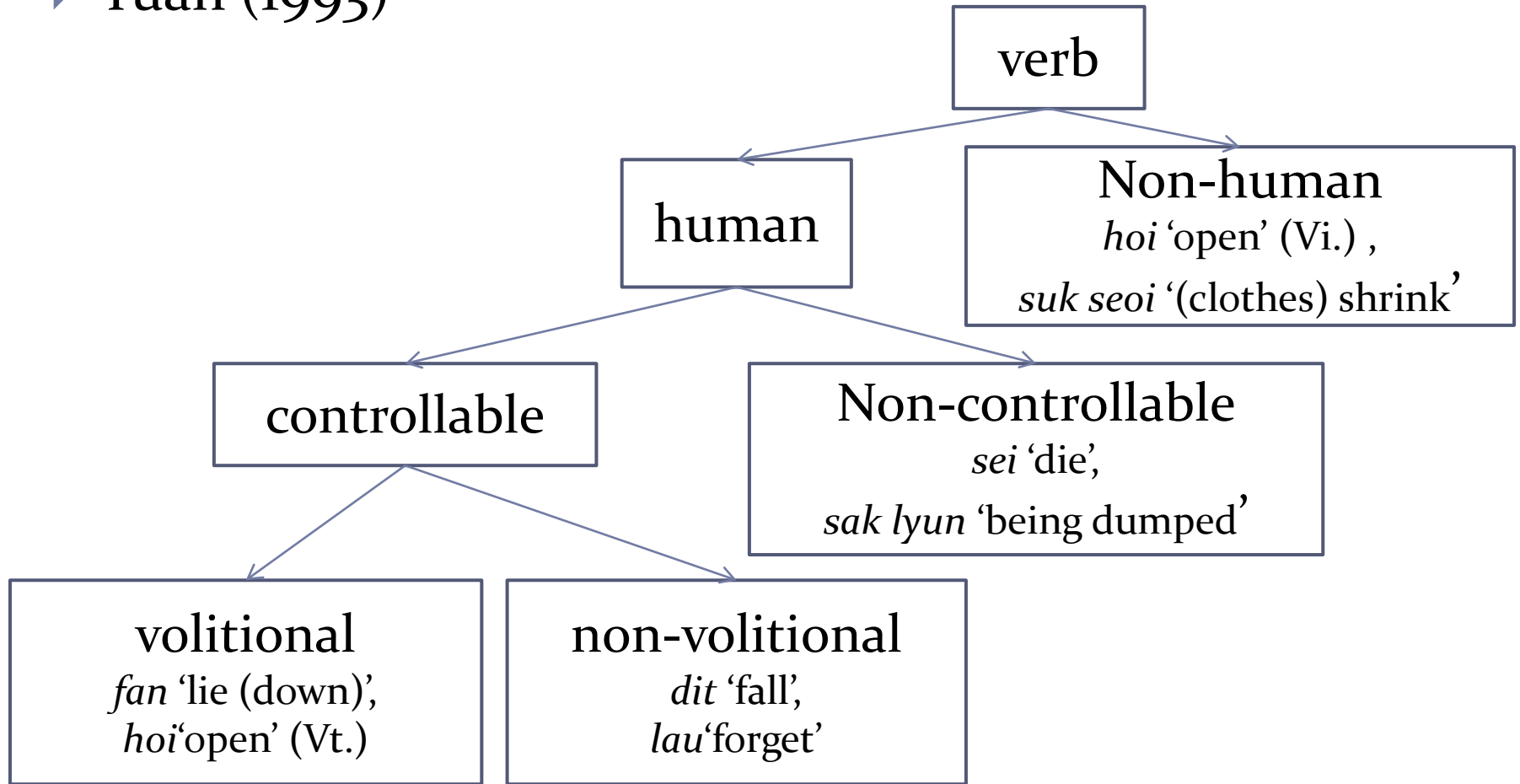


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Volition class of verbs

► Yuan (1993)



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▶ *Dak* attaches to volitional verbs only

- a. 佢訓得喺度，就會成身污糟。 (volitional)

He fan-dak₄ hai dou, zau wui sengsan wuzou.

helie-DAK on LOC then will whole-body dirty

‘Now that he lay on here, he will get dirty from head to foot.’

- b. ??佢跌得喺度，就會成身污糟。 (non-volitional)

??*He dit-dak₄ hai dou, zau wui sengsan wuzou.*

he fall-DAK on LOC then will whole-body dirty

‘??Now that he fell on here, he will get dirty from head to foot.’



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??佢失得戀，就會唔開心。

(non-controllable)

??*He sat-dak₄ lyun, zau wui m-hoisam.*

he lose-DAK love then will not-happy

‘??Now that he was dumped, he will get upset.’

*道門開得，就會有人畀人罰。

(non-human)

**Dou mun hoi-dak₄, zau wui jau jan bei jan fat.*

CL door open-DAK, then will have someone BEI someone punish

‘*Now that the door was opened, someone will be punished.’



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Not modal *dak* with AE



Intentionality



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Argument structure of verbs

- ▶ Perlmutter (1978), Burzio (1986)
- ▶ Requirement on agent or causer
 - ▶ Grammatical:
 - ▶ *hoi* : causative (causer)
 - ▶ *fan* : unergative (agent)
 - ▶ Ungrammatical:
 - ▶ *hoi* : unaccusative (patient)
 - ▶ *dit, sat lyun* : unaccusative (possessor raising in Gu & Yip(2004)/ experiencer)



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Not modal *dak* with AE



Intentionality



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Subject

- ▶ What kind of agent/causer does *dak* require?
- ▶ Contributing properties for the Agent Proto-Role (Dowty 1991):
 - ▶ a. volitional involvement in the event or state
 - ▶ b. sentience (and/or perception)
 - ▶ c. causing an event or change of state in another participant
 - ▶ d. movement (relative to the position of another participant)
 - ▶ (e. exists independently of the event named by the verb)



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Distribution



Not modal *dak* with AE



Intentionality



Higher than vP



- ▶ Grammatical without causing: *fan* ‘lie (down)’
- ▶ Grammatical without sentience and movement.

間廠出得部手機，就會包保養。 (entails (15)a, c but not (15)b, d)

Gaan cong ceot-dak₄ bou saugei, zau wui baau boujoeng.

CL factory produce-DAK CL cell.phone then will include maintenance

‘Now that the manufacturer produced the cell phone, it will ensure the phone’s maintenance.’



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Not modal *dak* with AE



Intentionality



Higher than vP



▶ Ungrammatical without volitional involvement

- a. 佢開得道門，就會畀人罰。 (= (10)a) (entails (15)a-d)

He hoi-dak₄ dou mun, zau wui bei jan fat.

- b. ??隻貓開得道門，就會畀人罰。 (entails (15)b-d but not (15)a)

??Zek maau hoi-dak₄ dou mun, zau wui bei jan fat.

CL cat open-DAK CL door then will BEI someone punish

‘??Now that the cat opened the door, it will be punished.’

▶ *Dak* requires agent/causer with volitional involvement



Introduction



Distribution



Not modal *dak* with AE



Intentionality



Higher than vP



Short summary

Distribution of *dak*

Truth condition	About the actual world
Volition class of verb	Volitional
Argument structure of verb	With causer or agent
Subject	Volitional involvement



Introduction



Distribution



Not modal *dak* with AE



Intentionality



Higher than vP



Dak is not modal *dak* with actuality
entailment

No AE for modal *dak*; epistemic contexts

Dak as the modal *dak* with AE?

- ▶ Luke (1999), Peng (2010) and Shan (2012): realization/actualization of situation
- ▶ Actuality entailment:
- ▶ the event taken by (deontic and dynamic) modal is actualized (i.e. happened in actual world)
 - ▶ with perfective aspect and quantificational adverb
 - ▶ Bhatt (1999), Tsai and Portner (2008)

Jean a pu soulever un frigo, (Hacquard to appear:3)
 Jean has could(PFV) lift a fridge
#mais il ne l'a pas soulevé.
 but he NE it-has not lifted
 Jean could lift a fridge, #but he didn't lift it.

#阿 Q 常常能去台北，但從來沒去過。(Tsai 2015:289)
#Akiu changchang neng qu Taibei, dan conglai mei qu-guo.
 Akiu often can go Taipei but never have.not go-Pst
 ‘#Akiu was often able to go to Taipei, but he never did.’



Introduction



Distribution



Not modal *dak* with AE



Intentionality



Higher than vP



-
- ▶ Source of AE (Hacquard 2006, 2009, Chen 2015):
 - ▶ Actual world provided by matrix clause

 - ▶ No AE with epistemic modal
 - ▶ Possible worlds are provided

 - ▶ If *dak* is the modal *dak* with AE,
 - ▶ In epistemic context,
 - ▶ truth condition of *dak* should be the same as modal *dak*

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 - ▶ In epistemic context,
 - ▶ truth condition of *dak* should be the same as modal *dak*

Dak_4 is not modal *dak* with AE

- ▶ Modal *dak* has no AE:
 - ▶ Context: Anyone who opened a certain door without permission will be punished

既然佢開得道門，就#(唔)會畀人罰，而佢仲未開道門。(modal *dak*)

Geijin He hoi- dak^{Mod} dou mun, zau #(m-)wui bei jan fat.

Since he open-DAK CL door then (not-)will BEI someone punish

ji keoi zung mei hoi dou mun.

and he yet not open CL door

‘Since he has the permission to open the door, he will #(not) be punished; and he has not yet opened the door.’



Introduction



Distribution



Not modal *dak* with AE



Intentionality



Higher than vP



▶ Different truth condition:

應該佢開得道門，就(#唔)會畀人罰。 (epistemic context)

Yinggoi he hoi-dak₄ dou mun, zau (#m-)wui bei jan fat.

probably he open-DAK CL door then (not-)will BEI someone punish

‘It is probably the case that he opened the door and he will (#not) be punished.’

▶ Two types of *dak* have to be analyzed separately

▶ Different truth condition:

應該佢開得道門，就(#唔)會畀人罰。 (epistemic context)

Yinggoi he hoi-dak₄ dou mun, zau (#m-)wui bei jan fat.

probably he open-DAK CL door then (not-)will BEI someone punish

‘It is probably the case that he opened the door and he will (#not) be punished.’

▶ Two types of *dak* have to be analyzed separately

Dak encodes intentionality

Uncancellability, sensitivity to volitional involvement of the agent/
causer

Dak encodes intentionality

- ▶ Sensitive to agents/causers' volitional involvement
- ▶ The intention meaning cannot be cancelled:

既然佢開得道門，就會畀人罰，#但佢從來冇諗過開道門。

Geijin He hoi-dak₄ dou mun, zau wui bei jan fat.

Since he open-DAK CL door then will BEI someone punish

#daan keoi cungloi mou lam-gwo hoi dou mun.

but he ever not think-PFV open CL door

‘Now that he opened the door, he will be punished, #but he has never thought of opening the door.’

Dak encodes intentionality

- ▶ Digression:
- ▶ *Zoek* encodes non-intentionality:
 - ▶ Lai & Chin (2018): randomness of subject to cause an event to the object

佢開著呢道門，真係唔好彩(，佢會畀人罰)。

He hoi-zyu ni dou mun, zanhai m-houcoi

he open-DAK this CL door really unfortunate

(, *he wui bei jan fat*).

he will BEI someone punish

‘He opened this door accidentally, what a bad luck! (He will be punished.)’



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Distribution



Not modal *dak* with AE



Intentionality



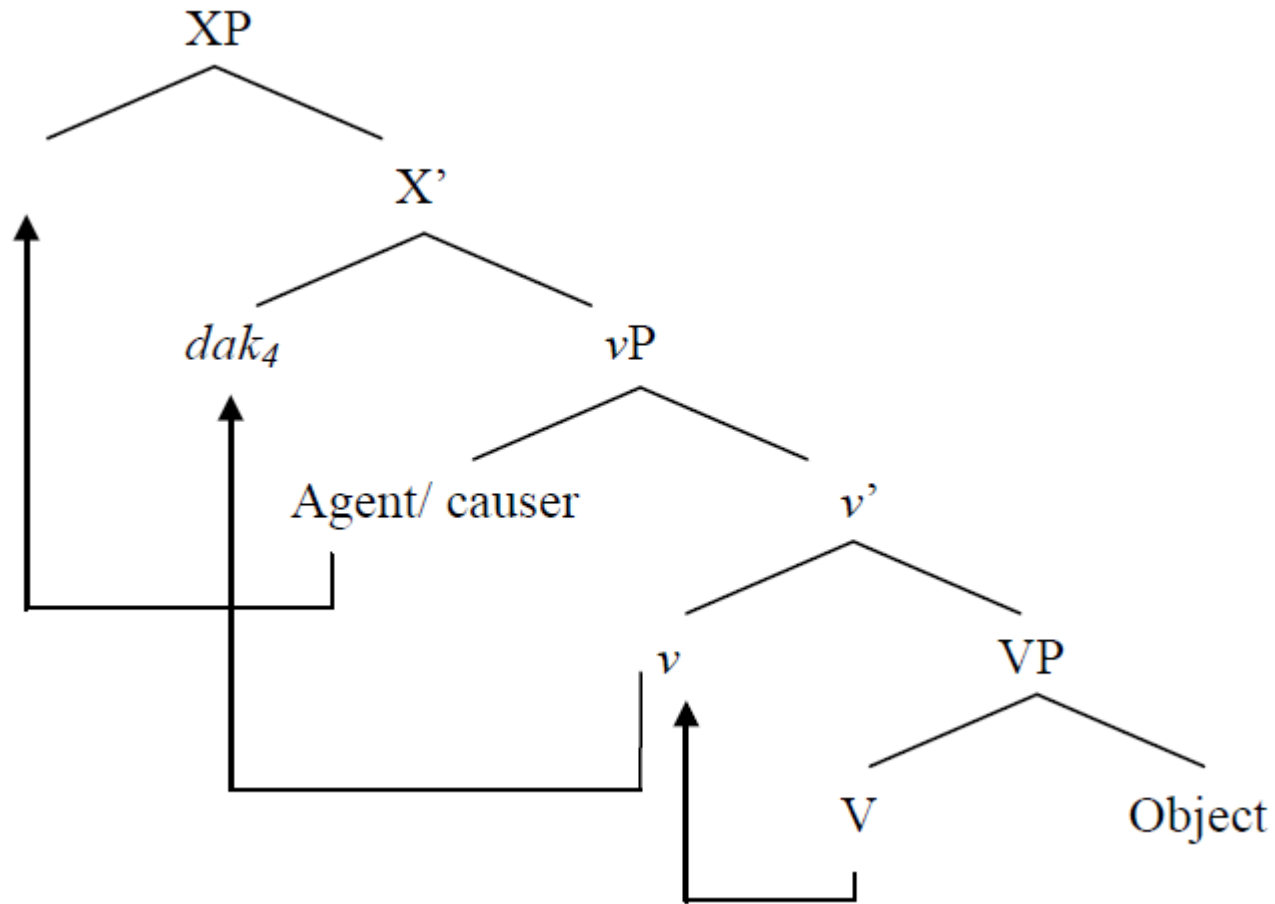
Higher than vP



Dak locates higher than vP

Requires a(n) agent/ causer with volitional involvement, co-occurrence of adverbials, *zoeng* construction

Dak locates higher than *vP*



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Not modal *dak* with AE
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Higher than *vP*
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Dak locates higher than *vP*

- ▶ Requires a(n) agent/ causer with volitional involvement
 - ▶ *Dak* locates near Spec, *vP*
- ▶ Co-occurrence of adverbials
 - ▶ TP > *Dak* > manner adverbial
- ▶ *Zoeng* construction
 - ▶ *Dak* > *vP*

Dak locates higher than *vP*

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Not modal *dak* with AE



Intentionality



Higher than *vP*



Dak locates higher than *vP*

- ▶ Requires a(n) agent/ causer with volitional involvement
 - ▶ *Dak* locates near Spec, *vP*
- ▶ Co-occurrence of adverbials
 - ▶ TP > *Dak* > manner adverbial
- ▶ **Zoeng construction**
 - ▶ *Dak* > *vP*

Co-occurrence of adverbials

▶ Temporal (TP) > *dak*

佢啱啱開得道門，就會畀人罰。(Temporal adverbial)

He ngaamngaam hoi-dak₄ dou mun, zau wui bei jan fat.

he just.now open-DAK CL door then will BEI someone punish

‘He has opened the door just now, he will be punished.’



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Co-occurrence of adverbials

▶ *dak* > Manner

??佢慢慢開得道門，就會畀人罰。(Manner adverbial)

??*He maanmaan hoi-dak₄ dou mun, zau wui bei jan fat.*

he slowly open-DAK CL door then will BEI someone punish

Intended meaning: ‘Now that he opened the door slowly, he will be punished.’



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Distribution



Not modal *dak* with AE



Intentionality



Higher than vP



Zoeng-construction

- ▶ **Zoeng-construction**
 - ▶ Mandarin *ba*: as *v* head, taking *vP* as complement. (Huang 1992, 1997, Sybesma 1999 and Li 2006)
 - ▶ Used by Chung (2012) to show that deontic *dak* in Hakka is higher than *vP*.
 - ▶ Cantonese equivalent: *zoeng* (Matthews & Yip 1994)



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Not modal *dak* with AE



Intentionality



Higher than *vP*



Zoeng-construction

*佢將道門開得，就會畀人罰。(zoeng-construction)⁶

* *He zoeng dou mun hoi-dak₄, zau wui bei jan fat.*

he ZOENG CL door open-DAK then will BEI someone punish

Intended meaning: ‘Now that he opened the door, he will be punished.’



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Not modal *dak* with AE



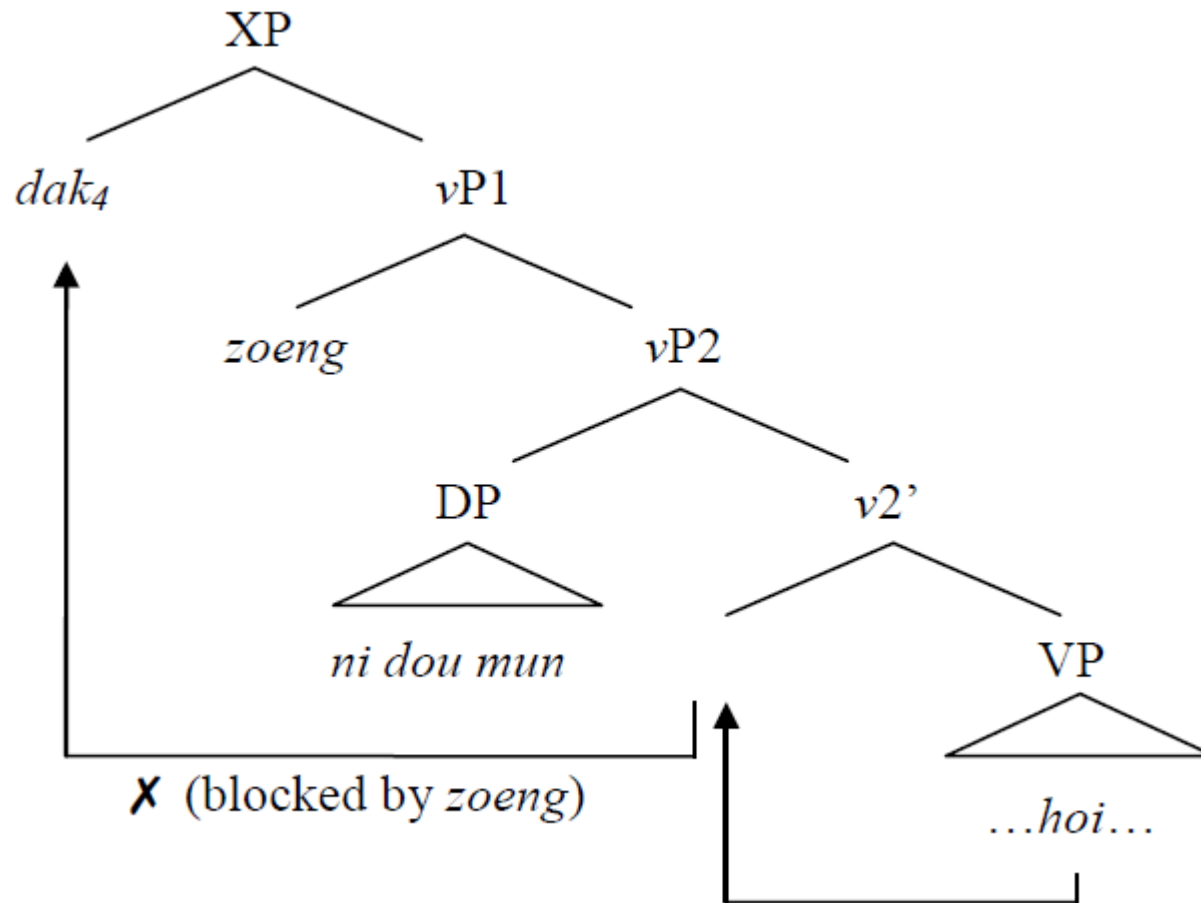
Intentionality



Higher than vP



Zoeng-construction



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Not modal *dak* with AE

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Concluding remarks

Conclusion

- ▶ *Dak* is not modal *dak*
- ▶ *Dak* encodes intentionality
- ▶ *Dak* locates higher than vP



Further research

- ▶ *Dak* tends to occur in causal sentences (with *geijin* 既然) and conditional sentences (with *jyugwo* 如果)
 - ▶ Synchronic explanation?
 - ▶ Diachronic explanation?
- ▶ The relationship between *dak* and *lai* in *dak ... lai* 得嚟
 - ▶ Shan (2012): same *dak*
 - ▶ Requires a(n) agent/causer with volitional involvement
??隻貓開得道門嚟，就太遲喇
‘When the cat opened the door, it is too late.’
 - ▶ Temporal ambiguity (Lai 2014)



Further research

- ▶ *Dak* tends to occur in causal sentences (with *geijin* 既然) and conditional sentences (with *jyugwo* 如果)
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 - ▶ Shan (2012): same *dak*
 - ▶ Requires a(n) agent/causer with volitional involvement
 - *佢發得燒嚟就太遲喇 (Ng 2017:7)
 - Intended: ‘When he has a fever, it is too late.’
 - ▶ Temporal ambiguity (Lai 2014)



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Not modal *dak* with AE



Intentionality



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Thank you!

Your comments are welcome!



Natural data

- ▶ 既然你入得嚟，就好好運用

‘Now that you came in, you should make good use of it.’

(五十七工作室：《遺憾萬事屋》，2018-3-10)

- ▶ 你入得嚟，就即係無晒辦法啦

‘Now that you came in, you must be out of ideas.’

(五十七工作室：《遺憾萬事屋》，2018-3-10)



Natural data

- ▶ Hypothetical context:

- ▶ 如果我問得ho，就係你答係啊或者唔係

‘If I asked “ho”, I expect you to answer “yes” or “no”.’

- ▶ Book得房就唔可以收錢囉

‘If you booked the room, you can’t charge the participants.’

Natural data

▶ Generic context:

▶ 打得仗就一定要贏

‘If someone is fighting a war, he/she has to win.’

(林子穎：《地厚天高》，2018)



Corpus data

- ▶ *A Linguistic Corpus of Mid-20th Century Hong Kong Cantonese*
- ▶ 睇女仔！哎吔！我睇得個女仔嚟，我畀人搵咗個荷包去都唔知呀！
- ▶ 係嘞！所以應得承過你呢，就唔會再遲㗎嘞呀？
- ▶ 阿哥都交得畀你嘞！點解你會交得畀第二個啫？
- ▶ 喺！你交得個細路哥畀我湊㗎！噉我就梗要負責㗎！
- ▶ 你放心喇！我介紹得畀你嘅呢，一定令你享受到豔福！
- ▶ 佢叫得你今晚嚟呢，就即是係有聲氣喇嘛！