

August 1, 2007

Handout 3

I. Recap of McCloskey's analysis

1. Split-INFL: TP is higher than AGRsP (Duffield 1991)
2. EPP is a property of TP (strong D-feature of T)

Expletives are excluded from the lower position (Groat):

- expletives are invariant in form → no variation in person, gender, number.
- expletives are always in Spec,T, where sensitivity to phi-features is irrelevant

3. Nom Case is licensed overtly in Spec, AGRs (D-feature of AGR is strong)
4. AGRs is merged only if needed → if structure contains a DP with unchecked NOM case (correlates with absence of Agr in analytic form)

Prediction: Lgs that lack the EPP should have salient unaccusatives → Irish is a case in point

Questions and problems ...

- Why is there no subject agreement with overt DPs?
- Not clear how conclusions are compatible with theory of Agree (Chomsky 2000)
→ If Irish lacks EPP feature, why can NOM subjects not be generally licensed *in situ* through Agree?

Welsh

Welsh permits long-distance case licensing for objects in impersonal passives (Irish doesn't):

- (1) a. Gwewyd plant. (Roberts 2005: 78)
see-PASS children
'Children were seen.'
→ lack of soft mutation on *plant* indicates that it is not Accusative
- b. Yr ydys yn gweld plant. (Harlow 19989:310, via Roberts 2005:79)
PRT is-PASS ASP see children
'Someone is seeing children' (= 'There is been seeing children.')
- c. Fe 'i welwyd (o) (Roberts 2005: 78)
PRT -him see-PASS (he)
'He was seen (him).'

But: unaccusatives

- (2) a. Mae'r dyn wedi diflanu. [Roberts 205: 14]
is-the man ASP disappear 'The man has disappeared'
- b. *Mae wedi diflanu'r dyn.
- c. Chafodd y dyn ddim o'i ladd.
got the man NEG of-his killing 'The man wasn't killed.'

SVO : subject raises partially also in Welsh (ex. from Thorne 1993, cited in Hendrick 2000:18)

- (3) Ni wnaethai'r un ohonynt **erioed** [_{VP} osgo at roi unrhw help ariannol iddi]
 NEG make.PAST'the one of-them ever attempt toward give any help financial to-her
 'Not one of them had ever attempted to assist her financially.'

Breton (from Jouitteau & Rezac (to appear))

- (4) a. N' en deus ket Yann₁ seblantet [_{t₁} karout ar vugale].
 NEG 3.SG.MASC-have NEG Yann seemed love the children
 'Yann didn't seem to love the children.' Hendrick (1990:157)
- b. Eman [_{FP} an dud₁ c'hoazh [_{ASP} o t₁ c'hervel ar radio].
 is the people again PROG call the radio
 'The people are calling the radio again.'
- c. [_{VP} (t₂/*Azenor) karout ar vugale]₁ a ra (Azenor₂) t₁
 love-INF the children PRT does Azenor
 'Azenor does love the children.'

II. AGREEMENT – COMPLEMENTARITY PRINCIPLE:

- (5) H_{AGR} iff DP is *pro*_{IR}/pronoun_{WE}

Approaches:

1. **Agreement under government:** McCloskey & Hale 1984 for Irish, Sadler 1988 for Welsh,

2. Movement

- Syntactic Incorporation of pronoun (Guilfoyle 1990, Hale 1990)
- Post-syntactic incorporation (Adger 1997, 2000, and others)
- Movement to Specifier (de Freitas & Noonan 1991(Welsh), de Freitas 1993 (Welsh), Koopman 1993 (Welsh; NumP mvt/stranding D), Noonan 1992/95/96 (Irish))

Problems for Agreement under government approach: stipulative about the requirement that DP be silent (or pronominal, for Welsh).

Problems for 2 a/c: first conjunct agreement facts (cf. Aoun, Benmamoun, & Sportiche 1994)

3. Hybrid

- Rouveret 1991 (couples an Agr-element with incorporation of the head of NumP)
- Jouitteau (2005), Jouitteau & Rezac (to appear); syntactic incorporation (with subjects) and post-syntactic incorporation (with prepositions).

4. **“Last Resort”** Roberts 2005

Noonan (1995a)

Hypothesis: Celtic Person-Number marking corresponds to clitic morphology in Romance

- Clitic projections (Sportiche (1992/98): Clitic Criterion)

- Head or Spec can be overt (not both) → Irish lacks clitic doubling (Standard French/Italian)
- Clitic projections for Subj and Obj license specificity (cf. Sportiche *op. cit.*)
- Anti-agreement with *wh*-movement of Subj & Obj (Welsh) → semantic incompatibility (contra McCloskey 1990; Ouhalla 1993)
- Agr can signal resumptive *pro*, but needn't (Agr as reflex of movement through specifier) (cf. Willis 2000)

(6) a. Cén páistí a d'imreodh anseo? (I)
 the children a^L play-COND3S here
 'Which children would play here?'

b. *Cén páistí a n-imreoidís anseo?
 the children a^N play-COND3P here

(7) a. *y dynion a ddarllenasant (hwy) y llyfr. (W)
 the men C read-3pl (they) the book
 'they read the book'

- McCloskey (1990) : resumptive *pro* is subject to an A-bar disjointness requirement (adapted from Aoun & Li (1989))

(8) A pronoun must be A-bar free in the least complete functional complex containing the pronoun and a subject distinct from the pronoun.

- Presence of Resumptive pronoun problematic:

(9) a. Soniais amdano (ef)
 spoke-1s about-3s him

b. y dyn y soniais amdano (*ef) → suggests movement
 the man comp spoke-1s about-3sm (him)
 'the man that I spoke about'

c. darllenasant (hwy) y llyfr.
 read-3pl (they) the book
 'they read the book'

d. y dynion na ddarllenasant (*hwy) y llyfr (de Freitas & Noonan 1991)
 the men NEG read-3pl the book
 'the men who didn't read the book'

e. y dyn y soniais [amdano (ef) ac Ann]
 the man comp spoke-1s about-3sm him and Ann
 'the man that I spoke about him and Ann'

Anti-agreement also applies to objects: (Welsh)

(10) a. y dyn a welais _
 the man C saw 1s

b. *y dyn y'i gwelais _
 the man C-3s saw 1s

[Sadler 1988:124]

c. *y dyn a'i gwelais _
 the man pt-3s saw 1s

- Ouhalla (1993): A pronoun must be A-bar-free as the minimal CP

A. The ‘clitic’ solution

- Clitics may not be doubled with *wh*-extraction (Quebec French, Pied Noir French, Trentino for subject clitics (Roberge 1986), Somali (Hubbertz 1991); R.P.Spanish (Jaeggli, 1982), Romanian (Dobrovic-Sorin 1990) ... for object clitics.

- (11) a. Pierre il aime la tarte
 b. *Qui il aime la tarte who cl likes the pie [Coll. Fr., Roberge 1986:166]

Spanish object clitic doubling

- (12) a. Lo vimos a Guille.
 cl we-saw Guille 'We saw Guille.'
 b. *¿A quién la viste?
 who cl see 'Who did you see?' [Jaeggli 1981:45]

Romanian

- (13) a. *Pe cine l-ai vazut?
pe who him-have (you) seen
 b. *Ce (roman) l-ai citit?
 What (novel) it-have (you) read
 c. Pe cine ai vazut?
pe who have (you) seen
 d. Ce (roman) ai citit?
 What (novel) have (you) read [Dobrovic-Sorin 1990:352]

- (14) Clitic projections higher than T are A-bar projections that contain the operator-feature [+Specific] and may thus not be in the 'immediate' scope of a co-indexed *wh*-operator.

- the doubling prohibition does not apply in the case of IOs in Spanish (same for Romanian)

- (15) ¿A quién le han regalado ese libro?
 To whom IO-cl have they given that book [Jaeggli 1981:46]

(Cf. Sportiche on dative clitics)

B. Roberts (2005)

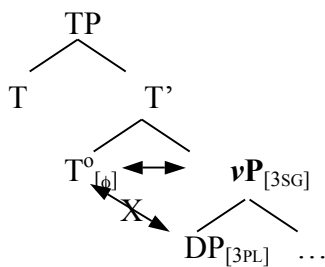
SCL	V-agr	
+	+	North. Italian dialects, (QC French) (raddoppiamento dell'accordo)
-	+	Standard Italian, Greek, ...
-	-	English, Mainland Scandinavian
+	-	Welsh, Irish, Breton

- Head of PERS = syntactic affix (stray Affix Filter triggers V-movement)
- Rich PERS values NUM → DP-movement to SpecNUM is prevented, DP has not Case
- Weak PERS does not value NUM → DP_{Subj} values NUM (though no number-marking!)
- Value (Case,DP) =NOM iff DP in SpecAgrP (later revised)

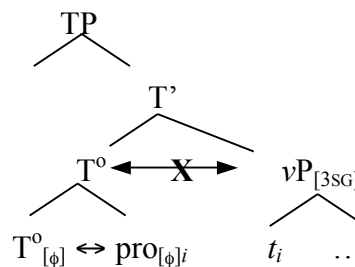
C. Joutteau & Rezac (to appear)

1. T is always a probe; ϕ -features of T satisfied by Agree
2. ν P in Celtic has nominal features \rightarrow intervention effect with Subj
 - 2.1. Object pronouns are genitive (as in DPs) or need insertion of P (see ())
 - 2.2. ν P must obey Case Filter \rightarrow ν -to-T movement in finite clauses, P-insertion in (certain) non-finite clauses
3. Clitic pronouns cliticize to T (independent of feature checking with T \rightarrow intervention effect does not block this movement)

(18) Overt subject



Clitic pronoun \rightarrow moves to T



- (19)
- a. o distruj
their destruction
 - b. o debriñ
their eat-INF
 - c. Alies o debr Yann.
often their eat-3SG Yann
 - d. *Herve a zebr int
Herve PRT eat they
'Herve eats them.'

- (20)
- a. distruj anez-he
destruction P-3.PL
 - b. debriñ anez-he
eat-INF P-3.PL
 - c. Bremañ e tebr anez-he
now PRT eat P-3.PL
'He eats them now.'

- (21)
- a. Dec'h em boa lakaet (*da) [_{νP} sevel un ti]
yesterday 1.SG-had put (*P) build-INF a house
'I made build a house yesterday.'
 - b. Dec'h em boa lakaet Yann *(da) [_{νP} sevel un ti]
yesterday 1.SG-had put Yann *(P) build-INF a house
'I made Yann build a house.'
 - c. Dec'h em boa lakaet un ti *(da) [_{νP} sevel]
yesterday 1.SG-had put a house *(P) build-INF
'I made build a house yesterday.'

- (22) Hypothesis: Clauses (CPs, SC, ν P (Celtic)) have default 3SG-features

- (23) a. N' en deus ket [FP Yann_i seblantet [vP t_i karout ar vugale]]
 NEG 3SG.MASC-have NEG Yann seemed love the children
 'Yann didn't seem to love the children.'

- FP shares nominal character of vP (projection of vP) (?)
- FP enters Agree with probe T (and supposedly needs case)

Problem: it seems that we need to postulate two vPs in (23) → it is not clear how the embedded one can obey the Case Filter (there is no P), nor, for that matter, how the DP [Yann] satisfies the Case Filter!

Also: what triggers raising of [Yann]?

- (24) a. Full lexical DP:
- Agree with FP/vP
 - F/v incorporates to T (thus obeys Case Filter)

[_{TP} [_T⁰ T+F/v] [_{FP/vP} DP]]

b. *pro* subject:

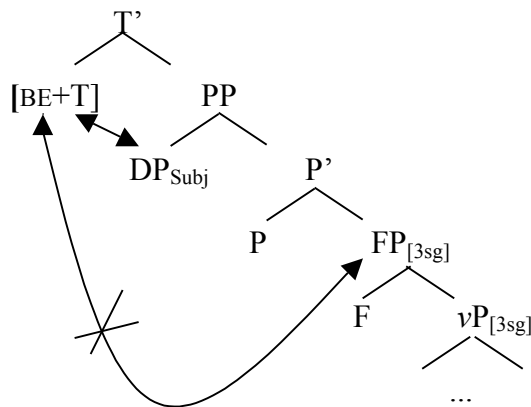
- Agree with *pro*
- F/v incorporates to T (thus obeys Case Filter) (but somehow doesn't count as closer Goal here)

[_{TP} [_T⁰ T+v/F+*pro*_i] [_{FP/vP} t_i]]

Pattern with *have*

- *have* = *be* + P (Freeze 1992, Kayne 1993, ...)

(25)



(Possible) disadvantage: (Anti)-agreement with subjects is handled different from (anti)-agreement in PPs, in VN, Object-agr (in Welsh)

Questions, challenges ... :

- How does Subj_{NOM} satisfy Case?!
- How does proposal for Breton relate to other languages displaying the complementarity principle? (e.g. Irish: direct object is acc case, Acc-ing gerunds?)
- How can this handle the facts of Object Agreement (infix/ enclitic pronouns (Welsh, Old Irish)?
- ...

August 2, 2007

Handout 4

- Predicate fronting observed in V-initial languages is not accidental
- The ‘more-nominal’/‘less-verbal’ status of verbs in V-initial languages (Massam 2005, Koopman 2005, Lee 2000, Jouitteau 2005, Oda 2005, and others)
- Predicate fronting
- Copula verbs, lack thereof
- Preverbal particles (often encoding Tense etc); verb morphology
- V-initial order is itself a case of pred fronting (VSO/VOS order derived through predicate fronting): XP (not head) moves

Celtic: predicate initial copula constructions

- Breton neutral clauses: $V_{\text{non-fin}}$ Aux S
 - o mostly analysed as LHM (Borsely et. Al, Schafer, Roberts 2005, ...)
- Irish subject-less clauses (salient unaccusatives; McCloskey 1996)

Niuean (VSO VOS alternating)

[V t_{Obj}] SO or [V O_{inc}] S (Massam 2000/2005; Rackowski & Travis 2000)

Quiavini Zapotec (VSO)

VSO order derived by VP-remnant fronting (Lee 2000)

Malagasy (VOS)

Predicate fronting (Pearson 2001; Rackowski & Travis 2000; Travis 2005)

Language variation: some languages front nominal constituents, others front predicates (Massam 2000, Pearson 2001, Oda 2005, and others)

See Chung (2005) for a discussion of the types of empirical evidence that bear on the question of VP-fronting vs. head movement.¹

I. Niuean (based on Massam 2000/2005, see also Rackowsky & Travis 2000, and Massam 2006)

- Initial particles: C – Tns/Asp
- Isolating morphology } see Massam 2005
- No copula verb }
- VP fronts to satisfy the EPP of I (I has a [+PRED] feature, rather than a D-feature)

(1) **VSO**

Kai he pusi e moa.
eat ERG.COM cat ABS.COM bird ‘The cat ate the bird.’

(2) **VOS**

a. Ne holoholo [kapiniu kiva] fakaeneena a Sione.
PST wash dish dirty slowly ABS Sione
‘Sione is washing dirty dishes slowly.’

¹ See also Müller 2004 for a phrasal movement account for deriving V2.

- b. Ne kai [sipi mo e ika mitaki] a Sione
 Pst eat chip Comt_v Abs fish good Abs Sione
 "Sione ate good fish and chips."

→ Direct Object is an NP (not a DP) and not forced to move out of VP

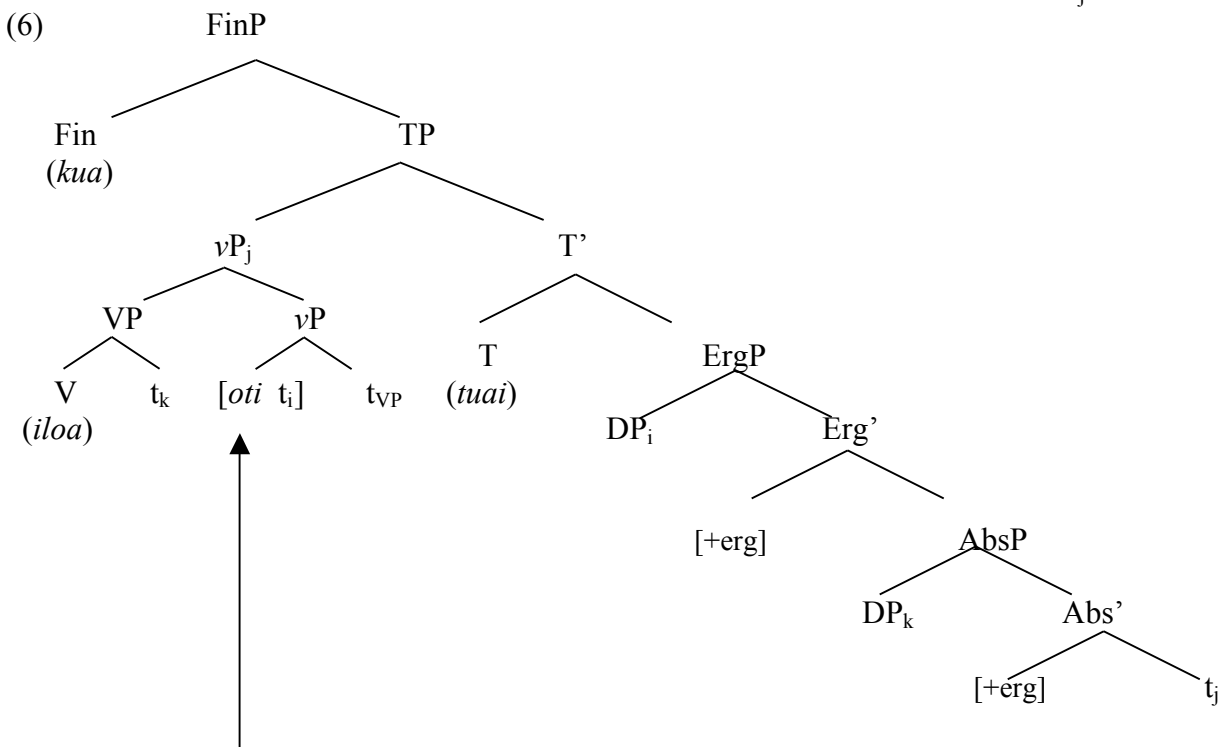
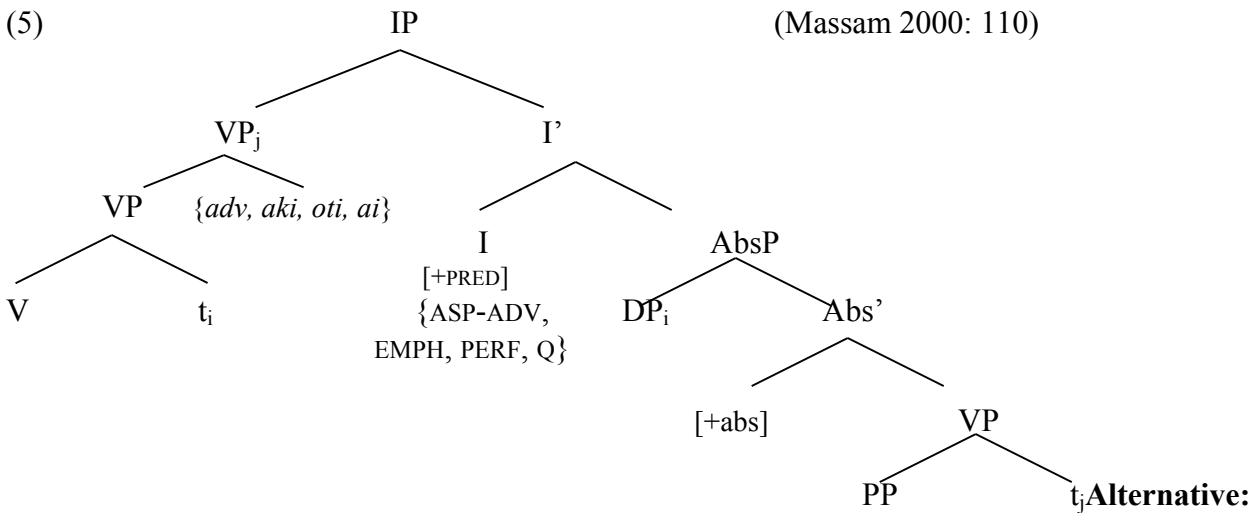
(3) **PP_{PRED} S**

- a. Hā he fale a ia.
 PRED LOC house ABS.PROP she
 'She is in the house.'

Post-verbal clitics: directional/manner particles, *oti* 'all'

- (4) kua iloa oti tuai e lautolu a au
 PERF know all PERF ERG they ABS me
 'They all know me.'

(5) (Massam 2000: 110)



Fin [vP VP [vP {Prt, Adv, Q} t_{VP}]] DP₁ DP₂ t_{VP}

(7) **Interaction with negation** (Massam 2000)

C/T > Neg > V > S > O > Obl

C/T > Neg – cl > V > S > O > Obl

C/T > Verb– cl > S > O > Obl

cl = emphatic marker and perfect particle

Speculation?: In negated clauses, movement of vP is to a lower position

→ cf. Breton, where Negation prevents moving of VP_[non-fin]

II. Irish Copula

Copula > Predicate (NP) > Subject

- (8) a. Is fear é.
COP man him 'He is a man.'
- b. Is fear (é) Seán.
COP man (he) Seán 'Seán is a man.'
- c. Is cailín óg (i) Nóra.
COP girl young (her) Nóra 'Nóra is a young girl.'
- d. Ba rí (é) Cormac
COP.PAST king (hm) Cormac 'Cormac was a king.'

*Copula > Subject > Predicate

- (9) a. *Is sé fear.
COP he man
- b. *Is Nuala cailín og Nuala.
- c. *Ba Cormac rí.

Splitting the predicate: ("for the sake of balance") (Christian Brothers 1995:123)

- (10) a. Is fear é a bhfuil meas agam air.
COP man he PRT is respect at-me on-him
'He is a man that I have respect for.'

Ownership: Copula > PP > Subject

- (11) Is le Seán an rothar.
COP with Seán the bicycle

Copula > AP > Subject

- (12) Is maith liom é
COP good with-me him
'I like him/it.'

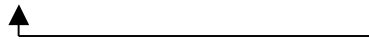
- (13) a. Is cinnte go bhfuil an fear leigheasta
 COP certain C is the man cured
 ‘It is certain that the man is cured.’
- b. Is cinnte é go bhfuil an fear leigheasta (extraposed CP)
 COP certain **it** C is the man cured
 ‘It is certain that the man is cured.’

- (14) [COP XP DP] XP = NP, PP, AP
 DP = ACC (common case) (cf. Carnie 1995)
- [COP [_{XP} X *t*_i] DP YP_i]

Identification sentences:

- (15) Is é Seán an dochtúir.
 COP him(AGR) Seán the doctor
 ‘Seán is the doctor.’

Carnie (1997;21): [CP is [_{IP} Infl (AGR) [_{SC} subj [COP attribute]]]]



- (16) a. AGR SUBJ ATTRIBUTE (canonical)
 Is é Seán an dochtúir.
 COMP AGR Seán the doctor
 ‘Seán is the doctor.’
- b. AGR ATTRIBUTE_{DEF} SUBJ (inverse)
 Is é an dochtúir Seán.
 COMP AGR the doctor Seán
- c. ATTRIBUTE_{DEF} AGR SUBJ
 *Is an dochtúir é Seán.
 COMP the doctor AGR Seán
- (17) ATTRIBUTE AGR SUBJ
 Is dochtúir é Seán.
 COMP the doctor AGR Seán
 ‘Seán is a doctor.’
- (18) a. dá ba Ghearmánach é (Ó Sé 2000:356, cited in McCl 2005:160)
 if COP.PAST German him
 ‘If he were a German’
- b. an rud a b- ionann agus teip (SD 209, cited in McCl 2005:160)
 the thing C COP.PAST same as failure
 ‘something that was tantamount to failure’

McCloskey (and others): COP = T

McCloskey 2005: against predicate initial order as phrasal movement

Ellipsis patterns

- (19) a. Ar cheannaigh siad é?
Q bought they it
b. Cheannaigh. → Cheannaigh [~~siad~~-~~t_v~~é]
Bought.
'(Yes) they did [~~buy-it~~]'

COP > AP > DP

- (20) a. An cosúil le taibhse é? (McCl 2005:161)
INTERR.COP like with ghost him
'Is he like a ghost?'
b. Is cosúil
COP like 'He is.'
c. *Is cosúil le taibhse
COP like with ghost
- (21) a. Na -r cheart do Mháire a bheith ann? (McCl 2005:161)
C.NEG-PAST right to Maire PRT be.NON-FIN there
'Shouldn't Máire be present?'
b. Cha-r cheart
NEG.PAST right 'She shouldn't.'
c. *Cha-r cheart di the
NEG.PAST right to-her

COP > NP > DP

- (22) a. An duine de na fearaibh é? (McCl 2005:162)
INTERR.COP person of the men him
'Is he one of the men?'
b. Is ea.
COP 'He is.'
c. *Is duine (de na fearaibh).
COP person (of the men)

ea/eadh: [a], [e:], [əw], or [əʏ] → dummy element (cf. *do*-support)

- (23) [Cumadóir deoil]_i is ea t_i é. (McCl 2005:163)
composer music.GEN COP EA him
'It's a composer of music that he is'

But: conservative varieties of Cork and Donegal Irish:

- (24) an fil' é seo a-thá anseo? (McCl 2005:173, note 4)
 COP.INTERR poet him this C-be.PRES here
 Is fil'.
 COP poet

'Is this person that is here a poet?' 'He is.'

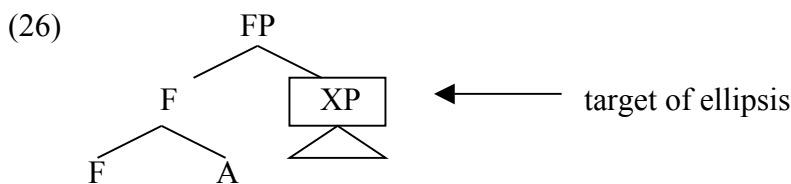
COP > PP > DP

- (25) a. An leob an capall bán sin? (McCl 2005:163)
 INTERR.COP with-them the horse white DEM
 'S eadh, go cinnte.
 COP EA certainly
 'Does that white horse belong to them?' 'It certainly does.'

- b. An as Éirinn thusa? Is ea, cinnte. (McCl 2005:163)
 INTERR.COP from Ireland you COP EA certainly
 'Are you from Ireland?' 'I certainly am.'

- c. An ndeir tú liom go mb' as Inis Gé Sail Óg Rua? (McCl 2005:164)
 INTERR say you with-me C COP.PAST from Inis Gé Sail Óg Rua

B' as cinnte.
 COP from-it certainly
 'Are you telling me that Sail Óg Rua was from Inis Gé?' 'She certainly was.'



- (27) a. Verbs and adjectives pattern alike → undergo head raising
 b. Nominal predicates → occupy a lower position (don't survive ellipsis)
 c. P is variable (see (25b) vs. (25c))

- (28) a. Is ceart agus is cóir teacht i gcabhair ar do chomharsa.
 COP right and COP proper come.NON-FIN in gcabhair on your neighbour
 'It's right and proper to help one's neighbour.' (McCl 2005:165)

- b. *Is ceart agus cóir teacht I gcabhair ar do chomharsa.
 COP right and proper come.non-fin in gcabhair on your neighbour

- (29) a. Deir siad gu-r cheannaigh agus gu-r dhíol siad na tithe. (McCl 2005:165)
 say they C-PAST bought and C-PAST sold they the houses
 'They say that they bought and sold the houses.'

- b. *Deir siad gu-r cheannaigh agus dhíol siad na tithe.

- (30) Is cumadóir ceoil agus scríbhneoir nótaíta é. (McC1 2005:166)
 COP composer music.GEN and writer noted him
 'He is a composer of music and a noted writer.'

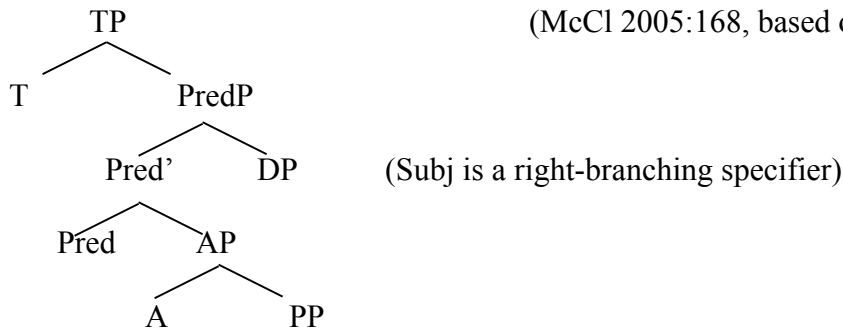
→ (29) is a violation of Coordinate Structure Constraint (head movement)

- (31) a. $[_{TP} T [_{AP} A \dots]] \rightarrow [_{TP} T+A [_{AP} \emptyset \dots]]$
 b. $[_{TP} T [_{NP} N \dots]] \rightarrow [_{TP} T [_{NP} N \dots]]$
 c. $[_{TP} T [_{PP} P \dots]] \rightarrow [_{TP} T [_{PP} P \dots]]$
 d. $[_{TP} T [_{PP} P \dots]] \rightarrow [_{TP} T+P [_{PP} \emptyset \dots]]$

In (31) b/c: when ellipsis occurs, dummy *ea* inserted in ellipsis site (cf. *do*-support)

McCloskey's (2005) conclusion: generalised predicate-fronting cannot provide a unified account → V (in VSO) & A (in COP A ...) pattern together → involve HM

- (32) (McC1 2005:168, based on Doherty 1996)



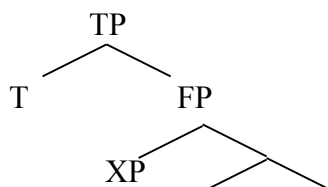
→ **Head movement:** A-to-Pred-to-T

Problematic aspects of this account:

- a. **right-branching** specifier not observed in other clauses
- b. The order [COP A/N Subj complement of A/N] cannot be created by remnant movement, hence must involve **rightward** movement
- c. Right adjunction for head movement

→ HM must occur from a position that is L-marked, hence not SpecTP

- (33) (McC1 2005:171)



→ McCloskey: this means that predicate fronting cannot be EPP driven (assuming that EPP is a property of T)

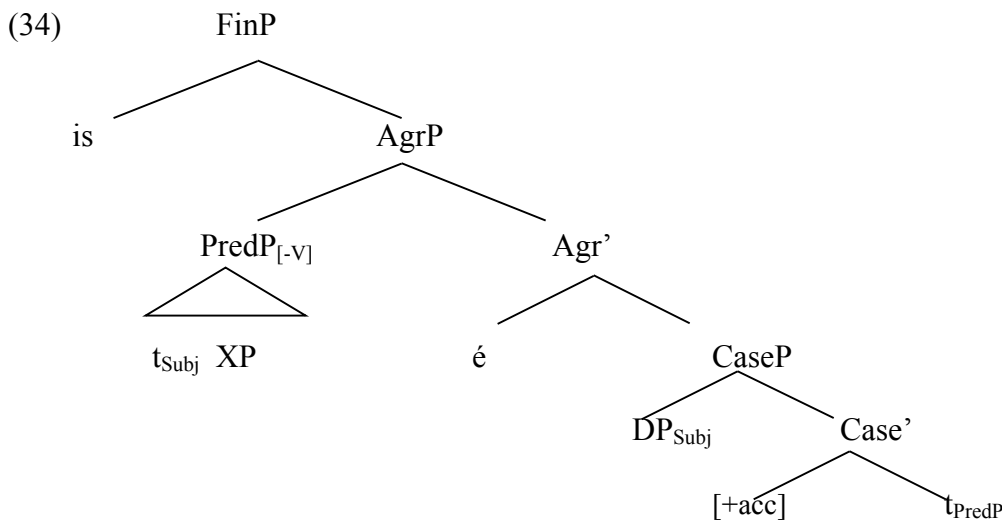
Reactions

- i. If right branching specs are excluded, COP always involve XP_{pred} fronting
 - real problem – what accounts for asymmetry of verbs & adj vs. P (optional) and N (dialectally constrained)?

- ii. Background assumption that ellipsis is evidence for head movement
 - Ellipsis facts are not clear cut (Ps, dialectal variation with Ns; see (22) vs. (24))
 - Why does ellipsis necessarily entail a head movement account? (cf. sluicing)
- iii. VSO structures, if subsumed under predicate fronting, pose the problem of forced evacuation of all material except the head.
 - Can this be related to difference of COP element vs. regular tensed clauses?

Irish copula

- *Is* (copula) is merged in Fin (it is not a verb) (see McCloskey, Carnie 1995)
- Selects AgrP → non-affixal



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