

Abolish Pure Subordinators!

For a strictly relational-selectional view of Complementation

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Goals of the talk:

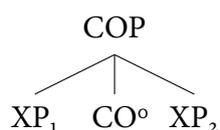
- explicate clausal Complementation
- argue against Pure Subordination
- re-evaluate Pure Subordinators

1 Subordination

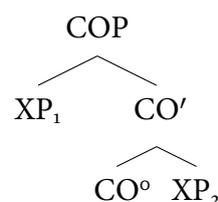
- first, let's have a look at **clausal integration**, and other theory-internal stuff
- **coordination** (\approx parataxis): coordinates are independent of each other

(1) $[_{XP_1}$ Kleanthes smokes], $[_{CO}$ and/but/or] $[_{XP_2}$ he's a syntactician].

(2) a. *Ternary-branching structure*



b. *Endocentric tripartite structure*

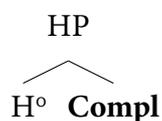


- **subordination** (\approx hypotaxis): argumental vs. adverbial subordination \rightarrow (clausal) Complements vs. (clausal) Adjuncts

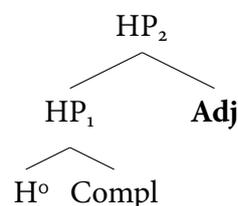
(3) Kleanthes says * $([_{Compl}$ that he's a syntactician]).

(4) Kleanthes smokes cigarettes ($[_{Adj}$ because he's a syntactician]).

(5) *Complement = sister of head H°*



(6) *(Right-) Adjunct = sister of HP₁*



- both Compls and Adjs are **dependent** structures (i.e. they can't stand on their own):

- (7) a. *That he's a syntactician.
 b. *Because he's a syntactician.

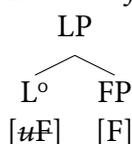
- but: omission of Adjs leaves the remaining matrix clause intact, omission of Compls not:

- (8) a. *Kleanthes says ~~that he's a syntactician~~.
 b. Kleanthes smokes cigarettes ~~because he's a syntactician~~.

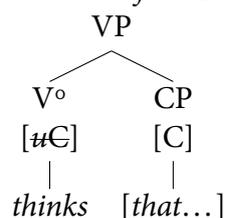
- Compls are **tightly integrated** into complex sentential structures, while Adjs are less so (5)/(6) (semantically, **argumental** Compls saturate V → **obligatory**)

- **Complementation** as c-selection (subcategorisation): a lexical head L° selects for a functional head F°/feature [*u*F] → selection as Sister-Merge, Merge as AGREE (cf. Boeckx, 2008): a PROBE [*u*F] on L° searches for the closest matching GOAL [F] on F° (L[*u*F]... F[F] → L[~~*u*F~~]... F[F])

- (9) *L° selects for FP*

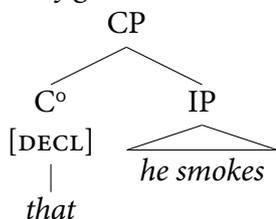


- (10) *V° selects for CP*

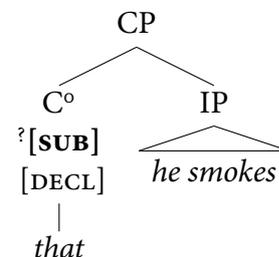


Q: What is the nature of [F]? Is it a **subordination feature** [SUB] contained in F° (typically C°) targeted by [*u*F], thereby establishing a subordinate dependency? Or is [F] really a categorial feature ([C], [I], [*v*] or [Force], [Fin], etc.), subordination being an epiphenomenal – **configurational** – dependency (as with θ -roles given the UTAH)?

- (11) *Configurational*



- (12) *Featural*



Proposal: along minimalist guidelines, the configurational (= phrase-structural) contrast between Compls and Adjs given in (5)/(6) above should suffice to interpret Complementation **configurationally** rather than **featurally**.

(13) CLAUSAL COMPLEMENTATION

A clausal Complement is the sister FP of $L^\circ (= V^\circ)$. The configuration [_{LP} L° FP] is established by AGREE(L,F) (= c-selection), where the PROBE [μ F] on L° agrees with the matching feature [F] heading its Merge-partner FP.

- L° can c-select for Compls headed by variable **types of F°** , corresponding to different semantic entities: $\nu^\circ = \text{EVENT}$, $\text{Asp}^\circ = \text{SITUATION/INTERVAL}$, $\text{Fin}^\circ = \text{PROPOSITION}$, $C^\circ = \text{UTTERANCE/SPEECH ACT}$ → different partitions of syntactic structure correspond to different semantic entities (cf. e.g. Svenonius 2008:67ff.)

(14) *see*[μ Force] – *see*[μ Asp]

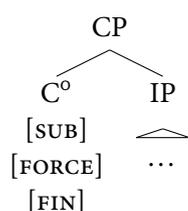
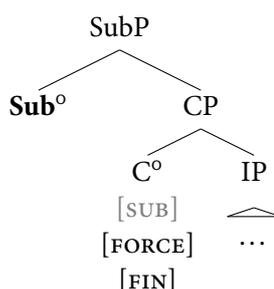
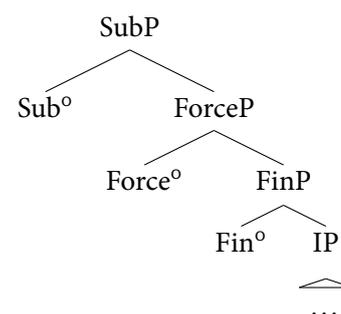
- I saw [_{ForceP} that Kleantes smoked a cigarette]. (But actually it was a cigar...)
- I saw [_{AspP} Kleantes smoke a cigarette]. (#But actually it was a cigar...)

But: Despite conceptual issues, there *is* empirical (= positional) evidence for **Pure Subordinators...**

2 Pure subordinators

background...

- **Pure Subordinators** (*Subs*) revive the traditional view of the function of COMPs (also cf. Hockett 1958: 194, Matthews 1981: 192, Quirk et al. 1985: 997): “lexical complementizers in languages like English also function as **markers of subordination** [*emphasis mine*], wherefore the traditional designation is ‘subordinating conjunction’” (Bhatt 1999:152)
- **cartographies:** CFCs (‘macro-categories’: C° , I° , ν°) are really more fine-grained sequences ($C^\circ = \text{Force}^\circ > \text{Fin}^\circ$; cf. Rizzi 1997 *et seq.*) → motivation: (i) functionally different COMPs (Force-typers, finiteness-markers), (ii) multiple COMPs, (iii) position of COMPs w.r.t. discourse-fronted elements (topic, focus, etc.)
- **root/embedded asymmetry** (cf. e.g. Bayer 2004): [SUB] is sometimes considered a feature contained in *embedded* C° alongside [FORCE, FIN, TOP/FOC, etc.] → in certain languages, under certain circumstances, [SUB] seems to **project independently** as **the highest head** in the C-domain (an option considered in Rizzi 1997: 328, fn. 6, citing Bhatt & Yoon 1992: $\text{Sub}^\circ > \text{Force}^\circ > \text{Fin}^\circ$)
- **analytic vs. synthetic patterns** (cf. Fortuny 2008): features may be lexicalised synthetically (a.k.a. **syncretically**), as one unsplit head, or analytically, with *some* (not necessarily all, but keeping with hierarchical ordering restrictions) feature(s) projecting independently (cf. Giorgi & Pianesi’s 1997:15 *feature scattering*, Fortuny’s 2008:62 *feature spreading*) → the reason for analytic patterning aren’t clear, though... (simply parametric variation?)

(15) *Synthetic C°*(16) *Analytic C°*(17) *Max. Analytic C°*

Rule of thumb: Since e.g. for selectional reasons (cf. 3) the highest head in the C-domain is generally considered to be related to Sentential **Force** (a.k.a. Sentence Mood, Clause Type) – *think* selects for a DECLARATIVE Complement, *ask* for an INTERROGATIVE one –, any element intervening between V° and the Force-marker needs to be accounted for – e.g. in terms of **Pure Subordinators**

$$[_{VP} V^\circ [_{Comp} X^\circ [Force^\circ \dots]]]$$

2.1 Kashmiri (Bhatt & Yoon 1992, Bhatt 1999)

- Bhatt & Yoon (1992), an early precursor to Rizzi's (1997) *et seq.* split-CP hypothesis, propose Sub° for Kashmiri (as well as Korean and Japanese)¹
- Kashmiri is a **symmetrical V2-language**: V2 (= V-to-C movement) also holds in embedded clauses introduced by a COMP (\neq e.g. German)

- (18) a. Gestern **rauchte**_{V2} Kleanthes wenig Zigaretten.
yesterday smoked Kleanthes few cigarettes
- b. Ich glaube, dass_C gestern Kleanthes wenig Zigaretten **rauchte**.
I think that yesterday Kleanthes few cigarettes smoked

- (19) a. raath khyav_{V2} tem batI (Bhatt 1999:47)
yesterday ate he food
- b. me buuz [ki_C raath **vuch**_{V2} rameshan shiila] (Bhatt 1999:98)
I heard that yesterday saw Ramesh Sheila

- **parametric theory of V2**: (i) universal requirement for overt clause-typing (cf. Weerman 1989, Cheng 1991), be it verbal (e.g. V2), or non-verbal (e.g. *dass* 'that'); (ii) COMP consists of [FORCE] and [SUB], parametrically either lexicalised synthetically or analytically

¹In their system, Sub° is adjoined to $M(ood)^\circ$ (= Rizzi's 1997 $Force^\circ$) instead of projecting independently, which is problematic given the ban on maximal Head Adjunction *qua* the Uniformity Condition (cf. Chomsky 1994:406). Like others, I reinterpret Sub° as an independently projecting feature.

- Kashmiri seems to realise [SUB] separately from Force-markers → it can have COMP + V₂ (19-b), and marks *Mood* independently of subordinators

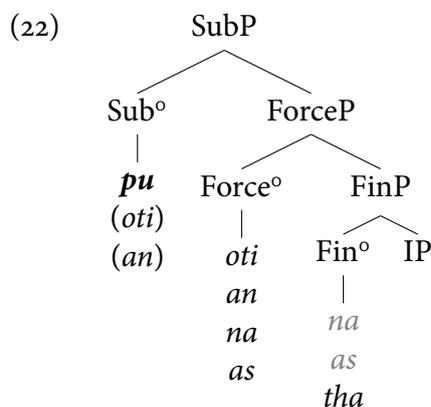
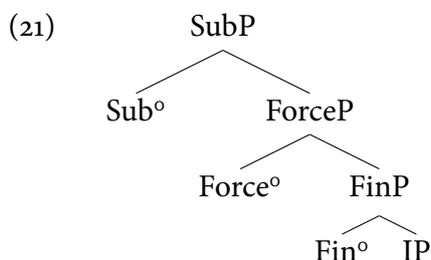
- (20) a. tem dop **ki** su gatshi-**hee** (from Bhatt & Yoon 1992:50)
 he said that he go-SUBJ
 ‘He said that he would go.’
- b. tem prutsh **ki** su gatshy-**aa**
 he asked that he go-INT
 ‘He asked if he goes.’

- problem: Bhatt & Yoon make no distinction between **Verb Mood** (VM) and **Sentence Mood** (p. 43: “a category that indicates clause-type, or Mood”; p. 47 “Mood is verbal”) – they assume that both V (V-to-C/V₂ or affixal Verbal Mood) and ‘particles’ (= COMPs) may satisfy the clause-typing condition in Force^o (their M^o) → by this reasoning, anytime an overt VM inflection co-occurs with what looks like a COMP, one must assume that the COMP is a mere Sub

But: even though there is indeed a strong dependency between Force and VM (the **C-Infl link** in Fortuny’s 2008 terms), it isn’t desirable to simply conflate these two categories into one – if not for the fact that e.g. INDICATIVE (or: default VM) can co-occur with (at least) two clause types DECLARATIVES and INTERROGATIVES!

2.2 Modern Greek (Roussou 2000)

- Roussou 2000 reanalyses the Greek C-domain based on Rizzi’s (1997) system, expanding it by another projection dominating Force^o: **Sub**^{o2}
- based on the distribution of C-related **particles**: Subordinator *pu*, Force-COMPs *oti* (DECL) and *an* (INT), Force-indicator *as* (IMPER), negators *den* and *min*, modal particles *na* (SUBJ) and *tha* (FUT) (cf. pp. 65, 79)



²I assimilated Roussou 2000’s labels for the tripartite C-domain to more common ones: Sub^o is her C^o, Force^o is her C_{Op}, and Fin^o is her C_M (approximately).

- among other diagnostics (*Wackernagel* clitics, high negators), Roussou bases her analysis on (Rizzi-style) ordering restrictions on C-heads and discourse-fronted elements (topics, foci) → the fact that *pu* cannot be preceded by a topic, while the Force-COMP *oti* can, suggests that *pu* is a **high C-head** (i.e. $\text{Sub}^{\circ} > \text{Top}^{\circ} > \text{Force}^{\circ} > \dots$) → a **Pure Subordinator**

- (23) a. *nomizo* [*ta mila oti den tha ta fai o petros*]
 think-1sg the apples that not PRT them eat-3sg the Peter
 ‘I think that the apples Peter won’t eat.’
 (cf. Roussou 2000:76)
- b. *thelun ena voitho* [(**ta aglika*) **pu** *ta aglika na ta milai kala*]
 want-3pl an assistant the English that the English PRT them speak-3sg well
 ‘They want an assistant who speaks English well.’
 (cf. Roussou 2000:78)

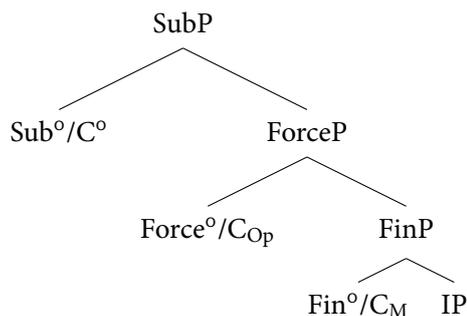
- it’s not clear to me in how far the *pu* heading **relative clauses** (23-b) can be likened to subordinating COMP-like elements typical of clausal Complements; Roussou notes in passing that *pu* also introduces **factive** Complements, which might be taken as indicative of a function other than ‘pure subordination’ (factivity/presupposition?)

- (24) *O Yanis lipate* [**pu** *mallon den tha parevrethi sti sinandisi*]
 the John is sorry that probably not will attend-3sg in the meeting
 ‘John is sorry/regrets that probably he won’t attend the meeting.’
 (from Basse 2008:57)

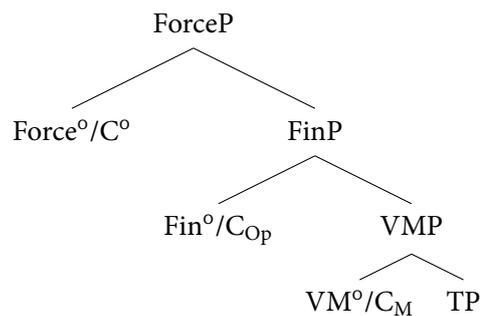
- I won’t go into Roussou’s argumentation in detail, but I speculate that a Sub-less redesign can be achieved by lowering her tripartite system by one storey so that her lowest C-head C_M emerges as the **highest I-head** encoding **Verbal Mood** – an ‘inflectional’ category that is often overlooked when disussing the fine structure of the I-domain (actually, Roussou 2000:66 herself discusses e.g. Rivero 1994, who actually assumes *na* and *tha* to be realisations of VM°)

- (25) $I^{\circ} = VM^{\circ} > T^{\circ} > Asp^{\circ} > \nu P$

- (26) *Roussou’s (2000) C-domain*



- (27) *Redesign*



- one objection Roussou (2000:71) makes to this redesign is that non-inflectional (non-affixal) VM could not be licensed by an **I-head** (pertaining to the inflectional domain) → however, this is an unwarranted assumption given that based on the type of a language (analytic, isolating, synthetic, agglutinative, etc.) I-heads can well be realised **analytically**, as is easily demonstrated by the English verbal cluster, where inflectional TAM-features (except for Tense) are realised separately

(28) Fritz [_{VM}P might [_{TP} have [_{AspP} been too friendly...]]]

3 Locality of Selection

- as noted above (9), **adjacency** of some sort seems to be crucial to Complementation (this is noted by Bhatt & Yoon's 1992:42, but not considered a problem) → given that the selectional dependency between a Selector and a Selectee must be met somehow (e.g. *think* selecting for Force[DECL]), can V° simply skip Sub°, and target Force°?
- of course, given Grimshaw's 1991 **Extended Projections** (I° and ?C° are extensions of V°) one could assume the relevant Goal-feature ([F]) to **percolate** to the highest head of the Complement, but this gets problematic in a model, in which **single features project**

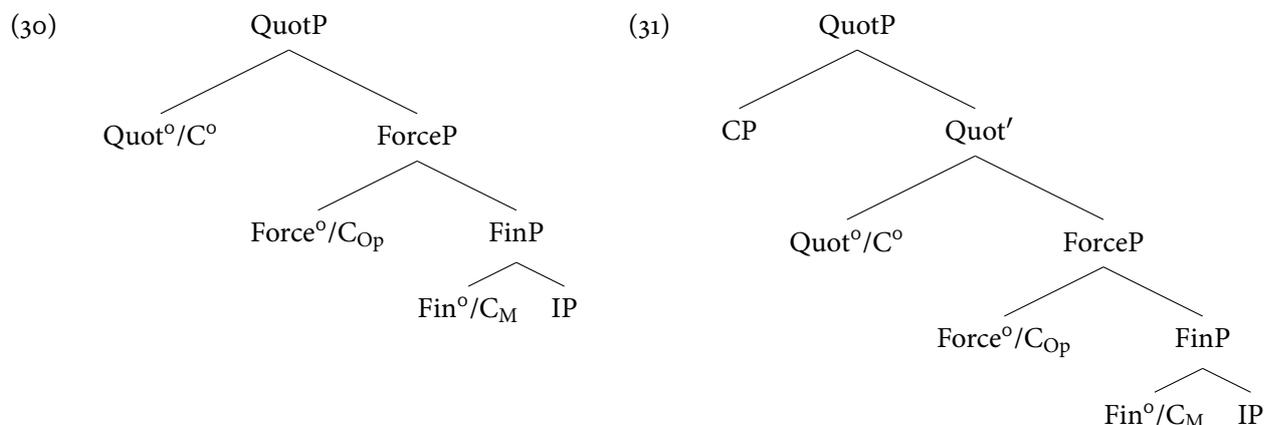
4 A modest proposal: Quotative COMP

- in order to accommodate a sequence Sub° > Force° (cf. the rule of thumb above), we actually *do* need an explanation (unless we'd want to stipulate that two given C-elements really occupy Force° > Fin° – which I think is stipulative given a Force-marker in Fin°, instead of Force°...)
- one solution suggested to me by Günther Grewendorf (p.c.) concerns the **semantics/pragmatics of Sub°** (or, the lack thereof): it might be a marker of syntactic dependency signalling “I'm not being uttered as a speech act!” → though a tad more explanatory, this account still suffers from the **circularity** discussed above (‘selected subordination’, configurational Complementation)
- one way to a solution might be to **re-interpret** Sub° as another element → as a **quotative COMP** (particle)

(29) *Catalan*

- a. Pregunten [**que si** hi anirem]
ask.3pl that if Cl-LOC go.IND.FUT.3pl
‘They ask if we will go.’
(Adger & Quer 1997:47f.)
- b. Pregunten [**si** hi anirem]
ask.3pl that Cl-LOC go.IND.FUT.3pl
‘They ask if we will go.’

- although Adger & Quer themselves propose a Sub^o-analysis for *que* in (29-a), I think that the pragmatic contrast (29-a) vs. (29-b) can be explained by assuming a **quotative** particle heading the Complement in (29-a) (or heading an even larger macro-structure? (31))



- as suggested to me by Elena Castroieva (p.c.), *que* in (29-a) explicitly embeds a structure as **indirect speech**, while the Complement in (29-b) is genuinely interrogative → *ask* in (29-a) is a verb of saying, *ask* in (29-b) is a verb of asking

5 Summary

- at least conceptually, a featural theory of subordination seems undesirable since it faces violations of locality of selection, and a certain redundancy concerning the nature of subordination (Complementation)
- in need of a high C-position, one solution might be that Complements to certain types of verbs may be embedded by a quotative COMP marking indirect speech

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