

A modality-free account of the position of clausal arguments

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The issue

- In SLs, clausal arguments seem to be excluded from the base position.

(1) GIANNI COFFE ORDER (LIS: SOV)

(2a) [PIERO CONTRACT SIGN] GIANNI KNOW

(2b) GIANNI KNOW [PIERO CONTRACT SIGN]
'Gianni knows that Piero signed the contract.'

(2c) * GIANNI [PIERO CONTRACT SIGN] KNOW

(Geraci et al. 2008)

The issue

- Generalization: clausal arguments cannot appear in base object position.
- Explanation: strategy that avoids center-embedding structures, not sustainable by working memory overload.

Questions

- 1. Does the generalization hold across (S)Ls?
 - Prediction: it should be operative in SLs of the SOV type.
 - Same explanation provided for spoken Lgs.
- 2. Does the generalization apply to all kinds of clausal arguments?

CP-Extrapolation in SOV

(3a) dat ik zeg [dat Jan ziek is]
'...that I say that Jan is sick.'

(3b) *dat ik [dat Jan ziek is] zeg

(Dutch; Bennis 1986: 103)

→ CP arguments also forced to “vacate”
base position in Dutch

CP-Extraposition in SOV

(4) wat betreude jij [dat hij *e* gezegd had] ?

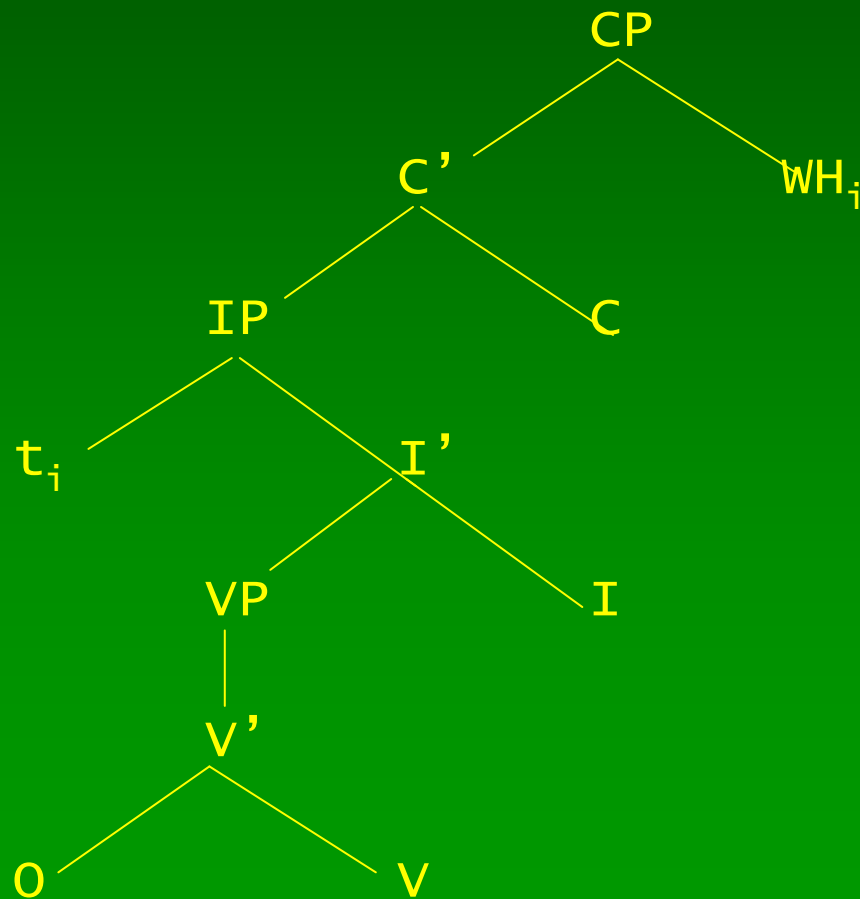
‘what did you regret that he had said?’

(Dutch; Bennis 1986: 104)

→ still, wh-extraction possible out of the postverbal CP-complement!

Syntactic position:
Two object positions or CP-
extraposition?

LSC basic spine

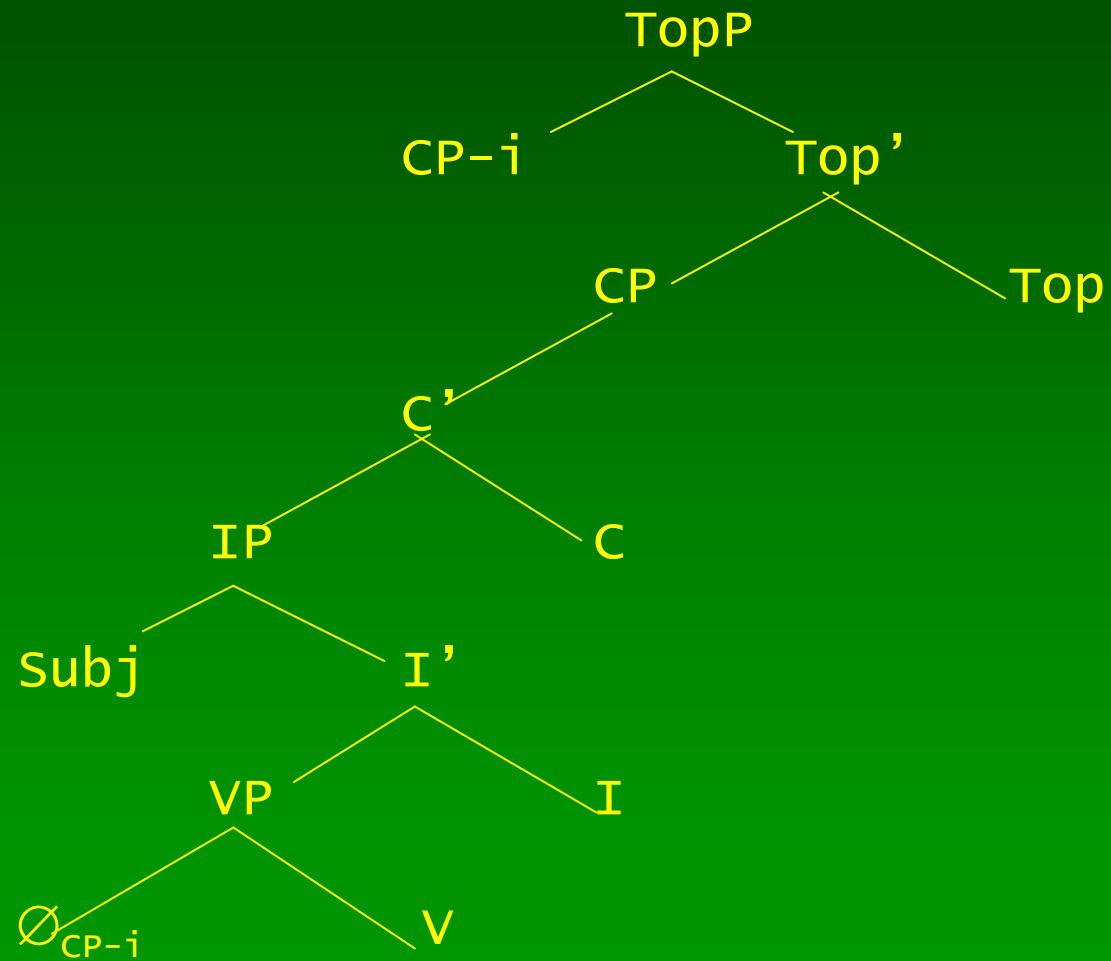


Left peripheral CP



_____t ____hs
CLASS CANCEL 3-WARN-2 NEG-2
'Noone warned me that the class was
cancelled'

Left Topic



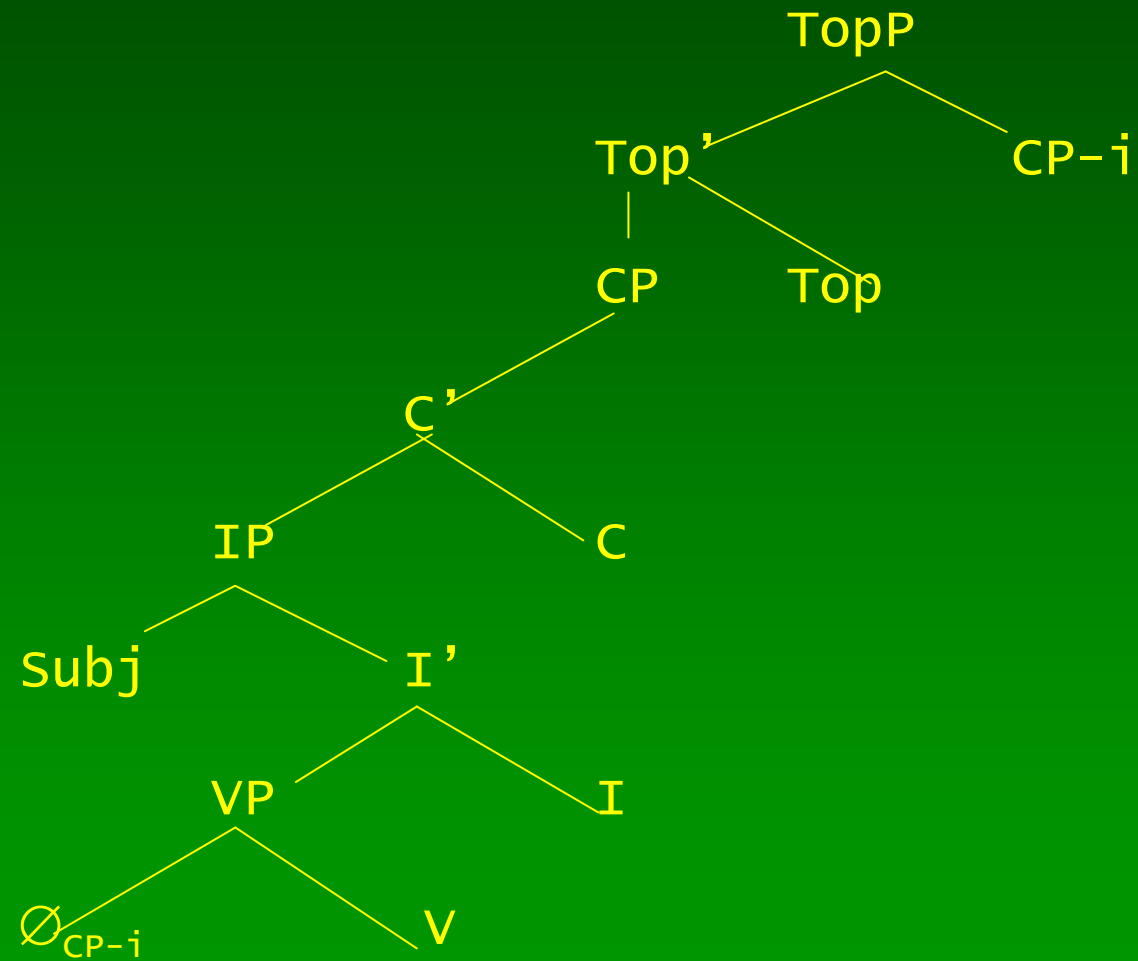
Right peripheral CP



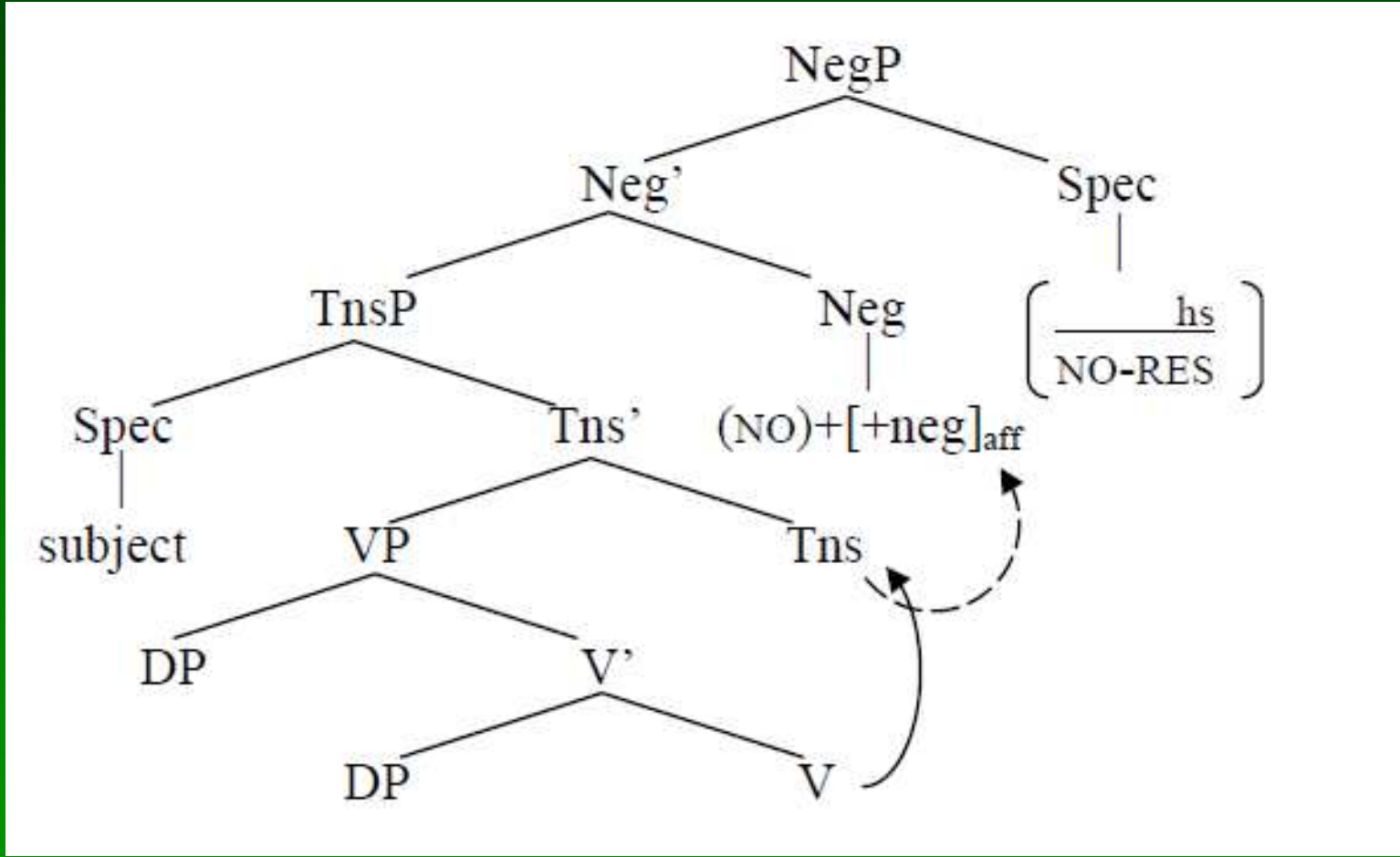
_____hs

3-WARN-1 NEG-2 [IXa CLASS CANCEL]
'Noone warned me that the class was
cancelled.'

Right Topic?



- Postverbal CP arguments in LSC appear not to be sitting in the canonical object position.
 - But are they really in a right Spec in the CP domain?
- Right edge functional heads (ALREADY=Aspect, Negation, C) are final



Pfau & Quer (2007)

Left peripheral CP

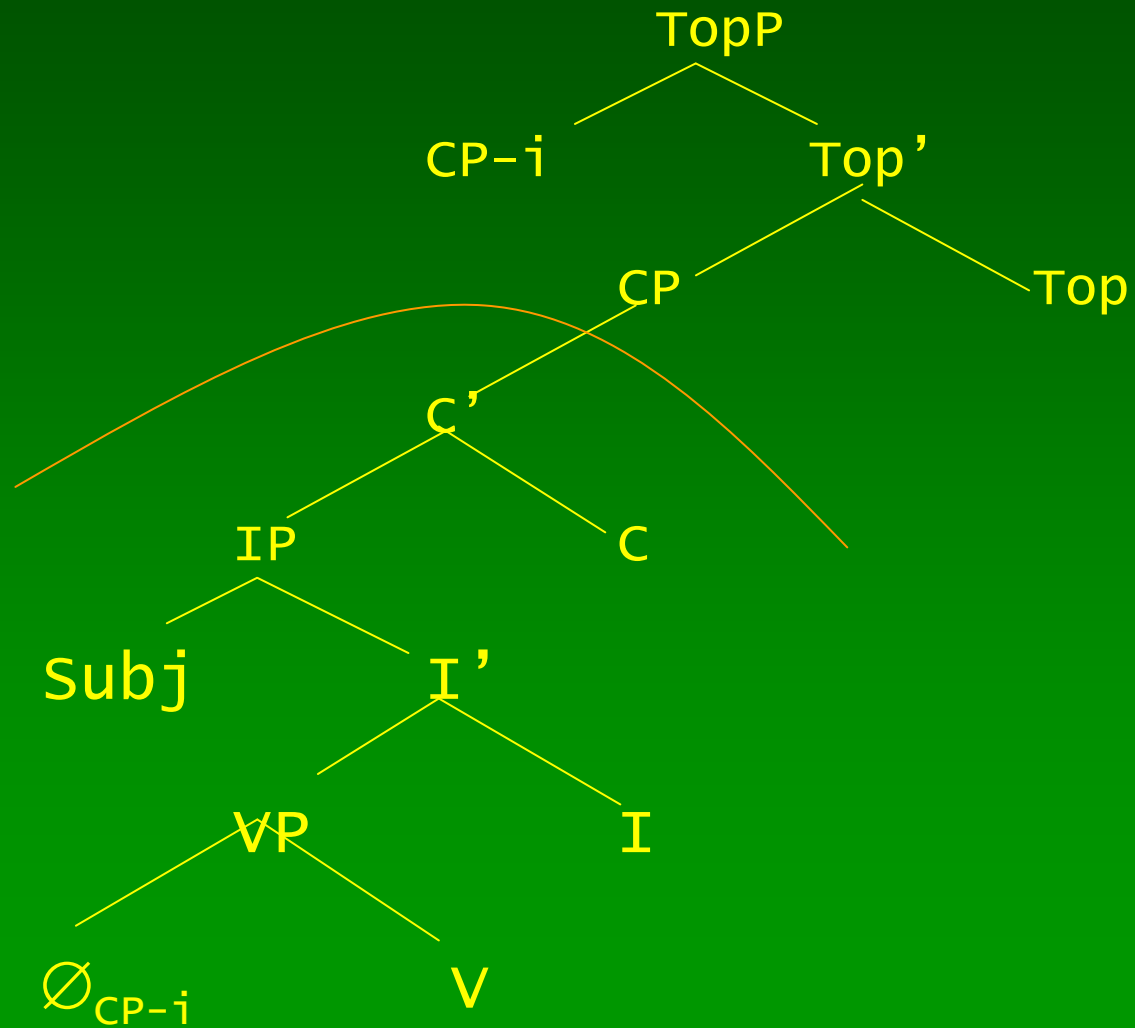


_____yn

[CLASS THERE-NOT-BE] 3-WARN-2 ALREADY

‘Did they already warn you that there is no
class?’

Left Topic

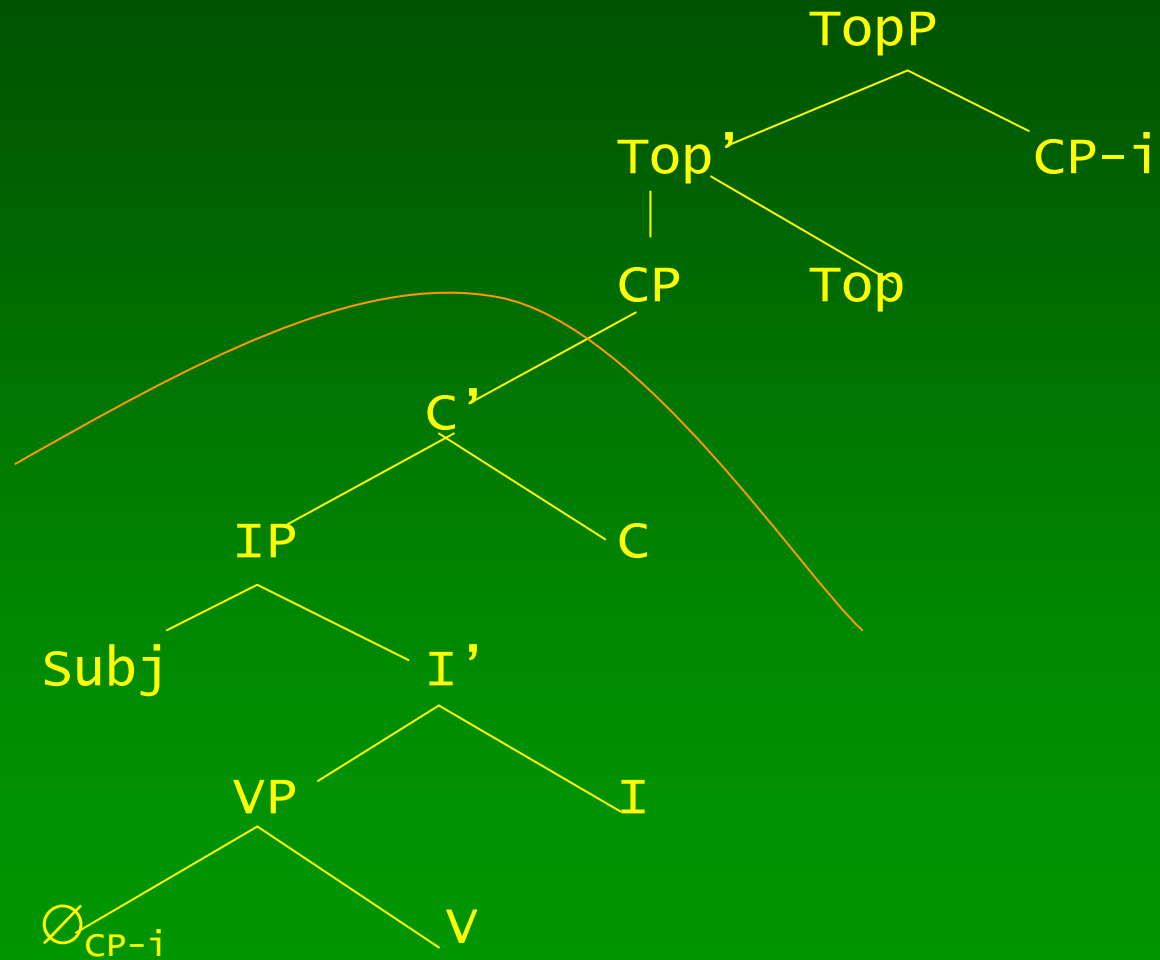


Right peripheral CP



_____yn
3-WARN-2 ALREADY [IXa CLASS NOT-BE]
'Did they already warn you that there is
no class?'

Right Topic



Right peripheral CP



_____hs

3-WARN-1 NEG-2 [IXa CLASS CANCEL]
'Noone warned me that the class was
cancelled.'

Non-peripheral CP



_____RS ___hs

IX-arc WARN-arc [CLASS CANCEL] NEG-2
'Noone warned them that the class was
cancelled.'

- Most surprisingly, WH-extraction from postverbal CP does not give rise to ungrammaticality (as in Dutch btw).
- Pied piping analysis of the whole CP to Spec,CP possible?

WH-extraction from postverbal CP



_____ t _____ wh

IX²⁻³ DISCUSSION IX² THINK IX²⁻³ BE-RIGHT WHO
'In the discussion between those two, who do you
think is right?'

Role shift complements



_____RS-1
NOONE; SAY IX-1; AGR-1 SCARED DARKNESS
'Noone says he's scared of darkness.'

Role shift complements

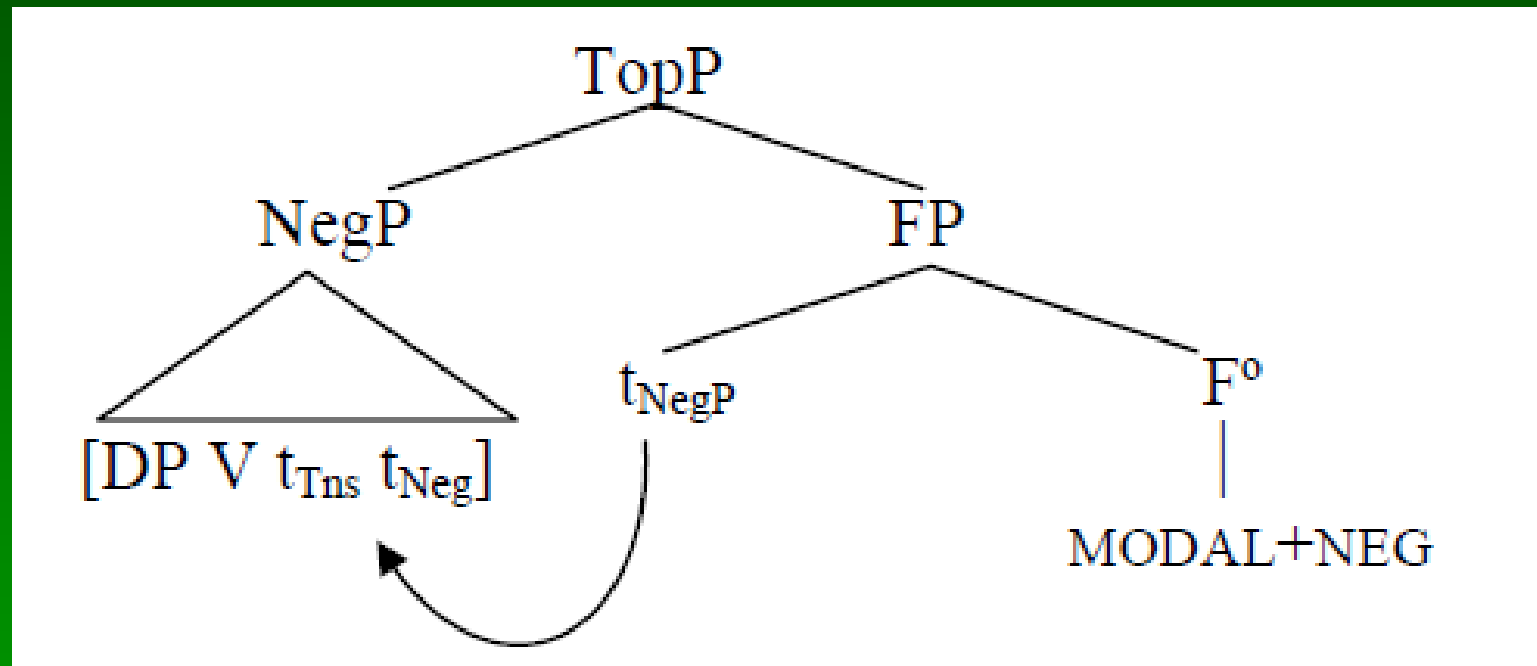


_____RS-i __hs
IX3PL; THINK IX-1; SCARED NEG2
'Noone thinks he's scared.'

Embedded interrogatives



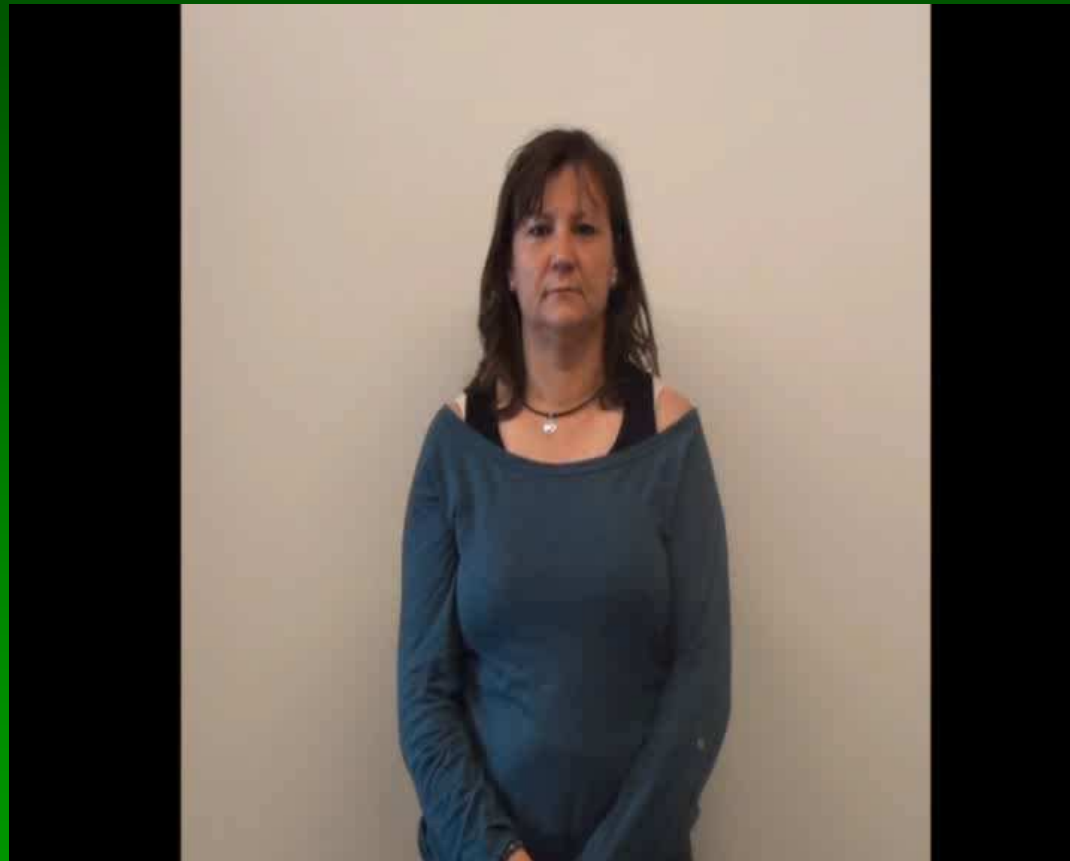
_____br _____hs
JOAN 3a-CALL-1 WHO NOT^KNOW
'Joan does not know who called me.'



Pfau & Quer (2007)

cf. Wilbur & Patschke (1999)

Embedded interrogatives



_____hs

JOAN NOT^KNOW CITY-HALL WHERE

‘Joan does not know where the city hall is.’

- Only remnant movement to a left-branching Spec will not derive the linear orders for postverbal CPs.
- Need for right Specs below C^0 and above Neg (cf. Belletti's 2004 Low IP area: low FocP and TopP).
- Still, some postverbal CPs seem to be genuinely in base position.

An asymmetry with control
predicates?

LIS

- GIANNI CONTRACT SIGN FORGET
 - GIANNI ____ BUY FORGET WHICH?
- Proposal for LIS: non-finite complements can stay in situ

Control complements



JOAN [WATER TURN-OFF] FORGET
'Joan forgot to turn off the water.'

Control complements



JOAN WATER FORGET TURN-OFF
'Joan forgot to turn off the water.'

Control complements



___wh
JOAN MUST PUNISH WHO
'who must punish Joan?'

Control Vs

- Cinque (2006): subject control verbs (“restructuring” Vs) are functional and do not give rise to biclausal structures. (cf. Cardinaletti & Shlonsky 2004, though)
- Restructuring Vs are not permutable (specified hierarchy)
- Object control verbs are not “restructuring” Vs.

Crosslinguistic differences

- LIS

[S V] $O_{(sentential)}$ [(S) V]

- LSC

[S V] $O_{(sentential)}$

- With a twist in LSC...

- with object control verbs (non-restructuring)
- with inflected object CPs (finite?)
- Examples with scrambled constituents

object control complements



DOCTOR IX3 3AUX1 3ADVISE1 [IX1 EAT VEGETABLES MORE++]
'The doctor advised me to eat many more veggies.'

Object control complements



DOCTOR IX3 3AUX1 [IX1 EAT VEGETABLES] 3ADVISE1 MORE++
'The doctor advised me to eat many more veggies.'

Conclusions

- Analyzing object CP-detachment in SLs as the consequence of a processing problem avoidance is conceptually and empirically problematic.
- More complex picture of the distribution of dependent CPs emerges when further functional structure in interaction with the CP is brought into the analysis.
- Ultimately, the accounts of SOV languages displaying CP extraposition, irrespective of the modality, should be made compatible.

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