

Ulivelivek Wh1 as the Pseudocleft

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1. Introduction: In this paper, I will show that the wh-ex-situ question in (2b) involves the pseudocleft construction (Aldridge, 2004) in Ulivelivek, a dialect of Puyuma spoken in the south-east part of Taiwan, arguing that the word *maw* in the sentence-initial position is a copular verb that expresses the equality relation as argued by Montague (1974). Specifically, the evidence from reduplication, affixation, cliticization, negation, and the response to polar questions shows that *maw* is verbal in nature, and the selection restriction that *maw* only co-occurs with DPs supports Montague's semantic translation for copular verbs, as well as the pseudocleft analysis. I will further propose that the copula-initial word order is derived by remnant VP fronting. Our conclusion is that [i] Ulivelivek is a V1 language that does not have true Wh1 word order, contra Hawkins' (1983) Generalization that if a language has dominant V1 word order, it tends to have Wh1 word order in wh-questions, and [ii] at least some Austronesian languages do have a copula as well as category distinctions, which supports Richards' (2009) claim.

2. Pseudocleft, copula, and category distinctions in Austronesian languages: Aldridge (2004) proposes that *wh*-ex-situ questions in Formosan languages do not involve *wh*-movement, but rather it is derived by TP-fronting that results into the pseudocleft structure, as in (1).

(1) [FocP [TP (PRED) Ima] [DP (Sbj) (ka) who	[RC Op [TP s<m>ebut <INTR>hit]]] t _{TP}] ABS	child
‘Who hits a child?’		

Seediq *wh*-ex-situ question

The apparent question is whether a copula can be found as the evidence for the pseudocleft analysis to serve as the head of the predicate part, which has long been a locus of debate in the study of Austronesian languages. For example, while it has sometimes been claimed that due to the absence of an overt copula, an Austronesian language like Tagalog lacks category distinctions so there is no difference between nominal and verbal predicates (e.g. Foley, 1998; Gil, 2000; Kaufman, 2009), Richards (2009) argues against that position, showing that the copula can still be found in Tagalog embedded clauses.

3. *Maw* as the Montagovian copula: Interestingly, Ulivelivek *wh*-ex-situ question in (2b) contains the word *maw* in the sentence-initial position, which also appears in the nominal sentence as in (2a), where the overt D is required. Below, three arguments will be made to show that *maw* is a Montagovian copula.

(2a) maw *(a) sinsi i Asing.	(2b) maw i eman na m-ekan kana vavuy
COP ABS.IND teacher ABS Asing	COP ABS WH ABS.DEF AV-eat OBL.DEF pork
‘Asing is a teacher.’ Nominal Predicate	‘Who ate the pork?’ Wh-ex-situ question

Evidence 1 — Morphological operations: First, this paper claims that *maw* is verbal in nature because in Ulivelivek only lexical elements can undergo morphological operations such as reduplication and affixation as in (3a), where *maw* is reduplicated, or prefixed by the future tense marker *ka-*. In (3b), the pronoun clitic can cliticize onto *maw*, which is another typical property of lexical elements.

(3a) maw-maw/ka-maw a sinsi i Asing.	(3b) maw=ku a sinsi.
RED-COP/FUT-COP ABS teacher ABS Asing	COP=1S.ABS ABS.IND teacher
‘Only Asing is a teacher./Asing will be a teacher.’	‘I’m a teacher.’

Evidence 2 — A comparison to Irish *Is*: Second, Carnie (1995) argues that in Irish, the word *Is* is not a copular verb for two main reasons. First, nominal predicates in Irish that contains *Is* in the initial position do not have any unique negation form, but rather the same negation marker is used for both the nominal predicates and the verbal predicates. Second, *Is* cannot be used as a response to Irish polar questions, while other verbal elements can be. Quite the opposite, Ulivelivek *maw* has its own unique negation form in nominal predicates as illustrated by the minimal pair in (4a-b). Besides, both *maw* and *amelri* can be used as an appropriate answer to the polar question as in (5), which suggests that they are verbal in nature.

(4a) *‘azi a sinsi i Asing.	(4b) amelri a sinsi i Asing.
NEG ABS.IND teacher ABS Asing	NEG.COP ABS.IND teacher ABS Asing
‘Asing is not the teacher.’	‘Asing is not a teacher.’

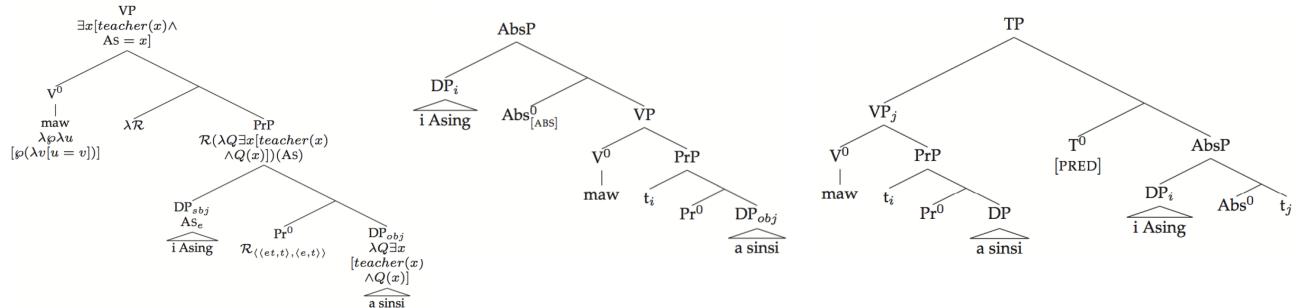
(5) Q: a ‘alum nu-tr<in>ima’-an adaman?	A: maw/amelri.
ABS.IND meat ERG.2S-buy<PERF> yesterday	COP/NEG.COP
‘Is it the meat that you bought yesterday?’	‘It is/It isn’t.’

Evidence 3 — Selection restriction: Finally, the semantic translation $\lambda \mathcal{P} \lambda x. [\mathcal{P}(\lambda y. [y = x])]$ assigned by Montague (1974) predicts that the copula only can co-occur with DPs, but not with any type $\langle e, t \rangle$ predicates such as nominals or adjectives. The prediction is borne out in Ulivelivek. It has already been shown in (2a) that the overt D is required in the copular sentence. Furthermore, in (6a), *maw* cannot co-occur with the adjectival predicate. But, when the adjectival predicate is nominalized, as evident from the change of the meaning, and preceded by the overt D marker *na*, *maw* can appear again as in (6b).

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| (6a) (*maw) ma-izang na `asiru.
COP AV.big ABS.DEF orange
<u>'The orange is big.'</u> | (6b) maw na ma-izang na `asiru.
COP ABS.DEF AV.big ABS.DEF orange
<u>'The orange is the big one.'</u> |
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4. Proposal: Following Heycock (1994), den Dikken (1995), and Moro (1997), we assume the small clause approach for the syntax of copular verbs, so in Ulivelivek *maw* takes the small clause as its complement which is headed by Pr^0 (Bowers, 1993). To match the syntax and the semantic interpretation, I suggest that Pr^0 denotes the higher order variable that is bound by the copula as in (7a). In (7b), once the functional head Abs^0 assigns the [Abs] case to both DPs, the DP_{Sbj} undergoes movement to the specifier of $AbsP$. Finally, in (7c), The copula-initial word order is derived by remnant VP movement to spec-TP, without violating the highly restrictive view of phrase structure as argued by Kayne (1994).

(7a) Underlying structure (7b) [Abs] case and subject raising (7c) Remnant VP raising



As for the Ulivelivek *wh*-ex-situ question, the derivation in (7a-c) yields the pseudocleft construction. Potsdam and Polinsky (2011) provides a number of diagnostics for the approach, such as the position of TAM/Q-particle, topicalization, and the so-called dummy nominal, which are all confirmed in Ulivelivek:

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| (8a) [VP maw i eman] _i Ira/awlra [DP na [RC m-ekan kana vavuy]] t?
COP ABS WH ASP/Q ABS.DEF AV-eat OBL.DEF pork
'Who is the person that has eaten the pork?' | Aspect/Q-particle |
| (8b) [Topp [DP na [RC m-ekan kana vavuy] ti] _j mu , [TP [VP maw i eman] _i t _j]]?
ABS.DEF AV-eat OBL.DEF pork TOP COP ABS WH
'As for the person x that ate the pork, who is x ?' | Topicalization |
| (8c) [VP maw i eman] _i [DP na traw [RC m-ekan kana vavuy]] t?
COP ABS WH ABS.DEF person AV-eat OBL.DEF pork
'Who is the person that has eaten the pork?' | Dummy nominal <i>person</i> |

5. Conclusion: To sum up, this paper has shown that the word *maw* is a Montagovian copula, which leads us to the conclusion that the *wh*-ex-situ question should be analyzed as the pseudocleft construction, because *maw* must co-occur with two DPs. If the analysis is on the right track, then two implications emerge: [i] Richards' (2009) claim that at least some Austronesian languages do have a copula and category distinctions should be on the right track, and [ii] Hawkins' (1983) typological generalization that combines Greenberg's (1963) Universal 12 and the similar proposal made by Keenan (1978) for VOS languages is not accurate, because Ulivelivek as a V1 language does not have true Wh1 word order.

6. Selected references: Aldridge, E., 2004. Ergativity and word order in Austronesian languages. Ph.D. thesis, Cornell University. Richards, N., 2009. The Tagalog copular. In: Potsdam., (Ed.), Proceedings of the 16th Meeting of the AFLA. Potsdam, E., Polinsky, M., 2011. Questions and word orders in Polynesian. In: Moyse- Faurie, C., Sabel, J. (Eds.), Topics in Oceanic Morphosyntax, pp. 83–109.