Discourse-driven scrambling to the peripheries in Child Tamil

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1. A prediction about word order in subject questions

A pre-verbal focus position. Jayaseelan (2001, 2010), noticing that *wh*-question words have to be immediately pre-verbal in the SOV Dravidian language Malayalam, argues that *wh*- moves to an IP-internal focus position. His data and analysis generalize to the other literary Dravidian languages Kannada, Telugu and Tamil. Here we discuss child Tamil. In (1), the subject question word 'who' appears below the object, to the verb's left: a position that cannot be COMP.

1. Tamil. onn-e   yaarɨ   aḏicc-aa?   OSV
         you-ACC.   who   beat.PST-Q   'Who beat you?'

To account for the apparently rightward, downward movement of a subject *wh*-word to a pre-verbal position, Jayaseelan invokes Antisymmetry. He proposes that the *wh*-word in (1) moves to a pre-verbal focus position (first motivated for Hungarian; also, Rizzi's (1997) articulated COMP-space allows *wh*-movement to COMP to generalize with focus movement to the left periphery), and the other arguments (i.e. the object in (1)) vacate the VP.

1b.   [IP … [FocP *yaarɨ* 'who' [*v*P ~~yaarɨ 'who'~~ [VP V *onn-e* 'you-ACC.']]

A post-verbal topic position. A post-verbal topic position, first noticed by Tirumalesh (1996) for Kannada, is reiterated by Jayaseelan for Malayalam, cf. (2). Both authors point out that indefinite NPs, which cannot be topics, cannot appear post-verbally. In (2), the topic follows Finite NEG; our Tamil child data show that the topic also follows the question particle, presumably in ForceP.

2. Malayalam. aarum kaND-illa,   aaṉa-ye.
          nobody saw-NEG   elephant-ACC   'The elephant, nobody saw.'

Given a pre-verbal Focus position and a post-verbal Topic position, a simple prediction follows: a Tamil *wh*-word must move to a pre-verbal focus position, but it cannot move to a post-verbal topic position. I.e. a subject question must manifest a scrambled order: *SOV, √OSV; but it cannot manifest a scrambled order *OVS.

Canonical word order and scrambling in child Tamil.   We show that subject questions in early child Tamil (26-29 months) obey these three restrictions. This argues that child scrambling moves arguments out of canonical positions to "criterial" positions to check topic/ focus features. Canonical word orders OV, N-Postposition, and pre-verbal complements to *be* are seen at the two word stage at 16-22 months (longitudinal data, Vanitha database (a girl) and MPI-CIEFL database (a boy)).

For scrambling, we analyse 22,811 utterances at 23-32 months (54 hours of longitudinal data from these two and a third, male subject, MPI-CIEFL database). Excluding utterances irrelevant to word order (SV, argument-drop, or inflected verb-only), 4485 utterances are identifiably head final. 4231 (over 94%) utterances are in canonical order, and 254 (5.6%) in non-canonical orders (e.g. OSV/Complement SV, OVS, SVO, DO-IO). In all our data, if a verb is overt, the *wh*-word is immediately pre-verbal. There are 25 subject questions that show pre-verbal *wh*- below (i) the object (OSV: 6 instances), (ii) the complement (Cpl.S *be*: 17 instances), or (iii) the adjunct.

3. OSV a. co piis   taattɨ   kuttaa?   b. idɨ yaarɨ kuɖtaa?   2;03.20
        chalk piece   who (baby talk) give.PST.3PL.   this who   give.PST.3PL.

        'Who gave (the) chalk piece?'   'Who gave this?'

There are 124 subjects in canonical S position in SOV sentences, but no *wh-* subject is in canonical S position. There are 71 post-verbal subjects, but no OVS subject questions. The 6 OVS questions are all object questions. There are no object questions where O is post-verbal.

II.   Related Empirical and Theoretical issues

Japanese, an SOV language, also prohibits post-verbal *wh-*words (Murasugi and Sugisaki 2008). Declaratives permit a scrambled order SVO, but SVO is prohibited in object questions. This restriction is early-acquired, and claimed as evidence for the child's knowledge of canonical versus movement-derived word orders. However, no explanation is offered for the restriction. We suggest that in Japanese as in Dravidian, the post-verbal position may be a topic, which cannot host the inherently focused *wh-*word.

Mathew (2015) proposes an alternative account of (1) in Malayalam that does not assume Antisymmetry. The *wh-* is an indefinite that remains *in situ*. Indefinite subjects trigger object topicalization (*'A person Priya saw, √Priya a person saw') into "a Topic position available in the left periphery of Malayalam, a la Rizzi (1997)" (p.26); the leftmost element is a default topic. All "items that might otherwise appear between the Wh and the verb" in (1), including "PPs, adverbs etc.," move to topic positions at the left periphery.

Mathew's (M's) proposal also correctly derives the 3 orders *SOV, √OSV, *OVS for subject questions (the *wh-*word cannot be post-verbal because an indefinite cannot be a topic). But (we must point out, in response to a reviewer) it too appeals to "cartographic encoding." The difference is that M resorts purely to leftward topic movement of all non-question word elements, instead of focus movement to a focus position for *wh-*. We are aware of no non-cartographic account of the data in (1), and so do not agree with the reviewer that the cartographic analysis is "the issue at stake" ("children have early movement to criterial positions only if the cartographic analysis is correct to begin with").

The real issue is M's rejection of Antisymmetry. We are aware of purely syntactic arguments that favour the Antisymmetric account, and suggest that it is more complete and coherent. W.r.t. our data, however, child data corpora are accidental enough, and child Tamil utterances elliptical enough, that they cannot on their own decide between the two syntactic accounts. Our main concern here is to add to a claim that scrambling is, in some languages, acquired very early, and in a principled way.

A reviewer points out that in a structure with a "nominalized" verb ("Who is it that John saw?") an OVS subject question (i.e. a post-verbal *wh-*) is allowed, and asks if S is not in a topic position here. Indeed it is not: it is the cleft focus. We show that S here can carry focus markers and/or a yes-no question particle, but S as post-verbal topic cannot. The cleft structure, which does not occur in our child data, is a major site of divergence in J's and M's accounts.

Select References Jayaseelan, K.A. 2001, 2010. IP-Internal Topic and Focus Phrases *Studia Linguistica* 55:1, 39-75; Stacking, Stranding, and Pied-Piping: A Proposal about Word Order *Syntax* 13:4, 298–330. Mathew, R. 2015 [2014]. *Head Movement in Syntax*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins [Doctoral disst., Trømso]. Murasugi, K. and Sugisaki, K. 2008. The Acquisition of Japanese Syntax. Chapter 10 in *The Oxford Handbook of Japanese Linguistics*, S. Miyagawa and M. Saito (eds.).

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Fine Tuning the Dravidian Left Periphery: The three 'complementizers' in Telugu & Kannada

KEY CONTRIBUTIONS: We show that not only are Speech Act (SA) operators and Speech Act Phrases (SAP) active in matrix clauses, they are also active in embedded clauses, and they interact with embedded question operators, and intervening complementizers, based on Q particle distribution and interpretation in Telugu & Kannada that shows sensitivity to the SAP and its contents. We propose that the Q particle *-oo* is a polarity item, explaining its peculiar distribution and interpretation in matrix/embedded *wh*-clauses in both Kannada & Telugu. We also show that the quotative complementizer forces exhaustification of alternatives under it, thus excluding the alternative activating *-oo* occuring below it in both the languages.

§1 THE QUESTION PARTICLE *-oo*: In matrix clauses in both Kannada & Telugu, the question particle *-oo* is good in *wh*-clauses only when interpreted either as being embedded under *wonder*, (1), or as an exclamation, (2), depending on whether the intonation is that of wondering ($?_w$) or exclaiming ($!_e$). An ordinary question interpretation arises only when *-oo* is left out, and the *wh*-clause is unmarked with question particles, (3) (All three are Telugu examples).

(1) enta duuram velleeD-oo $?_w$
    how far   went-oo
    'I wonder how far (he) went.'

(2) enta duuram velleeD-oo $!_e$
    how far   went-oo
    'How far (he) went!'

(3) enta duuram velleeDu
    how far   went
    'How far did (he) go?'

In embedded clauses, in Telugu, *-oo* marked *wh*-clauses can appear under both rogative and responsive predicates, but never with the quotative complementizer *ani*, (4). An unmarked *wh*-clauses can occur embedded in Telugu only under rogative predicates (with the quotative present) —with responsive predicates there is only a matrix scope reading, (5).
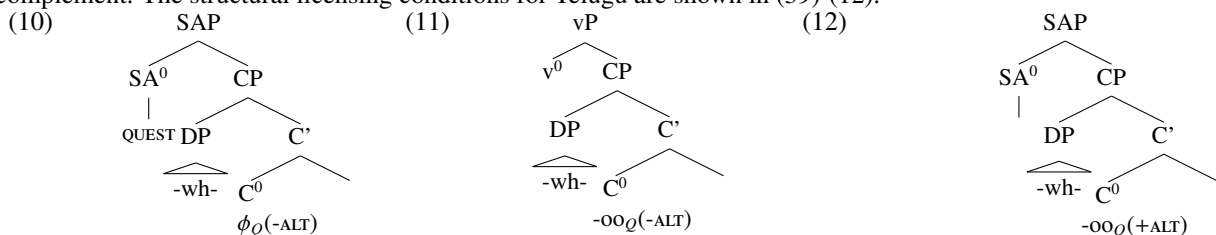
(4) eemi cadiveen-oo (*ani) aDigeeDu/ceppeeDu
    what read-oo   QUOT asked/told
    '(He) asked/told (me) what (I) read.'

(5) eemi cadiveenu *(ani) aDigeeDu/ceppeeDu
    what read   QUOT asked/told
    '(He) asked what (I) read.' & 'What did (he) say (I) read?'

In Kannada, *-oo* marked *wh*-clauses cannot appear under rogative predicates with a normal question interpretation (Amritavalli 2013 examples have the confound of a 'wonder' interpretation in the embedded clause, which easily happens and is difficult to control for). Under a rogative predicate this is only possible when the clause is unmarked, (6). Under responsive predicates, *-oo* is only licensed in non-veridical environments, (and without the quotative complementizer), an important discovery of Amritavalli (2013), (7)-(8). Unmarked *wh*-clauses can also occur under responsive predicates, both in veridical and non-veridical contexts (with the quotative complementizer), (9). (All Kannada examples adapted from Amritavalli 2013)
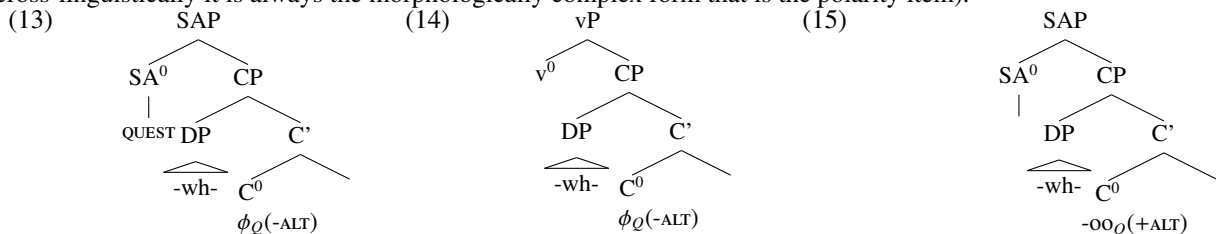
(6) idanna yaaru baredaru anta keeLide
    this-ACC who wrote   QUOT asked
    '(I) asked who wrote this.'

(7) yaaru bandar-oo (*anta) kanDu.hiDi-i/-ya beeku/-de-yaa
    who came-oo   QUOT find.out-IMP/-INF must/-2SG-Q
    '(You must)/ find out who came!' & 'Did you find out who came?'

(8) yaaru bandar-oo (*anta) gott-illa / *gottu
    who came-oo QUOT know-not / know
    '(I) don't know/*know who came.'

(9) yaaru bandaru anta gottu / gott-illa
    who came   QUOT know / know-not
    '(I) know / don't know who came.'

In both languages *-oo* marks the scope of the *wh*-clause. When unmarked, both matrix and embedded scope are available for the *wh*-clause in Kannada, and only matrix scope is available in Telugu.

§2 THE LICENSING CONDITIONS WE PROPOSE FOR *-oo*: There is a null question operator $[\phi]_Q$ (underlyingly a plain disjunction operator) in Telugu that is licensed under the SA operator QUEST. The overt question operator *-oo* in Telugu, which is also underlying disjunction, comes in two flavors, one that is alternative activating and is licensed under a SA operator, and the other version, that is not alternative activating, occuring directly under a matrix verb, without the mediation of a SAP, as a CP complement. The structural licensing conditions for Telugu are shown in (39)-(12).

(10)
```
        SAP
       /   \
    SA⁰     CP
     |     /  \
   QUEST DP    C'
        /\    /  \
      -wh-   C⁰
            φ_Q(-ALT)
```

(11)
```
        vP
       /  \
     v⁰    CP
          /  \
        DP    C'
       /\    /  \
     -wh-   C⁰
          -oo_Q(-ALT)
```

(12)
```
        SAP
       /   \
    SA⁰     CP
     |     /  \
          DP    C'
         /\    /  \
       -wh-   C⁰
            -oo_Q(+ALT)
```

The licensing conditions for the question operators in Kannada are the same as those in Telugu, with one difference —It is the null operator that is licensed directly under the matrix verb, without the mediation of the SAP. The Kannada licensing conditions are summarized in (42)-(15). Thus, the overt disjunction marker *-oo* in Kannada *wh*-clauses is always alternative activating, and the null disjunction marker is never alternative activating (in line with Chierchia 2013's observation that cross-linguistically it is always the morphologically complex form that is the polarity item).

(13)
```
        SAP
       /   \
    SA⁰     CP
     |     /  \
   QUEST DP    C'
        /\    /  \
      -wh-   C⁰
            φ_Q(-ALT)
```

(14)
```
        vP
       /  \
     v⁰    CP
          /  \
        DP    C'
       /\    /  \
     -wh-   C⁰
          φ_Q(-ALT)
```

(15)
```
        SAP
       /   \
    SA⁰     CP
     |     /  \
          DP    C'
         /\    /  \
       -wh-   C⁰
            -oo_Q(+ALT)
```

§3 THE QUOTATIVES: *ani* VS. *anta*: Another crucial difference between the Telugu & Kannada left peripheries is that the quotative, *ani*, in Telugu always embeds a SAP, whereas the Kannada quotative, *anta*, optionally embeds a SAP. However, in both languages the quotative is the head of UTTERANCEP and is placed at the very top of the embedded clausal spine.

§4 HOW THE DIFFERENCES IN LICENSING CONDITIONS PLAY OUT: The *wh*-item contributes Hamblin alternatives. The alternatives

grow by function application to propositional alternatives, at which point they encounter *-oo* or $[\phi]$ in the C-domain, which is the disjunction operator. This performs a join of the alternatives and yields an indefinite. In Kannada, alternatives are always activated at this point, with *-oo*. In Telugu, it depends on the version of *-oo*. In both languages alternatives are never activated with the $[\phi]_Q$ disjunction operator. IN EMBEDDED CLAUSES: Kannada: When the *-oo* marked *wh*-clause is under a responsive predicate like *know*, the alternatives activated by *-oo* need to be exhaustified without contradiction (the *wh*-CP is now a polarity item). This can happen only if exhaustification happens over negation, or with modal/imperative operators, etc. The SA operator ASSERT provides existential closure. Embedded negation or any other operator cannot scope over this. Only a matrix negation or other DE operator can. Exhaustification therefore can only happen in the matrix clause (like with non-strict NPIs). If the matrix clause does not contain a DE operator (or some such) that can exhaustify the alternatives, the derivation crashes. This explains why *-oo* in *wh*-clauses under responsive predicates in Kannada is licensed only under matrix non-veridicality operators. When the quotative complementizer *anta* is present in the embedded clause, it forces exhaustification in the same clause, it marks the scope of the exhaustification operator. But since exhaustification without contradiction can only happen in the matrix clause, whenever *anta* is present in the embedded clause, the derivation crashes. Therefore, *-oo* never surfaces with *anta*. With *anta*, it is $[\phi]_Q$ which occurs, because it does not need exhaustification, as it is not alternative activating. For the same reason, $[\phi]_Q$ can get inserted under veridical or non-veridical contexts of matrix responsive predicates. Under rogative predicates, *-oo* is blocked by $[\phi]_Q$, which gets inserted here. Telugu: The Telugu question operator *-oo*, which is non alternative-activating, is licensed directly under the matrix vP. It can therefore occur under all matrix predicates when they don't embed a SAP. Thus it can appear under both rogative and responsive predicates. When the quotative complementizer *ani* is present, it always embeds a SAP. Rogative predicates embed a QUEST SAP. Under this combination, the null question operator gets licensed, and blocks the insertion of *-oo*. Responsive predicates select for the ASSERT SAP. This cannot compose with a *wh*-CP. Hence under responsive predicates with *ani*, neither $[\phi]_Q$ nor *-oo* can survive. Therefore, *-oo* never surfaces with *ani*. IN MATRIX CLAUSES: matrix *wh*-clauses marked with *-oo* in both Kannada and Telugu are polarity items because of the alternatives activated by *-oo* (the non alternative-activating *-oo* available in Telugu is restricted to embedded clauses because of its structural licensing condition that it cannot be inserted under a SA operator, whereas a matrix clause always has a SA operator). Any negation/modal/imperative operators available in the matrix clause cannot take scope over the *-oo* in the CP. Thus the derivation crashes. When the SA operator is QUEST, the $[\phi]_Q$ operator gets inserted in the *wh*-CP, blocking the *-oo*$_Q$ operator. The only way for the *-oo* to surface in the matrix CP is if alternative exhaustification happens above it in the CP. Exclamations and the EXCLAIM operator have such a capacity. Exclamations are analysed in the literature as ordering alternatives in the domain on a scale, thus being able to handle them. The SA operator WONDER is another such alternative handling operator we propose has a modal operator in it ('want to find out', Ciardelli and Roelofsen, 2015). Thus it also can license a matrix *-oo*.

§5 THE QUESTION PARTICLE -aa: In Telugu & Kannada *-aa* surfaces as a Y/N Q particle and is mostly limited to the matrix clause, (21). In embedded clauses it is usually replaced by *-oo*, (17). Amritavalli (2013) analyses *-aa* as an interrogative complementizer in the embedded clause, and as a Q operator in the matrix clause. We propose that *-aa* lexicalizes the SA operator QUEST-ALT for alternate Qs. For two reasons: One, it occurs outside the evidential marker, (23); Two, more importantly, when it occurs in an embedded clause, it always has an illocutionary force that is translated into a matrix-like alternate Q intonation (it is not a quotation as the indexicals don't switch), (19). The same sentence with *-aa* replaced by *-oo* would not get/need the intonation of an illocutionary act. The quasi-quotational intonation is a give away. *-aa* doesn't usually occur with *wh*-clauses. For Amritavalli (2013) it is covert in these contexts. We find there is evidence for this in embedded *wh*-Qs with a speech act intonation, (26), where *-aa* does show up. (All data here is Telugu)

(16) cadiveeD-aa?
read-Q$_p$
'Did (he) read?'

(17) ravi cadiveeD-oo leed-oo kanukkunnaanu
Ravi read-oo   not-oo found-out
'(I) found out if Ravi read or not.'

(18) cadiveeD-anT-aa?
read-EVID-Q$_p$
'Did (he) apparently read?'

(19) Ravi neenu pass-ayyeen-aa leed-aa aDigeeDu
Ravi I   passed-Q$_p$ not-Q$_p$ asked
'Ravi asked if I passed or not.'

(20) Ravi neenu eppuDu vastaan-aa (ani) edurucuustunnaaDu
Ravi I   when come-AA QUOT looking-forward
'Ravi is looking forward to when I will come'

§6 WHY -oo AND -aa CANNOT CO-OCCUR: *-aa* is the head lexicalizing QUEST-ALT in both Kannada & Telugu. and *-oo* is licensed under any SA operator. So *a priori* there is nothing preventing them from co-occurring. But in both languages $[\phi]_Q$ is the question operator licensed under QUEST. This blocks *-oo* from occurring under the QUEST head of *-aa*.

§7 CONCLUSION: In embedded clauses in both Kannada & Telugu, a question particle, *-aa*, normally seen in matrix clauses, surfaces in non-quotative contexts (no indexical shift), with a re-performance of the speech act kind of intonation. An interpretation (wondering/exclaiming) of the question particle *-oo* usually reserved for its matrix appearances is possible in embedded clauses, again with a quasi-quotational intonation. These phenomena diagnose an embedded SAP. In both Kannada & Telugu, the alternatives activated by the polarity item question particle *-oo* high-up in the CP can only be exhaustified by SA operators that can handle alternatives (WONDER/EXCLAIM), thus explaining *-oo*'s peculiar interpretation in matrix *wh*-clauses. While the polarity sensitivity of *-oo* in embedded *wh*-clauses is masked in Telugu (because of the plain *-oo* variant), its polarity nature is very evident in Kannada embedded *wh*-clauses. Since it is high in the embedded clause, it can only be exhaustified via matrix non-veridical operators, thus behaving like a non-strict NPI. *ani/anta* and *-oo* cannot co-occur in an embedded clause in Telugu or Kannada, not because one is the declarative complementizer and the other is the interrogative complementizer, but because *ani/anta* mark the scope of the exhaustification operator in the embedded clause when present, and the alternative activating *-oo* in the C-domain can only be exhaustified by non-veridical operators in the matrix clause, thus crashing the derivation any time this *-oo* occurs under *ani*.

Where is Perspective-Sensitivity Headed?
Diti Bhadra
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A whole host of natural language phenomena have recently been argued to be analyzable only with a special type of context-sensitivity - the viewpoint of a 'perspective'. This talk will argue that perspective-sensitivity is syntactic to a large extent, thus affecting compositional semantics in non-trivial ways. Focussing on empirical patterns found in the domains of indexical shift, complementizer agreement, logophoricity, and finiteness, hitherto solely semantically-treated elements such as evidentials and epistemic modals will be argued to encode syntactic perspectives, which will enable a unified analysis of their heterogenous behavior across a multitude of speech acts. The presence of syntactic perspective will be shown to be a fundamental component in the syntax of South Asian languages, revealing core interactions with semantics, pragmatics and prosody.

Bangla Modulators, the Zero Copula, and Clause-Final Focusing
Probal Dasgupta, Indian Statistical Institute, Kolkata

The Bangla syntax literature has been using the term Modulator for an Intimacy Oriented DiP category. A Modul like *go* or *re* (oriented to a **Neu**[tral] or an **Intim**[ate] addressee respectively) appears to the right of a root sentence finite verb as in (1) or of a 'compact' wh phrase – an ad hoc descriptive label for size-constrained wh phrases – as in (2):
1. Eka-Eka kEno boSe acho go/ achiS re?
      alone why sitting are.2Neu GO/ are.2Intim RE?
2. Eka-Eka kEno go boSe acho/   kEno re   boSe achiS?
      alone why GO sitting are.2Neu/ why RE sitting are.2Intim?
Free translation for (1) and (2): 'Why are you sitting (there) alone?'
Earlier work (Dasgupta 2014) also observes that addressee intimacy level marking need not be present in the clause to license a Modul. The verb in (3), where the Neu/Intim Modul invokes a Neu/Intim addressee, agrees with a non-addressee argument and is Hon[orific]:
3. kEno go/re TiToda   rag korechen?
      why GO/RE Tito.Senior angry is.3Hon? 'Why is Tito angry?'
Dasgupta (2014) also noted that zero copula constructions (ZCCs), showing no overt agreement, can license a Modul, but did not explore them. In this presentation, we examine Modul-ZCC interaction in (i) property ZCCs, (ii) event ZCCs, (iii) conjunctival ZCCs:
4. Property ZCCs: a. golmaler jonne ke dayi re?
           trouble for who responsible RE 'Who is responsible for the trouble?'
        b. golmaler jonne dayi ke re?   c. *ke re golmaler jonne dayi?
        trouble for responsible who RE   who RE trouble for responsible
        d. *golmaler jonne ke re dayi?
          trouble for who RE responsible
5. Event ZCCs: a. diliper biye kar SOngge re?
        Dilip's wedding who with RE 'Who is Dilip getting married to?'
        b. kar SOngge re diliper biye?
      who with RE Dilip's wedding
6. Conjunctival ZCCs: a. ke re okhane daMRiye?
          who RE there stand.Conjv? 'Who is standing there?'
        b. okhane ke re daMRiye?   c. okhane ke daMRiye re?
        there who RE stand.Conjv?   there who stand.Conjv RE
        d. okhane daMRiye ke re?
        there stand.Conjv who RE
Quite apart from issues concerning ZCC-Modul interaction, type (iii), the Conjunctival ZCC, has independently intriguing properties – the conjunctive-inflected verb is drawn from a small, semantically restricted class, and is always a single word, never a V V compound verb or an N V or A V complex predicate. This construction is to be compared with the participle subcase of (i), devoid of those restrictions (e.g. *poSakgulo poripaTi kore bhaMj kOra* 'the clothes [were] folded and neatly arranged'). We hereby flag the phenomenon; it merits serious investigation elsewhere.
Responding to the availability of the post-verbal position for *wh + Modul* even in type (i), observed at (4b), and extending the discussion of that site to regular, overt-verb-laden sentences, we look at (7), which allows a non-'compact' wh + Modul in that position:
7. dilip puSOner SOngge poRechilo kon klase re?
      Dilip Pushan with studied which grade.Loc RE
  'In which grade was it that Dilip was a classmate of Pushan's?'

We juxtapose this phenomenon with the fact that a Positive Polarity Copula Construction accepts a Modul only on the right, as in (8):

8. puSOner protibeSi tridib hocche diliper praner bondhu re
    Pushan's neighbour Tridib PPC Dilip's close friend RE
  'Pushan's neighbour Tridib is a close friend of Dilip's'

When the PPCC was first noticed, Joan Bresnan (p.c.) proposed the term 'Final Focus' for its right-hand constituent, and Rukmini Bhaya Nair (p.c.) suggested that that position needed to be studied in the context of pragmatics. Since then, indications have emerged that invoking the 'Nachfeld' concept for the position to the right of the finite verb in a Bangla clause produces useful dividends. In the context of existing work along those lines, this presentation raises new questions about a class of examples where a post-verbal constituent can host DiPs of two types – Moduls and what earlier work has called Emphatic Topicalizing particles, ETop Particles, such as *to*, *je*, and the wh-associated quirky particle *ba*.

The crucial new question raised here is what to make of the **cleft** interpretation of a substantial subclass of these examples.

Right now we are in a position to confirm that in Final Focus position a wh phrase or a focused phrase + Modul induces such a cleft reading, as in (9) and (10) respectively:

9. ora doS dicche kon cheleTake re?
    they blame Aux which boy RE 'Which boy is it that they're blaming?'

10. ora kintu doS debe tor babakei re
    they however blame Aux your father.Foc RE 'It is your dad that they'll blame, though'

We obtain a similar effect if we replace Modul with ETop – except that unlike (9), which can be construed as needing an answer, (11) can only be read as a special question:

11. ora doS debe kakei ba?
    they blame Aux whom.Foc BA 'Who is it indeed that they will blame!'

12. ora doS debe tor babakei to
    they blame Aux your father.Foc TO 'It is indeed your father that they'll blame'

We tentatively propose that a cleft sentence with a postverbal 'Final Focus' is to be described as having a structure similar to (4b) – and that the body of such a sentence, up to and including the finite verb, is to be construed as a pseudo-cleft type free relative with a gap playing the role of the relative element. Adventurous colleagues might prefer to devise an audacious alternative to this account by copy-pasting Massam's (2017) proposal for 'extra *be*' sentences in English, such as *The fact remains is that people's living standards are being cut* (Massam 2017: 128). Keeping radical options pending, we would like to inquire whether the cleft analysis can also be extended to cases like

13. ora jabe (Ta) kothaY
    they will.go (TA) where 'Where on earth will they go'

given the fact that the poorly understood DiP *Ta*, homonymous to the nominal classifier *Ta* often cast in the role of a definiteness marker, is always optional. Earlier work has never provided an adequate analysis for the versions of such sentences where the *Ta* is missing. It might prove desirable to claim that these sentences, with or without that *Ta* particle, instantiate either the very same cleft construction or one that is closely related to it.

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Fused discourse roles and grammatical functions in Ob-Ugric

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The talk will discuss the sentence structure of Khanty, a representative of the Ugric branch of the Uralic family, displaying a partial fusion of discourse roles and grammatical functions.

The subject of the Khanty sentence also functions as an aboutness topic. If the underlying subject is new information, the sentence is passivized. The internal argument can become the subject-topic of a passive construction whether it bears a theme, recipient, goal, or location theta role (1a). The sentence is also passivized if its only argument is focal (1b). The subject-topic is in the nominative case, and it elicits verbal agreement, i.e., a lexical topic appears in the left periphery and is crossreferenced at the right periphery. (Khanty being a pro-drop language, a pronominal subject-topic is mostly spelt out only at the right edge of the clause in the form of an agreement suffix.)

(1)a. **Nare:-l** ńoxəs-na   xu:j-l-a   (Nikolaeva 1999: 31)
    bench   sable-OBL lie-PRES-PASS.3SG
    'His bench is lying with sables.'

  b. Puwləpsi-na   e:t-s-a.   (Sosa 2017: 137)
    tumor-OBL   enter-PAST-PASS.3SG
    'A tumor appeared.'

The object of the Khanty sentence can be a VP-internal focus (2a), or an externalized secondary topic (2b) (preceding VP-adjuncts, if any). It elicits verbal agreement only in the latter case. In Mansi, the other Ob-Ugric language, a VP-external, topical object is also marked by accusative case.

(2)a. Petra   u:r-na   **mo:jpər** wa:nt-əs   (Nikolaeva 2001: 18)
    Peter   forest-LOC bear   see-PST.3SG
    'Peter saw a bear in the forest.'

  b. Petra   **mo:jpər**   u:r-na   wa:nt-sə-lli
    Peter   bear   forest-LOC see-PST-SG$_{obj}$.3SG
    'Peter saw the bear in the forest.'

In ditransitive sentences, the beneficiary/goal can be marked by oblique case or a postposition – see (3a). If the beneficiary/goal is to function as a topic, it is mapped on the object role, i.e., it loses its oblique case and elicits verbal agreement (3b). In Mansi, it receives accusative case. If the object role is taken by the beneficiary or goal, the theme argument has oblique case.

(3)a. What did you do to the cup?
    Ma a:n Pe:tra e:lti ma-s-e:m
    I   cup Peter to   give-PAST-SG<1SG
    'I gave the cup to Peter.'

  b. What did you do to Peter?
    Ma Pe:tra a:n-na   ma-s-e:m
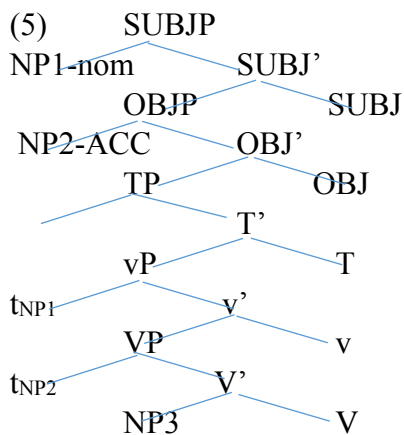   I   Peter cup-LOC give-PAST-SG<ISG
    'I gave Peter a cup.'

If the subject-topic is a shifted topic, it can also bear locative case (4). A locative subject seems to behave as a nominative subject-topic; it elicits verbal agreement, it can control etc.

(4) **Qu-jali-nə**   aj   ni   tʃupi-l-tə   (Filchenko 2007: 398)
    man-DIM-LOC   small woman   kiss-PRS- SG$_{obj}$.3SG
    'The young man is kissing the young woman.'

The talk will raise, and attempt to answer, the following questions:
(i) *How is the Khanty sentence structure to be represented? What projections harbor the subject-topic and object-topic?* In my tentative proposal in (5), the sentence structure contains two TP-external functional projections, a projection with a [+subject, +topic] head, called SUBJP (following Rizzi&Shlonsky 2003), and a projection with a [+object, +topic] head, called OBJP. The SUBJ and OBJ heads are represented by agreement morphemes. The V undergoes head movement, merging with Tense, OBJAgr and SUBJAgr. Nominative case is assigned to Spec, SUBJP.

(5)   SUBJP
NP1-nom   SUBJ'
        OBJP   SUBJ
    NP2-ACC   OBJ'
        TP   OBJ
           T'
      vP   T
t$_{NP1}$ v'
      VP   v
t$_{NP2}$ V'
      NP3   V

(ii) *How is accusative case assigned in the Ob-Ugric languages and dialects with and without differential object marking?* It will be argued that in Mansi, accusative is assigned to Spec,OBJP, whereas a VP-internal focal object is caseless.
(iii) *Is the case alternation illustrated in (3a-b) (i.e., the promotion of the beneficiary or goal argument to the role of the closest internal argument) to be derived in syntax or in the lexicon?* It will be argued that the alternations are encoded in the lexicon.
(iv) *Is the locative subject of active sentences an ergative or a quirky subject?* It will be argued that the suffix, also marking passive subjects, marks a recurring topic, an unexpected topic candidate.
The talk will conclude that the fusion of grammatical functions and discourse roles attested in Khanty, Mansi and other Uralic languages necessitates the reconsideration of such traditional notions of generative syntax as the A-movement – A-bar movement dichotomy.

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Exploring the right periphery in Japanese by RM: Expressive meanings in questions

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In this talk, I will discuss some non-standard questions such as rhetorical, surprise, disapproval, reproach, exclamative, etc. (Obenauer 2006, Bayer and Obnauer 2011), which are created by sentence final particles (SFPs) in Japanese, in the framework of the cartography of syntactic structures. After briefly introducing some basic ideas of the cartographic approach by using some wh-expressions asking for reasons such as *why, what…for, how come,* etc. of familiar languages like English to show what expressive meanings in questions look like, I will turn to the main topic of examining various types of SFPs in the right periphery in Japanese to show how they contribute to creating expressive meanings in questions, where Agree-based Relativized Minimality (RM) regulates the constellation of various types of SFPs in the right periphery.

To be more specific, I will pay special attention to the configuration in (1) (cf. Rizzi 2017, Shlonsky 2017), where the matrix verb selects the complementizer with the interrogative feature [+Int], which Agrees with a question element *if*. The real example in Japanese is shown in (2).

(1) …ask [Force$_{+Int}$ …Z… **if**$_{+Int}$

(2) John-wa   [Mary-ga   kuru   ka   Z   to]   tazuneta.
    John-Top   Mary-Nom come   if$_{+Int}$ Force$_{+Int}$ asked
    'I asked if Mary will come'

I will examine three types of SFPs in the position of Z in (1) and (2) to see what type of properties block Agree relation between the matrix verb/Force and *if*$_{+Int}$ by RM: argumental SFPs, quantificational SFPs, modal SFPs that contribute to forming expressive meanings in questions. It will be shown that by Agree-based RM, the following constellation of SFPs in non-standard questions are created in Japanese, where various types of expressive meaning in question forms such as surprise, reproach, disapproval, regret, etc. are associated with various types of functional head around the question particle *ka*:

(3) dake   ka   sira/yo   ne   to

    Regret   Int   Disapproval/Exclamation   New/Reproach   Force

Time permitting, I will also show that each SFP in the right periphery may be associated with an adverbial element in the left periphery, where the linear order of multiple adverbial elements in the left periphery is the mirror image of the linear order of multiple SFPs in the right periphery in (3), as depicted in (4). I propose to capture this fact by concord relation, where each SFP in the right periphery is associated an adverbial element in the left periphery through the specifier position of each SFP (cf. Endo and Haegeman 2014 for concord relation):

(4) [Adv(1)…[Adv(2)…[Adv(3)…V…Particle(3)]…Particle(2)]…Particle(1)]

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Root clause phenomena may depend on a private act or on a public act
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The main points of the paper are: (i) the possibility or impossibility of root phenomena (RP) is not just related to the presence or absence of illocutionary force (contracting a claim often made in the literature), but a finer distinction is operative, (ii) the truncation account for the size of different dependent clauses does not have to be stipulated but corresponds to semantic distinctions.

Krifka (2017) refers to Frege (1918) and Peirce (cf. Tuzet 2006), who differentiate between the following aspects involved in an assertion (to be generalised to other speech acts): (i) the conception of a thought – the thinking, (ii) the appreciation of the truth of the thought – the judging, (iii) the manifestation of the judgement – the asserting. Adding the further distinction of a commitment Krifka (2017) arrives at the semantic operations in (1):

(1) i.   forming a thought/proposition φ, which has truth conditions,
    ii. building a judgement by a person x concerning a proposition φ, a private act,
    iii. taking a commitment by a person x towards φ,
    iv. performing a speech act by a person x involving φ, a public act.

Krifka proposes that the distinctions are syntactically encoded: a proposition corresponds to TP, a judgment to JP, a commitment to CmP, a speech act to ActP; with the hierarchy in (2):

(2) ActP > CmP > JP > TP

The presence of the projections in (2) is implicational top down, i.e., if a clause structure contains the projection α in (2) it also encodes the projections below α. The licensing of different not-at-issue expressions in different languages, to which root phenomena belong, is sensitive to TP, JP, CmP or ActP. The paper argues for the following classifications:

(I)   Some of the phenomena called root phenomena (RP) are ActP-dependent. This will be illustrated with Hanging Topics (HTs), question tags and sentence particles.
(II) Many of the known RP are JP-dependent; illustrations are modal particles, epistemic adverbials, topic marking in the German middle field, German Left Dislocation, and V2-argument clauses.
(III) Some not-at-issue expressions are just TP-dependent. Illustrating examples will be the marking of information focus and right dislocation.

One arrives at a classification of dependent clauses according to which of the nodes in (2) is its top-node. This will be illustrated with the following examples: central adverbial clauses (CACs) like factual causals or conditionals are TPs; peripheral adverbial clauses (PACs) like *da*-causals in German or hypothetical conditionals and the complements of mental attitude verbs are JPs; German verb-first causals and continuative relatives are ActPs.

The paper considers two instantiations of the typology in (2) in greater detail. It can be shown that if an adverbial clause γ has an epistemic reading (Sweetser 1990), γ cannot be a CAC, thus γ involves JP, i.e., the representation of the mind of a thinking subject, be it the speaker or a person character in the discourse, but γ does not have to be an ActP. In contrast, a causal clause justifying a speech act has to be an ActP.

The items in (I)-(III) have different distributions. For example, a question tag can only appear with a clause which is an ActP, an example being the German V1-causal in (1a). A tag's host cannot be part of the structure of another clause since an ActP cannot be embedded in another ActP (cf. Green 2000). This accounts for (1b). (2a) illustrates that HTs are ActP-dependent too. In contrast, German left dislocation (like emphatic topicalization in Bavarian, Bayer & Dasgupta 2016) may occur in the complement clause of a mental attitude verb, (2b), Right Dislocation may even occur

in non-root contexts, (2c). Modal particles and the elements of Cinque's (1999) MoodP field demand that their host is at least a JP. An adverbial clause which is a JP has to be attached high in its host since it needs local licensing by the same element which licenses the JP of its host. Therefore binding into an adverbial clause which, e.g., contains a modal particle is not possible, (3b).

In German the licensing of J^0 is to the left. Thus, a JP-dependent element like an epistemic sentence adverbial cannot appear to the right of the verbal complex (i.e., it cannot appear in the postfield), (4a). Note that verb related adverbials may appear in the postfield, (4b). This follows from the claim that the postfield of the German clause is constituted by a base-generated verbal projection (Frey to appear), which allows thematic licensing to the right, a residue of former VO-properties of German. If an epistemic sentence adverbial does not appear as a JP-dependent element but is treated as an ActP-related item, which represents its own ActP, it may follow the clause it is associated with, (4c). ActP-related phenomena occur outside of the clause they relate to since they are not grammatically but only semantically dependent. Other ActP-related elements like speech act related adverbials cannot appear inside the structure of the clause they depend on either, (5a), but precede or follow the clause they are associated with, (5b).

The paper will conclude with some thoughts about the reasons that make a given non-at-issue expression ActP-dependent, JP-dependent or TP-dependent.

(1) a. Maria wird schnell promovieren,[ist sie doch sehr begabt, hab ich recht?]
Maria will quickly graduate is she MP very talented have I right
  b. *[Weil Maria sehr begabt ist, hab ich recht], wird sie schnell promovieren.
since Maria very talented is have I right will she quickly graduate
(2) a. *Maria glaubt, Hans, er wird kommen.
Maria believes, Hans he will come
  b. Maria glaubt/*bestreitet, Hans, der wird kommen.
Maria believes/denies Hans ResPron will come
  c. Dass er kommt, der Hans, bestreitet Maria.
that he comes the Hans denies Maria
(3) a. Weil er$_1$ geholfen hat, hat jeder$_1$ etwas Geld bekommen.
because he helped has has everyone some money got
  b. *Weil er$_1$ ja *[modal particle]* geholfen hat, hat jeder$_1$ etwas Geld bekommen.
(4) a. *weil Hans kommen wird wahrscheinlich
since Hans come will probably
  b. weil Hans kommen wird nachher
since Hans come will later
  c. weil Hans kommen wird\ ‖ wahrscheinlich.
(5) a. *Von Mann zu Mann wird Jogi Löw überschätzt.
from man to man is Jogi Löw overrated
  b. (Von Mann zu Mann,) Jogi Löw wird überschätzt (, von Mann zu Mann).

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An Indo-European Complementiser as a coordinator in Turkish: clausal vs. subclausal appositions

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We focus on a Turkish construction in which clauses purportedly enter into a sisterhood relation with a noun and a verb respectively, and are therefore *subordinated* (Underhill 1976, Lehmann 1984, Kornfilt 1997, Göksel & Kerslake 2005, *inter alia*). These structures display a finite verb and the morpheme *ki* – a form borrowed from Persian (Erguvanlı 1981) – and show distinct dissimilarities with regular cases of nominalized subordination in Turkish (1b). Phonologically, this form of *ki* is procliticized to the 'subordinate' clause (1a).

(1)   a) '*ki*' clause (finite)
    Adem, [**ki** arkadaş-ım ol-ur], ben-i parti-ye davet et-me-di.
    Adem ki friend-1POSS be-AOR I-ACC party-DAT invitation make-NEG-PST

   b) Nominalized relative clause (non-finite)
    [Arkadaş-ım ol-**an**] *Adem* ben-i parti-ye davet et-me-di.
    friend-1POSS be-NOM Adem I-ACC party-DAT invitation make-NEG-PST
    'Adem, who is my friend, did not invite me to the party.'

The linear order of the subordinate clause and its head provides the most perspicuous difference between (1a) and (1b) above: (1b) displays the word order expected in a head-final language like Turkish, while the '*ki*-clause' in (1a) does not. Past scholars have attributed this dissimilarity to the fact that *ki* is a loan from an Indo-European language and therefore that *ki*-clauses are the head-initial counterpart of nominalized clauses. On this analysis, *ki*-clauses are adjoined to NPs, and proclitic-*ki* is a relative pronoun. However, the differences do not end here.

Unlike their nominalized counterparts, proclitic-*ki* clauses (i) need not maintain linear adjacency with the head noun (see 2 and 3), (ii) cannot contain the only <u>prosodic nucleus</u> (i.e. most prominent item) in the sentence (see 4), and (iii) **may** contain an argument that is co-referent with the head noun and which occupies its argument position (5). These observations (and others) suggest that proclitic-*ki* clauses are not relative clauses, and they are not as syntactically integrated to the head noun as their nominalized counterparts. Comparing *ki*-clauses to subclausal appositives, we will provide further evidence that they are, in fact, root clauses.

(2)   a) Mine-yi [[evli bir adam ol-**an**] *Ali Bey*] <u>taciz</u> et-ti.
    Mine-ACC married a man be-**NOM** Ali Mr. harassment make-PST
    'Married-man-being Mr. Ali harassed Mine.'

   b)* [Evli bir adam ol-**an**] Mine-yi [*Ali Bey*] <u>taciz</u> et-ti.

(3)   a) [*Ali Bey*] [**ki** evil bir adam-dır] Mine-yi <u>taciz</u> et-ti.
    Ali Mr. **ki** married a man-**COP** Mine-ACC harassment make-PST
    'Mr. Ali, (he) is a married man, harassed Mine.'

   b) [*Ali Bey*] Mine-yi [**ki** evli bir adam-dır] <u>taciz</u> et-ti.

(4) a) * *Adem*, [**ki** <u>arkadaş-ım</u> ol-ur], ben-i parti-ye davet et-me-di.
       Adem ki friend-1POSS be-AOR I-ACC party-DAT invitation make-NEG-PST

   b) <u>Arkadaş-ım</u> ol-**an** *Adem* ben-i parti-ye davet et-me-di.
      friend-1POSS be-NOM Adem I-ACC party-DAT invitation make-NEG-PST
      'Adem, who is my friend, did not invite me to the party.'

(5) a) *Ahmet*ᵢ [**ki** öğrenci-ler *o* *salağ-ı*ᵢ çok sever-ler] okul-dan atıl-mış.
       Ahmet ki student-PL that idiot-ACC very love.AOR-3PL school-ABL fired-EVD

   b) * [Öğrenci-ler-in *o* *salağ-ı*ᵢ çok sev-**diğ**-i] *Ahmet*ᵢ okul-dan atıl-mış.
       Student-PL-3GEN that idiot-ACC very love-NOM-3POSS Ahmet school-ABL fired-EVD
       '*Ahmet*, whom the students love *that idiot*, has been fired.' [intended]

Having shown that *ki*-clause constructions involve two independent root clauses, we discuss the function of the proclitic *ki*. The proclitic *ki* is traditionally assumed to be the relative pronoun of an Indo-European style relative clause (Kornfilt 1997:322). This is not a plausible assumption since *ki*-clauses may reduplicate their anchor internal to the *ki*-clause (see 5), something that is banned in Indo-European relative clauses. We will discuss the relation that pertains between these clauses, and advance an analysis that treats these structures as instances of high *coordination* and *ki* as a *coordinator* (similar to, but not the same as, Turkish correlatives (Demirok 2017), which cannot host *ki*). The coordination approach perfectly accounts for the "anomalies" in the data: (i) *ki*-clauses exceptionally follow their anchor because they are not adjoined but coordinated, and coordination is universally left-headed; (ii) *ki*-clauses cannot be utilised as the only prosodic nucleus of their host because they are syntactically independent clauses and therefore must be mapped as such in the prosodic parser; (iii) *ki*-clauses display root clause properties because they are root clause conjuncts. We also state that, this coordination is slightly different from regular coordination as, in *ki*-coordination, the *ki*-clause acts as a *context restrictor* in the discourse structure, and this is the reason why the order of the conjoined clauses cannot be switched.

Time permitting, we will show how these data from Turkish may inform one's analysis of certain Germanic (particularly, English, German, and Dutch) parentheticals. Particularly, we show that *ki*-clauses exhibit similar properties to Germanic attributive appositions (6).

(6) Tim's bicycle, Ø *a racer*, was stolen from outside his house last week.

Similar to *ki*-clauses, Germanic attributive appositions display scopelessness, act as context-restrictors in the discourse, may be of different semantic type from their anchor, and may host speaker oriented adverbs. Thus, we claim that Germanic attributive appositions are in fact reduced root clauses (akin to Heringa 2012), and are coordinated on the root level in the same way as Turkish *ki*-clauses. The only difference between the two is that, in Turkish, there is a specific morpheme as the context restricting head of the coordination structure, while this head is null in Germanic.

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The Post-Verbal Domain in Turkish and German

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Hypothesis: This study investigates the syntax-discourse interaction in the post-verbal domain (PVD) in Turkish and German, both OV languages. It is shown that the two languages exhibit grammatical differences along two dimensions: The Turkish PVD may be targeted by a wide array of syntactic constituents, but is restricted pragmatically in that it prohibits focal constituents. The German 'Nachfeld', on the other hand, is restricted syntatically but not wrt. information structure. The aim of this talk is to show that typologically related languages may choose quite different strategies when it comes to the syntax-discourse mapping. Whereas Turkish is discourse-configurational in that it identifies specific domains in the sentence for different information structural interpretations, German does not restrict its peripheries to the same extent but allows topic, focus and background constituents to occur not only in the left periphery, but also in the PVD. We will present syntactic analyses of the two languages which take these considerations into account.
A major syntactic difference: Although Turkish and German both license phrasal constituents in the PVD (1ab), German does not allow DPs in that position, unless they are structurally complex, see (1c), from the corpus TübaDZ, which is only grammatical under the presence of the relative clause. The final verb forms are printed in bold in all examples.

(1)a. Ali   kitab-ı   **ver-di**   Ayşe'-ye.
    Ali   book-ACC   give-PAST   Ayşe-DAT
    "Ali gave the book to Ayşe."

  b. Ich weiß,   dass ich   mich   nicht getäuscht   **habe** [PP in ihm].
    I   know   that I   myself   NEG   was.wrong   have   in him
    "I know that I was not wrong about him."

  c. War er   unbefugt   nicht Zeuge   **geworden** [DP einer Not   *[CP die größer
    was he   unwarranted   not   witness   become   a   misery   REL bigger
    war   als   die   eigene   und die der   Familie]]?
    was   than   DET   own   and DET DET   family
    "Did he not become an unwaranted witness of a misery that was bigger than his own and the one of his family?"

A major pragmatic difference: Turkish and German also differ wrt. the pragmatic interpretation of the PVD. It has been argued for Turkish that focus constituents occur exclusively in pre-verbal position and are therefore systematically blocked in the PVD (cf. Kural 1997, İşsever 2003, Kornfilt 2005, Göksel 2009, Özge 2010, Şener 2010). Thus, wh-phrases as well as focus constituents may not be in the PVD, see (2ab).

(2) a. *Ali **ara-dı**   kim-i?   b. Q: Where did Ali go?
      Ali   call-PAST   who-ACC   A: *Ali **gidi-yor** Ankara-ya.
      "Who did Ali call?"   Ali   go-PRES Ankara-DAT
                                              "Ali is going to ANkara."

Concerning German, the pragmatic interpretation of the PVD has not been subject to much research. In this talk, we provide empirical results from a perception study showing that German, in contrast to Turkish, does not exhibit any pragmatic restrictions in the PVD. Thus, in German the left and right peripheries are accessible to any kind of IS-constituents, see (3) as an example from our study for focus in the PVD.

(3) Q: By what was Stefan stinged in the garden last weekend?

A: Ich   glaube, er wurde im   Garten **gestochen** von einer Hummel.
I   think   he was in.the garden stinged   by   a   bumblebee
"I think, he was stung by a BUMblebee in the garden."

Analysis: (A) Turkish: Elaborating on Vallduví (1992) we assume an IS-tripartition of the Turkish clause into topic, focus, and given, each represented as a functional leftbranching projection (TopP, FocP, GivP). The inflected verb moves to Foc, indicating the split into focus and background. One constituent from the core clause (AgrP) obligatorily moves to SpecFocP. As for the comment, there are two options: given constituents may target SpecGivP, which is multiply accessible, or, if topical, remain within AgrP which is fronted to SpecTopP as a whole, see Mahajan (1997), Murayama (1999) for similar proposals for Hindi and Japanese. Thus, we assume that given constituents always move, against Göksel (2009) and Şener (2009):

(4) Q: Who did the man throw a stone at?

A: [TopP [AgrP Adam t_DAT t_ACC t_v] [FocP oğlan-a   **at-tı**   [GivP taş-ı   t_AgrP]]]
man   boy-DAT   throw-PST   stone-ACC
"The man threw the stone at the BOY."

Evidence comes from the following facts: (i) Adjacency of verb and focus: This follows from the SpecHead configuration of the verb in Foc and the focus constituent in SpecFocP; (ii) Movement to SpecGivP: The XP in SpecGivP may not originate in an island (Kornfilt 2005); (iii) Low background area: We will present results from an elicitation task on quantifier scope showing that the GivP is hierarchically below TopP and FocP, a result which is problematic for Kural (1997), but follows from our theory; (iv) AgrP-fronting and contrastive focus: We assume an additional position above TopP for contrastive focus. Constituents of AgrP may intervene between a constrastive focus and the verb in the low focus position.

(B) German: The German peripheries ('Vorfeld' and 'Nachfeld') are not specified for certain information-structural interpretations. There is therefore little evidence for a split CP in German, but see Grewendorf (2002) on Left Dislocation. As for the right periphery, we argue that it is driven mainly by prosody. Several aspects can be observed: As for the 72% of clausal constituents in the post-verbal domain (number relates to the corpus TüBaDZ, see Proske 2010), it has been shown that extraposition is driven by requirements of prosodic phrase formation (Hartmann 2013). This may also account for the ban of short DPs in the PVD. Extraposition of PPs (with 8% second in frequency) may influence the overall intonational contour, possibly leading to a slightly modified IS-interpretation within the VP-domain (Hartmann 2017). These observations are perfectly compatible with a rightward movement analysis, as proposed e.g. by Büring & Hartmann (1997), among many others.

Conclusion: We argue that the post-verbal domain is used in OV-languages for quite heterogeneous reasons. Whereas it has a clear information-structural specification in Turkish, it is accessed in German for reasons of prosodic well-formedness. This variation is reflected in the assumption of two different sytnactic structures for Turkish and German, respectively.

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On the relativizer and the complementizer in Dravidian

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The Dravidian languages have a particle *-a* that occurs at the end of a relative clause which is standardly analysed as a 'relativizer' (Malayalam data):

(1) a. [ñaa<u>n</u> ___ kaND-a] kuTTi   '(the) child that I saw'
        I (Nom) saw-REL child

It is commonly assumed that this *-a* moves from the gap position to the clausal periphery. This movement is long-distance and shows island effects. All this seems to be very standard.

But this *-a* also shows up at the end of a noun complement clause where it co-occurs with the Dravidian quotative complementizer *ennə*:

(2)   [John wannu enn-a]   waartta   '(the) news that John has come'
        John came QUOT-REL news

There is a problem here: the noun complement clause contains no gap for *-a* to have moved from. There is also a puzzle here: where in the clausal periphery are the quotative and the relativizer accommodated? Why is the relativizer 'outside' the quotative? One could perhaps say that the quotative is in the position of the English complementizer 'that' and therefore heads the Finiteness Phrase; and that the relativizer is in some higher projection, possibly ForceP. However this analysis is made untenable when we consider a noun complement clause which is interrogative:

(3)   [John wannu-oo enn-a]   coodyam   '(the) question whether John has come'
        John came-Q QUOT-REL question

There are three elements to be accommodated in the C domain (Rizzi's "left periphery") here: the question particle *-oo*, the quotative *ennə*, and the relativizer *-a*. The natural place for the question particle is ForceP, since it signifies the interrogative force of the clause. So the question arises: Are the quotative and the relativizer above ForceP? Is ForceP very low in the Dravidian C domain?

But we now show that there is a completely different analysis possible which avoids the need to tinker with the universal functional sequence in the C domain; we call it the "clausal quotative analysis." A quotative complementizer (as the name implies) is derived from the 'say'-verb; the Dravidian *ennə* is the perfective form of the verbal root *enr-* 'say', which is obsolete in Malayalam but is still a functioning verb in Tamil. The current wisdom is that *ennə* has been completely reanalysed as a complementizer; it is generated as the head of CP, and takes a clausal complement. But *ennə* can – and often does – take a simple nominal expression as its complement; e.g.

(4)   meSiin "grrr" ennə s'abdiccu   'The machine made the sound "grrr".'
        machine   QUOT sounded

In (4), the complement of *ennə* is just a representation of a sound; there is no C domain here to lodge *ennə* in. Even the noun complement construction can have a simple nominal as the complement of *ennə*, cf.

(5)   "kaakka" enn-a   waakkə   '(the) word 'crow''
       crow   QUOT-REL   word

What such data show is that *ennə* is still a 'say'-verb, which can take as its complement anything that can be 'said', i.e. uttered; e.g. a sound ('Say "Boo!"'), or a word ('Say "crow"'), or a clause ('Say "Mary is pregnant"'). Though bleached in meaning – in (4), e.g., the machine doesn't 'say' anything – *ennə* retains its verbal syntax.

What we have said has serious implications for the syntax of clausal complementation in Dravidian. When 'say' takes an object complement – irrespective of whether it is a sound, word, or clause – it goes without saying that it is outside that complement. Now consider a sentence where *ennə* takes a finite clause as its complement:

(6)   John [Mary wannu ennə] paRaññu   'John said that Mary has come.'
       John   Mary came QUOT said

We can now see that the correct analysis of (6) is that *ennə* is outside its CP complement; it is not in the C domain of the embedded clause at all. The 'say'-verb projects its own clause, which is nonfinite but can have its own C domain. The structure we postulate for (6) is (7) (abstracting away from word order):
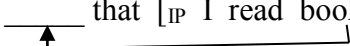
(7)   John paRaññu [$_{CP}$ [$_{IP}$ PRO ennə [$_{CP}$ [$_{IP}$ Mary wannu]]]]

This literally translates as 'John said, having said Mary came.' (We may compare this with Dakhini Urdu locutions like: *woh nahii aayegaa bolke bola*, lit. 'He said having said (he) will not come.')

Now in the interrogative noun complement construction illustrated in (3), the relativizer *-a* is in the C domain of the clause that *ennə* projects. On the other hand, the question particle *-oo* is in the C domain of *ennə*'s object complement, which is a CP. That is, we have two distinct C domains here. Therefore, the ForceP that the question particle is generated in, can be the highest projection in its local C domain – and we don't have to revise Rizzi's picture of the left periphery. The structure we postulate for (3) is (8):

(8)   coodyam [$_{CP}$ -a [$_{IP}$ PRO ennə [$_{CP}$ -oo [$_{IP}$ John wannu]]]]

Returning to the relativizer *-a*, we already pointed out that the 'movement-to-COMP' analysis is out because there is no gap it could have been moved from in the noun complement construction, cf. (2), (3), and (5). Therefore it must be generated in situ. Plausibly, it is in the position of 'that' in the following implementation of the raising analysis of relativization (cf. Kayne 1994:§ 8.2). (It cannot correspond to 'the', because the definite article in Dravidian is null.)

(9)   the [$_{CP}$ _____ that [$_{IP}$ I read book]]

Our proposed analysis makes clausal embedding in Dravidian, i.e. the 'complementizer + complement' structure, a nonfinite adjunct of the matrix verb. Cf. a traditional claim of Dravidianists that all embeddings in these languages are nonfinite (Steever 1988:5).

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A Predicate-Final Constraint for Head-Final Languages
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This paper proposes a constraint for head-final languages, a "Predicate-Final Constraint" (PFC), such that, even in word-order free head-final languages, predicates must be clause-final: clauses must strictly represent the head-final property of the language. (See also Bayer's work on head-final languages, where it is claimed that in head-final CPs, the right edge of the CP must be "visible.") This constraint is parametrized, such that it is absolute for some head-final languages (e.g. Japanese), but limited to embedded clauses in others (e.g. Turkish).

The predictions made by this constraint are borne out in Turkish. The PFC is illustrated in this paper for scrambling (1-3), for Yes/No questions (4-8), and for coordinate structures with identical predicates (9 through 19), showing that the ellipsis of that predicate obeys this parametrized constraint, i.e. it holds strictly for embedded clauses, but not for root clauses. This has consequences for the directionality of such ellipsis: While both forward and backward ellipsis are possible in Turkish root clauses, only backward ellipsis is allowed in embedded clauses. Additional facts in coordinate structures with predicate ellipsis are shown to follow from this constraint, as well.

A. Scrambling: The scrambled constituent can't be post-verbal, if root material follows (2); it can scramble "long-distance", after the root predicate, as long as the embedded predicate is clause-final (1); but such a constituent can be post-verbal locally, if the entire embedded clause is scrambled to follow the root predicate (3):

(1) [[Hasan-ın   e$_i$ bitir-diğ -in] -i   bil -iyor -um] başvuru-yu$_i$.
    Hasan-GEN   finish-FNOM-3.SG -ACC know-PRPROG -1.SG   applicaton-ACC
    'I know that Hasan finished the application.'

(2) *[[Hasan-ın e$_i$ bitir-diğ-in -i] başvuru-yu$_i$] bil-iyor-um.

(3) [e$_j$ bil-iyor-um] [[Hasan-ın   e$_i$ bitir-diğ-in] -i]$_j$ başvuru-yu$_i$.

B. Yes/No questions: The Yes/No Q-marker can attach to the predicate (4) as well as to other constituents (5) in root clauses, but can attach only to non-predicate constituents (OK: (6), ill-formed: (7)) in embedded clauses:

(4) Hasan   başvuru-yu   bitir -di   **mi**?
    Hasan   application-ACC   finish -PST   **Q**
   'Did Hasan finish the application?'

(5) Hasan   başvuru-yu   **mu** bitir   -di?

    Hasan   application-ACC   **Q**   finish-PST
   'Did Hasan finish the APPLICATION?' (i.e. 'Was it the application that Hasan finished?')

(6) [[Hasan-ın başvuru   -yu **mu** bitir-diğ -in] –i]   sor -du   -m.
    Hasan-GEN application –ACC   **Q**   finish-FNOM-3.SG -ACC ask- PST-1.SG
   'I asked whether Hasan finished the APPLICATION.'

(7)*[[[Hasan-ın başvuru -yu   bitir-diğ   -in] –i   ] **mi**] sor -du -m.

Hasan-GEN application-ACC finish-FNOM-3.SG-ACC **Q** ask- PST-1.SG

Intended reading: 'I asked whether Hasan finished the application.' (Note: (7) is OK under a wide-scope, i.e. root-level, Y/N question interpretation ('Did I ask whether H. finished the application?'), whereby the embedded clause is the questioned constituent, similar to 'application' in (5); the Q-particle is a root-clause element, and the embedded clause is predicate-final under that interpretation.)

To obtain the reading of a regular embedded Y/N-question, a coordinate predicate consisting of an affirmative and a negative part (similar to the "A-not-A" questions in Chinese—cf. Huang 1982, among others) has to be used, without the Y/N question particle:

(8) [Hasan-ın başvuru -yu bitir -ip bitir-me -diğ -in]-i sor -du -m.
Hasan-GEN application –ACC finish-VBLCONJ finish-NEG -FNOM -3.SG -ACC ask -PST-1.SG
'I asked whether Hasan finished the application (or not).'

Note that here, the embedded clause is predicate-final.

C. Identical predicate ellipsis in coordinate structures: Both forward and backward ellipsis of identical predicates is OK in root clauses (9, 10), but only backward ellipsis is well-formed in embedded clauses (11 versus 12, 14 versus 16, 15 versus 17) in their canonical pre-verbal position, where the embedded clause is followed by root material:

(9) Hasan kitab -ı oku -du, Mehmet te gazete -yi ___.
Hasan book -ACC read-PST Mehmet and newspaper -ACC
'Hasan read the book, and Mehmet (read) the newspaper.'

(10) Hasan kitab -ı ___, Mehmet te gazete -yi oku -du.
Hasan book -ACC Mehmet and newspaper-ACC read -PST
'Hasan (read) the book, and Mehmet read the newspaper.'

(11) Zeynep [Hasan –ın kitab -ı ___, Mehmed –in de gazete -yi
Zeynep Hasan-GEN book -ACC Mehmet-GEN and newspaper -ACC
oku-duğ -un]-u duy -du.
read- FNOM-3.SG-ACC hear -PST
'Zeynep heard that Hasan (read) the book, and Mehmet read the newspaper.'

(12) *Zeynep [Hasan-ın kitab -ı oku-duğ -un -u, Mehmed -in de
Zeynep Hasan-GEN book –ACC read-FNOM-3.SG –ACC Mehmet -GEN and
gazete -yi ___] duy -du.
newspaper-ACC hear -PST
Intended: 'Zeynep heard that Hasan read the book, and Mehmet (read) the newspaper.'

Just like with post-verbal scrambling, the PFC can be violated, when the embedded clause is post-verbal itself; forward predicate ellipsis in the embedded coordination becomes well-formed:

(13) Zeynep e$_i$ duy-du [Hasan –ın kitab -ı oku-duğ -un -u,
Zeynep hear-PST Hasan-GEN book –ACC read-FNOM-3.SG –ACC
Mehmed –in de gazete -yi ___].
Mehmet-GEN and newspaper -ACC
'Zeynep heard that Hasan read the book, and Mehmet (read) the newspaper.'

These contrasts are independent from the nominalized character of the typical embedded clauses in Turkish; non-nominalized clauses exhibit the identical contrasts, including successful forward gapping when the coordinate structure is post-verbal; those will be illustrated in the talk. Clearly, the (parametrized) PFC can easily and successfully deal with all the contrasts illustrated.

An analysis of the Basque Discourse Particle *ote*

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Overview

This abstract presents a novel syntactic analysis of the discourse particle *ote* in Basque which may shed light on the discussion whether particles are heads or deficient adverbs occurring in a specifier position. Traditionally (Euskaltzaindia 1987), it has been grouped with other particles which convey evidentiality or epistemic attitude, since they all occur adjacent to the inflected verb. *Ote* used in questions turns a standard information-seeking question into a conjectural or rhetorical question:

1) Non   utzi dut   ~~non~~   kazeta   ~~utzi dut~~?
   where leave AUX where newspaper.ART leave AUX
   'Where did I leave the newspaper?'

2) Non   utzi ote dut   ~~non~~   kazeta   ~~utzi ote dut~~?
   where leave P   AUX where newspaper.ART leave P   AUX
   'Where did I leave the newspaper? (I'm wondering)'

As far as for its syntactic position, previous works (Elordieta 1997, Elordieta 2001) claim that Discourse Particles (or Modal Particles as they have been traditionally named) occupy the head of the Modal Phrase located between TP and VP. However, I propose that Discourse Particles occupy the head of the Particle Phrase located between FinP and TP (Albizu 1991, Haddican 2004, 2008, Arregi & Nevins 2012, Monforte 2015), since 1) they are sensitive to the presence of different inflected forms and the kind of complementizer (example 3); 2) particles and finite verbs form a constituent as is observed in context where this moves to the Left Periphery, for instance, in negative contexts (example 4); and 3) it is not affected by the elision of Phrases below TP (example 5):

3) Motill oi   billur ementzan urruna   bea   jango   ote zo-n/(*-la)
   boy   that.ABS fear   P.AUX   next.ABS he.ABS eat.FUT P   AUX-C/(*-C)
   'Reportedly, that boy was afraid of being easten next.'

4) Ez al du   Mikelek   janaria   erosi ~~ez   al du~~?
   not P AUX Mikel.ERG food.ABS buy   not P AUX
   'Didn't Mikel buy the food?'

5) Parisera   ote?
   Paris.ADL P
   'To Paris (I'm wondering)?'

Nevertheless, in eastern dialects *ote* may arise in different position: 1) adjacent to the Wh-word (examples 6&7) and 2) in a position following the inflected verb (examples 8) (also the evidential particle *omen* see Etxepare & Uria 2016).

Evidence

The following examples illustrate the grammatical characteristics which provide evidence of its different positions:

6) Non   (ote) utzi (ote) dut   (ote) kazeta   (*ote)?
    where P   leave P   AUX P   newspaper.ART   P
    'Where did I leave the newspaper? (I'm wondering)'
7) Zergatik (ote) Peiok   (*ote) hori galdegin (ote) data ?
    why   P   Peter.ERG P   that ask   P   AUX
    'Why did Peter ask me that? (I'm wondering)'

8) Nor (ote) deitzen   (ote) du   ba (ote) Peiok   (*ote) egunero?
   who P   call.IMPV P   AUX P   P   Peter.ERG P   everyday
   'Who does Peter phone everyday? (I'm wondering)'

Proposal

The particle *ote* occupies the head of PartP in its standard use as follows:

9) [ForceP [Force^0] [FocP [Foc^0] [FinP [PartP [TP [VP [V^0]] [T^0]] [Part^0 *ote*]] [Fin^0]]]]

As for the position adjacent to the Wh-word I propose that the particle may merge with a phrase containing a wh-word (see also Chernova 2016, Bayer & Trotzke 2015, Cable 2008):

10) [... [VP [PartP[XP[X^0 Wh-word]] [Part^0 *ote*]] [V' [YP] [V^0]]] [...]]

Finally, the position following the inflected verb can be explained if *ote* occurs in the specifier of PartP (Cardinaletti 2011, Etxepare & Uria 2016). This would explain not only its position but also its restriction through the sentence and hierarchical relation with the DP *ba*:

11) [ForceP [Force^0] [FocP [Foc^0] [FinP [PartP *ote* [TP [VP [V^0]] [T^0]] [Part^0]] [Fin^0]]]]

Phonological properties also lead to the same conclusion: whereas *ote* as a head forms a prosodic unit with the finite verb and may be phonetically reduced i.e. [ote > (º)te], *ote* as an adverb-like forms a prosodic unit on its own and cannot be reduced.

Whatever its position is, I propose that *ote* is related to the Force Phrase where it is claimed to move to the LF (Elordieta 1997), similar to the analysis proposed for Modal Particles in German (Zimmermann 2008). Other analysis in the German studies propose that this relation can be explained through probe/goal agreement between Force^0 and Part^0 (Bayer & Obenauer 2011). Indeed, discourse particles are clause-dependent since the use of *ote* would be grammatically wrong in embedded clauses introduced by the complementizer *-(e)la* with a declarative semantic clue (Artiagoitia & Elordieta 2013) but not by the complementizer *-(e)n*.

I propose that *ote* conveys the attitude of the speaker to the proposition: in the case of (2) the speaker thinks that nobody can know the answer to the question, similar to Obenauer's (2004) "Can't find the value" questions; in the case of non-interrogative contexts as (3) the speaker think that *p* cannot be fully asserted. This patter is also found in Lillooet Salish, Thompson Salish and Tsimshianic (Littell, Matthewson and Peterson 2010).

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Adverb-Predicate Agreement in Japanese and Structural Reduction
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A group of syntactic phenomena observed mainly in root contexts are called main clause phenomena (MCP). Despite their root-oriented character, MCPs are applicable in a subset of subordinate clauses. Previous studies have revealed that contexts allowing MCPs are cross-linguistically quite similar (Heycock 2006, Aelbrecht, Haegeman and Nye 2012, Yoon 2017, etc.). However, this paper shows that distribution of embedded MCPs is far from being homogeneous. By comparing sentential adverbs (S-adverbs) in English and Japanese, this paper demonstrates that even the same class of MCPs exhibits different distributional patterns among languages.

S-adverbs tend to resist embedding. Haegeman (2012) attributes their non-occurrence in (1a-c) to an intervention effect. She argues that a conditional clause involves a null operator moving to the left periphery and that this movement is blocked by an intervening S-adverb.

(1) a. ??*If **frankly** he's unable to cope, we'll have to replace him.   *speech-act*
   b. *If they **luckily** arrive on time, we will be saved.   *evaluative*
   c. *If Amanda is **possibly** injured, she will not be able to dance.   *epistemic*

(2)   [If … { **frankly** | **luckily** | **possibly** } … OP …], …

However, the intervention account does not carry over to a language like Japanese. First, Japanese S-adverbs in (3a-c) exhibit different distributional patters from their English equivalents in (1a-c): an evaluative adverb *saiwainimo* 'luckily' (3b) is able to occur in a conditional clause. This suggests that Japanese S-adverbs obey a different distributional condition.

(3) a. ?*[**Sottyokuniitte** kare-ga taisyo-dekinakere-ba], kare-o kootaisase-nebanaranai daroo.
      frankly.speaking he-nom cope-unable-if   he-acc replace-have.to   will
   b. [Karera-ga **saiwainimo** zikandoorini kure-ba], watasitati-wa tasukaru daroo.
      they-nom luckily   on.time   come-if we-top   be.saved will
   c. *[Amanda-ga **hyottositara** kega-o oe-ba], kanozyo-wa odor-e-nai   daroo.
      A.-nom   possibly   injure-acc get-if she-top   dance-can-not will

Second, a Japanese adverbial clause does not involve a null operator. One diagnostic phenomenon for detecting a null operator is a weak island effect. A Japanese adverbial clause does not exhibit this effect. Yoshida (2006) notes while that a non-referential item like a numeral quantifier cannot move across a weak island inducer such as a focus operator -*sika* 'only' (see (4a)), it can be extracted out of a conditional clause (see (4b)). This means that a Japanese conditional clause is not a weak island and hence does not involve a null operator. Consequently, the non-occurrence of S-adverbs in (3a, c) cannot be attributed to intervention.

(4) a. ***Huta-tu**$_i$ John-sika ringo-o t_i tabe-naka-tta. 'Only John ate two apples.' (intended)
      2-cl   J.-only apple-acc   eat-not-past
   b. **Huta-tu**$_i$ John-wa [Mary-ga ringo-o t_i tabeta-ra] kitto   okoru   daroo.
      2-cl   J.-top   M.-nom apple-acc   eat-if   certainly get.angry will
      'If Mary eats two apples, John will certainly get angry.'

As an alternative analysis, we propose that a Japanese S-adverb is licensed via syntactic agreement with an appropriate functional head in the clausal spine. We assume that it carries an uninterpretable feature and must enter into a probe-goal relation with a head carrying the interpretable counterpart of the relevant feature. More specifically, each class of adverb is licensed in the structure given below (order irrelevant).

(5) a. [$_{ForceP}$ *speech-act*$_{<uF>}$ Force $_{<iF>}$… [$_{FinP}$ ▲ Fin [$_{TP}$ ▲ T [$_{vP}$ ▲ v …
   b. [$_{ForceP}$ *evaluative*$_{<uG>}$ Force … [$_{FinP}$ *evaluative*$_{<uG>}$ Fin [$_{TP}$ *evaluative*$_{<uG>}$ T$_{<iG>}$ [$_{vP}$ ▲ v …
   c. [$_{ModalP}$ *epistemic*$_{<uM>}$ Modal$_{<iM>}$ [$_{ForceP}$ ▲ Force … [$_{FinP}$ ▲ Fin [$_{TP}$ ▲ T [$_{vP}$ ▲ v …

Since a speech-act adverb and an epistemic adverb agree only with Force and Modal respectively, they cannot occur in positions indicated by ▲, from which they cannot probe (i.e. c-command) their goal. On the other hand, an evaluative adverb can occur in more than one position so long as it is able to c-command T.

Our proposal is based on the fact well-noted in Japanese descriptive grammars: an adverb must co-occur with a particular (form of) predicate (Yamada 1936, Hashimoto 1959, Watanabe 1971, etc.). A predicate in Japanese is realized in various conjugational forms depending on grammatical contexts it is in. It is realized in the conclusive form in the root clause (6a). If it occurs in a noun-modifying clause, it is realized in the adnominal form (6b). Some subordinate clauses require their predicates to appear in the infinitival form (6c) and in the connective form (6d).

(6) a. {**Sottyokuniitte** | **Saiwainimo** | ?***Hyottositara**} kono gizyutu-wa igaku-ni   ooyookanoo-**da**.
      frankly   luckily   possibly   this technology-top medicine-to applicable-**is.Concl.**
      '{Frankly | Luckily | Possibly} this technology is applicable to medicine.'
   b. [{??**Sottyokuniitte** | **Saiwainimo** | ??**Hyottositara**} igaku-ni   ooyookanoo-**na**] gizyutu
      frankly   luckily   possibly   medicine-to applicable-**is.Adnom.** technology

     'the ticket which is {frankly | luckily | possibly} still valid'

c. [X-sya-ga   {**sottyokuniitte** | **saiwainimo** | ***hyottositara**} Y-sya-to
   X-company-nom frankly   luckily   possibly   Y-company-with
   gappeisu-**ru**-to] kabuka-ga   agaru   daroo.
   merge-**Inf.**-if   stock.prices-nom rise   will.
   'If X-company is {frankly | luckily | possibly} merged with Y-company, stock prices will rise.'

d. [{***Sottyokuniitte** | ***Saiwainimo** | ***Hyottositara**} John-ni   mituk-**ara**-zuni]   koi.
   frankly   luckily   possibly   J.-by   be.seen-**Conn.**-without   come
   'Come over without {frankly | luckily | possibly} being seen by John.'

e. John-wa   **hyottositara** okure-ru   *(**kamosirenai**).   'John may be late.'
   J.-top   possibly   late-Concl. may

As illustrated in (6a-e), each class of S-adverb exhibits different co-occurrence patterns. A speech-act adverb *sottyokuniitte* is compatible only with a predicate in the conclusive form. An epistemic adverb *hyottositara* also exhibits limited distribution. It obligatorily co-occurs with a modal *kamosirenai*. An evaluative adverb *saiwainimo*, on the other hand, shows a more tolerant co-occurrence pattern. It occurs with various conjugational forms other than the connective form.

    Following Mihara (2015), we assume that a predicate in Japanese undergoes head movement up to various functional heads and that its conjugational form is determined on the basis of the functional head position it finally stops at: the predicate in the connective form shows up in *v*, the one in the infinitival form in T, the one in the adnominal form in Fin, and the one in the conclusive form in Force. Combined with this characterization of conjugation, the distribution of S-adverbs in (6) leads to the analysis in (5): a speech-act adverb is licensed only by Force; an evaluative adverb by T. Since the modal *kamosirenai* in (6e) occurs above the conclusive form, the Modal head occupies a position above ForceP.

    The present analysis has several empirical and theoretical implications. First, it lends support to Endo's (2012) observation that structural reduction in Japanese is derived from the Head Movement Constraint (HMC). For instance, the conditional subordinator *-ba* combines only with an infinitival predicate, which carries a tense morpheme but, unlike adnominal and conclusive forms, exhibits no past-nonpast contrast.

(7) Ohiru-o   tabe-{*Ø | *ru | *ta | re} -ba, …   'If you have lunch, …'
    lunch-acc eat- {Conn. | Nonpast | Past | Tns} -if

On the assumption that the infinitival form is associated with T and that the predicate is adjoined to the subordinator via head movement in compliance with HMC, the conditional clause must not contain intervening heads.

(8)   … T-tabe-re]_{TP} ~~… Force]_{ForceP} Modal]_{ModalP}~~ -ba
      -eat-Inf.   -if

Viewed from this perspective, the ungrammaticality of (3a, c) falls out naturally: since the conditional clause lacks ForceP and ModalP, speech-act and epistemic adverbs fail to enter into Agree with Force and Modal heads respectively.

    A second consequence is that the proposed analysis correctly predicts the contrast in (9): while an English S-adverb occurs in a peripheral adverbial clause in Haegeman's (2012) sense, this is not always the case with a Japanese S-adverb.

(9) a. If Le Pen **will probably** win, Jospin must be disappointed.   (Nilsen 2004)
  b. Mosi Le Pen-ga (?***tabun**) katu (***daroo**) -nonara Jospin-wa   gakkarisuru   hazuda.
    if   Le Pen-nom probably win   will   -Cond. J.-top   be.disappointed must

According to the intervention analysis, the derivation of a peripheral adverbial clause does not involve operator movement, and hence, no intervention occurs in (9a). It then remains a mystery in the intervention analysis why its Japanese counterpart (9b) is not compatible either with an epistemic adverb or with an epistemic modal. The proposed analysis, on the other hand, makes a correct prediction. The adverb *tabun* must have its uninterpretable feature checked off via Agree with the modal *daroo*. However, since the subordinator *-nonara* is adjoined to an adnominal predicate in Fin (see (10)), the conditional clause must be deprived of upper projections including ModalP (see (11)) in order for the HMC to be observed.

(10) Mosi Trump-ga yuunoo   -{na | *da}   -nonara
     if   T.-nom   competent -{be.Adnom. | be.Concl.} -Cond.

(11)   … Fin-yuunoo-na]_{FinP} ~~… Force]_{ForceP} daroo]_{ModalP}~~ -nonara
      -competent-be.Adnom.   -Cond

This prevents the modal from occurring in (9b) and consequently, the epistemic adverb cannot occur, either.

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How MERGE can generate a derivation with an emphasizer

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I will examine how much we can characterize a certain class of syntactic properties of what appears to be an adjunct, not an argument, in terms of the simplest operation of MERGE (not Merge), without recourse to any other operations if any, and hopefully try to show that such properties fall within the domain of the operation.

The argument will run as follows. First I will take a familiar case of what can be called "emphasizer", *ittai*, a Japanese expression that is often transliterated with 'on earth', 'ever' and the like, and overview some syntactically interesting properties of the expression. Most remarkable among them is that the emphasizer is an adjunct by its very character and its occurrence is strictly dependent on the force type of the clause in which it appears, and therefore it conveys a polarity flavor from an interpretive view. The polarity flavor comes from the observation that the emphasizer (almost always) co-occurs with a *wh*-phrase, as in (1), implying that the expression involves certain structural, as well as lexical, combinatory workings, which suggests that some lexical and syntactic considerations are in order.

(1)   [Josef-ga [NP ittai-{nani/*sono-natto}]-wo katta (no)] ?

          [Josef-nom ['on-earth'-{what/*that natto}]-acc buy-PAST (overt Q-Particle)] ?

          'what on earth did Josef buy?'

With this background observation, I will consider how such properties can be generated in syntax. More specifically, I will seek to find a reasonable way to implement the relevant properties in terms of a version of the general mapping of MERGE, which has been proposed and developed in Chomsky's 2017 Reading lecture, and in some subsequent discussions on the mechanisms of the recursive operation and the notion of workspace WS (e.g., Chomsky, Gallego, and Ott (2017)). A corollary is that if the expression indeed involves a part of our structural knowledge of language, then its properties should accord with, and follow, the general mapping mechanism naturally. In fact I will demonstrate how the emphasizer is introduced to WS and mapped into WS´, in the hope that the mapping is achieved with no provisos specific to the expression.

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Non-scrambling OV languages

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OV languages are known for a typical kind of word order variation in which the focus occupies the immediately preverbal position while the rest of the elements precede the focus (Kim, 1988). In the same vein, the generalization that OV languages always allow for scrambling is present in the literature since at least Reuland and Kosemeijer (1993) or Neeleman (1994). Evidence for this kind of *typical OV-like word-order variation* (TOV) stems from genetically diverse languages such as Japanese, Hindi, Turkish, Udmurt, Georgian, and Standard Dargwa. On the surface, this word order variation is compatible with either the analysis in (A) or (B).

(A)   OV-like word order variation is derived via the clausal left periphery

(B)   OV-like word order variation is derived within the lexical domain

Both (A) and (B) are possible because the left periphery of the clause is not demarcated in most OV languages. As a result, TOV in Japanese has been analysed both in terms of (A), as in Miyagawa (2001), and in terms of (B), as in Fukui (1986). Likewise, TOV in Udmurt was analysed both via discourse-configurational projections (Tánczos, 2010) and VP-internal base generation (Schmidt, 2016).

In this talk, it will be argued that 'typical OV-like word order variation' is to be analysed as A-scrambling below the left periphery without the mediation of discourse-configurational projections. The main aim of the talk will be to posit a homogenous type of 'non-scrambling OV languages' that lacks the typical OV-like word order variation and can only employ the functional left peripheries in order to vary the order of arguments, as shown in (1b), where subject focus does not license scrambling of the other elements, and in (1c), where OS order involves contrastive fronting of the object.

(1)   a.   Gaahtoe bearjadahken maanam   gåaskoeji.   (South Sámi)
              cat:NOM child:ACC   friday:GEN wake:PST:3SG
              'The cat woke the child up on friday.'
       b.   Q: What woke the child on friday?
              – *Maanam bearjadahken gaahtoe gåaskoeji.
                child.ACC friday.GEN   cat.NOM wake.PST.3SG
       c.   MAANAM gaahtoe BEARJADAHKEN gåaskoeji.
              child.ACC cat.NOM friday.GEN   wake.PST.3SG
              '... and on friday, it was child who the cat woke.'

Data from at least Amharic, Sese, Tagwana, South Sámi, and various OV Chibcha languages will highlight the similiarities between languages of this type and to VO languages, and the dissimilarities to more well-researched OV languages. These points of comparison will mostly pertain to the syntax of subjects in that subjects in non-scrambling OV languages assume a fixed structural position, as in many VO languages ('obligatory EPP'), even in the presence of role-disambiguating head- and dependent-marking (see (1b,c)). Typical OV languages, in contrast, may lack obligatory subject-raising (Haider, 2010; Bayer, 2004).

In sum, this talk will present new data from various languages in order to argue for a structurally distinct class of OV languages in which A-scrambling, as observed

in most OV languages, does not play a role in the mapping of syntax to information structure.

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Analyzing head-finality: domains, language types, and patterns of change
Andrew Simpson (USC)

Original generative views of head-final vs. head-initial languages were that (a) such languages are/should be mirror image versions of each other in their head-complement patterns, (b) head-finality/-initiality should regulate all head-complement orderings in a language in a uniform way. However, many languages seem to show contrasting headedness in different domains – for example, in clausal vs. nominal domains. This raises the question of what it means to classify a language as being 'head-final'. Additionally, within a single domain, there may also be patterns of mixed headedness. Some of these patterns appear to be genuine cases of mixed headedness, and perhaps signs of an ongoing change in headedness, while other patterns may be surface illusions, created by movement from underlying uniform structures. This talk approaches various issues raised by the appearance of mixed headedness and identifies a range of asymmetries linked to head-finality/head-initiality, including: (a) how non-harmonic patterns may be analyzed differently in head-final and head-initial languages, and (b) how head-final and head-initial languages may be constrained to initiate and spread change from one directionality of selection to another in different ways – bottom-up or top-down. In approaching these issues, the talk will present and analyze four particular case studies which highlight important aspects of the relation of head-finality to head-initiality: (i) exceptional modal structures in Southeast Asian languages, (ii) the syntax of 'head-final' sentence-final particles in head-initial languages, focusing on Taiwanese, (iii) language change resulting in head-finality in dialects of Chinese, and (iv) cross-categorial reanalysis and the re-grammaticalization of functional elements in domains which have a different directionality of headedness, illustrated with patterns from SOV Burmese.

How evidentiality interacts with clause type in Tuparí, an Amazonian language of Brazil

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This talk analyzes the way that clause-typing particles interact with the evidential suffix *-pnẽ/-psira* in Tuparí, an endangered Tupían language spoken by approximately 350 people in the Brazilian Amazon. As previous work on Tuparí (Caspar and Rodrigues 1957; Alves 2004) has not discussed syntactic questions in any detail, all the data analyzed here have been collected by the author as part of an ongoing documentation project.

I begin by demonstrating the relevance of Tuparí to the HFL 2018 workshop: I will show that the language's clause structure instantiates considerable head-final structure. All [+VERBAL] projections from the VP proper through the EvidP are head-final. Only at the highest level of the Tuparí clause do we find head-initial phrase structure, instantiated by a set of second position clause-typing particles and tense markers. The general schema, then, is as follows:

$$[_{CP} \, C \, [_{TP} \, T \, [_{EvidP} \, [_{AspP} \, [_{VP} \, \text{Object Verb} \,] \, \text{Asp} \,] \, \text{Evid} \,] \,] \,]$$

Next, I turn to the basic properties of the language's evidential system. As in many other Amazonian languages (Aikhenvald 2003; Stenzel and Gómez-Imbert 2018), evidential marking is obligatory in Tuparí: past tense utterances must specify whether the speaker personally witnessed the event being related. The Tuparí evidential, *-pnẽ/-psira*, agrees in number with the subject, as (2) and (3) show. Since the third person pronoun *e* does not show number, only *-pnẽ/-psira* reveals the SG/PL contrast here. Note that the theme vowel *-a* deletes the final vowel of *-pnẽ/-psira*.

(1) Te-arop ko-**pn(ẽ)**-a-t   e.
3-food   eat-**EVID.SG**-TH-PAST 3SUBJ
'She ate her food (NON-WITNESSED).'

(2) Te-arop ko-**psir(a)**-a-t   e.
3-food   eat-**EVID.PL**-TH-PAST 3SUBJ
'They ate their food (NON-WITNESSED).'

When a past tense declarative clause lacks *-pnẽ/-psira*, the only interpretation is that the speaker witnessed the event. Drawing on my corpus of native language texts and everyday conversation, I will show that it is not sufficient to use *-pnẽ/-psira* once, at the beginning of a stretch of discourse. Speakers must instead employ the evidential throughout, with one occurrence per finite clause. In this sense, evidentiality is just as obligatory a grammatical category in Tuparí as tense is.

I next address how evidential *-pnẽ/-psira* interacts with the clause-typing particles located in C^0. The yes/no question marker *nẽ* inverts the deictic orientation of *-pnẽ/-psira*: polar questions contain the evidential if and only if the addressee is expected to use the evidential in their response. (Such INTERROGATIVE FLIP is crosslinguistically common; see Murray 2017 and Bhadra 2018, a.o.) However, several clause typers neutralize the witnessed/non-witnessed distinction altogether: *-pnẽ/-psira* can never cooccur with *nãkop* 'MAYBE', *mãkẽro* 'DUNNO' or *nãpe* 'REALLY?!'. Such neutralization is visible in (3), where *mãkẽrõ* 'DUNNO' rules out using *-pnẽ/-psira* (even though the speaker is discussing her own birth, an event that she could not have personally witnessed).

(3) Pare **mãkẽrõ** kut   yan   o-sin(ẽ)-a   tet'e.
where **DUNNO** ANCIENT.PAST mother 1SG-give.birth.to-TH AUX.SG
'I don't know where my mother gave birth to me.'

The neutralization of the witnessed/non-witnessed distinction applies with all clause typers that express doubt, uncertainty, or surprise on the speaker's part. However, evidentiality is *not* neutralized with the verum focus clause typers *pa'a/ta'a*. In other words, it is possible to both assert the veracity of a proposition *and* to state that one was not an actual witness, as shown by (4):

1

(4)   'Iporet tãramka-**psir(a)**-a   **pa'a**   e
       fish   catch.a.lot-**EVID.PL**-TH **VERUM.FOCUS** 3SUBJ

       'They did indeed catch a lot of fish (NON-WITNESSED).'

In sum, we see that the language allows for the witnessed/non-witnessed contrast to be marked only in contexts where the speaker is committed to the reliability or accuracy of p. But when the speaker's commitment to p is hedged with *nãkop* 'MAYBE', *mãkẽro* 'DUNNO' or *nãpe* 'REALLY?!', the evidential contrast is neutralized.

     I argue that the neutralization of evidentiality in utterances hedged with *nãkop* 'MAYBE', *mãkẽro* 'DUNNO' or *nãpe* 'REALLY?!' is the result of a semantic clash. In particular, *-pnẽ/-psira* introduces a presupposition that the speaker is committed to p. It follows that any clause typer that reduces the speaker's commitment to p is incompatible semantically with evidential marking in Tuparí. The claim that *-pnẽ/-psira* introduces such a presupposition makes correct predictions about the marking of the witnessed/non-witnessed contrast in subordinate environments. Tuparí makes use of fully finite INTERNALLY-HEADED RELATIVE CLAUSES (Cole 1987) that maintain the evidential distinction known from matrix contexts. This is shown by the following minimal pair (with *hè* serving to nominalize the IHRC):

(5)   a.   ote-gahafa   om-a   õpot   'en   hèt
           [1PL.EXCL-bottle give-TH DISTANT.PAST 2SG] HÈ

           'the bottle that you gave us (WITNESSED)'

      b.   ote-gahafa   om-**n(ẽ)**-a   õpot   'en   hèt
           [1PL.EXCL-bottle give-**EVID.SG**-TH DISTANT.PAST 2SG] HÈ

           'the bottle that you gave us (NON-WITNESSED)'

The evidential distinction seen in these IHRCs always scopes over matrix clause operators such as *nẽ* 'YES/NO' and the other 2P clause typers – exactly as we expect of presuppositions and other types of projective content (see Tonhauser et al. 2013 for projection in Paraguayan Guaraní, a distant relative of Tuparí).

     In conclusion, the claim that *-pnẽ/-psira* introduces a presupposition of high commitment to p accounts for the incompatibility between evidential marking and the clause typers *nãkop* 'MAYBE', *mãkẽro* 'DUNNO' or *nãpe* 'REALLY?!', on the one hand, as well as the behavior of the witnessed/non-witnessed contrast inside of IHRCs, on the other.

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