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- 1. Introduction
  - a. Raising
  - b. Quirky subject
- 2. Discussion: Quirky Subject Hierarchy (Poole 2016)
- 3. Conclusion

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#### **Introduction: Objective**

This study will empirically demonstrate that:

- Description:
   Tatar has raising constructions with "quirky" case-markings
- Theory:
   Quirky Subject Hierarchy (Poole 2016) is <u>not</u> language-specific

#### **Introduction: Tatar**

- Typology: Turkic > Kipchak > Tatar
  - Spoken mainly in the Republic of Tatarstan, Russia
- Syntax: SOV, AN
- Morphology: case-marking, suffixation

### **Introduction: Raising in Tatar**

```
(1) Marat kit-ärgä tiješ.
Marat.NOM leave-INF obligatory
```

- (2) Marat-qa kit-ärgä kiräk. (1)-(3): "Marat must leave."
  - Marat-DAT leave-INF necessary
- (3) Marat-nïŋ kit-äse bar.

  Marat-**GEN** leave-FP.3 exist

Problem: different case-markings on the subject

⇒ subject-to-subject raising (SSR) with quirky case-marking

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### **Overview: Raising**

 Raising syntactic movement of an argument from subordinate clause to matrix clause

```
e.g., SSR in English
Johni seemed [ti to leave.]
... "John" is not a semantic argument of SEEM but of LEAVE.
```

cf. control
e.g., Johni tried [PROi to leave].
... "John" is a semantic argument of both TRY and LEAVE.

#### **Raising in Tatar**

- Raising property of sentences (1)-(3) can be confirmed by **passivization test**.
- No change in semantic relationship
- (12) Marat xat-nï jaz-arɣa tiješ.
   Marat.NOM letter-ACC write-INF obligatory
   "Marat must write the letter." i.e., write(Marat, letter)
   identical

   (13) Xat Marat tarafinnan jaz-ïl-ïrɣa tiješ.
   letter.NOM Marat by write-PASS-INF obligatory
   "The letter must be written by Marat." i.e., write(Marat, letter)

### **Raising in Tatar**

Passivization of a control predicate causes semantic relationship alternation

```
    (14) Marat xat-nï jaz-arɣa tïrïš-tï.
        Marat.NOM letter-ACC write-INF try-PST.3
        "Marat tried to write the letter." i.e., try(Marat, λx.write(x, letter))
    (15) Xat Marat tarafïnnan jaz-ïl-ïrɣa tïrïš-tï. alternation letter.NOM Marat by write-PASS-INF try-PST.3
        "The letter tried to be written by Marat." i.e., try(letter, λx.write(Marat, x))
```

### Raising in Tatar

- The same test can be applied to (2) and (3)
  - $\Rightarrow$  (1)-(3) are raising constructions
  - ⇒ Non-flat structure (also confirmed by anaphoric binding)

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#### **Overview: Quirky Subject**

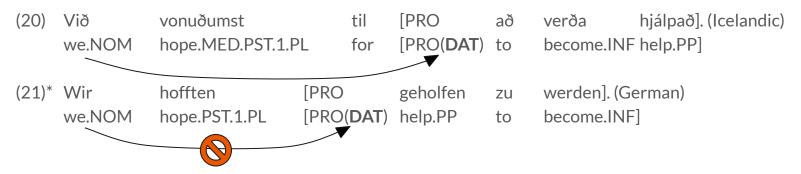
- Non-nominative subject
  - typically found in Icelandic (Sigurðsson 1992)
- Example (Icelandic):
- (16) Þeir hjálpuðu okkur. they.NOM help.PST.3.PL we.DAT "They helped us."
- (17) **Okkur** var hjálpað. we.**DAT** be.PST.3.SG help.PP "We were helped."

#### Quirky Subject vs. Pseudo-Quirky Argument

- Quirky-like argument in German
  - o uns is not a quirky subject but an object (Zaenen et al. 1985).
- (18) Sie halfen uns. they.NOM help.PST.3.PL we.DAT "They helped us."
- (19) Uns wurde geholfen. we.**DAT** become.PST.3.SG help.PP "We were helped."

#### Quirky Subject vs. Pseudo-Quirky Argument

PRO test: if an XP can control a PRO, the PRO is the subject.

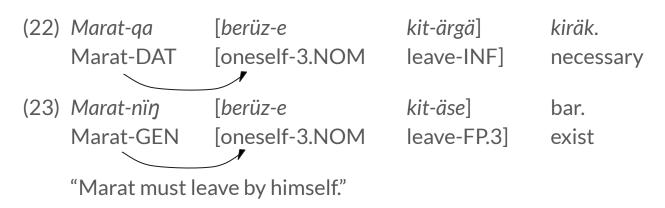


German quirky-like argument cannot bind PRO with supposedly dative case-marking ⇒ Not a subject

## **Quirky Subject in Tatar Raising**

- Are the raised arguments in Tatar really quirky subjects?
  - ⇒ Apply subjecthood tests (Sigurðsson 1992, Poole 2016)
- Anaphoric Binding test
- PRO test
- Reduced Relative test

### **Anaphoric Binding test**



⇒ The raised quirky arguments can bind the reflexive pronoun

#### **PRO** test

- (24) Marati [[PROi kit-ärgä kiräk] bul-u-ɣa] künder-el-de.

  Marat.NOM[[PRO(DAT) leave-INF necessary] be-VN-DAT] persuade-PASS-PST.3

  "Marat was persuaded that he had to leave."
- (25) Marati [PROi kit-äse bul-u-ïn-a] künder-el-de.

  Marat.NOM [PRO(GEN) leave-FP be-VN-3-DAT] persuade-PASS-PST.3

  "Marat was persuaded that he would have to leave."
- ⇒ The quirky arguments can be PRO

#### Reduced Relative test (Overview)

```
Relative clauses without relative pronoun

"If XP can be relativized in reduced relatives, XP is a subject." (Poole 2016)

e.g., "The man gives the cattle the hay."

(26) The mani [__i giving the cattle the hay] ⇒ "the man" is the subject

(27)# The cattlei [__i giving the man the hay]

(28)# The hayi [__i giving the man the cattle]
```

#### Reduced Relative test

- (29) ?? [\_\_i kit-ärgä kiräk bul-ɣan] kešei leave-INF necessary be-ADJVZ person "The person who had to leave"
- (30) [\_\_i kit-ü ixtimal-ï bul-ɣan] kešei leave-VN possibility-3 be-ADJVZ person "The person who might leave"
- **⇒** Acceptability differs

#### Suppl.: -u ixtimal-i bar ("possible")

-u ixtimal-i bar syntactically behaves similarly to -asi bar

- (3) Marat-niŋ kit-äse bar. (3)' Marat-niŋ kit-ü ixtimal-i bar.

  Marat-GEN leave-FP exist Marat-GEN leave-VN possibility-3 exist

  "Marat must leave."

  "Marat might leave."
- (23)Marat-nïŋ berüz-e kit-äse (23)'Marat-nin berüz-e kit-ü ixtimal-ï bar. bar. Marat-GEN oneself-3 leave-VN Marat-GEN oneself-3 exist leave-VN possibility-3 exist "Marat must leave by himself." "Marat might leave by himself." (Anaphoric Binding)

#### Suppl.: -u ixtimal-i bar ("possible")

```
(25) Marati [PROi kit-äse bul-u-ïn-a] künder-el-de.

Marat.NOM [PRO(GEN) leave-FP be-VN-3-DAT] persuade-PASS-PST.3

"Marat was persuaded that he would have to leave."
```

(25)' Marati [PROi kit-ü ixtimal-ï bul-u-ïn-a] künder-el-de.
Marat.NOM [PRO(GEN) leave-VN possibility-3 be-VN-3-DAT]

persuade-PASS-PST.3

"Marat was persuaded that he would have to leave." (PRO test)

## Genitive subject raising in Uyghur

Asarina (2011) reports genitive subject raising in Uyghur

```
(31) Ötkür-niŋ bu+ehtimalda oqu-š-i kérek.
Ötkür-GEN probably read-VN-3 necessary
"Ötkür probably must read."
```

(32) \*Ötkür-niŋ **bu+ehtimalda** oqu-š-i muhim. Ötkür-GEN **probably** read-VN-3 important intended: "It is probably important for Ötkür to read."

<sup>⇒</sup> Raising construction **allows for insertion** of sentence-modifying adverbials

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#### Quirky Subject Hierarchy (QSH) (Poole 2016)

(33) QSH: SOA Binding  $\gg$  PRO Binding  $\gg$  Reduced Relatives (cited from Poole (2016)) Hindi type — Icelandic type — Laz type For a hierarchy  $p_1 \gg p_2 \gg \cdots \gg p_n$ , a DP has property  $p_{i+1}$  only if it has property  $p_i$ 

Table 1: QSH

	SOA Binding	PRO Binding	Reduced Relatives
Hindi type	✓	*	*
Icelandic type	✓	✓	*
Laz type	✓	✓	✓

#### **Quirky Subject Hierarchy**

Table 2: Typology of QS (Poole 2016)

Hindi type	Hindi, German, Basque, Gujarati, Hungarian, Kannada,		
28 54	Korean, Malayalam, Russian, Spanish		
Icelandic type	Icelandic, Faroese, Tamil, Telugu		
Laz type	Laz, (Marathi, Tamil, Telugu)		

• Languages in parentheses are not clear yet as to which they belong to.

Tatar (kiräk, dative raising)

Tatar (-asï bar, genitive raising)

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#### Conclusion: QSH types are not language-specific

- Reduced Relative test in Tatar showed that the acceptability differed between dative SSR (*kiräk*) and genitive SSR (*ixtimal bar*).
  - ⇒ Tatar belongs to **two QSH types** (Icelandic and Laz) ???
- QSH types are <u>not</u> uniquely determined by each language
- <u>Different predicates can have a different QSH type</u>
  - ⇒ **lexically** (by each word) or **morphologically** (by case-marking) motivated

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