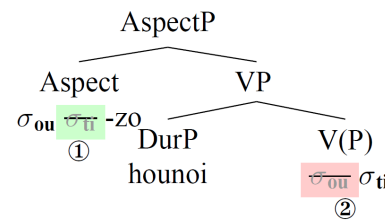
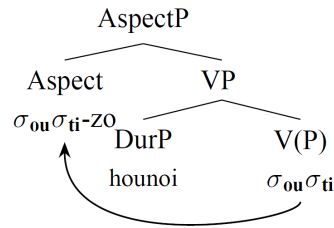


Partial deletion

- Two questions on Partial Copy Deletion (PCD)
 - In the form of $\langle AB \rangle \dots \langle AB \rangle$ (or $\langle AB \rangle \dots \langle AB \rangle$) ("scattered" deletion)
Empirical domains: Extraposition, Split XP, clitic placement, VP fronting, ...
(Nunes 1995, 2004, Wilder 1995, Bošković 2001, Fanselow and Cavar 2002; Larson 2002, van Urk 2022, i.a.)
 - #1 Mostly on *phrasal* chains, whether *head* chains are subject to PCD on the *sub-head level* is unknown
 - #2 **Complementarity**: why the subsequently deleted part in the second deletion is exactly the *complement set* of the pronounced part of the other copy (where the first deletion is motivated by *chain-external* force, e.g. clitic requirement, intonation, featural specification, etc.)
- New insights from discontinuous predicates in Cantonese
 - #1 Allow *monomorphemic* predicates (e.g., *feilou* 'fail', Chan & Cheung 2020)
→ Head chains with deletion of sub-head syllables
 - #2 PCD banned when additional (full) copies pronounced
→ "Complementary" PCD as *last resort* to realize rest of the chain input
- Takeaways
 - #1 Copy Deletion applies on the (sub-head) **featural level**
 - #2 Copy Deletion is constrained by *chain-internal* force of retaining the integrity of the chain input, i.e., CHAIN FAITHFULNESS

Proposal

- Syllable Subtraction in Cantonese** (as a morphological rule triggered by affixes)
Affixes may trigger deletion on the adjacent syllable of their host.
- CHAIN FAITHFULNESS** (as a condition on Copy Deletion)
In a movement chain CH: $\{X_n, \dots, X_1\}$, s.t. X consists of a bundle of phonological features π , and that the linearization of CH yields an output Φ , each member of π must be contained in Φ .
- a. *Verb movement to Asp head* b. **Syllable Subtraction followed by PCD**



Syllable Subtraction

- Applies independently in two constructions
 - V-not-V reduplication and V-one-V reduplication
 - Incomplete splits:** $AB \rightarrow A-x-AB$
 - (8) nei {so/??sowi}-m-sowi aa3? (only A-not-AB)
you sorry-NEG-sorry SFP cf. Mandarin prefers AB-not-AB over A-not-AB
'Will you (say) sorry?'
 - (9) {so/*sowi}-jat sowi m sai sei ge (only A-one-AB)
sorry-one sorry NEG need die SFP cf. Mandarin *A-one-AB
'It won't hurt to say sorry.'
 - Incomplete split = Syllable Subtraction without PCD**
 - Reduplication does **not** form movement chains, hence no CD
- Step 1: The negation *m* carries a reduplication operator RED
[*m*_{RED} AB] Narrow Syntax
- Step 2: RED duplicates its neighboring verb
[AB-*m*_{RED} AB] PF: Morphology
- Step 3: The suffixal *m*_{RED} triggers Syllable Subtraction on its host (preferred)
[A-*m*_{RED} AB] PF: Morphology

Discontinuous predicates as head chains

- Pull splits:** $AB \rightarrow A-x \dots B$ (cf. AB-x ...)
- Inverted splits:** $AB \rightarrow x-B \dots A$ (cf. x-AB ... A)
- (1) *outi* 'overtime (work)': A-SUFFIX-DUR-B
(Ngo) ou-zo hounoi -ti. (vs. outi-zo)
1SG OT-PERF long.time OT OT-PERF
'(I) worked overtime for a long time.'
- (2) *zongsau* 'furnish': FOC-B...A
lin-sau Aaming dou m zong-
even-furnish Ming also not furnish
'Ming doesn't even furnish (the house).'
- Both syllables *lack* independent wordhood (against phrasal chains resulting from VO reanalysis, e.g., Chao 1968)
 - The *second* syllable lacks nominal wordhood: ***individual classifiers** (Note: ^{OK}event classifiers which attach to VP)
- (3) a. *keoi ou-zo saam-go ti b. keoi tai-zo saam-bun syu (cf. VO phrase)
3SG OT-PERF three-CL OT 3SG watch-PERF three-CL book
'He worked overtime for three times.' 'He read three books.'
- The *first* syllable lacks verbal wordhood: ***ATB-verb movement**
- (4) a. Lousai camjat ou-zo [VP loeng-ci ɵu-kei]tung *(ou-zo) [VP saam-go zung ɵu-ti]
boss ytd. OK-PERF 2-time OK and OT-PERF 3-CL hour OT
'The boss gave approval twice and worked overtime for three hours yesterday.'
- b. Keoi zunggung daa-gwo [VP loeng-ci daa laang] tung [VP saam-ci daa binlou] (cf. VO)
3SG total hit-EXP 2-time Teochew.food and 3-time hotpot
'S/he had Teochew food twice and hotpots for three times in total.'

The last resort nature of PCD

- PCD as repair to CHAIN-FAITHFULNESS violation: ✗ Full CD (*A-x) vs. ✓ Partial CD (A-x ... B)
- (10) keoi [AspP zong-zo [VP houndo-ci [a. *zong-zo / b. OK zong-sau]]] input: $\pi = \{\sigma_{zong}, \sigma_{sau}\}$
3SG furnish-PFV many-time furnish (a) output: $*\pi = \{\sigma_{zong}\}$
'S/he furnished it many times.' (b) output: $\pi = \{\sigma_{zong}, \sigma_{sau}\}$
- Verb Copying constructions in Chinese: additional copy pronounced (Cheng 2007, Meadows and Yan 2023)
 - The repair by PCD fails when the additional copy satisfies CHAIN-FAITHFULNESS! → **Last Resort**
- (11) a. *Aabaa zongsau ni-gaan uk zong-sau -zo houndo-ci zong-sau.
Dad furnish this-CL house furnish-PFV many-time furnish
b. Aabaa zongsau ni-gaan uk zong-sau -zo houndo-ci zongsau.
Dad furnish this-CL house furnish-PFV many-time
'Dad furnished the house many times.'
- The additional "copy" must be movement-derived (i.e., part of the chain)
 - Identical verbs in a base-generated topic cannot satisfy CHAIN-FAITHFULNESS (supporting Landau's 2006 P-recoverability)
- (12) [TopicP gonghei zongsau ni-gaan uk], aabaa zong-sau -zo houndo-ci zong-sau (sau)
talk furnish this-CL house Dad furnish-PFV many-time furnish
'As for furnishing this house, Dad has furnished it for multiple times.'