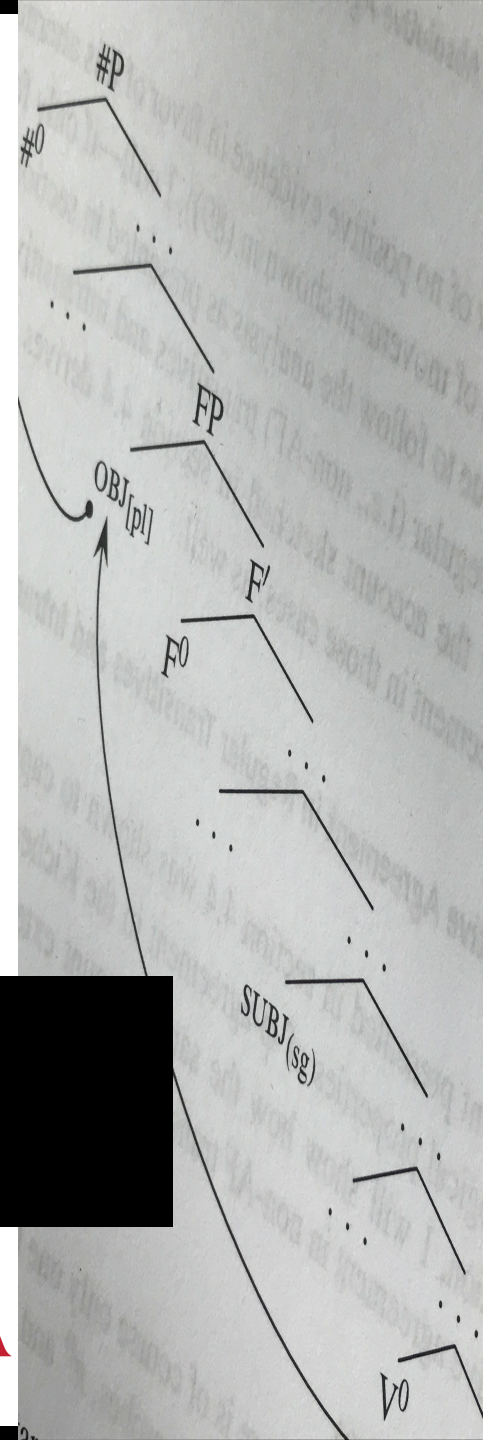Brian Gravely
Timothy Gupton
University of Georgia

Tenselessness 2
3-4 October, 2019

MICROVARIATION AND TENSELESSNESS

two cases from Romance

UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA
1785

BASIC STRUCTURES UNDER ANALYSIS

Apparent microvariation

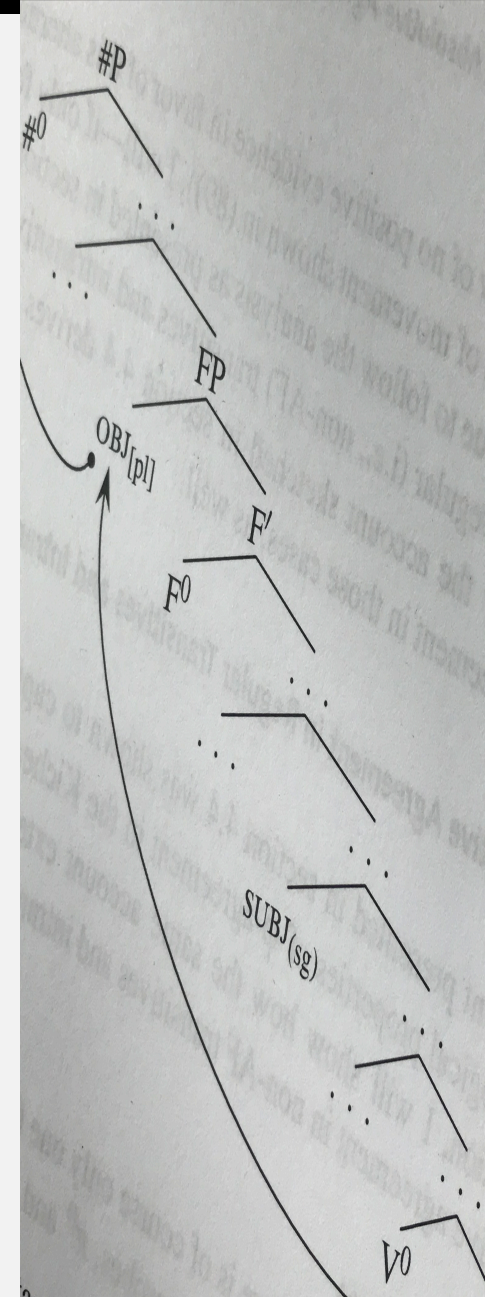Galician

(i)   U-los nenos?

        'Where are the children?'
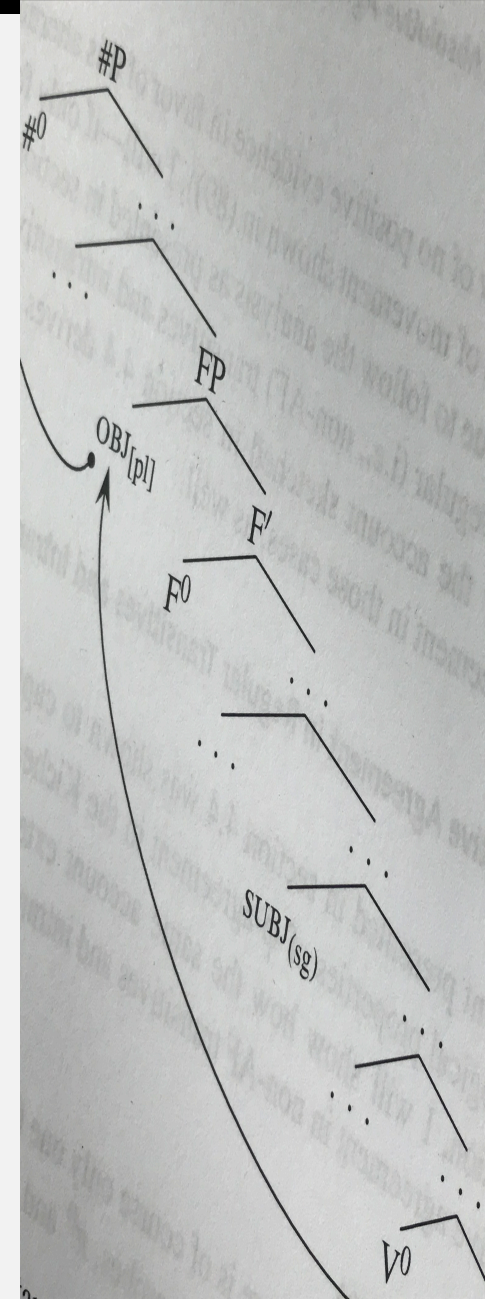
Brazilian Portuguese

(ii)   Cadê os meninos?

        'Where are the children?'

PRESENTATION OVERVIEW

Tenselessness in Romance

- Is there more than one way to be tenseless?

- The syntax of *U-lo*

- The syntax of *Cadê*

- Summary & Comparison

- Conclusion

TENSE: WHAT IS IT?

How to be tenseless

- (Some form of) grammatically tenseless systems in over half the world's tense-aspect systems (DeCaen 1996)

- Tense has been described as:

    - The grammaticalized expression of location in time (Comrie 1985)
    - The relation between the topic time (when an action occurs) and the speech time (when said action is relayed by the speaker) (Klein 1994)

- However, not all tense systems are this straightforward and may include notions typical of aspect in order to receive a tensed interpretation (cf. Matthewson 2006 on Lillooet Salish)
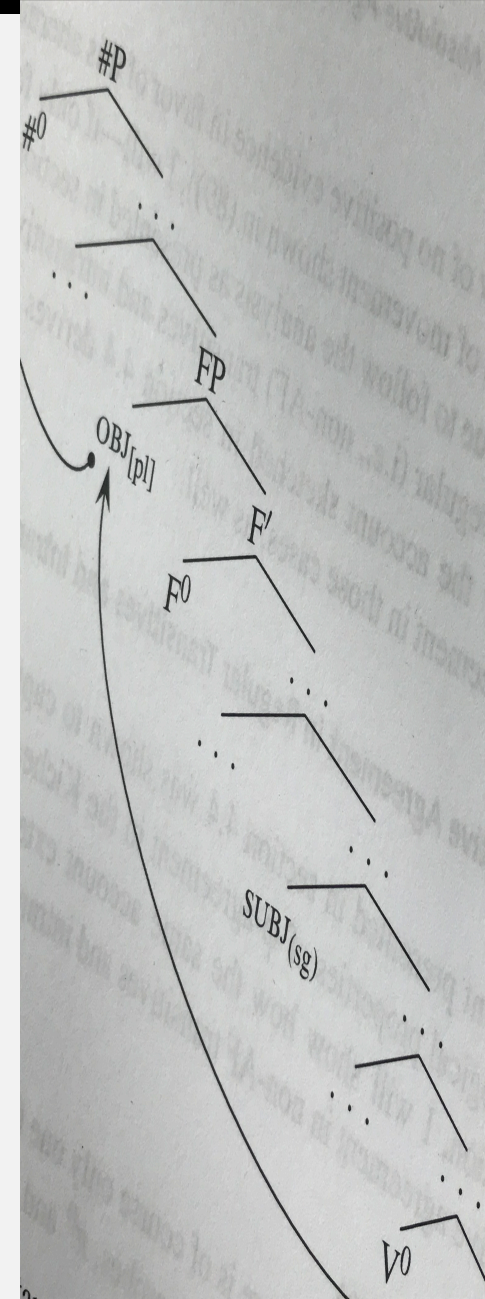
TENSE: WHAT IS IT?

Tense in Romance

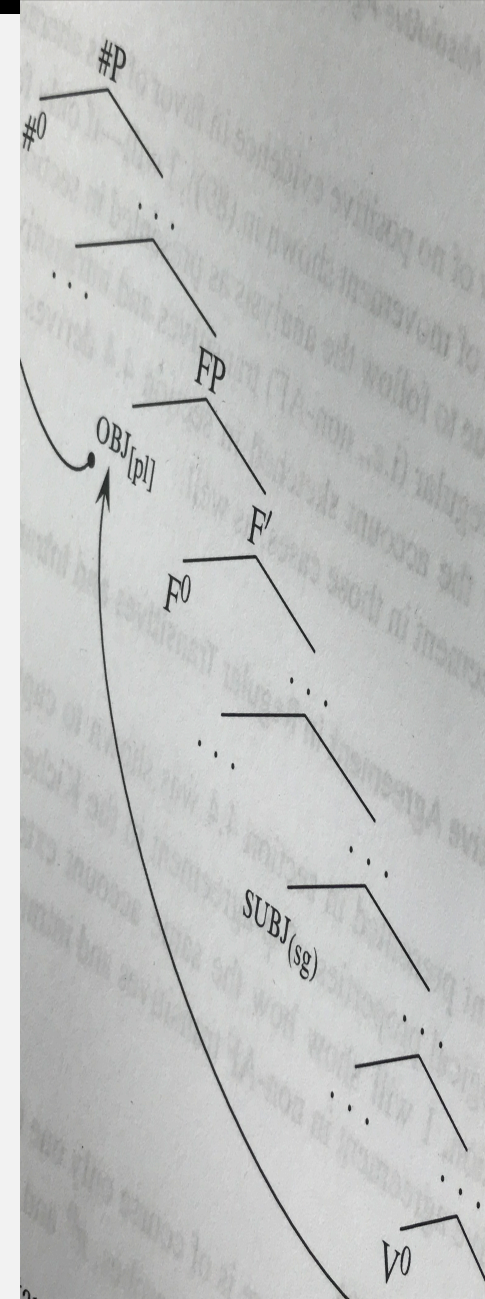- Romance varieties show consistent use of morphological past, present, and future tense on verbs

(1) a. Com**eu**   a   sopa.   (Galician)
       eat.**3SG.PST**   the.FEM soup

       'He/She ate the soup'

  b. Com**e**   a   sopa
       eat.**3SG.PRS**   the.FEM soup
       'He/She eats the soup.'

  c. Comer**á**   a   sopa
       eat.**3SG.FUT**   the.FEM soup
   'He/She will eat the soup'

- Tense in Romance, therefore, does not depend on pragmatic interpretation or predicate type

TENSE: WHAT IS IT?

Tense in Chinese

- This is not the case in Chinese

(2) Wǒ xiànzaǐ bú xìn shén
    I now not believe god
    'Now I don't believe in God.'

(3) Wǒ (meǐ tiān / chángcháng) mànpǎo
    I every day / often jog
    'I jog (every day / often).'

(4) Zhangsan dǎpò yí shàn
    Zhangsan break a window
    'Zhangsan broke a window.'

- Lin (2006, 2010) describes the syntactic tense system in Chinese as null; tense is sensitive to 'situational factors' in Chinese
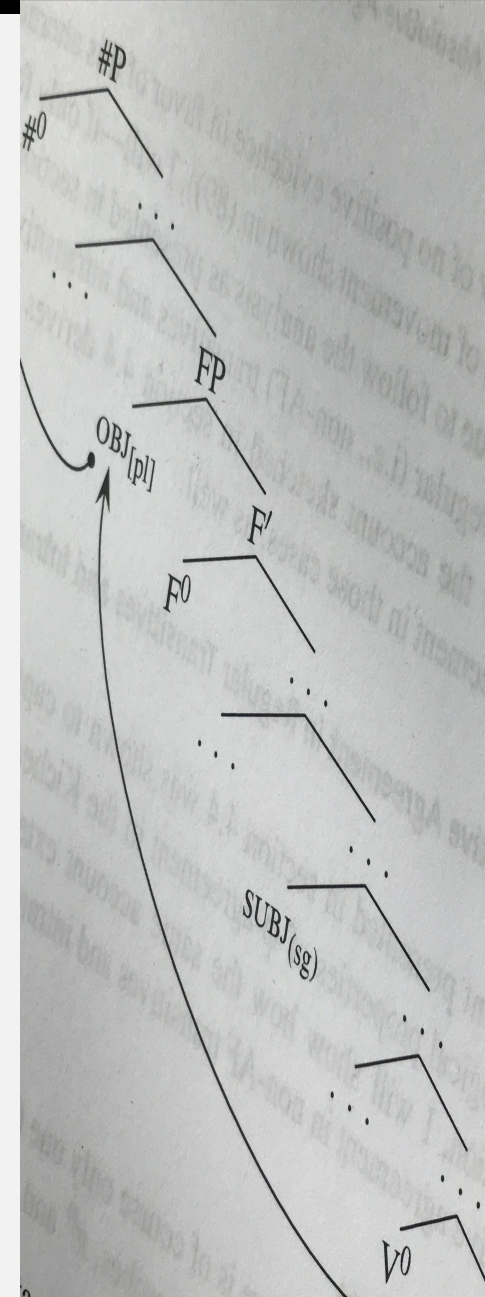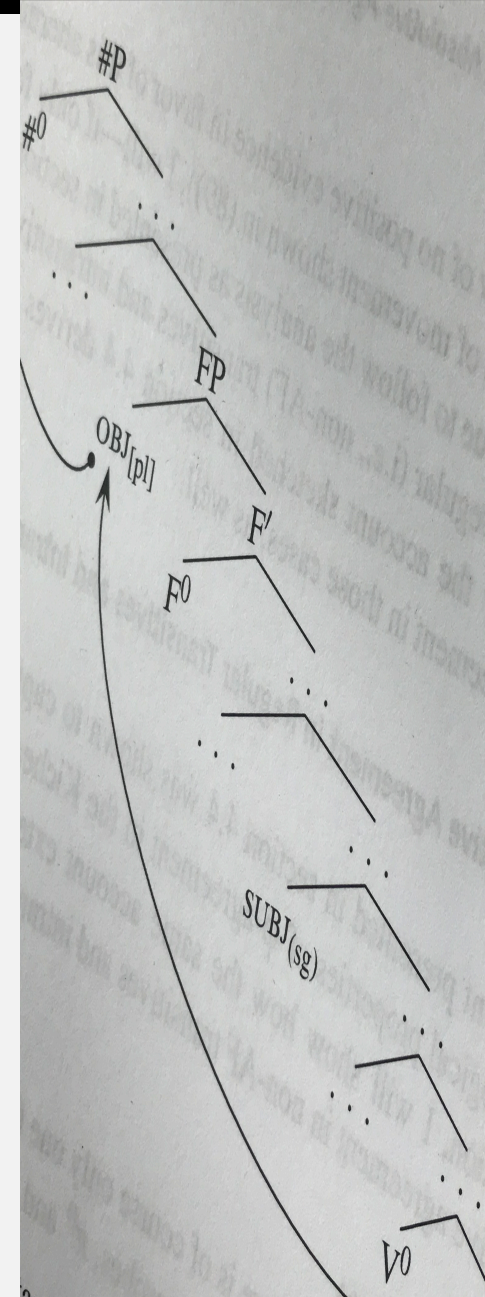
TENSE: WHAT IS IT?

Focusing on verbless constructions
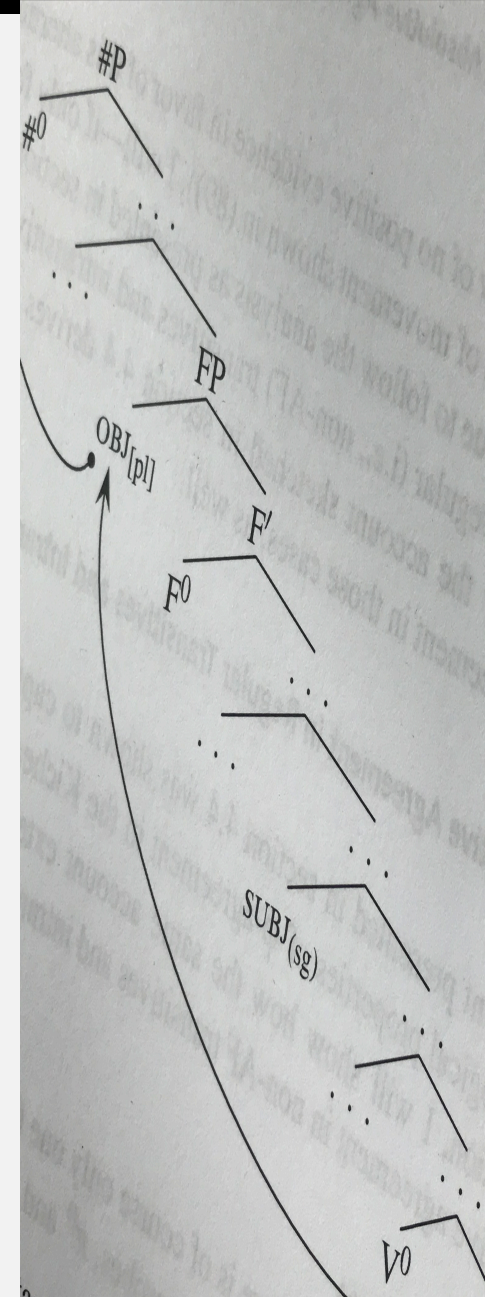
Our objective:

- To show two syntactic approaches to verbless sentences:

    - A lack of functional structure related to tense (Galician *U-lo*)

        - Comparison with imperatives (Platzack & Rosengren 1997)

    - A default specification of said functional structure (*Cadê*)

        - Comparison with null-copulas in Arabic (Benmamoun 2000, 2008)

The syntax of *U-lo* in Galician
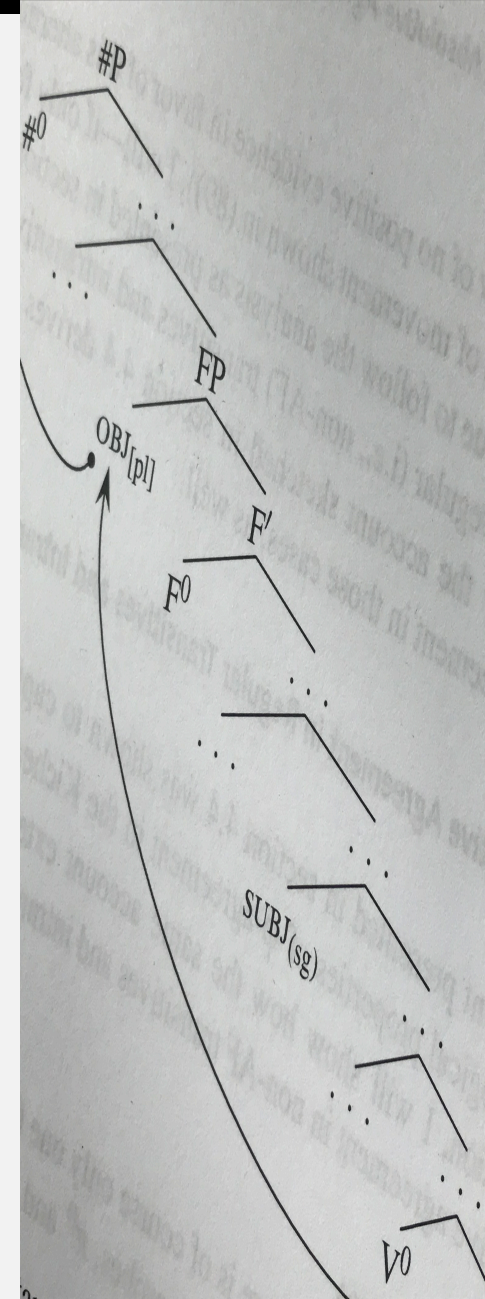
THE SYNTAX OF *U-LO*

U-lo data

- The combination of *U* ('where') plus a determiner *-lo, -la, -los, -las* (Freixeiro 2006)
- The DP selected must be definite and is always interpreted as the subject
- Uriagereka (1996): proposes that these are determiner clitics

o A lone clitic

(5) E   as   nenas? U-**las**?
     and   the.FEM   girls   where-CL.3PL.FEM

     'And the girls? Where are they?'

o A full DP

(6) U-**lo**   **can**?
     where-CL.3SG.MASC   dog

     'Where is the dog?'

THE SYNTAX OF *U-LO*

U-lo data

- A quantified DP

(8) **U-las**   **demais**   (**cadeiras**)?
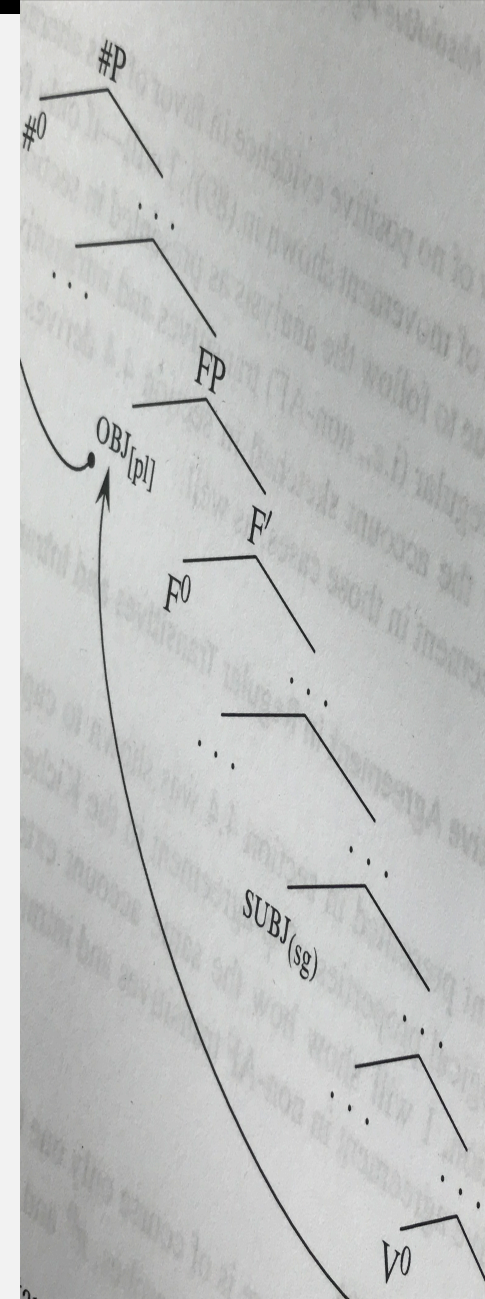   where-CL.3PL.F   rest   chairs

     'Where are the rest (of the chairs)?'

- A relative clause (with or without overt nominal)

(9) **U-la**   (**bolboreta**) **que**   **colliches**   **onte**?
     where-CL.3SG.F   (butterfly)   COMP   catch.2SG.PST   yesterday

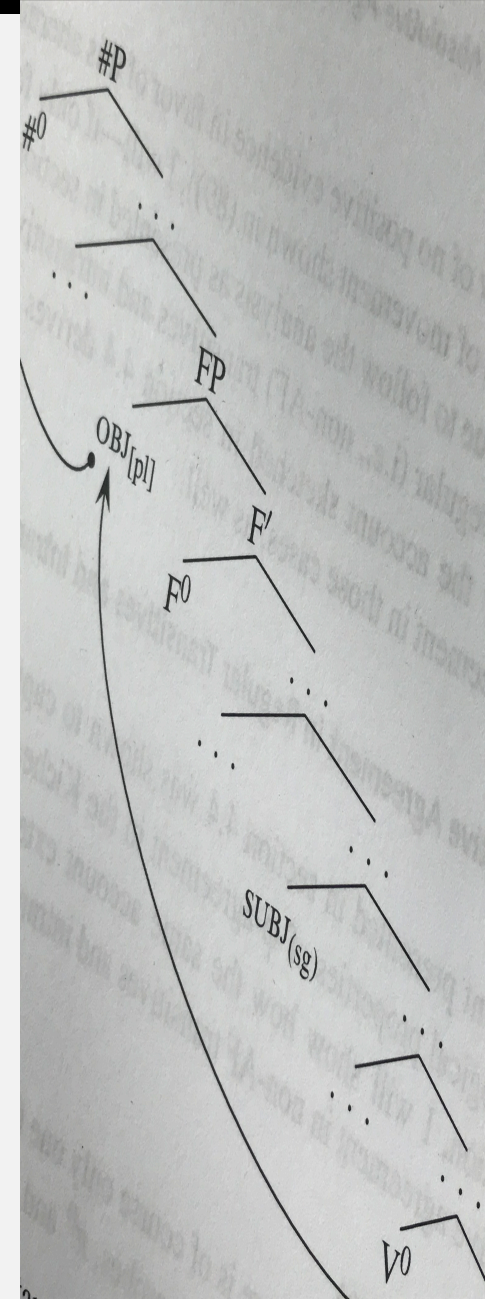   *'Where is the butterfly that you caught yesterday?'*

THE SYNTAX OF *U-LO*

Data with *onde*

- Syntactic constraints of *U* in contrast with *onde* ('where'):

  o It may not be used with an overt copula

  (10)   Onde/*U **está**   a   chave?
         where   be.3SG.PRS   the.F   key
         'Where is the key?'

  o It may not be used with a transitive verb (forcing cliticization ambiguity)
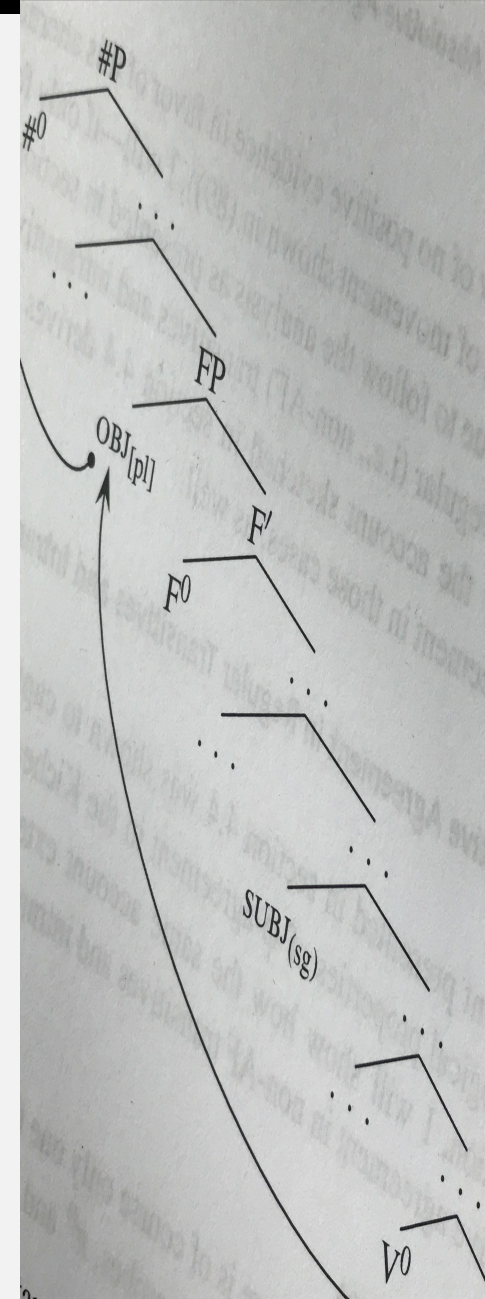 (11) a. Onde o   **deixaches**?
          where CL.3SG.M leave.2SG.PST
      b. *U-lo   **deixaches**?
          where-CL.3SG.M leave.2SG.PST
          'Where did you leave it?'

THE SYNTAX OF *U-LO*

Data with *onde*

o It may not be embedded

(12)   Vimos   onde/*u/*u-lo estaba   ó   saír
       see.1PL.PST   where   be.3SG.IMPV   upon   leave.INF

       'We saw where he was when he left.'

o It may not remain *in situ*

(13)   Dis   que   estiveches   onde/*u?
       say.2SG.PRS   COMP   be.2SG.PST   where

       'You say you were where?'

o It may not stand alone

(14)   Onde/*U?
       where
       (In response to a previous remark) *'Where?'*

THE SYNTAX OF *U-LO*

Observations from Gravely & Gupton (in press)

- *U-lo* is a verbless sequence with an obligatory present tense reading, denoting a locative interpretation

- Since *U* may not appear in a subordinate clause (12), we propose that it has an interpretable [Q] feature (pace Bošković 2015)

- The obligatory present tense reading & emphatic nature of *U-lo* makes it comparable to imperatives

- True imperatives do not express a proposition anchored in time and space (cf. Bianchi 2003)
  - ➢ This gives imperatives (& *U-lo*) their 'here-and-now' interpretation

- Platzack & Rosengren (1997): true imperatives (i.e., 3rd sing/plural) lack all functional projections related to time & aspect (FinP, MoodP, TP, etc.)
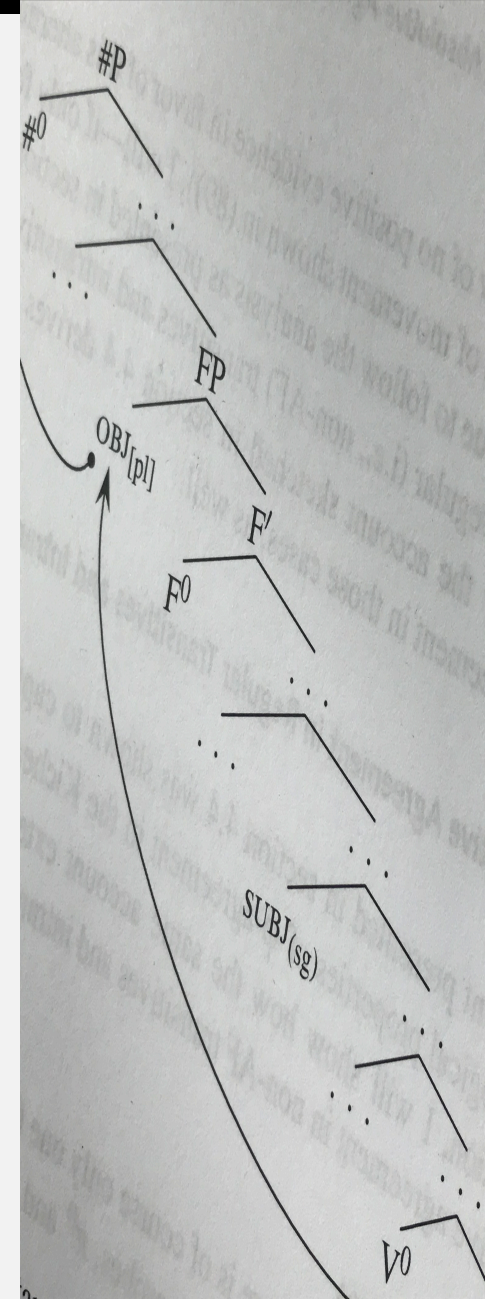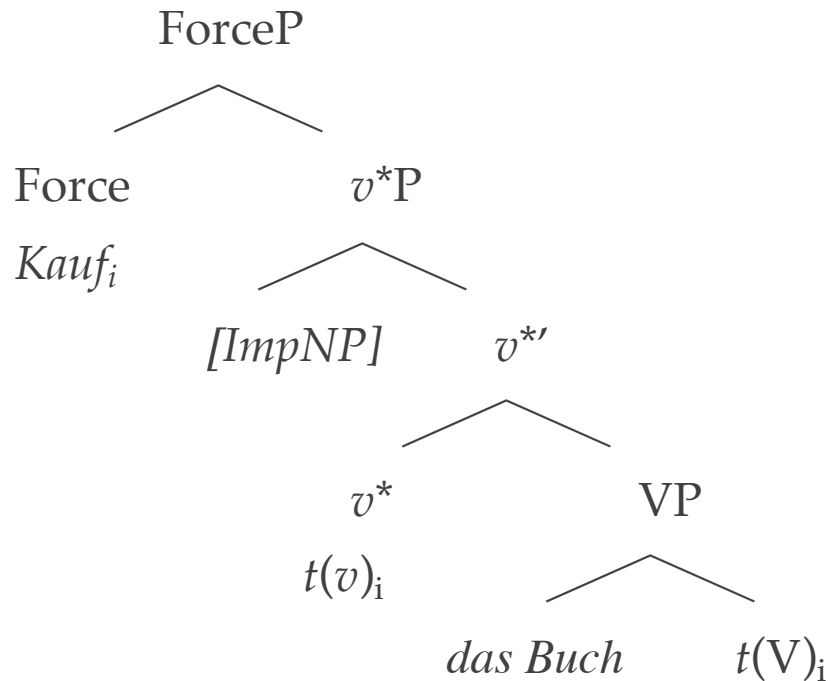
THE SYNTAX OF *U-LO*

Observations from Gravely & Gupton (in press)

- For Platzack & Rosengren (1997), verbs move directly from the *v*P layer C (specifically, the head of ForceP)

(17)   Kauf das Buch! (*'Buy that book!'*)

ForceP

Force   *v*P

Kauf$_i$

     [ImpNP]   *v*'

          v*   VP

          t(v)$_i$

               das Buch   t(V)$_i$
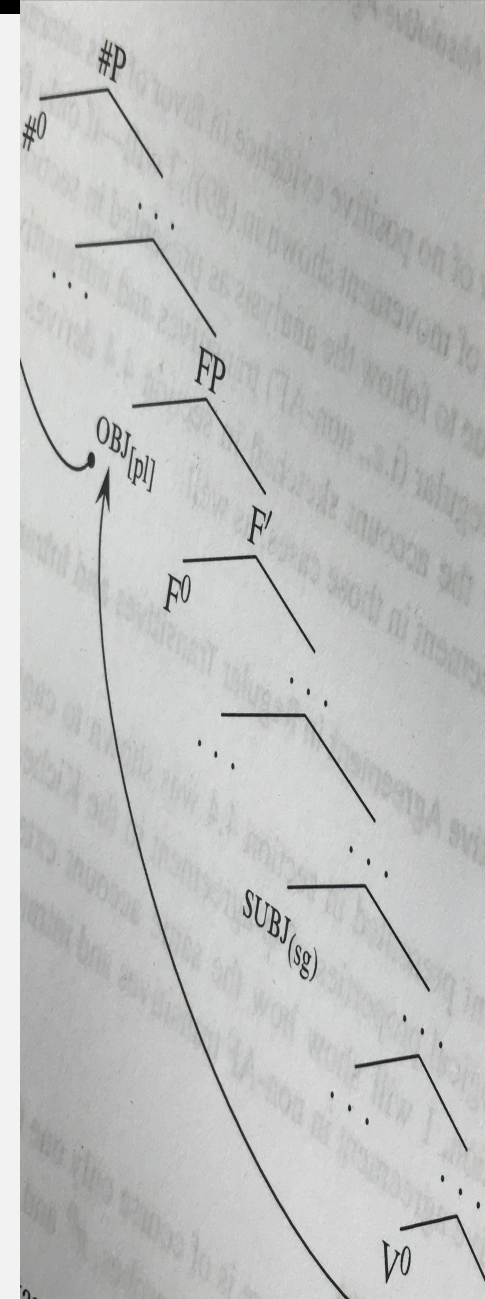
THE SYNTAX OF *U-LO*

Observations from Gravely & Gupton (in press)

- Also like *U-lo*, true imperatives may not be preceded by any material

  (True imperatives)

(15) **Podamos**   a   maceira   esta   fin de   semana
      trim.1PL.IMP   the.F   apple-tree this   end of   week

  'Trim the apple tree this weekend.'

- Preceding content triggers use of subjunctive mood

  (Other command forms)

(16) Non   podemo-lo /***podamo**-lo   pexegueiro   até   novembro
      NEG   trim.1PL.SUBJ-the.M   peach-tree   until   November

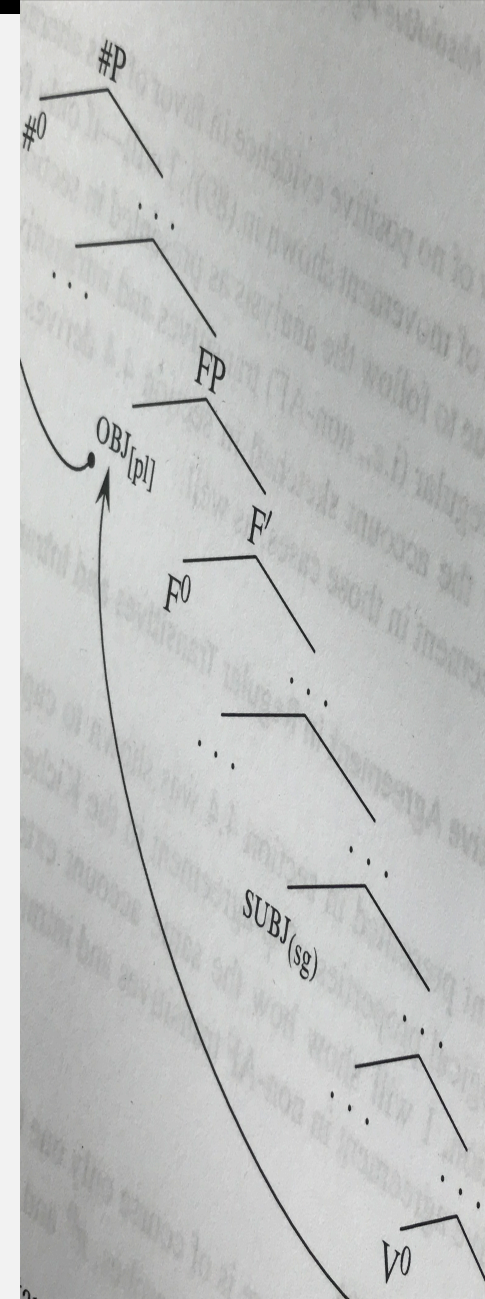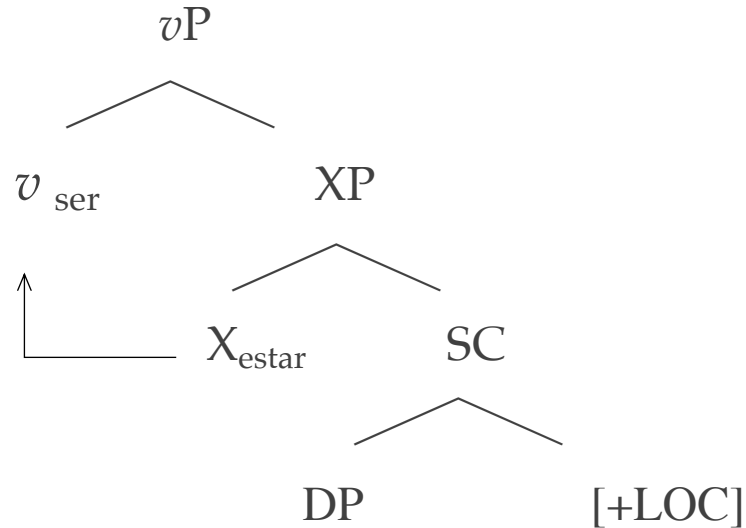 *'Let's not trim the peach tree until November.'*

THE SYNTAX OF *U-LO*

Observations from Gravely & Gupton (in press)

- Since *U-lo* does not seem to move through the clause like a typical *wh*-word, we claim that *U* is base generated in Force°

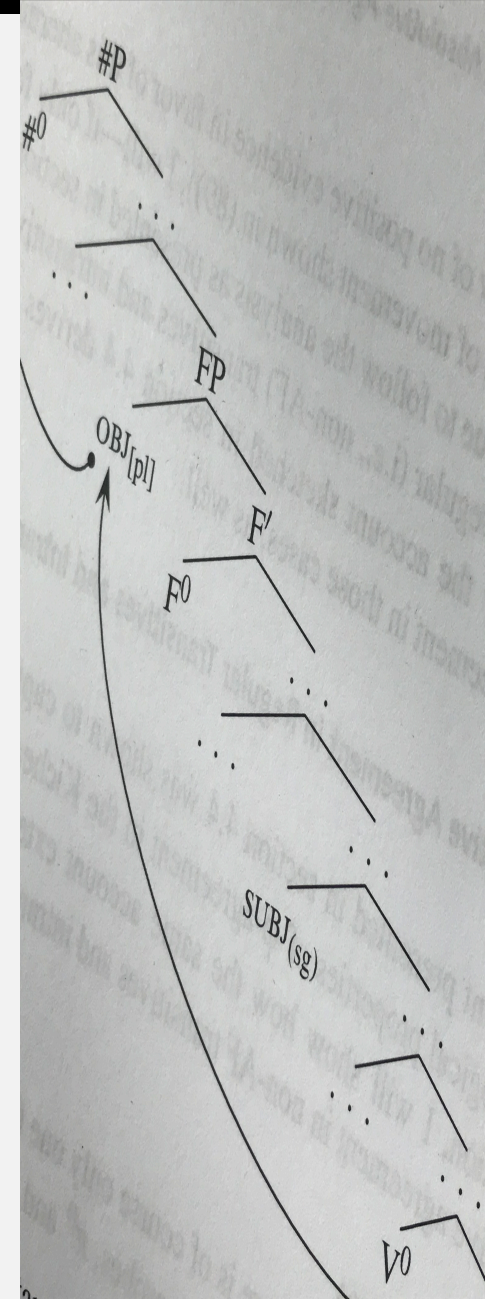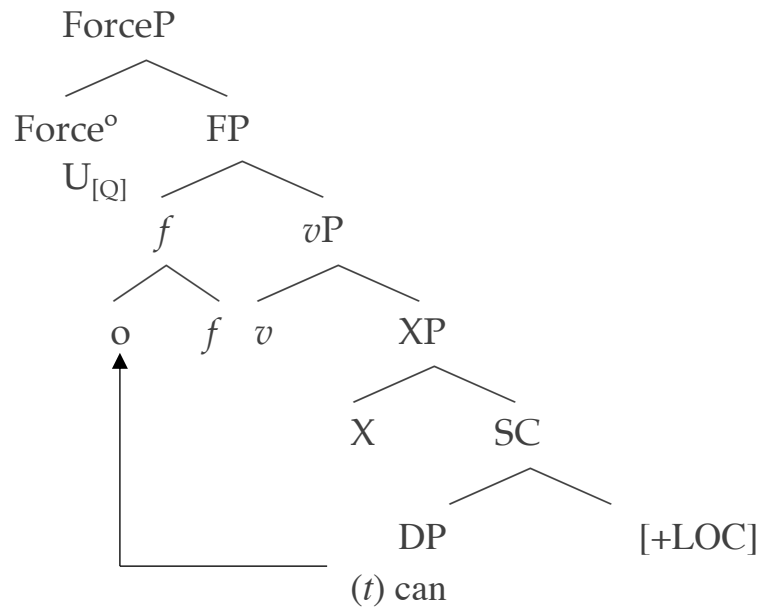- We adopt a small-clause approach (Gallego & Uriagereka 2016)

(18)

THE SYNTAX OF *U-LO*

Observations from Gravely & Gupton (in press)

- As proposed by Gravely & Gupton (in press), the determiner of the DP moves to an 'active' left peripheral head f (following Raposo & Uriagereka 2005) in order to find a left-leaning host (*U*). The change to –*lo* is a PF phenomenon.

(19) U-lo can? ('*Where is the dog?*')

```
              ForceP
             /      \
        Force°       FP
        U[Q]        /  \
            f          vP
           / \        /  \
          o   f   v      XP
                        /  \
                       X    SC
                           /  \
                         DP   [+LOC]
                        (t) can
```
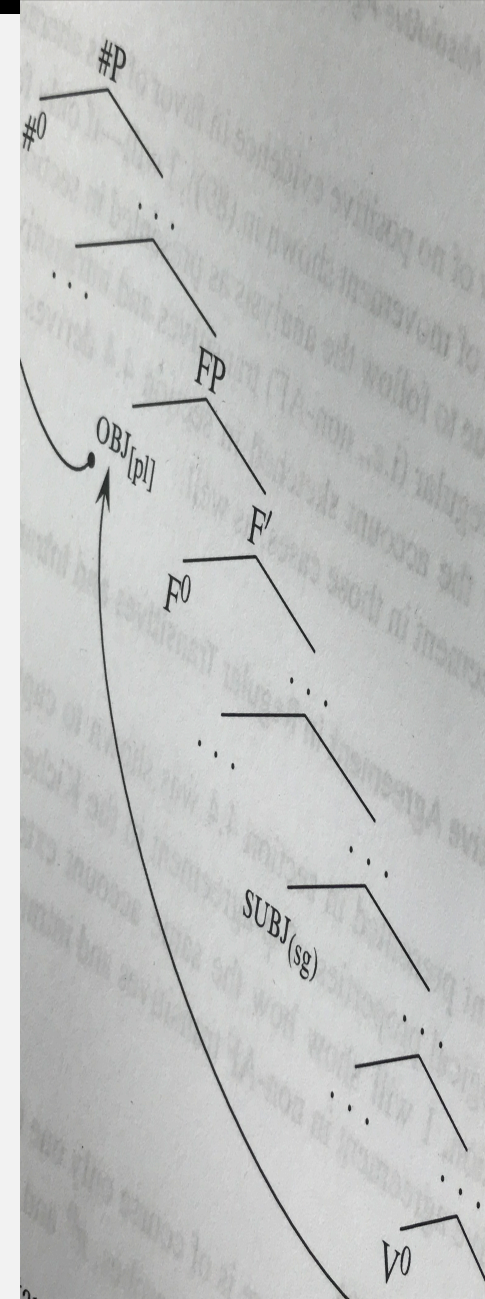
The syntax of *Cadê* in Brazilian Portuguese
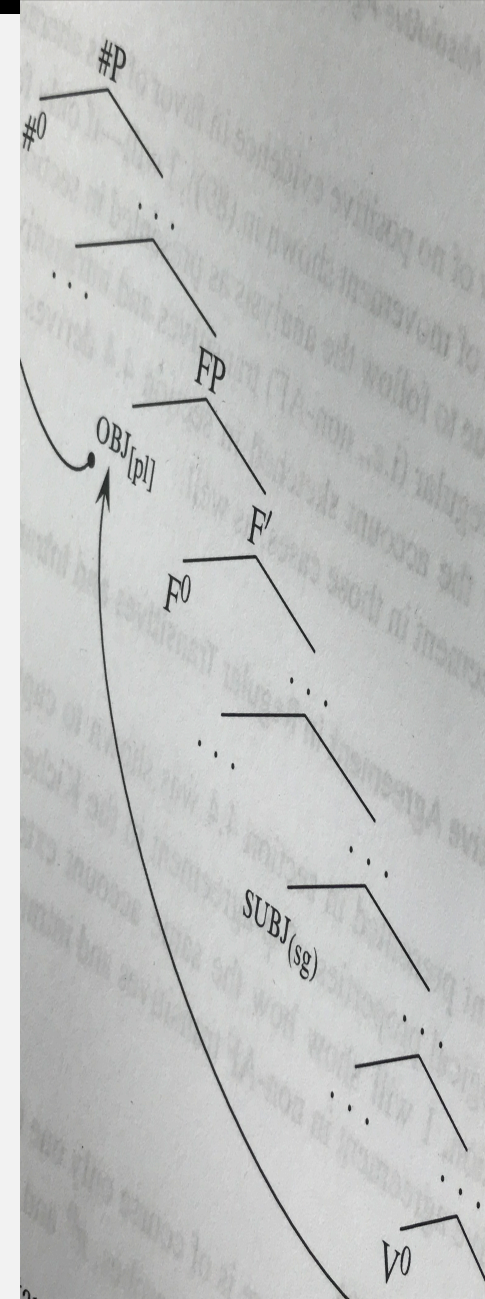
THE SYNTAX OF *CADÊ*

Data of cadê

- *Cadê* is the grammaticalized form of *que é (feito) de…?* ('What has become of…?') (da Silva Menon 2014)

- Like *U-lo*, this grammaticalized form has an obligatory locative interpretation

- In a brief comparison with *U-lo*, Gravely & Gupton (in press) note several differences:

○ *Cadê* may be paired with a strong pronoun; *U-lo* is a fixed head complex

(20) **Cadê**   isso?
      where   that

   'Where is that?'

(21) **Cadê**   nós?
      where   we

   'Where are we?'

THE SYNTAX OF *CADÊ*
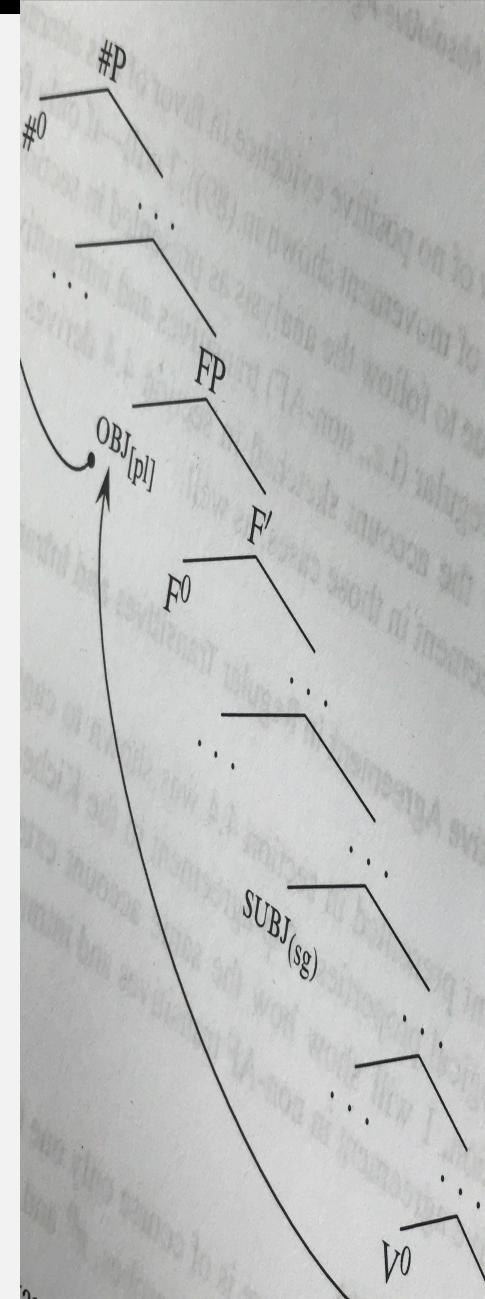
Data of cadê

o *Cadê* may may be embedded; *U-lo* is always sentence initial

(22)   Estava   procurando o   livro, mas não   sei   **cadê**
        be.3SG.IMFV search.PROG the.MASC book. but   NEG   know.1SG.PRS   where
        'I was looking for the book, but I don't know where it is.'

• However, its ability to embed in (22) has limitations (23):

(23)   *Quero   saír   de férias,   mas   não   sei   **cadê**
        want.1SG.PRS leave.INF of   parties   but   NEG   know.1SG.PRS   where
   *'I want to go on vacation, but I don't know where.'*

THE SYNTAX OF *CADÊ*

Data of cadê

o Substituting the more common *onde* for *cadê* suggests that the latter is not an interrogative adverb; rather it is equivalent to *onde* + copula (*estar*)

(24) Estava   procurando o   livro, mas não   sei   **cadê/*onde**
      be.3SG.IMPFV search.PROG the.M book. but NEG know.1SG.PRS where
      'I was looking for the book, but I don't know where it is.'
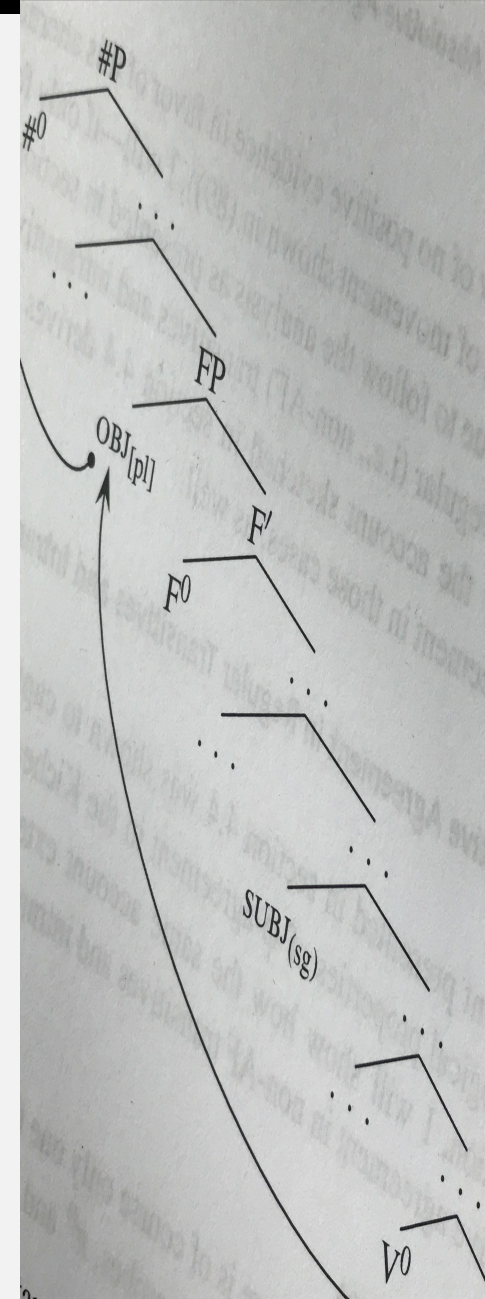
(25) Quero   saír   de férias, mas não   sei   ***cadê/onde**
      want.1SG.PRS   leave.INF   of parties but   NEG   know.1SG.PRS where
      'I want to go on vacation, but I don't know where.'
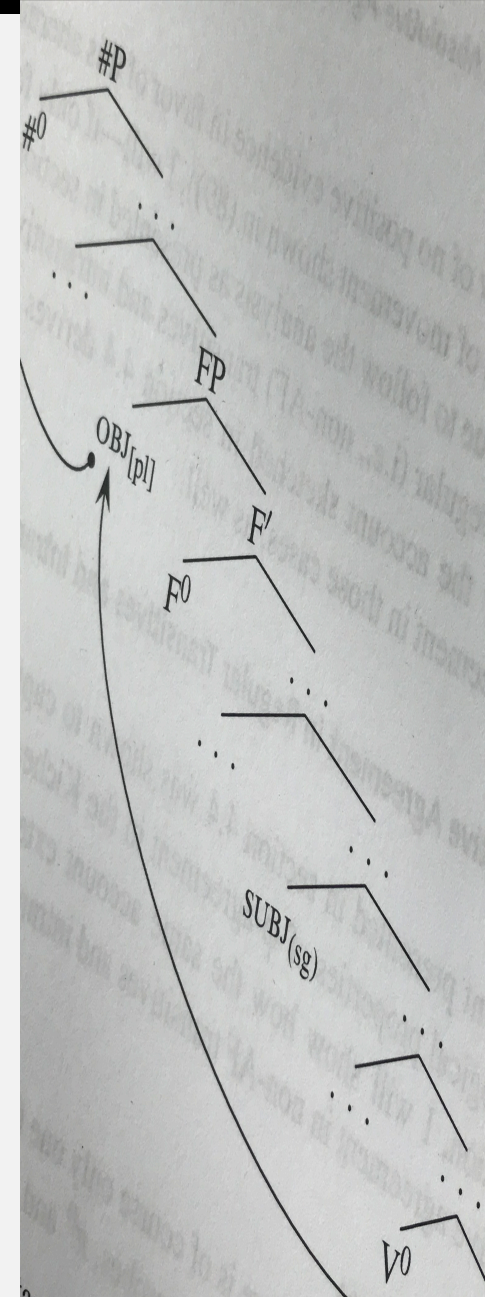
THE SYNTAX OF *CADÊ*

Theoretical contributions

- Considering its similarity to Italian *ecco* (Zanuttini 2017), we claim that *cadê* is a functional element base generated in *v*

- Per the recent work done on roots (Alexiadou, et al. 2014) and their combinations within the *vP* layer, *cadê* is a root that merges with a verbalizing functional head (i.e., *v*)

- Furthermore, in contrast to *U-lo*, *cadê* does not have the same emphatic expression

- In order to account for its obligatory present tense, we adopt Benmamoun's (2000, 2008) approach to null-copula construction in Arabic

THE SYNTAX OF *CADÊ*

Benmamoun (2000, 2008)

- Benmamoun claims that null-copula constructions in Arabic have an obligatory [+PRESENT] feature on T
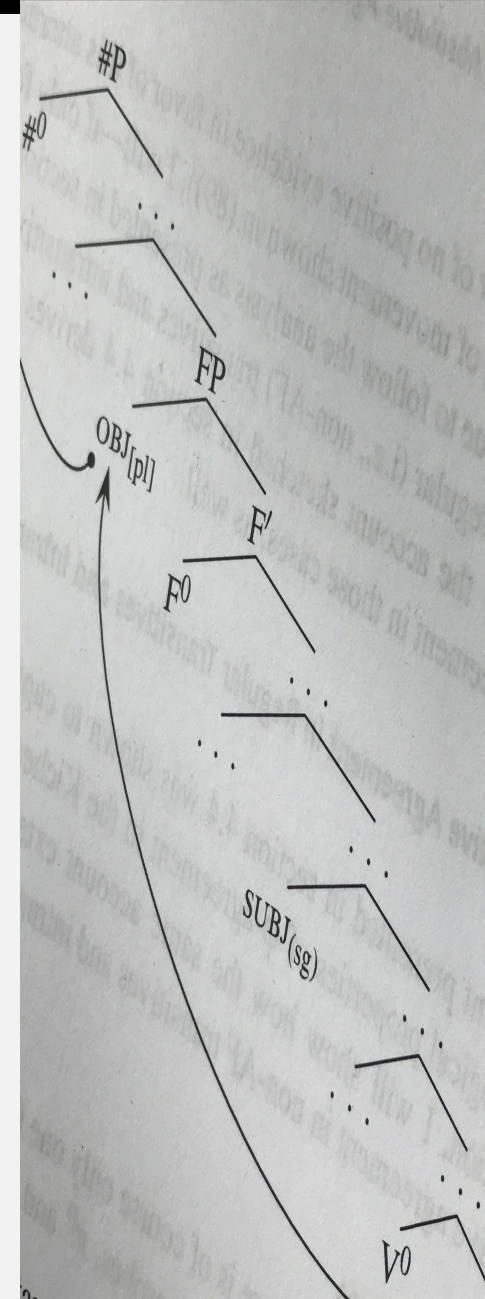
(26)   Omar   f-d-dar
        Omar   in-the-house

   'Omar is in the house.'

- This independently accounts for embedded clauses that differ from the matrix clause tense

(27)   qul-ti   **bǝlli**   Omar naʕǝs
        say. 2SG.PST COMP   Omar sleep.PROG

   *'You said that Omar is sleeping.'*

THE SYNTAX OF *CADÊ*

Theoretical contributions

- We claim that *cadê* shows *v*-to-T-to-C movement as other verbs in Romance in interrogative clauses

- Its movement to T checks the [+PRESENT] feature for tense and assigns [NOM] Case to the DP it selects

(28)   Cadê   você/*te?
       where   you$_{NOM}$/you$_{ACC}$
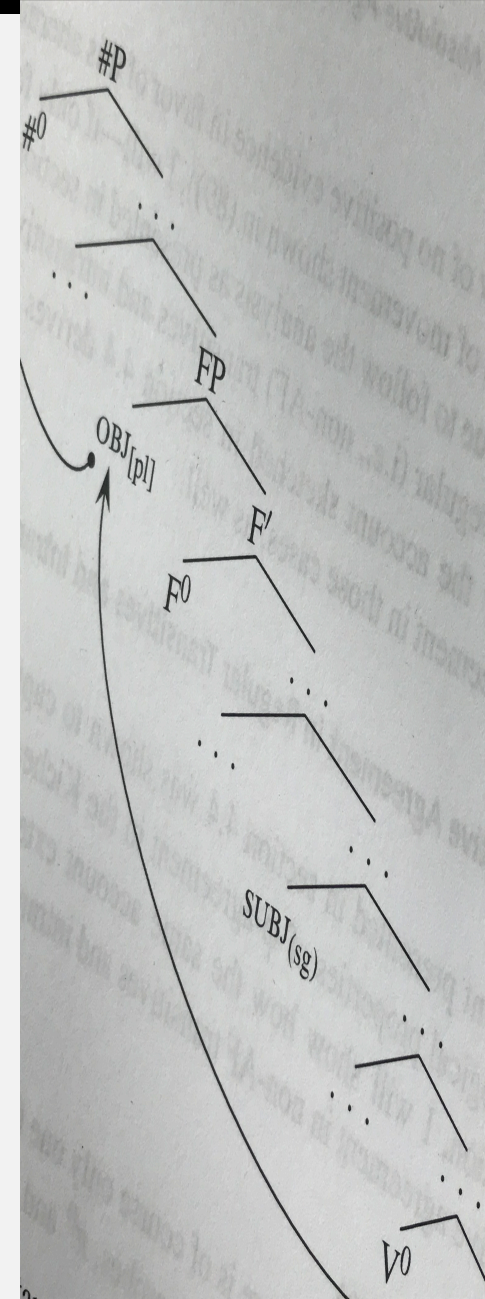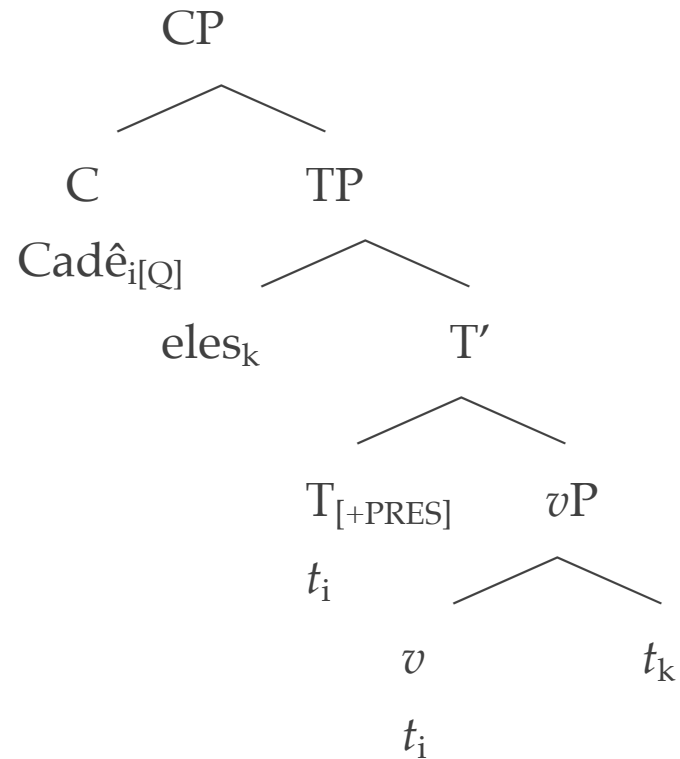
       'Where are you?'

- Due to its obligatory interrogative nature, we claim that *cadê* also has an interpretable [Q] feature, which drives it to C
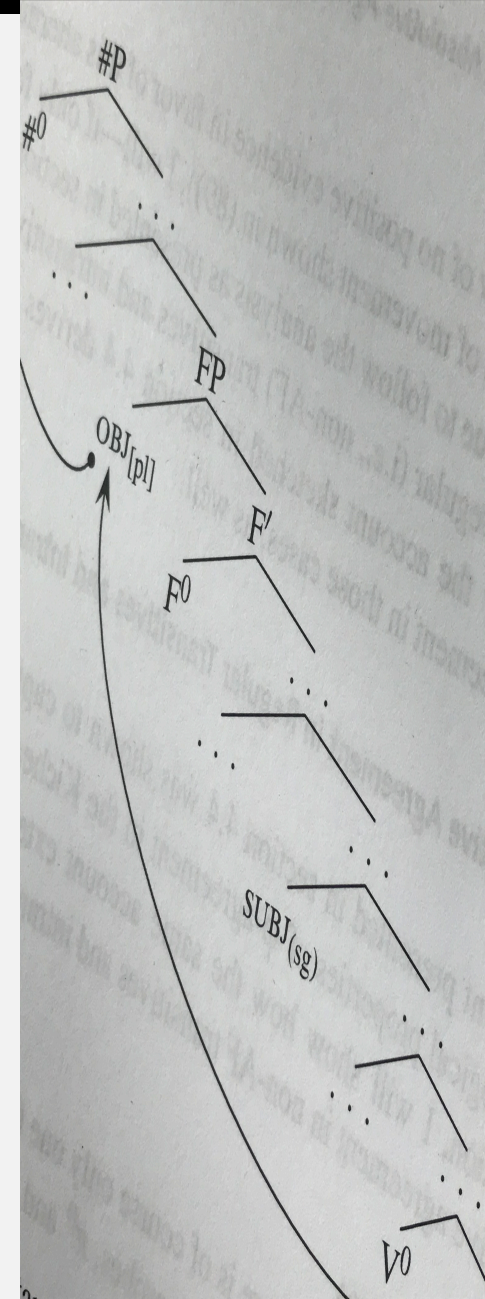
THE SYNTAX OF *CADÊ*

Theoretical contributions

(29) Cadê eles? (*'Where are they?'*)

$$CP$$

C   TP

Cadê$_{i[Q]}$

eles$_k$ T′

T$_{[+PRES]}$ vP

t_i

v t_k

t_i

SUMMARY COMPARISON

U-lo & Cadê

| U-lo	Cadê
• Equivalent to 'where is X?' (not 'where')	• Equivalent to 'where is X?' (not 'where')
• Hosts determiner clitics (varying sizes)	• May not host clitics
• Incompatible with DP pronouns	• Compatible with DP pronouns
• Lack of embedding/in situ suggests base generation	• Embedding / in situ suggests movement
• Adoption of imperative-style analysis	• Adoption of null copula analysis
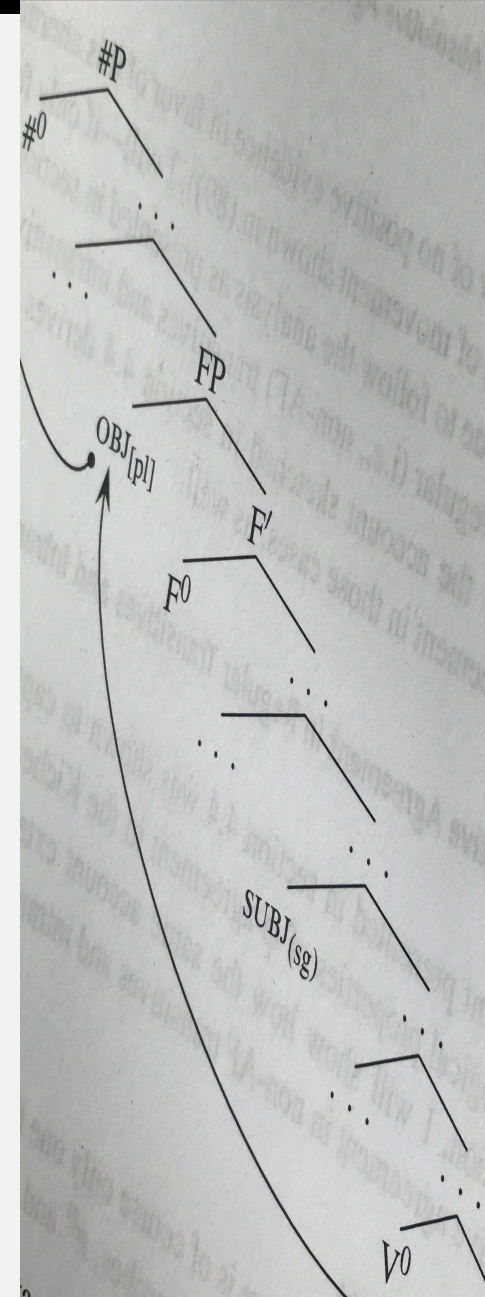
CONCLUSIONS & FURTHER DIRECTIONS

- Phenomena suggesting apparent microvariation

- Further examination uncovers crucial differences

- Crucial differences suggest differing syntactic models for obtaining tenseless, 'here and now' readings

- Problem for microparametric/nanoparametric explanation

In repetition…

- Tempting to treat these two structures as nearly identical

- If 'Cadê…' is diachronically equivalent to 'qué é (feito) de…', we have a different diachronic process netting similar synchronic results

- Cautionary tale for studies in microvariation
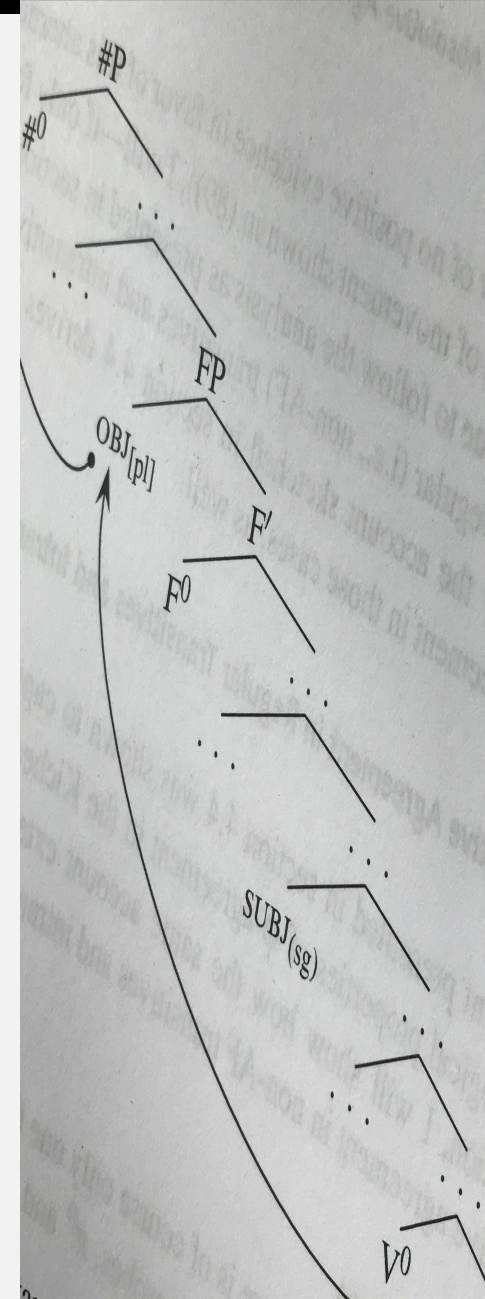
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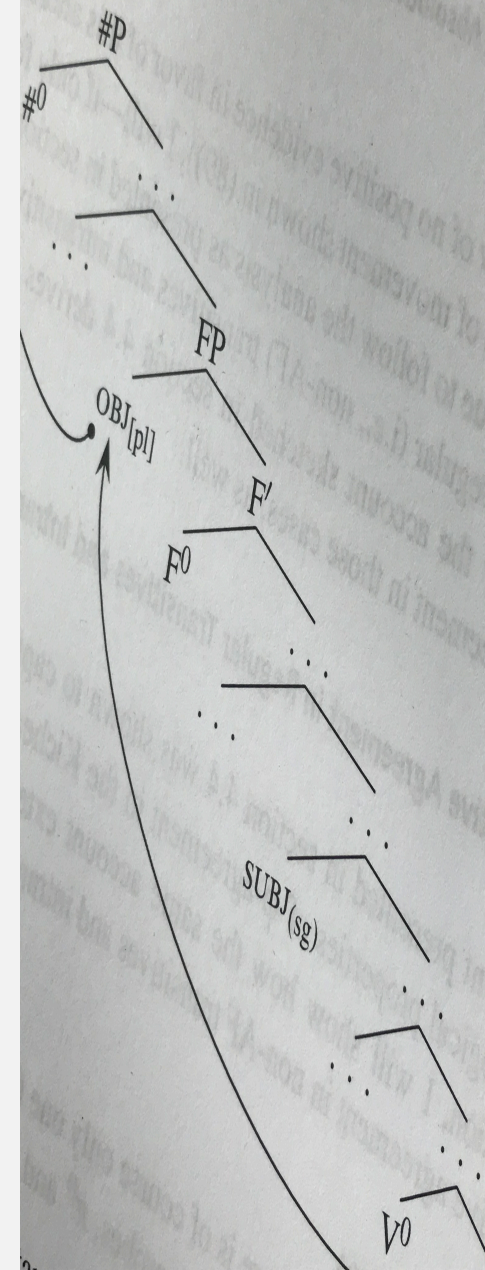
GRACIÑAS/OBRIGADO!

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