

Subjunctive vs Indicative periphery

- Crosslinguistic evidence supports the hypothesis that subjunctive and indicative clauses differ in size.

(1) Indicative and subjunctive periphery in Ndebele

- a. indicative: [C [Σ [Top_φ [T_φ [Neg [V ...]]]]]]]]
 b. subjunctive: [C [T_φ [Neg [V ...]]]]]]

Proposal:

- Morphosyntactic asymmetries between indicative and subjunctive clauses are not selected properties, but the result of **reduced periphery**
- Reduced periphery is due to either:
 - base generation, or
 - derivational deletion
- Evidence: clause size variability

Four asymmetries

	Indicative	Subjunctive
Negation	High	Low
Class 1 agreement	<i>u-</i>	<i>a-</i>
Subject in focus?	*	✓
Augmentless subject?	*	✓

Negation

- (2) *a-ngi-pheki* NEG-1sg-cook.**IND** (3) *ngi-nga-pheki* 1sg-NEG-cook.**SBJV**

Possibility of subject focus

- (4) *Ngicabanga ukuthi *uZodwa kuphela u-za-buya.* think.1sg COMP 1Zodwa only 1s-FUT-come.**IND**
 ('I think only Zodwa will come')
- (5) Ngifisa ukuthi *uZodwa kuphela a-buye.* wish.1sg COMP 1Zodwa only 1s-come.**SBJV**
 'I hope only Zodwa comes'

Agreement morphology

- Agreement prefix (class 1) shows allomorphy sensitive to mood:
 - Indicative clauses (4): *u-*
 - Subjunctive clauses (5): *a-*

Augmentless subjects

- (6) Angifisi kuthi *mama a-suke.* wish.1sg.NEG COMP 1mother 1s-leave.**SBJV** ✓ *-aug*
 'I don't wish for mom to leave'
- (7) Angicabangi kuthi *(*u*)-*mama u-za-suka.* think.1sg.NEG COMP aug-1mother 1-FUT-leave.**IND** * *-aug*
 'I don't think mom will leave'

Deriving the asymmetries

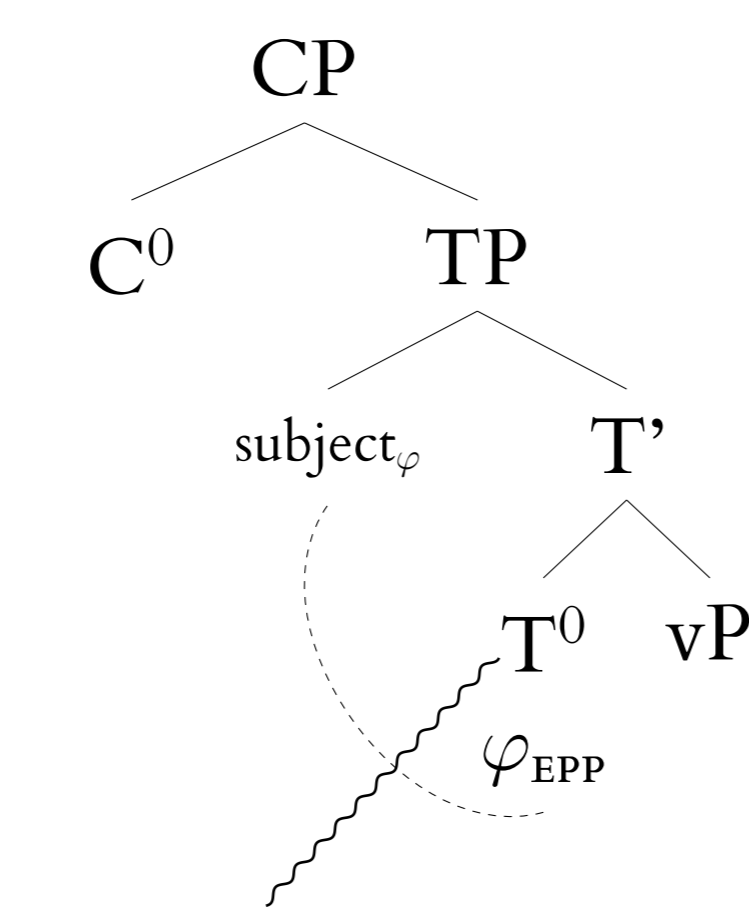
Negation

indicative: [C [Σ *a-* [Top [T [Neg ∅ [V ...]]]]]]]]

subjunctive: [C [T [Neg *nga-* [V ...]]]]]]

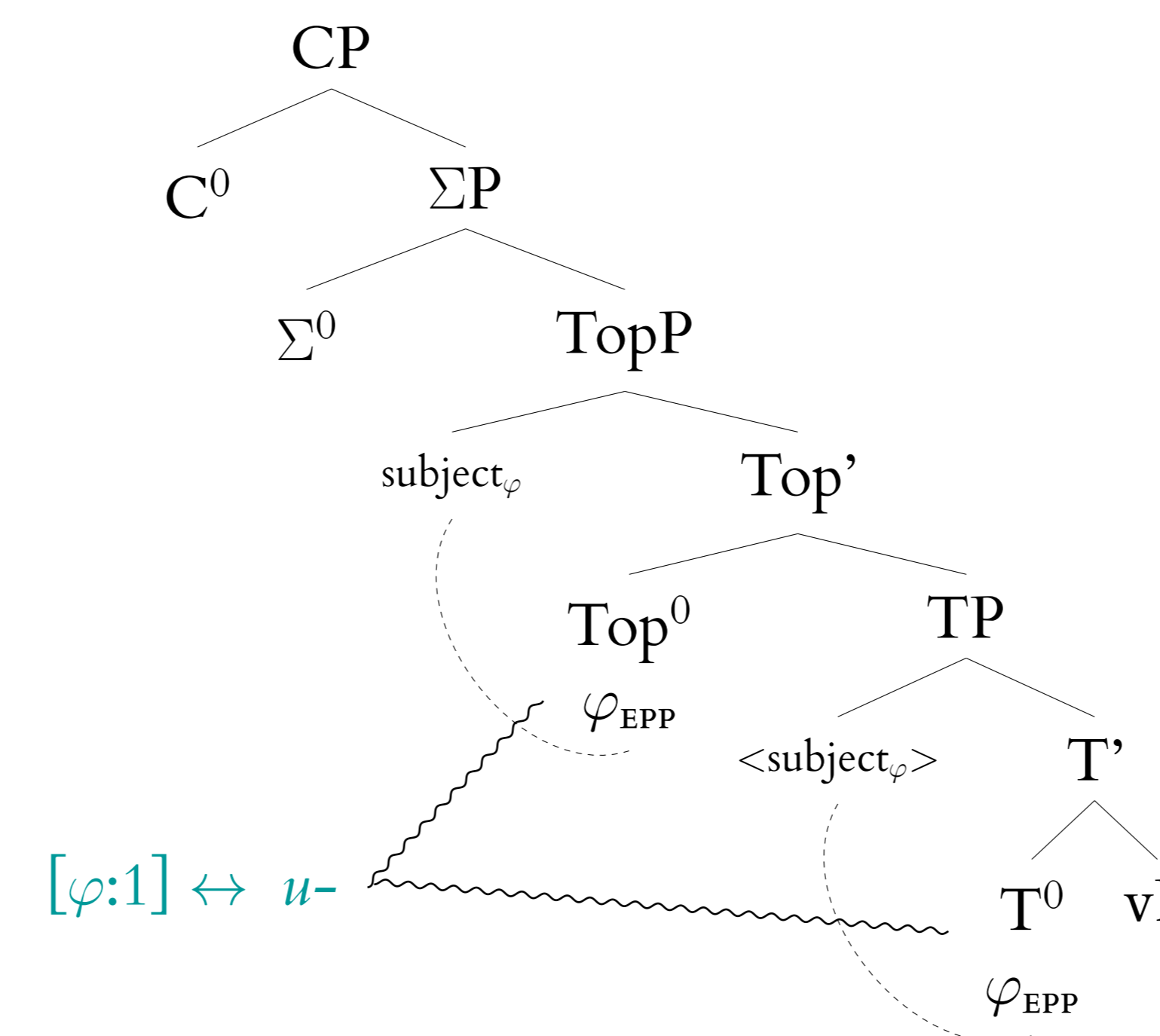
Subject focus and agreement morphology

(8) Subjunctive:



[φ:1] ↔ *a-*

(9) Indicative:



[φ:1] ↔ *u-*

- IND:** Top_φ probes for a φ-goal ⇒ always attracts the subject → subjects always topical
- SBJV:** no agreeing Top⁰ → subjects are not necessarily topical

Augmentless subjects

the lack of augment ⇒ structural case (Halpert, 2012)

- C⁰ can get case (it's nominal: augment, φ-features)
- Sub-licensing:** a C⁰ bearing structural case is a structural case licenser.
- Phase-bound locality is required. All left-peripheral XPs are phases (Müller, 2010)

[CP [TP [LP L⁰ [VP [CP comp_[Case] [TP subject_[Case] [LP L⁰ [VP]]]]]]]]]]]]

[CP [TP [LP L⁰ [VP [CP comp_[Case] [ΣP [TopP subject_i [TP t_i [LP L⁰ [VP]]]]]]]]]]]]]]
 ΣP = phase boundary

Evidence for the reduced-periphery view

- Proposal:** The properties of subjunctive clauses are **reduced-periphery effects**
- Alternative:** the asymmetries are directly related to clause type (e.g. [φ:1] ↔ *a-* / *u-* SBJV)
- Evidence** that these asymmetries are specific to clause size, not clause type, comes from relative clauses:
 - they are indicative but show some properties of subjunctive clauses
 - clause size variability *within* a single clause type (SBJ vs OBJ relatives) results in mixed properties.

Clause size variability: relative clauses

- Ndebele relative clauses are indicative: [CP [ΣP [TopP_φ [TP_φ]]]]]]]]
- Nonetheless, they show some properties of reduced clauses

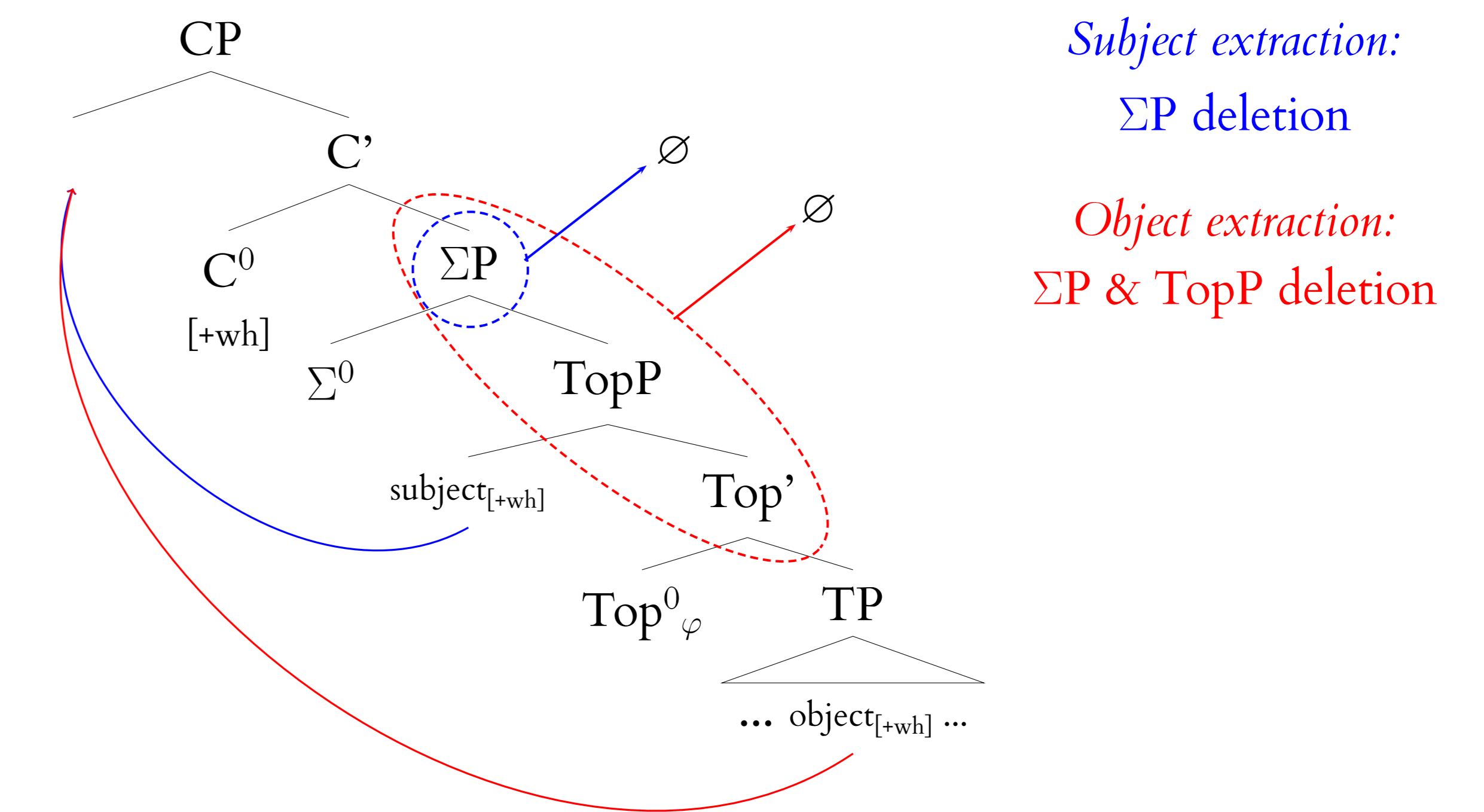
(10) Mixed properties of relative clauses

- a. *umfana a- u- nga- si- dliyo isinkwa* subject relative
 1boy ASSOC- 1s- neg- 7o- ate 7bread
 'the boy who didn't the bread'
- b. *isinkwa a- a- nga- si- dliyo* object relative
 7bread ASSOC- 1s- neg- 7o- ate
 'the bread that he didn't eat'

Movement-triggered Structure Deletion (Pesetsky's (2016) "Exfoliation"):

- Structural Description:** [WP ... β ... [YP ... [γP ... α ...]], where WP and YP are phases.
- Structural Change:** Replace YP with γP
- Last Resort:** Applies only to enable Merge(β,α) without violating PIC

(11) Size variability in relative clauses



1. **Low Negation** → ΣP deleted in both OBJ and SUBJ relatives

2. **Agreement allomorphy** → TopP deleted only in OBJ relatives

- this alternation has the distribution of anti-agreement:
 - local subject extraction: *u-*
 - any other extraction: *a-*
- ⇒ The matrix indicative agreement prefix (*u-*) is the anti-agreement prefix.

3. **Subject focus possible**

- In object relatives, the overt subject of the RCs is the lower copy in Spec,TP.

- (12) *inyama [RC umama kuphela a- a- yi- phekayo.]*
 9meat 1mother only ASSOC- 1s- 9o- cook.REL
 'the meat that only mom cooks.'

Conclusion:

- the three properties above do not diagnose clause type
- they diagnose the presence or absence of particular chunks of structure,
- which may vary *across and within* clause types