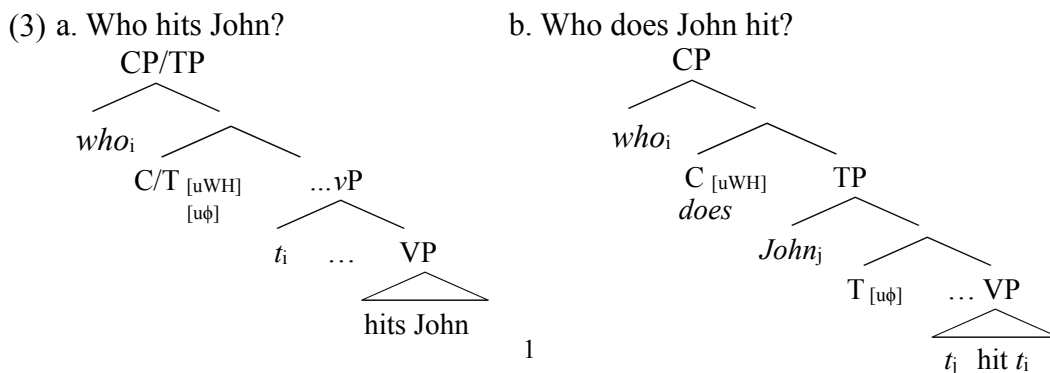


## Types of Question Formation in Ulivelivek

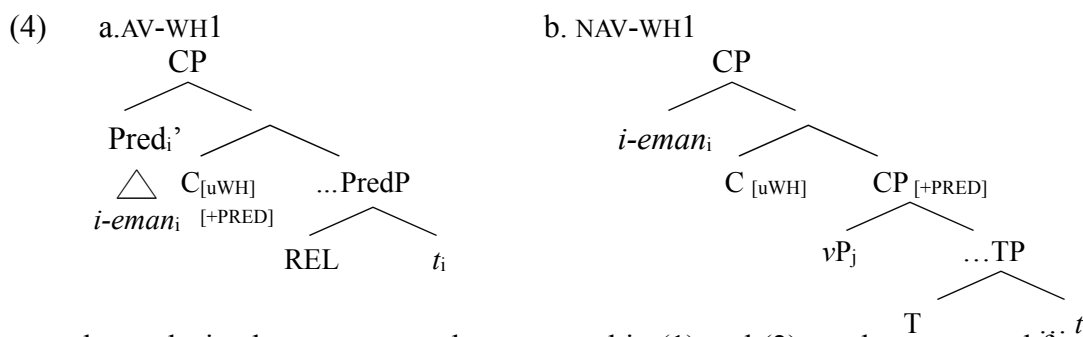
It is well-known that some verb-initial languages employ the pseudo-cleft construction to derive *wh*-initial questions (WH1-questions). Aldridge (2002) argues that *wh*-arguments apply the pseudo-cleft to derive WH1-questions in Seediq. Ulivelivek, a Formosan language spoken in southeast Taiwan, simply partially patterns together with Seediq. As shown in (1) and (2), AV-WH1 is derived through pseudo-clefting. The *wh*-word in AV is a predicate and the rest of the clause is the subject, which is a headless relative clause headed by *na*. However, NAV-WH1 is structurally different from its AV counterpart. To derive NAV-WH1, NAV *-aw* should be replaced with the nominalizer *-an*. In addition, CASE received by the external argument (EA) in NAV-WH1 must be ergative (ERG) but not oblique (OBL) as illustrated in (2a) and (2b).

- (1) a. **i-eman**    *lra*    [*na*    *p<en>ukpuk*    *kani*    *pilay*]?    AV, *pseudo-cleft*  
          Abs-WH    Asp    D    <AV>hit            OBL    Pilay  
          ‘Who is the person that hits Pilay?’  
       b. *p<en>ukpuk*    *kani*    *pilay*    *i*    *asing*  
          <AV>hit            OBL    Pilay    ABS    Asing  
          ‘Asing hits Pilay.’
- (2) a. **a-eman**    *lra*    (\**na*)    *tu=in-ekan-an*            *ni*    *pilay*?    NAV, *WH-movement*  
          ID.ABS-WH    Asp    D    3ERG=ASP-eat-NUMZ    ERG    Pilay  
          ‘What does Pilay eat?’  
       b. *tu=in-ekan-aw*            *kani*            *pilay*    *na*            *vulraw*  
          3ERG=ASP-eat-PV    OBL            Pilay    D.ABS    fish  
          ‘Pilay eats fish.’

I propose that the asymmetric distribution shown in AV-WH1 and NAV-WH1 should be attributed to the locus where [*uwh*] is valued. It is also correlated with how the CASE is assigned to EA in NAV structure and NAV-WH1. First, I argue AV and NAV value [*uWH*] at different CP layers. [*uwh*] is bundled together with [+pred] in AV-WH1 but [*uWH*] and [+pred] disperses at different CP layers in NAV-WH1. It is not uncommon for *wh*-subject and *wh*-object to value [*uwh*] in different syntactic positions. In English, *do*-support is employed when C-T split occurs to *wh*-object questions. [*uφ*] and [*uwh*] in *wh*-object questions are valued at different projections as in (3b). In contrast, *wh*-subject questions do not employ *do*-support because C-T split does not happen, so [*uφ*] and [*uWH*] are both valued at the same node (Martinovic, 2015).

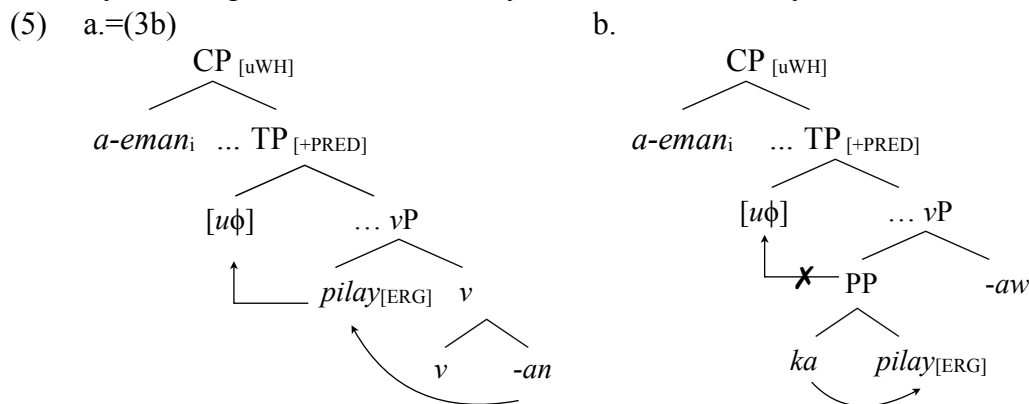


Similarly, I propose that AV-WH1 and NAV-WH1 are distinguished by structures depicted in (4). In AV-WH1, [+pred] and [uwh] are bundled together. On the contrary, [+pred] and [uwh] split in the case of NAV-WH1.



According to the analysis, the asymmetry demonstrated in (1) and (2) can be accounted for. AV-WH1 in (1a) is derived as the pseudo-cleft construction. The fronted predicate *i-eman* checks [+pred] and values [uwh] simultaneously.

On the other hand, I assume, following Aldridge's (to appear), that C-T inheritance is employed only if necessary. In basic NAV structure as in (2b), [u $\phi$ ] is not transmitted to T from C. [u $\phi$ ] is valued when the object moves to CP for receiving absolutive (ABS) case. The EA in (2b), *pilay*, is assigned ERG by *ka*-insertion, which is similar to preposition insertion enforced in Dinka to license the marked nominative EA of NAV structure (Erlewine et.al., 2014). However, in NAV-WH1 as in (2a), one more specifier is projected for [uWH]. Thus, [u $\phi$ ] are transmitted from C to T. As a result, if *ka*-insertion is applied, the EA will lose its nominal status. Therefore, nominalization is adopted as the alternative strategy to license ERG for the EA in NAV-WH1, because EA can keep its nominal status to value [u $\phi$ ] on T. Therefore, *kani Pilay* in (2b) should actually be reanalyzed and glossed as 'P.ERG Pilay' instead of 'OBL Pilay'.



To sum up, this paper analyzes the asymmetric pattern of AV-WH1 and NAV-WH1, arguing that [uWH] can be valued on different syntactic positions. The theory of C-T inheritance explains why VOICE should be altered. To accommodate [u $\phi$ ] on TP, it is necessary to license the EA in a different way.

**References:** Aldridge, E. To appear. PHI-Feature Competition: A Unified Approach to the Austronesian Extraction Restriction. CLS 52. || Erlewine, M. Y. et.al. 2014. What Makes a Voice System? On the Relation Between Voice Marking and Case. AFLA 21. Martinovic, M. 2015 Feature Geometry and Head-splitting. UChicago PhD. Diss.