‘Raising out of CP’ in modal and aspectual AVC in Amis

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ICAL-13
Purpose and Outline

• The purpose of this presentation is to show that adverbial verb construction (AVC) led by a modal or aspectual adverbial (Mod-Asp) displays a ‘raising out of CP’ construction and it possesses many characteristics of prolepsis.

• Outline of this presentation:
  a. An introduction to ‘raising out of CP’;
  b. Basic facts about Amis Mod-Asp AVC;
  c. Analyses of different approaches;
  d. Discussion and questions
Raising out of CP

• ‘Raising out of CP’ is a structure in which an argument of a finite embedded clause occurs in a non-thematic position in the matrix clause.

• Examples:

(1) a. Siti ngera Hasan bari’ melle motor
    Siti AV.think Hasan yesterday buy car
    ‘Yesterday, Siti thought Hasan to have bought a car.’ (Davies, 2005, p. 645)

b. Hasanı e-kera Siti bari’ [(ja) aba’engı melle motor]
    Hasanı OV-think Siti yesterday[(COMP) heı AV.buy car
    ‘Hasan was thought by Siti yesterday to have bought a car.’ (Davies, 2005, p. 650)
Proposed Analyses

• (1) $A'$-movement (Nakamura, 2000; Liu, 2011)
• (2) Base-generated A-chain (Potsdam & Runner, 2001)
• (3) Finite control (Potsdam & Polinsky, 2007; Landau, 2004)
• (4) Prolepsis (Davies, 2005)
Raising out of CP in Amis

• Raising out of CP has been reported in Amis, the largest Formosan language, too.
• Liu (2011) termed it “raising to trigger” (RtoT).
• Example:

\[(2) \text{ Raising-to-trigger (RtoT)}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ka-vanaʔ-an} & \quad \text{nura} \quad \text{wawa} \quad \text{kura kapah}_{i} \quad \text{[cP OP}_{i} \quad \text{Ø} \\
\text{LT-know-LT} & \quad \text{NOM.that} \quad \text{childT.that} \quad \text{young man} \quad \text{LNK} \\
\text{[na-mi-r̥epəʔ} & \quad \text{________}_{i} \quad \text{tu} \quad \text{ʔayam]}
\end{align*}
\]

\begin{align*}
\text{PERF-AT-catch} & \quad \text{ACC} \quad \text{chicken} \\
\text{‘That child knows (that) that young man has caught a chicken.’}
\end{align*}

\[\text{(Liu 2011: 119)}\]
Raising out CP in Amis

• Liu (2011) proposes that ‘the raised NP’ is base-generated in the matrix clause and the co-indexation is formed via a null operator movement, a kind of A’-movement.
Raising out of CP in Amis

• There is another kind of ‘raising out of CP’ in Amis.
• It is found in structures involving modal (e.g. should, can) and aspectual adverbial verbs (e.g. often, almost).
Mod-Asp AVC in Amis

- They are presented in different structures.
- Examples:

(3)

a. Mangata ci aki (a) mi-lahec t-u-ra tataliden
   AV-close Nom-PPn Aki (LNK) AV-finish Dat-Cm-that homework
   ‘Aki almost finishes that homework.’

b. Mangata (u) ma-ma-lahec n-i aki k-u-ra tataliden
   AV-close (LNK) RED-UV-finish Gen-PPn Aki Nom-Cm-that homework
   ‘Aki almost finishes that homework.’

c. Mangata n-i aki (u) ma-ma-lahec (ningra) k-u-ra tataliden
   UV-close Gen-PPn Aki (LNK) RED-UV-finish (3rd.sg.Gen) Nom-Cm-that homework
   ‘Aki almost finishes that homework.’
Mod-Asp AVC in Amis

• This study focuses on the following ones.

\[\text{(4)}\]

\begin{align*}
\text{a. Ma-ngata } & \text{n-i} \quad \text{aki (u)} \quad \text{ma-ma-lahec} \quad \text{(ningra)} \quad \text{k-u-ra} \quad \text{tatiliden} \\
\text{UV-close} & \quad \text{Gen-PPn} \quad \text{aki (LNK)} \quad \text{RED-UV-finish} \quad (3^{rd}\text{.Sg.Gen}) \quad \text{Nom-Cm-that homework} \\
& \quad \text{‘Aki almost finishes that homework.’}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{b. Pa-rarid} & \quad \text{ci aki ma-mi-palu’ (cingra)} \quad \text{ci panay-an} \\
\text{Cau-often} & \quad \text{Nom-PPnAki RED-AV-beat (3^{rd}\text{.Sg.Nom}) PPn Panay-Dat} \\
& \quad \text{‘Aki will often beat Panay.’}
\end{align*}
Facts about Mod-Asp AVC

• (1) They can take voice marker, TMA applicative, imperative and argument.
• (2) They can not introduce two arguments without the help of a lexical verb.
• (3) They must precede the lexical verb.
Facts about Mod-Asp AVC

(5)

a. Ma-ngata kaku
   AV-close 1st.Sg.Nom
   ‘I am almost there.’ Or ‘I am getting close.’

b. Pa-rarid-ay ci aki (a) mi-palu’ ci panay-an
   Cau-often-Fac Nom-PPn Aki (LNK) AV-beat PPn Panay-Dat
   ‘Aki often beat Panay (in the past).’

c. Rarid-an (a) mi-palu’ ci panay
   Oft-en-IMP (LNK) AV-beat Nom-PPn Panay
   ‘Often beat Panay.’

d. *Pa-rarid ci aki ci panay-an
   Cau-often Nom-PPn Aki PPn Panay-Dat

d. *Mi-palu’ ci aki pa-rarid ci panay-an
   AV-beat Nom-PPn Aki Cau-often Nom Panay-Dat
Complementation vs. Adjunction

• There are two pieces of evidence supporting complementation analysis.
• First of all, the order of adverbial verb and lexical verb is not permutable.
• Secondly, it can take the whole embedded clause as an argument.
Examples for complementation

(6)

a. Ma-ngata n-i  aki ku pi-laheci t-u-ra  tatiliden
   UV-close Gen-PPn Aki KU PI-finish Dat-Cm-that study
   ‘Aki almost finishes that study.’

b. ma-ngata ku pi-laheci n-i  aki t-u-ra  tatiliden
   UV-close KU PI-laheci Gen-PPn Aki Dat-Cm-that study
   ‘Aki almost finishes that study.’
Evidence against raising/movement analysis

- Coordinate Structure Constraint (Ross, 1967).
- Idiom chunks
Evidence against raising/movement analysis

(7) Coordinate Structure Constraint

```
ma-rarid     n-i     aki     ma-samsam     ningra     3rd.Sg.Gen     atu     n-i
UV-often     Gen-PPn Aki     UV-bully        3rd.Sg.Gen     atu     Gen-PPn
kacaw       ci       panay
Kacaw       Nom-PPm  Panay

‘Panay was often bullied by Aki and Kacaw.’
Or ‘Aki (he) and Kacaw often bullied Panay.’
```
Evidence against raising/movement analysis

(8) Idiom chunks testing

a. ma-laliw  n-u  keral
   UV-leave  Gen-Cm  tide
   Lit: ‘It’s too late.’
b. ma-ngata  ma-laliw  n-u  keral
   UV-close  UV-leave  Gen-Cm  tide
   ‘It’s almost too late.’
c. ma-ngata  n-u  keral  ma-laliw
   UV-close  Gen-Cm  tide  UV-leave
   ‘The ebb is almost over.’
Evidence against null operator movement

- No reconstruction effect
- Parasitic gap
Evidence against null operator movement

(9)

a. ma-ri’ang n-i aki i k-u tireng nira i
   UV-not take care Gen-PPn Aki Nom-Cm body 3rd.Sg.Gen
   ‘Aki does not take care of himself.’

b. ma-palu’ n-u malamamaay i k-u wawa ningra i
   UV-beat Gen-Cm every father Nom-Cm child 3rd.Sg.Gen
   ‘Every father i beats his i child.’
Evidence against null operator movement

(10) No reconstruction effect

(a) Pa-rarid k-u tireng niraₐ ma-ri’ang n-i akiᵢ
   Neut-often Nom-Cm body 3rd.Sg.Gen UV-care Gen-PPn Aki

   ‘Akiᵢ often cares about hisₐ body.’

(b) t-u-ni a niyaru, pa-rarid k-u wawa niraₐ
   Dat-Cm-this LNK tribe, Neut-often Nom-Cm child 3rd.Sg.Gen
   ma-palu’ n-u malamamaayᵢ
   UV-beat Gen-Cm every father

   ‘In this tribe, every fatherᵢ often beats hisₐ child.’
Evidence against null operator movement

• Amis wh-movement can license a parasitic gap as in (11).

(11)

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{cima} & \text{sa-ka-‘ulah-an} & \text{n-u} & \text{misu} & \text{ca’ay-ay} \\
\text{Who} & \text{SA-Ka-like-NMZ} & \text{Gen-Cm} & 2^{nd}\text{.Sg.Nom} & \text{NEG-Fac} \\
\text{ku} & \text{ka-fana’-an} & \text{(cingra-an)} & \text{\_\_\_\_i} \\
\text{KU} & \text{KA-know-NMZ} & \text{\(3^{rd}\text{.Sg.Dat}\)} & \text{\_\_\_\_i} \\
\text{‘Who do you like without knowing (him)?’}
\end{array}
\]
Evidence against null operator movement

• Unlike wh-movement, in Mod-Asp AVC, at least one pronoun must be spelled out and this pronoun is not necessarily the ‘raised’ NP. Thus, the optionality of pronoun in an adjunct here may not be case of parasitic gap licensing, thus, not a case of A’-movement.

(12)
Liu’s analysis

• The test of parasitic gap also shows that the underlying structure of Mod-AVC differs from that RtoT in Liu (2011). As shown below, parasitic gap is only possible for ‘raised’ NP and is not licensed by any other ‘non-raised’ argument in the matrix clause.

(13)

Ka-fana’-an n-u-ra wawa$_i$ k-u-ra kapah$_j$ na
KA-know-Appl Gen-Cm-that child Nom-Cm-that young man Pst
mi-repet t-u ‘ayam awa-ay ku mi-padang-ay
AV-chase Dat-Cm chicken NEG-Fac KU AV-help-Fac
(*cingra$_i$) (cingra-an$_j$)
(*3$_{rd}$.Sg.Nom) (3$_{rd}$.Sg.Dat)

‘That child knows that young man has caught a chicken without help.’
Finite control?

• There are movement (Potsdam & Polinsky, 2007) and non-movement (Landau, 2004) approaches to finite control.

• Movement one may face the challenge of violating Coordinate Structure Constraint.
Finite control
The Scale of Finiteness and Calculus of Control

• Landau (2004) proposes that the analysis of finiteness and control is sensitive to two features, [Tense] and [Agr], on I’ and C’. The phenomena of control are interplay of feature calculus and basic syntactic operations, such as feature checking (Landau, 2004, p. 872).
Finite control
The Scale of Finiteness and Calculus of Control

Specifying [T] on embedded I’/C’

a. Anaphoric tense -> [-T] on I’/C’

b. Dependent tense -> [+T] on I’/C’

c. Independent tense -> [+T] on I’/Ø on C’

Specifying [Agr] on embedded I’/c’

a. On I’: i) overt agreement -> [+Agr]

   ii) abstract agreement -> [-Agr]

   iii) no agreement -> Ø

b. On C’: i) [+Agr] -> [+T]

   ii) otherwise -> Ø

R-assignment rule: For X’ [α, β Agr] ∈ {I’, C’ ...}:

Ø -> [+R]/X’ {__}, if α=β=‘+’

Ø -> [-R]/X’/elsewhere

(Landau, 2004, p. 869-871)
In Amis Mod-Asp AVC..

- I assume it involves independent tense and overt agreement.
- Then, we will have Ø on C’, [+T, +Agr] on I’, rendering [+R] on I’ and thus, no control.

(14)

Pararid ci Aki anu ikur ma-mi-palu’ ci panay-an
Cau-often Nom-PPn Aki in the future RED-AV-beat PPn Panay-Dat
‘Aki will often beat Panay in the future.’
Prolepsis vs. Copy Raising

• Copy Raising (CR), first termed by Rogers (1971), is “a construction in which some constituent appears in a non-thematic position with its thematic position occupied by a nominal copy” (Potsdam & Runner, 2001, p.1).
• In prolepsis, ‘raised’ NP is base-generated and non-theta marked in the matrix clause.
• They are still different.
## Prolepsis vs. CR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Proleptic NP</th>
<th>CR (English)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cognitive synonym/Thematic identity</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matrix NP must be complement subject</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idiomatic meaning retention</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Embedded argument in adverbial clause</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taking finite complement</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immunity to island condition</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Davies, 2005, p. 660)
Prolepsis vs. CR

• In previous PPT, we have seen no idiomatic interpretation retention, “raised” NP’s immunity to coordinate structure island, finite complement clause.
Prolepsis vs. CR

- Thematic identity is not always consistent across different Mod-Asp adverbial verbs.

(15)

| a. ma-ngata | (a) ma-mi-laheci | ci | aki | t-u-na |
| Neut-close | (LNK) IRR-AV-finish | Nom-PPn | Aki | Dat-Cm-that |
| tatiliden study | ‘Aki almost finishes that study.’ |

| b. ma-ngata | ci | aki | (a) ma-mi-laheci | t-u-na |
| Neut-close | Nom-PPn | Aki | (LNK) IRR-AV-finish | Dat-Cm-that |
| tatiliden study | ‘Aki almost finishes that study.’ |
Prolepsis vs. CR

- However, the ‘raised’ NP is only possible when it is the nominative NP or the genitive actor in the original embedded clause. That is, those eligible to be ‘raised NP’ are the ones sharing the split subject status.
Prolepsis vs. CR

• Besides, though it is possible for an argument in adverbial clause to appear as ‘raised’ NP, it has the help of an applicative.

(15)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a. pa-rarid</th>
<th>tu</th>
<th>ma-ngaic</th>
<th>ci</th>
<th>aki</th>
<th>nawhani</th>
<th>ca’ay</th>
<th>ka</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cau-often</td>
<td>Asp</td>
<td>Neut-cry</td>
<td>Nom-PPn</td>
<td>Aki</td>
<td>because</td>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>KA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa-suwal</td>
<td>k-u</td>
<td>wawa</td>
<td>ningra</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>SA-say</td>
<td>Nom-Cm</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>3rd.Sg.Gen</td>
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<td>‘Aki is often sad that his children don’t talk (to each other).’</td>
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<tr>
<th>b. raird-an</th>
<th>k-u</th>
<th>wawa</th>
<th>ningra</th>
<th>(a) ma-lalum</th>
<th>ci</th>
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<tr>
<td>often-Appl</td>
<td>Nom-Cm</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>3rd.Sg.Gen</td>
<td>(LNK) Neut-sad</td>
<td>Nom-PPm</td>
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<tr>
<td>aki</td>
<td>nawhani</td>
<td>ca’ay</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>sa-suwal</td>
<td>cangra</td>
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Summary and Discussion

• To sum up, Amis Mod-Asp AVC is structured with some properties of prolepsis.
• However, it is typologically rare to see proleptic NP being the subject.
• In addition, more explanation is needed for the co-indexation between ‘raised NP’ and a conjunct in a coordinate construction.
Questions?

Thank you for your attending. Questions and comments are welcome!
Selected references


