Agreeing demonstratives in Wuvulu Relative clauses

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In Wuvulu (WUV, Oceanic, Admiralty Islands), relative clauses (RC) are introduced by a demonstrative (DEM). DEM are distinguished in terms of number, humanness, and proximity (Table 1) and the DEM introducing an RC and the one modifying the head noun must agree in these features (1) (Hafford, to appear). This paper compares four versions of the raising analysis of RC and argues for the hypothesis that the initial ("external") D actually originates inside RC.

Data. The basic word order in Wuvulu is SVO. Pronominal arguments are realized as clitics on the verb stem. Clitic doubling is optional for subjects, but prohibited for objects (2). However, an object clitic is required when the object is left-dislocated (3). The head NP of RC is always sandwiched between two identical DEMs. Subject RCs contain a gap or optionally a clitic coreferential with the head noun. Object RCs must contain a clitic coreferential with the head noun (4). Since clitic doubling of object is generally prohibited, the obligatory object clitic in RCs should be viewed as an instance of resumptive pronoun.

Approaches to RC. Four ways to modify Kayne's (1994) raising approach to RC have been proposed in the recent literature. (I) DP moves to the Spec of a functional head F within the left periphery below C and the CP containing the FP is merged with D. Due to D's selectoinal N-feature, the NP complement of DP in [Spec, F] raises to [Spec, C] (Bianchi 2000). (II) DP moves to [Spec, C], from which (a) N alone is extracted, merges with a CP to derive an NP, which in turn merges with D (Donati & Cecchetto 2011); (b) NP is extracted, merges with the existing CP, and with D (Bhatt 2002); or (c) the whole DP is extracted and merges with CP (Tonoike 2008).

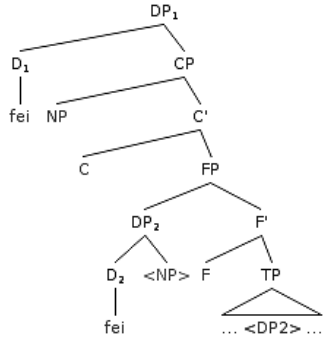

Figure 1 (I)

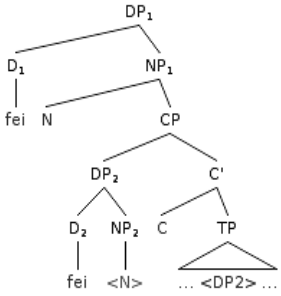

Figure 2 (IIa)

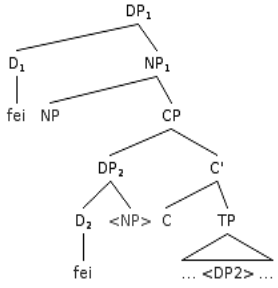

Figure 3(IIb)

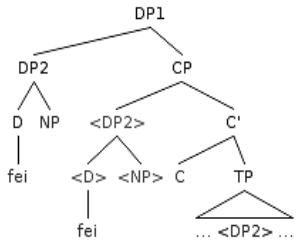

Figure 4 (IIc)

Analysis. Agreeing DEM can be analyzed as (a) agreeing C or (b) relative pronouns (REL PRON). If DEM2 is an instance of agreeing C with a ϕ-feature to be valued via Agree with the DP in its Spec, (I-IIb) must assume DP2 to be headed by a phonetically null DEM. Not a desirable stipulation. Moreover, the homophony between D1 and C cannot be explained in (IIa-b). It may be captured in (I) in terms of head-complement relation between D1 and CP, and in (IIc), where the initial DEM is a copy of the DEM that agrees with C. On the other hand, REL PRON is treated as a copy of D in [Spec, C] in all four models. In (I-IIb), D1 and D2 are separate items. ϕ-feature agreement between two D's is expected (since they agree with the same NP), but proximity-agreement isn't. The latter is not an inherent feature of N, but that of D. In (IIc), two D's are simply copies of a single item and hence are morphologically identical. Altogether, WUV data are best analyzed by (IIc). I therefore propose that DEM2 is a spell-out of D's copy in [Spec, C].

Conditions on spell-out. If we regard resumptive pronouns as the spell-out of the lowest copy, the proposed analysis claims that all copies are pronounced in WUV relatives (5). Two

immediate problems arise: (a) the copies appear in different forms in different positions, e.g., *fei* vs. *ia* (similarly in English, *the* vs. *which*); and (b) the NP is pronounced only in the highest copy. I propose that these are due to a constraint on spell-out: pronounce only the information minimally necessary for LF interpretation. Spell-out of the lowest copy (in an argument position) is required for the purpose of coreference. For this purpose, the identity of D alone would suffice (Bianchi 2004, Tonoike 2008). I also propose that the copy in [Spec, C] has additional feature value, [REL] assigned as a result of Agree with C in a way analogous to case valuation. This results in a special form of D in this position, if it is pronounced in languages like English. The third stipulation I propose is that sideward movement erases the value assigned to the uninterpretable features such as [REL] and case (Haida & Repp 2012; Tonoike 2008). This accounts for the difference between the highest copy and the one in [Spec, C] (e.g., *the* vs. *whom*) as well as instances involving apparent case mismatch between the highest copy and the lowest copy, e.g., [*the boy*]NOM [*whom.*ACC *I like* [*the boy*]ACC] *smiled*.

Table 1. Wuvulu demonstratives

		PROXIMAL	DISTAL	NEUTRAL
SINGULAR	[+HUMAN]	meni	mena	mei
	[–HUMAN]	feni	fena	fei
PLURAL		ʔeni	ʔena	ʔei

(1a) *meni pifine* [*meni/*mei* (*ʔi*)=*na-mare*] *na-pati*
DEM woman DEM 3SG-REA-cough REA-fall
'This woman who coughed fell.'

(1b) *ʔena pifine* [*ʔena/*ʔei* (*ro*)=*na-mare* *na-pati*
DEM women DEM 3PL-REA-cough REA-fall
'Those women who coughed fell.'

(2a) ʔei raʔo (ro)=na-talu-a fei paiwa [SVO]
DEM whale 3PL=REA-bite-TR DEM shark
'The whales bit the shark.'

(2b) ʔei raʔo na-talu(=*ia) fei paiwa. [SV(*=o)O]
DEM whale REA-bite=3SG DEM shark
'The whales bit the shark.'

(3) fei paiwa, ʔei raʔo na-talu*(=ia) [OSV*(o)]
DEM shark DEM whale REA-bite=3SG
'As for the shark, the whales bit it.'

(4) *fei nia* [*fei fei ponoto ʔi=na-ana *(=ia)*] *ʔu-na-nafa=ia*
DEM fish [DEM DEM dog 3SG= REA-eat=3SG] 1SG-REA-shot=3SG
'I speared the fish that the dog ate (it).'

(5)

	$[_{DP}$ $[_{DP}$ D nia]	$[_{CP}$ <D>	$[_{C'}$ C$[_{TP}$ fei ponoto ʔi=na-ana	<D>]]]]
Features	[3SG, -HUM, NEU]	[3SG, -HUM,NEU]		[3S,-HUM,NEU] [ACC]
Spell-out	fei	fei		=ia

Selected references: Bhatt, R. 2002. The raising analysis of relative clauses. *Natural Language Semantics* 10:43-90; Bianchi, V. 2000. The raising analysis of relative clauses. *LI* 31:123-140; Donati, C.& C. Cecchetto. 2011. Relabeling heads. *LI* 42: 519-560; Hafford, J. To appear. Wuvulu grammar and vocabulary. Ph.D. diss. University of Hawai'i; Tonoike, S. 2008. DP movement analysis of relativization. Ms., University of Hawai'i, Honolulu.