

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)**

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## 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)  $S_1[(rúgu \check{o}) X \text{ Māmā } zài ], [ tā \text{ jiù } Y \text{ huì shuō } n \check{i} ]S_2$   
(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 ji ǔ* (*néng* has scope on *jiù*)  
 he can only drink one Cl wine

(2c) *tā jiù néng hē yī bēi ji ǔ* inverse scope does exist

Pb: the adverb in the main.cl. has left scope (from right to left, ←)

## *General & specific properties of Chinese*

- Haiman (1978) Conditionals are topics, **all** subordinate cl. are **topics**/old information in Chinese (Chao (1968), Tai (1989), Tsao F. (1990).
- 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

Semantic relationship	Subordinate cl.	Main cl.	
Lexical category	conjunction	Conj	Adv
Conditional ‘if’	<i>Rú(guǒ)...yào(shì)..</i>	<i>nà(me)</i>	<i>jiù</i>
Temporal ‘when’, ‘after’, ‘before’	<i>...(de)shí(hòu)</i> <i>...(yǐ)hòu,... (yǐ)qián</i>		<i>jiù</i>
Causal ‘because’	<i>yīnwéi...</i>	<i>suǒyǐ</i>	
Concessive ‘(al)though’	<i>suī(rán)..., jǐnguǎn..</i>	<i>kěshì/dànshì</i>	<i>hái</i>
Concessive conditional ‘even if’ ‘whether’	<i>jíshǐ...</i> <i>wúlùn...</i>		<i>yě</i> <i>dōu</i>

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

(3)  $S_1$ [( *Rúgu* *ǒ*) *Māmā zài (de huà)*], [(*nà*) *tā (jiù) huì shuō n ǐ*] $S_2$  : 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)  $S_1$ [( $\emptyset$ ) *Māmā zài  $\emptyset$* ] $S_1$ , [ $\emptyset$  *tā jiù huì shuō n ǐ*] $S_2$  : 1  
 ‘If Mummy is/was here, she will/would scold you.’

(5)  $S_1$ [*Jǐnguǎn hěn wǎn le*], [*kěshì/dànshì 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)  $S_1$ [*Jíshǐ zài wǎn*], [ $\emptyset$  *tā yě /\*jiù/\*hái bù huì 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 Ā... de huà* (ex .3)

2 in the main clause: leftmost & adverb, pre-VP : *kěshì... hái* (ex. 5)

leftmost position in subordinate cl. = subordinator<sub>1</sub> + subordinator<sub>2</sub>

leftmost position in main cl. = connector<sub>3</sub> + adv<sub>4</sub>

Remark 1 : only 1 (or 2) syntactic positions in French or English: *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) **obwohl** es regnet, **so** geht Peter **doch** spazieren

though it rain so go Peter *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 ǒ* ... *jiù*... & *rúgu ǒ* ... *cái* .... but \**rúgu ǒ* ... *hái* ....

From left to right : subordinator → adv

2. Dependency between the subordinator and the connector

\**rúgu ǒ* ... *kěshì/dànshì* .....: subordinator ← conjonction

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

(3) [(*rúgu ǒ*) Māmā zài (*de huà*)], [(*nà(me)*) tā (*jiù*) huì shuō n ǐ ]S<sub>2</sub>  
 'If Mummy is/was here, she will/would scold you.'

(8) [(*rúgu ǒ*) Māmā zài ∅∅ ] S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub>[ ∅ tā *cái* huì shuō n ǐ ]S<sub>2</sub>  
 'Only if Mummy is/was here, will/would she scold you.'

(9) \*[(*rúgu ǒ*) Māmā zài ]S<sub>1</sub>, \*S<sub>2</sub> [ (*nà(me)*) tā *cái* huì shuō n ǐ ] S<sub>2</sub>

(10) \*[(*rúgu ǒ*) Māmā zài ]S<sub>1</sub>, \*S<sub>2</sub> [ *kěshì/dànshì* tā *hái* huì shuō n ǐ ]S<sub>2</sub>



## 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**) ... **cái** .... ‘only if’ / ‘\*‘only if...then’

The main clause adverb not optional & changes the interpretation of the subordinator. *It is the main cl. adv **cái** which licenses the sub. cl.*

*(In the same as **yě/dōu** license the ( **lián**)... **yě/dōu** focus construction, ( in preverbal position= S O adv VP// sub cl **cái** VP ).*

(**Zh ĭ y ǒ u**) (**rúgu** **ǒ**) ... **cái** VP ‘only DP, only if CP’

(**lián**) ... **yě/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 y ǐ hòu]<sub>S<sub>1</sub></sub>, S<sub>2</sub> [M ǎ lì *cái* zuò fàn ]<sub>S<sub>2</sub></sub>  
 J. return home after M. *cái* do rice  
 ‘Only after John comes home, does Mary cook.’
- (12) [Zhāngsān tán gāngqín **de shíhòu**]<sub>S<sub>1</sub></sub>, S<sub>2</sub> [M ǎ lì *cái* shēngqì ]<sub>S<sub>2</sub></sub>  
 J. play piano Rel moment M. *cái* angry  
 ‘It’s only when John plays the piano that Mary is angry.’
- (13) [**yīnwéi** zuótiān y ǒ u biéde shì]<sub>S<sub>1</sub></sub>, S<sub>2</sub> [w ǒ *cái* méi qù zh ǎ o n ǐ ]<sub>S<sub>2</sub></sub>  
 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-CONCESSIVES ‘since’, CONCESSIONS ‘although’, COUNTERFACTUAL CONCESSIONS ‘even if’ , **no focalisation**

\**Jìrán/ Jǐnguǎn/ Jíshǐ* .... *cái* = Concessive cl. Do NOT allow *cái*.

(14)  $S_1$ [ *Jìrán* *tā yǒu shì* ]  $S_1$ , \* $S_2$ [ (~~*nàme*~~) *wǒ cái bù děng tā le*] $S_2$   
 ‘\*It’s only since he’s busy ~~so~~ I won’t wait for him any longer.’

(15)  $S_1$ [ *Jǐnguǎn* *hěn wǎn le* ]  $S_1$ , \* $S_2$  [~~*kěshì/dànshì*~~ *tā cái bù kěn líkāi* ] $S_2$   
 \*‘It’s only though it’s late, ~~but~~ he still does not want to leave.’

(16)  $S_1$ [ *Jíshǐ* *zài wǎn* ]  $S_1$ , \* $S_2$  [ *tā cái bù huì líkai* ] $S_2$   
 \*‘It’s only however late it is that he won’t leave.’

CCl: 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 ǒ* ... *de hù* ‘if...’  
 Temporal cl. : *zài* ... *de shíhòu* ‘when...’  
 Causal cl. : *yīnwéi* ... *de yuángù* ‘because...’

+ <i>jiù</i>	Time cl.	Conditional	Causal	x	Concessive	- <i>jiù</i>
				x	→	
+ <i>cái</i>	<b>DOUBLE MARKING OF SUB</b>			x	<b>1 MARKING OF SUB</b>	- <i>cái</i>

### 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*..., *jíshǐ* (*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)  $S_1$ [ *jìrán* *tā yǒu shì* ], [(*nàme*) *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)  $S_2$ [ \**nàme* *wǒ \*jiù bù děng tā le* ], [ *jìrán* *tā yǒu shì* ]  $S_1$   
 ‘\*so I won’t wait for him any longer, since he’s busy.’

(18b)  $S_2$ [ *wǒ bù děng tā le* ]  $S_2$ ,  $S_1$ [ *jìrán* *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* 'since' = *jì* 'already' + *rán* 'it is so' [+ realis]  
*sūi + rán* '(al) though' = *sūi* 'though' + *rán* 'it is so' [+ realis]  
*jí+ shǐ* 'even if' = *jí* to near, to be = to + *shǐ* = 'supposing' [- realis],  
*yào* 'will, want, if' [- realis] 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:

*rúgu ǒ*, *yīnwéi* adverbial elements (Lin 1994), Comp (Huang J. 1984)

*su ǒ y ĭ*: Comp Tang (1990), Adv (G. & Paul 1996)

Proposition: - they are **positionally alike**, clause initial  
- but they behave **differently in syntax**

- Subordinate clause: a complementizer, **C(omp)**, 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/CP, *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, *sūi*, 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 sūi xiǎo, yǐngxiǎng què jì dà*  
 affair though small influence but very big  
 ‘Though the affair is insignificant its impact is very big.’

(20) *(X tóngzhì) (zhèi bù zhùzuo) jìrán yòng de shì zhèi ge xìtǒng, sǔoyǐ wǒ*  
 X comrade this CI work since use Rel be this CI system  
 ‘Since, for this work, Comrade X used this system, (so) I think...

(21) [(*rúgu* *ǒ*<sub>1</sub>) wǒ míngtiān yǒu kōng *de huà*], *jiù* dáying ...  
 if I tomorrow have free time Rel word *jiù* promise  
 'If I have time tomorrow, I promise....'

(22) [wǒ (*rúgu* *ǒ*<sub>2</sub>) míngtiān (*rúgu* *ǒ*<sub>3</sub>) yǒu kōng *de huà*], *jiù* dáying ...

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) *Marie*<sub>i</sub>, quand \* $\emptyset$ <sub>i</sub> / *elle*<sub>i</sub> 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 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> 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** + CP > [ **yīnwéi** CP *de yuángù* ] or  
 [  $\emptyset$  CP *de yuángù* ] 'because'  
 [ **rúgu** **ǒ** CP *de huà* ] 'if '

## IV.3 IN THE MAIN CLAUSE, the 1st 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 1st 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 ǒ 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 ō y ĭ*, *dànshi*, *kěshi*, *bùgùo*, *ránhòu*, *érqie*, *nàme*, *shènzhì*, *yīnwéi*, *rúgu ō* = 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 ō y ĭ* and *rúgu ō* belong to two different classes

*su ō y ĭ* (93occ., 50,1%, DM) ; *dànshi* (63, 33,3%) ; *kěshi* (37, 32,4)... *yīnwéi* ( 36, 2,8%) ; *rúgu ō* (14, 0% DM). Conj. 'bleach' more than Comp.

## IV.3.2 CONJ and extraction

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

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

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

(31) *yīnwéi tiānqì hěn hǎo, su ǒy 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 ǒy 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<sub>i</sub>, yīnwéi t<sub>i</sub> tài zhòng, su ō y ě w ō bānbúdòng t<sub>i</sub>.  
 this Cl. book because too heavy so I remove-Neg.-move  
 ‘(As for) this book, it’s too heavy for me to move (it).’

(34) nà fèn bàozh ě ĩ<sub>i</sub>, B. kàn-le t<sub>i</sub>, érqiě t<sub>i</sub> hái xiě-le b ĩ jì  
 that Cl. newspaper B. look-Pft and also write-P. note  
 ‘That newspaper, B. looked at it and wrote notes about too.’

CCL<sub>1</sub>: (33) & (34) illustrate a syntactic parallelism between subordination (33) and ‘pure’ conjunction (34).

*Nà(me), su ō y ě , kěshì/dànshì* are *conjunctions* just like *érqiě* ‘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 ǎn zhōng jiù lái le/\*∅* (early)  
 he 7 point middle *jiù* come-Pft 7 → 8  
 'At 7 he was already here.'
- (36) *tā jǐ di ǎn zhōng cái lái ∅/\*le* (late)  
 'He came at 9 only.' 8 ← 9
- (37) *wǒ yīfú xǐ 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 ǎi tā dōu qù guò* (all)  
 Peking and Shanghai he all go-Exp.  
 He's been both to Peking and Shanghai

## V. ARE ALL SUBORDINATE 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 fct 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 ō tiānqì hěn lěng, Zhāngsān *jiù* huì qù mǎ i shū  
 If weather very cold Z. then will go buy book  
 'If it is cold, Zhangsan will go and buy books.'
- (44) [Rúgu ō tiānqì hěn lěng, Zhāngsān *jiù* huì qù mǎ i shū] **ma**?  
 'Is it the case that [if it is cold, Zhangsan will go and buy books]?'  
 \*P[rúgu ō tiānqì **lěng bù lěng**]P, Zhāngsān *jiù* huì qù mǎ i shū?
- (45) [Rúgu ō tiānqì hěn lěng], Q[Zhāngsān **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) N ĭ zh ĭ y ǒ u yòng zhè ge bànf ǎ *cái* néng xué-h ǎ o  
 you only use this Cl. method *cái* can study-well  
 ‘Only if you use this method can you study well.’

(48) [N ĭ zh ĭ y ǒ u yòng zhè ge bànf ǎ *cái* néng xué h ǎ o] *ma*?  
 ‘Is it the case that [only if you adopt this method you’ll study well]?’

(49) \* N ĭ zh ĭ y ǒ u yòng zhè ge bànf ǎ , Q[ $\emptyset$  *néng bù néng* xué h ǎ o]Q?  $\neq$  (46)

(50) P[N ĭ *shì bu shì* zh ĭ y ǒ u yòng zhè ge bànf ǎ ]P *cái* néng xué h ǎ o?  
 $\neq$  ‘Is it only if you adopt this method that you’ll succeed in learning?’  
 (45)

CCI : 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*.

	<i>Rúgu ǒ ..., jiù</i>	<i>Rú(gu ǒ).../ zhiy ǒ u...cái</i>	<i>suī(rán)..., ... hái</i>
Informational property	Topic 'if'	Focus 'only if'	Topic 'though'
Scope of Q	Main cl.	Subordinate cl.	Main cl.
adverb	∅	<i>cái</i>	<i>hái</i>
	$P \supset Q$	only $(P \supset Q)$	$P \supset \neg Q$



## 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)

- (54) **T/Loc** Subj. **T/Loc** Vm **T/Loc** VP **\*T/Loc**  
**Míngtiān** tā **míngtiān** kěyǐ **míngtiān** lái **\*míngtiān**  
 To-morrow he to-morrow can to-morrow come \*2m.  
 'To-morrow he can come to-morrow.'

#### VI.1.1 Tang, J. (1990 : 94-95 ; 2001 : 215) Adjunction and scope relations

- (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] shuìjiào (57) \*tā **huì** [rúguǒ 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)	<b>T/Loc</b>	<b>Subject</b>	<b>T/Loc</b>	<b>Vm</b>	<b>T/Loc</b>	<b>VP</b>	<b>not treated</b>
	cause, T,		cause, T		cause, T		
	purpose		purpose		purpose		
	cond.conces.		cond.conces.		*cond.,conces.		Ex. (60)

(59) Zh. *huì* [**yīnwéi** L ĭ sì tuīchí sòng huò] q ǔ xiāo hétong  
 Z. can because L. delay send merchandise cancel contract  
 ‘Zh. can/will cancel the contract because Lisi put off the delivery.’  
 F/E:\* ‘J *can* because L put off the contract cancel the delivery’

(60)\*Zhāngsān kěy ĭ [**rúgu ǒ** L ĭ sì tuīchí sòng huò] q ǔ xiāo hétóng  
 \* ‘Zh. may cancel the contract if Lisi put off the delivery.’

## VI .2 A DUBIOUS PARALLELISM between simple & complex Ss

### VI.2.1 SPEECH ACTS

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

(62) \**yīnwei* n ĭ kě qiānwàn bié gēn tā shuō, su Ō y ĭ  
 ...

because you really absolutely Neg. with he say  
 ‘\*Because, oh, don’t talk to him at all...’

(63) tiānqì dūome leng a! (64)\**suīrán* tiānqì 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.'

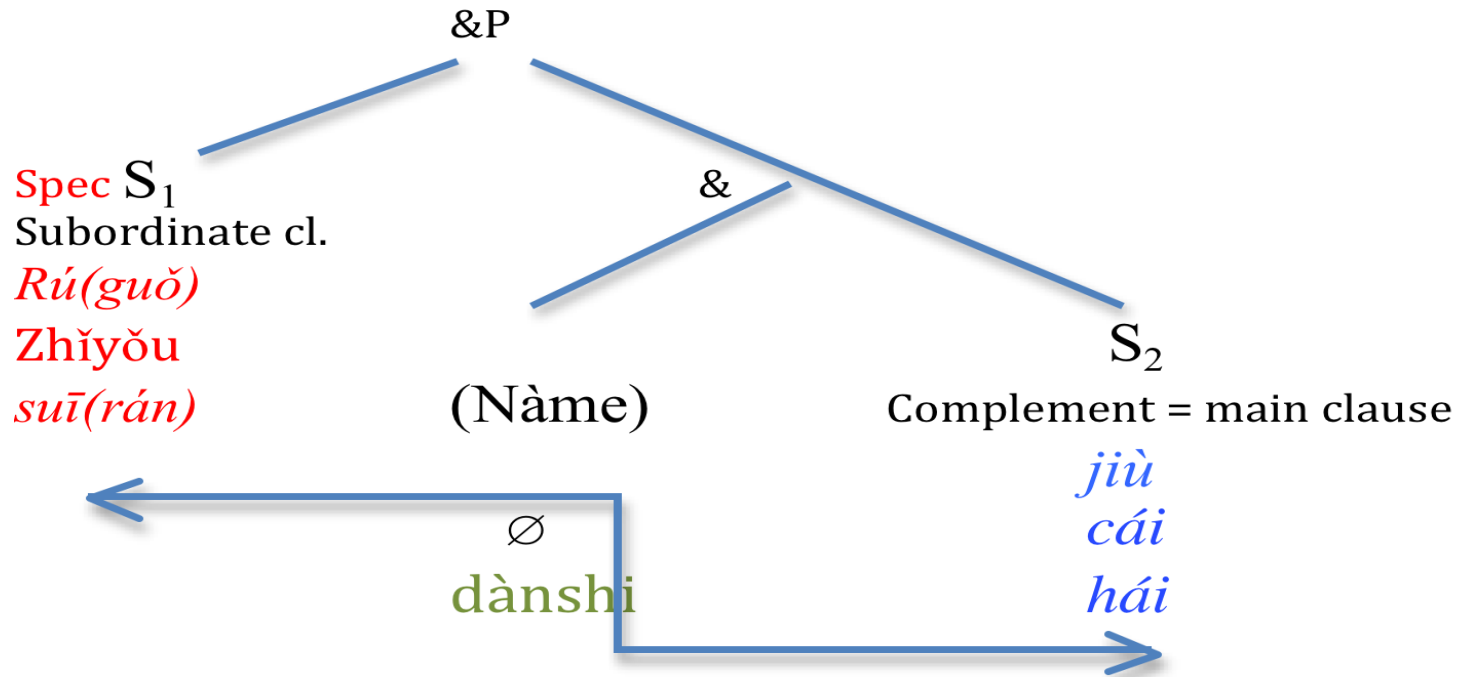
(65) \*wǒ **zúotiān** jiù **hùi** chǐdào  
I yesterday jiù will late-arrive  
\*'Yesterday I will be late.'

(66) yàoshi dìtiě 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 ?



### 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<sub>i</sub>, yīnwéi tài zhòng t<sub>i</sub>, su Ō y ĭ w Ō bānbúdòng t<sub>i</sub>.  
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 bàozh ĭ<sub>i</sub>, B. kàn-le t<sub>i</sub>, érqǐě t<sub>i</sub> hái xiě-le b ĭ jì  
that Cl. newspaper B. look-Pft 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<sub>1</sub>[ w Ō tīngshuō-guò ]S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub>[ dànshì/ kěshì Ø méi kànjiàn-guò ]S<sub>2</sub>  
I hear about-Past but/and Neg. look-Past

// (66) 'I heard about it, but I didn't see it.'

(68) S<sub>1</sub>[ \*w Ō tīngshuō-le ]S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub>[ dànshì/ kěshì Ø méi kànjiàn-guò ]S<sub>2</sub>]S<sub>1</sub>



## 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 géshì*) 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.

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