

## Sentential proforms and complementation in Ossetian

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## Overview

- Introduction: Ossetian language
- Clause structure in Ossetian
- Complementation in Ossetian
- Adjacent and non adjacent configurations (ACs and NACs)
- Complement CPs without pronominal element
- Analysis

## Introduction: Ossetian language

- Northeast Iranian, spoken in the Central Caucasus
- About 700,000 ethnic Ossetians
- Endangered: about 40% of ethnic Ossetians in North Ossetia are more fluent in Russian than in Ossetian; no monolingual speakers (Kambolov 2007)

## Introduction: Ossetian language



## Introduction: Ossetian language

- Salient typological characteristics:
- Basic word order: SOV / SVO
  - Branching: Spec-Comp-Head in lexical categories, Spec-Head-Comp in functional categories
  - Differential object marking (GEN/NOM)
  - Second position clitics
  - Elements of the left periphery (C, *wh*) in the preverbal position

## Clause structure in Ossetian

- (1) əž žonin madinə jə firt-ı  
I know Madina her son-GEN  
kəj arvišta gorət-mə.  
that sent city-LAT  
'I know that Madina sent her son to the city.'  
...madinə jə firt-ı kəj arvišta gorətmə.  
...madinə jə firt-ı gorətmə kəj arvišta.  
...madinə kəj arvišta jə firt-ı gorətmə.  
...kəj arvišta madinə jə firt-ı gorətmə.

## Clause structure in Ossetian

(1) ež žonin madinə jə firt-ı  
 I know Madina her son-GEN  
 kəj arvišta gorət-mə.  
 that sent city-LAT  
 'I know that Madina sent her son to the city.'  
 \*... kəj madinə jə firti gorətmə arvišta.  
 \*...madinə jə firti kəj gorətmə arvišta.  
 \*... kəj madinə arvišta jə firti gorətmə.  
 \*... arvišta madinə kəj jə firti gorətmə.

## Clause structure in Ossetian

Preverbal complex:

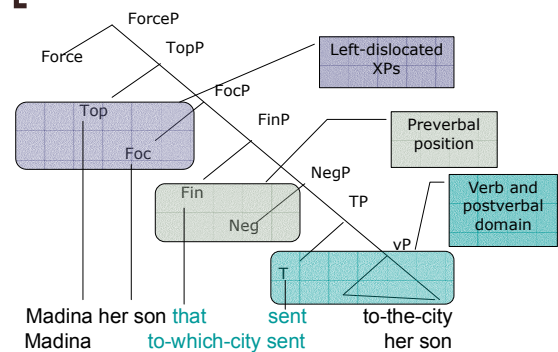
- Negation
  - Complementizers
  - Wh movement
- Left edge phenomena

## Clause structure in Ossetian

- Preverbal complex (PC) + verb: rigid
- Order of other constituents: (superficially) free

XP YP ZP V	XP YP ZP PC V
XP YP V ZP	XP YP PC V ZP
XP V YP ZP	XP PC V YP ZP
V XP YP ZP	PC V XP YP ZP

## Clause structure in Ossetian



## Complementation in Ossetian

Major dichotomies:

- +/- presence of the pronominal element *wij*
- complement CP adjacent / non-adjacent to the pronominal element *wij*

## Complementation in Ossetian

+/- presence of the pronominal element *wij*

(2) madinə žonı [CP alan kəj ərbasıd] *wij*.

Madina knows Alan that came *this*  
 'Madina knows that Alan has come.'

(3) madinə žonı [CP alan kəj ərbasıd].

Madina knows Alan that came  
 'Madina knows that Alan has come.'

## Complementation in Ossetian

+/- presence of the pronominal element *wij*

Generalization:

- *wij* is obligatory in the lexical case position
- *wij* can be omitted in the structural case position

## Complementation in Ossetian

+/- presence of the pronominal element *wij*

(4) mə žərdəmə nə səuı [CP alan keǰ ərbasıd] *wij*.  
 my heart-to not come Alan that came *this*  
 'I don't like (=it doesn't come to my heart) that Alan has come.'

(5) mə žərdəmə nə səuı [CP alan keǰ ərbasıd].  
 my heart-to not come Alan that came  
 'I don't like (=it doesn't come to my heart) that Alan has come.'

## Complementation in Ossetian

+/- presence of the pronominal element *wij*

(6) madinə sin kəni [CP alan keǰ ərbasıd] *wij-il*.  
 Madina joy makes Alan that came *this-SUPER*  
 'Madina is glad (=makes joy) that Alan has come.'

(7) \* madinə sin kəni [CP alan keǰ ərbasıd].  
 Madina joy makes Alan that came

## Complementation in Ossetian

+/- presence of the pronominal element *wij*

(8) madinə žoni *alan-ı / wij*.  
 Madina knows *Alan-GEN / this.NOM/GEN*  
 'Madina knows Alan / this.'

(9) mə žərdəmə nə səuı *alan / wij*.  
 my heart-to not come *Alan.NOM / this.NOM/GEN*  
 'I don't like Alan / this.'

(10) madinə sin kəni *xur-il / wij-il*.  
 Madina joy makes *sun-SUPER / this-SUPER*  
 'Madina is glad about the sun / about this.'

## Complementation in Ossetian

Complement CP adjacent / non-adjacent to the pronominal element *wij*

Adjacent configuration (AC)

(11) madinə žoni [CP alan keǰ ərbasıd] *wij*.  
 Madina knows Alan that came *this*  
 'Madina knows that Alan has come.'

(12) [CP alan keǰ ərbasıd] *wij* madinə žoni.  
 Alan that came *this* Madina knows  
 'Madina knows that Alan has come.'

## Complementation in Ossetian

Complement CP adjacent / non-adjacent to the pronominal element *wij*

Non-adjacent configuration (NAC)

(13) [CP alan keǰ ərbasıd] madinə žoni *wij*.  
 Alan that came Madina knows *this*  
 'Madina knows that Alan has come.'

(14) [CP alan keǰ ərbasıd] madinə *wij* žoni.  
 Alan that came Madina *this* knows  
 'Madina knows that Alan has come.'

## Complementation in Ossetian

	no pronominal element	AC	NAC
Structural case position	+	+	+
Lexical case position	--	+	+

Set of properties 1 (points to the 'no pronominal element' column)

Set of properties 2 (points to the 'AC' and 'NAC' columns)

## Complementation in Ossetian

- AC and NAC show different behaviour wrt a number of syntactic diagnostics
- Complement clauses without the pronominal element pattern with AC, not with NAC

## Complementation in Ossetian

Syntactic diagnostics that tell apart AC and NAC

- word order variation
- scope of scope-taking elements
- binding possibilities
- second position clitic placement
- cliticization of the pronominal element

## Complementation in Ossetian

Syntactic diagnostics which tell apart AC and CP without the pronominal element:

- extraction possibilities

## AC and NAC: Word order

(15) *madinə žonı [CP alan keǰ ərbasid] wj.*  
 Madina knows Alan that came this  
 'Madina knows that Alan has come.'

- (16)
- |                        |     |
|------------------------|-----|
| a. ... V CP PRON (=15) | AC  |
| b. ... CP PRON V       | AC  |
| c. ... CP PRON ... V   | AC  |
| d. CP PRON ... V       | AC  |
| e. CP ... V PRON       | NAC |
| f. CP ... PRON V       | NAC |
| g. * ... CP ... V PRON | NAC |
| h. * ... CP ... PRON V | NAC |

## AC and NAC: Word order

- In ACs, the CP plus *wj* complex can be located in whatever position with respect to the matrix clause
- In NACs, the complement CP has to occur in the leftmost position

## AC and NAC: Scope

### AC:

- (17) [CP alan **saldər** zadačəji kəj škodta] wij  
Alan **a\_few** problems that made **this**  
**ali** aḫwırgənəg dər ənqəli.  
**every** teacher EMPH believes  
'Every teacher believes that Alan has solved a few  
problems.'  
a. a few > every  
b. every > a few

## AC and NAC: Scope

### NAC:

- (18) [CP alan **saldər** zadačəji kəj škodta]  
Alan **a\_few** problems that made  
**ali** aḫwırgənəg dər ənqəli **wij**.  
**every** teacher EMPH believes **this**  
'Every teacher believes that Alan has solved a few  
problems.'  
a. a few > every  
b. \*every > a few

## AC and NAC: Scope

- In ACs, scopal elements (quantifiers, indefinites, etc.) occurring within the complement CP can have either wide or narrow scope wrt the scopal elements in the matrix clause
- In contrast, in NACs scopal elements in the complement CP must take wide scope corresponding to their surface position

## AC and NAC: Binding

### AC:

- (19) [CP əž **me'mbəltti** kəj waržin] wij wıdon žonins.  
I **my-friends<sub>i</sub>** that love **this they<sub>i</sub>** know  
'They<sub>i</sub> know that I love my friends.'  
**NAC:**

- (20) [CP əž **me'mbəltti** kəj waržin] wıdon žonins **wij**.  
I **my-friends<sub>i</sub>** that love **they<sub>i</sub>** know **this**  
'They<sub>i</sub> know that I love my friends.'

## AC and NAC: Binding

- In ACs, a referential expression occurring within the complement CP can not be coreferential with a pronominal in the subject position of the matrix clause
- In contrast, in NACs a referential expression in the complement CP can corefer with an anaphoric subject of the matrix clause

## AC and NAC: 2P clitics

(21) *madinə=mɪn žaxta [CP alan kəj ərbasɪd] wɪj.*  
 Madina=CL.to-me said Alan that came this  
 'Madina told me that Alan had come.'

AC:

(22) *[CP alan kəj ərbasɪd] wɪj =mɪn madinə žaxta.*  
 Alan that came this =CL.to-me Madina said  
 'Madina told me that Alan had come.'

(23) \* *[CP alan kəj ərbasɪd] wɪj madinə=mɪn žaxta.*  
 Alan that came this Madina=CL.to-me said  
 'Madina told me that Alan had come.'

## AC and NAC: 2P clitics

(21) *madinə=mɪn žaxta [CP alan kəj ərbasɪd] wɪj.*  
 Madina=CL.to-me said Alan that came this  
 'Madina told me that Alan had come.'

NAC:

(24) \* *[CP alan kəj ərbasɪd] =mɪn madinə žaxta wɪj.*  
 Alan that came =CL.to-me Madina said this  
 'Madina told me that Alan had come.'

(25) *[CP alan kəj ərbasɪd] madinə=mɪn žaxta wɪj.*  
 Alan that came Madina=CL.to-me said this  
 'Madina told me that Alan had come.'

## AC and NAC: 2P clitics

AC:

*CP PRON =CL ...*

\* *CP PRON XP =CL ...*

1<sup>st</sup> position in  
the clause

NAC:

*CP XP =CL ... PRON*

\* *CP =CL ... PRON*

## AC and NAC: 2P clitics

- 2P clitics attach to the immediate constituent of the clause, that is, to the phonologically expressed XP occupying the leftmost position in the tree.
- In ACs, CP+pronominal element form a constituent; in the leftmost position, it counts as an immediate constituent of the main clause visible to 2P clitics.
- In NACs, the leftmost CP is not visible to 2P clitics. This suggests that it occupies a different position in the structure.

## AC and NAC: Cliticization

- (26) a. *alan žoni wɪj.*  
 Alan knows this.NOM/GEN  
 'Alan knows this.'
- b. *alan=əj žoni.*  
 Alan=CL.this.GEN knows  
 'Alan knows this.'

## AC and NAC: Cliticization

In complement clausal constructions, cliticization of the pronominal element is possible only in NACs:

- (27) *[CP alan kəj ərbasɪd] madinə=mɪn=əj žaxta.*  
 Alan that came Madina=CL.to-me=CL.this said  
 'Madina told me that Alan had come.'
- (28) \* *madinə=mɪn=əj žaxta [CP alan kəj ərbasɪd].*  
 Madina=CL.to-me=CL.this said Alan that came  
 'Madina told me that Alan had come.'
- (29) \* *[CP alan kəj ərbasɪd]=mɪn=əj madinə žaxta.*  
 Alan that came =CL.to-me=CL.this Madina said  
 'Madina told me that Alan had come.'

## AC and NAC: Cliticization

- Only proforms can cliticize
- In ACs, the pronominal element projects, therefore cannot cliticize
- In NACs, the pronominal element is a true proform (has no phrasal structure), therefore can cliticize

## AC and NAC: Generalizations

	AC	NAC
Position of the complement CP	any	leftmost
Scope of indefinites	wide / narrow	wide
RE in the complement CP	non-coreferential with matrix subject	possibly coreferential with matrix subject
Complement CP in the leftmost position	immediate constituent of the matrix clause; visible to 2P clitics	invisible to 2P clitics
Cliticization of the pronominal element	impossible	possible

## Complement CP without pronominal element

“Bare CPs” pattern with ACs, not NACs

- whatever position in the clause

(30) *madinə soslanən žaxta [CP alan kəj ərbasıd].*  
 Madina Soslan-to said Alan that came  
 ‘Madina told Soslan that Alan had come.’

- (31) a. ... V CP (=30) AC  
 b. ... CP V AC  
 c. ... CP ... V AC  
 d. CP ... V AC

## Complement CP without pronominal element

“Bare CPs” pattern with ACs, not NACs

- wide / narrow scope

(32) *[CP alan saldər zadaçəji kəj škodta]*  
 Alan a\_few problems that made  
*ali axwırgənəg dər ənqəli.*

*every* teacher EMPH believes  
 ‘Every teacher believes that Alan has solved a few problems.’

- a. a few > every  
 b. every > a few

## Complement CP without pronominal element

“Bare CPs” pattern with ACs, not NACs

- RE in the complement CP cannot be coreferential to the matrix subject

(33) *[CP əž me'mbəltti kəj waržin] wıdon žonıns.*  
 I my-friends<sub>i</sub> that love they<sub>i</sub> know  
 ‘They<sub>i</sub> know that I love my friends<sub>i</sub>.’

## Complement CP without pronominal element

“Bare CPs” pattern with ACs, not NACs

- Complement CP is visible to 2P clitics

(34) *[CP alan kəj ərbasıd] =mın madinə žaxta.*  
 Alan that came =CL.to-me Madina said  
 ‘Madina told me that Alan had come.’

(35) \* *[CP alan kəj ərbasıd] madinə=mın žaxta.*  
 Alan that came Madina=CL.to-me said  
 ‘Madina told me that Alan had come.’

## Complement CP without pronominal element

	AC / Bare CP	NAC
Position of the complement CP	any	leftmost
Scope of indefinites	wide or narrow	wide
RE in the complement CP	non-coreferential with matrix subject	possibly coreferential with matrix subject
Complement CP in the leftmost position	immediate constituent of the matrix clause; visible to 2P clitics	invisible to 2P clitics
Cliticization of the pronominal element	impossible / n/a	possible

## Bare CP vs AC/NAC: Extraction

- Bare complement CPs: extraction possible

(36) madinə kəjmə žonı [CP alan kəj azırdta t] ?

Madina to-whom knows Alan that spoke  
'Who does Madina know (that) Alan spoke to?'

- ACs: extraction impossible

(37) \*madinə kəjmə žonı [CP alan kəj azırdta t] wıj ?

Madina to-whom knows Alan that spoke this

- NACs: extraction impossible

(38) \* [CP alan kəj azırdta t] madinə kəjmə žonı wıj ?

Alan that spoke Madina to-whom knows this

## Complementation in Ossetian: Generalizations

	Bare CP	AC	NAC
Position of the complement CP	any	any	leftmost
Scope of indefinites	wide / narrow	wide / narrow	wide
RE in the complement CP	non-corefer. with matrix subject	non-corefer. with matrix subject	possibly corefer. with matrix subject
Complement CP in the leftmost position	visible to 2P clitics	visible to 2P clitics	invisible to 2P clitics
Cliticization of the pronominal element	n/a	impossible	possible
Extraction	possible	impossible	impossible

## Analysis

- AC vs NAC
- AC vs bare complement CP

## Analysis: AC vs NAC

- AC:

[<sub>DP</sub> [ CP ] wıj ] is inserted into the argument position within the vP

- NAC:

[<sub>DP</sub> wıj ] is inserted into the argument position within the vP

[ CP ] is a high adjunct to the matrix clause

## Analysis: AC

### CP-embedded-under-DP analysis

English complement clauses: Moulton 2008, 2009, Takahashi 2010

Persian complement clauses: Farudi 2007

(39) a. DP V t

b. V CP

c. [DP [D in] (NP) CP]] V t

d. [<sub>DP</sub> [<sub>D</sub> in] (NP) t] V [CP]

- Bare CP vs. DP-internal CP is inserted into the argument position, i.e. postverbally
- Argument DP moves to the left of the verb for case reasons, possibly leaving adjunct CP postverbally



## Analysis: AC

### CP-embedded-under-DP analysis

Ossetian:

- (40) a. ... V DP  
 b. ... DP V t  
 c. ... V [<sub>DP</sub> [CP] wij]  
 d. ... [DP [CP] wij] V t  
 e. \* ... [<sub>DP</sub> t wij] V [CP]  
 f. \* ... [CP] V [<sub>DP</sub> t wij]

- DP-internal CP is inserted into the argument position, i.e. postverbally, (40c)
- Argument DP can move to the left of the verb for information structural reasons, (40b,d)
- [<sub>DP</sub> [CP] wij] cannot split, (40e-f)

## Analysis: AC

Why can not Ossetian [<sub>DP</sub> [CP] wij] split, whereas Persian [DP [D in] (NP) CP]] can?

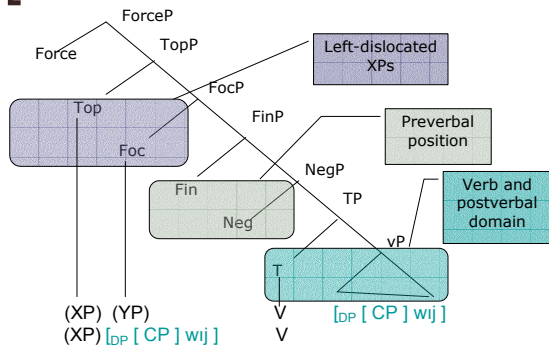
Chomsky 1999, Radford 2004:

(41) Functional head constraint

The complement of a certain type of functional head F (e.g. a determiner) cannot be moved on its own (without also moving F)

- Persian: [CP] is an adjunct to the DP; the complement of D is NP (probably silent) (Farudi 2007)
- Ossetian: [CP] is a complement of D

## Analysis: AC



## Analysis: AC

### Deriving syntactic properties of AC

- Word order: any position available for a DP:

(42) a. ... V CP PRON  
 postverbal argument position (*in situ* in the vP)

b. CP PRON ... V

leftmost position (in Spec, TopP or in Spec, FocP if Spec, TopP is empty)

c. ... CP PRON V

between the topic and verb (in Spec, FocP)

## Analysis: AC

### Deriving syntactic properties of AC

- Scope taking and binding

Since the preverbal position of the CP in AC is a result of A'-movement, the common reconstruction effects are expected

Barss 1986, Chomsky 1993, Heycock 1995, Sauerland 1998, Fox 1999, Sportiche 2003

## Analysis: AC

### Deriving syntactic properties of AC

- Scope taking and binding

(43) [CP alan *saldər* *zadačəji* *kəj* *škodta*] *wij*

Alan *a\_few* problems that made *this*

*ali* *aɣwırgənəg* *dər* *ənqəl*.

*every* teacher EMPH believes

'Every teacher believes that Alan has solved a few problems.'

a. a few > every : no reconstruction / wide scope of indefinites

b. every > a few : reconstruction of CP into the argument position

## Analysis: AC

### Deriving syntactic properties of AC

- Scope taking and binding

(44) [CP əž me'mbəlitti kəj waržin] wij wıdon žonins.

I my-friends<sub>i</sub> that love this they<sub>i</sub> know

'They<sub>i</sub> know that I love my friends<sub>i</sub>.'

After reconstruction: Principle C violation

(45) wıdon žonins [CP əž me'mbəlitti kəj waržin] wij.

they<sub>i</sub> know I my-friends<sub>i</sub> that love this

'They<sub>i</sub> know that I love my friends<sub>i</sub>.'

## Analysis: AC

### Deriving syntactic properties of AC

- Scope taking and binding

Lasnik&Hendrick 2003: Principle C must be satisfied at every stage of derivation

without reconstruction

[ [CP ... RE<sub>i</sub> ...] wij ] [SUBJ<sub>i</sub> V]: no violation

with reconstruction

[V [SUBJ<sub>i</sub> [ [CP ... RE<sub>i</sub> ...] wij]]]: violation of Principle C, RE is bound

## Analysis: AC

### Deriving syntactic properties of AC

- 2P clitics placement

(46) [CP alan kəj ərbasıd] wij =min madinə žaxta.

Alan that came this =CL.to-me Madina said

'Madina told me that Alan had come.'

(47) \* [CP alan kəj ərbasıd] wij madinə=min žaxta.

Alan that came this Madina=CL.to-me said

'Madina told me that Alan had come.'

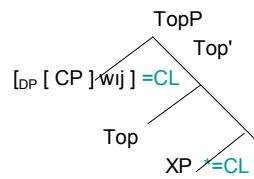
[<sub>DP</sub> [ CP ] wij ] =CL ...

\*[<sub>DP</sub> [ CP ] wij ] XP =CL...

## Analysis: AC

### Deriving syntactic properties of AC

- 2P clitic placement



In AC, the leftmost [<sub>DP</sub> [ CP ] wij] is an immediate constituent in the matrix clause

2P clitics attach to the first phonologically expressed XP

## Analysis: AC

### Deriving syntactic properties of AC

- Cliticization of *wij*

(48) \* madinə=min=əj žaxta [CP alan kəj ərbasıd].

Madina=CL.to-me=CL.this said Alan that came

'Madina told me that Alan had come.'

Only proforms can cliticize

In ACs, the pronominal element projects, therefore cannot cliticize

[<sub>DP</sub> D ] =CL.DP

[<sub>DP</sub> XP D ] \* =CL.D [<sub>DP</sub> XP t ]

## Analysis: NAC

- [<sub>DP</sub> wij ] inserted into the argument position within vP

- [ CP ] is a high adjunct in the matrix clause

### CP-inserted-as-adjunct analysis

Cardinaletti 1990; Srivastav 1990, 1991; Bayer 1995, 1996, 1997, 2000 (Hindi and German)

Bayer 2000:

(49) Man hat (es) zugelassen, daß er geschlagen wurde.

one has it tolerated that he beaten was

'They tolerated that he had been beaten.'

[<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> {NP<sub>1</sub> / \*} V] CP<sub>1</sub>]

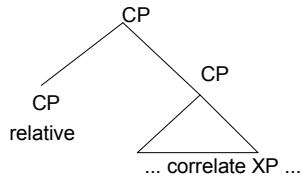
- es is a propositional proform in the argument position

- complement CP is inserted as a VP adjunct

## Analysis: NAC

### CP-inserted-as-adjunct analysis

Hock 1989, Davison 2005 (relative and complement CP in Sanskrit): high adjunction analysis

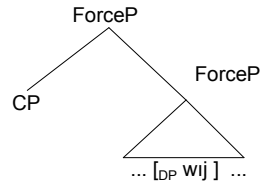


## Analysis: NAC

### CP-inserted-as-adjunct analysis

Ossetian:

- [ CP ] is a high adjunct to the matrix clause
- [<sub>DP</sub> wɨj ] inserted into the argument position in the vP



## Analysis: NAC

### CP-inserted-as-adjunct analysis

Other cases of high adjunction in Ossetian:

- Correlative clauses

(50) [gorətmə kəsɨ čɨʒg asɨdɨ] əʒ žonɨn wɨj.  
to-city which girl went I know her  
'I know the girl who went to the city.'

- Caseless DPs, PPs, etc. in the leftmost position with a correlate pronominal element in the matrix clause

(51) Alan-(\*ɨ) əʒ žonɨn wɨj.  
Alan-(GEN) I know him  
'As for Alan, I know him.'

## Analysis: NAC

### Pronominal element as a proform

Pronominal element can cliticize; note that the adjunct XP is not visible to 2P clitics:

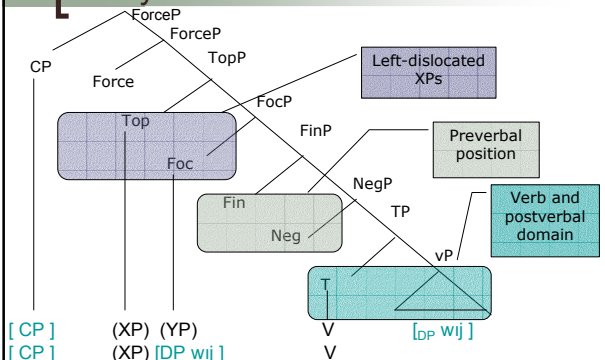
- Correlative clauses

(52) [gorətmə kəsɨ čɨʒg asɨdɨ] əʒ =əj žonɨn.  
to-city which girl went I=CL.her know  
'I know the girl who went to the city.'

- Caseless DPs, PPs etc in the leftmost position with a correlate pronominal element in the matrix clause

(53) Alan-(\*ɨ) əʒ =əj žonɨn.  
Alan-(GEN) I=CL.him know  
'As for Alan, I know him'

## Analysis: NAC



## Analysis: NAC

### Deriving syntactic properties of NAC

- Word order

CP strictly in the leftmost position, pronominal element in any position available for a DP:

(54) a. CP ... V PRON

[<sub>DP</sub> wɨj ] in argument position (*in situ* in the vP)

b. CP ... PRON ... V

[<sub>DP</sub> wɨj ] in Spec, TopP or in Spec, FocP

c. \*... CP ... (PRON) V (PRON)

If CP is non-initial, it cannot be analyzed as an adjunct

## Analysis: NAC

### Deriving syntactic properties of NAC

- No reconstruction effects

Since in NAC CP is generated as a high adjunct, no reconstruction applies. Therefore, scope and binding effects correspond to its surface position

(55) [CP ež me'mbæltti keŋ waržin] wiðon žonins wij.  
I my-friends<sub>i</sub> that love they<sub>i</sub> know this

'They<sub>i</sub> know that I love my friends<sub>i</sub>.'

No reconstruction = No condition C violation

[CP ... RE<sub>i</sub> ...] [SUBJ<sub>i</sub> V wij]

## Analysis: NAC

### Deriving syntactic properties of NAC

- 2P clitics placement

[ CP ] XP =CL ... [ DP wij ]

\*[ CP ] =CL ... [ DP wij ]

High adjuncts are invisible to 2P clitics

- clitics climb no higher than to ForceP

or

- clitics only "see" heads, Specs and Comps, not adjuncts

## Analysis: NAC

### Deriving syntactic properties of NAC

- Cliticization of *wij*

(56) [CP alan keŋ ərbaɪd] madina=mɪn=eŋ žaxta.

Alan that came Madina=CL.to-me=CL.this said

'Madina told me that Alan had come.'

- Proforms can cliticize
- In NACs, the pronominal element doesn't project, therefore can cliticize

[<sub>DP</sub> D ] =CL.DP

[<sub>DP</sub> XP D ] \* =CL.D [<sub>DP</sub> XP t ]

## Analysis: AC vs bare CP

### Generalizations:

- Bare complement CPs pattern with ACs
- Bare complement CPs are only possible in structural case position
- Bare complement CPs, but not ACs, allow extraction

## Analysis: AC vs bare CP

These generalizations follow if

- Bare complement CPs are inserted into the argument position directly, without DP-shell
- Structural case and lexical case differ as to their assignment strategies
- DP, but not CP is a barrier for movement in Ossetian

## Analysis: AC vs bare CP

Bare complement CPs are inserted in the argument position directly, without DP-shell

[<sub>VP</sub> [ CP ] V ]

(57) a. structural case position:

[<sub>VP</sub> [ CP ] V ] [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> [ CP ] D ] V ]

b. lexical case position:

\* [<sub>VP</sub> [ CP ] V {+lex} ] [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> [ CP ] D ] V {+lex} ]

## Analysis: AC vs bare CP

(58) Case assignment principles (cf. Franks 1994, a.m.o.)

- Lexical case must be assigned (principle of lexical satisfaction)
- Structural case can be assigned

(59) Conditions on the lexical case absorption (cf. Babby 1985)

- Case-absorbing constituents: DP
- Non-case-absorbing constituents: CP, PP

- Only DPs can occupy lexical case positions

## Analysis: AC vs bare CP

In Ossetian, DP is an island

(60) \* alan kəwɪl əfʃnaji [DP t qwɪdɪtə] ?

Alan about-whom keeps memories

'The memory of whom does Alan cherish?'

(61) alan [DP kəwɪl qwɪdɪtə] əfʃnaji t ?

Alan about-whom memories keeps

'The memory of whom does Alan cherish?'

[VP [ CP ] V ]

Bare CPs: Extraction possible

[VP [DP [ CP ] D] V ]

ACs: Extraction impossible

## Analysis: AC vs bare CP

Why are bare CPs excluded in NACs?

- In NACs, [ CP ] never occupies an argument position
- Therefore, if [DP wɪj ] is not inserted, the verb fails to discharge its theta-role

## Conclusions

- Three types of complement clauses in Ossetian differ as to the syntactic configurations they are associated with.
- ACs: the pronominal element and the complement CP form an argument DP.
- NACs: the pronominal element is an argument DP, CP is a clausal adjunct.
- Bare CPs: no DP; CP merges as an argument of V.
- This analysis explains the whole bulk of syntactic differences between ACs, NACs, and bare CPs.

Thank you!

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