

An ellipsis analysis of split DPs in Georgian

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Split DPs

- When material external to the DP intervenes between a head noun and one or more of its modifiers
 - ▶ Continuous DP: [DP Mod N] V
 - ▶ Pull split: Mod V N
 - ▶ Inverted split: N V Mod
- Observed in German, Croatian, Polish, Russian, Hungarian, Finnish, Latin, Ancient Greek, Mohawk, Yucatec Maya, Nogai, Dutch, Greenlandic, Swedish, and Warlpiri, among others

This presentation

- Split DPs in Georgian
- The null hypothesis for split DPs is subextraction
- Evidence against subextraction for Georgian
- Extra wrinkle: Case concord

Georgian basics

- Largest language in the Kartvelian family
- Primarily SOV, with flexible word order
- Clause-initial position associated with topics, immediately preverbal position is associated with focus (Harris 1991, Nash 1995, Skopeteas & Fanselow 2009)
- Seven cases: nominative, ergative, dative, accusative, instrumental, adverbial, and vocative

Case concord in continuous DPs

Case concord on modifiers

	NOM	ERG	DAT	ACC
head noun (dog)	dzayl-i	dzayl-ma	dzayl-s	dzayl-s
adjective (big)	did-i	did-ma	did	did
adjective (small)	p'at'ara	p'at'ara	p'at'ara	p'at'ara
numeral (3)	sam-i	sam-ma	sam	sam
numeral (10)	at-i	at-ma	at	at
dem. (this)	is	im	im	im
dem. (that)	es	am	am	am
quantifier (some)	zog-i	zog-ma	zog	zog
quantifier (all)	q'vela	q'vela	q'vela	q'vela
quantifier (no)	arts ert-i	arts ert-ma	arts ert	arts ert
quantifier (each)	titoeul-i	titoeul-ma	titoeul	titoeul
possessor (my)	tfem-i	tfem-ma	tfem	tfem
possessor (Nino's)	Ninos	Ninos	Ninos	Ninos

Georgian split DPs

- Georgian allows both pull splits and inverted splits

N ... Mod V

Mod ... NP V

... NP V Mod

... Mod V NP

- (1) a. **sam-ma** Maya-s c'ign-i **bitj'-ma** uq'ita
three-ERG Maya-DAT book-NOM boy-ERG bought
'Three boys bought Maya a book.'
- b. **bitj'-ma** Maya-s c'ign-i **sam-ma** uq'ita
boy-ERG Maya-DAT book-NOM three-ERG bought
'Three boys bought Maya a book.'

Question 1

How did the two parts of the split get there?

Subextraction, copy-movement, base-generation?

Evidence against subextraction

- Adjective scope interaction: particular linear order leads to subtle differences in interpretation

(2) Giorgi-m **maghali axalgazrda** k'alatburtel-i naxa
G-ERG tall young bball.player-NOM saw
'Giorgi saw a tall young basketball player.' (tall child interpretation)

(3) Giorgi-m **axalgazrda maghali** k'alatburtel-i naxa
G-ERG young tall bball.player-NOM saw
'Giorgi saw a young tall basketball player.' (young NBA player interpretation)

Evidence against subextraction

- If split DPs are the result of subextraction, split should be ambiguous between interpretations in (3a) and (3b).
- But this is not what we find:

(4) **maghali** Giorgi-m **axalgazrda** k'alatburtel-i naxa
tall G-ERG young bball.player-NOM saw
'Giorgi saw a tall young basketball player.'
(ONLY tall child interpretation)

(5) **axalgazrda** Giorgi-m **maghali** k'alatburtel-i naxa
young G-ERG tall bball.player-NOM saw
'Giorgi saw a young tall basketball player.'
(ONLY young NBA player interpretation)

Evidence against subextraction

- Further evidence against subextraction comes from Principle C binding effects, number mismatch, and negative islands
- Now on to case concord...

- Some modifiers, like *p'at'ara*, do not enter into case concord in continuous DPs, but must do so in split DPs

- (6) a. Maya-s c'ign-i **p'at'ara(*-m)** bitf'-ma uq'ita
Maya-DAT book-NOM small-ERG boy-ERG bought
'The small boy bought Maya a book.'
- b. **p'at'ara-*(m)** Maya-s c'ign-i bitf'-ma uq'ita
small-ERG Maya-DAT book-NOM boy-ERG bought
'The small boy bought Maya a book.'

Case concord

- For those modifiers that do enter into case concord, the form of the dative & accusative cases is null in continuous DPs...
- ...but -s in split DPs (a form of these cases that is usually restricted to head nouns)

- (7) a. Nino gogo-s **sam** c'ign-s uq'itis
Nino girl-DAT three.ACC book-ACC will.buy
'Nino will buy the girl three books.'
- b. **sam*(-s)** Nino gogo-s c'ign-s uq'itis
three-DAT Nino girl-DAT book-ACC will.buy
'Nino will buy the girl three books.'

Case concord in split DPs

Case concord on modifiers in split DPs

	NOM	ERG	DAT	ACC
head noun (dog)	dzayl-i	dzayl-ma	dzayl-s	dzayl-s
adjective	did-i	did-ma	did-s	did-s
adjective (small)	p'at'ara	p'at'ara-m	p'at'ara-s	p'at'ara-s
numeral (3)	sam-i	sam-ma	sam-s	sam-s
numeral (10)	at-i	at-ma	at-s	at-s
dem. (this)	*	*	*	*
dem. (that)	*	*	*	*
quantifier (some)	zog-i	zog-ma	zog-s	zog-s
quantifier (all)	q'vela	q'vela-m	q'vela-s	q'vela-s
quantifier (no)	#	arts ert-ma	#	#
quantifier (each)	titoeul-i	titoeul-ma	titoeuls	titouels
possessor (my)	tjem-i	tjem-ma	tjems	tjems
possessor (Nino's)	Giorgi-s-i	Ninos-am/ma	??Giorgis	??Giorgis

Question 2

How does case get on these modifiers like *p'at'ara*?

Why do the dative and accusative take a different form in continuous vs split DPs?

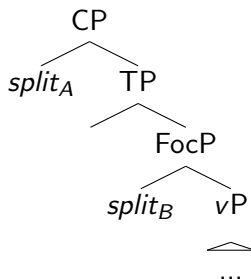
- These strange case facts appear in one other context in Georgian:

(8) bitf-i Maya-s did c'ign-s atslebs, magram
boy-NOM Maya-DAT big.ACC book-ACC will.bring but
Giorgi **p'at'ara-*(s)** (atslebs)
Giorgi.NOM small-ACC (will.bring)
'The boy will bring Maya a big book, but Giorgi (will bring
her) a small (one).'

Base-generation & ellipsis

- Base-generation...

(9)



- ...and ellipsis: In one part of the split, the head noun has been dropped but case is preserved and needs an overt host to attach to, and thus is perceived on the preceding modifier:

(10) p'at'ara ~~dzal~~-s → p'at'ara-s

Outstanding question

- How did case get to the base-generated DP in the first place?
 - ▶ Case-connectivity is typically associated with movement, but the evidence in Georgian argues against a movement analysis of split DPs
 - ▶ One potential analysis is the presence of multiple clauses, one of which undergoes ellipsis, leaving behind the clause-initial part of the split DP, which has been case-marked within this ellided clause (discussed in Ott 2014, among others)

Thank you!

Thank you to my informant Mariam for sharing her language with me!
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Binding

- In (11a), the pronominal subject *man* cannot be coindexed with the R-expression *Mariam* because the former c-commands the latter.
- In (11b), however, the pronominal subject can (but need not) be coindexed with *Mariam*, because neither expression c-commands the other.

(11) **man**_{*i/j} datvala sami bitfi, romlebmats Mariam-s;
3SG counted three boy-NOM who Mariam-ACC
daurekes
called
'She counted three boys who called Mariam.'

(12) bitfi, romlebmats Mariam-s; daurekes, **man**_{i/j}
boy-NOM who Mariam-ACC called 3SG
sami datvala
three counted
'Boys who called Mariam, she counted three (of them).'

Number mismatch

- The number in the two parts of the split need not match, which is a diagnostic of base-generated topics (Polinsky & Potsdam 2014):

(13) ?**bevri** p'at'ara amerikuli, giorgi-m **kuti** mankana
many small American Giorgi-ERG five car
iq'ida
bought
'Many small American, Giorgi bought five cars.'

(14) *Giorgi-m **bevri kuti** p'at'ara amerikuli mankana
Giorgi-ERG many five small American car
iq'ida
bought
'Many small American, Giorgi bought five cars.'

- (15) a. **Ramden-i** **student-i** ar tʃatʃra Giorgi-m?
how.many-NOM student-NOM NEG fail Giorgi-ERG
'How many students did Giorgi not fail?'
- b. **Ramden-i** ar tʃatʃra Giorgi-m **student-i**?
how.many-NOM NEG fail Giorgi-ERG student-NOM
'How many students did Giorgi not fail?'