

Chapter 2

The Morphosyntactic Encoding of Subjects

Though much research has been dedicated to the nature of Palauan phrase structure, little has been said about the grammatical relations *subject* and *object*. In this chapter and the next, I explore the syntactic and morphological characteristics of argument licensing with two primary goals. The first is to augment our knowledge of the features of argument structure, Case licensing, and agreement in Palauan and cross-linguistically. The second is to lay the foundation for the argumentation and analysis of various morphological and syntactic phenomena in the later chapters, which depend heavily on a clear understanding of grammatical relations.

This chapter begins with an examination of the nature of subjecthood in Palauan, focusing on the positions in which subject arguments are base-generated, how they are licensed, the mechanisms underpinning subject agreement, and evidence that subjects can (and possibly must) move to a position outside of the main predicate constituent. Chapter 3 continues the investigation of grammatical relations, focusing on the licensing of internal arguments as direct objects with an unusual pattern of accusative case morphology, and speculating on what it can tell us about the syntax of Palauan verbal predication. The descriptive generalizations drawn in this chapter and in Chap. 3 lead to the development of two competing hypotheses about how the Palauan verb is built: one hypothesis claims that verb formation occurs in the lexicon, while the other claims that it proceeds syntactically. The investigations that follow in Chaps. 4–6 go on to uncover empirical evidence that can be used to decide whether one of the hypotheses is superior.

As was mentioned in Chap. 1, the question of which DP is the subject of a sentence has received different answers in the Palauan descriptive and theoretical literature. One camp claimed that the subject is the clause-initial DP that I analyzed as a topic in Chap. 1, Sect. 1.2.2.5 (the SVO analysis of word order). The other camp claimed that the subject is the clause-final DP that triggers verb agreement morphology (the VOS analysis of word order). The issue seems to be settled now (see Lemaréchal 1991; Josephs 1994, 1999: Chap. 15), largely due to our improved understanding of grammatical relations in Palauan. Again, I will not review the empirical arguments for the VOS word order analysis here (but see Waters 1980; Georgopoulos 1986, 1991b: 32–42; Josephs 1999: Chap. 15 for details). In this

chapter, I instead sketch out a theory that aims to capture the empirical properties of subject DPs in Palauan, taking the stance that the VOS order is well-motivated enough at this point to assume it without argument.

First, I describe the morphosyntactic properties of subjects, in particular the subject agreement morphology that appears on predicates. Next, I consider a theory in which subjects are base-generated predicate-internally and subsequently move to a higher position, which I claim is the specifier of TP (i.e., the Internal Subject Hypothesis; i.a., Kitagawa 1986/1994; Kuroda 1988; Koopman and Sportiche 1991; McCloskey 1997). Finally, I examine the evidence for this proposal from raising constructions and possessor ascension.

2.1 Subject Agreement

Palauan has two sets of subject agreement morphemes, which have been described as correlating with the mood of the clause, realis or irrealis. The realis subject agreement morphemes are listed below in Table 2.1.

The realis subject agreement morphemes have the distribution of clitics: they can be prosodically deficient but are written as separate words. Unlike content words (including full pronouns), they are allowed to contain no full vowels, as Kie Zuraw (p.c.) points out to me: for instance, they may have only schwa (e.g., *ke*, *kede*, *te*) or just a syllabic nasal (e.g., *ng*).¹ They form a prosodic unit with the leftmost element in the TP, whether that be the verb itself as in (61), an auxiliary² as in (62), or a preverbal modifier like *dirk* “still,” *di* “just; only,” *blechoel* “sometimes; always,” or *kmal* “often; very” as in (63).

Table 2.1 Realis subject agreement morphemes

		Singular	Plural	
			Inclusive	Exclusive
1st person		<i>ak</i>	<i>kede</i>	<i>aki</i>
2nd person		<i>ke</i>	<i>kom</i>	
3rd person	[+HUM]	<i>ng</i>	<i>te</i>	
	[−HUM]	<i>ng</i>	<i>ng</i>	

¹Note, however, that full vowels are *permitted* in realis subject agreement markers, as in *ak* and *kom*. Content words, on the other hand, *must* contain at least one full vowel.

²I assume that auxiliaries in Palauan are of category T in the case of past tense *mle* and future tense *mo*, or (outer) Asp in the case of \approx perfect *mle* or \approx fientive/change-of-state *mo/mlo*. I leave justification for this categorial analysis for future research, as nothing in this book depends directly on a particular categorial analysis of the Palauan auxiliaries.

- (61) a. **Kom** ngmai *pro* el mo er a bli-l a Oreng.
 2PL= take.PF you.PL L go P D house-3SGP D Oreng
 “You take (them) to Oreng’s home.” [OO 11]
- b. **Ng** merael a chais er a beluu.
 3SG= go D news P D area
 “A rumor is going around.” [*Chedaol Biblia*, Nehemiah 6:6]
- (62) a. Kemiu e re-ngelekei a kmal chebuul e le [**ng** mla mad a
 you.PL VOC PL-child TOP very pitiful because [3SG= AUX die D
 dem-miu].
 father-2PLP]
 “You, children, are to be pitied because your father has died.” [KC 27]
- b. **Ak** mo remuul [a beluu er a Juda el di mo
 1SG= AUX.FUT make.PF [D towns P D Judah L just become
 cheloit el diak a re-chad el kiei er ngii] *pro*.
 RES.abandon L no D -person L live P there] I
 “I will make the towns of Judah like a desert where no one lives.”
 [*Chedaol Biblia*, Jeremiah 34:22]
- (63) a. **Ng** dirk ngar er ngii a kall *pro*?
 3SG= still be P there D food EXP
 “Is there still any food (left)?” [Josephs 1990: 80]
- b. **Ng** uchul e [**ng** di blechoel el mo meses a eolt].
 3SG= reason then [3SG= just always L become strong D wind]
 “That’s why the wind always gets strong.” [KC 58]
- c. **Ak** blechoel el meruul a kel-el a Droteo *pro*.
 1SG= always L make.IMPF D food-3SGP D Droteo I
 “I always prepare Droteo’s food.” [Josephs 1990: 23]
- d. **Kom** kmal me-saul *pro*_i [el orrengees er tia el subed
 2PL= very INTR-tired you.PL [L listen P this L announcement
 PRO_i].
 you.PL]
 “Thank you very much for your attention.” (lit. “You are very tired from
 listening to this announcement.”) [*Tia Belau*, 15 March 2010]

Although I describe realis subject agreement markers as clitics, my use of the term *clitic* is intended to describe the phonological properties of these markers as well as their surface distribution with respect to other words in the sentence, not to suggest

Table 2.2 Irrealis subject agreement morphemes

	Singular	Plural	
		Inclusive	Exclusive
1st person	<i>k-, ku-</i>	<i>d-, de-, do-</i>	<i>kim-, kimo-</i>
2nd person	<i>m-, mo-, cho-, chom-, chomo-</i>		
3rd person	<i>l-, le-, lo-</i>		

that they are full pronouns that occupy independent positions in the narrow syntax. I concur with Georgopoulos's (1991b: 51–59) conclusion that the realis markers are the morphological reflexes of inflection/agreement and not syntactic heads. The nature of how they are inserted is discussed in Sect. 2.2.³

The irrealis subject agreement morphemes, on the other hand, behave like true prefixes (and not like clitics). They are listed in Table 2.2. Irrealis subject agreement appears in subjunctive, imperative, negative, and conditional clauses as well as some temporal adverbials. It also appears in clauses that contain an A' resumptive pronoun that is not (or not within) a subject or predicate nominal phrase—this is the Palauan *wh*-agreement phenomenon described briefly in Chap. 1, Sect. 1.2.2.4 and in greater detail in Georgopoulos (1985), Chung and Georgopoulos (1998), and Georgopoulos (1991b). The irrealis subject agreement morphemes attach directly to the verb as in (64).⁴

(64) a. *Wh*-AGREEMENT:

Ng chebuul [ngike el ngelek-el a chesisebangiau]_i [el
 3SG= pitiful [that L child-3SGP D cardinal honey-eater] [L
ku-lek-ur a och-il *pro*_i er a chetebtel a
 1SGS.IRR-PAST.tie.PF-3SGO D foot-3SG it P D top-3SGP D
 kemim *pro*].
 starfruit I]

“This baby bird is so pitiful that I’m tying its foot to the top of the starfruit (tree).” [KN 41]

³Due to differences between the Government-and-Binding-theoretic machinery and terminology adopted by Georgopoulos and the theory I am adopting in the present work, there might be some confusion that Georgopoulos professes to argue against a clitic analysis of realis subject markers, in favor of an inflectional analysis. To clear up any possible confusion, it should be noted that Georgopoulos (1991b) assumes that clitics are pronouns that occupy their own positions in the syntax. In other words, if an agreement marker is a clitic, it does not appear because of inflection. The version of the theory that I assume is different from that of Georgopoulos (1991b), and I assume that the reflex of inflection might be either a clitic or an affix—a distinction that is more morphological than syntactic. I would like to emphasize that I agree with Georgopoulos that the realis subject agreement markers are not simply pronouns that are inserted into the narrow syntax from a numeration via Merge, despite that fact that I describe them as clitics.

⁴The Palauan bird named *chesisebangiau* in (64a), which corresponds to the English “cardinal honey-eater,” is of the species *Myzomela cardinalis* (Josephs 1990: 56).

b. IMPERATIVE/SUBJUNCTIVE:

Me **m-otebed-ii** a tekoi me [**le-me-terob**
 So 2S.IMP-issue.PF- 3SGO D order-2SGP so.that [3S.IRR- INTR-stop
 tirke el chad el meleketek er a beluu].
 those L men L build.IMPF ACC D city]

“Therefore you are to issue orders that those men are to stop rebuilding the city.” (approx. “So issue an order so that those men who are building the city are stopped.”)

[*Chedaol Biblia*, Ezra 4:21]

They may also double on some auxiliaries as in (65a–d).⁵ But they need not, and sometimes are realized only on the main predicate and not on the auxiliary, as shown in (65e)

(65) a. *Wh*-AGREEMENT:

A mubi [el **k-bo** **ku-mes** er ngii *pro*] a
 D movie [L 1SGS.IRR- AUX.FUT 1SGS.IRR-see ACC it I] TOP
 mubi er a Dois.
 movie P D German

“The movie that I’m going to see is a German movie.”

[Georgopoulos 1991b: 56, ex. 51a]

b. TEMPORAL ADVERBIAL:

A re-bek el babii el mla mo ungil el odoim a le-blechoel
 D PL-all L pigs L AUX become good L food TOP 3S.IRR-always
 el omek-oad se el **le-bo** **le-mekelekolt** a beluu.
 L CAU-die that L 3S.IRR-become 3S.IRR-cold D land

“All the pigs that are ready to eat are always killed in the winter.”

(approx. “All the pigs that have become good food, they always kill them when the land becomes cold.”)

[CB 63]

c. NEGATIVE:

Ng dirkak [**de-bo** **de-merek** er a
 3SG= not.yet [1PL.INCS.IRR-become 1PL.INCS.IRR-finished P D
 subel-ed].
 homework-1PL.INCP]

“We haven’t finished our homework yet.”

[Josephs 1997: 174, ex. 75a]

⁵The facts surrounding multiple realizations of irrealis subject agreement morphology on different words in the same clause are quite murky, despite the attention that has been paid to the phenomenon in the literature (see Josephs 1975, 1997; Georgopoulos 1991b; Campana 2000). While irrealis subject prefixation nearly always appears to be obligatory on the main verb, it is less regular (though still quite frequent) on auxiliaries, as perusal of just about any Palauan language text suggests. At present, I know of no explanation for the irregularity.

d. CONDITIONAL:

E a **cho-bo** **m-rell-ii** tiang, e...

And D 2S.IRR-AUX.FUT 2S.IRR-do.PF-3SGO this then...

“If you do this, then...”

[*Chedaol Biblia*, Deuteronomy 4:26]

e. IMPERATIVE/SUBJUNCTIVE:

M-otobed-ii a teki-ngem me [**bo**

2S.IMP-issue-3SGO D decree-2SGP so.that [AUX.FUT.IRR

le-mok-oad *pro*].

3S.IRR-PASS.CAU-die they]

“Issue a decree that they are to be put to death.”

[*Chedaol Biblia*, Esther 3:9]

The data in (64) suggests that both syntactic factors (i.e., non-subject-oriented *wh*-agreement) and semantic factors (i.e., polarity, temporal relations of events, etc.) may condition the presence of irrealis subject agreement morphology in a clause. The next section explores the syntax of subjects, leading up to an analysis of Palauan subjects and their associated subject agreement patterns.

2.2 The Syntax of Subjects

Due to the overt morphological reflexes of operations that are sensitive to grammatical relations in Palauan (e.g., passive, *wh*-agreement, causativization, subject and object agreement, and so forth), it seems relatively clear that the notions *subject* and *object* play a prominent role in the clausal syntax. In light of the data presented in the following sections, I wish to consider three hypotheses about Palauan subjects, given in (66) through (68) below.

- (66) OBLIGATORY EPP HYPOTHESIS: All Palauan clauses must have a subject, thematic or expletive, which occupies Spec TP and conditions φ -feature agreement on T. [cf. Chomsky 1982: 9–10, 1986b: 116]
- (67) OPTIONAL EPP HYPOTHESIS: Finite T must bear overt agreement morphology, either indexing the φ -features of the subject in Spec TP or with default 3SG agreement morphology if Spec TP is empty.
- (68) NO EPP HYPOTHESIS: Finite T must bear overt agreement morphology, indexing the φ -features of the highest DP in its c-command domain, which is treated as the subject (or bearing default 3SG agreement morphology if there is no available DP). Spec TP is not filled, and the subject remains in its lower position.

From a cross-linguistic perspective, the hypothesis in (66) is not very radical and certainly not new. Chomsky (1982: 9–10, 1986b: 116) proposes that a requirement like that in (66), together with the Projection Principle, is a fundamental principle of syntax: this is the *Extended Projection Principle*, abbreviated as EPP above. The data in this book strongly suggests that Palauan has a subject position in Spec TP and that (68) is untenable, and while the evidence that this position *must* be filled in Palauan is sparse, it is nevertheless clear. In this section, I will be examining three different aspects of Palauan grammar that involve subjects: expletive insertion, raising constructions, and possessor ascension, discussing the merits of (66) and (67) and whether we can decide between them.

2.2.1 Expletive Insertion (or Default Agreement)

In Chap. 1, Sect. 1.2.2.3, I presented data suggesting that Palauan is a *pro*-drop language, and further that pronouns that trigger agreement morphology *must* be null.⁶ I represent these null pronouns in the data as *pro*, when necessary. In this section, I consider sentences which contain expletive pronominal subjects in non-*pro*-drop languages such as English for the purpose of comparing them to their Palauan correlates. In non-*pro*-drop languages, the appearance of expletive pronominal subjects is traditionally explained by a need to satisfy the EPP. For example, in English, there are two different expletive pronouns that may appear in subject position: *it* and *there*, shown in (69a) and (70a), respectively.

- (69) a. It rained (in Spain).
 b. *Spain rained.

⁶An anonymous reviewer wonders whether there is evidence in Palauan against a clitic doubling analysis of agreement morphology, which would lend further support to the obligatory *pro*-drop analysis. Georgopoulos (1991b: 51–59) skeptically admits that an analysis of realis subject agreement morphology as clitics might be possible. This analysis would be treating subject agreement as a phonological clitic that is spelled out at the left edge of TP—this is exactly the analysis I advocate here. However, the analysis of agreement as clitic doubling *in general* breaks down once irrealis subject agreement, object agreement, and possessor agreement are taken into consideration, all of which license *pro*-drop as well. Interested readers should consult Georgopoulos's book directly for the data. Her arguments against the clitic doubling hypothesis include failures of several of Zwicky and Pullum's (1983) tests for clitics, including morphological and paradigmatic regularity and a lack of selectivity and arbitrary gaps. On the basis of these tests, it seems clear that irrealis subject agreement morphemes, object agreement morphemes, and possessor agreement morphemes must be inflectional affixes rather than pronominal clitics, lending further support for the *pro*-drop analysis. Furthermore, and for reasons unknown to me, [3PL, –HUM] pronouns can be null in direct object and possessor position even when they are not indexed by agreement on the head. As such, *pro*-drop is not an unfamiliar feature of the language, regardless of whether it is possible to analyze agreement morphology as clitic doubling.

- (70) a. As soon as he turned the light off, there appeared a strange figure in the window.
 b. As soon as he turned the light off, a strange figure appeared in the window.
 c. *As soon as he turned the light off, appeared a strange figure in the window.

In Palauan, there is no overt DP correlate of either the English expletive *it* in (69a) or the English expletive *there* in (70a). Consider the case of sentences with so-called zero-place weather predicates in (71), which in English require the insertion of expletive *it*.

- (71) a. **Ng** chull.
 3SG= rain
 “It’s raining.”
 b. **Ng** mle mekelekolt.
 3SG= AUX.PAST cold
 “It was cold.” [Chedaol Biblia, Acts 28:2]
 c. [**Ng** dirk mellomes] e ng sokol el mo bad.
 [3SG= still light] but 3SG= feel.like L become rock
 “It is still light out but he feels like going to sleep.” (lit. “It is still light but he feels like becoming a rock.”) [CB 31]
 d. **Ng** mo-chu klebesei.
 3SG= become-ATC night
 “It will be dark soon.” (approx. “It is about to become night.”)
 [Chedaol Biblia, Judges 19:9]

Interestingly, all of the weather predicates in (71) take the 3SG subject agreement clitic *ng* even though there does not appear to be a subject in any of their clauses, assuming that weather predicates assign no θ -roles and select no DP arguments. If one accepts the Obligatory EPP Hypothesis in (66), a natural explanation for the agreement morphology is that clauses containing zero-place predicates insert a (default) 3SG expletive pronoun in subject position, which then conditions the appearance of the 3SG subject agreement clitic *ng*, as in other languages like Icelandic and Italian. But given the *pro*-drop properties of Palauan, these expletive pronouns, like all subject pronouns, must be null, as has also been argued for the closely-related language Chamorro (Chung 1998: 68–69). On the other hand, the data in (71) is also consistent with the Optional EPP Hypothesis in (67) and the No EPP Hypothesis in (68): on both of these hypotheses, there is no expletive (overt or null) in these sentences, but the verb exhibits default 3SG agreement.

Next, consider the variable subject agreement patterns in existential constructions. Palauan existentials are formed from the complex predicate *ngar er ngii* “exist” (approx. “be there”), which inflects for past tense as *m̄la er ngii* “existed” and future tense as *mo er ngii* “will exist,” and may combine with the aspectual auxiliary *m̄la* in *m̄la ngar er ngii* ≈ “have existed.” An existential takes the form [SUBJECT AGREEMENT + *ngar er ngii* + PIVOT DP (+ SUBJECT DP)], but it is often the case that there is only one DP that acts as both the pivot DP and the subject DP—the case of canonical existentials. Existentials of possession, described below, can have a subject DP that triggers agreement, distinct from the pivot. Some examples of the canonical existential construction are given below in (72).

- (72) a. A irechar e [ng m̄la er ngii [a ta el chelid [el
 D earlier.times then [3SG= was P there [D one L god [L
 ngkl-el a Meluadeangel]]].
 name-3SGP D Meluadeangel]]]
 “Once upon a time, there was a god named Meluadeangel.” [CM 7]
- b. A l-sekum [te ngar er ngii [a re-mo 50 el
 D 3S.IRR-case [3PL.+HUM= be P there [D PL-AUX.FUT 50 L
 melemalt el chad [el ngar er se el beluu]]], e...
 innocent L people [L be P that L city]]] then...
 “If there are fifty innocent people in the city...”

[*Chedaol Biblia*, Genesis 18:24]

The pivot DPs in (72a) and (72b) are singular and plural, respectively, as indicated both by the numerals contained within the DPs, i.e., *ta* “one” and *50*, and the human plural marker *re-* in (72b). Interestingly, the subject agreement clitic preceding the form of *ngar er ngii* appears to agree with the pivot DP in each of the two sentences: 3SG *ng* appears in (72a) while 3PL *te* appears in (72b). The variant forms of subject agreement morphology in (72) suggest that the pivot DP is also the subject of the clause. But since movement of the pivot DP to Palauan’s rightward-branching Spec TP position would be string-vacuous, the structural location of the pivot DP is not clear. In some languages, finite T can Agree with a lower DP without moving it to Spec TP, as appears to be the case in English existentials when the expletive *there* is overt but agreement matches the features of the pivot rather than the expletive subject, and in Irish where there is no expletive and the pivot has been shown to occupy a predicate-internal subject position (see McCloskey 1996, 2014).

In this vein, there is reason to suspect that while the pivot DP may also be the subject of the clause, it need not necessarily be. In the examples below in (73), we see instances of the 3SG subject agreement clitic *ng*, despite the fact that the pivot DP in each example is a human plural, as indicated by the presence of the human plural marker *re-* in each of the pivot DPs.

- (73) a. ...**ng** di **ngar er ngii** [a re-450 el profet er a Baal].
 ...3SG= be P there [D PL-450 L prophets P D Baal]
 “... but there are 450 prophets of Baal.” [Chedaol Biblia, 1 Kings 18:22]
- b. **Ng ngar er ngii** [a re-mla omerrous [el ngar er a
 3SG= be P there [D PL-AUX dream.about [L be P D
 chels-el ngii el beluu]].
 space.inside-3SGP it L place]]
 “There are (one)s (who) have dreamed about being in that place.”
 [KC 92]
- c. **Ng mla er ngii** [a re-bebil el chad [el dimlak
 3SG= was P there [D PL-some L people [L PAST.NEG
 le-k/ikiid e le [te rirtech-ii
 3S.IRR-RES.absolve because [3PL.+HUM= PAST.touch.PF-3SGO
 a bedeng-el a ulek-oad el chad]]].
 D body-3SGP D RES.CAU-die L person]]
 “There were some people who were ritually unclean because they had
 touched a corpse.” [Chedaol Biblia, Numbers 9:6]

The sentences in (73) provide some evidence against the No EPP Hypothesis in (68), because subject agreement is 3SG but there is an available DP with plural φ -features that could serve as the goal. We observe what might be default 3SG agreement anyway, for no apparent reason. These sentences are, however, compatible with the Obligatory and Optional EPP Hypotheses in (66) and (67) if we allow for the existence of null expletive pronominals. T clearly cannot be agreeing with the pivot DP: if it were, the subject agreement clitic should be *te*, as it is in (72b). But if we posit an agreement relation with an expletive, then the 3SG agreement makes sense.⁷ Note that we would be forced to say that Palauan expletive pronominal subjects have to be null because they trigger morphological agreement just like non-expletive pronouns, which are null under the same conditions.

A natural question to ask at this point is whether the subject position that a null expletive might occupy can contain other types of DPs, e.g., full overt DPs or referential, non-expletive pronominals. It appears that the answer is yes. As mentioned above, one further use of the Palauan existential construction is to express possession relations. There is no Palauan verb that corresponds directly to English “have.” Instead, an existential construction with a possessive DP in pivot position expresses the relation of possession, for example in (74).

⁷As Kie Zuraw points out to me, the situation is reminiscent of English examples like (i), which are completely grammatical in my dialect of English, provided the 3SG form of *be* (*is*) is contracted with *there*.

(i) There’s three presents under the tree.

- (74) a. Ng **ngar er ngii** [a dem-miu *pro*]?
 3SG= be P there [D father-2PLP you]
 “Do you have a father?” (lit. “Is there your father?”)
[Chedaol Biblia, Genesis 44:19]
- b. Ng **ngar er ngii** [[a kekere el udud-ek *pro* el silber]_i [el
 3SG= be P there [[D small L money-1SGP me L silver] [L
 sebec-ek [el mo ms-ang *pro* _____i]]].
 ability-1SGP [L AUX.FUT give.PF-3SGO him <GAP>]]]
 “I have a small silver coin that I can give him.” (lit. “There is my small
 silver coin that I can give him.”)
[Chedaol Biblia, 1 Samuel 9:8]

In existentials of possession like those in (74), there is morphosyntactic evidence that the possessor DP can serve as the subject of its containing clause. For instance, the examples below in (75) contain relativized non-subject DPs that lack possessors (compare *secher* “sickness” to *secherek* “my sickness” and *tia el beluu* “this village” to *tia el beluad* “this village of ours”).⁸ But they are also relativized, with their (logical) possessors inside of the relative clause that they head.

- (75) a. Ng diak le-ua secher_i [el **k-ngar er ngii** _____i
 3SG= NEG 3S.IRR-like sickness [L 1SGS.IRR-be P there <GAP>
pro], e chelik!
 I] and EMPH
 “It’s not like the sickness that I have!”
[Posted
 on MySpace user *princessrasireib*’s message board on 31 January 2010 at 7:40AM by
 MySpace user *sechei*. URL: <http://comment.myspace.com/index.cfm?fuseaction=user.viewComments&friendID=55331375>]
- b. [Tia el beluu_i [el **de-ngar er ngii** _____i *pro*]]_j a
 [this L village [L 1PL.INCS.IRR-be P there <GAP> we.INC]] TOP
 diak [le-ua beluu er a Oreor _____j].
 NEG [3S.IRR-like city P D Koror <GAP>]
 “This village of ours is not like the city of Koror.”
[AM 8]

The syntax of the construction in (75) merits further study, but at present, I assume that the possessors occupy a position external to the possessed DP in these sentences (perhaps having raised from a rightward-branching specifier of the DP headed by a resumptive pronoun, combining Georgopoulos’s (1991a) analysis of possessors and Georgopoulos (1991b) analysis of relative clauses), allowing the

⁸See Keenan and Ralalahoerivony (2000) for a description of several similar constructions in Malagasy.

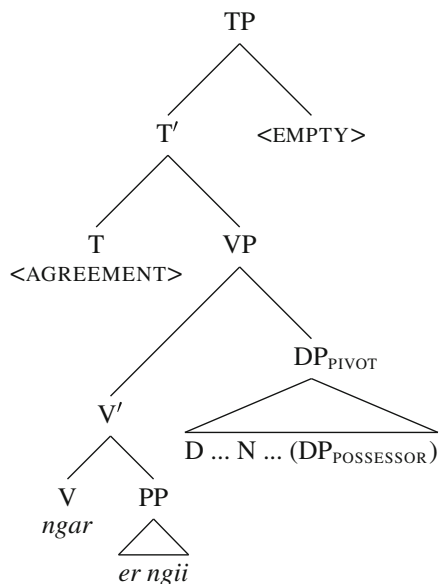
(external) head of the relative clause to appear without associated possessor agreement morphology. That the relativized DPs are not subjects is indicated by the (irrealis) *wh*-agreement morphology in the relative clause (see Chap. 1, Sect. 1.2.2.4, as well as Georgopoulos 1985, 1991b for details), which shows that *kngar er ngii* and *dengar er ngii* agree with (null) pronominal subjects corresponding to the possessors “I” and “we.” This somewhat intricate promotion of a DP-internal possessor to subject is examined in more detail below in Sect. 2.2.2, but it suffices to note the evidence for two DP positions in existential constructions: a subject position and a non-subject (pivot) position.

Interestingly, it appears as though possessor ascension is not limited to possessors of nouns that trigger possessor agreement, but also possessors that instead bear the marker *er*, such as in (24) in Chap. 1. Recall that some nouns require that their possessors be marked with *er*, like *klechelid* “religion” in (76). While this marker *er* is homophonous with the preposition *er*, there is no trace of *er* when the (logical) possessor is the subject of the clause. This can be seen in (77), in which a *wh*-cleft of the pivot DP results in irrealis subject agreement morphology matching the features of the (logical) possessor, which has become the subject.

- (76) a. A **klechelid er tirka el chad** a diak a belk-ul.
 D religion P these L people TOP not.exist D purpose-3SGP
 “The religion of these people is worthless.” [Chedaol Biblia, Jeremiah 10:3]
- b. A king a mo ousbech a cheleblad el mengesuseu er
 D king TOP AUX.FUT need.IMPF D deceptively L lure.IMPF ACC
 tirke el mla choit-ii a **klechelid er tir.**
 those L AUX abandon-PF.3SGO D religion P them
 “By deceit the king will win the support of those who have already abandoned their religion.”
 [Chedaol Biblia, Daniel 11:32]
- (77) Ng ngara el klechelid_i a **chome-ngar er ngii** _____i pro?
 3SG= what? L religion D 2S.IRR-be P there <GAP> you
 “What’s your religion?” (approx. “What religion do you have?”)
 [Josephs 1990 : 123]

If the 2nd person irrealis subject agreement on the existential predicate *ngar er ngii* in (77) is the result of possessor ascension of a 2nd person pronominal DP, then it seems as though possessors that are marked with *er* are not PPs but are instead DPs—just as possessors that trigger agreement are—since PPs cannot be subjects. This may give us reason to believe that *er* is not a preposition when it marks possessors, but is rather something like a genitive case marker, as was briefly considered in Chap. 1. The sentences in (76) show that *klechelid* “religion” requires its possessor to be marked with *er* rather than indexed via possessor agreement, but

Fig. 2.1 Proposed structure for Palauan existentials



when possessor ascension applies, as in (77), no instance of *er* remains stranded, contrary to what one might expect if *er* were a true preposition.

I propose that the (underlying) syntax of Palauan existentials looks something like the schema in Fig. 2.1. In that structure, I assume that the specifier of TP is the subject position, and the DP that occupies that position will condition subject agreement. The three variants of existentials described below produce the surface patterns we've observed above.

1. If there is a possessor DP in the specifier of the pivot DP, the possessor DP can raise to the subject position, resulting in subject agreement with the possessor as in (75) and, evidently, (77).⁹ If the possessor DP strands the rest of the pivot DP in its base position, the stranded pivot DP is available to participate in A' dependencies to the exclusion of the possessor DP, which remains in the specifier of TP; this is what we see in (75) and (77). There is no problem with the binding of the trace created by possessor raising because A' dependencies are base-generated, and the constituent containing the possessor DP's trace does not move.¹⁰

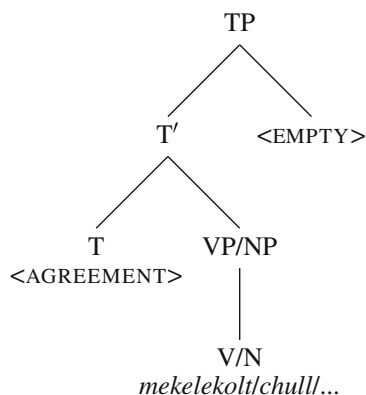
⁹While there is no correlate of this construction in English, unless one counts "I have some friends over there" as a variant of existential (i.a., Freeze 1992), there are correlates of the construction in other languages, which is discussed in Chap. 4.

¹⁰A more serious question is how the pivot is Case-licensed in instances where the possessor raises to the subject position. While it has been shown that many languages on the Formosan branch of Austronesian have existential constructions with nominative pivots (see Zeitoun et al. 1999

2. The entire pivot DP can raise to the subject position, whether or not it contains a separate possessor DP, and trigger subject agreement, e.g., in (72b) and possibly also (72a) and (74).
3. There is no (overt) subject, but the existential predicate bears 3SG subject agreement, e.g., in (73).

This third variant is perhaps particularly interesting—if mystifying—in light of our investigation into subjecthood in Palauan and the extent to which Palauan obeys the EPP. One conclusion that is tempting to draw about Palauan subjects based on this third type of existential sentence is that Palauan clauses must contain null expletive subjects in Spec TP, as there are no thematic DPs available which are singular and can trigger singular subject agreement. Such a conclusion would be consistent with the Obligatory EPP Hypothesis in (66). If we take for granted for a moment that null expletives in Palauan exist, these null expletives would be non-thematic and pronominal, just as in more familiar languages, but would be forced to be unpronounced due to *pro*-drop, like other pronominal DP subjects are. Null expletives would be optional in Palauan existentials,¹¹ but they would have to be obligatory in

Fig. 2.2 Proposed structure for zero-place weather predicates



(Footnote 10 continued)

for a typology of existentials in ten Formosan languages), other Western Malayo-Polynesian languages like Tagalog treat pivots exclusively as internal arguments (see Sabbagh 2009: 682–683).

The issue is a confusing one, and it is reminiscent of the issues surrounding why pivots of *there is*-existentials in English are marked with nominative case but corresponding pivots of *es gibt*-existentials in German are marked with accusative case. A broader cross-linguistic study of existential constructions is necessary to determine why such variability manifests itself in the Case/case of pivot DPs.

¹¹Cf. Chung's (1998: 68–69, 183) analysis of null expletives in Chamorro existentials. Unlike Palauan existentials, Chamorro existentials invariably display 3SG subject agreement, suggesting that the insertion of a null expletive pronominal subject is obligatory, rather than just one of several options.

clauses containing zero-place weather predicates. I propose the (underlying) structure in Fig. 2.2 for weather predicates.

While the specifier of TP is empty in both Figs. 2.1 and 2.2, there are no DPs that can move to fill the specifier of TP in Fig. 2.2, since zero-place weather predicates do not select any DP arguments. Consequently, the option to insert a null 3SG expletive subject in existentials would become the only possibility in clauses containing weather predicates, if one assumes that Palauan obeys the EPP. The subject agreement morphology is then invariably 3SG *ng* (realis) or *l(e)-* (irrealis) because it reflects the features of the default 3SG expletive pronoun that occupies the specifier of TP.

An alternative account of the constructions discussed here, as pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, is that the sentences in question do not have subjects at all—not even *pro* subjects—but there is a requirement that finite T must bear agreement morphology. Such an analysis is incompatible with the Obligatory EPP Hypothesis in (66), but it is entirely compatible with both the Optional EPP Hypothesis in (67) and the No EPP Hypothesis in (68). As of yet, we have not seen any empirical evidence in favor of null expletives in the domain of weather-predicate sentences or existentials, which is perhaps surprising as these are sometimes considered to be prototypical examples of expletive constructions. The choice between an analysis that assumes that null expletives trigger 3SG agreement and an analysis that assumes that default 3SG agreement appears because agreement is simply required can only be motivated theoretically at this point. In Sect. 2.2.3.2, after we examine the evidence from *wh*-agreement that Spec TP must be filled, the notion that null expletives must be present in these constructions consequently receives considerably stronger support.

While this situation may strike some readers as frustrating, in particular those who are accustomed to studying languages with overwhelming evidence for some flavor of the Obligatory EPP Hypothesis in (66), it is nevertheless fascinating that various grammatical phenomena in Palauan (rightward-branching specifiers and *pro*-drop in particular) conspire to render the adoption of such a hypothesis in Palauan questionable. In the next few sections, I hope that any frustration might be assuaged by data that shows much more convincingly that Palauan does have a subject position in Spec TP, and that the confusion about the EPP is reduced to whether it *must* always apply or rather *can* sometimes apply. Either way, the No EPP Hypothesis in (68) is rejected in due course.

2.2.2 *Possessor Ascension*

In this section, I explore the possessor ascension phenomenon in (75) in greater detail. Although possessor ascension was presented in the context of possessive existentials, it is actually far more pervasive. For instance, consider the contrast between (78a–b).

(78) a. AGREEMENT WITH ENTIRE POSSESSED DP:

Ng me-kemanget [**a chim-rir** [**a rubek-uk**]].
 3PL.—HUM= PL-long [D arms-3PLP [D older.brothers-1SGP]]
 “My older brothers’ arms are long.” / “My older brothers are generous.”

b. AGREEMENT WITH POSSESSOR DP ONLY:

Te me-kemanget [a chim-rir t_i] [**a**
 3PL.+HUM= PL-long [D arms-3PLP] [D
 rubek-uk]_i.
 older.brothers-1SGP]
 “My older brothers’ arms are long.” / “My older brothers are generous.”

The subject agreement pattern is familiar from what we saw above in the existential construction: subject agreement appears to be able to index the φ -features of either the entire DP argument of *mekemanget* “long” or just its possessor DP. On the Obligatory EPP Hypothesis, the DP that triggers subject agreement must also occupy Spec TP, and we would have to assume that possessor ascension has applied in (78b). In my fieldwork, I have found that possessors within argument DPs may become subjects only if they bear a whole–part relation to the possessed noun, for whatever reason. This restriction does not seem to hold if the possessor is in a predicate nominal, e.g., the possessors of the modal nominals discussed below and listed in Table 2.3. To illustrate, compare (78) with (79) below.¹²

¹²An anonymous reviewer reminds me that a similar restriction has been reported in other languages such as Malagasy, but with some counterexamples. Compare (79) with (ii) below, particularly sentence (c) which illustrates a grammatical counterexample.

(ii) MALAGASY:

- a. Finaritra ny zazan’ ny vehivavy.
 happy D child.L D woman
 “The woman’s child is happy.”
- b. *Finarijaza ny vehivavy.
 happy-child D woman
 (“The woman has a happy child.”)
- c. Marary zaza ny vehivavy.
 sick child D woman
 “The woman has a sick child.” (Implies that the woman is directly adversely affected by the fact that her child is sick.)
 [Anonymous Reviewer, p.c.]

It could very well be that additional or even different discourse or semantic factors may play a role in determining whether or not possessors can be extracted and move to subject position. The phenomenon (with similar restrictions) has been reported for languages in Southeast Asia, including other Austronesian languages (see Bell 1983 for Cebuano, Oey 1990 for Malay, and Keenan and

Table 2.3 Palauan modal nominals

3sg possessor form	Modal interpretation	Literal meaning of NP
<i>sebech-el</i>	Can/able to/may/allowed to	<i>x</i> 's ability
<i>kir-el</i>	Must/have to/should/ought to	<i>x</i> 's obligation/(for) <i>x</i> 's sake
<i>so-al</i>	Want to/like to/love to	<i>x</i> 's desire
<i>chet-il</i>	Not want to/dislike to/hate to	<i>x</i> 's distaste

(79) a. AGREEMENT WITH ENTIRE POSSESSED DP:

Ng mesaul [**a dem-rir** [**a re-ngalek**]].

3SG= tired [D mother-3PLP [D PL-child]]

“The children’s mother is tired.”

b. AGREEMENT WITH POSSESSOR DP ONLY:

***Te** mesaul [a dem-rir t_i] [**a re-ngalek**]_i.

3PL.+HUM= tired [D mother-3PLP] [D PL-child]

(“The children’s mother is tired.”)

Still, data like that in (78) only tells us about subject agreement, not subject movement or subject positions. If there is any movement of a DP to Spec TP in (78), it is string-vacuous. The co-indexed trace in (78b) illustrates the change in constituency that this type of string-vacuous movement of the possessor to Spec TP would yield, cf. (78a).

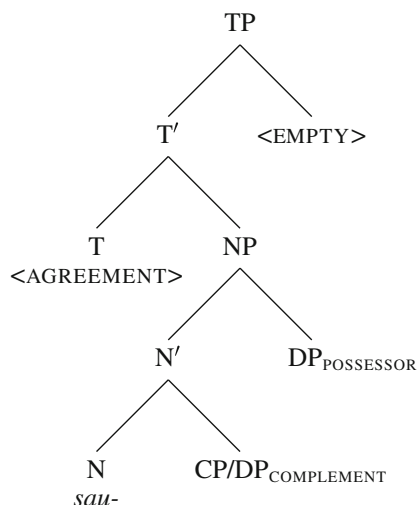
Interestingly, there is a different possessor ascension construction that is even more common than the construction in (78). This construction involves the small but frequently-employed class of modal nominals, introduced in Chap. 1, Sect. 1.2.2.2 and listed in Table 2.3.¹³ What is interesting about this class of nominals for present purposes is that it reveals additional facts about subject movement that possessor

(Footnote 12 continued)

Ralalaoherivony 2000 for Malagasy), Kadai languages (see Gerner 2005 for Kam/Dong), Hmong-Mien/Miao-Yao languages (see Jaisser 1990 and Riddle 1999 for White Hmong), Mon-Khmer languages (see Huffman 1970 for Khmer/Cambodian and i.a., Nguyễn Đăng Liêm 1970 for Vietnamese), Thai (see Iwasaki 2002), and probably others. See Matisoff (1986) and Clark (1996) for comparisons among Southeast Asian languages.

¹³Table 2.3 is adapted from Georgopoulos (1991a: 220, ex. 7). Georgopoulos calls the nouns in Table 2.3 *psych predicates*, to emphasize the link between her analysis and those of Stowell (1986) and Belletti and Rizzi (1988), both of which claim that internal argument DPs of psych predicates move out of the predicate phrase, either in the overt syntax (Belletti and Rizzi) or at LF (Stowell). While I think that the term *psych predicate* is a misnomer for the elements as a class (it is not clear how the interpretations of *sebech-el* and *kirel* that correspond to *can* and *must*, respectively, can be construed as psychological), the terminology makes no difference. Georgopoulos’s aim is to capture the intriguing subject agreement patterns that arise when *soal* and *chetil* select DP complements instead of their standard CP complements, parallel to transitive *like* and *dislike* in English. The resulting analysis is fascinating.

Fig. 2.3 Georgopoulos's
base structure for *soal*



ascension constructions like those in (75) and (78) do not. Georgopoulos (1991a) analyzes the class of modal nominals as NP predicates, i.e., NP complements to T, which must have a possessor DP and may select either a DP or CP complement. The structure that Georgopoulos (1991a: 226, ex. 21) proposes for modal nominals is along the lines of that in Fig. 2.3.

When there are two DP arguments in the NP predicate (both a possessor DP and a complement DP), either of the two DPs (or neither) can trigger subject agreement. But in order for a DP to do so, it must also be the rightmost DP in the string. Consider the data below in (80). In each sentence, the subject is *italicized* (including *pro*) and the subject agreement clitic is in **bold**.

- (80) a. **Ng** so-rir kemam a re-buik *pro*.
3SG= desire-3PLP us.EXC D PL-boy EXP
“The boys like us.” (approx. “It is the boys’ desire of us.”)
[Georgopoulos 1991a: 225, ex. 20a]
- b. **Te** so-rir kemam a re-buik.
3PL.+HUM= desire-3PLP us.EXC D PL-boy
“The boys like us.” (approx. “The boys desire us.”)
[Georgopoulos 1991a: 224, ex. 16b]
- c. **Aki** so-rir *t_i* a re-buik *pro_i*.
1PL.EXC= desire-3PLP D PL-boy we.EXC
“The boys like us.” (lit. “We are the boys’ desire.”)
[Georgopoulos 1991a: 225, ex. 18c]

- d. ***Aki** so-rir kemam *a re-buik*.
 1PL.EXC= desire-3PLP us.EXC D PL-boy
 (“The boys like us.”)
- e. ***Ng** so-rir *t_i* a re-buik *kemam_i*.
 3SG= desire-3PLP D PL-boy us.EXC
 (“The boys like us.”) [Georgopoulos 1991a: 230, ex. 22a]
- f. ***Te** so-rir *t_i* a re-buik *kemam_i*.
 3SG= desire-3PLP D PL-boy us.EXC
 (“The boys like us.”)

In (80a), the 3SG subject agreement morpheme *ng* does not agree with either of the two DP arguments of *sorir*: the complement *kemam* “us” or the possessor *a re-buik* “the boys.” It either indexes the 3SG features of a null expletive (consistent with the Obligatory EPP Hypothesis), or simply appears as default 3SG agreement due to a requirement that finite T bear agreement (consistent with the Optional EPP Hypothesis and the No EPP Hypothesis). However, (80b) shows that the possessor of the modal noun *sorir* can trigger both possessor–noun agreement (the 3PL *-rir* suffix on *sorir*) and subject–predicate agreement (the 3PL *te* clitic that precedes *sorir*). Perhaps unexpectedly, the (pronominal) complement DP *kemam* “us” may also trigger subject agreement morphology, but only if it is null, as in (80c), cf. (80d) in which *kemam* remains overt. And the ungrammaticality of (80e–f) seems to suggest that the complement DP *kemam* cannot move to the right of the possessor *unless* it triggers subject agreement morphology. This is confirmed whenever the complement DP is non-pronominal, as in (81).

- (81) a. **Te** so-rir a Willy *a re-buik*.
 3PL.+HUM= desire-3PLP D Willy D PL-boy
 “The boys like Willy.” [Georgopoulos 1991a: 224, ex. 16b]
- b. **Ng** so-rir *t_i* a re-buik [*a Willy*]_i.
 3SG= desire-3PLP D PL-boy [D Willy]
 “The boys like Willy.” [Georgopoulos 1991a: 222, ex. 12b]
- c. ***Te** so-rir *t_i* a re-buik [*a Willy*]_i.
 3PL.+HUM= desire-3PLP D PL-boy [D Willy]
 (“The boys like Willy.”)

Sentence (81a), like (80b), suggests that the possessor DP can also serve as the subject, while sentence (81b), like (80c), suggests that the DP complement to the modal nominal can also raise to become the subject, but it has to move to the right of the possessor. Georgopoulos argues that this is movement to subject position. The

complement DP in (81b) is non-pronominal, so the movement to subject position is visible. Whenever there is visible movement of the DP complement to the modal nominal to the right of its possessor, subject agreement must match the features of the moved DP, as shown in (81b–c).¹⁴

If Georgopoulos is right, and the movement of [*a Willy*] is movement to subject position, then we should see a change in subject agreement morphology. Since the DP [*a Willy*] is 3SG, it is impossible for us to know whether it occupies the subject position or if the subject position is filled with a null expletive pronoun (or nothing at all, if we reject the Obligatory EPP Hypothesis), as in (80a). The situation is easily remedied by switching the base positions of the two DPs. Evidently, if the DP complement of the modal nominal is moved to the right of the possessor, it *must* also trigger subject agreement, as the contrast below in (82) indicates.

- (82) a. **Te** so-al t_i a Willy [*a re-buik*]_i.
 3PL.+HUM= desire-3SGP D Willy [D PL-boy]
 “Willy likes the boys.” [Georgopoulos 1991a: 225, ex. 18a]
- b. ***Ng** so-al t_i a Willy [*a re-buik*]_i.
 3SG= desire-3SGP D Willy [D PL-boy]
 (“Willy likes the boys.”) [Georgopoulos 1991a: 230, ex. 22b]

The picture that the possessor ascension data paints fits nicely together with the zero-place weather predicates and existentials. In all of these constructions, the main clause evidently needs to have a subject, and this subject may appear in a particular syntactic configuration within the clause, which I claim is Spec TP. The fact that the possessed noun predicates like *soal* and *chetil* allow either their DP com-

¹⁴I am grateful to an anonymous reviewer for pointing out that the argumentation in this book predicts that sentences like those in (iii) should all yield ambiguous interpretations. Although I have unfortunately not yet collected the required data to determine whether this prediction is borne out, future research should be able to answer this question easily through elicitation.

- (iii) a. ?**Ng** so-al a buik *a Willy*.
 3SG= desire-3SGP D boy D Willy
- b. ?**Ng** so-al t_i a buik [*a Willy*]_i.
 3SG= desire-3SGP D boy [D Willy]
- c. ?**Ng** so-al a Willy *a buik*.
 3SG= desire-3SGP D Willy D boy
- d. ?**Ng** so-al t_i a Willy [*a buik*]_i.
 3SG= desire-3SGP D Willy [D boy]
 (All four sentences) “The boy likes Willy.” / “Willy likes the boy.”

plement or their DP possessor to serve as the subject of the clause raises questions about locality (Shortest Move, or its equivalent), since the possessor DP is higher in the structure and has interpretable D and φ -features—I examine the locality question in more detail in Sect. 2.3. What is important at this point, however, is that we have now seen evidence that there appears to be a structural position at the rightward edge of the clause into which a DP either must move or may move in order to trigger subject agreement morphology. This data is incompatible with the No EPP Hypothesis in (68). In the next section, raising-to-subject constructions provide additional, stronger evidence for subject movement.

2.2.3 Raising-to-Subject Constructions

Recall that the data we saw involving weather predicates and existentials indicated that at least subject agreement on the verb was necessary, but it did not provide empirical evidence for movement of subjects to Spec TP. Then, possessor ascension constructions suggested that in order for subject agreement morphology to index the φ -features of a particular DP, that DP must appear in a position at the rightward edge of the clause, which I tentatively hypothesized was Spec TP. Below, we will now see evidence that suggests that movement to a subject position must take place, for no reason other than to satisfy the EPP.

2.2.3.1 The Syntax and Morphosyntax of Subject-Raising Predicates

This evidence in favor of the Obligatory EPP Hypothesis in (66) comes from the interaction of subject-raising predicates with *wh*-agreement. Palauan has a small class of subject-raising predicates that contains at least the verb *oumesingd* “tend” as well as the aspectuals *omuchel* “begin, start,” *melemolem* “continue,” and *mo merek* “become finished.” All of these verbs may select clausal complements, as shown below in (83).

- (83) a. Te **ulemuchel** el mo melai er se el bukl el beluu
 3PL.+HUM= start.PAST L go take.IMP ACC that L hill L country
 pro.
 they
 “They started to invade the hill country.” [*Chedaol Biblia*, Numbers 14:40]
- b. Ke mo **melemolem** el oltirakl er tia el llach *pro.*
 2SG= AUX.FUT continue L follow.IMP ACC this L law you
 “You will continue to observe the Law.” [*Chedaol Biblia*, Exodus 13:10]

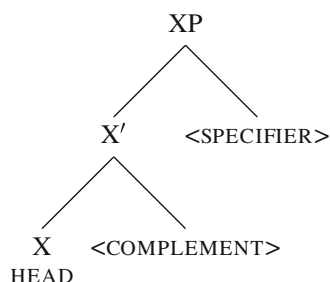
- c. Ng di **mlo** **merek** el mangedecheduch a Wilbur e
 3SG= just PAST.become finished L speak D Wilbur and.then
 a ngelek-el a sib a *tmoech*.
 D child-3SGP D sheep TOP INTR.emerge
 “Wilbur finished talking and the lambs came out.” [CB 79]
- d. Te di **oumesingd** el menga a rodech me a chemadech
 3PL.+HUM= just tend L eat.IMPF D fruits and D raw
 el kall *pro*.
 L food they
 “They tend to eat fruits and raw food.” [CM 7]

In each of these sentences, the raising predicates are followed by clauses that begin with the linker *el*. That the matrix predicates in (83) are raising predicates is already suggested by the subject agreement clitics in the matrix clause, which match the features of the DPs that are agents of the predicates in the embedded clauses. One key characteristic of raising predicates is that they do not assign θ -roles to their subjects, and thus do not select their subjects directly. This can be seen when their complement clauses contain zero-place weather predicates, as in (84) and (85); none of these sentences contain thematic arguments of any kind.

- (84) Me itia er a l-omechel-a [el mo mesesilkolk], e...
 so this.(time) P D 3S.IRR-begin-ICP [L become twilight] then...
 “As it began to get dark...” [Chedaol Biblia, 2 Kings 7:5]
- (85) a. Ng chull.
 3SG= rain
 “It’s raining/rainy.”
- b. Ng mla omuchel el chull.
 3SG= AUX start L rain
 “It has started to rain/be rainy.”
- c. Ng oumesingd el chull er a ongeai el buil.
 3SG= tend L rain P D eighth L month
 “It tends to rain/be rainy in August.”
- d. Ng oumesingd el omuchel el chull er a ongeai el buil.
 3SG= tend L start L rain P D eighth L month
 “It tends to start to rain/be rainy in August.”

Above, I have assumed without argument that the head-initial, VOS nature of Palauan falls out from a phrase structure in which specifier positions of XPs are projected to the right rather than the left, as shown in Fig. 2.4 and argued for other

Fig. 2.4 Phrase structure schema for all Palauan lexical categories



related Austronesian languages (Guilfoyle et al. 1992), such as Malagasy and Tagalog; see also Chung (1998), Sabbagh (2009), and many others.¹⁵ If this structure is correct, and if the subject position in a clause is the specifier of TP, then movement from the subject position of an embedded TP to the subject position of a matrix TP will often be string-vacuous. As a result, word order alone is less useful as a diagnostic for subject raising in Palauan than it is for SVO languages, like English.

Still, it can be observed that in raising constructions, subjects of the raising predicates originate in the embedded clause. Put differently, the data suggests that the Internal Subject Hypothesis (McCloskey 1996, 1997) holds for Palauan. The evidence comes from the morphology of certain Palauan stative adjectives that denote physical properties, such as shape or size. While the citation forms of these predicates do not have prefixes, they are obligatorily prefixed with *me-* whenever their subjects are plural (Josephs 1975: 172–174; Josephs 1997: 266–267).

- (86) a. Tia el oluches a chetngaid.
 this L pencil TOP thin
 “This pencil is thin.” [Josephs 1975: 172, ex. 6a; Josephs 1997: 266, ex. 6a]
- b. Aika el oluches a **me**-chetngaid.
 these L pencils TOP PL-thin
 “These pencils are thin.” [Josephs 1975: 172, ex. 6b; Josephs 1997: 266, ex. 6b]
- c. *Tia el oluches a **me**-chetngaid.
 this L pencil TOP PL-thin
 (“This pencil is thin.”)
- d. *Aika el oluches a chetngaid.
 these L pencils TOP thin
 (“These pencils are thin.”)

¹⁵An important possible exception is Top(ic)P, which I have explicitly assumed to project a leftward specifier. I can only speculate that the reason for this might have something to do with information structure.

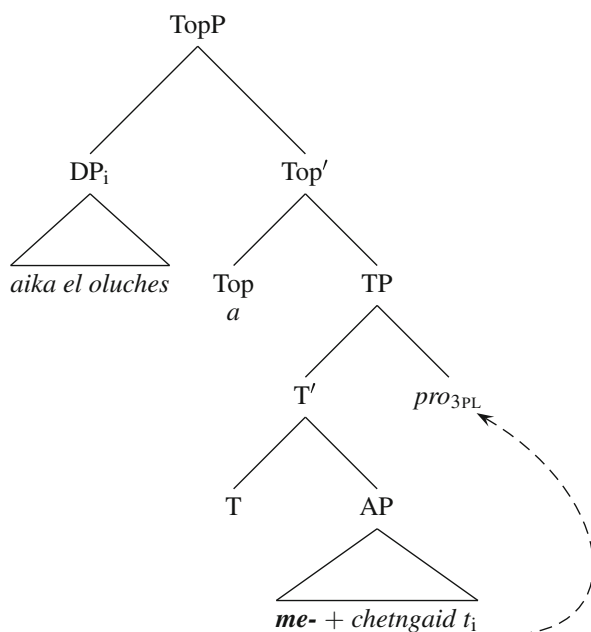


Fig. 2.5 Configuration for predicate–argument number agreement

The *me-* prefix on shape/size adjectives can be analyzed as predicate–argument agreement if the DP arguments of these adjectival predicates are base-generated predicate-internally, e.g., in the AP in the structure in Fig. 2.5, representing (86b).¹⁶

In a structure like that in Fig. 2.5, predicate–argument agreement is established within the predicate XP. In the syntactic framework I assume in Chap. 1, Sect. 1.1.2, feature sharing between the predicate *chetngaid* (i.e., the A head¹⁷) and its argument can be established via Agree, assuming that the relevant structural relation in Palauan between the probe (i.e., the head) and the goal (i.e., the DP argument) can be m-command¹⁸ rather than c-command. The possessor agreement patterns

¹⁶In Chap. 5, I suggest that intransitive statives formed from the prefix *me-* are adjectives, but I admittedly have no evidence for this claim. It has recently been claimed that all languages have adjectives (i.a., Baker 2003; Dixon 2004), but I don't know of concrete diagnostics for Palauan that can reliably distinguish adjectives from stative verbs. For the present line of argumentation, this distinction makes no difference, but it is nevertheless important for our understanding of other areas of the language.

¹⁷Or perhaps the *a* head on a theory in which lexical words are derived syntactically whenever a category-defining functional head merges with a $\sqrt{\text{ROOT}}$; category-neutral root theory is examined in more detail in Chaps. 4 and 5.

¹⁸Note here that I am referring not to subject agreement with finite T, but rather predicate–argument agreement within the lower predicate XP (presumably before T is merged), which appears to behave similarly to predicate–argument agreement in, e.g., Romance languages. Another possibility is that local predicate–argument agreement results from a specifier–head agreement configuration. I know of no empirical evidence that decisively shows that an m-command analysis is superior to a specifier–head agreement analysis, or vice-versa.

in the modal NP predicates examined in Sect. 2.2.2 strongly suggest that the m-command domain is the relevant domain for predicate–argument agreement in Palauan because the modal nominal predicates agree with the possessor DPs in their specifiers rather than with their complement DPs (recall Fig. 2.3).

If this theory of agreement is on track, then the subjects of shape/size predicates must be base-generated within the predicate XP to establish the conditions for a local application of the Agree operation (either via c-command or m-command, pending further analysis of the argument structure of such adjectives). If this predicate XP is within an embedded clause that is the complement of a raising predicate like those in (83), then we can construct an argument for raising if the subject of the embedded predicate is treated as the subject of the matrix predicate. The subject agreement morphology in (87a) suggests that the DP *a rengalek* ‘children’ triggers the plural agreement prefix *me-* on the embedded predicate *klou* ‘big’ as well as the plural subject agreement clitic *te*, which appears to the left of the matrix predicate *oumesingd* ‘tend.’ The ungrammaticality of (87b) is consistent with the data in (84) and (85) in showing that the DP *a rengalek* ‘children’ cannot be base-generated in the matrix clause, which—by hypothesis—would allow the embedded predicate *klou* to surface without the plural agreement marker *me-*.¹⁹

- (87) a. Te oumesingd el mo **me-klou** a re-ngalek.
 3PL.+HUM= tend L become PL-big D PL-child
 ‘Children tend to grow up.’ (lit. ‘Children tend to become big.’)
- b. *Te oumesingd el mo **klou** a re-ngalek.
 3PL.+HUM= tend L become big D PL-child
 (‘Children tend to grow up.’)

Now, even though the data in (87) shows that the matrix predicate *oumesingd* agrees with the subject of the embedded clause, there is no evidence that the embedded subject actually moves to a subject position in the matrix clause. In (87a), both the embedded and matrix subject positions would be rightward-branching specifiers, and such movement would be string-vacuous. Still, there is reason to believe that movement of an embedded DP to matrix Spec TP must take place.

2.2.3.2 Evidence for the EPP: Subject-Raising Predicates and *wh*-agreement

The following facts are subtle but provide an excellent example of how a firm understanding of morphology can reveal insights about syntactic structure. The evidence for the EPP below involves an interaction between subject-raising predicates and the realis/irrealis subject agreement alternation known as *wh*-agreement, described

¹⁹While a control analysis would likely also allow plural *me-* to appear on shape/size adjectives, it looks as though a control analysis is unlikely to be correct, given that verbs like *oumesingd* and *omuchel* may co-occur with zero-place weather predicates like *chull* ‘rain’ and thus most likely do not assign a θ -role to their subjects. Further research is necessary to determine whether *oumesingd*, *omuchel*, etc. are ambiguously raising/control predicates, however.

in Chap. 1, Sect. 1.2.2.4. In languages with an EPP requirement, a DP from the non-finite embedded clause complement to a subject-raising predicate must raise out of the embedded clause to occupy the matrix Spec TP, thereby satisfying the EPP, stipulated in Minimalism via an [EPP] feature on the matrix T.

Recall that in A' constructions, Palauan mood morphology alternates between realis and irrealis depending on the structural position of the gap/resumptive pronoun that is bound by the displaced element. If the displaced element binds a gap/resumptive pronoun in Spec TP (informally, if it binds a subject), then the subject agreement morphology on the predicate is realis. If, on the other hand, the displaced element binds a gap/resumptive pronoun in any other position besides the predicate's specifier (such as in a complement, an adjunct, etc.), then the subject agreement morphology is irrealis. This set of facts allows us to test predictions of our three hypotheses about the EPP: the Obligatory EPP Hypothesis in (66), the Optional EPP Hypothesis in (67), and the No EPP Hypothesis in (68).

The predictions are the following. If a DP has raised from an embedded clause to occupy the matrix Spec TP with a subject-raising predicate, and this DP participates in an A' dependency construction (e.g., it is relativized, topicalized, clefted, etc.) then we should expect to see realis subject agreement morphology on the matrix predicate. However, if there is no raising of the DP from the embedded clause to the matrix Spec TP, and the DP still participates in an A' dependency construction, then we would expect irrealis subject agreement morphology on the matrix predicate. In other words, if the only possibility is for the matrix predicate to bear realis subject agreement morphology (to the exclusion of irrealis), then the data is consistent only with the Obligatory EPP Hypothesis in (66). If both realis and irrealis are permitted, then the data is consistent only with the Optional EPP Hypothesis in (67). Finally, if only irrealis is possible (to the exclusion of realis), then the data is consistent only with the No EPP Hypothesis in (68). The relevant data is presented below in (89).

Example (88) shows that *lolemolem* is the 3rd person irrealis form of the subject-raising aspectual verb *melemolem* "continue;" as the verb *melemolem* is negated under *diak*, it must appear in the irrealis form. The sentences in (89) are of the type needed to test the predictions above: A' constructions that contain the same subject-raising aspectual verb *melemolem* "continue."

- (88) Ngike [el oltirakl er a Kristus er a klengar er ngii] a **diak**
 that [L follow ACC D Christ P D existence P him] TOP NEG
l-olemolem el ngar er a klengit.
 3S.IRR-continue L be P D sin

"Whoever lives in union with Christ does not continue to sin."

[*Chedaol Biblia*, 1 John 3:6]

- (89) a. Ngike_i [el **melemolem** [el ngar er a klengit t_i] _____i] a dirkak
 that [L continue.R [L be P D sin] <GAP>] TOP never
 l-es-ang me a ka l-odenge-lii.
 3S.IRR-see.PF-3SGO and TOP nor 3S.IRR-know.PF-3SGO
 “Whoever continues to sin has never seen him or known him.”
[Chedaol Biblia, 1 John 3:6]
- b. *Ngike_i [el **l-olemolem** [el ngar a klengit _____i]] a dirkak
 that [L 3S.IRR-continue [L be D sin(ner) <GAP>]] TOP never
 l-es-ang me a ka l-odengelii.
 3S.IRR-see.PF-3SGO and TOP nor 3S.IRR-know.PF-3SGO
 (“Whoever continues to sin has never seen him or known him.”)

As (89a) shows, *melemolem* appears in the realis form, suggesting that the embedded subject (which is an A' gap) has raised to fill the matrix Spec TP. This is incompatible with the No EPP Hypothesis in (68). Furthermore, (89b) shows that the matrix predicate cannot appear in the irrealis form *lolemolem*, suggesting that the embedded subject *must* have raised to fill the matrix Spec TP. If it had remained in the embedded clause, the matrix predicate would have no choice but to appear in the irrealis mood. Such a configuration is ungrammatical, which is incompatible with the Optional EPP Hypothesis in (67). As such, (89) provides independent empirical evidence in favor of the Obligatory EPP Hypothesis in (66), suggesting that Palauan clauses must indeed have subjects and obey the EPP, just as clauses in many other languages must.

For the remainder of this book, I assume that all Palauan clauses obey the EPP, and that Spec TP must filled in each clause. Consequently, I must assume that the weather-predicate sentences and existentials that display default 3SG subject agreement do so as a reflex of agreement with expletive pronouns that occupy Spec TP, but that these pronouns are not pronounced due to *pro*-drop. Assuming that Palauan clauses must obey the EPP now also gives us an explanation for the fact that subject agreement in sentences containing the transitive modal nominals *soal* “like” and *chetil* “dislike” must index the ϕ -features of the rightmost DP: that DP moves to occupy Spec TP, which is rightward-branching.

The rest of this section focuses on additional aspects of word order in subject-raising constructions that also receive a natural explanation once we assume movement of all subjects to Spec TP, including the extraposition of embedded clauses and the placement of aspectual PPs.

2.2.3.3 Adjunction in Subject-Raising Constructions

Consider the sentence below in (90), focusing on the unusual position of the DP *a rengalek* “children,” which the raising predicate agrees with.

- (90) Te oumesingd **a re-ngalek** el mo me-klou.
 3PL.+HUM= tend D PL-child L become PL-big
 “Children tend to grow up.”

In (90), as in (87a), the matrix predicate *oumesingd* agrees with the sole DP in the sentence, effectively treating it as the subject. But the embedded predicate *meklou* also bears plural shape/size agreement, suggesting that an Agree relation has enabled the sharing of φ -features between the DP and the embedded predicate as well. Above, we said that the DP must originate in the embedded VP so that this agreement relation can be established locally. What makes (90) unusual is that regardless of whether the DP is base-generated as a complement or a specifier in the embedded VP, we expect the DP to appear sentence finally: all argument positions project to the right, as in Fig. 2.4. But unexpectedly, the DP surfaces between the matrix predicate and its clausal complement.

There are at least two different ways to make sense of the surface position of the DP in (90) between the matrix predicate and the embedded clause: either (i) the DP moves to a position to the left of the embedded clause, or (ii) the DP moves to a position to the right of the embedded clause (string-vacuously), and then the clausal remnant moves to the right of the DP. The second option is the more complex of the two, but the first of its two required movement operations—movement of the DP outside of the embedded clause to matrix Spec TP—has now been motivated.

Before we go further, it’s important to note that clauses can extrapose in Palauan.²⁰ Consider the following examples in (91), in which clausal complements of *sebechel* “one’s ability” and *soal* “one’s desire” extrapose to the right of their possessors in (91a–b) and the clausal complement of *dmu* “say” extraposes to the right of its subject in (91c).

- (91) a. Tia el bli-l a Wilbur a mla er ngii a tungel-el me ng
 this L pen-3SGP D Wilbur TOP was P there D gate-3SGP and.so 3SG=
 mle sebech-el *t*_i a Wilbur [**el mo tɔobed**]_i.
 AUX.PAST ability-3SGP D Wilbur [L go INTR.emerge]
 “Wilbur’s pen had a gate, so Wilbur could go outside.” [CB 13]

²⁰It would be interesting to determine whether such extraposition creates islands, as the construction is not discussed in Georgopoulos’s (1991b) book. Unfortunately, I have not investigated clause extraposition extensively: there is more work to be done on the conditions that trigger it, when it is obligatory or optional, and so forth.

- b. A 1-so-al t_i a reng-um [el me kmeed er a
 D 3S.IRR-desire-3SGP D heart-2SGP [L come INTR.close P D
reng-uk]_i, e ng di ua chad el so-al el merael
 heart-1SGP], then 3SG= just like person L desire-3SGP L travel
 el mo er a chiloil el ngar er a chelemoll.
 L go P D rocks L be P D reef

“When your heart wants to come close to my heart, it’s like a person who wants to travel to the rocks in the reef.” [KC 99]

- c. Chelechang el le-du t_i a re-chad er a Siria [el kmo ‘A
 now L 3S.IRR-say D PL-person P D Syria [L C ‘D
Rubak a rubak er a bukl e diak le-rubak er a
 God TOP lord P D hills and NEG 3S.IRR-lord P D
oberberek,’]_i e ak mo loi-a tia el klou el
 plains’] then 1SG= AUX.FUT put.PF-3SG this L large L
 ildois er a chero-el a chim-am.
 army P D palm-3SGP D hand-2SGP

“Now that the Syrians say that God is the lord of the hills and not the lord of the plains, I will give you victory over their huge army.”

[*Chedaol Biblia*, 1 Kings 20:28]

The data in (91) indicates that the process of embedded clause extraposition must likely be posited on independent grounds, regardless of EPP considerations. One might devise a transformation along the lines of something like (92) to account for the positions of the embedded clauses in (91), which could apply either in the narrow syntax or post-syntactically, as it seems to have no effect on core semantic interpretation.²¹

- (92) (OPTIONAL) EMBEDDED CLAUSE EXTRAPOSITION: Move an embedded clause to right-adjoin to the next-highest TP.

Phase theory might restrict recursive application of (92), allowing embedded clauses to adjoin only to the next-highest TP *within the same phase*. Assuming that C is a phase head (Chomsky 2001), the TP or TopP complement of C (including any extraposed clauses right-adjoined to the TP) will be sent to the interfaces and thereby will be unavailable for subsequent applications of (92).

²¹Jim McCloskey (p.c.) has suggested to me that the clause might instead move to right-adjoin to VP. At the time we had this discussion, the facts surrounding the interaction between subject-raising and *wh*-agreement were not yet known. Now, as it has been shown that subjects must move to Spec TP, it is clear that if clause extraposition is adjunction of a clause to a higher node in the structure, then adjunction to VP is too low.

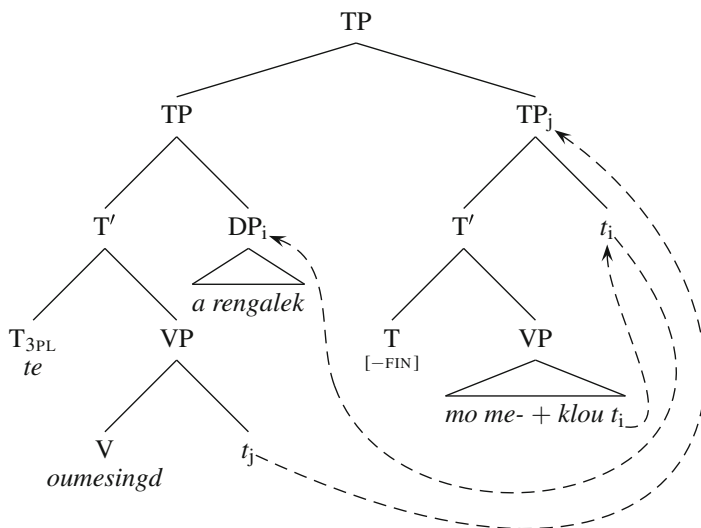


Fig. 2.6 Analysis of the word order in (90)

If one accepts (92) as part of the grammar of Palauan, then we might make some sense of the unusual (non-final) position of the subject in (90). If the subject of the embedded clause raises to the specifier of the matrix TP, then we can analyze the word order as being derived from three movements, as shown in (90'), and represented schematically in Fig. 2.6.²²

(90') Te oumesingd tj [a re-ngalek]i [el mo [me-klou ti] ti]j.
 3PL.+HUM= tend [D PL-child] [L become [PL-big]]
 “Children tend to grow up.”

First, the subject DP moves string-vacuously from its predicate-internal position to the specifier of the embedded TP. Next, the matrix TP is formed, and the DP then raises from the specifier of the embedded TP to the specifier of the matrix TP. Finally, the embedded clause extraposes, right-adjoining to the matrix TP. If this analysis is correct, then we would expect similar results with recursively embedded predicates. Since embedded clause extraposition seems to be optional, clauses

²²The linker *el* is omitted from this tree and nearly all subsequent trees in this book, as I assume that it does not occupy a syntactic position. See Chap. 1, Sect. 1.2.2.2 for details.

of various sizes can extrapose to the right of the subject, creating the illusion of leftward movement of the subject DP even though subject movement is rightward.²³

- (93) a. Te oumesingd el omuchel el mengitakl t_i [**a re-chad**]_i.
 3PL.+HUM= tend L start.IMPF L sing [D PL-person]
 “People tend to start singing.”
- b. Te oumesingd el omuchel t_j [**a re-chad**]_i [el
 3PL.+HUM= tend L start.IMPF [D PL-person] [L
 mengitakl t_i]_j.
 sing]
 “People tend to start singing.”
- c. Te oumesingd t_k [**a re-chad**]_i [el omuchel t_j t_i [el
 3PL.+HUM= tend [D PL-person] [L start.IMPF [L
 mengitakl t_i]_j]_k.
 sing]]
 “People tend to start singing.”
- d. *Te oumesingd [**a re-chad**] [el mengitakl] [el
 3PL.+HUM= tend [D PL-person] [L sing] [L
 omuchel].
 start.IMPF]
 (“People tend to start singing.”)

Sentence (93c) is of particular interest, as it serves to show that the embedded clause extraposition transformation in (92), in which extraposed TPs right-adjoin to the next-highest TP, does not overgenerate, e.g., a word order like that in (93d). This is because an extraposed clause will remain within the next highest clause, and only the larger containing clause can subsequently extrapose.

In a sentence with multiply embedded raising predicates, an application of embedded clause extraposition to a clause deeply embedded within another embedded clause is string-vacuous once the subject has raised. In raising constructions, the subject DP is in the specifier of the TP containing the highest raising predicate and will therefore never be inside an embedded clause, whether or not it extraposes. This, I propose, is the source of the word order variation in the sentences in (93).

There is another piece of evidence for movement of an embedded subject to a matrix subject position that involves aspectual modification. In English, there is an

²³ Admittedly, clause extraposition might sometimes be obligatory, but I have not yet made sense of the relevant conditions, perhaps driven by information structure requirements.

aspectual distinction between the modifiers *in an hour* and *for an hour* (i.a., Tenny 1987, 1994; Jackendoff 1996; Ramchand 1997; Arad 1998a, b, Krifka 1998; Torrego 1998; van Hout and Roeper 1998; Kearns 2000; Rothstein 2004). What is relevant for our purposes is that *in an hour* identifies the telic endpoint of a bounded predicate (i.e., an achievement or an accomplishment) but is impossible with an unbounded predicate (i.e., a process/activity or a state). This is shown in (94).²⁴

- (94) a. They found their presents in an hour. ACHIEVEMENT
 b. They drew those pictures in an hour. ACCOMPLISHMENT
 c. *They wandered around in an hour. PROCESS/ACTIVITY
 d. *They were happy in an hour. STATE

The adverbial [*er a chelsel a* + <LENGTH OF TIME>] is the Palauan correlate of English [*in a* + <LENGTH OF TIME>], as shown in (95).

- (95) Ke lmuut el meke-decher-ur pro er a di
 2SG= INTR.do.again L CAU.PF-upright-3SGO P D just
 chels-el a ede el klebesei?
 space.inside-3PLP D three L days
 “Are you going to build it again in just three days?” [*Chedaol Biblia*, John 2:20]

Just like English *in an hour*, Palauan *er a chelsel a ta el sikang* “in an hour” is compatible only with bounded predicates, as shown in (96), cf. English (94).

- (96) a. Te miltik a beresengt er tir er a chels-el a
 3PL.+HUM= PAST.find D presents P them P D space.inside-3SGP D
 ta el sikang.
 one L hour
 “They found their presents in an hour.” ACHIEVEMENT
 b. Te liluches aike el siasing er a chels-el a
 3PL.+HUM= PAST.draw.PF those L pictures P D space.inside-3SGP D
 ta el sikang.
 one L hour
 “They drew those pictures in an hour.” ACCOMPLISHMENT

²⁴Sentence (94d) is grammatical on the irrelevant interpretation in which they began to be happy after an hour had passed. This is a repair strategy for some unbounded predicates, discussed by Kearns (2000: 205–206).

- c. *Te ulemais er a chels-el a ta
 3PL.+HUM= wander.around.PAST.IMPF P D space.inside-3SGP D one
 el sikang.
 L hour
 (“They wandered around in an hour.”) PROCESS/ACTIVITY
- d. *Te mle ungil a reng-rir er a chels-el a ta
 3PL.+HUM= PAST good D hearts-3PLP P D space.inside-3SGP D one
 el sikang.
 L hour
 (“They were happy in an hour.”) STATE

As *er a chelsel a*-PPs cannot combine with states or processes, which by definition are unbounded, they cannot modify the predicate *chull* “rain,” as shown in (97b). The ungrammaticality of (97b) suggests that there is no constituent in (97a) that an *er a chelsel a*-PP can modify which would result in a grammatical sentence. Yet when *chull* is embedded under the raising predicate *mo merek* “(become) finished,” addition of an *er a chelsel a*-PP is fully grammatical, as shown in (97c).

- (97) a. Ng mle chull.
 3SG= AUX.PAST rain
 “It rained/was raining.”
- b. *Ng mle chull [PP er a chels-el a ta el sikang].
 3SG= AUX.PAST rain [P D space.inside-3SGP D one L hour]
 (“It was raining in an hour.”)
- c. Ng m/o merek el chull [PP er a chels-el a ta
 3SG= PAST.become finished L rain [P D space.inside-3SGP D one
 el sikang].
 L hour]
 “It finished raining in an hour.”

The addition of *mo merek* imposes an endpoint on the stative eventuality, essentially turning it into an achievement. As a consequence, the *er a chelsel a*-PP must adjoin to some position in the matrix clause, since it is semantically incompatible with the predicate in the embedded clause, as the grammaticality contrast in (97a–b) suggests.

The situation reveals something important about raising predicates. Consider the data below in (98).

- (98) a. Te *milengedub* **a re-secheli-k.**
 3PL.+HUM= PAST.go.swimming D PL-friend-1SGP
 “My friends went swimming.”
- b. *Te *milengedub* **a re-secheli-k** [pp er a
 3PL.+HUM= PAST.go.swimming D PL-friend-1SGP [P D
chels-el a ta el sikang].
 space.inside-3SGP D one L hour]
 (“My friends went swimming in an hour.”)
- c. *Te *milengedub* [pp er a *chels-el* a ta el
 3PL.+HUM= PAST.go.swimming [P D space.inside-3SGP D one L
sikang] **a re-secheli-k.**
 hour] D PL-friend-1SGP
 (“My friends went swimming in an hour.”)
- d. Te *m/o* *merek* el *mengedub* **a re-secheli-k**
 3PL.+HUM= PAST.become finished L go.swimming D PL-friend-1SGP
 [pp er a *chels-el* a ta el sikang].
 [P D space.inside-3SGP D one L hour]
 “My friends finished swimming in an hour.”
- e. Te *m/o* *merek* el *mengedub* [pp er a
 3PL.+HUM= PAST.become finished L go.swimming [P D
chels-el a ta el sikang] **a re-secheli-k.**
 space.inside-3SGP D one L hour] D PL-friend-1SGP
 “My friends finished swimming in an hour.”

Sentence (98a) contains the process predicate *mengedub* “go swimming.” Sentences (98b–c) show us that *mengedub* is incompatible with *er a chelsel a*-PPs, just as the process predicate *omais* “wander around” in (96c) was. Regardless of whether the subject DP precedes the *er a chelsel a*-PP as in (98b) or follows it as in (98c), the result is ungrammatical.

However, when the clause whose predicate is *mengedub* is embedded under the raising aspectual predicate *mo merek*, the result is not only grammatical—as it was in (97c)—but the subject can appear either to the left of the *er a chelsel a*-PP as in (98d) or to its right as in (98e). Although I cannot state with any certainty exactly where the *er a chelsel a*-PP adjoins, (98a–c) suggests that it is in the matrix clause (perhaps right-adjoined either to matrix VP or TP), since it is semantically incompatible with the process predicate in the embedded clause. If this is on the right track, then the appearance of the subject DP *a resechelik* “my friends” to the right of the *er a chelsel a*-PP in (98e)—together with the 3PL subject agreement clitic in the matrix clause—strongly suggests that the DP argument of the embedded predicate

mengedub “go swimming” has raised to become the subject of the matrix predicate *mo merék* “(become) finished.”²⁵

To sum things up, we have now seen three sources of evidence that there is a class of predicates in Palauan—and possibly a very small class—that appears to behave like *seem* and other raising predicates in English in that they do not assign a θ -role to their subjects but still require some DP to occupy the subject position. The crucial piece of data is (89) on p. 77, in which it is shown that *wh*-agreement in A' constructions with subject-raising predicates is invariably realis, indicating that the dependency must be with a null element in matrix Spec TP, and not an unmoved DP element in the embedded clause—in other words, the Obligatory EPP Hypothesis in (66) appears to hold. Then, the idea that embedded clause remnants can extrapose to the right of their subjects, as in (93b–c), illustrated that the word order variation receives a natural explanation if we assume that Palauan obeys the EPP. Finally, the fact that DPs that originate in an embedded clause may appear to the right of aspectual modifiers that are licensed only by the matrix predicate, as in (98e), suggests that the DPs have moved to matrix Spec TP to satisfy the EPP.

2.3 Analysis of Subjects

The Obligatory EPP Hypothesis in (66) is repeated below.

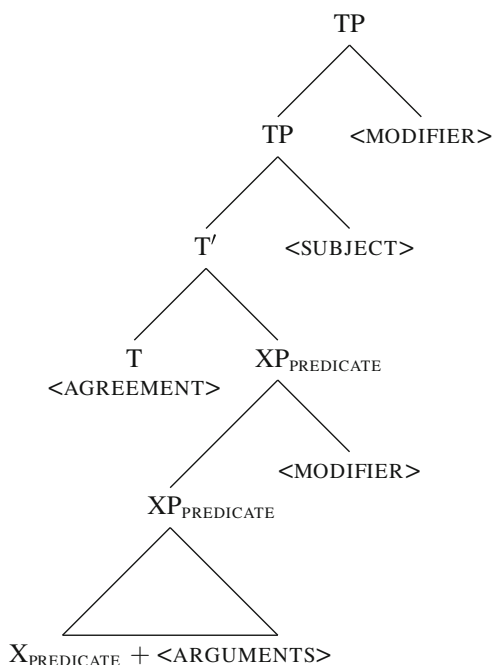
- (66) OBLIGATORY EPP HYPOTHESIS: All Palauan clauses must have a subject, thematic or expletive, which occupies Spec TP and conditions φ -feature agreement on T. [cf. Chomsky 1982: 9–10, 1986b: 116]

Given the data involving expletives, possessor ascension, and the interaction of subject raising with *wh*-agreement and adjunction constructions that were examined in Sect. 2.2, it would be extremely surprising if (66) did not hold. In particular, the contrast in (89) would be left unexplained. The data seems to suggest that not only must a particular DP be treated as the subject of each clause for the purposes of subject agreement, but it must also occupy a particular structural position, which I have analyzed as the specifier of TP. This analysis is in line with what has been assumed for many other languages, and it is compatible with all of the subject-related patterns in the data we have seen so far. In a clause with a predicate XP, I propose the clausal structure in Fig. 2.7.

How the specifier of TP will be filled will depend on what is inside the XP predicate. If XP is an NP that contains a zero-place predicate like *chull* “rain,” there will

²⁵ Although I have no explanation for why the subject may appear either immediately to the left or the right of the *er a chesl a*-PP, the fact that the subject DP can appear to its right at all is additional evidence in favor of movement of the embedded subject to matrix Spec TP, since the *er a chesl a*-PP cannot adjoin to any XP in the embedded clause.

Fig. 2.7 Basic surface clause structure of Palauan



be no DP arguments merged in the XP, and an expletive will be inserted in the specifier of TP. If XP is a VP or AP which selects a DP argument, then this DP will have to move to the specifier of TP to satisfy the subject requirement. Now, although the structure proposed in Fig. 2.7 and the requirement that clauses have a subject in (66) help us to make some sense of the word order and agreement patterns we observed in the data in Sect. 2.2, they raise several important questions about Nominative Case licensing.

Chomsky (2000, 2001) proposes that finite T is the head that is responsible for (i) ensuring that clauses have subjects (encoded formally by an [EPP] feature), (ii) determining agreement morphology (encoded formally by the Agree relation, valuing any unvalued φ -features on T), and (iii) licensing structural Nominative Case (again, via the Agree relation with a DP).

The quirk in Palauan is that in possessor ascension constructions, the possessor DP that appears in the specifier of TP triggers φ -feature agreement, but it presumably does not need Nominative Case since—by assumption—it gets Genitive Case when it is still in its DP-internal possessor position. The reason I make the assumption that possessor DPs receive Genitive Case is largely due to theory-internal considerations; if the only available structural Cases available for licensing of DPs are Nominative and Accusative, then any possessor DP in a sentence with at least two other DP arguments that already bear Nominative and Accusative needs some Case of its own to satisfy the Case Filter. There are overt morphological reflexes that suggest that this Case is licensed in a local configuration with the possessee

DP in which the possessor is embedded; see examples and discussion in Chap. 1, Sect. 1.2.2.2. These morphological reflexes appear regardless of whether the possessee noun is within a DP argument or within an NP predicate complement of T, such as the modal nominal predicates listed in Table 2.3. Furthermore, possessor agreement is present even in possessor ascension constructions, suggesting that possessors bear some local relation to their possessee even if they are pronounced in a higher structural position. I take this as evidence for movement.

Admittedly, the structure of the nominal complex and the nature of Case licensing of possessor DPs deserves further careful research that must be left for the future. Here, I simply take for granted that possessors receive inherent Genitive Case via a local relation with the head noun, which either itself exhibits φ -feature agreement with the possessor (a head-marking pattern) or licenses a case-marker *er* on the possessor (a dependent-marking pattern).²⁶ It is possible that the choice between the two morphological case-marking strategies is somehow predictable from the phonological, morphological, or semantic features of the relevant nouns (or some combination of these features), but I know of no research to date that has investigated this alternation or shed any light on it. Until a clearer picture emerges, it seems that the choice between the dependent-marking and head-marking patterns can simply be stipulated on a noun-by-noun basis: recall the observed variation among loanword nouns, examples of which are adapted below from (24b) and (25b) in Chap. 1.

(99) JAPANESE LOANWORD:

a sensei **er kemam**

D teacher P us.EXC

“our teacher”

DEPENDENT-MARKING

(100) ENGLISH LOANWORD:

a tebel-**id** *pro*

D table-1PL.INCP us.INC

“our table”

HEAD-MARKING

The question, then, is how the stranded possessee DP gets Case-licensed. The issue is represented schematically below in Fig. 2.8, for sentence (101).

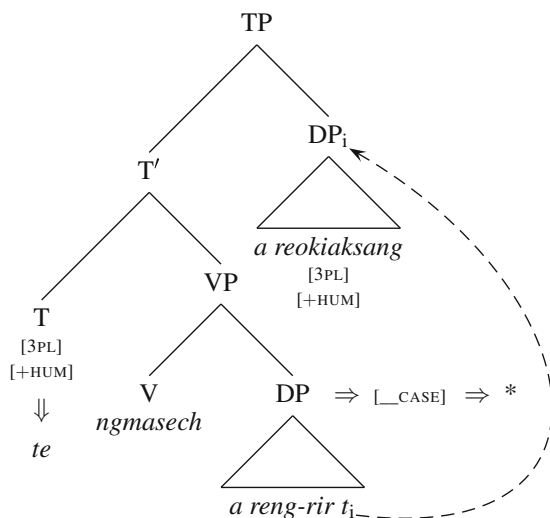
(101) **Te** ngmasech a reng-rir **a re-okiaksang.**

3PL.+HUM INTR.climb D hearts-3PL.+HUMP D PL-guests

“The guests are getting angry.” (lit. “The guests’ hearts are climbing.”)

²⁶See Nichols (1986) for a further details of head-marking and dependent-marking agreement patterns.

Fig. 2.8 How the possessee gets Case-licensed in possessor ascension



Essentially, the problem is that if finite T must license structural Nominative Case on the same DP that it agrees with, then the stranded DP in possessor ascension constructions will be left without case.²⁷ In the context of the present framework, this would lead to a Case Filter violation, and we would predict that (101) should be ungrammatical, contrary to fact.

The problem is quite an interesting one, given what is known about quirky case subjects in better-studied languages, such as Icelandic. One possible solution is that multiple instances of feature-sharing/valuing/checking can result from multiple instances of Agree. In Icelandic, the DP that finite T agrees with (i.e., the DP whose φ -feature values are used to value T's uninterpretable φ -features) is usually the same DP that raises to the specifier of TP, but this is not always the case. Counterexamples are easily—and famously—found in Icelandic dative experiencer constructions. Consider the data in (102) and (103) below, in which the dative experiencer

²⁷ Keenan and Ralalaoherivony (2000) describe a similar phenomenon in Malagasy and show quite convincingly that the stranded nominal is not a DP and incorporates with the verb. Section 4.1.2 in Chap. 4 shows that a similar analysis for Palauan is unlikely to be tenable, however.

See Munro (1999) for discussion of similar concerns in Chickasaw (cf. Massam 1985: Chap. 4 for an analysis in the Government and Binding framework of Chomsky 1981, 1982), as well as Bell (1983) for a Relational Grammar analysis of a similar phenomenon in Cebuano, an Austronesian language that is relatively closely related to Palauan.

For additional patterns of possessor ascension involving grammatical relations other than subject, see Keenan (1972), Keenan and Ralalaoherivony (2000) for Malagasy, Aissen (1979, 1987) for Tzotzil, Szabolcsi (1994) for Hungarian, van Geenhoven (2002) for West Greenlandic, and many others in Payne and Barshi (1999).

argument appears either in subject position (for evidence of subjecthood see, i.a., Thráinsson 1979: 462–476; Zaenen et al. 1985; Sigurðsson 1989: 198–209) as in (102a) and (103a) or in its base position, with an expletive pronoun in subject position as in (102b) and (103b).

(102) ICELANDIC:

- a. Manninum **virðist/virðast** [hestarnir vera seinir].
 the.man.SG.DAT seems.SG/seem.PL [the.horses.PL.NOM be slow]
 “The man finds the horses slow.”
 [cf. Holmberg and Hróarsdóttir 2003: 1000, ex. 11a & 11b]
- b. Það **virðist/*virðast** einhverjum manni [hestarnir
 EXP seems.SG/*seem.PL some man.SG.DAT [the.horses.PL.NOM
 vera seinir].
 be slow]
 “A man finds the horses slow.” [Holmberg and Hróarsdóttir 2003: 1000, ex. 12]

(103) ICELANDIC:

- a. Einhverjum stúdentum **finnst/finnast** [tölvurnar
 some students.PL.DAT find.SG/find.PL [the.computers.PL.NOM
 ljótar].
 ugly]
 “Some students find the computers ugly.”
 [Holmberg and Hróarsdóttir 2003: 1000, ex. 10]
- b. Það **finnst/finnast** mörgum stúdentum [tölvurnar
 EXP find.SG/find.PL many students.PL.DAT [the.computers.PL.NOM
 ljótar].
 ugly]
 “Many students find the computers ugly.”
 [Holmberg and Hróarsdóttir 2003: 1000, ex. 13]

What is interesting is that when the dative experiencer appears in matrix subject position as in (102a), the raising verb *virðast* “seem (PL)” can optionally agree in number with the subject of the embedded small/infinitival clause. The embedded subject gets structural Nominative Case from the matrix finite T. However, when an expletive is inserted into subject position and the dative experiencer DP remains in its base position between the matrix finite T and the embedded subject, the experiencer DP does not block Nominative Case licensing on the embedded subject, but it blocks number agreement with the embedded Nominative DP. On a trace theory of movement, the pattern might be explained by saying that the full dative experiencer DP blocks φ -feature sharing between finite T and the embedded subject DP,

but its trace (created by A-movement; see Holmberg and Hróarsdóttir 2003: 998) does not.²⁸

What the contrast between (102a) and (102b) shows us is that the Agree relation that is established to license Nominative Case can be distinct from whatever relation is established between finite T and a (possibly different) DP to satisfy the EPP and value finite T's uninterpretable φ -features (optionally, since default 3SG appears to be possible even with both DPs are plural, as in (103a)). Furthermore, it appears that whether or not the [EPP] feature on finite T is satisfied in Icelandic by Merge (of an expletive pronoun *það*) or by Move (of a DP from within the predicate XP) will have consequences for φ -feature sharing but not for Nominative Case licensing, suggesting that satisfaction of the [EPP] feature can precede φ -feature sharing. But the sentences in (103) show that it does not necessarily need to, as default 3SG agreement appears to be possible whether an expletive is inserted, as in (103b), or not, as in (103a).²⁹

The Icelandic examples in (102) and (103) strongly suggest that there are three different autonomous operations initiated by finite T (cf. Sigurðsson 2012, for a much more detailed account of how Case and agreement might be split up into different relations). These are summarized in (104).³⁰

(104) OPERATIONS INITIATED BY FINITE T:

- a. *Nominative Case licensing*: Finite T probes its c-command domain for a DP with an unvalued [$_\text{CASE}$] feature. The highest such DP (in the sense of Rizzi 1990, 2001) is selected as T's goal. The goal DP is valued for structural Nominative Case, and its feature [$_\text{CASE}$] is replaced by the feature [NOM]. Any DP already bearing a syntactic Case feature (such as [DAT], [GEN], or any number of inherent cases) cannot be selected as the goal; T must probe more deeply within its c-command domain for a goal.
- b. *Satisfaction of the [EPP] feature*: T bears a feature [EPP] that requires that a DP fill its specifier position. Either an expletive is inserted (under certain conditions), or T probes its c-command domain for any available DP to move to its specifier position. The highest DP (in the sense of Rizzi 1990, 2001) is selected as T's goal. The [EPP] feature is deleted from finite T.
- c. *Φ -feature sharing*: Finite T bears unvalued (uninterpretable) φ -features [$_\varphi$]. In order to value the uninterpretable features, T probes its c-command domain for a DP with valued (interpretable) φ -features. The highest DP in its c-command domain (in the sense of Rizzi 1990, 2001) assigns its values to T's φ -features.

²⁸Although this is the standard view these days, it is not exactly clear to me how such a proposal is to be implemented formally in the Minimalist Program.

²⁹This is a fact that I still do not really understand from the Icelandic literature.

³⁰In Icelandic, another option apparently is that finite T bears default 3SG φ -features.

The only available syntactic operations in the framework of Chomsky (2000, 2001, 2004) are Merge, Move, and Agree. As a result, the three operations in (104) are usually thought to be reflexes of the operation Agree. Although it is often tacitly assumed that a head that can instantiate an Agree relation may only do so once, the Icelandic data suggests otherwise. Recently, there have been proposals that allow a single head to instantiate Agree more than once—so-called cases of multiple Agree (Hiraiwa 2001, 2005; Chomsky 2004, 2008). If we assume that the three operations in (104) are implemented by independent Agree relations, then it is possible to construct a theory to explain the variable agreement patterns in Palauan possessor ascension constructions while ensuring that every DP is properly Case-licensed.

Before I proceed, one point must be addressed. In Chap. 1, Sect. 1.2.2.2, I assumed that possessors were base-generated in the specifier of NP, as shown in Fig. 1.6. The idea behind that move was to put the possessor and the head noun in a close enough structural relation for possessor–noun agreement to apply in a local domain. But there is also empirical evidence that possessors are base-generated NP-internally, rather than directly in Spec DP, which I present below. On the analysis I develop, the possessor DP will have to be able to be extracted from the DP that contains it. If it turns out that Svenonius (2004) is right about D being a phase head in addition to C and transitive *v*, then the possessor will have to occupy an “escape hatch” position within the DP so as to be accessible to operations outside of the DP phase and prevent a violation of the Phase Impenetrability Condition (Chomsky 2000 et seq.).

Chung (1998: 45–47, 183) proposes that possessors in Chamorro (which often, but not always, trigger possessor–noun agreement, like in Palauan) are either base-generated in or move to the specifier of DP to satisfy a requirement similar to the requirement that the specifier of TP must be filled. On Chung’s view, whatever relation holds between T and the subject DP in its specifier has a correlate in DPs, where a similar relation holds between D and its specifier. Both relations, she argues, enable the sharing of ϕ -features between the head and the DP in its specifier, yielding subject–verb agreement on one hand and possessor–noun agreement on the other. In terms of the present framework, one might say that both T and D have [EPP] features that must be satisfied by having a DP in their specifier positions.³¹ The agreement morphology might be realized on N via different mechanisms: lowering (in the sense of Embick and Noyer 2001), sharing of features within an extended projection (in the sense of Grimshaw 2005), or something else altogether.

One problem with assuming that D is responsible for possessor–noun agreement in Palauan and Chamorro is the fact that both languages allow predicate NPs without any DP structure on top of them, but which may nevertheless have possessors. One such example in Palauan is (9) (repeated below), whose predicate NP is *ngelekel a Bkau me a Elibeob* “Bkau and Elibeob’s children.” Recall from Chap. 1, Sect. 1.2.2.5

³¹ Chung’s original formulation of this requirement contains the caveat that the specifier of D must be filled “whenever possible [...] to acknowledge that it is not necessary for every noun phrase to have a possessor. All that is required is that the possessor, if there is one, must occupy the specifier of D in overt syntax” (Chung 1998: 183).

that in topicalization structures that involve nominal predicates like the one in (9), there is no DP layer above the nominal predicate. In terms of the phrase structure proposed in Fig. 2.7, the XP predicate is an NP, not a DP. Example (105) provides a similar example in Chamorro, where the predicate NP is *ma'estra-kku* “my teacher” and bears possessor agreement with a (null) 1SG pronominal possessor which is unpronounced according to the conventions that govern *pro*-drop in Chamorro.

(9) PALAUAN:

A Elilai me a Ltlatk a ngelek-**el** a Bkau me a Elibeob.

D Elilai and D Ltlatk TOP child-3SGP D Bkau and D Elibeob

“Elilai and Ltlatk are Bkau and Elibeob’s children.”

[EI 16]

(105) CHAMORRO:

Pära ma'estra-**kku** gui' ottru sakkan.

FUT teacher-1SGP she other year

“She’s going to be my teacher next year.”

[Chung 1998: 54, ex. 70b]

In both (9) and (105), the head N of the predicate NP bears possessor agreement morphology despite there being no D to instantiate an Agree relation. It is based on this fact that I assume that possessor–noun agreement must be established locally between the head N and the possessor in Spec NP. This is not at odds with Chung’s view that D has an [EPP] feature. It simply means that possessor–noun agreement in Palauan and Chamorro is established independently of whatever mechanism might trigger movement of the possessor to Spec DP. We might imagine a structure like that in Fig. 2.9 for DPs that contain possessors, like the one in (106), which is presented in the context of the theory of Bare Phrase Structure like that of Chomsky (2001) et seq.³²

(106) [_{DP} a reng-rir a re-okiaksang]

[D heart-3PLP D PL-guests]

“the guests’ hearts”

Let’s turn back to the Palauan possessor ascension construction. If possessors raise from Spec NP to Spec DP to yield a structure like that in Fig. 2.9, then the

³²I assume agreement relations are established in the syntax, but that the morphology associated with feature-sharing is realized at PF (i.e., post-syntactically, cf. Legate 2008). Agreement morphology is usually distinct from the morphology associated with the functional heads that instantiate Agree relations (T, transitive *v*, or in this case D). One way to capture this formally is through post-syntactic adjunction of an Agr node to the relevant functional head (see, e.g., Marantz 1992, 2000; Embick and Noyer 2007: 12–13).

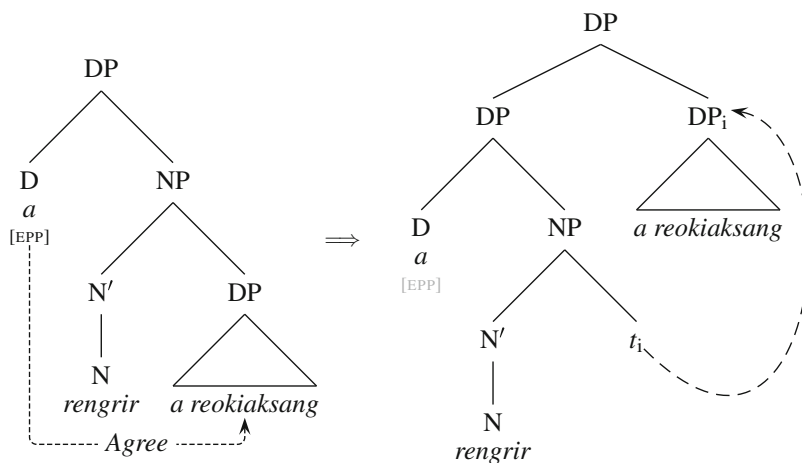


Fig. 2.9 Possessor agreement and movement

possessed DP and its possessor can be defined as being equidistant goals for the higher finite T probe. This is because the possessee DP *includes* (but does not *dominate* or *c-command*) the possessor DP, and both DPs are available to participate in Agree relations instantiated by finite T. This variety of analysis depends on a conflation of the notions of specifier and adjunct; in a theory of Bare Phrase Structure, such an account becomes possible. Consider the following definitions of *domination*, *c-command*, and *inclusion*.

- (107) DOMINATION: α *dominates* β iff every segment of α dominates β .

[cf. May 1985; Chomsky 1986a: 7]

- (108) C-COMMAND: α *c-commands* β iff neither α nor β dominates the other and the first branching node that dominates α also dominates β .

[Reinhart 1976: 32, ex. 36; cf. Reinhart 1983: 41, ex. 36 as well as May 1985: 34, ex. 9]

- (109) INCLUSION: α *includes* β iff there is a segment of α which dominates β .

- (110)
-

[cf. Chomsky 1986a: 7, ex. 11]

For instance, α has two segments in the adjunction structure in (110). Only the upper segment of α dominates β (the lower segment of α does not), so α does not *dominate* β . But α *includes* β because the topmost segment of α dominates β , even though not all segments of α dominate β .

Chomsky's formulation of the Agree relation obtaining between a probe and some goal in its c-command domain incorporates Rizzi's (1990, 2001) notion of Relativized Minimality. On that view, a DP α can only intervene between the probe and another DP β if α either dominates or c-commands β . But if α only *includes* β , then no dominance or c-command relations hold between α and β , and neither of them intervenes between the probe and the other. As such, it is predicted that they will be equidistant for the purposes of an Agree relation established by a functional head that is merged later in the derivation.

If it's true that the Agree relation that licenses Nominative Case can be distinct from the Agree relations that enable feature sharing and satisfaction of the [EPP] feature on the probe, as the Icelandic facts suggest is the case, then the variability in subject agreement morphology seen in Palauan possessor ascension constructions can be explained. As the possessor DP already has inherent Genitive Case (by assumption), it no longer needs to be—and, presumably, cannot be—licensed with Nominative Case as well. This leaves only the possessee DP with an unvalued [$_\text{CASE}$] feature, which can be checked by finite T in one of two different ways.

First, it might be the case that finite T establishes a single Agree relation with the *entire possessee DP*, which (i) enables φ -feature sharing between T and the DP, (ii) licenses the DP with Nominative Case, and (iii) moves the DP to the specifier of TP to satisfy the [EPP] feature on T. This is the derivation illustrated in Fig. 2.10.

Second, finite T might establish an Agree relation with the *just the possessor DP*, which, recall, is equidistant from the possessee DP for the purposes of Agree since it is in the possessee DP's specifier position. This Agree relation will enable φ -feature sharing between T and the possessor DP and move the possessor DP to the specifier of TP, but it will not license Nominative Case because the goal DP already bears Genitive Case. After movement of the possessor to the specifier of TP (i.e., possessor ascension to subject), T can still license Nominative Case on the possessee through a second Agree relation, which holds between finite T and the stranded possessee. This is the derivation illustrated in Fig. 2.11.

As long as the possessor DP moves to a position in which it is considered to be equidistant from the possessee DP for the purposes of Agree, such as in Fig. 2.9, then the variation in subject agreement can be explained by either of the two DPs being selected when finite T probes for a goal to satisfy its [EPP] feature. If this analysis is on the right track, then [EPP] and φ -feature agreement are dissociated from licensing of Nominative Case in Palauan in a manner that appears to be somewhat similar to Icelandic. In a sense, Palauan possessor ascension can be thought of as a quirky subject construction: the key differences lie in the Case of the subject (Genitive rather than Dative) and the structural configuration of the two relevant DPs: there is a c-command relation that holds between them in Icelandic dative experiencer constructions, but not in Palauan possessor ascension constructions.

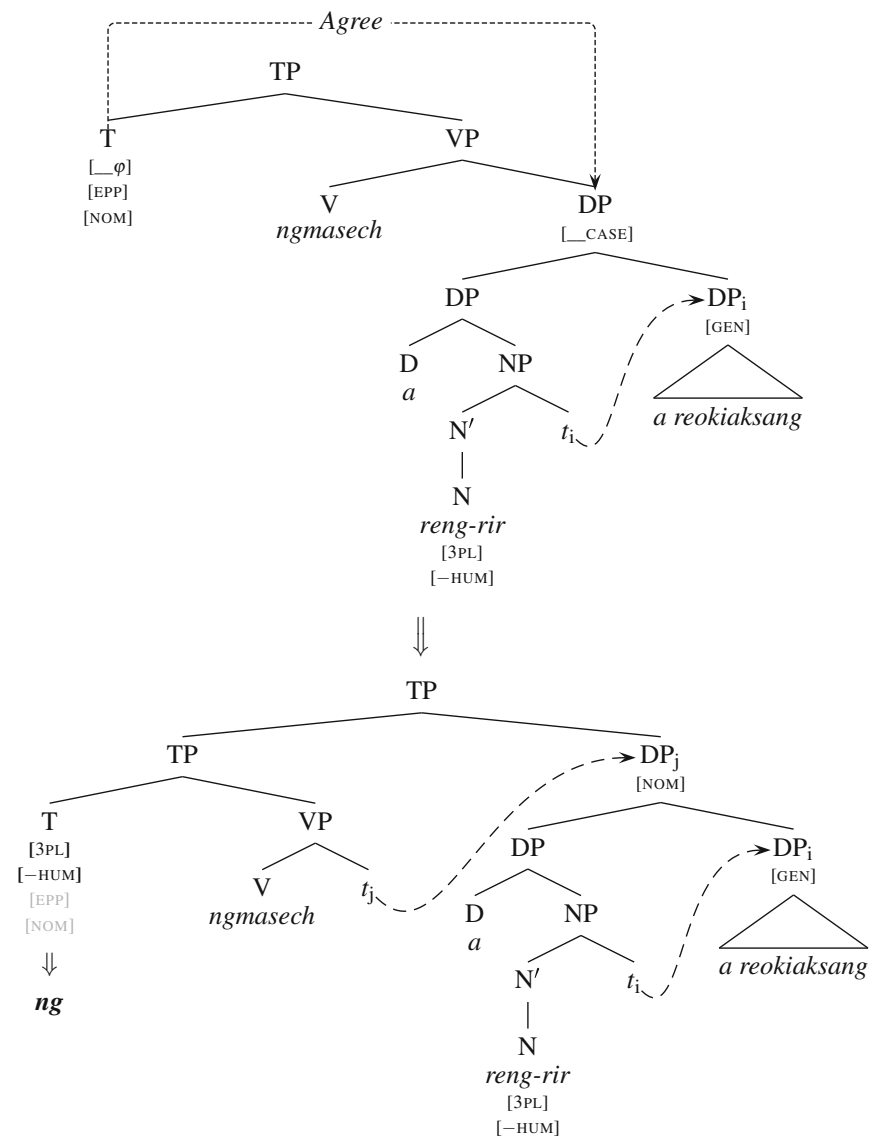


Fig. 2.10 No possessor ascension: possessee becomes subject of the clause

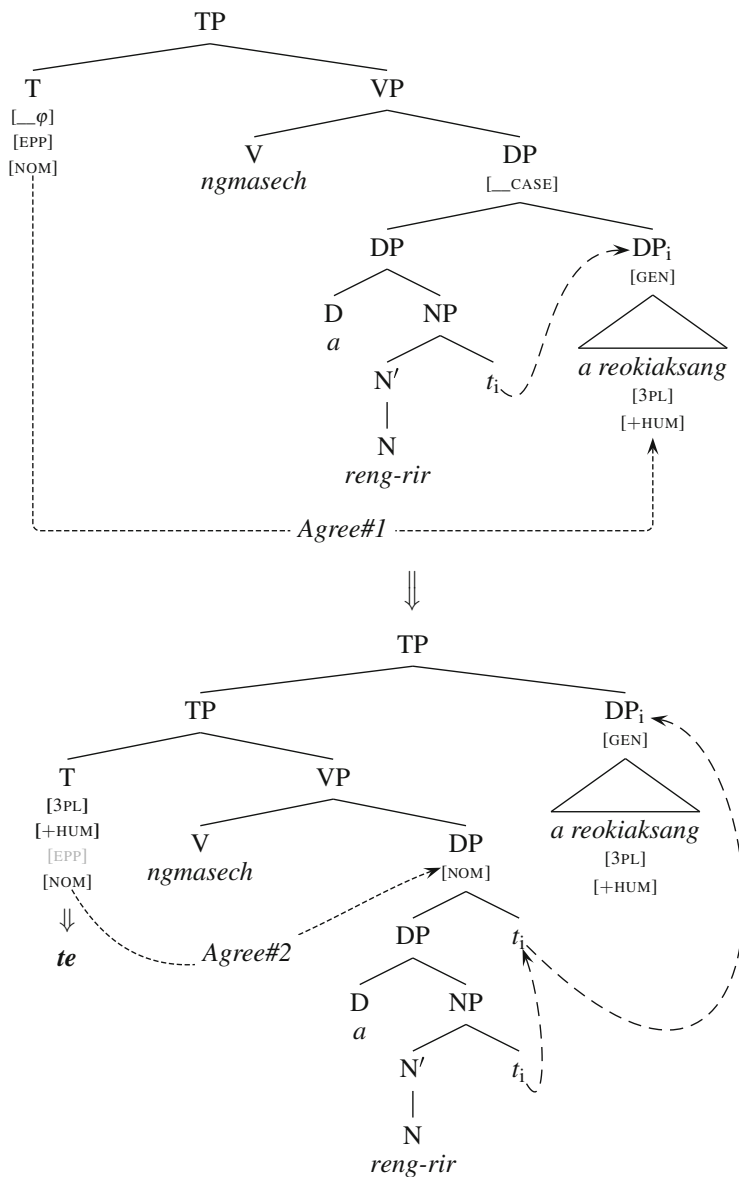


Fig. 2.11 Possessor ascension: possessor becomes subject of the clause; possessee gets Nominative Case

It is noteworthy that the dissociation of φ -feature agreement from Nominative Case licensing seems to play out rather differently in Icelandic compared to Palauan, as an anonymous reviewer points out. In Icelandic, φ -feature valuation on T seems to be linked (albeit in a non-straightforward fashion) to Case valuation: if T probes a DP with an unvalued Case feature and values it Nominative, and if that Nominative DP subsequently raises to satisfy the [EPP] feature on T, then T will necessarily get its φ -features from that DP. On the other hand, if T licenses Nominative Case on a DP but that DP does not raise to Spec TP (because [EPP] is satisfied by expletive insertion or raising of a dative subject), then T may get its φ -features from the Nominative DP if they are in a sufficiently local c-command relation; otherwise T may get its φ -features from an intervening dative subject, or it may be spelled out with default 3SG φ -features. In other words, Icelandic finite T “prefers” to receive its φ -features from the DP whose Case feature it values, and must do so if that DP also satisfies the [EPP] feature on T, perhaps for economy reasons. This can be seen clearly in (102a) where the dative experiencer is moved out of its intervening location to allow finite T to probe deeper and select the Nominative DP as the goal. If φ -feature valuation were instantiated by a completely independent Agree relation in Icelandic, then we would predict that finite T could target the dative experiencer DP for φ -feature valuation, and then the same dative experiencer DP could move to Spec TP to satisfy the EPP, apparently contrary to fact.

By contrast, Finite T in Palauan “prefers” to receive its φ -features from the DP that it probes to satisfy its [EPP] feature, and does so consistently. If φ -feature valuation were instantiated by a completely independent Agree relation in Palauan, then we could predict that the Agree relation established to value φ -features on T could target the entire possessed DP and index its features for agreement, but then just the possessor DP could raise to satisfy the [EPP] feature; this is also contrary to fact.

The result is that the independent Agree relations that I have posited are not entirely independent of one another: rather, for φ -feature valuation is “parasitic” on Agree for Case valuation and/or Agree for [EPP] satisfaction—at least as a preferential option—and languages can differ from one another in this regard. That is, the choice of which DP values the φ -features of T cannot be deduced solely from economy considerations, but must be partly stipulated somehow on a language-by-language basis, or so it seems. One potential way to resolve this apparent difference between Icelandic and Palauan would be to say that satisfaction of the [EPP] must precede φ -feature valuation in both languages, but the difference between the two languages is that the Icelandic flavor of Agree probes the c-command domain of the relevant head, whereas the Palauan flavor of Agree probes the m-command domain of the relevant head. There are other phenomena in Palauan that exhibit agreement with specifiers, such as possessor–noun agreement in the modal nominal predicates in Table 2.3, suggesting that this might be on the right track, but a definitive investigation is outside the scope of the present work and must be left for the future.

A final important point is that in Palauan, unlike in Icelandic, subject agreement morphology can be taken as a diagnostic for subjecthood. For whatever reason, the sharing of φ -features between a DP and T is a reflex of the Agree relation that satisfies the [EPP] feature on T and is not associated with the Agree relation that

licenses Nominative Case. In Icelandic, we saw in (103) that φ -feature sharing is distinct from both [EPP]-satisfaction and Case licensing. Most Palauan DPs bear no morphological case marking—with the exception of certain Accusative Case-licensed DPs, as will be shown in the next chapter, and the possessor DPs that are marked with *er* instead of triggering possessor–noun agreement—but the fact that subject agreement morphology appears to be a true reflex of subjecthood can be viewed as a useful structural diagnostic for subject position.

To sum things up, I have argued in this chapter that the notion of *subject* has grammatical consequences in Palauan. The analysis I have constructed of the apparent requirement for Palauan clauses to have subjects is in line with most Minimalist views of subjecthood. The subject position is analyzed as the specifier position of TP, and it is filled due to a requirement that an [EPP] feature on T be satisfied. Subject agreement morphology is a reflection of a syntactic Agree relation that holds between T and the DP in its specifier position, and structural Nominative Case is licensed by finite T in the same manner—the DP in Spec TP is licensed with Nominative Case when its Case feature is unvalued, but if it is already valued with a different Case feature like [GEN], then finite T probes deeper into its c-command (or perhaps m-command) domain for the next highest DP with an unvalued Case feature. In the next chapter, I continue the investigation of grammatical relations in Palauan, focusing on data with transitive predicates and their direct objects.

References

- Aissen, Judith. 1979. Possessor ascension in Tzotzil. In *Papers in Mayan linguistics*, ed. Laura Martin, 89–108. Columbia, Missouri: Lucas Brothers.
- Aissen, Judith. 1987. *Tzotzil clause structure*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Arad, Maya. 1998a. VP-structure and the syntax-lexicon interface. Doctoral Dissertation, University College London. Published as Arad 1998b.
- Arad, Maya. 1998b. *VP-structure and the syntax-lexicon interface*. Cambridge: MIT Occasional Papers in Linguistics.
- Baker, Mark. 2003. *Lexical categories: Verbs, nouns, and adjectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bell, Sarah. 1983. Advancements and ascensions in Cebuano. In *Studies in Relational Grammar 1*, ed. David Perlmutter, 143–218. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Belletti, Adriana, and Luigi Rizzi. 1988. Psych-verbs and θ -theory. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 6: 291–352.
- Campana, Mark. 2000. The structure of inflection in Palauan. In *Formal issues in Austronesian linguistics*, eds. Ileana Paul, Vivianne Phillips, and Lisa Travis, 1–25. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1981. *Lectures on government and binding*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1982. *Some concepts and consequences of the theory of Government and Binding*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1986a. *Barriers*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1986b. *Knowledge of language: Its nature, origin, and use*. New York: Praeger.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2000. Minimalist inquiries: The framework. In *Step by step: Essays on Minimalist syntax in honor of Howard Lasnik*, eds. Roger Martin, David Michaels, and Juan Uriagereka, 89–155. Cambridge: MIT Press.

- Chomsky, Noam. 2001. Derivation by phase. In *Ken Hale: A life in language*, ed. Michael Kenstowicz, 1–52. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2004. Beyond explanatory adequacy. In *Structures and beyond*, ed. Adriana Belletti, 104–131. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2008. On phases. In *Foundational issues in linguistic theory: Essays in honor of Jean-Roger Vergnaud*, eds. Robert Freidin, Carlos Otero, and Maria Luisa Zubizarreta, 133–166. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Chung, Sandra. 1998. *The design of agreement: Evidence from Chamorro*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Chung, Sandra, and Carol Georgopoulos. 1988. Agreement with gaps in Chamorro and Palauan. In *Agreement in natural language: Approaches, theories, descriptions*, eds. Michael Barlow and Charles Ferguson, 251–267. Stanford: CSLI.
- Clark, Marybeth. 1996. Where do you feel? Stative verbs and body part terms in Mainland Southeast Asia. In *The grammar of inalienability: A typological perspective on body part terms and the part-whole relation*, eds. Hilary Chappell and William McGregor, 529–563. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Dixon, R.M.W. 2004. Adjective classes in typological perspective. In *Adjective classes: A cross-linguistic typology*, eds. R.M.W. Dixon and Alexandra Aikhenvald, 1–49. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Embick, David, and Rolf Noyer. 2001. Movement operations after syntax. *Linguistic Inquiry* 32: 555–595.
- Embick, David, and Rolf Noyer. 2007. Distributed Morphology and the syntax/morphology interface. In *The Oxford handbook of linguistic interfaces*, eds. Gillian Ramchand and Charles Reiss, 289–324. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Freeze, Ray. 1992. Existentials and other locatives. *Language* 68: 553–595.
- Georgopoulos, Carol. 1985. Variables in Palauan syntax. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 3: 59–94.
- Georgopoulos, Carol. 1986. Palauan as a VOS language. In *FOCAL I: Papers from the Fourth International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics*, eds. Paul Geraghty, Lois Carrington, and Stephen Wurm, 187–198. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics, C-93.
- Georgopoulos, Carol. 1991a. On psych predicates. In *Interdisciplinary approaches to language: Essays in honor of S.-Y. Kuroda*, eds. Carol Georgopoulos and Roberta Ishihara, 217–238. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Georgopoulos, Carol. 1991b. *Syntactic variables: Resumptive pronouns and A' binding in Palauan*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Gerner, Matthias. 2005. The zoom-on-possessee construction in Kam (Dong): The anatomy of a new construction type. *Journal of Linguistics* 41: 307–352.
- Grimshaw, Jane. 2005. *Words and structure*. Stanford: CSLI.
- Guilfoyle, Eithne, Henrietta Hung, and Lisa Travis. 1992. Spec of IP and Spec of VP: Two subjects in Austronesian languages. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 10: 375–414.
- Hiraiwa, Ken. 2001. Multiple Agree and the defective intervention constraint in Japanese. In *HUMIT 2000*, eds. Ora Matushansky, Albert Costa, Javier Martin-Gonzalez, Lance Nathan, and Adam Szczegielniak, 67–80. Cambridge: MIT Working Papers in Linguistics.
- Hiraiwa, Ken. 2005. *Dimensions of symmetry in syntax: Agreement and clausal architecture*. Cambridge: Doctoral Dissertation, MIT.
- Holmberg, Anders, and Thorbjörg Hróarsdóttir. 2003. Agreement and movement in Icelandic raising constructions. *Lingua* 113: 997–1019.
- Huffman, Franklin. 1970. *Modern spoken Cambodian*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Iwasaki, Shoichi. 2002. Proprioceptive-state expressions in Thai. *Studies in Language* 26: 33–66.
- Jackendoff, Ray. 1996. The proper treatment of measuring out, telicity, and perhaps even quantification in English. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 14: 305–354.
- Jaisser, Annie. 1990. Delivering an introduction to psycho-collocations with *siab* in Hmong. *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 13: 159–178.

- Josephs, Lewis. 1975. *Palauan reference grammar*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Josephs, Lewis. 1990. *New Palauan-English dictionary*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Josephs, Lewis. 1994. Review of *Problèmes de sémantique et de syntaxe en Palau*. *Oceanic Linguistics* 33: 231–256.
- Josephs, Lewis. 1997. *Handbook of Palauan grammar*, Vol. 1. Koror: Ministry of Education, Republic of Palau.
- Josephs, Lewis. 1999. *Handbook of Palauan grammar*, Vol. 2. Koror: Ministry of Education, Republic of Palau.
- Kearns, Kate. 2000. *Semantics*. New York: Palgrave.
- Keenan, Edward L. 1972. Relative clause formation in Malagasy. In *The Chicago which hunt: Papers from the Relative Clause Festival*, eds. Paul M. Peranteau, Judith N. Levi, and Gloria C. Phares, 169–189. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society.
- Keenan, Edward L., and Baholisoa Lalaloherivony. 2000. Raising from NP in Malagasy. *Linguisticæ Investigationes* 23: 1–44.
- Kitagawa, Yoshihisa. 1986. Subjects in Japanese and English. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Massachusetts, Amherst. Published as Kitagawa 1994.
- Kitagawa, Yoshihisa. 1994. *Subjects in Japanese and English*. New York: Garland.
- Koopman, Hilda, and Dominique Sportiche. 1991. The position of subjects. *Lingua* 85: 211–258.
- Krifka, Manfred. 1998. The origins of telicity. In *Events and grammar*, ed. Susan Rothstein, 197–235. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Kuroda, S.-Y. 1988. Whether we agree or not. *Linguisticæ Investigationes* 12: 1–47.
- Legate, Julie Anne. 2008. Morphological and abstract case. *Linguistic Inquiry* 39: 55–101.
- Lemaréchal, Alain. 1991. *Problèmes de sémantique et de syntaxe en Palau*. Paris: Presses du CNRS.
- Marantz, Alec. 1992. Case and licensing. In *Proceedings of the 1991 Eastern States Conference on Linguistics*, eds. Germán Westphal, Benjamin Ao, and Hee-Rahk Chae, 234–253. Columbus: Ohio State University. Reprinted as Marantz 2000.
- Marantz, Alec. 2000. Case and licensing. In *Arguments and case: Explaining Burzio's generalization*, ed. Eric Reuland, 1–30. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Massam, Diane. 1985. *Case theory and the projection principle*. Doctoral Dissertation, MIT.
- Matisoff, James. 1986. Hearts and minds in South-East Asian languages and English: An essay in the comparative lexical semantics of psycho-collocations. *Cahiers de Linguistique Asie-Orientale* 15: 5–57.
- May, Robert. 1985. *Logical form*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- McCloskey, James. 1996. Subjects and subject positions in Irish. In *The syntax of the Celtic languages: A comparative perspective*, eds. Robert Borsley and Ian Roberts, 241–283. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McCloskey, James. 1997. Subjecthood and subject positions. In *Elements of grammar: Handbook of generative syntax*, ed. Liliane Haegeman, 197–235. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- McCloskey, James. 2014. Irish existentials in context. *Syntax* 17: 343–384.
- Munro, Pamela. 1999. Chickasaw subjecthood. In *External possession*, eds. Doris Payne and Immanuel Barshi, 251–259. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Nguyễn Đăng Liêm. 1970. *Four-syllable idiomatic expressions in Vietnamese*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics D-6.
- Nichols, Johanna. 1986. Head-marking and dependent-marking grammar. *Language* 62: 56–119.
- Oey, Eric. 1990. “Psycho-collocations” in Malay. *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 13: 141–158.
- Payne, Doris, and Immanuel Barshi. 1999. *External possession*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Ramchand, Gillian. 1997. *Aspect and predication: The semantics of argument structure*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Reinhart, Tanya. 1976. *The syntactic domain of anaphora*. Doctoral Dissertation, MIT.
- Reinhart, Tanya. 1983. *Anaphora and semantic interpretation*. London: Croon Helm.

- Riddle, Elizabeth. 1999. Metaphorically speaking in White Hmong. In *Papers from the Ninth Annual Meeting of the Southeast Asian Linguistics Society*, ed. Graham Thurgood, 377–392. Tempe: Program for Southeast Asian Studies Monograph Series, Arizona State University.
- Rizzi, Luigi. 1990. *Relativized minimality*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Rizzi, Luigi. 2001. Relativized minimality effects. In *The handbook of contemporary syntactic theory*, eds. Mark Baltin and Chris Collins, 89–110. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Rothstein, Susan. 2004. *Structuring events: A study in the semantics of lexical aspect*. Malden: Blackwell.
- Sabbagh, Joseph. 2009. Existential sentences in Tagalog. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 27: 675–719.
- Sigurðsson, Halldór Ármann. 1989. Verbal syntax and case in Icelandic. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Lund.
- Sigurðsson, Halldór Ármann. 2012. Minimalist C/case. *Linguistic Inquiry* 43: 191–227.
- Stowell, Tim. 1986. Psych-movement in the mapping from D-structure to logical form. Paper presented at the 9th annual Generative Linguistics in the Old World (GLOW) Colloquium. Gerona, Spain.
- Svenonius, Peter. 2004. On the edge. In *Peripheries: Syntactic edges and their effects*, eds. David Adger, Cécile De Cat, and George Tsoulas, 259–287. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Szabolcsi, Anna. 1994. The noun phrase. In *The syntactic structure of Hungarian (Syntax and semantics, Vol. 27)*, eds. Ferenc Kiefer and Katalin É. Kiss, 179–274. San Diego: Academic Press.
- Tenny, Carol. 1987. Grammaticalizing aspect and affectedness. Doctoral Dissertation, MIT.
- Tenny, Carol. 1994. *Aspectual roles and the syntax-semantics interface*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Thráninsson, Höskuldur. 1979. *On complementation in Icelandic*. New York: Garland.
- Torrego, Esther. 1998. *The dependencies of objects*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- van Geenhoven, Veerle. 2002. Raised possessors and noun incorporation in West Greenlandic. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 20: 759–821.
- van Hout, Angeliek, and Thomas Roeper. 1998. Events and aspectual structure in derivational morphology. In *Papers from the UPenn/MIT Roundtable on Argument Structure and Aspect*, ed. Heidi Harley, 175–200. Cambridge: MIT Working Papers in Linguistics.
- Waters, Richard. 1980. Topicalization and passive in Palauan. Ms., MIT.
- Zaenen, Annie, Joan Maling, and Höskuldur Thráninsson. 1985. Case and grammatical functions: The Icelandic passive. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 3: 441–483.
- Zeitoun, Elizabeth, Lillian M. Huang, Marie M. Yeh, and Anna H. Chang. 1999. Existential, possessive, and locative constructions in Formosan languages. *Oceanic Linguistics* 38: 1–42.
- Zwicky, Arnold, and Geoffrey Pullum. 1983. Cliticization versus inflection: English *n't*. *Language* 59: 502–513.

Building Predicates

The View from Palauan

Nuger, J.

2016, XVII, 330 p. 49 illus. in color., Hardcover

ISBN: 978-3-319-28680-8