

August 3, 2007

Handout 5

I. PREVERBAL PARTICLES

	COMP	INTERR	NEG _{embedded}	NEG _{matrix}	C ⁰ _{AGR}	EMPH (MATRIX)
Irish	<i>go^N</i>	<i>an^N</i>	<i>nach^N</i>	<i>ní^L</i>	<i>a^L / a^N</i>	
Sc. Gaelic	<i>Go</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>nach</i>	<i>nach</i>	<i>a</i>	
Welsh	<i>(mai), y</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>nad</i>	<i>ni ?</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>fe/mi</i>
Breton	<i>e</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>a</i>	

See examples in Hendrick (2000:21-23)

Wide-spread assumption: preverbal particles are in C (McCloskey, etc)

(1) Welsh

Roedd e'n gwybod [**mai** [dim [fi a [ddaeth â'r anrheg]]].
 was he^{'PRT} know PRT NEG I PRT brought with-the present
 'He knew it wasn't I who brought the present.'

Hendrick (2000): *mai* = subordinator

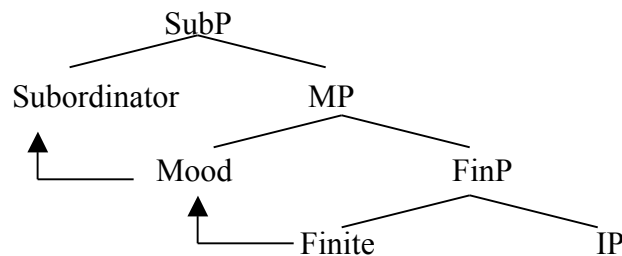
(2) [subordinator [mood [finite [IP ...]]]] (following Bhatt & Yoon 1991; Rizzi 1997)

Subordinator: *mai/tau*

Mood: *nid* or *dim*

Finite: *y* and *a* (+fin) *i* (-fin)

(3)



(4)

Irish
 Glór ar bith níor chuala sé.
 voice any NEG.PST hear he 'He didn't hear any voice.'

(5)

Breton
 Den ebet ne gar ket Mona.
 any one NEG loves NEG Mona 'No one loves Mona.'

Hendrick (2000:29): NPI facts from Irish (and Breton) can be captured by Fin moving to Sub overtly, but the bottom of the chain is pronounced.

Roberts (2005): Force > (Top) > (Foc) > Fin > AgrS > T (Rizzi 1997)

	FORCE	Spec,FOC	FOC	FIN
Welsh	<i>mai, ai, nad</i>	<i>fronted XP</i>	<i>(Adv)</i>	<i>fe/mi, y, a, bod</i>
Irish			<i>(Adv)</i>	<i>go, a^N, a^L, ní, ...</i>

English	<i>that</i> _{bridge V}			<i>that</i> _{non-bridge}
German	<i>dass</i>			<i>t</i> _{dass}

Roberts (2005) on non-selected Fin

- Merger of a head (Welsh)
- Adjunction to a head (Breton)
- Creation of a Spec-head relation (full V2)
- Movement of V+T to Fin (Old Irish; see Carnie, Harley & Pyatt 2005, Doherty 1999/2000)
- No morphophonological realization (English, and so forth)

II. *Wh*-construction in VP-fronting languages; Kenji Oda (2002/2005)

- **V-initial languages typically employ cleft constructions**

(E.g. McCloskey 1979 for Irish, Adger & Ramchand 2003 on Scottish Gaelic, Kroeger 1993 and Mercado 2003 for Tagalog; Massam 2002 for Niuean; Cheng 1997 for Indonesian, Egyptian Arabic, Palauan; ...)

- **Typology of V-initial order**

- a) V-movement (satisfies EPP in rich agreement languages (Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1998))
- b) VP-movement (satisfies EPP in null agreement languages, (Massam 2000, 2005, Massam & Smallwood 1996, ...))

→ Languages satisfy EPP through (a) [φ], or (b) [PRED]

→ generalized to C-T domains

- **Presentential particles:** clause typing function

Clause typing hypothesis (Cheng 1997)

(6) **Clause Typing Hypothesis**

Every Clause needs to be typed. In the case of typing a *wh*-question, either a *wh*-particle in C is used or else fronting of a *wh*-word to the Spec of C is used, thereby typing a clause through C by Spec-head agreement.

(7) **Predictions** (Cheng, 1997:28)

- a. No language has yes-no particles (and thus *wh*-particles) and syntactic *wh*-movement.
- b. No language has the option of using either a *wh*-particle or syntactic *wh*-movement of *wh*-words to type a sentence as a *wh*-question.
- c. No language fronts more than one *wh*-word for Clausal Typing.

Wh-construction in VP fronting languages (Oda 2002) :

(8) [predicate WH] [subject ...]

- VP-fronting analysis of Irish
- Irish: +Q-particles; no *wh*-movement

III. Two strategies of Wh-movement

- A. **Two strategies:** direct strategy → Subject and Object gaps
indirect strategy → resumptive pronouns (RP)

- (1) a. Cén fear a chonaic tú _?
which man aL saw you
'Which man did you see?'
- b. An fear a chonaic sé _
the man aL saw he
'The man that he saw'
- c. Cén páistí a d'imroedh _ anseo?
which children aL play-COND here
'Which children would play here?'
- (2) a. Creideann Seán [gur imreodh na páistí anseo]
believes Seán that-PAST play-COND the children here
'Seán believes that the children would play here'
- b. Cén páistí a chreideann Seán [a d'imreodh __ anseo]?
which children aL believes Seán. aL play-COND here
'Which children does Seán believe would play here?'
- c. *Cén páistí a chreideann Seán [gur imreodh __ anseo]?
which children aL believes Seán. that play-COND here
'Which children does Seán believe would play here?'
- (3) Cén fear ar phog an bhean é ?
which man aN kissed the woman him 'Which man did the woman kiss?'
- (4) Céard a ndearna tú é leis *pro*?
what aN did you it with-3s 'What did you do it with?'

McCloskey 1990: aL = C agreeing with operator binding non-pronominal variable

aN = C agreeing with (base-generated) operator binding a pronominal variable

McCloskey 2002:

- C which bears the *Op*-feature and EPP is realized as *aL*

- C which bears only EPP is realized *aN*

- C which bears neither the *Op*-feature nor the EPP is realized as *go*

Challenges

a. Adjunct extraction

- (5) a. Cén fáth a dtáinig tú
which reason aN came you 'Why did you come?' [McCl 1979:169]
- b. an áit a raibh muid ____
the place aN were we 'the place where we were' [McCl 1979:171]

- c. Sin an dóigh a bhfuil sé. [McCloskey 2002:206]
that the way aN is it
'That's the way it is.'
- d. An t-am a-r tháinig sé, bhíodar díolta ar fad. [McCloskey 2002:206]
the time aN-past came he, they-were sold all
'(By) the time he came, they were sold all.'
- (6) a. Céard a ndearna tú é leis? [Noonan 2002]
what aN did you it with-3s 'What did you do it with?'
- b. Céard leis a ndearna tú é?
what with-3s aN did you it 'With what did you do it?'
- (6a) a case of P-stranding (Noonan 1997/2002)
(McCloskey 2002: topicalisation of inflected [_{PP} P-agr *pro*] (cf. Hebrew))

Cf. Welsh:

- (7) mae Wyn yn sôn amdano (ef)
is-3s Wyn prog speak about-3sm (him) 'Wyn is speaking about him.'
- (8) a. y dyn y soniais (i) amdano (*ef)
the man comp talked-1s I about-3sm (him)
'the man who I talked about'
- b. y dyn y soniais [amdano (ef) ac Ann]
the man C spoke-1s about-3sm him and Ann

Generalisation: aL occurs with subject/object extraction (but see below)
aN elsewhere

Duffield 1995, Noonan 1992/2002: aN = C⁰; aL ≠ C⁰

Noonan (2002): aL : - argument shift with Subj/Obj (including CP)
- aL = aL found in SOV infinitives : S [O aL V]

B. Objectshift in infinitives

- (9) a. Ba mhaith liom [Seán an caora a mheá ar an bhfeirm]
I-would-like Seán the sheep aL_{inf} weigh on the farm
'I would like Seán to weigh the sheep on the farm.'
- b. B'éadoiche [iad cruinniú]
would-be-improbable them assemble
'It would be improbable for them to assemble.'

Southern dialects: aL also occurs with subjectys (S O aL V order impossible with overt Subj)

- (10) a. Ba mhaith leis [PRO é a cheistiú]
He-would-like him aL_{inf} question
'He would like to question him.' [Ó Siadhail, p. 257]
- b. ... tar éis iad féin a shábháil na gcéata
... after they-emph. aL_{inf} save the hundreds
'...after they themselves saved hundreds' [Ó Siadhail, p. 256]

C. Extraction from CP required argument shift of CP

- Hypothesis:
 - aL pronounces Edge-feature of vP
 - DP_{WH} move through Agr-position (null, if non-specific) (cf. French participle agreement; Kayne)

- (11) **Derivation:** Chonaic Seán an madra
saw Seán the dog

[_{vP} Seán chonaic an madra] mvt of Obj →
 [_{vP} an madra aL [_{vP} Seán chonaic t]] mvt of Subj →
 [_{NomP} Seán [_{vP} an madra aL [_{vP} t chonaic t]]] mvt of vP →
 [TP [_{vP} t chonaic t] T [_{NomP} Seán [_{vP} an madra aL t_{vP}]]]

→ 'aL' not pronounced

- (12) **Derivation:** Cén fear a chonaic tú _?
which man aL saw you 'Which man did you see?'

[_{vP} tú chonaic cén fear] mvt of wh-Obj →
 [_{vP} cén fear aL [_{vP} tú chonaic cén fear]] mvt of wh to Agr ; mvt of Subj →
 [_{NomP} tú [_{agrP} cén fear [_{vP} t aL [_{vP} tú chonaic cén fear]]]] mvt of vP →
 [TP [_{vP} t aL [_{vP} t chonaic t]] T [_{NomP} tú [_{agrP} cén fear t_{vP}]]] merge C, move wh →
 [CP cén fear C [TP [_{vP} t aL [_{vP} tú chonaic cén fear]] T [_{NomP} tú t_{vP}]]] merge C, move wh →

- (13) **Derivation:**
Cén fear a chreideann Seán a chonaic tú _
Which man aL believes Seán aL saw you

[CP cén fear C [TP [_{vP} t aL [_{vP} .. chonaic ..]] T [_{NomP} tú t_{vP}]]] merge V, v, Subj →
 [_{vP} Seán verb [CP cén fear C [TP [_{vP} t aL [_{vP} .. chonaic ..]] T [_{NomP} tú t_{vP}]]]] move Obj CP →
 [_{vP} [CP cén fear C [TP [_{vP} t aL [_{vP} .. chonaic ..]] T [_{NomP} tú t_{vP}]]] aL [_{vP} Seán verb t]] move Subj →
 [_{NomP} Seán [_{vP} [CP cén fear C [TP [_{vP} t aL [_{vP} .. chonaic ..]] T [_{NomP} tú t_{vP}]]] [_{vP} aL [_{vP} .. verb ..]]]]
 move vP →
 [TP [_{vP} aL [_{vP} t verb t]] T [_{NomP} Seán [_{vP} [CP cén fear C [TP [_{vP} t aL [_{vP} .. chonaic ..]] T [_{NomP} tú t_{vP}]]] t_{vP}]]
 merge C, move wh →
 [CP cén fear C [TP [_{vP} aL [_{vP} t chreideann t]] T [_{NomP} Seán [_{vP} [CP t C [TP [_{vP} t aL [_{vP} .. chonaic ..]] T [_{NomP} tú t_{vP}]]] t_{vP}]]]

- (14) a. Cén páistí a chreideann Máire a dhéarfadh Seán a d'imreodh anseo?
which children aL believes M. aL say-COND S. aL play-COND here
'Which children does M, believe S. would say would play here?'

→ aL ... aL starts to resemble 'wh-agreement (cf. Palauan)

D. Supporting evidence for argument shift of CP

-extraction of some constituent other than the subject or object: wh aN ... aL ... aL

- (15) a. Cé shíleann Máire a chreideann Seán ar labhair Nic leis
 who (aL) think M. aL believes S. aN spoke N. with-agr
 ‘who does Mary think that John believes that Nic spoke with?’
- b. an galar a chuala mé ar cailleadh muintir an oileáin leis
 the disease aL heard I aN was-lost people the island-gen with-it
 ‘the disease from which it is thought the people of the island died’ [McCloskey 1990]

-Extraction from CP incompatible with *expl*:

- (16) a. Tá (sé) ráite acu go gceannóidh siad teach
 is it said at-them that buy-FUT they a-house
 ‘It was said by them that they will buy a house.’
- b. Cén teach atá (*sé) ráite acu a cheannóidh siad?
 which house aL is it said at-3p aL buy-FUT they it
- (17) a. Tá (sé) soiléir go gceannóidh Seán teach
 is it clear that buy-FUT Seán a-house
 ‘It is clear that Seán will buy a house.’
- b. Cén rud atá (*sé) soiléir a cheannóidh Seán _
 what thing aL-is it clear aL buy-FUT