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
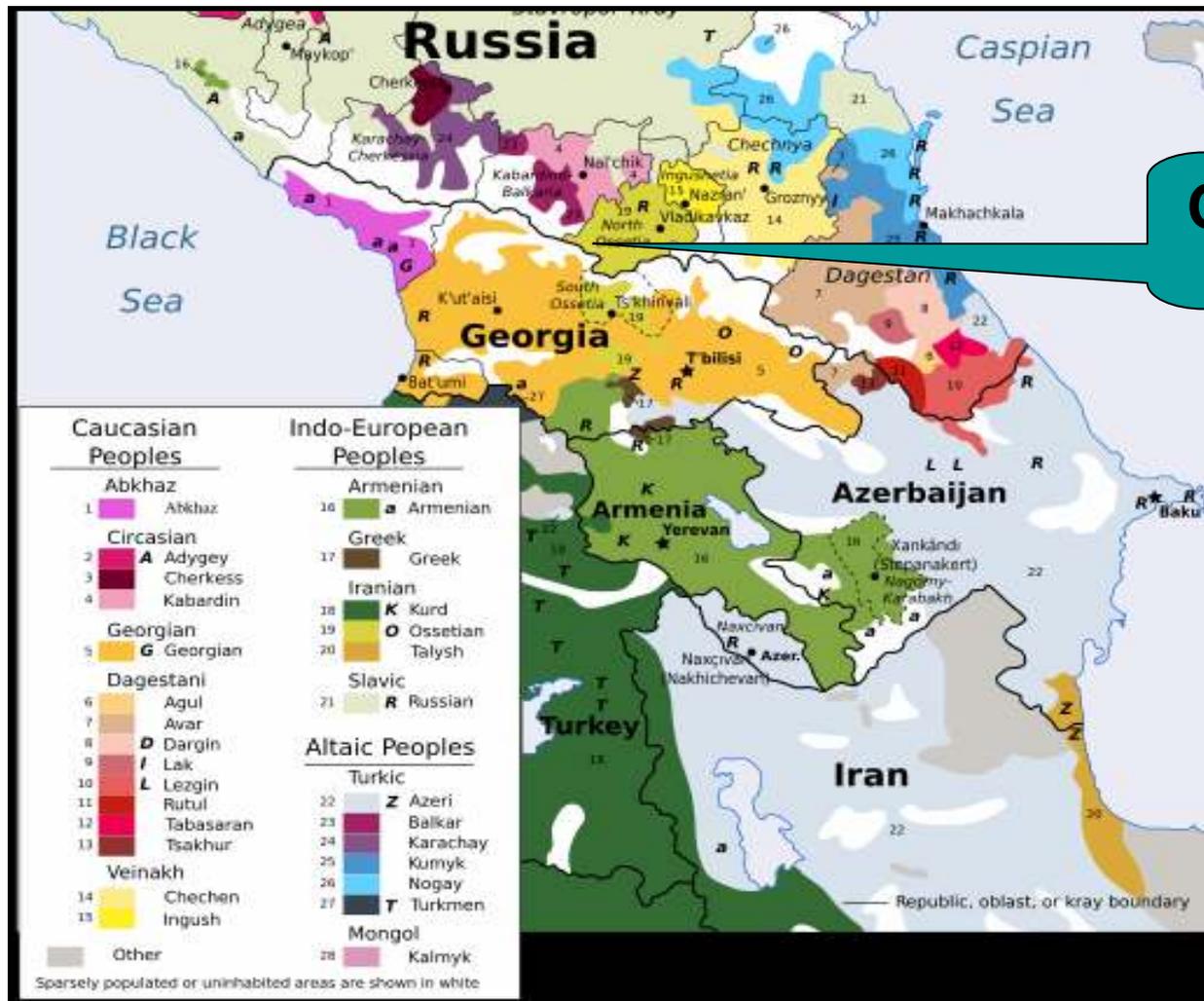
Introduction: Ossetian language

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 žonın   madinə jə   fırt-ı

    I   know   Madina   her son-GEN

kəj arvıšta gorət-mə.

that   sent   city-LAT

'I know that Madina sent her son to the city.'

...madinə jə fırtı kəj arvıšta gorətmə.

...madinə jə fırtı gorətmə kəj arvıšta.

...madinə kəj arvıšta jə fırtı gorətmə.

...kəj arvıšta madinə jə fırtı gorətmə.

Clause structure in Ossetian

(1) əž žonın   madinə jə   fırt-ı

     I   know   Madina her son-GEN

kəj arvıšta gorət-mə.

that   sent   city-LAT

'I know that Madina sent her son to the city.'

*... kəj madinə jə fırtı gorətmə arvıšta.

*...madinə jə fırtı kəj gorətmə arvıšta.

*... kəj madinə arvıšta jə fırtı gorətmə.

*... arvıšta madinə kəj jə fırtı 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
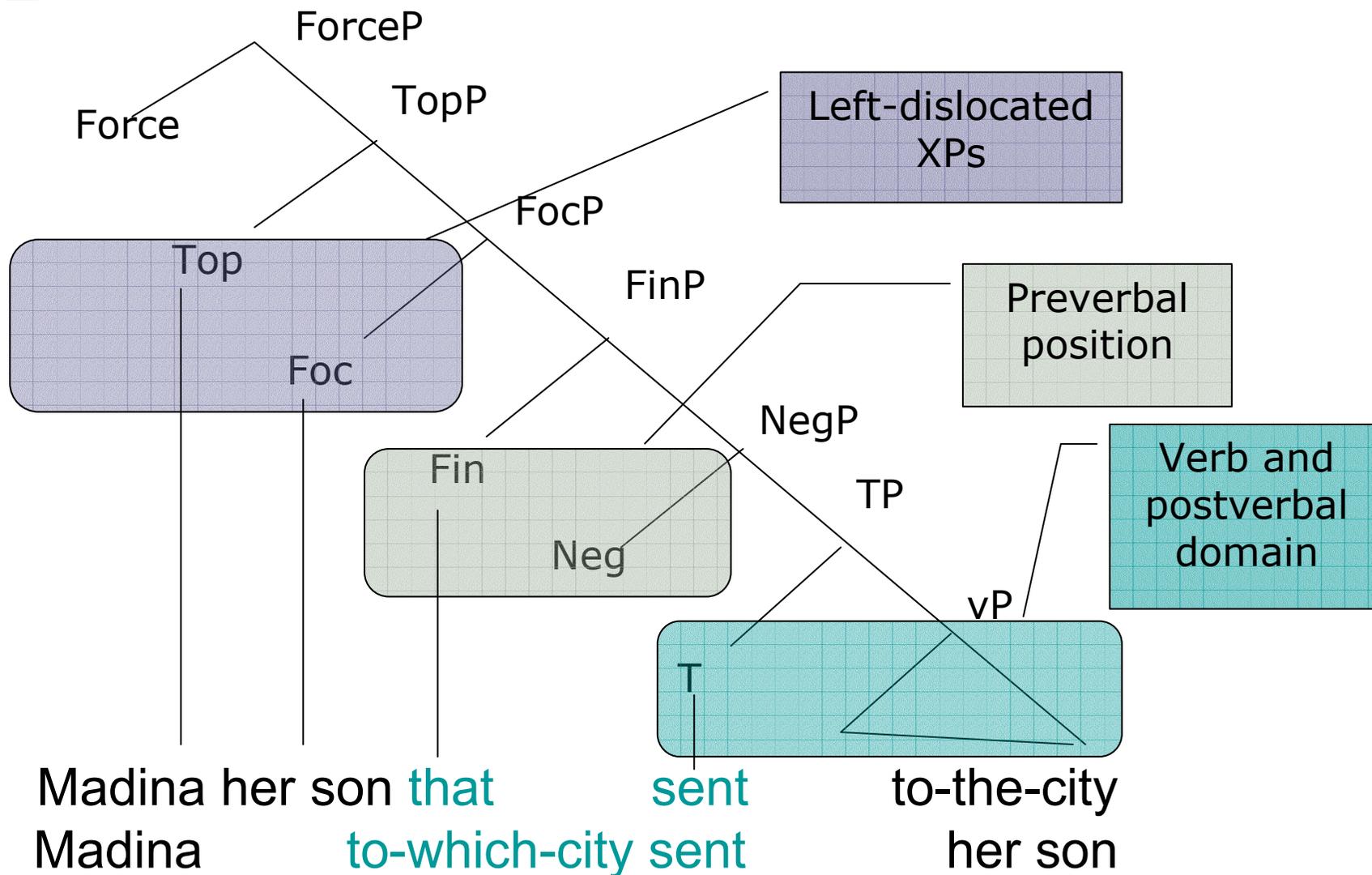
XP YP ZP V	XP YP ZP PC V
XP YP V ZP	XP YP PC V ZP
XP V YP ZP	XP PC V YP ZP
V XP YP ZP	PC V XP YP ZP

Clause structure in Ossetian

ForceP

Force

TopP

Left-dislocated XPs

Top

FocP

Foc

FinP

Preverbal position

Fin

NegP

Neg

TP

Verb and postverbal domain

T

vP

Madina her son that
Madina

sent
to-which-city sent

to-the-city
her son

Complementation in Ossetian

Major dichotomies:

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

Complementation in Ossetian

+/- presence of the pronominal element *wɪj*

(2) madinə žonɪ   [CP alan kəj ərbasɪd] wɪj.

    Madina knows   Alan that came   this

    'Madina knows that Alan has come.'

(3) madinə žonɪ   [CP alan kəj ərbasɪd].

    Madina knows   Alan that came

    'Madina knows that Alan has come.'

Complementation in Ossetian

+/- presence of the pronominal element *wɪj*

Generalization:

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

Complementation in Ossetian

+/- presence of the pronominal element *wɪj*

(4) mə žərdəmə nə səuɪ [CP alan kəj ərbasɪd] wɪj.

    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 səuɪ [CP alan kəj ərbasɪd].

    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 *wɪj*

(6) madinə sin kənɪ   [CP alan kəj ərbasɪd] wɪj-ɪl.

Madina joy makes   Alan that came   this-SUPER

'Madina is glad (=makes joy) that Alan has come.'

(7) * madinə sin kənɪ   [CP alan kəj ərbasɪd].

Madina joy makes   Alan that came

Complementation in Ossetian

+/- presence of the pronominal element *wɪj*

(8) madinə žonɪ   alan-ɪ / wɪj.

   Madina knows Alan-GEN / this.NOM/GEN

   'Madina knows Alan / this.'

(9) mə žərdəmə nə səuɪ   alan / wɪj.

   my heart-to   not come Alan.NOM / this.NOM/GEN

   'I don't like Alan / this.'

(10) madinə sin kənɪ   xur-ɪl / wɪj-ɪl.

    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 *wɪj*

Adjacent configuration (AC)

(11) madinə žonɪ   [CP alan kəj ərbasɪd] wɪj.

　　　Madina knows   Alan that came   this

　　　'Madina knows that Alan has come.'

(12) [CP alan kəj ərbasɪd] wɪj madinə žonɪ.

　　　　　Alan that came   this Madina knows

　　　'Madina knows that Alan has come.'

Complementation in Ossetian

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

Non-adjacent configuration (NAC)

(13) [CP alan kəj ərbasɪd] madinə žonɪ wɪj.

    Alan that came Madina knows this

'Madina knows that Alan has come.'

(14) [CP alan kəj ərbasɪd] madinə wɪj žonɪ.

    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

Set of properties 2

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 kəj ərbasıd] wıj.

   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 *wɪj* 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: Word order

(16) c. madinə [CP alan kəj ərbasıd] wıj žonı.   AC

    Madina   Alan that came   this knows

  'Madina knows that Alan has come.'

  g. * madinə [CP alan kəj ərbasıd] žonı   wıj.   NAC

    Madina   Alan that came   knows this

  'Madina knows that Alan has come.'

AC and NAC: Scope

AC:

(17) [CP alan saldər zadačəjɪ kəj   škodta] wɪj

     Alan a_few   problems that made   this

alɪ   aχwɪrgənəg dər   ənqəlɪ.

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 zadačəjı   kəj   škodta]

 Alan a_few problems that made

alı   aχwırgənəg dər   ənqəlı   wıj.

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'mbəlttı kəj   waržın] wıj wıdon žonıns.
         I   my-friends$_i$ that love   this they$_{*i}$ know

'They$_{*i}$ know that I love my friends$_i$.'

NAC:

(20) [CP əž me'mbəlttı kəj   waržın] wıdon žonıns wıj.
         I   my-friends$_i$ that love   they$_i$ know   this

'They$_i$ know that I love my friends$_i$.'

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=mın   žaxta   [CP alan kəj ərbasıd] wıj.

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

     'Madina told me that Alan had come.'

AC:

(22) [CP alan kəj ərbasıd] wıj =mın   madinə žaxta.

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

     'Madina told me that Alan had come.'

(23) * [CP alan kəj ərbasıd] wıj madinə=mın   žaxta.

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

     'Madina told me that Alan had come.'

AC and NAC: 2P clitics

(21) madinə=mın žaxta [CP alan kəj ərbasıd] wıj.

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

  'Madina told me that Alan had come.'

NAC:

(24) * [CP alan kəj ərbasıd] =mın madinə žaxta wıj.

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

  'Madina told me that Alan had come.'

(25) [CP alan kəj ərbasıd] madinə=mın žaxta wıj.

  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 …

1st 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 žonɪ   wɪj.

   Alan knows this.NOM/GEN

   'Alan knows this.'

  b. alan=əj   žonɪ.

   Alan=CL.this.GEN knows

   'Alan knows this.'

AC and NAC: Cliticization

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

(27) [CP alan kəj ərbasıd] madinə=mın=əj žaxta.

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

'Madina told me that Alan had come.'

(28) * madinə=mın=əj žaxta [CP alan kəj ərbasıd].

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

'Madina told me that Alan had come.'

(29) * [CP alan kəj ərbasıd]=mın=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 zadačəjı kəj škodta]

      Alan a_few problems that made

alı   aχwırgənəg dər   ənqəlı.

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'mbəlttı kəj waržın] wıdon žonıns.

I my-friends$_i$ that love they$_{*i}$ know

'They$_{*i}$ know that I love my friends$_i$.'

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:

[$_{DP}$ [CP] wɪj] is inserted into the argument position within the vP

- NAC:

[$_{DP}$ wɪj] 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. [$_{DP}$ [$_D$ 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 [$_{DP}$ [CP] wɪj]

        d. ... [$_{DP}$ [CP] wɪj] V t

        e. * ... [$_{DP}$ t wɪj] V [CP]

        f. * ... [CP] V [$_{DP}$ t wɪj]

- 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)

- [$_{DP}$ [CP] wɪj] cannot split, (40e-f)

Analysis: AC

Why can not Ossetian [$_{DP}$ [CP] wɪj] split, whereas Persian [$_{DP}$ [D in] (NP) CP]] can?
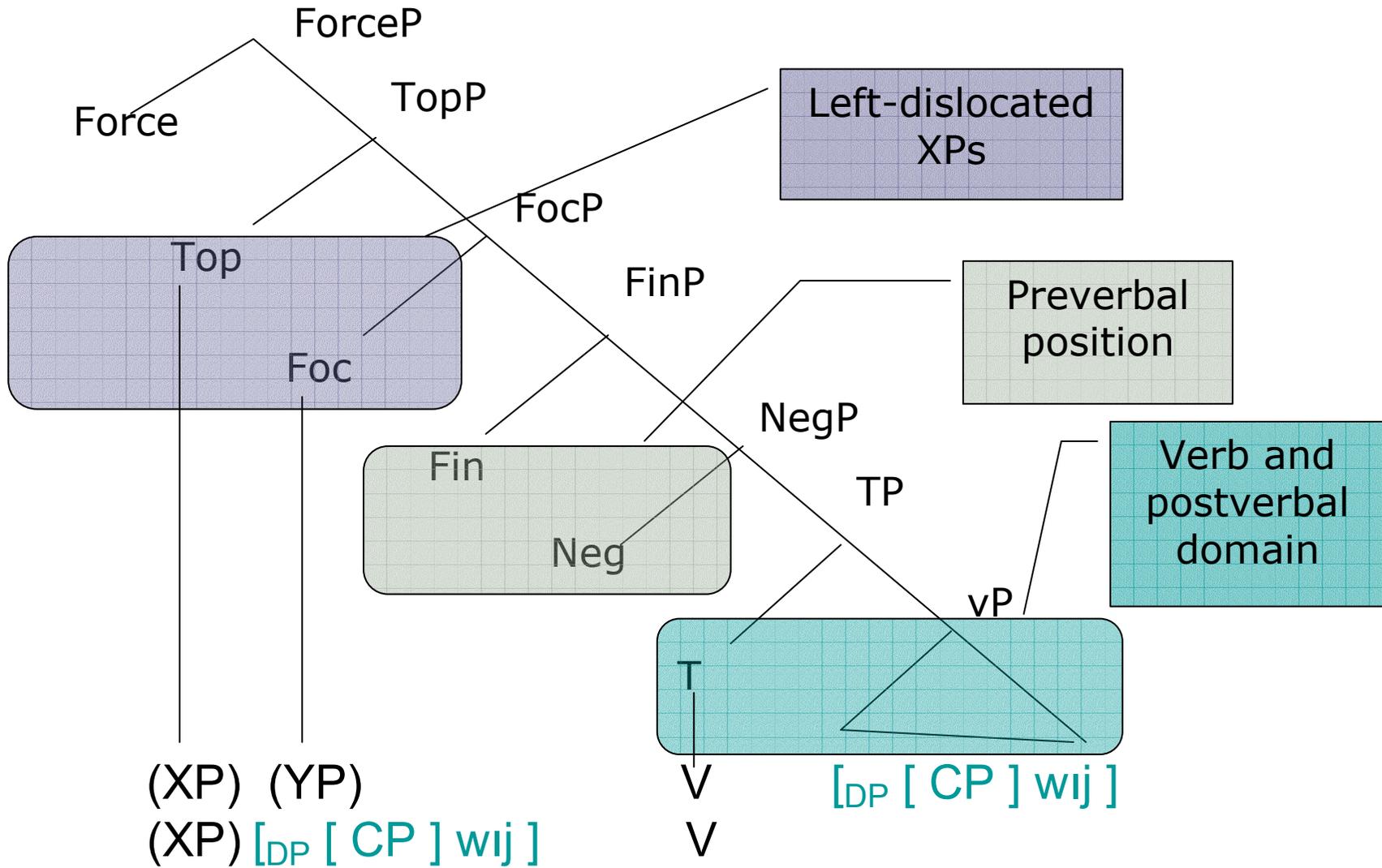
Chomsky 1999, Radford 2004:

(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 (possibly 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 zadačəjı kəj škodta] wıj

      Alan a_few problems that made this

alı   aχwırgənəg dər   ənqəlı.

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'mbəltti kəj waržın] wıj wıdon žonıns.

    I my-friends$_i$ that love this they$_{*i}$ know

'They$_{*i}$ know that I love my friends$_i$.'

After reconstruction: Principle C violation

(45) wıdon žonıns [CP əž me'mbəltti kəj waržın] wıj.

    they$_{*i}$ know I my-friends$_i$ that love this

'They$_{*i}$ know that I love my friends$_i$.'

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$_i$ ...] wɪj] [SUBJ$_i$ V]]: no violation

with reconstruction

[V [SUBJ$_i$ [[CP ... RE$_i$ ...] wɪj]]]: violation of Principle C, RE is bound

Analysis: AC

Deriving syntactic properties of AC

- **2P clitics placement**

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

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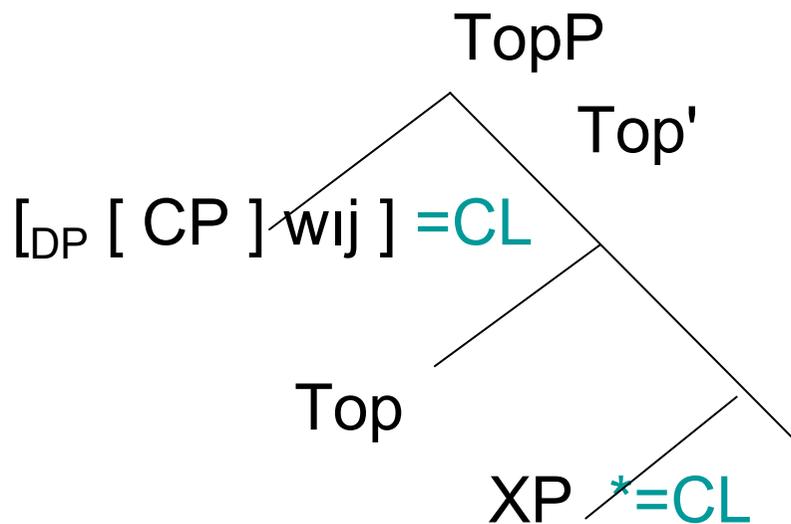   'Madina told me that Alan had come.'

[DP [CP] wɪj] =CL ...

*[DP [CP] wɪj] XP =CL...

Analysis: AC

Deriving syntactic properties of AC

- 2P clitic placement

TopP
Top'
[$_{DP}$ [CP] wɪj] =CL

Top

XP *=CL

In AC, the leftmost [$_{DP}$ [CP] wɪj] 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 *wɪj*

(48) * 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.'

Only proforms can cliticize

In ACs, the pronominal element projects, therefore cannot cliticize

[DP D]   =CL.DP

[DP XP D]   * =CL.D [DP XP t]

Analysis: NAC

- [$_{DP}$ wɪj] 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
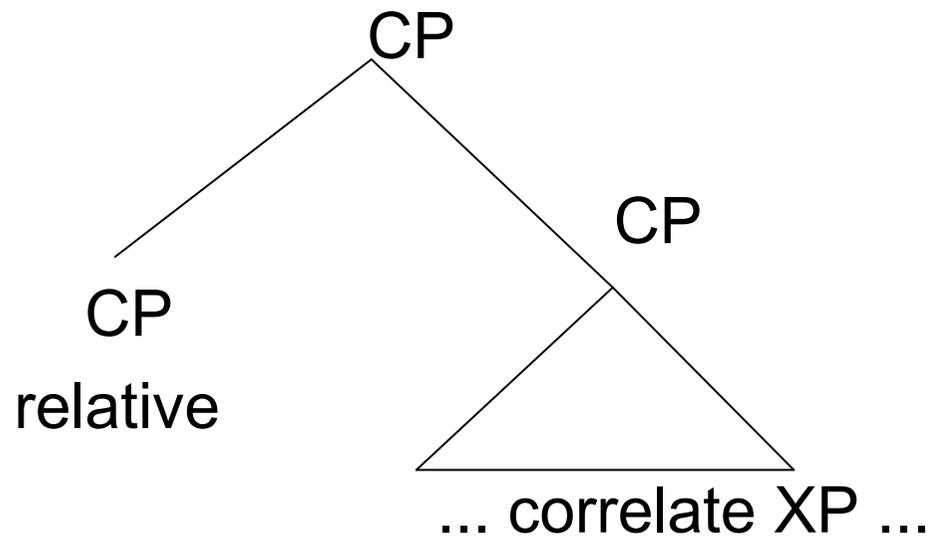   'They tolerated that he had been beaten.'

    [$_{VP}$ [$_{VP}$ {NP$_1$ / *} V] CP$_1$]

- *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
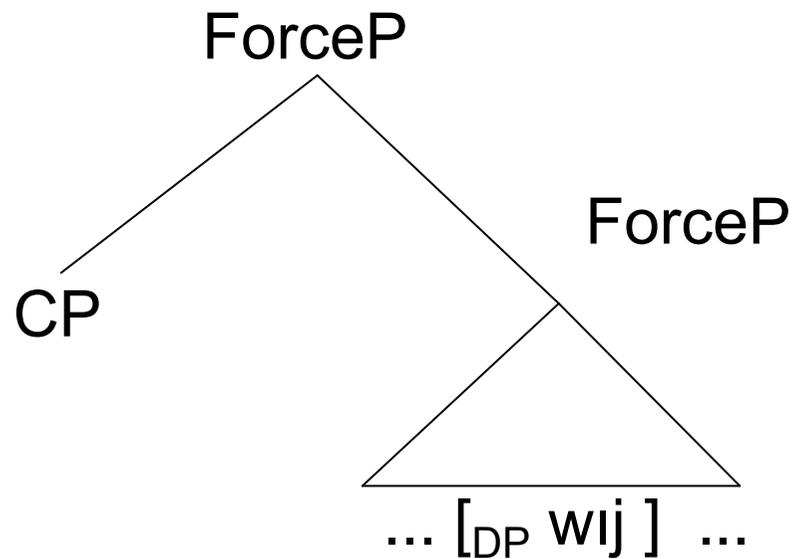
Analysis: NAC

CP-inserted-as-adjunct analysis

Ossetian:

- [CP] is a high adjunct to the matrix clause
- [$_{DP}$ wɪj] inserted into the argument position in the vP

ForceP
CP
ForceP

… [$_{DP}$ wɪj] …

Analysis: NAC

CP-inserted-as-adjunct analysis

Other cases of high adjunction in Ossetian:

- Correlative clauses

(50) [gorətmə kəsı čıžg   asıdi] əž žonın wıj.

   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-(*ı)   əž žonın wıj.

   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 kəsı   čıžg   asıdi] əž =əj   žonın.

    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-(*ı)   əž =əj   žonın.

    Alan-(*GEN) I =CL.him know

    'As for Alan, I know him'
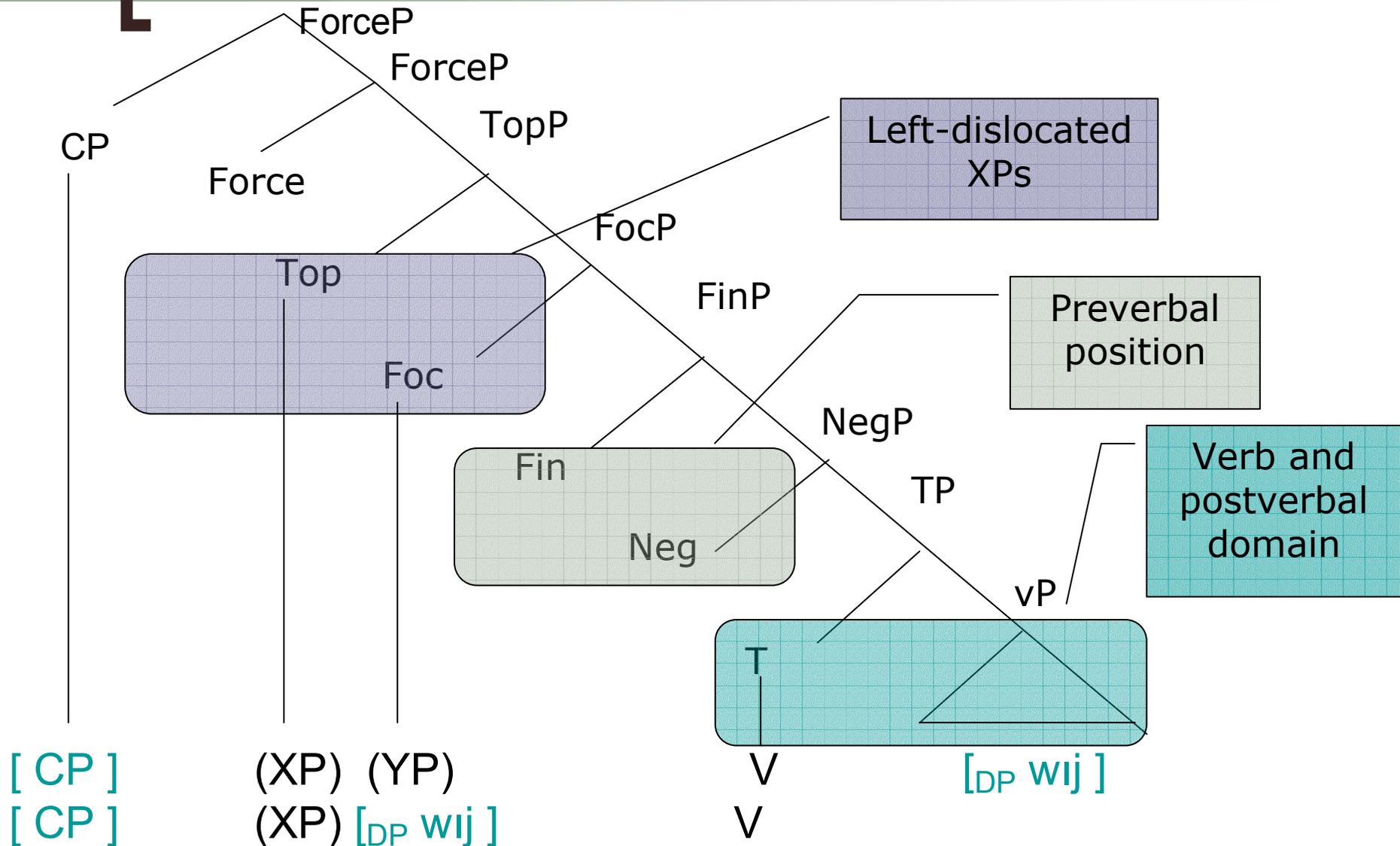
Analysis: NAC

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

[$_{DP}$ wɪj] in argument position (*in situ* in the vP)

   b. CP ... PRON … V

[$_{DP}$ wɪj] 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 əž me'mbəlttı kəj waržın] wıdon žonıns wıj.

       I my-friends$_i$ that love   they$_i$ know this

'They$_i$ know that I love my friends$_i$.'

No reconstruction = No condition C violation

[CP ... RE$_i$ ...] [SUBJ$_i$ V wıj]

Analysis: NAC

Deriving syntactic properties of NAC

- 2P clitics placement

 [CP] XP =CL ... [$_{DP}$ wɪj]

*[CP] =CL ... [$_{DP}$ wɪj]

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 *wɪj*

(56) [CP alan kəj ərbasıd] madinə=mın=əj   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

[DP D]   =CL.DP
[DP XP D]   * =CL.D [DP 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 the 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

[$_{VP}$ [CP] V]

(57)   a. structural case position:

[$_{VP}$ [CP] V]   [$_{VP}$ [$_{DP}$ [CP] D] V]

b. lexical case position:

* [$_{VP}$ [CP] V{+lex}]   [$_{VP}$ [$_{DP}$ [CP] D] V{+lex}]

Analysis: AC vs bare CP

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

    a. Lexical case must be assigned (principle of lexical satisfaction)

    b. Structural case can be assigned

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

    a. Case-absorbing constituents: DP

    b. 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 kəwıl   əfšnajı [$_{DP}$ t qwıdıtə] ?

Alan about-whom keeps   memories

'The memory of whom does Alan cherish?'

(61) alan [$_{DP}$ kəwıl   qwıdıtə]   əfšnajı 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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