
Cam_{bridge} Co_{mparative} S_{yntax} 4

CamCoS 4

8–9 May 2015

University of Cambridge

Venue

English Faculty Building

Sidgwick Site,

9 West Road, Cambridge, CB3 9DP



UNIVERSITY OF
CAMBRIDGE



European Research Council

Established by the European Commission

Welcome to CamCoS 4!

The fourth Cambridge Comparative Syntax Conference (CamCoS 4) is the follow-up to the previous successful CamCoS conferences. Again, CamCoS is a two-day event. The first day is a general comparative generative syntax conference while the second day features invited speakers presenting work in a special area. This year, the topic is **null arguments and φ -features**.

Null arguments and φ -features

In relation to the themed session, the central question we would like to address are

1. to what extent it is possible to provide a formal account of cross-linguistic variation in the domain of null arguments, and to what extent any such account rests on the formal distribution of φ -features, and
2. what kinds of crosslinguistic variation the distribution of φ -features seems to play a role in.

Venues

On **Friday**, 8 May 2015, and **Saturday**, 9 May 2015, the conference will be held in the **English Faculty Building** of the University of Cambridge, 9 West Road, Cambridge CB3 9DP.

On **Thursday**, 7 May 2015, members of the Rethinking Comparative Syntax project (ReCoS) and members of the Department of Theoretical and Applied Linguistics (DTAL) of the University of Cambridge will present their own research on issues in comparative syntax. These talks are held in **Keynes Hall** in King's College, King's Parade, Cambridge CB2 1ST.

Conference dinner

The conference dinner takes place at *Zizzi*, 16 Bene't Street, Cambridge CB2 3QN, at 19:30 on Friday, 8 May 2015.

This programme

This booklet includes the full conference programme (first half-day, days 1 and 2), as well as abstracts for the presentations. Visit our website, <http://www-falcon.csx.cam.ac.uk/site/RECOS/conference/camcos4>, for more information.

Funding and sponsors

ReCoS is funded by the European Research Council Advanced Grant No. 269752 "Rethinking Comparative Syntax".

Re thinking Co mparative S yntax

 Thursday, 7 May 2015 — CamCoS 4 prequel

Venue Keynes Hall, King's College

Time	Speaker	Title
14:00–14:10	Ian Roberts	<i>Introduction</i>
14:10–14:50	Teresa Parodi	<i>Phi-features and null arguments in language acquisition</i>
14:50–15:20	Coffee break	
15:20–16:00	András Bárány	<i>An Agree-based approach to variation in differential object marking</i>
16:00–16:40	Jenneke van der Wal	<i>Defective Goals and [Person]al Agreement: A hybrid approach to Bantu object marking</i>
16:40–17:10	Refreshment break	
17:10–17:50	Alison Biggs	<i>Features and the typology of radical pro</i>
17:50–18:30	Michelle Sheehan	<i>On the lack of consistency across (Romance) consistent null subject languages</i>

Friday, 8 May 2015 — CamCoS 4 day 1

Venue English Faculty Building, GR-06/07

Time	Speaker, Affiliation	Title
08:15–09:00	Registration and coffee	
09:00–09:40	Marit Julien (Lund University)	<i>Transitivity alternations in North Sámi</i>
09:40–10:20	Hedde Zeijlstra (University of Göttingen)	<i>Left and right: explaining FOFC and the left position of specifiers without the LCA</i>
10:20–10:40	Coffee break	
10:40–11:20	Will Harwood and Tanja Temmerman (CRISSP/KU Leuven)	<i>Pushing the Boundaries: idioms and phrases in Dutch dialects and English</i>
11:20–12:00	Maria Luisa Zubizarreta and Roumyana Pancheva (University of Southern California)	<i>The Romance PCC and the Split-inflection in Paraguayan Guaraní. A Common Analysis</i>
12:00–12:40	Ciro Greco, Trang Phan and Liliane Haegeman (Ghent University)	<i>Optional expletives in Radical Null Subject Languages and the syntax of Specificity</i>
12:40–14:00	Lunch break	
14:00–14:40	Mara Frascarelli (Università degli Studi Roma Tre) and Ángel Jiménez-Fernández (University of Seville)	<i>Partial pro-drop at the interfaces: A comparative analysis</i>
14:40–15:20	Yosuke Sato (National University of Singapore)	<i>Argument Ellipsis and Discourse-Agreement Features: A Southeast Asian Perspective</i>
15:20–15:40	Coffee break	
15:40–16:20	Kari Kinn (University of Oslo)	<i>Deletion of phiPs in Old Norwegian</i>
16:20–17:00	Sandhya Sundaesan (University of Leipzig)	<i>The finiteness-pro-drop generalization</i>
17:00–17:30	Refreshment break	
17:30–18:30	Speed session	
	Vassilios Spyropoulos (University of Athens)	<i>Null-subject case = pro and not PRO. Evidence from Greek</i>
	Myung-Kwan Park and Euiyon Cho (Dongguk University)	<i>Towards An NP/N'-Substitute Analysis of the Null Argument in Japanese and Korean (alternate 1)</i>
	Zuzanna Fuchs (Harvard University)	<i>Null Arguments and Variation in the Availability of Coordinated-WH Questions (alternate 2)</i>
	Francesco Costantini (Ca' Foscari University of Venice)	<i>Pragmatic and semantic factors affecting the interpretation of subject pronouns in subjunctive clauses</i>
	Hans-Martin Gärtner (HAS-RIL, Budapest)	<i>On Mood Shift and Narrow V2 in Icelandic</i>

Saturday, 9 May 2015 — CamCoS 4 day 2

Venue English Faculty Building, GR-06/07

Time	Speaker, Affiliation	Title
08:30–09:00		Coffee
09:00–10:00	Martina Wiltschko (University of British Columbia)	<i>The (not so) silent syntax of speech acts and their participants: A comparative perspective</i>
10:00–11:00	Ruth Kramer (Georgetown University)	<i>The morphosyntax of gender and number: The view from Distributed Morphology</i>
11:00–11:30		Coffee break
11:30–12:30	Maia Duguine (University of the Basque Country)	<i>The role of agreement in a multifactorial approach to pro-drop</i>
12:30–14:00		Lunch break
14:00–15:00	Pilar Barbosa (University of Minho)	<i>Can pro be reduced to a minimal nP?</i>
15:00–16:00	Shigeru Miyagawa (MIT)	<i>Pro-drop, E-type pronoun, and Agreement</i>
16:00–16:30		Coffee break
16:30–17:30	Mamoru Saito (Nanzan University)	<i>Case for Labeling: A Case Study in a Language without f-feature Agreement</i>
17:30–18:30		Discussion

Abstracts

On the following pages, you can find the abstracts of all CamCoS 4 talks, ordered alphabetically by the (first) author's last name.

Author	page		
Barbosa	5	Kramer	24
Costantini	6	Miyagawa	25
Duguine	8	Park and Cho	26
Frascarelli and Jiménez-Fernández	9	Sato	28
Fuchs	11	Saito	30
Gärtner	13	Spyropoulos	31
Greco	15	Sundaresan	33
Harwood and Temmermann	18	Wiltschko	36
Julien	20	Zeiljstra	37
Kinn	22	Zubizarreta and Pancheva	39

Can *pro* be reduced to a minimal NP?

Pilar Barbosa, University of Minho, Portugal

In recent years, there has been a return to Perlmutter's (1971) insight that the implicit subject in the Null Subject Languages is a fully specified pronoun that fails to have a PF realization (Holmberg 2005, Roberts 2010). Concomitantly, recent theories of the nature of pronouns have posited a minimally specified null NP ($[_{NP} e]$) as a complement of D in every pronoun (Elbourne 2005). This reintroduces the need to posit $[_{NP} e]$ in the grammar. Here we offer an analysis of different types of subject *pro*-drop (partial and semi-*pro*-drop) that attempts to reduce *pro* to the same $[_{NP} e]$ that occurs in pronouns or is attested in cases of null NP anaphora. In addition, we discuss the challenges faced by this approach when applied to the consistent Null Subject Languages.

**Pragmatic and semantic factors affecting the interpretation
of subject pronouns in subjunctive clauses**

Francesco Costantini (Ca' Foscari University of Venice)

The interpretive properties of *pro* in subjunctive clauses have drawn the attention of generative linguists as early in the 1980s. In many languages, ranging from Romance to German and Slavic, the null subject of subjunctive clauses displayed an anomalous behaviour in view of Binding Theory Principle B, as it could *not* be ‘coindexed’ with arguments occurring within the superordinate clause, hence in a different binding domain (1a).

- (1) a. *Pia pensa che pro parta domani.* b. *Pia pensa che io parta domani.*
 ‘Pia thinks that he/she leave tomorrow.’ ‘Pia thinks that I leave tomorrow.’
 # *pro* = [[Pia]]

Later studies (Farkas 1992, Schlenker 2005) have discarded Binding approaches to subjunctive obviation – as the phenomenon is generally dubbed – and have shown that the effect may result from the competition between subjunctive and with infinitival clauses.

Competition theories of obviation predict that obviation occurs if and only if an infinitive is available. However, examples where obviation occurs even without there being an infinitival competitor can be built:

- (i) PRO can only be an ordinary (i.e., not a quirky) subject. Thus, an infinitival clause cannot replace the subjunctive clause in sentences like (2). Yet, sentence (2a) is unacceptable. By contrast, if the embedded quirky subject does not have the same denotation as the attitude bearer, the sentence is fully acceptable (see (2b)).

- (2) a. # *Credo che questo fatto mi preoccupi.* b. *Credo che questo fatto lo preoccupi.*
 Lit. ‘I believe this fact worries me.’ ‘I believe this fact worries him.’

- (ii) Epistemic modals are relative to a ‘judge’ (the person in view of whose evidence an epistemic possibility or necessity is asserted, see Lasersohn 2005), which corresponds to the speaker, if not differently specified. Since epistemic modals cannot select for an infinitival argument clause (Epstein 1984), a subjunctive clause should always be acceptable no matter whether its subject denotes the ‘judge’/speaker. This is however contrary to fact (see (3a)). Thus, sentence (3a) is unacceptable in spite of the fact that an infinitival competitor is not available. Notice that if the embedded clause subject does not refer to the speaker, the sentence is fully acceptable (3b).

- (3) a. # *È possibile che io abbia il mal di testa.* b. *È possibile che lei abbia il mal di testa.*
 Lit. ‘It is possible I have a headache.’ ‘It is possible she has a headache.’

The contrasts in (2) and in (3) parallel the contrast in (1), so that a unified explanation is desirable.

This presentation aims to show an alternative approach to subjunctive obviation. To do so, I observe that:

- (i) in sentences (2a) and (3a) the embedded predicate refers to a self-ascribed mental state (Shoemaker 1968). Sentence (1a) can also be shown to express a mental state, because subjunctive predicates can be futurate, and futurate predicates involve plans (Copley 2008). The self-ascription of a mental state has been the subject of much work in philosophy of mind as part of the question of self-awareness (or self-knowledge, cf. Shoemaker 1968, Burge, 2007, Recanati 2007). Knowledge of one’s own mental state is peculiar because it relies on introspection, which lets one have a direct, non-inferential access to mental states. Because of this, ‘introspective’ knowledge is epistemically secure and is endowed with the presumption of truth.

- (ii) Epistemic predicates such as *believe*, *doubt*, etc. introduce a sentential implicature whereby the subject of the attitude does not know if the content of the attitude holds true as of the uttering time in the actual world (or she knows that it may not be the case that the

content of the attitude is true as of the actual world, see Gazdar 1978). The same holds true for other types of attitude predicate selecting for subjunctive clauses and instantiating obviation, such as volitional and factive predicates, since they both presuppose doxastic alternatives (Heim 1992).

I propose that the interpretation of null subject in subjunctive clauses derives exactly from a semantic clash between the presuppositions introduced by attitude predicates (which introduce doxastic alternatives) and the semantic properties of the embedded proposition (based on self-knowledge, epistemically secure).

This proposal directly accounts for the interpretation of *pro* in (1a), because if the embedded clause expresses a plan on the part of the attitude bearer and the attitude predicate presupposes that the attitude bearer has doxastic alternatives, since one is (normally) aware of one's own plans, a semantic clash arises and makes unavailable the interpretation whereby *pro* denotes the attitude bearer herself. Moreover, it accounts for the contrasts in (2) and (3), as a clash obtains in sentences (2a) and (3a) similar to the one occurring in (1a).

Additional facts appear to support this theory:

(i) Sentences like (1b) are acceptable as long as the embedded proposition is not based on introspection. If the intended 'director' (Copley 2008) of the plan expressed in the embedded clause is the bearer of the attitude herself, these sentences are uninterpretable in the same way (1a) is.

(ii) Obviation does not obtain if the embedded proposition cannot be based on introspection.

(4) *Maria dubita che sia alta 1,82.*

'Maria doubts she is 1,82 tall.'

'Being 1,82 cm tall' can no way be a piece of information achieved through introspection. Thus, sentence (4) is fully acceptable, as expected.

(iii) It is a well-known fact that obviation tends not to obtain when the subjunctive verb is an aspectual auxiliary (Picallo 1985). This fact is also expected, as argument clauses containing an auxiliary in the subjunctive make reference to past events, which may not be recollected directly through one's own memory (see Higginbotham 2009).

(iv) Another very-well known fact is that obviation may not obtain if the subjunctive verb is a modal (Picallo 1985). This fact is expected, too, as deontic or epistemic propositions are not based on introspection.

(v) Obviation obtains no matter what the embedded mood is, as long as a semantic clash arises between the propositional attitude and the epistemic state expressed in the embedded clause (see Wittgenstein 1953).

(5) # *So che parto domani.*

lit. 'I know I am leaving tomorrow.'

To sum up, the interpretation of null subject in subjunctive clauses appears to result from a complex interplay of different interface factors involving the semantic notion of self-awareness and the sentential implicatures introduced by attitude predicates.

Bibliography:

Belletti-Rizzi 1988. Psych-Verbs and Θ -Theory. *NLLT* 6 – Burge 2007. *Foundations of Mind*. – Copley 2008. The Plan's the Thing. *LI* 39 – Epstein 1984. Quantifier-pro and the LF representation of PROarb. *LI* 15 – Farkas 1992. On Obviation. In *Lexical Matters* – Gazdar 1979. *Pragmatics* – Heim 1992. Presupposition Projection and the Semantics of Attitude Verbs. *JoS* 9 – Higginbotham 2009. On words and thoughts about oneself – Lasersohn 2005. Context dependence, disagreement, and predicates of personal taste. *L&P* 28 – Picallo 1985. Opaque domains. CUNY – Raposo 1985. Some Asymmetries in the Binding Theory in Romance. *TLR* 5 – Recanati 2007. *Perspectival Thought* – Shoemaker 1968. Self-Reference and Self-Awareness. *J of Phil* 65 – Schlenker 2005. The Lazy Frenchman's approach to the subjunctive. *RLLT* 2003 – Wittgenstein 1953. *Philosophical Investigations*.

Unifying null arguments on two levels

Maia Duguine

Different types of null arguments are standardly distinguished on two levels: (i) cross-linguistically, and (ii) language-internally. I put forth an analysis that aims at giving a unified explanation of the phenomenon on both these levels.

The observation that there is a correlation with the richness of inflectional morphology (Taraldsen 1978, Rizzi 1982) has led to the hypothesis of a causal relation between rich agreement and the possibility for null subjects. This, in turn, has generally resulted in teasing apart pro-drop languages with and without agreement, and to treating null subjects in each language class as a distinct type of linguistic object.

But the differences between null subjects in rich agreement languages such as Spanish and in agreementless languages such as Japanese are scarce, which casts doubts on the validity of their ontological distinction (Duguine 2014). As a way to resolve this tension, I argue that instead of being characterized as a potential licensor for pro-drop, agreement/inflection should be viewed as a potential blocker. Appealing to Frampton's (2002) and Müller's (2006) analyses of poor agreement (in German-like languages) in terms of morphological impoverishment of φ -features, and adopting an ellipsis analysis of pro-drop (Oku 1998, Saito 2007, Takahashi 2008, Duguine 2014), I propose that an inflectional head with impoverished φ -features, because it does not have the same feature-values as its subject, blocks the ellipsis of the latter. In other words, pro-drop is in principle available in any language (which explains why we can find it in languages with and without agreement morphology), but in some of them, independent grammatical factors make it impossible.

The second part of the talk extends the unification of the types of null arguments on a different level.

It is generally assumed that there can exist different classes of null arguments in individual languages; this is the case of what have been labeled *pro* and (controlled) PRO (cf. a.o. Chomsky 1981). Without denying that they have different syntactico-semantic properties (PRO is obligatorily controlled, *pro* is referentially free), I argue in favor of a unified analysis, where their differing properties result from independent factors. Sundaresan (2014) argues that the properties of *pro* and PRO are independent from their nullness. Pursuing this line of analysis, I discuss the distribution of *pro* and PRO with respect to overt subjects and clausal finiteness. I bring into discussion evidence from Basque, which displays a wide variety of non-finite constructions (Artiagoitia 2003) and dialectal variation in the interpretation of overt and null subjects, reaching the conclusion that both *pro* and PRO are merely the non-overt counterparts of lexical subjects. They can thus be unified under an ellipsis/deletion analysis, where a null expression will have the syntactico-semantic properties of either *pro* or PRO, depending on its syntactic environment.

Partial pro-drop at the interfaces: A comparative analysis
Mara Frascarelli (U. Rome 3) & Ángel L. Jiménez-Fernández (U. Seville)

1. Introduction and goal. This paper explores the licensing conditions governing the realization of referential null subjects in consistent and partial pro-drop languages, comparing the grammaticality and interpretation of null (and weak) thematic subjects in Italian, Russian Standard Spanish (SS) and Caribbean Spanish (CS) in different clausal types.

2. Background for the analysis. Based on Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl's (2007) interface analysis of Topics, Frascarelli (2007) provides evidence that in a language like Italian a thematic *pro* in preverbal position receives a value (i.e., a referential index) from the local A[aboutness-Shift]-Topic. A *Topic Criterion* is thus proposed that correlates core grammar with discourse requirements. Following this Criterion, the high Topic field in the C-domain contains a position in which the [+aboutness] feature (an “extended EPP feature”) is encoded and matched (via Agree) by the local (3rd person) null subject. Crucially, Topic maintenance across sentences implies the existence of Topic chains and silent Topics: when continuous the A-Topic is not overtly realized; rather, a silent (1b) or low-toned (1c) G[iven]-Topic matches the [+aboutness] feature and enters an Agree relation with the local *pro*:

- (1) a. *Gianni_k, ha detto che pro_k/lui_k (L*) ha comprato una casa.*
 ‘John_k said that (he_k)/he_k bought a house.’
 b. [_{ShiftP} Gianni_k [_{IP} pro_k ha detto [_{ForceP} che [_{FamP} <Gianni_k> [_{IP} pro_k ha comprato una casa]]]]]
 c. [_{ShiftP} Gianni_k [_{IP} pro_k ha detto [_{ForceP} che [_{FamP} lui [_{IP} pro_k ha comprato una casa]]]]]

Later investigation on the interpretation of different types of Topics in diverse clause types led Bianchi & Frascarelli (2010) to propose an *Interface Root Restriction* (IRR), according to which IS-phenomena that affect the conversational dynamics (CG management, Krifka 2007) must occur in clauses endowed with illocutionary force that implement a conversational move. This is exactly the case of A-Topics, as they trigger an update of the discourse context. The prediction is that an A-Topic chain can only be started from a root (-like) C-domain.

3. Silent A-Topics. Assuming the Topic Criterion and the IRR, this paper deals with new data as, for instance, the apparent possibility that a *pro* can take as its antecedent an element that is not a Topic but, rather, a DP that is in the Comment (or the Focus) of the previous sentence:

- (2) a. *Alla fine, quando ha parlato Leo_k, pro_k ha convinto tutti.* (Italian)
 b. *Al final, cuando ha hablado Leo_k, pro_k ha convencido a todos.* (Spanish)
 ‘At the end, when Leo spoke, (he) convinced everybody.’

It will be argued that cases like (2) do not challenge the Topic Criterion; rather, they show that in a consistent NS language like Italian or Spanish an A-Topic can be silent not only if continuous, but also when heading a Topic chain. Hence, in (2) a silent A-Topic <Leo> must be assumed in the local C-domain of the ‘illegitimate’ *pro*. Evidence is provided by the fact that the latter does not allow a non-specific interpretation. Consider the interpretation of *una guardia* in (3a), and the interpretation of a null subject in a (possible) continuation like (3b):

- (3a) *Ogni angolo della banca è sorvegliato da una guardia.* (∀/∃)
 ‘Every corner of the bank is guarded by a policeman.’
 (3b) *...pro fuma come un matto!* (∃*/∃)
 ‘...(he) smokes like a mad!’

If the antecedent of *pro* were the DP *una guardia* a distributive reading of the indefinite should be still available in (3b), contrary to facts. This (and further) evidence supports a matching analysis of *pro* with a silent (necessarily specific) A-Topic in the local C-domain.

4. Partial NS languages: working hypothesis and proposal. Holmberg, Nayudu and Sheehan (2009: 60) underline that “null subjects in partial NS languages are optional in some contexts where they are obligatory in consistent NS languages and [...] excluded in some

contexts where they are allowed in consistent NS languages”. The authors argue for a syntactic Locality Condition, according to which (a) *pro* is only allowed if controlled by an antecedent in a higher clause (excluding Topic chains), and (b) the relevant control relation is not allowed across another subject, regardless of phi-features. Some type of local control is also proposed for Russian, with an additional NOM Chain requirement (i.e., a compelling nominative antecedent) for embedded null subjects (Tsedryk 2013). Hence, in partial NS languages an external reference is supposed to be excluded, as is shown below for Russian:

- (4) *Lev_k skazal čto pro_{k/*z}/on_{k/z} kupil dom.*
 ‘Lev_k said that (he_{k/*z}) / he_{k/z} bought a house.’

The present analysis will show that the situation is not so clear-cut and that Russian informants allow both for an external interpretation of *pro* and for non-local antecedents. Similar remarks hold for Caribbean varieties of Spanish (cf. Ordóñez & Olarrea 2006, Camacho 2013). Partial *pro*-drop properties of CS listed in the literature are, for instance, the preference for preverbal over postverbal subjects (*¿Qué tú compraste?* ‘What did you buy?’) and the overuse of subject pronouns in allegedly non-emphatic contexts:

- (5) *Yo quiero que tú me traigas carne cuando yo te llame.* (Villa-García et al. 2010)
 ‘I want you to bring me meat when I call you.’

We argue that these properties can be derived from the Topic chain available in the sentences.

5. Aim of the paper, claim and predictions. The final aim of this paper is to establish whether and how a Topic chain analysis can be extended to partial NS languages, so as to reduce the difference between consistent and partial NS languages to (global) interface restrictions imposed on IS-phenomena and to (specific) conditions imposed on the interpretation of Topic chains (w.r.t silent A-Topics and Topic maintenance across sentences). To this purpose, an online survey has been created for a *systematic comparative analysis*. Informants will be asked for a judgment concerning both the grammaticality and the interpretation of null subjects in different structural contexts (conveniently randomized), also comparing the interpretation of an overt pronoun in the same contexts.

In particular, null subjects will be examined under bridge verbs (4) and factive verbs (in sentences equivalent to (6)), in adverbial clauses (both in fronted and final position (as in (7a-b)) and in matrix sentences (cf. (2) above). The Control requirement will be checked through sentences comparable to (8), while Locality (and related intervention effects) is tested by means of interposed subjects endowed with different inflectional features (as in (9a-b)):

- (6) Leo is sorry that Leo thinks that **pro** will lose the race.
 (7a) Leo can come if **pro** finishes the work. (6b) If **pro** finishes the work, Leo can come.
 (8) Leo’s talk made it clear that **pro** was not guilty.
 (9) a. Leo thinks that the children say that **pro** will win the race.
 b. Leo thinks that I said that **pro** will win the race.

Evidence will be provided that the Topic Criterion can be considered a *macro-parameter* of NS languages, while the properties and asymmetries of partial NS languages can be reduced to a *meso-parameter* based on restrictions operating at the interface levels of analysis.

Selected References. Bianchi, V. & M. Frascarelli. 2010. Is topic a root phenomenon? *Iberia* 2, 43-88. Camacho, J. 2013. *Null subjects*. Cambridge: CUP. Frascarelli, M. 2007. Subjects, Topics and the Interpretation of Referential *pro*. *NLLT*, 25:691-734. Holmberg, A., A. Nayudu & M. Sheehan. 2009. Three partial Null Subject languages: a comparison of Brazilian Portuguese, Finnish and Marathi. *Studia Linguistica* 63:59-97. Ordóñez, F. & A. Olarrea 2006. Microvariation in Caribbean/nonCaribbean Spanish Interrogatives, *Probus* 18, 59-96. Tsedryk, E. 2013 Internal merge of nominative subjects and *pro*-drop in Russian. *2013 CLA Proceedings*, Un. Toronto.

Null Arguments and Variation in the Availability of Coordinated-WH Questions

Zuzanna Fuchs, Harvard University

Languages vary as to the freedom with which they coordinate WH-expressions in coordinated-WH questions (CWHs). On one end of the spectrum, English-like languages are very limited in their CWHs, while on the other end, Polish and its relatives allow free WH-coordination in CWHs. An intuitive explanation for this crosslinguistic variation might be multiple-WH fronting – English prohibits multiple-WH fronting, while Polish allows it. This paper argues for a different source of variation, however: Argument WH-expressions may only occur in a CWH if they may be null (*ex. pro*-dropped or implicit) in the main clause.

I begin by comparing the availability of CWHs across languages, finding a correlation between *pro*-drop and the availability of CWH. English, having no *pro*-drop, does not allow arguments in CWHs – ADJ & ADJ is acceptable (1a), but not ARG & ADJ (1b) or ARG & ARG (1c). These facts can be illustrated through ellipsis (fully in (1a) and abbreviated below) [1] although they are also compatible with multidominance analyses [2] of CWHs. In (1a), the English ADJ & ADJ is underlyingly multiclausal, composed of two grammatical single-WH questions, whereas ARG & ADJ in (1b) and ARG & ARG in (1c) underlyingly contain one or two ungrammatical single-WH questions, making the entire CWH ungrammatical.

- (1) (a) When and where is the party?
 [When₁ [is the party *t*₁]] and [where₂ [is the party *t*₂]]
 [When₁ [~~is the party *t*₁~~]] and [where₂ [is the party *t*₂]]
 (b) *Who and when bought the gift?
 [Who₁ [*t*₁ bought the gift]] and *[when₂ [bought the gift *t*₂]]
 (c) *Who and what bought?
 *[Who₁ [*t*₁ bought]] and *[when₂ [bought *t*₂]]

The equivalent strings in Polish are entirely grammatical, due to Polish being a subject and object *pro*-drop language. Polish allows ADJ & ADJ (2a), ARG & ADJ (SUBJ & ADJ (2b) and OBJ & ADJ (2c)), and ARG & ARG (2d) CWHs.

- (2) (a) Gdzie i kiedy jest impreza?
 [Gdzie₁ [jest impreza *t*₁]] i [kiedy₂ [jest impreza *t*₂]]
 where be.3SG.PRS party *t* and when be.3SG.PRS party *t*
 'Where and when is the party?'
 (b) Kto i kiedy kupił piłkę?
 [Kto₁ [*t*₁ kupił piłkę]] i [kiedy₂ [*pro*₁ kupił piłkę *t*₂]]
 who *t* buy.3SG.PST ball.ACC and when *pro* buy.3SG.PST ball.ACC *t*
 'Who and when bought the ball?'
 (c) Co i kiedy kupił Adam?
 [Co₁ [kupił Adam *t*₁]] i [kiedy₂ [kupił Adam *pro*₁ *t*₂]]
 what buy.3SG.PST Adam.NOM *t* and when buy.3SG.PST Adam.NOM *pro* *t*
 'What and when did Adam buy?'
 (d) Kto i co kupił?
 [Kto₁ [*t*₁ kupił *pro*₂]] i [co₂ [*pro*₁ kupił *t*₂]]
 who *t* buy.3SG.PST *pro* and what *pro* buy.3SG.PST *t*
 'Who and what bought?'

The facts about English and Polish are well known, but new to the discussion on CWHs are the following facts about Italian. Italian is a subject (but not object) *pro*-drop language, and allows ADJ & ADJ and SUBJ & ADJ (3a), but not OBJ & ADJ (3b) or ARG & ARG (3c). What makes Italian a particularly interesting test-case is that it is known not to allow multiple-WH questions at all [3]. If the availability of CWHs were dependent on multiple-WH fronting, Italian

should not allow CWHs at all, but this is not the case.

- (3) (a) Chi e quando he mangiato l'ultima fetta di pizza?
 who and when have.3SG.PST eat.PRT last piece of pizza
 'Who and when ate the last piece of pizza?'
 (b) *Che cosa e quando hai comprato?
 what thing and when have.2SG.PST buy.PRT
 'What and when did you buy?'
 (c) *Chi e che cosa ha comprato?
 who and what thing have.2SG.PST buy.3SG.PRT
 'Who and what bought?'

Having discussed the availability of CWHs across languages and having found a correlation with *pro*-drop, we now turn to the availability of CWHs within a given language, looking at a different kind of null argument: implicit arguments. If the availability of argument WH-expressions in CWHs has something to do with the ability to not have a that argument overtly in the main clause, then we expect *eat*-type verbs that take implicit arguments to allow OBJ & ADJ. These facts have been observed for English (4a,b) [4],[3], which allows OBJ & ADJ with verbs that take implicit arguments but not with other verbs. And it is also the case for Italian, which usually only allows SUBJ & ADJ, but allows OBJ & ADJ if the verb takes an implicit argument (5a,b). This is obviously the case for Polish, which has free WH-coordination.

- (4)(a) What and when did you eat? (b) *What and when did you buy?
 (5)(a) Che cosa e quando hai mangiato (b) *Che cosa e quando hai comprato
 what thing and when have.2SG.PST eat.PRT what thing and when have.2SG.PST buy.PRT
 'What and when did you eat?' 'What and when did you buy?'

	English (no <i>pro</i> -drop)	Italian (subj <i>pro</i> -drop)	Polish (subj and obj <i>pro</i> -drop)
ADJ & ADJ	✓	✓	✓
ARG & ADJ		✓ SUBJ & ADJ	✓
ARG & ARG			✓
ARG & ADJ (OBJ & ADJ <i>eat</i>)	✓	✓	✓

The CWH facts can be summarized in the above table. If the availability of CWHs were tied to multiple-WH fronting, this table would look much different: English, which does not allow multiple-WH fronting, should not allow CWHs; and Italian, which does not allow multiple-WH questions at all, should not even be part of the discussion. We thus see that *pro*-drop and implicit arguments both license CWHs with argument WH-expressions. This raises an important question: Implicit arguments and *pro*-drop are not syntactically the same, especially when one takes into account the different kinds of implicit arguments taken by different verbs; what *pro*-drop and all these implicit arguments have in common is being phonologically null. Is it, then, that they they equally license CWHs because the syntax really just cares about 'silence', or can we find some syntactic commonality between these different kinds of phonologically null arguments that licenses CWHs? This is a subject for further work in the area of CWHs.

Selected References: [1] Giannakidou, A. and J. Merchant, 1998. Reverse sluicing in English and Greek. *The Linguistic Review* 15: 233-256. [2] Gracanin-Yukse, Martina. 2007. About sharing. Doctoral dissertation, MIT. [3] Rizzi, L. 1978. "Violations of the Wh-Island Constraint in Italian and the Subjacency Condition." [4] Whitman, Neal. 2002. What and How We Can Learn from Mixed-Wh Interrogatives. Paper presented at CLS, University of Chicago.

On Mood Shift and Narrow V2 in Icelandic

(Hans-Martin Gärtner, RIL-HAS Budapest)

Following Jónsson (1996:39; cf. Vikner 1995,fn.7), I will assume that it makes sense to distinguish – perhaps as extreme ends on a scale (Hrafnbjargarson & Wiklund 2009) – two varieties of Icelandic, which differ wrt licensing environments for dependent (aka embedded) V2. Icelandic A has what I will call "broad V2" (BV2) in that its speakers accept dependent (non-subject initial) V2 in, among others, environments like the complement of "non-assertive" predicates like *doubt*, (1) (Rögnvaldsson & Thráinsson 1990:23), and *not expect* (Angantýsson 2011:123) and initial adjunct clauses like (2) (Magnússon 1990).

- (1) *Jón efast um [að [á morgun fari María snemma á fætur]]*
 "John doubts that Mary will get up early tomorrow"
 (2) *[Fyrst [hurðina getum við ekki opnað]] verðum við að brjóta gluggan*
 "Since we can't open the door, we must break the window."

Icelandic B patterns with Mainland Scandinavian (cf., e.g., Andersson 1975; Vikner 1995) and German (cf., e.g., Reis 1997), in disallowing such cases. It thus has "narrow V2" (NV2).

Based on evidence provided, among others, by Angantýsson (2011:120) and Óladóttir (2011), I will assume that the BV2/NV2 divide is a symptom of an ongoing – presumably age related – reorganization of the distribution and function of verbal moods in Icelandic. Thus, note that in all the "controversial" BV2 examples, it is verbal mood that independently signals the speaker's stance toward the information conveyed. In (1) and (2), for example, subjunctive *fari* and indicative *getum* mark that the speaker isn't/is committed to the proposition the verb is part of. That mood marking in Icelandic is an alternative to disambiguation via dependent V2 is already clear from cases like (3), discussed by Sigurðsson (1990:327), here viewed in the light of the familiar German pattern in (4)(cf. Wegener 1993).

- (3) *Jón fór ekki af því að hann var/væri reiður*
 (4) a. *Hans ist nicht gegangen, [weil er verärgert war]*
 "John didn't leave because he was angry"
 b. *Hans ist nicht gegangen, [weil [er war verärgert]]*
 "John didn't leave, and that's because he was angry"

As the translations show, V2 inside the adjunct clause conveys the speaker's commitment to having been angry. This is what indicative *var* does in Icelandic. Verb-final order in German, (4b), is ambiguous between this reading and a construal where being angry is not the reason for having left. The latter, which implies lack of speaker commitment, is what subjunctive *væri* in Icelandic signals unambiguously. The claim of this presentation will be that verbal mood in Icelandic A can outrank V2 as marker of speaker (non-)commitment, which surfaces as the extended distribution of dependent V2 clauses, i.e., BV2.

Traditionally, the shift from BV2 in Old Norse to NV2 in Mainland Scandinavian has been linked to loss of V°-to-I° (Vikner 1995:161) closely related to loss of "rich" agreement (Agr in I°)(Holmberg & Platzack 1995:3.4). Since this does not seem to be an option in accounting for the shift from Icelandic A to Icelandic B – data from Angantýsson (2011:188f.) suggests that it is the Icelandic BV2 speakers who allow some "medial" Adv-V_{fin} orders – it will be assumed here that we are dealing with a shift in the grammatical status of verbal mood. The following provides a rough sketch of how to implement this.

- (5) specifies assumptions made for both Icelandic A and B.
 (5) a. [+ V°-to-I°] b. optional CP-recursion
 c. V°-to-C° is triggered by C° carrying the feature ILL
 (ILL determines an illocution type {ASS, ERO, DIR, OPT, ...})

- (6) states the crucial difference between Icelandic A and Icelandic B.
- (6) a. I° of Icelandic A contains a "dominant" mood feature M
 b. I° of Icelandic B contains a "non-dominant" mood feature M
- (7) states two crucial properties of "dominant" mood.
- (7) a. When moved to C° (with V_{fin}), M optionally overwrites ILL
 b. Without "ILL-support," M in C requires external licensing

As a result of (5)–(7), we can derive the desired patterns: without V°-to-C°, we get standard (subject-initial, V°-in-I°) subordinate clauses. With V°-to-C° there are the three cases in (8). "Main Clause Derivative Interpretation" (MCDI) (cf. Holmberg & Platzack 1995:86) is a shorthand for whatever is common to the function of clauses with illocutionary force (potential) in isolation and in dependent position.

- (8) a. ILL / M: +MCDI (Icelandic B) = NV2
 b. ILL / M: +MCDI (Icelandic A) } = BV2
 c. --- / M: -MCDI (Icelandic A) }

CPs carrying ILL are the familiar root or dependent root clauses. CPs carrying just M are the "quirky" root-like dependent V2 clauses of Icelandic A like (1).

Building on work by Truckenbrodt (2006a; 2006b) and Lohnstein (2000), precise principles for the interaction of ILL and M/M can be formulated. Thus, root subjunctives will usually restrict the illocution type to DIR or OPT. In addition to making these rules explicit, the presentation will explore consequences of making richer assumptions about the clausal left periphery and the licensing of "main clause phenomena" (cf., e.g., Haegeman 2012). Likewise I will speculate on the influence of a shift from dominant to non-dominant verbal mood in the development of Mainland Scandinavian NV2 in the light of recent work by Nordström (2011). In particular, the possibility of restricting possession of M to individual auxiliaries or modals has the potential of accounting for NV2/BV2-hybrids (Hrafnbjargarson 2008) and linking up to the "bigger picture" (Lühr 1994).

References

- Andersson, Lars-Gunnar. 1975. "Form and Function of Subordinate Clauses." Ph.D. Dissertation, Göteborg. •
 Angantýsson, Ásgrímur. 2011. "The Syntax of Embedded Clauses in Icelandic and Related Languages." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Iceland. •
 Haegeman, Liliane. 2012. *Adverbial Clauses, Main Clause Phenomena, and the Composition of the Left Periphery*. Oxford: OUP. •
 Holmberg, Anders, and Christer Platzack. 1995. *The Role of Inflection in Scandinavian Syntax*. Oxford: OUP. •
 Hrafnbjargarson, Gunnar Hrafn. 2008. "Liberalizing Modals and Floating Clause Boundaries." *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 82:103-30. •
 Hrafnbjargarson, Gunnar Hrafn, and Anna-Lena Wiklund. 2009. "General Embedded V2: Icelandic A, B, C etc." *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 84:21-51. •
 Jónsson, Jóhannes Gíslí. 1996. "Clausal Architecture and Case in Icelandic." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Massachusetts at Amherst. •
 Lohnstein, Horst. 2000. *Satzmodus - kompositionell*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag. •
 Lühr, Rosemarie. 1994. "Zur Konkurrenz von Konjunktiv und Modalverbgefügen im älteren Deutsch." *Nordlyd* 22:116-41. •
 Magnússon, Friðrik. 1990. "Kjarnafærsla og það-Innskot í Aukasetningum í Íslensku." M.A. thesis; University of Reykjavík. •
 Nordström, Jackie. 2011. "Konjunktiv i fornsvenska *at*-satser." *Språk och stil* 21:171-98. •
 Óladóttir, Hulda. 2011. "Notkun Viðtengingarháttar í Nútímaíslensku." BA Thesis, Háskóli Íslands. •
 Reis, Marga. 1997. "Zum syntaktischen Status unselbständiger Verbzweit Sätze." Pp. 121-44 in *Sprache im Fokus*, edited by Christa Dürscheid. Tübingen: Niemeyer. •
 Rögnvaldsson, Eiríkur, and Höskuldur Thráinsson. 1990. "On Icelandic Word Order Once More." Pp. 3-40 in *Syntax and Semantics 24*, edited by Joan Maling and Annie Zaenen. New York: Academic Press. •
 Sigurðsson, Halldór. 1990. "Long-Distance Reflexives and Moods in Icelandic." Pp. 309-46 in *Syntax and Semantics 24: Modern Icelandic Syntax*, edited by Joan Maling and Annie Zaenen. New York: Academic Press. •
 Truckenbrodt, Hubert. 2006a. "On the Semantic Motivation of Syntactic Verb Movement to C in German." *Theoretical Linguistics* 32:257-306. •
 —. 2006b. "Replies to the Comments by Gärtner, Plunze and Zimmermann, Portner, Potts, Reis, and Zaefferer." *Theoretical Linguistics* 32:387-410. •
 Vikner, Sten. 1995. *Verb Movement and Expletive Subjects in the Germanic Languages*. Oxford: OUP. •
 Wegener, Heide. 1993. "Weil - Das hat schon seinen Grund: Zur Verbstellung in Kausalsätzen mit 'weil' im gegenwärtigen Deutsch." *Deutsche Sprache* 21:289-305.

Optional expletives in Radical Null Subject Languages and the syntax of Specificity

Ciro Greco, Trang Phan and Liliane Haegeman
Ghent University

[1] Null Subject Languages taxonomy. Languages have been showed to vary with respect to the possibility of omitting subjects. It has been proposed that (at least) five subcases can be distinguished (Biberauer, Holmberg & Roberts 2010):

- (1) a. *Non-NLS* - Subjects cannot be dropped (e.g. English);
- b. *Semi NSL* – Expletive subjects can be dropped (German, Dutch);
- c. *Partial NSL* – Some, but not all (e.g. 3rd pers), referential subjects can be dropped (e.g. Finnish, Hebrew);
- d. *Consistent NSL* – Referential subjects can be generally dropped (e.g. Italian, Spanish);
- e. *Radical NSL* – Referential subjects and objects can be dropped in absence of inflectional morphology (e.g. Chinese, Japanese).

[2] Expletives in NSLs. In the traditional view, expletives are grammatical devices employed to satisfy the EPP (Chomsky 1982, 1995) and are not required where the EPP can be satisfied by means of alternative strategies (Rizzi 1982, 1986b; Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1998, Saito 2007). In this perspective, NSLs are expected to employ expletives in configurations where the satisfaction of the EPP through other strategies is forbidden. TAs a consequence, the distribution of expletives across languages has been claimed to vary with respect to the restrictions on subject drop: non-NSLs make extensive use of expletives; semi and partial NSLs display hybrid patterns depending on the restrictions on subject drop imposed by a certain type of languages (Holmberg & Nikanne 2002, Holmberg 2005, Biberauer 2010); consistent and radical NSLs languages do not to require expletives. **[3] New data.** Vietnamese is a radical NSL, with no inflectional morphology and free argument drop under the right discourse circumstances:

- (2) a. Mary thích Tom. Và Ø cũng thích Peter.
Mary like Tom And Ø also like Peter
'*Mary likes Tom. (She=Mary) also likes Peter.*'
- b. Mary thích Tom. Nhưng Peter không thích Ø.
Mary like Tom But Peter NEG like Ø
'*Mary likes Tom. But Tom does not like (him = Tom).*'

Unexpectedly, in spoken Vietnamese the 3rd person singular pronoun *nó* optionally occurs in configurations which paradigmatically require expletives, such as weather sentences (3a), existential structures (3b) and verb-initialthetic structures (3c) (see also Dao 2012):

- (3) a. (Nó) mưa bây giờ đây
NÓ rain now PRT
'*It rains now.*'
- b. (Nó) không có cái bút nào trên bàn
NÓ NEG exist CLS pen any on table
'*There isn't any pen on the table.*'

- c. (Nó) cháy cái nhà kho
 NÓ burnt CLS house store
 ‘A warehouse burned.’

The presence of an overt expletive subject comes as strongly unexpected in a radical NSL where subject drop is always allowed. In this paper, we will address the question whether *nó* can be considered as a genuine expletive subject in (3). **[4] Unexpected properties of *nó* as an expletive.** As last-resort devices employed to satisfy the EPP, expletives appear consistently when required, either in non-NSLs or in semi and partial NSLs (e.g. Finnish; Holmberg & Nikanne 2002). Differently, *nò* appears to be optional in all the sentences in (3). Furthermore, whereas expletives are commonly considered semantically empty (Rothstein 1983), *nó* can provide interpretative contribution to the clause in which it is inserted. For instance, in existential sentences, the presence of *nó* turns what would be a generic statement into a statement about a specific context:

- (4) a. Không có ma
 NEG exist ghost
 ‘Ghost does not exist.’
 b. Nó không có ma
 NÓ NEG exist ghost
 ‘Speaking of a certain place/time, there are no ghosts in there/at that time.’

We argue that these facts indicate that *nó* does not perform the same functions that expletives usually do. In particular, the semantic content of *nó* suggests that this element has a discourse-related function. **[5] The proposal.** We propose that the presence of *nó* in (3) activates a functional projection that encodes specificity (see Kiss 1996). In existential sentences asserting the existence of a (set of) individual(s) as in (4), the specificity requirement constraints the denotation of the (set of) individual(s) to some previously determined domain of quantification. This account for the fact that *nó* cannot receive a generic interpretation in (4). In addition, we will show that the presence of *nò* induces the presence of a retrievable relation linking eventualities to some familiar set present in the discourse context in the sentences in (3). We will assume that these sentences introduce a variable over eventualities at the VP-level, which undergoes existential closure at the IP-level (Rothstein 2001). We then propose that the functional projection activated by *nó* introduces a specificity requirement which constrains the assignment of the denotation of the TP through an acquaintance relation (Enç 1991, Farkas 2002). We will also argue that this use of the pronoun *nó* follows from its featural composition and can be framed in terms of impoverished feature content. We will show that, in its referential uses, *nó* bears only a vacuous 3_{rd} person feature and a definiteness feature. **[6] Conclusion.** In this paper we discuss a number of contexts in which the referential pronoun *nò* shows expletive-like behaviour. We will show that, despite the initial appearances, in these cases *nó* cannot be considered a true expletive subject. Rather, the optional presence of *nó* in structures where expletives are usually required can be analysed as the activation of a functional projection whose semantic contribution is the introduction of a specificity requirement. In this perspective, the presence of *nó* no longer poses a problem within the taxonomy of NSLs, since it is related to the instantiation of a scope-discourse element, rather than to the satisfaction of the EPP.

Selected References: Alexiadou, A. and E. Anagnostopoulou. (1998). Parametrizing AGR: word order, V- movement and EPP checking. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 16. //Biberauer T., A. Holmberg & I. Roberts (2010). *Parametric Variation: Null Subjects in Minimalist Theory*. Cambridge University Press.// Biberauer T. (2010). Semi null-subject languages, expletives and expletive pro reconsidered. In: Biberauer T., A. Holmberg & I. Roberts (2010). //Chomsky, N. (1982). *Some Concepts and Consequences of the Theory of Binding*. Cambridge, MA. Chomsky, N. 1995. The Minimalist Program. MIT Press.//Dao, H.L. (2012). Intransitivité scindée, passif et sujet impersonnel en vietnamien. In: Radimský, J. (ed.). *Actes du 31e Colloque International sur le Lexique et la Grammaire*, //Holmberg, A. (2010). “Null subject parameters”. In: Biberauer T., A. Holmberg & I. Roberts (2010) // Kiss, K. (1996). “Two subject positions in English”. *The Linguistic Review* 13:119-142. //Roberts, I. & Holmberg, A. (2010). Introduction. In: Biberauer T., A. Holmberg & I. Roberts (2010). //Rizzi L. (1982). *Issues in Italian syntax*. Dordrecht: Foris. //Rizzi L. (1986a). Null objects in Italian and the theory of pro. *Linguistic Inquiry* 17. Rothstein, S. (1983). *The Syntactic Forms of Predication*. PhD, MIT. //Rothstein, S. (2001). *Predicates and their Subjects*. Dordrecht: Kluwer. //Saito, M. (2007). Notes on East Asian argument ellipsis. *Language Research* 43. //Enç, M. (1991). “The semantics of specificity”. *Linguistic Inquiry* 22(1): 1–25.

Pushing the Boundaries: Idioms and Phases in Dutch dialects and English

William Harwood & Tanja Temmerman – KU Leuven

1. Summary This paper starts out from Svenonius' (2005) claim that idioms are constrained by phases. We focus on how such idioms can be used as a diagnostic for phasehood, and how such data demonstrate that the size of the clause-internal phase varies cross-linguistically. We demonstrate that, when comparing data from Dutch and its dialects to English, there is cross-linguistic variation with respect to the size of idioms, and therefore, by extension, the size of the clause-internal phase. This provides support for the claim that phases are *dynamic*, variable, and flexible across languages.

2. Background An idiom is an expression with a non-compositional interpretation: its meaning is not simply predictable from the literal meaning of its parts. A canonical example is *kick the bucket* ('to die'), the meaning of which has nothing to do with either kicking or buckets. Crucially, if any of the parts are altered, the figurative interpretation is lost: neither *kick the can* nor *knock the bucket* means 'to die'.

It has long been noted (cf. e.g. Chomsky, 1980; Marantz, 1984) that verbal idioms are typically comprised of the verbal predicate and its arguments: *bite the dust* (DP-theme), *come to the point* (PP-goal), *all hell breaks loose* (DP-theme subject). Svenonius (2005) observes that although verbal idioms can co-occur with other syntactic material, such as aspect, modality, tense, or voice, the idiomatic interpretation is never dependent on the presence of these items. Thus, with regard to the size of a verbal idiom, there seems to be a strict separation between the vP and TP domain: a verb does not form an idiom with material generated outside of the vP domain. This has led Svenonius (2005) to claim that the size/boundary of idioms is constrained by phases (postulated for independent reasons in Chomsky 2000, 2001): an idiom can be smaller than the phasal domain, but can never be larger than it.

3. Data However, in recent literature, it has been noted that certain idioms *are* reliant on additional syntactic material. A number of fixed expressions depend on passive voice (cf. Bowers, 2010):

- (1) a. He was bowled over by her response. = He was surprised by her response.
 b. # Her response bowled him over. ≠ Her response surprised him.

Moreover, we show that many idioms exist in English that are dependent on progressive aspect:

- (2) a. Bob is shitting bricks. = Bob is extremely scared.
 b. # Bob shat bricks. ≠ Bob was extremely scared.

Despite extensive research, however, there appear to be no real idioms in English that are dependent on perfect aspect, modality or tense (cf. Harwood 2014 for discussion of (only) apparent counterexamples). Thus, in English, it seems that the progressive aspect layer constitutes the "upper boundary" of verbal idioms.

It should not be surprising that in Dutch and its dialects quite a number of verbal idioms reliant on passive voice and progressive aspect are attested:

- (3) a. *van 'n éizel op kèiremis beschéite wèrre* [Dendermonde Dutch]
 of the donkey on fair shat become
 'become pregnant' (lit. 'be shat on by a donkey at the fair')
 b. # *'n éizel beschéit éir op kèiremis* ≠ 'she became pregnant'
 the donkey shat her on fair
- (4) a. *Hij zit en deuntje te make.* [Goesbeek Dutch]
 he sits a tune to make
 'He's crying.' (lit. 'he's sitting making a tune')
 b. *Hij maakt en deuntje.*
 he makes a tune
 'He's cheating.' (lit. 'he makes a tune')

Note that, interestingly, the non-progressive counterpart of (4a) in (4b) also has an idiomatic interpretation, but the meaning is completely different.

(Dialectal) Dutch idiomatic expressions differ from English idioms, however, in that they can also be dependent on perfect aspect and modality. When perfect aspect is absent, the sentence in (5) loses its figurative interpretation, as does the sentence in (6) when the modal *kunnen* ‘can’ is absent.

- (5) a. *Z'heit teigen den hoek van een ronne tafel geloeipen.* [Aalst Dutch]
 she-has against the corner of a round table run
 ‘She’s pregnant and she doesn’t know who the father is.’
 (lit. ‘she has run against the corner of a round table’)
- b. # *Ze liep teigen den hoek van een ronne tafel.* ≠ ‘she was/is pregnant’
 she ran against the corner of a round table
- (6) a. *Hij kan geen veer van de mond blazen.* [Standard Dutch]
 he can no feather of the mouth blow
 ‘he is very poor’ (lit. ‘he cannot blow a feather from his mouth’)
- b. # *Hij blaast geen veer van de mond.* ≠ ‘he is very poor’
 he blows no feather from the mouth

Despite extensive research, there appear to be no idioms in Dutch that are dependent on particular tense forms. Thus it can be concluded that, in Dutch and its dialects, the modal layer constitutes the “upper boundary” of verbal idioms.

4. Analysis If verbal idioms are indeed constrained by the size of the clause-internal phase, then the data above implies that the clause-internal phase in English extends as far as the progressive layer, and as far as the modal layer in Dutch and its dialects. This subsequently means that phases are not rigid and absolute, as Chomsky (2001) claims, but rather are flexible across languages and perhaps context sensitive, as proposed in the dynamic phase approach (cf. Bobaljik & Wurmbrand 2005; Boskovic 2014; Harwood 2014).

In order to formally explain the variation we claim, as per Harwood (2014), that phases are determined by their sub-numerations, but that the phase does not project until the last item from the sub-numeration is merged, *irrespective of what that item is*. This denies vP of its exclusivity as the clause-internal phase, and allows other layers to project the phase when present. The difference between English and Dutch then arises from parametric variation with regards to what can be included in each of the sub-numerations of the clause: in English, progressive aspect constitutes part of the first sub-numeration of the clause, and so projects the phase when it is merged. Perfect aspect and modality, however, constitute part of the second sub-numeration and so are not included within the clause-internal phase. In Dutch, on the other hand, modality and perfect aspect *are* included in the first sub-numeration of the clause. Therefore these syntactic items are subsequently included within the clause-internal phase when they are merged onto the clausal spine.

5. Supporting evidence Our claims can be backed up by using evidence from VP ellipsis, VP fronting and existential constructions. It has been claimed that these phenomena privilege the clause-internal phase (Gengel 2007; Holmberg 2001; Chomsky 2001, 2005). We will demonstrate for English that said phenomena target as much as the progressive aspectual layer, and as much as the modal layer in Dutch, implying, once again, that the clause-internal phase in English extends as far as progressive aspect, and as far as modality in Dutch.

References Bobaljik, J. & S. Wurmbrand. 2005. The domain of agreement. *NLLT* 23. 809-865 • Boskovic, Z. 2014. Now I’m a phase, now I’m not a phase: on the variability of phases with extraction and ellipsis. *LI* 45. 27-89 • Bowers, J. 2010. *Arguments as Relations*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press • Chomsky, N. 1980. *Rules and Representations*. New York: Columbia University Press • Chomsky, N. 2001. Derivation by phase. In M. Kenstowicz (ed.), *Ken Hale: a life in language*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. 1-52 • Chomsky, N. 2005. On phases. In R. Freidin, C. Otero & M. Zubizarreta (eds.), *Foundational issues in linguistic theory: essays in honor of Jean Roger Vergnaud*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. 133-166 • Gengel, K. 2007. Phases and ellipsis. In *Proceedings of NELS 37*. Amherst, GLSA: University of Massachusetts • Harwood, W. 2014. Being progressive is just a phase: celebrating the uniqueness of progressive aspect under a phase-based analysis. *NLLT*. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11049-014-9267-3> • Holmberg, A. 2001. The syntax of yes and no in Finnish. *Studia Linguistica* 55. 140-174 • Marantz, A. 1984. On the nature of grammatical relations. *LI* 10 • Svenonius, P. 2005. Extending the extension condition to discontinuous idioms. *Linguistic Variation Yearbook* 5. 227-263

Transitivity alternations in North Sámi

Marit Julien, Lund University

Introduction In this talk, I define “transitivity alternations” as pairs of semantically closely related verbs, one of which is intransitive and takes an undergoer (theme or patient) argument, while the other is transitive and takes an agent argument as subject and the undergoer argument as object (cf. e.g. Haspelmath 1987, Schäfer 2009). Verb pairs with these properties have been much debated in the linguistic literature, and a central question is how the two verbs in a pair are related derivationally: is one verb derived from the other, so the latter is structurally contained in the former, or are the two verbs derived from the same base?

In English, the two verbs in a transitivity alternation pair are often morphologically identical, that is, it involves a labile verb in the terminology of Haspelmath (1987). English is however exceptional in having many labile verbs (cf. Haspelmath 1993). In other languages, the two verbs in a transitivity alternation pair are often distinguished morphologically. In North Sámi, the language that I will focus on, there are no labile verbs at all. All transitivity alternations are reflected in the verb forms, although it is not done in the same way for all verb pairs. In some pairs the transitive verb is morphologically more marked than the intransitive verb, while in other pairs it appears to be the other way round. There are also pairs where both verbs are marked to the same degree but with different suffixes, in addition to pairs where the two verbs are built on different roots.

A closer investigation of North Sámi leads to rejection of the view that all alternating verbs are basically causative, as claimed e.g. by Levin & Rappaport Hovav (1995), and also of the analysis proposed by Alexiadou et al. (2006), according to which the two verbs in a transitivity alternation pair are never derivationally related. I am not claiming, though, that the patterns found in North Sámi necessarily are universal. My ambition is more limited – I want to show that certain claims to universality do not hold.

Causatives Some causatives in North Sámi are arguably formed by merging a root with a causative verbaliser, which then replaces the verbaliser found in the corresponding unaccusative verb. In (1), we note that the adjectives and the inchoative verbs have different theme vowels, which suggests that the theme vowels represent a and v heads. More specifically, the *-u-* seen in the inchoative verbs represents an inchoative v_{BECOME} verbaliser (while *-t* is the infinitival marker). In the causative verbs, the suffixed *-d-* represents the causative verbaliser, while the vowel preceding the *-d-* is an epenthetic vowel.

(1)	ADJ (SG NOM)	INCHOATIVE VERB	CAUSATIVE VERB
a.	<i>hálbi</i> ‘cheap’	<i>hálbut</i> ‘get cheap(er)’	<i>hálbbedit</i> ‘reduce the price (of)’
b.	<i>stuoris</i> ‘big’	<i>stuurrut</i> ‘become big(ger)’	<i>stuuridit</i> ‘enlarge’

However, from some roots another causative verb can be formed, one that morphologically and semantically (the causer is less directly involved with the causee) appears to contain the inchoative verb, as shown in (2):

(2)	INCHOATIVE VERB	CAUSATIVE VERB
a.	<i>hálbut</i> ‘get cheap(er)’	<i>hálbudit</i> ‘cause to become cheaper’
b.	<i>stuurrut</i> ‘become big(ger)’	<i>stuurrudit</i> ‘cause to become big(ger)’

If we add to this the observation that North Sámi also can form causatives from structures that contain an agent argument and consequently also a Voice head, we can conclude that North Sámi has all the three causative types identified by Pykkänen (2002): the phase-selecting causative, the verb-selecting causative and the root-selecting causative.

Anticausatives In other transitivity alternation pairs in North Sámi, the intransitive verb appears to be more marked than the transitive verb. Some examples are shown in (3):

(3) INTRANSITIVE VERB	TRANSITIVE VERB
a. <i>cuovkanit</i> ‘break, become broken’	<i>cuovkut</i> ‘break’
b. <i>luovvanit</i> ‘loosen, get loose’	<i>luvvet</i> ‘loosen, undo’
c. <i>rahpasit</i> ‘open’	<i>rahpat</i> ‘open’
d. <i>čiktásit</i> ‘happen to be mended’	<i>čiktit</i> ‘mend (of fishing net)’

Concerning the intransitive verbs marked with *-n-*, I follow Vinka (2002) and conclude that this marker is just an allomorph of the inchoative verbaliser (many of these verbs are clearly related to adjectives). The *-s-*marked intransitive verbs are however different. Although traditionally taken to be passives, they differ from ordinary passives in their inability to license purpose clauses. With Vinka I take the licensing of purpose clauses to indicate the presence of a Voice head. The *-s-*marked verbs involve no Voice head. Their semantics suggests that they are what Pylkkänen (2002) calls unaccusative causatives, having Caus but lacking Voice, and consequently no external argument, so that the cause is not specified. The *-s-* is thus the phonological realisation of a Caus head that is not immediately embedded under a Voice head, while with the Voice head added, the Caus head gets a vocalic realisation in combination with the roots in (3), as seen in the transitive verbs. Thus, the transitive verbs are only apparently less marked than the intransitive verbs.

Equipollent alternations Since unaccusative verbs as well as causative verbs can involve a consonantal suffix, it is not very surprising that there are transitivity pairs where both members have a consonantal suffix, as in (4) (*-it* is infinitive). This is just a matter of allomorphy.

(4) INTRANSITIVE VERB	TRANSITIVE VERB
a. <i>allánit</i> ‘get higher, rise’	<i>alidit</i> ‘make higher, promote’
b. <i>hedjonit</i> ‘get weaker, get worse’	<i>heajudit</i> ‘make worse’
c. <i>heavvanit</i> ‘drown’	<i>heavahit</i> ‘drown’
d. <i>jorggihit</i> ‘turn’	<i>jorgalit</i> ‘turn’

Conclusions Despite the morphological variation, all the intransitive verbs that take part in transitivity alternation in North Sámi have the same underlying structure: they are made up of a root plus an intransitive verbaliser. Verbs built on roots that imply external causation or an unspecified cause, in the classification of Alexiadou et al. (2006), have causative counterparts, and so have some verbs built on roots that typically imply internal causation but also allow external causation, such as ‘grow’ and ‘wilt’. Some of these causatives embed an unaccusative verb, while others are built directly from the root. Many agentive transitive verbs have unaccusative causative alternants. Despite appearances, there are no real anticausatives, which means that anticausative cannot be a universal category.

Alexiadou, Artemis, Elena Anagnostopoulou & Florian Schäfer. 2006. The properties of anticausatives crosslinguistically. In Mara Frascarelli (ed.) *Phases of Interpretation*, 187–211. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin.

Haspelmath, Martin. 1987. *Transitivity alternations of the anticausative type. Arbeitspapier 5 (Neue Folge)*. Institut für Sprachwissenschaft, Universität zu Köln.

Haspelmath, Martin. 1993. More on the typology of inchoative/causative verb alternations. In Bernard Comrie & Maria Polinsky (eds.) *Causatives and Transitivity*, 87–120. John Benjamins, Amsterdam.

Levin, Beth & Malka Rappaport Hovav. 1995. *Unaccusativity: At the Syntax – Lexical Semantics Interface*. MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.

Pylkkänen, Liina. 2002. *Introducing Arguments*. Doctoral dissertation. MIT.

Schäfer, Florian. 2009. The causative alternation. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 3:2, 641–681.

Vinka, Mikael. 2002. *Causativization in North Sámi*. Doctoral dissertation, McGill University.

Deletion of φ Ps in Old Norwegian

Kari Kinn, University of Oslo

In this paper I propose a new analysis of null arguments in Old Norwegian (ON), a lesser studied early Northwest Germanic variety. I shall argue that the distribution of ON null arguments indicate that deletion in the sense of Roberts (2010) is at work.

ON exhibits many of the properties typically found in partial null argument languages (NALs) (e.g. Holmberg 2010 and Walkden 2014, 213): It has generic null subjects, and allows objects to be null in addition to subjects. Moreover, null arguments only occur in certain contexts: ON null arguments are practically always 3rd person.¹ This distinguishes ON from a partial NAL like Finnish, where 1st and 2nd person null subjects, but not 3rd person ones, occur freely (Holmberg, 2010), and makes it resemble other early Northwest Germanic languages, which also display a preference for 3rd person null arguments (Walkden, 2014, 211–212).

I shall account for the person asymmetry in ON by combining Déchaine and Wiltschko's (D&W's) (2002) work on pronouns with Roberts' (2010) mechanism of deletion. D&W distinguish between φ P and DP pronouns. The difference between φ Ps and DPs is the presence of a D-feature in the latter, which adds a D-layer that makes the pronoun "demonstrably definite" and enables it to function as a determiner with a noun complement (D&W, 410–411). In ON 1st and 2nd person pronouns seem to be DPs, whereas 3rd person pronouns are φ Ps. The distinction is evidenced by determiner-like properties exhibited by 1st and 2nd person pronouns only: 1st and 2nd person pronouns can take nouns as complements, as in (1). 3rd person pronouns do not take noun complements; if they co-occur with nouns, these nouns function as appositions (Faarlund, 2004, 89–90).

- (1) a. ... *At ver dællir æigum oss ny guð.*
 ... that we dalesmen get ourselves new god
 '... that we dalesmen have a new god.' (The Legendary Saga of St. Óláfr, 7266)
- b. ... *með þui at þit felagar kalleð guð ykcan sva margar iartæignir*
 ... with that that you fellows call god your so many wonders
gera
 do
 '... since you fellows say that your god performs so many wonders.' (The Legendary Saga of St. Óláfr, 7377)

On Roberts' (2010) analysis pronouns whose features are properly included in the features of a Probe may be deleted. I shall argue that in ON, the presence of the D-feature not only enables

¹I base this claim on data from the Menotec corpus, http://www.edd.uio.no:3000/users/sign_in, as well as the observations of Nygaard (1893) .

1st and 2nd person pronouns to function as determiners; it also prevents deletion because DPs are structurally too big to fulfil the requirement of proper inclusion.²

Diachronic evidence in favour of the analysis comes from Modern Norwegian (MN). MN in general does not allow null arguments. Interestingly, the status of 3rd person pronouns also has changed: 3rd person pronouns now exhibit DP properties, and the category φ P thus seems to be lost. This is evidenced by the ability of the 3rd person pronouns *han* 'he' and *hun* 'she' to function as psychologically distal demonstratives (PDDs), as well as preproprial articles, neither of which is found in ON (Johannessen 2008, Dahl 2007). The PDD is typically used to point out a person that either the speaker or the addressee does not know, as *Mikkel* in (2).

- (2) *jeg og Magne vi sykla jo og han Mikkel da*
 I and Magne we cycled yes and he Mikkel then
 'I and Magne and that guy Mikkel we cycled then.' (NoTa, Johannessen 2008)

Since only φ Ps could be deleted in ON, the loss of this pronoun category entailed the loss of null subjects.

References

- Dahl, Ö. (2007). Grammaticalization in the North: Noun Phrase Morphosyntax in Scandinavian Vernaculars. Unpublished manuscript. http://www2.ling.su.se/staff/oesten/downloads/Gram_north.pdf, retrieved 1 Oct 2014.
- Déchainé, R.-M. and Wiltschko, M. (2002). Decomposing pronouns. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 33(3):409–442.
- Faarlund, J. T. (2004). *The syntax of Old Norse: With a survey of the inflectional morphology and a complete bibliography*. Oxford University Press.
- Håkansson, D. (2013). Null referential subjects in the history of Swedish. *Journal of Historical Linguistics*, 3(2):155–191.
- Holmberg, A. (2010). Null subject parameters. In Biberauer, T., Holmberg, A., Roberts, I., and Sheehan, M., editors, *Parametric Variation. Null Subjects in Minimalist Theory*, pages 88–124. Cambridge University Press.
- Johannessen, J. B. (2008). The pronominal psychological demonstrative in Scandinavian: Its syntax, semantics and pragmatics. *Nordic Journal of Linguistics*, 31(2):161–192.
- Lambrecht, K. (1994). *Information structure and sentence form. Topic, focus and the mental representations of discourse referents*. Cambridge University Press.
- Nygaard, M. (1893). Udeladelse af subjekt; ”subjektløse” sætninger i det norrøne sprog (den klassiske sagastil). *Arkiv för nordisk filologi*, 10, ny följd 6(1):1–25.
- Roberts, I. (2010). A deletion analysis of null subjects. In Biberauer, T., Holmberg, A., Roberts, I., and Sheehan, M., editors, *Parametric Variation. Null Subjects in Minimalist Theory*, pages 58–87. Cambridge University Press.
- Walkden, G. (2014). *Syntactic Reconstruction and Proto-Germanic*. Oxford University Press.

²Unlike Håkansson's (2013) analysis of Old Swedish null subjects, my analysis straightforwardly predicts the virtual non-existence of 1st and 2nd person null subjects. As opposed to Walkden (2014), I do not rely on the assumption that null subjects must be aboutness topics; this is an advantage because ON null subjects occur in contexts where an aboutness topic reading is excluded, e.g. in non-subject relatives (Lambrecht, 1994, 130).

The Morphosyntax of Gender and Number: The View from Distributed Morphology

Ruth Kramer, Georgetown University

The gender system of a language is usually determined by inspecting the agreement patterns of its singular nouns. For example, in Amharic, one set of singular nouns appears with the definite determiner *-u*, while the complement of that set appears with the definite determiner *-wa*. Therefore, Amharic has two genders: one with *-u* and one with *-wa*. However, plural nouns do not always make the same cut, i.e., they do not always show the same gender distinctions as singular nouns. For example, in Amharic, all plural nouns appear with *-u*, regardless of which definite determiner they appear with in the singular. This talk aims to investigate two particular types of gender-number relationships from the perspective of Distributed Morphology: convergent gender-number systems and crossed gender-number systems. Both types turn out to have implications for morphological theory, especially on how to draw the line between a morphological phenomenon and a syntactic phenomenon.

A language is convergent when it makes fewer gender distinctions in the plural than in the singular, like Amharic definite determiners. Gender-number convergence often holds across multiple paradigms of a language (Bobaljik 2002, Harley 2008), and I discuss how to distinguish between a morphological analysis of this effect (i.e., as a metasyncretism) and a syntactic analysis (i.e., as a difference in how plural feature bundles are structured). The underspecificational approach to syncretisms in DM also leads to predictions about possible types of convergent systems, and I show that these predictions are confirmed through case studies of three convergent languages: Coptic, Maay and Tamil. In a crossed language, some nouns (appear to) change gender from the singular to the plural, e.g., masculine in the singular and feminine in the plural. I argue that crossed systems are heterogeneous; some are due to morphological idiosyncrasy (e.g., Hebrew), some are due to syntactic properties (e.g., Somali) and some are neither morphological nor syntactic but due to a separate phenomenon entirely (e.g., Romanian). The talk concludes with brief discussion of the accuracy of, and potential explanations for, Greenberg's (1966) Universal 37 that no language makes more gender distinctions in the plural than they do in the singular.

Pro-drop, E-type pronoun, and Agreement

Shigeru Miyagawa, MIT

A number of key observations have been made regarding pro-drop. In the GB era, it was observed that rich agreement licenses pro-drop (Taraldsen 1978, Rizzi 1986). Huang (1991) and Otani & Whitman (1991) noted that some cases of “pro-drop” cannot involve pro because they involve an indefinite expression that allows sloppy interpretation. Oku (1998) argued that these cases of indefinite pronouns are an instance of argument ellipsis instead of pro-drop. He also showed that argument ellipsis does not occur if there is agreement (also Saito 2007); if there is agreement the gap must be pro, as noted in the studies from the GB era. Recently, Duguine (2014) has proposed a unified approach by arguing that all cases of pro-drop are argument ellipsis; she shows that even under agreement, a gap could allow sloppy interpretation, contrary to Oku’s original observation. In this paper I will propose a version of a unified approach in which all instances of “pro-drop” in fact involve pro, thus taking us back to the approach in the GB era. I will argue, following Oikonomou (2014), that an E-type pronoun is responsible for the sloppy interpretation. As I will show, the language that most readily allows the sloppy interpretation via E-type pronoun is a language that does not have agreement, and does not have a determiner. Japanese falls into this class. A language that has agreement and determiner is the most difficult, though not impossible as Duguine showed; Greek and Spanish are examples of this. In between are languages that have agreement but not determiner. I will argue that Chinese, Malayalam and Turkish fall into this mid-range category.

Towards An NP/N'-Substitute Analysis of the Null Argument in Japanese and Korean

Park, Myung-Kwan and Cho, Euiyon (Dongguk University)

1. This paper examines Oku's (1998) and Takahashi's (2011, 2014) ellipsis analysis of the null argument (NA) in Japanese and Korean (J & K), and the licensing condition on it. Oku proposed that the elliptical NA in these languages is literally unrealized in overt syntax, but is reconstructed in covert syntax to meet the 'weak' selectional feature of a verb. Takahashi proposed to attribute the delaying of the structure building for the NA to the absence of agreement/phi-features. Departing from Oku and Takahashi, we explore an alternative analysis of the NA, proposing that it is not a DP-substitute but an NP/N'-substitute. Based on this proposal, we provide an account not only of the reason for the NA and the lack of verbal agreement in J & K, but also of the parametric variation in the availability of the NA.

2. Takahashi (2008: 310) notes that in (1b) of Japanese, the object NA is construed in a different way from the overt object pronoun:

- (1)a. Hanako-ga **taitei-no sensei-o** sonkeisiteiru. b. Taroo-mo [e](=~~taitei-no sensei-o~~)/karera-o sonkeisiteiru.
 Hanako-NOM **most-GEN teacher-ACC** respect Taroo-also **them** respect
 'Hanako respects most teachers.' '(Lit.) Taroo respects [e]/them, too.'

In (1b) the overt object *karera-o* 'them' can be either referential or anaphoric. In the latter construal, where the overt pronoun in (1b) is anaphoric to the object in (1a), it serves as what is called an E-type pronoun. The anaphoric use of object NA in (1b), in contrast, permits another reading in addition to the E-type pronoun interpretation. In this additional reading, the NA is interpreted as another token of *taitei-no sensei-o* 'most teachers.' Takahashi proposes that the NA in (1b) derives from argument ellipsis, where the italicized portion is not constructed in overt syntax but reconstructed as a full-fledged quantifier at covert syntax. Takahashi's analysis crucially hinges on the DP analysis of the NA in Japanese. However, it is not clear whether the nominal expressions formed by the quantifiers like *taitei-no* 'most' in Japanese involve DP. In English, the strong quantifiers like *most* undoubtedly occur in the determiner position. In contrast, in Japanese the nominal expressions formed by the quantifiers like *taitei-no* 'most' seem to be replaced by the NP/N'-substituting expression, as in (2):

- (2) Hanako-wa John-no **2-satu-no/hotondo-no/subete-no** hon-o yonda-kedo, Taroo-wa **Mary-no-(^(?)no)-o** yonda.
 Hanako-Top John-Gen **2-CL-Gen/most-Gen/all-Gen** book-Acc read-but Taroo-Top **Mary-Gen-Acc** read
 '(Lit.) Hanako read John's two books/most/all of John books, but Taroo read Mary's ones.'

One point about (2) is that without the additional *no*, this sentence is acceptable. It is, however, somewhat controversial what syntactic category intervenes between *Mary-no* 'Mary's' and *o* 'Accusative Case marker' in the second conjunct clause of (2). Saito and Murasugi (1990) and Saito et al. (2008) argue that it derives from NP/N'-ellipsis, whereas Okutsu (1974), Li (2011), and Bae (2012) argue that it derives from the suppression of the second occurrence of the anaphoric expression *no* 'one/ones' after *Mary-no* because of haplology. We take the second analysis to be right, because the addition of the anaphoric expression *no* as in (2) does not result in yielding a completely bad sentence. Since haplology is presumably a phonologically governed process, (2) is syntactically right, but it becomes unacceptable phonologically. The other point pertinent to our discussion is that the overt or covert anaphoric *no* after *Mary-no* substitutes for the NP/N' including one of the quantifiers.

To make the point clearer, let's look at the sentence that does not involve haplology, as in (3), adapted

after Maeda and Takahashi (2013):

- (3) Toyota-no diiraa-wa akai *ni-dai-no/hotondo-no/subete-no* kuruma-o utta-kedo, Nissan-no diiraa-wa *aoi no-o* utta
 Toyota-GEN dealer-TOP red two-CL-GEN most-GEN all-GEN car-ACC sold-but, Nissan-GEN dealer-TOP blue ones-ACC sold
 'The Toyota dealer sold red two-CL/most/all cars, but the Nissan dealer sold blue ones.'

In (3) the two adjectives are not attached with the genitive marker *no* when they modify the following nouns. Thus, the expression *no* after the adjective in the second conjunct of (3) is an anaphoric expression that corresponds to the English NP substitute *one/ones*. Note that this anaphoric expression *no* in (3) can mean 'two/most/all cars'. In addition, it is notable that the set of cars sold by the Toyota dealer can be different from the set of cars sold by the Nissan dealer.

3. The lessons we get from this discussion are: First, the quantifiers in J & K are different from those in English. In the latter, strong quantifiers occur in the determiner position, but weak quantifiers behave like adjectives, modifying NPs/N's. In the former, however, both strong and weak quantifiers behave like adjectives, as shown by the fact that they are included by the portion replaced by the NP/N'-replacing anaphoric expression such as *no* in Japanese and *kes* in Korean. Second, the behavior of the quantifiers in J & K provides compelling evidence supporting the NP/N', rather than DP, analysis of these languages (cf. Fukui (1988); Chierchia (1998); Bošković and Gajewski (2010), among others). This means that the kind of quantificational expression in the object position of (1a) is not DP but NP/N'. Thus, the corresponding object NA in (1b) anaphoric to this overt quantificational expression is not DP, but NP/N'.

The possible alternative form substituting for the whole argument NP/N' in these languages is to use the anaphoric expression *no* 'thing' in Japanese or *kes* 'thing' in Korean, which correspond to *one/ones* in English. However, these expressions in J & K (as well as English) are syntactically incomplete/dependent nouns, which cannot occur alone without being aided by the preceding expressions like a demonstrative or adjective. Thus, when the whole NP/N' that the speaker construes as definite is substituted for, the corresponding substituting expression will be either the overtly realized demonstrative plus generic noun like *nye* 'woman' and *kes* 'thing' in Korean, or the NA (i.e., *pro*-NP/N'). When, on the other hand, the whole NP/N' that the speaker construes as indefinite is substituted for, the corresponding substituting expression is bound to be the NA. Thus, except for the substituting expression overtly realized with the demonstrative, the NP/N'-substituting expression is always lexicalized as a null category in J & K.

4. As generally acknowledged (cf. Greenberg (1966)), agreement as manifested via subject/object-verb relation has developed from incorporation/copy-raising/Agree of a determiner to a higher functional category like Tense/*v*. To the extent that this thesis is right, absence of verbal phi-feature agreement in J & K follows from the lack of the grammaticalized determiner system. Takahashi's (2011, 2014) anti-agreement hypothesis of imputing the availability of NAs to absence of agreement is observationally right, but his proposal that NAs derive from argument ellipsis because of absence of agreement must be wrong, as ellipsis is known to require agreement.

Given the proposed *NA as NP/N' substitute* hypothesis, it is now possible to account for parametric differences among J & K, English, and Spanish. English and Spanish certainly have the grammaticalized determiner system, which J & K are lacking in. Thus, English and Spanish use DP-substituting ordinary pronouns when the whole DPs are replaced. However, they differ, in that English only uses overt pronouns, but Spanish can use null pronouns for subject positions; this difference is known to be ascribed to the strength of phi-features on T. In J & K, by contrast, what constitutes the subject or object is NP/N' or *pro*-NP/N', in which the absence of D results in the lack in overt realization of agreement on T/*v*.

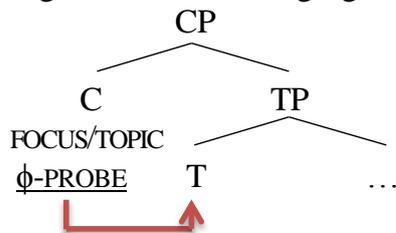
Argument Ellipsis and Discourse-Agreement Features: A Southeast Asian Perspective

Yosuke Sato

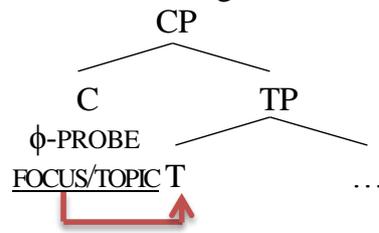
National University of Singapore

This paper investigates the distribution of argument ellipsis (AE) in two Southeast Asian languages – Javanese and Colloquial Singapore English (CSE) – and explores its implications for the design of agreement in natural language syntax. Miyagawa (2010) proposes that topic/focus in discourse-configurational languages has the computationally equivalent function of triggering movement as ϕ -agreement in agreement languages and implements this agreement-topic/focus parameter within the recent C-to-T inheritance model (Chomsky 2007, 2008; Richards 2007), as shown in (1) and (2).

(1) Agreement-Based Languages



(2) Discourse-Configurational Languages



Miyagawa (2013) extends this universal theory of agreement to AE in Chinese. Examples (3–4) show that null objects, but not null subjects, allow AE, as diagnosed by sloppy readings (Oku 1998).

- (3)a. Zhangsan kanjian-le ta-de mama. b. Lisi ye kanjian-le *e*.
 Zhangsan see-PERF he-MOD mother Lisi also see-PERF
 ‘Zhangsan saw his mother.’ ‘Lisi also saw *e*.’ (sloppy)

- (4)a. Zhangsan shuo [_{CP} ziji-de haizi xihuan Xiahong]. b. Lisi shuo [_{CP} *e* xihuan Xiaoli].
 Zhangsan say self-MOD child like Xiahong Lisi say like Xiaoli
 ‘Zhangsan said that self’s child liked Xiahong.’ ‘Lisi said that *e* liked Xiaoli.’ (*sloppy)

Assuming Saito’s (2007) hypothesis (see also Şener and Takahashi 2010 and Takahashi 2014) that AE is blocked by ϕ -agreement, Miyagawa argues that the asymmetry above falls out if Chinese has subject ϕ -agreement. The presence of ϕ -probe in Chinese is supported by the fact that long-distance construal of *ziji* ‘self’ is blocked by an intervening 1st/2nd subject, illustrated in (5–6). This blocking effect follows under the LF head-movement analysis of subject-oriented anaphors (Battistella 1989; Cole and Hermon 1990); *ziji* cannot refer to the matrix subject in (6), for the person value it receives in the embedded T clashes with the person value it receives in the matrix T.

- (5) Zhangsan_i zhidao [Lisi_j dui ziji_{i,j} mei xinxin]. (embedded subject = 3rd person)
 Zhangsan know Lisi to self NEG confidence
 ‘Zhangsan_i knows that Lisi_j has no confidence in self_{i,j}.’

- (6) Zhangsan_i zhidao [{wo_j /ni_j} dui ziji_{*i,j} mei xinxin]. (embedded subject = non-3rd person)
 Zhangsan know I/you to self NEG confidence
 ‘Zhangsan_i knows that {I_j/you_j} has no confidence in self_{*i,j}.’

An important question which arises here is what happens to AE in languages which inherit the topic/focus feature as in (2). I provide data showing that Javanese AE exhibits the same subject-object asymmetry as Chinese AE, but this pattern is best explained by the inheritance of the topic feature. Firstly, Examples (7–8) illustrate that null objects, but not null subjects, exhibit AE in Javanese.

- (7)a. Esti seneng guru-ne. b. Budi ya seneng *e*.
 Esti like teacher-3SG Budi also like
 ‘Esti likes her teacher.’ ‘Lit. Budi also likes *e*.’ (sloppy)

- (8)a. Esti ngomong [_{CP} guru-ne isa basa Prancis]. b. Budi ngomong [_{CP} *e* isa basa Jepang]
 Esti say teacher-3SG can French Budi say can Japanese
 ‘Esti said that her teacher can speak French.’ ‘Lit. Budi said that *e* can speak Japanese.’ (*sloppy)

Secondly, the long-distance construal of the anaphor-like expression *nde’edewe* ‘self’ shown in (9) indicates that the impossibility of subject AE cannot be attributed to the presence of ϕ -probe under T.

- (9) **Esti_i** ngerti nek {**aku/kowe**} nukokke **Siti_j** buku tentang **nde'e dewe**.
 Esti AV.know COMP I/you AV.buy .APPL Siti book about self 3SG
 'Lit. Esti_i knows that {I/you} bought Siti_j a book about herself_{i/j}.'

I propose that the subject ellipsis in Javanese is blocked by the topic feature inherited from C to T. The topic feature requires that the missing subject be topic and hence definite, excluding the sloppy interpretation from this position. There are two straightforward arguments in favor of this inheritance (Cole et al. 2002). Firstly, the subject position in Javanese must be definite, as shown in (10), a pattern that follows if the position is reserved for topic. Secondly, Javanese allows *wh*-in-situ for all positions (e.g. direct objects, possessors, indirect objects), except for the subject position: (11). Again, this restriction is explained if the subject position hosts a topic and excludes *wh*-phrases which bear focus.

- (10)a. * [**NP Wong lanang**] gek turu. b. [**NP Wong lanang kuwi**] gek turu.
 person male PROG sleep person male DEM PROG sleep
 'A boy is sleeping.' 'That boy is sleeping.'
- (11)a. Tono wis ngambung **sapa**? b. ***Sapa** meh mangan apel?
 Tono PAST AV.kiss who who FUT AV.eat apple
 'Who did Tono kiss?' 'Who will eat the apple?'

CSE, a nativized variety of English spoken in Singapore with robust Sinitic substratum, provides further evidence for the topic-agreement analysis, but with an important twist. CSE exhibits the subject-object asymmetry like Chinese and Javanese (see (12–13)), but importantly, Sato (2014) notes that the asymmetry persists irrespective of the surface manifestations of ϕ -agreement.

- (12) a. David like(s) his school. (13) a. David say [_{CP} his mother speak(s) Teochew].

- b. John also like(s) *e*. (sloppy) b. Wait lah, John say [*e* speak(s) Hookien]. (*sloppy)

This pattern is explained if subjects in CSE are marked as topic, as predicted by the inheritance of the topic feature. Indeed, CSE exhibits properties of topic-prominent languages (Li and Thompson 1976) such as the absence of expletives which are replaced in CSE by *got*, robust presence of topic chains and Chinese-style hanging topic constructions and extensive use of topic-markers such as *wise* and *right* and discourse particles such as *ha* and *hor*, as illustrated in (14) (Bao 2001; Tan 2009; Sato and Kim 2012). Most importantly, as a prototypical correlate of topic-prominent languages, CSE observes the definite subject restriction, like Javanese, as shown in (15).

- (14) a. **Got** people in the classroom. 'There are people in the classroom.'
 b. [As a response to the question 'Can you cycle now?'] Yeah, *e* can cycle, not very well, but *e* can cycle, ah. *e* knocked myself against the pillar, but then *e* managed to pick up cycling.
 c. **Local food**, you must try chicken rice.
 d. As for filters **wise**, get a UV filter./ Your homework **ha/hor/la**, you better do *e*.
- (15) a. **People** come already. Come greet them! (definite; *indefinite)
 b. **Clothes** dry already. (definite; *indefinite)

Given the relevance of the topic-feature and the presence of agreement inflections, I propose that in CSE, both ϕ -probe and topic-feature are inherited from C to T, an option recently explored for Spanish by Jiménez-Fernández (2010). Under this hybrid view, CSE is both an agreement-based and a discourse-configurational language so that the inheritance of the ϕ -probe and the topic feature accounts for the agreement morphology and the lack of subject AE, respectively.

In sum, I have presented novel arguments from Javanese and CSE to show that not only the ϕ -agreement, but also the discourse-configurational topic feature, plays a crucial role in governing the distribution of AE. This result supports Miyagawa's (2010, 2013) hypothesis that ϕ -agreement and topic (and focus) are two manifestations of the universal computational system of agreement.

Selected References [1] Miyagawa, S. 2010. *Why agree? Why move? Unifying agreement-based and discourse-configurational languages*. MIT Press. [2] Miyagawa, S. 2013. Surprising agreements at T and C. Ms., MIT. [3] Oku, S. 1998. *A theory of selection and reconstruction in the minimalist perspective*. Uconn diss. [4] Saito, M. 2007. Notes on East Asian argument ellipsis. *Language Research* 43.

Case for Labeling: A Case Study in a Language without ϕ -feature Agreement

Mamoru Saito

Chomsky (2013) proposes that one of the primary functions of ϕ -feature agreement is to accommodate labeling. For example, TP is labeled as $\langle \phi, \phi \rangle$ through the ϕ -feature sharing of the subject and T. On the other hand, a prominent, though controversial, view on Japanese has been that the language lacks ϕ -feature agreement altogether. This raises the question how labeling is accomplished in the language.

I present a hypothesis that Case and predicate inflection serve to make labeling possible in Japanese. More concretely, I suggest that those elements function as “anti-labeling devices” that indicate that the phrases they attach to do not provide labels for larger constituents. I show that the hypothesis leads to explanations for a number of outstanding properties of the language. They include multiple subjects, semantically vacuous scrambling, productive use of syntactic verbal compounds, argument ellipsis, and possibly, radical pro-drop.

Null-subject + case = *pro* and not PRO: Evidence from Greek

Vassilios Spyropoulos
National and Kapodistrian University of Athens

In this paper I address the issue of the status of null-subjects of finite complement clauses in control environments by examining Greek. Greek lacks the category of infinitive and all complement clauses are finite in the sense that the verb form fully inflects for subject agreement (Holton et al. 2012). This entails that, if case assignment is the by-product of phi-feature checking (Chomsky 2001 et seq.), the subject of a complement clause in Greek is always assigned nominative case and control is unavailable (Philippaki-Warbuton 1987 et seq.). However, Greek is referred to in the literature as exhibiting control with subjunctive complements, breaking thus this strong correlation (Terzi 1992, Iatridou 1993, Varlokosta 1994, Roussou 2001, a.o.). Theories of control have addressed this issue by suggesting that either (i) these complement clauses are defective and no case assignment takes place (Varlokosta 1994, Kapetangianni & Seely 2007) or (ii) the null-subject of these complement clauses is a case-marked PRO (Landau 2004 et seq.). I show that a careful examination of the relevant constructions in Greek reveals that (i) the null-subject of these clauses is always assigned case and (ii) no control is established, because this null-subject need not be bound by a local antecedent and it has the distribution of a pronominal.

Complementation in ‘control’ environments is typically expressed in Greek by a subjunctive clause the verb form of which fully inflects for subject agreement. Evidence that the null-subject of such a subjunctive clause is assigned nominative case comes from the following facts: (a) a predicative modifier, which in Greek always agrees in case with the element it modifies, appears in nominative when it modifies this null-subject (1); (b) the null-subject can be replaced by an overt DP resulting in obviation (2); (c) the null-subject can be replaced by an overt pronoun, which can pick up any antecedent in the matrix clause (not necessarily a c-commanding one) or from the context (3). The interpretation of such a null-subject shows that it cannot be a PRO or a trace, because (a) it can pick up a non-local (even non c-commanding) antecedent (4); it may have split antecedents (5); it may have augmented reference with respect to some (even non-local or non c-commanding) antecedent in the matrix clause (6); and it can have an impersonal/arbitrary reading. Based on this evidence, I claim that this null-subject is a *pro* and that Greek does not exhibit control (Philippaki-Warbuton & Catsimali 1999, Spyropoulos 2007), reaffirming the strong correlation between case assignment and the distribution of control (contra Landau 2006).

However, there are some complement clauses which appear to have controlled null-subjects in Greek. These complement clauses do not have independent temporal properties and appear after: (i) aspectual verbs, e.g. *arxizo* ‘I begin’, (ii) knowledge/ability verbs, e.g. *ksero* ‘I know’, *boro* ‘I can’, and (iii) verbs denoting sense, e.g. *vlepo* ‘I see’. The null-subject of these complement clauses must be locally bound and split antecedents and partial control are not allowed. Significantly, there is evidence that even in these clauses the null-subject has been assigned nominative case and that it is a null pronoun: (i) in object-control structures the predicative modifier of the embedded null-subject appears in the nominative and not in the accusative (7); (ii) the null-subject may be replaced by an overt pronoun (8) or by an overt DP (in the latter case either backward control or obviation is established). Such facts show that the controlled null-subject of these clauses cannot be a case-marked PRO or a trace, because these elements do not have the same distribution as overt pronouns and DPs. Thus, I argue that this null-subject is also a *pro* and that the control pattern is the by-product of the targeting of both the null-subject of the complement clause and the matrix controller by the same matrix probe (see also Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou, Iordachioaia & Marchis 2010). This is possible because the lack of temporal properties deprives such a clause from its phasal status, allowing for a matrix probe to target elements inside this transparent domain.

Finally, I will correlate these findings with the *Accusativus cum Infinitivo* construction in Ancient Greek, which has been argued to provide evidence for the existence of case-marked PRO (Landau 2008). In this construction the fact that predicative modifiers of the null-subject of an infinitival clause may appear in the accusative even if the case of the controller of this null-subject

is different reveals that the null-subject has been assigned accusative case (9) (Spyropoulos 2005, Sevdali 2013). I show that when the null-subject of an infinitive is assigned accusative case, it does not have the distribution and the interpretation of a PRO but those of a *pro*. Evidence comes from the following facts: (i) such a null-subject can be replaced by an overt pronoun or an overt DP, allowing for obviation (10-11) and (ii) this phenomenon does not occur with infinitives without independent temporal reference, in which only exhaustive control is established; significantly in these constructions predicative modifiers of the null-subject appear only in the case of the controller.

Examples

- (1) *i maria epise to niko na pai monos sto parisi*
the Maria-NOM persuaded-3SG the Nikos SUBJ go-3SG alone-NOM in-the Paris
'Mary persuaded John to go to Paris alone'
- (2) *o ðiikitis ðietakse tus skopus na min perasi kanenas*
the commander-NOM ordered-3SG the guards-ACC SUBJ NEG pass-3SG no one-NOM
'The commander ordered the guards that no one should pass'
- (3) *[i aðelfi [tu niku]_i] epise [ti maria]_k*
the sister-NOM the nikos-GEN persuaded the Mary
na pai afti_{j/k/1} /aftos_{i/m} sti sinantisi
SUBJ go-3SG she /he in the meeting
'Nikos' sister persuaded Mary that he/she should go to the meeting'
- (4) *[i aðelfi [tu niku]_i] epise [ti maria]_k*
the sister-NOM the nikos-GEN persuaded the Mary
na pai [ec]_i monos tu_i / [ec]_{j/k} moni tis_{j/k} sto parti
SUBJ go-3sg alone CL3-MSC.GEN / alone CL3-F.GEN to-the party
'Nikos' sister persuaded Mary that he / she should go to the party alone'
- (5) *[o nikos]_i epise [ti maria]_j na fiyun [ec]_{i+j}*
the Nikos-NOM persuaded-3SG the Mary-ACC SUBJ go-3PL
'Nikos persuaded Mary that they should leave' (not necessarily together)
- (6) *[i mitera [mu]_i] epise [ti maria]_k na pame [ec]_{i+}*
the mother-NOM CL1-GEN persuaded-3SG the Mary SUBJ go-1SG
sto parti xoris afti_k
to-the party without her
'My mother persuaded Mary that we should go to the party without her'
- (7) *iða to niko na erxete monos*
saw-1SG the Nikos-ACC SUBJ come-3SG alone-NOM
'I saw Nikos coming alone'
- (8) *o nikos arxise na stelni aftos ta minimata*
the nikos-NOM started-3SG SUBJ send-3SG he-NOM the messages-acc
'Nikos has started to send the messages (by himself)'
- (9) *deomai hymo:n ... iatro:s genesthai*
beg-1SG you-PL.GEN doctors-ACC become-INF
'I beg you to remedy... (lit. to become doctors)'
- (10) *pare:ggeile ta hopla tithesthai tous helle:nas*
ordered-3SG the weapons-ACC put-INF the Greeks-ACC
'He gave the order that the Greeks should hand over the weapons'
- (11) *bouloime:n an eme tykhein ho:n boulomai*
want-OPT.1SG PRT I-ACC come.across-INF which-PL.GEN want-1SG
'I would want to get whatever I want'

The finiteness-*pro*-drop generalization

Sandhya Sundaresan, University of Leipzig

The goal of this paper is to argue that (for at least a non-trivial set of languages) *pro* never appears in subject position in prototypically non-finite clauses. Standard GB theory Chomsky (1981) and Minimalist descendants thereof (Martin, 2001) maintained a bijective correspondence between the subject of a non-finite clause (excluding raising-to-subject and -object (ECM) constructions) and PRO, on case-theoretic grounds. However, Sigurðsson (1991); Landau (2004); Sundaresan and McFadden (2009) and others have shown that this putative correspondence can be undermined in both directions: PRO can bear standard case and overt DPs may occupy non-finite subject position. This however means that it is no longer quite so straightforward to distinguish PRO from *pro* in non-finite subject position. Consider the sentences below:

- (1) [_{GerP} EC_i having no idea how to get home], Alex_i was forced to ask for directions.
 (2) [_{GerP} Sue_i having no idea how to get home], Alex_j was forced to ask for directions.

The structures above constitute a minimal pair, with a covert subject in the gerundival clause in (1) alternating with an overt one in the same environment in (2). Under standard Case theory, the former, taken on its own, would automatically be classified as PRO, given its nonfinite subject status. But the presence of the overt subject *Sue* in (2) calls such a conclusion into question. In particular, we can no longer assume from its non-finite subjecthood alone, that the silent DP in (1) is PRO and not *pro*. In English, this problem is assuaged somewhat, because we have independent grounds to rule out *pro*: English doesn't exhibit *pro*-drop elsewhere, thus null subjects are generally taken to be PRO.

But in languages that do exhibit *pro*-drop, and in particular subject-drop, this distinction is much harder to disentangle. In such languages, overt subjects regularly alternate with *pro* subjects, e.g. in prototypical finite clauses; thus, the null subject that alternates with an overt one in a non-finite clause might be taken to be *pro*, rather than PRO, as well. This may, in fact, be the null hypothesis. Kisson (2014) takes precisely this position for Telugu, arguing that all null arguments in this language are *pro*, and, by extension, that Telugu lacks PRO altogether. To resolve such issues, we need recourse to independent, empirical diagnostics that distinguish the two types of null argument. A good place to start is Landau (2013)'s "OC Signature" which claims that: "In a control construction [...X_i...[S PRO_i...]...], where X controls the PRO subject of the clause S: a. The controller(s) X must be (a) co-dependent(s) [argument or adjunct] of S. b. PRO (or part of it) must be interpreted as a bound variable." This in turn yields some useful diagnostics to distinguish between PRO and *pro*: the former, being a bound variable, is obligatorily coreferent with a (superordinate or subordinate) antecedent, yields sloppy readings under VP-ellipsis, and is interpreted obligatorily *de se*. The latter is a covert deictic pronoun: as such, it is not obligatorily coreferent with an antecedent, may yield strict or sloppy readings under VP-ellipsis, and can be interpreted as *de se* or *de re* relative to its antecedent.

Armed with these diagnostics, I examine a range of languages (tested against native speakers), which have the following properties: (i) they exhibit subject *pro*-drop, and (ii) they show an alternation between overt and covert subjects in certain prototypically non-finite clauses. The goal is to test whether the alternating null subject in these non-finite clauses is PRO or *pro*. Given the alternation between overt subjects and *pro* elsewhere, the null hypothesis is that it is *pro*. Contrary to expectation, however, the interpretive diagnostics mentioned above actually indicate that the null subject is in fact PRO. Consider the following minimal pair in Spanish:

- (3) a. A-I mostra-r María_i los síntomas de la gripe, Carlos_j se vacun-ó.
 At-the show-INF María_i the symptoms of the flu, Carlos_j ANAPH vaccinate-PST
 "[_{CP} (With) Maria_i showing the symptoms of flu], Carlos_j got vaccinated."

- b. A-I *mostra-r* EC_{*i,*j*} los síntomas de la gripe, Carlos_{*i*} se *vacun-ó*.
 At-the show-INF EC_{*i,*j*} the symptoms of the flu, Carlos_{*i*} ANAPH vaccinate-PST
 “[EC_{*i,*j*} showing the symptoms of flu], Carlos got vaccinated.”

The embedded clauses in these structures may be classified as “non-finite” in the sense that their embedded verbs lack tense/agreement. Thus, what we have here is an alternation between an overt and covert nonfinite subject. This null subject is obligatorily coreferent with the subject of the matrix clause ((3b)), and yields sloppy readings under VP ellipsis (4):

- (4) Al *mostrar* los primeros síntomas de la gripe, C. *se* *vacun-ó*,
 At-the show-INF the first symptoms of the flu, Carlos ANAPH vaccinate-PST
 y, (entonces) María también.
 and (then) María too
 “Showing the first symptoms of the flu, Carlos_{*i*} then got vaccinated. And [_{CP} showing the first symptoms of the flu, María_{*j*} (then) did too.”
 ✓ **Sloppy; *Strict:** And once María/*Carlos showed the first symptoms of the flu this year, then María got vaccinated too.

It is also interpreted obligatorily *de se*. In (3b) above, Carlos has to be aware that he is the one showing flu-symptoms; it cannot, e.g., be the case that these flu symptoms belong to someone that happens to be him: as e.g. in an anonymized flu-testing scenario.

These diagnostics show that the null subject in (3b) bears the definitive fingerprint of OC PRO, not *pro*. But if the clause has tense/agreement inflection (as in (5)), non-coreferent *pro*-drop again becomes possible. The null subject in (5) can refer to either the matrix subject *Carlos* or to a discourse-salient entity (like e.g. María), yields strict/sloppy readings under ellipsis, and can be interpreted *de re*: i.e. it behaves like *pro*, not like OC PRO:

- (5) Carlos_{*i*} *pens-ó* [_{CP} que EC_{*i,j*} *mostra-ba* los síntomas de la gripe].
 Carlos_{*i*} think-PST [_{CP} that EC_{*i,j*} show.3SG-IMPF the symptoms of the flu]
 “Carlos_{*i*} thought [_{CP} EC_{*i,j*} was showing the symptoms of the flu].”

Spanish independently allows overt nonfinite subjects, and subject *pro*-drop. Thus, *pro*-drop must be restricted in non-finite subject position for independent reasons. This same set of patterns holds for the other languages tested: Italian, Romanian, Hungarian, Japanese, Hindi and Tamil. Based on these results, I formulate the “Finiteness *pro*-drop generalization” below:

- (6) *Pro*-drop is restricted in the subject position of prototypically non-finite clauses.

The theoretical reasons behind (6) are less obvious. One possibility is that this is a language-internal instantiation of the rich-agreement hypothesis for *pro*-drop (Taraldsen, 1978). Potential support for this hypothesis comes from Pashto (Huang, 1984). Pashto has NOM-ACC agreement in the present but displays an ergative system in the past, with subject agreement if the verb is intransitive, and object agreement if it is transitive. Crucially, *pro*-drop seems to be directly conditioned by these patterns: only subject *pro*-drop obtains with a transitive verb in the present, but only object *pro*-drop is possible when the transitive verb is in the past and marked for object-agreement. Such data suggest a direct connection between agreement and *pro*-drop licensing in designated syntactic positions. At the same time, work in the intervening years has turned up numerous potential counter-examples to Taraldsen’s Generalization. E.g. Chinese, Japanese, and Malayalam lack morphological agreement entirely, yet allow *pro*-drop (Jaeggli and Safir, 1989; Biberauer, Holmberg, Roberts, and Sheehan, 2010). Others like Finnish, Marathi and Brazilian Portuguese allow partial *pro*-drop (Holmberg, Nayadu, and Sheehan, 2009) which is licensed under specialized conditions. Such data force us to re-evaluate the nature of the *pro*-drop/agreement correlation. E.g. *pro*-drop in languages without overt agreement suggests that the input condition for *pro*-drop is not the overt marking, but the underlying representation,

of agreement. Another possibility may be that these languages have a different sort of *pro*-drop, one not subject to Taraldsen's Generalization (Neeleman and Szendrői, 2007). The choice between these and other solutions must, as always, be decided empirically.

References

- Biberauer, Theresa, Anders Holmberg, Ian Roberts, and Michelle Sheehan, ed. 2010. Parametric variation: null subjects in Minimalist theory. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1981. Lectures on Government and Binding. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Holmberg, Anders, Aarti Nayadu, and Michelle Sheehan. 2009. Three partial null-subject languages: a comparison of Brazilian Portuguese, Finnish and Marathi. In Partial Pro-drop, ed. Anders Holmberg, volume 63 of Studia Linguistica: Special Issue, 59–97. MA, USA: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Huang, C.T. James. 1984. On the reference and distribution of empty pronouns. Linguistic Inquiry 15:531–573.
- Jaeggli, Osvaldo, and Ken Safir, ed. 1989. The null subject parameter. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Kissock, Madelyn J. 2014. Evidence for 'finiteness' in Telugu. Natural Language and Linguistic Theory Topic-Comment Volume. Eds: Sandhya Sundaesan and Gillian Ramchand and Thomas McFadden.
- Landau, Idan. 2004. The scale of finiteness and the calculus of control. Natural Language and Linguistic Theory 22:811–777.
- Landau, Idan. 2013. Control in generative grammar: A research companion. Cambridge University Press.
- Martin, Roger. 2001. Null case and the distribution of PRO. Linguistic Inquiry 32:141–166.
- Neeleman, Ad, and Kriszta Szendrői. 2007. Radical Pro Drop and the morphology of pronouns. Linguistic Inquiry 38:671–714.
- Sigurðsson, Halldór Ármann. 1991. Icelandic Case-marked PRO and the licensing of lexical arguments. Natural Language and Linguistic Theory 9.
- Sundaesan, Sandhya, and Thomas McFadden. 2009. DP distribution and finiteness in Tamil and other languages: selection vs. Case. Journal of South Asian Linguistics 2.
- Taraldsen, Knut Tarald. 1978. On the *nic*, vacuous application and the that-trace filter. Bloomington, Indiana, University Linguistics Club.

The (not so) silent syntax of speech acts and their participants: A comparative perspective

Martina Wiltschko, University of British Columbia

In this talk I explore the syntax of speech acts from a comparative perspective. Taking Ross' 1970 performative hypothesis as a starting point, I show that there is indeed evidence for a layer of structure above the propositional structure (i.e., the CP layer). However, the classic performative hypothesis and its current instantiations (mostly based on the seminal work by Speas and Tenny) are only partly correct. First, I show that the Addressee argument must be higher than the speaker argument which runs counter standard assumptions according to which the speech act layer encodes something akin to "I give p to you" (which would have the speaker above the addressee). Second, I argue that speech acts are not primitives and hence there cannot be a dedicated speech act phrase. Instead I argue that we need to recognize at least two layers of structure: one of these layers (the grounding layer) is responsible for establishing the epistemic state of the speech act participants (who knows what) whereas the other (the response layer) is responsible for establishing what the speaker does with the utterance or else what s/he wants the addressee to do with it.

The analysis is couched within the Universal Spine Hypothesis (Wiltschko 2014) which allows us to establish a formal typology for linguistic expressions that are used for grounding and responding. Data will be drawn from several unrelated languages including Cantonese, German, English, Mandarin, Medumba, and Spanish.

not always have to. Only in languages where no material at all can move into G, is (1a) a possible linearization pattern. The presented evidence in favour of FOFC, such as the ban on V-O-Aux_{infl} and the absence of V-O-C orders follow directly; the ban on V-O-Aux_{infl} follows straightforwardly from the standard assumption that inflectional elements are required to be adjacent to their host at PF. In V-O-Aux_{infl} constructions, this can only be derived by rightward movement of the auxiliary into the position where the agreement is realized, and therefore these constructions must be ruled out. Similarly, in languages with overt complementizers, the C-position is restricted to complementizers in subordinate clauses only. In main clauses it remains available as a target for verbal or other movement, e.g. in the formation of questions or imperatives. (Note that in languages where C can be occupied by a *particle* and where verb movement is not triggered, FOFC is not valid). At the same time, the counterexamples of FOFC are predicted as well: particles, by definition, are independent elements that do not trigger any verbal or other element to attach to them. Consequently, they can occupy head positions that are never the target of any instance of head movement, and are thus not subject to the FOFC generalisation in (1). Finally, the restriction of FOFC to extended projections immediately follows, as heads never raise out of them. **V.** However, apart from getting the distribution of FOFC configurations correct, our proposal also predicts the more general ban on the (almost) universal left-ness of specifiers. For example, whereas the distribution between VO and OV orders is almost 50-50, only very few languages (less than 3%) are VOS or VSO languages (cf. Dryer 2011). Such languages are generally analysed as either V- or VP-fronting languages (cf. Massam 2002, Coon 2010), suggesting that no language has underived orders with sentence-final subjects. Apart from the LCA, which trivially derives spec-initial orders, no other account in the functional or the formal literature has been able to derive this. However, if one inspects the behaviour of specifiers more closely, it turns out that they all share two properties: first, their presence is obligatory; second, they must immediately c-command the merger of the head and its complement (i.e. they must be (re)merged immediately after the head has been merged). Both properties follow once the presence of the specifier needs to fulfil a featural need of the head. Under standard Chomskyan Agree this is guaranteed by assigning a probing head an EPP-feature that makes some lower XP immediately raise when it Agrees with this head. Other Agree-frameworks yield the same result (e.g. Boskovic 2007, Zeijlstra 2012). However, if the obligatory presence of specifiers and the fact that they must immediately c-command the merger of their head and its complement follow from the fact that they have to *raise* into this specifier position, the fact that they always appear in front of their head (unless any of the two undergoes subsequent movement) follows directly from the ban on rightward movement. The claim that specifiers always raise into some position has been well attested for subjects (raised into Spec,TP from either vP or VP; raised into vP from VP in cases of unaccusatives or passives), *wh*-elements (raised into Spec,CP) and many more. By contrast, any phrasal element that may optionally or not immediately merge with the merger of a head and its complement does not have to be a raised element and can therefore be base-generated in this position. Consequently, no universal constraints on their word order position apply. Such elements, which go by the name of adjuncts, are indeed known to have a freer distribution and may easily appear to the right of their sister. **VI.** To conclude, two important and well-known left-right asymmetries in natural language (FOFC, to the extent that it applies, and the ban on rightward specifiers) follow directly as a result of the ban on rightward movement. As a consequence, they no longer form an argument to adopt the LCA as a linguistic axiom. In fact, given that any explanation of FOFC in terms of the LCA is both empirically and theoretically flawed, this alternative to the LCA fares better and thus forms a strong argument against the LCA.

The Romance PCC and the Split-inflection in Paraguayan Guaraní. A Common Analysis.
Maria Luisa Zubizarreta & Roumyana Pancheva / University of Southern California

We argue for a unified account of direct/inverse systems, as observed in the yet unstudied inflectional system of Paraguayan Guaraní (PG) and the much studied Person Case Constraint (PCC), as observed for example in Romance (e.g. Bonet 1991, 1994, among many others). We will refer to it as the P(erson)-system and the languages that obey it as P-lgs. We propose that in P-lgs, AGR-domains with a head specified with a +part(icipant) feature are subject to (1) (the formulation of (1) builds partly on Coon and Preminger 2012), with the P-hierarchy defined as in (2). In PG, the relevant AGR-domains are those of *I* and *v* (as well as *D* and *P*, which we will not discuss here), while in Romance, the relevant domain is the Low Appl(licative) *v*. The former type are Gen(realized) P-lgs, while the latter (like Romance) are Rest(riptive) P-lgs.

- (1) The highest event participant in the P-hierarchy must appear at the edge of an AGR (or phase) domain.
 (2) *P-hierarchy*: a. Participant > 3P b. 1P > 2P

The Inflectional (I) system in PG. The direct I-system is a set of prefixes (Table 1) that surface with intransitives, and with transitives in which the ext(ernal) arg(ument) > Obj(ect) (internal args and raised Possessors) on the P-hierarchy. The inverse I-system emerges in transitives with Obj > ext arg (Table 2). (Portmanteaux (PORT) prefixes, a hall-mark of Gen P-lgs, are in bold)

Table 1. Direct Inflectional paradigm (intran & trans with ext arg > Obj).

Ext. Arg	SINGULAR	PLURAL	
1P	<i>a-</i> <i>ro-</i> with 2SG OBJ <i>po-</i> with 2PL Obj	EXCL.	INCL.
		ro- <i>po-</i> with 2PL Obj	ja- /ña-
2P	re-	pe-	
3P	o-	o-	

Table 2. Inverse Inflectional paradigm (trans with Obj > ext arg)

Ext arg \ Obj	2P	3P
1P	SG: <i>che</i> PL: <i>ñande</i> (incl), <i>ore</i> (excl)	SG: <i>che</i> PL: <i>ñande</i> (incl), <i>ore</i> (excl)
2P		SG: <i>nde</i> / <i>ne</i> PL: <i>pende</i> / <i>pene</i>

We assume the Minimalist premise that *I* and *v* function as probes that search for the highest c-commanded D to agree with. Consider the *v-domain*. If Obj D is specified [part, sp], *v* will be *v*₁ (=1P); if it is specified [part], *v* will be *v*₂ (=2P). If D is unspecified, *v* will be unspecified and spelled-out as 3P. Two scenarios arise. Scenario 1. *Obj is less specified than the ext arg introduced by v*. In this case, there is no Obj promotion, and *I* agrees with the ext arg, located at the edge of the *v-phase*, promoting it to its own edge (Spec of *I*). The morpho-phonological spell-out is as in Table 1 (the direct pattern). The spell-out rule is as follows: If 1SG *I* merges with *v*2SG, it is spelled-out as *ro-*; if 1P (Excl) *I* merges with *v*2PL, it is spelled out as *po-*.

- (3) a. **a.karu/re.karu** ‘I/You eat’
1s.eat/2s.eat
b. **a.juka/re.jukasg** ichupe ‘I/You killed him’
1s.kill/2s.kill him
c. **ro.juka** (ndève) ‘I killed you’
PRT.kill (you)

Scenario 2. *Obj D is more specified than the ext arg D introduced by v.* In this case, (1) forces promotion of Obj D to the edge of *v*, and then to the edge of *I*. The morpho-phonological spell-out will be as in Table 2 (the inverse pattern). Cf. (3) and (4). The promoted Obj being a weak D adjoined to Infl, the DP ext arg (null or overt) can move past it to Spec of Top(ic), without incurring a Minimality violation.

- (4) a. **nde.juka** (*ndève) ‘I/(S)he killed you.’
2S OBJ.kill (*you)
b. **che.juka** (*chève) ‘You/(S)he killed me.’
1S OBJ.killed (*me)

Evidence for Obj promotion into the I-domain in the case of (4) is provided by 1) the syntactic position of the 1P /2P OBJ pronoun (preverbal) vs. 3P OBJ pronoun (postverbal) in what is generally assumed to be an SVO language and 2) the marking of the initial consonant of the verbal root in the very productive “triforme” lexical class of verbs; eg. *tesha* (sight) - *resha/hesha* (see 5). The *r*-initial root surfaces in the inverse paradigm (5a) and the *h*-initial root in the direct paradigm (5b). We argue that the *r*-root is the morpho-phonological signature of the syntactic relation in (6). The *h*-root is the otherwise (unmarked) case.

- (5) a. (i) **che resha** (*chève) ‘You/(S)he see me.’
1S OBJ.see (*me)
(ii) **nde resha** (*ndève) ‘I/(S)he see you.’
2S OBJ.see (*you)
b. (i) **a.hesha/re.hesha** ichupe ‘I/You see him.’
1s.see /2s.see him
(ii) **ro.hesha** (ndève) ‘I see you.’
PRT.see (you)

- (6) [D_p [v_p [√ [[D_p ...

Romance. The PCC, exemplified in (7), is stated as in (8) by Bonet 1991. The DAT weak pronoun is in Spec of a Low Appl, with DAT higher than ACC, as in English Double Objects (Demonte 1995). The facts below suggest that Romance *v*, immediately above Low Appl, is specified with a *Part* feature, and the effects of the PCC (as observed in (7a)) follows from the interaction of (1) with Minimality: a *Part*-specified DP must move to the edge of *v*; since DAT is higher than ACC, an ACC *Part*-specified *pro* is blocked by the an unspecified (=3P) DAT *pro*.

- (7) a. **Me/Te le** recomendaron (i) Ok. ‘They recommended him to me/you’
1PS/2PS 3PS recommend.PST.3PL (ii) * ‘They recommended me/you to him’
b. **Me/Te** recomendaron a él ‘They recommended me/you to him’
1PS/2PS.DAT recommend.PST.3PL to him

- (8) In a combination of a weak direct object and an indirect object [clitic, agreement marker, or weak pronoun], the direct object has to be a third person (Bonet 1991:182)

The action of (1) in Romance is visible only in the Low Appl domain. Note that Low Appl is associated with inherent Case and hence linked to a specific theta-role, while *v* and *I* are associated with structural Case. For this reason, the Romance Obj cannot raise to the edge of Low Appl head, and hence the violation of (1) cannot be rescued, in stark contrast with the inverse system of PG. Romance *I* is unspecified with *Part*-feature; hence the ext arg is immune to the PCC. Clitics cluster at edge of *I* in Romance due to the requirement that clitics adjoin to T, and not to the action of (1).