

Midterm Exam

1 Prevent From

Analyze the following set of sentences which all involve the expression prevent ... from. You should find out what kind of complement prevent ... from takes, who assigns case to what, who assigns θ -roles to what, what movements take place, and the overall structure of the prevent ... from construction.

- (1) (all exs. from the Wall Street Journal online corpus unless indicated otherwise)
- a. The law does not prevent witnesses from becoming plaintiffs.
 - b. This phobia prevents us from focusing on real food risks.
 - c. This rule prevents the company from being taken over at too low a price.
 - d. In the novelty filter, light reflected from a scene is passed through a photorefractive crystal that deflects it, preventing the scene from being registered by the system's video camera.
 - e. They say singers who want to prevent their performances from being imitated can simply buy the rights to the songs.
 - f. Philip is prevented from being the play's hero by his subservient position; John is stymied by his character.
 - g. The Hazelwood East High School students merely were prevented from being allowed to force another group, the school administration – and ultimately the community – to publish their views.
 - h. What can be done to prevent there from being more feral cats?
(from <http://www.auburn.edu/prevet/catnap/catnap.html>)
 - i. Second, there has not been one case of this disease in North America and every safety measure is in place to prevent there from being one.
(from http://aradece.tripod.com/how_safe_is_it.htm)

Please feel free to supplement the above examples with any additional examples that you feel are relevant.

2 Icelandic Quirky Case and Control

Icelandic presents a rich system of non-nominative subjects which can have a variety of oblique cases, sometimes called Quirky Cases.

- (2) a. Hana/*Hún vantaDi vinnu.
she.Acc/she.Nom lacked job
'She lacked a job.'
- b. Henni/*Hún leiddist.
she.Dat/she.Nom bored
'She was bored.'
- c. Hennar/*Hún var getiD.
she.Gen/she.Nom was mentioned
'She was mentioned (by someone).'

The availability of quirky case is predicate dependent. It depends upon the predicate at hand whether the subject will bear a quirky case and what particular quirky case it will bear.

What are the implications of the following facts for the theory of PRO? How does PRO in Icelandic differ from PRO in English? When do we get PRO and when do we get overt subjects in Icelandic? Provide an analysis of the Icelandic facts. For concreteness, you can assume that information about Quirky Case is available at the point where the subject is merged.

2.1 Controlling Quirky Subjects

Positions that receive Quirky Case cannot be overtly realized in the infinitival clauses in (3). We could say that these positions are occupied by PRO.

- (3) a. Hún vonast til [aD PRO vanta ekki vinnu].
she.Nom hopes for to lack not job
'She hopes not to lack a job.'
- b. Hana langar ekki til [aD PRO leiDast].
she.Acc wants not for to bore
'She does not want to be bored.'
- c. PaD vaeri gaman [aD PRO verDa getiD].
it were nice to be mentioned
'It would be nice to be mentioned.'

2.2 Floating Quantifiers and Quirky Subjects

Floating Quantifiers in Icelandic inflect for case, number, and gender. They show agreement with the NP they are associated with.

- (4) a. Strákarnir komust **allir** í skóla.
the-boys.Nom got all.Nom.MPl to school
'The boys all managed to get to school.'

- b. Strákana vantaDi **alla** í skólann.
the-boys.Acc lacked all.Acc.MPl in the-school
'The boys were all absent from the school.'
- c. Strákunum leiddist **öllum** í skóla.
the-boys.Dat bored all.Dat.MPl in school
'The boys were all bored in school.'
- d. Strákanna var **allra** getiD í raeDunni.
the-boys.Gen were all.Gen.MPl mentioned in the-speech
'The boys were all mentioned in the speech.'

Floating quantifiers are also possible in control constructions where they display the following behaviour:

- (5) a. Strákarnir vonast til [aD PRO komast **allir** í skóla].
the-boys.Nom hope for to get all.Nom.Pl to school
'The boys hope to all get to school.'
- b. Strákarnir vonast til [aD PRO vanta ekki **alla** í skólann].
the-boys.Nom hope for to lack not all.Acc.Pl to the-school
'The boys hope to not be all absent from school.'
- c. Strákarnir vonast til [aD PRO leiDast ekki **öllum** í skóla].
the-boys.Nom hope for to bore not all.Dat.Pl in the-school
'The boys hope to not be all bored in school.'
- d. Strákarnir vonast til [aD PRO verDa **allra** getiD í raeDunni].
the-boys.Nom hope for to be all.Gen.Pl mentioned in the-speech
'The boys hope to be all mentioned in the speech.'

2.3 Predicate Agreement and Quirky Subjects

You need to formulate an account of agreement in Icelandic that extends to both finite and non-finite clauses.

2.3.1 Matrix Predicate Agreement

- (6) Adjectives and Passive Participles agree with the subject -

- a. Strákarnir **höfDu** veriD **duglegir**.
the-boys.Nom.MPl had.3Pl been energetic.Nom.MPl
'The boys had been energetic.'
- b. Stelpurnar **höfDu** veriD **duglegar**.
the-girls.Nom.FPl had.3Pl been energetic.Nom.FPl
'The girls had been energetic.'
- c. Börnin **höfDu** veriD **dugleg**.
the-children.Nom.NPl had.3Pl been energetic.Nom.NPl
'The children had been energetic.'

(If we put the above sentences in an ECM environment where the subject gets accusative case, the predicate agrees with the subject and appears in the accusative.)

(7) - but not always -

- a. Strákunum **hafDi** veriD **kalt**.
the-boys.Dat had.Default been cold.Default
'The boys had been cold.'
- b. Stelpunum **hafDi** veriD **kalt**.
the-girls.Dat had.Default been cold.Default
'The girls had been cold.'
- c. Okkur **hafDi** veriD **kalt**.
we.Dat had.Default been cold.Default
'We had been cold.'

In general, Quirky Subjects never trigger agreement. You can take this as a given.

(8) Sometimes the agreement is with the object -

- a. Okkur **höfDu** leiDst strákarnir.
we.Dat had.3Pl bored the-boys.Nom.3Pl
'We had been bored by the boys.'
- b. Okkur **höfDu** veriD **sagDar** sögurnar áDur.
we.Dat had.3Pl been told.Nom.FPl the-stories.Nom.FPl before
'We had been told the stories before.'

(9) - and sometimes with nothing:

Okkur **hafDi** veriD **sagt** frá Þessu áDur.
we.Dat had.Default been told.Default about this.Dat before

'We had been told about this before.'

2.3.2 Agreement in Control Environments

- (10) a. Strákarnir voru **aDstoDaDir/*aDstoDaD**.
the-boys.Nom were aided.Nom.MPl/aided.Default
'The boys were aided.'
- b. Strákarnir vonast til [aD PRO verDa **aDstoDaDir/*aDstoDaD**].
the-boys.Nom hope for to be aided.Nom.MPl/aided.Default
'The boys hope to be aided.'
- (11) a. Strákunum var **hjálpaD/*hjálpaDir/*hjálpuDum**.
the-boys.Dat was helped.Default/helped.Nom.MPl/helped.Dat.MPl
'The boys were helped.'
- b. Strákunum vonast til [aD PRO verDa **hjálpaD/*hjálpaDir/*hjálpuDum**].
the-boys.Dat hope to be helped.Default/helped.Nom.MPl/helped.Dat.MPl
'The boys hope to be helped (by somebody).'

(12) (In finite clauses, *get to the party* and *be elected to the board* assign nominative to their subjects.)

- a. (*want* assigns Quirky Accusative to its subject.)

Strákana langaDi til [aD PRO komast **allir** í veisluna].
the-boys.Acc wanted.Default for to get all.Nom.MPl to the-party

‘The boys wanted to get to the party.’

- b. (*bored* assigns Quirky Dative to its subject.)

Strákunum leiddist [aD PRO verDa **kosnir** í stjórnina].
the-boys.Dat bored.Default to be elected.Nom.MPl to the-board

‘The boys were annoyed to be elected to the board.’

2.4 A comparison with Hindi-Urdu

Hindi-Urdu also allows for non-nominative subjects.

- (13) us-ko vo kitaab pasand aa-ii
s/he-Dat that book.Nom.f pleasing come-Pfv.f
‘S/he liked that book.’

But it differs in what can be controlled (i.e. realized as PRO).

- (14) Control:

- a. mĒ [un logō-ko PRO pasand aa-naa] nahī chaah-taa
I.Nom those people-Dat pleasing come-Inf Neg want-Impfv.MSg
‘I don’t want those people to like me.’
b. *mĒ [PRO vo kitaab pasand aa-naa] nahī chaah-taa
I.Nom that book.f pleasing come-Inf Neg want-Impfv.MSg
‘I don’t want to like that book.’

How do Hindi-Urdu and Icelandic differ with respect to control into non-nominative subject constructions? Assuming that PRO in Hindi can be taken to have properties similar to that of PRO in English, demonstrate how the difference between control into non-nominative subject constructions in the two languages reduces to differences between the properties of PRO in the two languages.

3 Hindi-Urdu Passives Again

For the purposes of this exercise, you are free to ignore the agreement facts of Hindi-Urdu. If you do choose to include them in your analysis, you might find the Icelandic agreement facts relevant and your analysis of them useful. Also you should ignore the Ergative marking on the subject - for concreteness assume that Ergative is licensed by T^0 . The actual facts are more complex but irrelevant for the point at hand.

3.1 Promotion

It is unclear if there is ever promotion in Hindi-Urdu passives. This is because accusative and nominative are both unmarked, word order is not informative, and given the right configurations objects can trigger agreement.

(15) a. Active:

Ram-Erg yeh *tehnii* kal *kaat-ii* *thii*
Ram-Erg this branch.f yesterday cut-Pfv.F be.Pst.F
'Ram had cut this branch yesterday.'

b. Passive:

yeh *tehnii* kal *kaat-ii* *gayii* *thii*
this branch.f yesterday cut-Pfv.F Pass-Pfv.f be.Pst.f
'This branch was cut yesterday.'

Thus we do not know whether *this branch* in (15b) has nominative case (i.e. case-licensed by T^0) or accusative (i.e. case-licensed by the specifier-less v_{AG}).

Non-pronominal/Non-Proper name NPs in Hindi-Urdu can optionally be marked with a marker -ko that contributes specificity. *-ko* can also appear on the unique argument of a passive.

(16) a. Active:

Ram-Erg is *tehnii-ko* kal *kaat-ii* *thii*
Ram-Erg this.Obl branch-KO yesterday cut-Pfv.Default be.Pst.Default
'Ram had cut this branch yesterday.'

b. Passive:

is *tehnii-ko* kal *kaat-aa* *gayaa* *thaa*
this.Obl branch-KO yesterday cut-Pfv.Default Pass-Pfv.Default be.Pst.Default
'This branch was cut yesterday.'

Since there are independent reasons to believe that *-ko* never appears on elements that are case-licensed by T^0 (e.g. subjects of unaccusatives), we can safely assume that *this branch* in (16) is definitely accusative (i.e. case-licensed by the specifier-less v_{AG}). So we still do not have a clear cut case where we can be certain that there is promotion (i.e. the unique argument of the passive is case-licensed by T^0).

Now consider the following data. Do they provide evidence of obligatory promotion? Your answer should include a discussion of why you think the data tells us what you think it does.

3.1.1 Proper Names and Pronouns

Unlike other direct objects, proper name and pronominal direct objects must be *-ko* marked. This is part of crosslinguistically attested phenomena known as Differential Object Marking (DOM).

- (17) a. Ram-ne mujh-ko/*mē baazaar-mē dekh-aa hai
Ram-Erg I.Obl-KO/I market-in see-Pfv.Default be.Prs.Default
'Ram has seen me in the market.'
- b. Ram-ne Rina-ko/*Rina baazaar-mē dekh-aa hai
Ram-Erg Rina-KO/Rina.f market-in see-Pfv.Default be.Prs.Default
'Ram has seen Rina in the market.'

Now consider the passives:

- (18) with *-ko* -
- a. mujh-ko baazaar-mē dekh-aa gayaa hai
I.Obl-KO market-in see-Pfv.Default Pass.Pfv.Default be.Prs.Default
'I have been seen in the market.'
- b. Rina-ko baazaar-mē dekh-aa gayaa hai
Rina-KO market-in see-Pfv.Default Pass.Pfv.Default be.Prs.Default
'Rina has been seen in the market.'
- (19) - and without *-ko*
- a. (assume speaker is a woman)
mē baazaar-mē dekh-ii gayii hū:
I.f market-in see-Pfv.F Pass.Pfv.F be.Prs.1F
'I have been seen in the market.'
- b. Rina baazaar-mē dekh-ii gayii hai
Rina.f market-in see-Pfv.F Pass.Pfv.F be.Prs.3Sg
'Rina has been seen in the market.'

3.1.2 Infinitival Clauses

Infinitival subjects in Hindi-Urdu in Hindi are in general either null (i.e. PRO) or genitive marked (you do not need to provide an explanation as to how Genitive is assigned). This has been taken to suggest that infinitivals in Hindi are really nominalizations.

- (20) a. PRO:
[PRO mehnat kar-naa] acchii baat hai
hardwork do-Inf good thing be.Prs
'To work hard is a good thing.'
- b. Genitive Subject:
[Ram-kaa is tarah mehnat kar-naa] acchii baat hai.
Ram-Gen this want hardwork do-Inf good thing is
'For Ram to work hard this way is a good thing.'

However, nominative subjects seem to be not possible.

- (21) a. [us-kaa/*vo Sita-ko ḍā:t-naa] aashcaryajanak hai
 he.Obl-Gen/he Sita-KO scold-Inf surprising is
 'His scolding Sita is surprising.'
- b. [us-kaa/*vo aaj Dilli jaa-naa] aashcaryajanak hai
 he.Obl-Gen/he today Delhi go-Inf surprising is
 'His going to Delhi today is surprising.'

But with passives we find the following facts:

- (22) a. [per-kaa/per-ko/per is tarah-se kaaṭ-aa jaa-naa] sharam-kii baat hai
 tree-Gen/tree-KO/tree this.Obl way-in cut-Pfv Pass-Ing shame-Gen.f thing.f be.Prs
 'For the tree to be cut in this way is a matter of shame.'
- b. [Radha-kaa/Radha-ko/*Radha baazaar-mē dekh-aa jaa-naa] sharam-kii baat
 Radha-Gen/Radha-KO/Radha market-in see-Pfv Pass-Ing shame-Gen.f thing.f
 hai
 be.Prs
 'For Radha to be seen in the market is a matter of shame.'

3.2 The Inabilitative

In Hindi-Urdu, passive syntax can appear in a construction sometimes called the inabilitative. It is so called because the inabilitative conveys that someone lacks a certain ability.

- (23) a. Inabilitative:
 Ram-se Radha-ko ḍā:t-aa nahī gayaa
 Ram-Instr Radha-KO scold-Pfv Neg Pass-Pfv
 'Ram couldn't (bring himself) to scold Sita.'
- b. Regular Passive:
 (Ram-dwaaraa) Radha-ko ḍā:t-aa (nahī) gayaa
 Ram-by Radha-KO scold-Pfv Neg Pass-Pfv
 'Radha was (not) scolded (by Ram).'

The inabilitative differs from the regular passives in at least the following ways: (i) the *-se* phrase in the inabilitative must be overt unlike the *-dwaaraa* phrase in the regular passive, (ii) the inabilitative has a modal meaning, and (iii) the inabilitative can only appear in negative (polarity-licensing) environments.

One possible analysis of inabilitative is to assume that they involve a covert modal that assigns inherent *-se* to its subject and which needs to be in a negative polarity licensing environment.

- (24) ... [NP-se [[_{XP} ...] Modal]]

For this problem you have to determine what kind of XP this covert Modal takes. Your solution should be maximally general - try to avoid lists. Take the following examples into account.

- (25) a. Inabilitative + Active Syntax:

*Ram-se Mahesh Radha-ko nahī: ḍā:ṭ-aa
Ram-Instr Mahesh Radha-KO Neg scold-Pfv

‘*Ram couldn’t make Mahesh scold Radha.’

- b. Inabilitative + Passive Syntax:

Ram-se Radha-ko ḍā:ṭ-aa nahī gayaa
Ram-Instr Radha-KO scold-Pfv Neg Pass-Pfv

‘Ram couldn’t (bring himself) to scold Sita.’

- (26) a. Inabilitative + Active Syntax:

*Ram-se Mahesh nahī: hās-aa
Ram-Instr Mahesh Radha-KO Neg laugh-Pfv

‘*Ram couldn’t make Mahesh laugh.’

- b. Inabilitative + Passive Syntax:

Ram-se hās-aa nahī gayaa
Ram-Instr laugh-Pfv Neg Pass-Pfv

‘Ram couldn’t (bring himself) to laugh.’

- (27) a. Inabilitative + Active Syntax:

Ram-se per nahī: kaṭ-aa
Ram-Instr tree Neg cut_{intr}-Pfv

‘Ram couldn’t cut the tree.’

- b. Inabilitative + Passive Syntax:

*per-se kaṭ-aa nahī gayaa
tree-Instr cut_{intr}-Pfv Neg Pass-Pfv