Variations in Action:
a MUltilingual approach"(VariAMU)
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Some aspects of the syntax and semantics of adverbial clauses in Mandarin Chinese (and elsewhere)

Marie-Claude PARIS
Université Paris Diderot- UMR 7110, CNRS, LLF
0. INTRODUCTION

- General properties about Chinese useful here:
  Mixed typological type: VO in the VP domain= Head initial, but
  OV in the NP domain, Head final AND also
  OV Prep. adjuncts, Time & Loc , left of VP.
  OV SFP (Sentence Final particles)
  OV for postpositional NP or CP
This useful mixed typology extends to complex clauses too.

- A complex cl. is a set pattern (固定格式 gùdìng géshì) where the sub. Cl.
  precedes the main cl. and the markers have to be learnt in pairs:
  1 marker in a sub. Cl. marker X and another one Y in the main cl. Ex:
  X ‘if’ Conditional/causal sub. Cl + Y ‘then’ main clause

  (1) $S_1[(rúgu ṓ) X Māmā zài ]$, [ tā jiù Y hùi shuō nǐ ]$S_2$
  (if) Mummy be at she then will talk you
  ‘If Mummy is/was here, she will/would scold you.’
Chinese is an ‘isomorphic language’: the surface order of the quantifiers directly reflects the scopal properties (Huang S-F., 1981). If true, then inverse scope, noted ←, should not exist.

F. tous NP ne pas V (some ←) ≡ pas tous NP V (some ←) & all not = aucun →

Ch. tous...neg V (none →) ≠ *Neg tous (*some →)

(2a) ‘He can only drink one glass of wine.’ simple sentence

(2b) *tā néng jiù hē yī bēi jiǔ (néng has scope on jiù)
    he can only drink one Cl wine

(2c) tā jiù néng hē yī bēi jiǔ (inverse scope does exist)

Pb: the adverb in the main.cl. has left scope (from right to left, ←)
General & specific properties of Chinese

- Tang (1990), Gasde & Paul (1996) cond & causal cl. are Topics. Is it true?
- To what parts of speech do the ‘connectors’ in the sub ‘if’ X & the matrix cl. ‘then’ Y belong?
- What is the syntactic structure of the two clauses?
## Examples of set patterns that you learn

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I. THE NUMBER OF MARKERS : 4 IN MC, 1, 2 or 3 IN FR/EN/GERMAN

(3) \( S_1[(rúgu ō) Māmā zài (de huà)], [(nà) tā (jiù) hùi shuō n ì]S_2 \) : 4
   (if) Mummy be at (Rel word) that she then will talk you
   ‘If Mummy is/was here, she will/would scold you.’
   ‘Si maman est/était là, elle te reprimandera/réprimanderait.’

(4) \( S_1[(∅) Māmā zài ∅]S_1, [∅ tā jiù hùi shuō n ì]S_2 \) : 1
   ‘If Mummy is/was here, she will/would scold you.’

(5) \( S_1 [Jīnguān hěn wăn le], [kěshì/dànsì tā hái bù kěn líkāi]S_2 \) : 3
   though very late F.P but/but he still Neg. be willing leave
   ‘Though it’s late, he still does not want to leave.’

(6) \( S_1 [Jīshī zài wăn ], [∅ tā yě/*jiù/*hái bù hùi líkai]S_2 \) : 2
   even if again late he also/* then /*still Neg. will leave
   ‘However late it is, he won’t leave.’
• 4 syntactic positions in Chinese:
  2 in the subord. cl.: leftmost & rightmost:  
  rúgu ō... de huà  (ex. 3)
  2 in the main clause: leftmost & adverb, pre-VP: kěshì... hái  (ex. 5)

leftmost position in subordinate cl. = subordinator$_1$ + subordinator$_2$
leftmost position in main cl. = connector$_3$ + adv$_4$

Remark 1: only 1 (or 2) syntactic positions in French or English: \textit{if.....(then)}.
Remark 2 concessive cl. Not just one marker like conditionals, but more:  
F: pourtant, quand même, malgré tout, cependant, néanmoins...
In German concessives: 3 positions, in concessive cl. too

(7)  
\textit{obwohl} es regnet, so geht Peter \textit{doch} spazieren
  though it rain so go Peter \textit{doch} walk
  ‘Although it is raining, Peter is going for a walk’
II THE DEPENDENCY BETWEEN THE MARKERS

1. Semantic dependency between subordinator and the adv: ‘fixed patterns’

   *rúgu ū ... jiù... & *rúgu ū ... cái .... but *rúgu ū ... hái ....

From left to right : subordinator → adv

2. Dependency between the subordinator and the connector

   *rúgu ū ... kěshì/dànsì ....: subordinator ← conjunction

From right to left, i.e. when looking at the surface order=correlative const.

(3)  [(rúgu ū) Māmā zài (de huà)], [(nà(me) tā (jiù) hùi shuō n ī ]S₂
     ‘If Mummy is/was here, she will/would scold you.’

(8)  [(rúgu ū) Māmā zài ∅∅ ] S₁, S₂[ ∅ tā cái hùi shuō n ī ] S₂
     ‘Only if Mummy is/was here, will/would she scold you.’

(9)  *[(rúgu ū) Māmā zài ]S₁, S₂ [ (nà(me) tā cái hùi shuō n ī ] S₂
(10)  *[(rúgu ū) Māmā zài ]S₁, S₂ [ kěshì/dànsì tā hái hùi shuō n ī ] S₂
HYPOTHESIS: ASYMMETRY BETWEEN SUB & MAIN CL MARKERS

In Chinese, the main clause adverb carries a stronger syntactic and semantic role than the subordinator:

(rúgu ǒ) ... jiù... ‘if...then’, but
(rúgu ǒ) ... cáoi .... ‘only if’/‘only if...then’

The main clause adverb not optional & changes the interpretation of the subordinator. It is the main cl. adv cáoi which licenses the sub. cl. (In the same as yē/dōu license the (lián)... yē/dōu focus construction,( in preverbal position= S O adv VP// sub cl cáo VP ).

(Zh ī y ǒ u) (rúgu ǒ) ... cáoi VP ‘only DP, only if CP’
(lián) ... yē/dōu VP ‘even DP, even CP’

In F. or in E. only the subordinator does the job, only if/when/ because....
III THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE ADV *JIÙ/CÁI* AND THE SEMANTIC TYPES OF SUBORDINATION

III. 1 Apart from conditional, temporal & causal cl., also allow the *jiù/cái* substitution. Ordering of events, cause 1→consequence 2

(11) [Zhāngsān huí jiā yī hòu]$_{S_1}$, $S_2$ [M ě lì *cái* zuò fàn ]$_{S_2}$
J. return home after M. *cái* do rice
‘Only after John comes home, does Mary cook.’

(12) [Zhāngsān tán gāngqín de shíhòu]$_{S_1}$, $S_2$ [M ě lì *cái* shēngqì ]$_{S_2}$
J. play piano Rel moment M. *cái* angry
‘It’s only when John plays the piano that Mary is angry.’

(13) [yīnwéi zuótiān yǒu biéde shì]$_{S_1}$, $S_2$ [wǒ *cái* méi qù zhǎo nǐ ]$_{S_2}$
because yesterday have other thing I *cái* Neg go look for you
‘It’s only because I had sthg else to do yesterday that I didn’t look for you.’

Do all sub. Cl. present this adverbial alternation ? : no
III.2 CAUSAL-CONCESSIONS ‘since’, CONCESSIONS ‘although’, COUNTERFACTUAL CONCESSIONS ‘even if’, no focalisation

*Jirán/ Jinguăn/ Jíshi .... cái = Concessive cl. Do NOT allow cái.

(14) S₁[ Jirán tā yǒu shì ] S₁, *S₂[ (nàme) wǒ cái bù děng tā le]S₂
    ‘*It’s only since he’s busy so I won’t wait for him any longer.’

(15) S₁[ Jinguăn hěn wǎn le] S₁, *S₂ [kěshí/dànsí tā cái bù kěn líkāi ]S₂
    ‘*It’s only though it’s late, but he still does not want to leave.’

    ‘*It’s only however late it is that he won’t leave.’

CCI: Two main semantic classes (both in Chinese & English/French)

Semantic asymmetry between main clauses seen in the jiù/cái distribution
- Complex clauses which allow the opposition between *jiù* and *cái* adv.: temporal, hypothetical and causal sentences: they can be cleft, \( P \supset Q \): (chrono)logical relation.

- Complex clauses which do not allow the *jiù/cái* opposition: factual concessives ‘since’, concessives & counterfactual concessives: they cannot be cleft, \( P \supset \neg Q \): denial of expectation of the relation

Note that the first group only allows for the double or final marking of the subordinator: \( P \rightarrow Q \)

Conditional cl: *rúgu ō* ... *de hùa* ‘if...’
Temporal cl.: *zài* ... *de shíhòu* ‘when...’
Causal cl.: *yīnwéi* ... *de yuánɡù* ‘because...’

+ *jiù* Time cl. Conditional Causal \( x \) Concessive \(-jiù\)
+ *cái* DO uBLE MARKING OF SUB \( x \) 1 MARKING OF SUB \(-cái\)
III.3 FUNCTIONAL ADVERBS ARE QUANTIFICATIONAL & HAVE LEFT SCOPE

- Role of (functional) adverbs: anaphoric, stands proxy for the situations referred to in the antecedent, (almost) not optional.
- Are found elsewhere in the grammar as aspectual adverbs in independent cl. or as adv of coordination in complex cl.

- jiù ‘just, at once’, cái ‘just, only’, hái ‘still’, réng ‘still’ are aspectual adv; yě ‘also’, dōu ‘all’ are coordinating and quantifying adverbs.

- They co-vary with their antecedents wúlùn (whatever)… dōu…, jíshī (even though)… yě… (universal quantification ‘whatever’ vs existential quantification ‘even though’).

Syntactic proof of their anaphoricity (cannot be cataphoric):
- they have left scope, their antecedent is a proposition
- they are present in the $S_1 + S_2$ canonical order, but not in $S_2 + S_1$ order:
III.4 THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF FIRST MARKER AND OF THE ADV IN INVERTED MAIN CLAUSES:

(17) $S_1[ \text{Jírán tā yǒu shì }], [(\text{nàme}) \text{ wǒ jiù bù děng tā le }] S_2$

since he have thg so I jiù Neg wait he F.P
‘Since he’s busy, (so) I won’t wait for him any longer.’

(18a) $S_2[ *\text{nàme wǒ *jiù bù děng tā le}], [ \text{Jírán tā yǒu shì }] S_1$

‘*so I won’t wait for him any longer, since he’s busy.’

(18b) $S_2[ \text{wǒ bù děng tā le }] S_2, S_1[ \text{Jírán tā yǒu shì }] S_1$

‘I won’t wait for him any longer, since he’s busy.’
IV THE SUBORDINATORS: WHICH PARTS OF SPEECH & WHICH POSITIONS?

IV.1 SEMANTIC TRANSPARENCY = COMPOSITIONALITY & predicative origin

\[ jì + rán \text{ ‘since’ } = jì \text{ ‘already’ } + rán \text{ ‘it is so’ [+ realis]} \]
\[ suì + rán \text{ ‘(al) though’ } = suì \text{ ‘though’ } + rán \text{ ‘it is so’ [+ realis]} \]
\[ jí + shĭ \text{ ‘even if’ } = jí \text{ to near, to be } = \text{ to } + shĭ \text{ ‘supposing’ [- realis]} \]
\[ yào \text{ ‘will, want, if’ [- realis]} \text{ Verbal origin} \]

IV.2 SYNTACTIC POSITIONS

IV.2.1 IN THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE

Chinese grammar books in the PRC: the leftmost markers in the subordinate clause AND in the main cl. are both conjunctions, Fang (2000).

Not in the PRC:
\[ rúguō, yīnwéi \text{ adverbial elements (Lin 1994), Comp (Huang J. 1984)} \]
\[ suōyī : \text{ Comp Tang (1990), Adv (G. & Paul 1996)} \]
Proposition: - they are positionally alike, clause initial
- but they behave differently in syntax
- Subordinate clause: a complementizer, Comp, a one-place relator, but not a conjunction
- Main clause: a conjunction, Conj, a two or n-place relator

Comp: Some are both P(rep) +NP & Conj (+ CP) //
French: dès (que), avant (que), après (que)...
En: before, after, since

Ch: Yīnwéi DP/CP, jíshǐ DP/CP, zìcóng DP/ÇP, wèi-le DP/CP
‘because’ ‘even (if) ‘from, since’ ‘for’
IV.2.2 THE POSITION OF THE COMP

“If the subject position of the clauses is expressed, suī, like ruò and rú, is often moved into the adverb position between the subject and the verb”, Pulleyblank (1995:157) and also Li & Thompson (1981:635).

(19) Shìqíng suī xiǎo, yǐngxiǎng qùe ji  dài
affair though small influence but very big
‘Though the affair is insignificant its impact is very big.’

(20) (X tóngzhì) (zhèi bù zhùzào) jírán yòng de shì zhèi ge xìtǒng, sǔoyī wǒ
X comrade this Cl work since use Rel be this Cl system
‘Since, for this work, Comrade X used this system, (so) I think...
(21) [(rúgu ō₁) wǒ míngtiān yǒu kōng de huà], jiù dáyīng ...
   if I tomorrow have free time Rel word jiù promise
   ‘If I have time tomorrow, I promise....

(22) [wǒ (rúgu ō₂) míngtiān (rúgu ō₃) yǒu kōng de huà], jiù dáyīng
   ...

Comp. **ONLY ONE initial position**, but different topicalisations

*Mandarin Chinese, French and English allow the movement of the Subject past the C. The difference is that dislocation is necessary (and expected because of agreement) in F/E, but that topicalisation is Ok in MC.*

(23) Quand *Marie* est venue hier, il pleuvait fort
    ‘When Mary came yesterday, it rained a lot.’

(24) *Marieᵢ, quand *∅ᵢ /elleᵢ est venue hier, il pleuvait fort*
CCL about Comps (in sub. Cl.)

General rule: In the three languages, the subordinators are C(omps), but topicalisation allowed only in Mandarin.

If they were Conjunctions,
- The movement outside the sub. cl. should be disallowed, but (22) is OK,
- they should have an antecedent, but a sub. Cl. can be discourse initial.

A Comp is not a Conj.
IV.2.3 THE POSITION OF THE TWO COMPs: due to the VO-OV mixed typology

Why are there two (non adjacent) Cs in the subordinate clause: one initial position, one is final position?

Because of language contact during the Yuan Dynasty, when China was under the Mongol’s control language. Thus, in the 13th-14th c., the two patterns (SVO) and (SOV) coexisted, cf. Chen D. (2015), Cao & Yu (2015).

In OV languages, Mongolian, Japanese, Korean...the subordinator is in clause final position.

Hence \( yīnwéi + \text{CP} > [\ yīnwéi\ \text{CP de yuángù} ] \) or

\[
[\ ∅\ \text{CP de yuángù}] \quad \text{‘because’}
\]

\[
[rúgu ō\ \text{CP de huò}] \quad \text{‘if ‘}
\]
IV.3 IN THE MAIN CLAUSE, the 1rst connector is a CONJ

IV.3.1 A COMP is not a CONJ

IV.3.1 Conj & Comps are different syntactically

Contrary to the Chinese tradition, a distinction should be made between the 1rst markers of the sub.cl, and those of main cl.(Comp).

Comps & Conjs can cooccur because they belong to different parts of speech. The order of their co-occurrence is predicted: Conj + Comp.

No co-occurrence of subordinators: *tā rúgu ō yàoshi, *‘if if he...’
No co-occurrence of conjunctions: *kěshi dànshi tā *‘but but he...’

Moreover their order is predicted, because of their different scopes: Conj + Comp

(25) (dàn)shi yīnwéi tā .... ‘But because she...’
(26) *yīnwéi (dàn)shi tā .... *‘Because but...’
(27) Mais parce que ...
(28) *Parce que mais ...
According to Fang Mei (2000) su ŏ y ī , dànshi, kěshi, bùgòu, ránhòu, érqie, nàme, shènzhi, yīnwéi, rúgu ŏ = one class. She studies the bleaching of ‘Conj’ into DM, discourse markers. Her results -- nb of occurrences and % of derived use -- are predictable if su ŏ y ī and rúgu ŏ belong to two different classes

su ŏ y ī (93occ., 50,1%, DM) ; dànshi (63, 33,3%) ; kěshi (37, 32,4) ... yīnwéi ( 36, 2,8%) ; rúgu ŏ (14, 0% DM). Conj. ‘bleach’ more that Comp.
IV.3.2 CONJ and extraction

As Chinese obeys Ross’ (& Grosu’s) constraint on coordinate constructions, this accounts for the fact that ɕǔ in (30) and tā in (32) cannot be topicalized out of the main clause of (29) & (31). Thus nàme and su ōy ǐ are conjunctions.

(29) Jírán tā yǒu shì, nàme wǒ jiù bù děng tā le
   ‘Since he’s busy, I won’t wait for him any longer.’

(30) *Jírán tā yǒu shì, wǒ nàme jiù bù děng tā le

(31) yīnwéi tiānqì hěn hǎo, su ōy ǐ tā cái lái de
   because weather very good so she cái come F.P.
   ‘She came only because the weather was fine.’

(32) *yīnwéi tiānqì hěn hǎo, tā su ōy ǐ cái lái de
But notice that if both clauses contain an identical element, its extraction is possible, see Grosu (1972), Goldsmith (1985), and Zhang (2010:137).

(33) zhè běn shū, yīnwéi tì tài zhòng, su ō yǐ wǒ bānbúdòng tì. 
this Cl. book because too heavy so I remove-Neg.-move '(As for) this book, it’s too heavy for me to move (it).'</n
(34) nà fèn bàozh ī, B. kàn-le tì, érqǐě tì hái xiě-le bǐ jì 
that Cl. newspaper B. look-Pft and also write-P. note 'That newspaper, B. looked at it and wrote notes about too.'

CCL₁: (33) & (34) illustrate a syntactic parallelism between subordination (33) and ‘pure’ conjunction (34). 
Nà(me), su ōy ī, kěshì/dànsì are conjunctions just like érqǐě ‘and’.
IV.4 IN THE MAIN CLAUSES, the ADVs have the same syntactic and semantic role as in simple Ss:

they are OBLIGATORY and have LEFT scope: they are QUANTIFICATIONAL.

In the context: ‘I asked him to come at 8 o’clock’

(35)  
\[ tā qī di ān zhōng jiù lái le/*∅ \]  
he 7 point middle jiù come-Pft  \( 7 \rightarrow 8 \)  
‘At 7 he was already here.’

(36)  
\[ tā ji ū di ān zhōng cāi lái ∅/*le \]  
‘He came at 9 only.’  \( 8 \leftarrow 9 \)

(37)  
\[ wǒ yīfú xī le... chuáng yě zhěnglǐ le (also) \]  
I clothes wash-Pft bed also put in order P.F  
I washed the clothes...made the bed too

(38)  
\[ Běijīng gēn Shànghǎi tā dōu qù guò\]  
Peking and Shanghai he all go-Exp.  
He’s been both to Peking and Shanghai
V. ARE ALL SURBORDINATE CLAUSES BORN EQUAL?

V.1. ARE THEY ALL TOPICS?

As seen in III. 1 above, conditionals, temporal & causal cl., causal cl. also allow the jiù/cái substitution: main clauses containing cái indicate that the preceding subordinate clauses carries new information, cf.(13) above.
In that case, the subordinator can be preceded by zhèng ‘precisely’, jiùshì ‘only, exactly’.

If all Chinese adverbial sub. clauses are Topics, as it has been claimed in the literature, then none of them should allow focalizing. But as causal cl. and purpose clauses easily allow focalizers, then they are not topics: they carry new information.
zhèng yīnwéi zhèngshì wéi-le cái ‘precisely because’
jiù yīnwéi jiùshì wéi-le cái ‘precisely in order to’
zhǐ shì wéi-le cái ‘only in order to’

Notice that this group of subordinators (Comp) is exactly the same one which easily allows a $S_2 S_1$ “inverted” word order.

$Wèi$-le clauses, especially $yīnwéi$ clauses are often found after the main clauses. (Biq, 2005, Wang, 2002), in which case they carry new information. Their discourse function is different than that in $S_1$ position.

(39) wǒ jīntiān bù qù kàn xì le, yīnwéi tài rè
   I today Neg. go look play F.P. because too hot
   ‘I’m not going to the show today, because it’s too hot.’

How do we know when a sub cl. is or is not a Topic? Just ask a question and look at the answer.
V.2 THE SCOPE OF THE Q OPERATOR IN COMPLEX CLAUSES

There are two syntactic ways of questioning a simple clause: either with the F.P. *ma* or by asking the Q on the verb, using the V-Neg.-V pattern as in:

(40) ta *hui* lai  (41)ta *hui* lai *ma*?  (42) ta *hui-bu-hui* lai?
    he  will  come    he  will  c.  F.P.    he will-Neg-will  come

‘He will come.’  ‘Will he come?’  ‘Will he come?’

Determine how the sub. cl. behaves in *jiù* vs *cái* conditionals.
V.2.1.' SUFFICIENT’ CONDITIONAL CL. (jiù) P jiù Q ‘if P, Q’

(43) Rúgu ĕ tiānqì hěn lěng, Zhāngsān jiù huì qù mǎi shū
If weather very cold then will go buy book
‘If it is cold, Zhangsan will go and buy books.’

(44) [Rúgu ĕ tiānqì hěn lěng, Zhāngsān jiù huì qù mǎi shū] ma?
‘Is it the case that [if it is cold, Zhangsan will go and buy books]?

(45) *P[rúgu ĕ tiānqì lěng bù lěng]P, Zhāngsān jiù huì qù mǎ i shū?

(46) [Rúgu ĕ tiānqì hěn lěng], Q[Zhāngsān Ø hùi bù hùi qù mǎ i shū]Q?
‘If it is cold, will Zhangsan go and buy books?’

CCI: Scope of ma is on the apodosis & the connector jiù is deleted, (46). The apodosis of ‘if’ conditionals carries the new information. The protasis carries the presupposition: it cannot be under the scope of a Q & cannot be focalized. It is a Topic.
V.2.2 NECESSARY CONDITIONALS (*cái*) : P *cái* Q ‘only if P, Q’

(47) Nǐ zhī yǒu yòng zhè ge bànfā *cái* néng xué-hǎ o
you only use this Cl. method *cái* can study-well
‘Only if you use this method can you study well.’

(48) [Nǐ zhī yǒu yòng zhè ge bànfā *cái* néng xuéhǎ o] ma?
‘Is it the case that [only if you adopt this method you’ll study well]?'

(49) * Nǐ zhī yǒu yòng zhè ge bànfā , Q[Ø néng bù néng xuéhǎ o]Q? ≠ (46)

(50) P[Nǐ shì bu shì zhī yǒu yòng zhè ge bànfā ]P *cái* néng xuéhǎ o?
≠ ‘Is it only if you adopt this method that you’ll succeed in learning?’

CCl : Scope of *ma* is on the protasis & the adverb *cái* is not deleted.

- Asymmetry between two types of conditional clauses in spite of their identical surface word orders.
- THE SUBORDINATE CL. OF A *JIÙ* CONDITIONAL IS A TOP P, main cl. is new info
- THE SUBORDINATE CL. OF A *CÁI* CONDITIONAL IS A FOC P, main cl is old info
V.3 THE CASE OF CONCESSIVE CLAUSES

(51) [(sūirán) Zhāngsān chūan-de hěn shǎo], dàn tā hái yào chūqù
though J. wear-de very few but he still will go out
‘Though J. is lightly dressed, he still wants to go out.’

(52) [(sūirán) Zh chūan-de hěn shǎo], [dàn tā hái yào chūqù] ma?
though J. wear-de very few but he still will go out F.P.
‘Is it the case that though J. is lightly dressed, he still wants to go out?

(53) [(sūirán) Zh. chūan-de hěn shǎo], [dàn tā hái yào-bu-yào chūqù]?
‘Though J. is lightly dressed, does he still want to go out?’

The sub cl. is presupposed; the main cl. under the scope of Q and keeps its adv hái.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Informational property</th>
<th>Topic ‘if’</th>
<th>Focus ‘only if’</th>
<th>Topic ‘though’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Scope of Q</td>
<td>Main cl.</td>
<td>Subordinate cl.</td>
<td>Main cl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adverb</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>cái</td>
<td>hái</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>P ⊃ Q</strong></td>
<td>only (P ⊃ Q)</td>
<td><strong>P ⊃ ¬Q</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
VI IS THE PARALLELISM BETWEEN SIMPLE & COMPLEX Ss JUSTIFIED?

Strict parallelism between simple and complex Ss = Sub.cl are adjuncts.

VI.1 SYNTACTIC JUSTIFICATION (J. Tang)

T/Loc Subj. T/Loc Vm T/Loc VP *T/Loc

(54) Míngtiān tā míngtiān kěyī míngtiān lái *míngtiān
To-morrow he to-morrow can to-morrow come *2m.
‘To-morrow he can come to-morrow.’


(55) Sub. cl. Subject Sub. cl. Vm Sub. cl. VP
reason/condit. reason/condit *reason/condit. Re./cond

(56) *tā bú néng [yīnwéi tiānqì rè] shuìjiāo (57) *tā huì [rúguō nǐ qù] qù
he neg. can [because weather hot sleep he will [if you go] go

Ccl: clausal & hypothetical cl. behave alike: they form one class (not found in position 3): they do NOT appear after the Vm.
VI.1.2 LU PENG (2006, 2008)
6 types of sub. Cl are treated, cause/cond. different from J. Tang.

(58) \textbf{T/Loc} \hspace{0.5em} \textbf{Subject} \hspace{0.5em} \textbf{T/Loc} \hspace{0.5em} \textbf{Vm} \hspace{0.5em} \textbf{T/Loc} \hspace{0.5em} \textbf{VP} \hspace{0.5em} \text{not treated}

\begin{center}
cause, T,\hspace{1em} purpose\hspace{1em} cause, T\hspace{1em} purpose\hspace{1em} cond.conces.\hspace{1em} cond.conces.\hspace{1em} *cond.,conces. Ex. (60)
\end{center}

(59) Zh. \textit{huì} [\textit{yīnwéi} \textit{L ī sì tuīchí sòng huò}] qǔ xiāo hétong
\begin{center}
Z. can because L. delay send merchandise cancel contract
\end{center}
\begin{center}
‘Zh. can/will cancel the contract because Lisi put off the delivery.’
\end{center}
\textit{F/E:* ‘J can because L put off the contract cancel the delivery’}

(60)*Zhāngsān \textit{kěy ī} [\textit{rúgu ŏ} \textit{L ī sì tuīchí sònghuò}] qǔ xiāo hétong

\begin{center}
* ‘Zh. may cancel the contract if Lisi put off the delivery.’
\end{center}
VI.2 A DUBIOUS PARALLELISM between simple & complex Ss

VI.2.1 SPEECH ACTS

(61) nǐ kě qiānwàn bié gēn tā shuō! you really absolutely Neg. with he say ‘Oh! ‘Don’t talk to him at all!’

(62) *yǐnwei nǐ kě qiānwàn bié gēn tā shuō, suǒyǐ... because you really absolutely Neg. with he say ‘*Because, oh, don’t talk to him at all…’

(63) tiānquè dūome lěng a! (64)*suīrán tiānquè dūome lěng a,... weather how! cold F.P. though weather how cold F.P. ‘How cold it is!’
VI.2.2 MODAL MARKING IN THE MAIN CLAUSE

(64) wǒ zúotiān chǐdào-le
    I yesterday late-arrive-Pft
    ‘I arrived late yesterday.’!

(65) *wǒ zúotiān jiù hùi chǐdào
    I yesterday jiù will late-arrive
    *‘Yesterday I will be late.’

(66) yàoshi dìtíè bāgōng, wǒ zúotiān jiù hùi chǐdào (counterfactual)
    if subway strike I yesterday jiù will late-arrive
    ‘If the subway had been on strike, I would have been late yesterday.’

Saillard & Chen (2012)

Though zúotiān is in the main cl in (66), its scope is the whole complex S. Another proof that inverse scope does exist in Mandarin Chinese.

Rather than (unconstrained) adjunction to the main clause, the subordinate cl. should be an inherent part of the syntactic structure.
VII A BETTER STRUCTURE?

Spec $S_1$
Subordinate cl.
$Rú(guō)$
Zhīyǒu
$sūī(rán)$

$\emptyset$
dànsī

$(Nàmē)$
Complement = main clause

$jìù$
cái
$hái$
SOME SIMILARITIES BETWEEN SUBORDINATION & COORDINATION

- 1. Movement out of a sub. cl. poses no pb & movement out of certain types of coordinations are allowed too, see above.

(33) zhè běn shū, yǐnwéi tài zhòng tǐ, suǒ yǐ wǒ bānbúdòng tǐ. this Cl. book because too heavy so I remove-Neg.-move ‘(As for) this book, it’d too heavy for me to move (it).’

(34) nà fèn bàozhǐ, B. kàn-le tǐ, érqíě tǐ hái xiě-le bǐ jí that Cl. newspaper B. look-Pšt and also write-P. note ‘That newspaper, B. looked at it and wrote notes about too

- 2. Similar aspectual constraints= tense concord, concordance des temps

(67) $S_1[ w ō tǐngshuō-guò]S_1, S_2[ dànsì/h ũshì Ø méi kànjiàn-guò ]S_2$

// ‘I heard about it, but I didn’t see it.’

(68) $S_1[*w ō tǐngshuō-le]S_1, S_2[ dànsì/h ũshì Ø méi kànjiàn-guò]S_2]S_1$
- 3. Directionality of Pronominalization

(69) $S_1[*tā_i ŭngshuō-guò], S_2[dànshì M ā lì_i méi kànjiàn-guò ]$

*‘She heard about it, but Mary didn’t see it’ *

‘She heard about it, but Mary didn’t see it.’

Coordination: disjoint reference is obligatory in MC, F.,E.  
No leftward pronominalization, Pro has no antecedent

(70) $S_1[*jīshǐ tā_i sòng w ŕ shénme dōngxī,S_2[ w ŕ yě bù bāng M ā lì_i]]S_1$

‘Even if she gives me something, I won’t help Mali’

*$t_i ←NP_i$ in Mandarin, but OK F/E.

Subordination: leftward pronominalization is * in MC, hence disjoint reference is obligatory.

In F./E. both co-reference & disjoint reference are allowed.
Differences between Chinese and some IE lgges:
- The presence of two Comps in the sub. Cl. due to the co-existing VO-OV typology.
- The (obligatory) presence of the adv in the main cl. having LEFT scope.
- The correlation between an adv and a Comp, forming ‘fixed pattern’固定格式 gùdìng géshi) AND the basic order is sub. + main cl.
- The correlations between the two cl. prohibit a derivation by adjunction.
- No leftward pronominalization in complex Ss (coordinated & subordinated)
Syntactic & semantic similarities between Chinese and some IE lgges:

- 1. **Comps & Conjs** do NOT form a single class
- 2. Two semantic types of cl: non concessive cl. & concessive cl., evidenced by the ban on focalization = a universal
- 3. The ‘tense/aspect concord’ between the (two) terms of a subordinate construction & those of a coordinate construction.
Some references:
Thank you for your attention

mcparis@linguist.univ-paris-diderot.fr