

Overview

• Ndebele **light verbs (LVs)** have adverbial meanings, e.g. *already, still, first, just, again, almost, finally* etc.

• Light verbs come in two types:

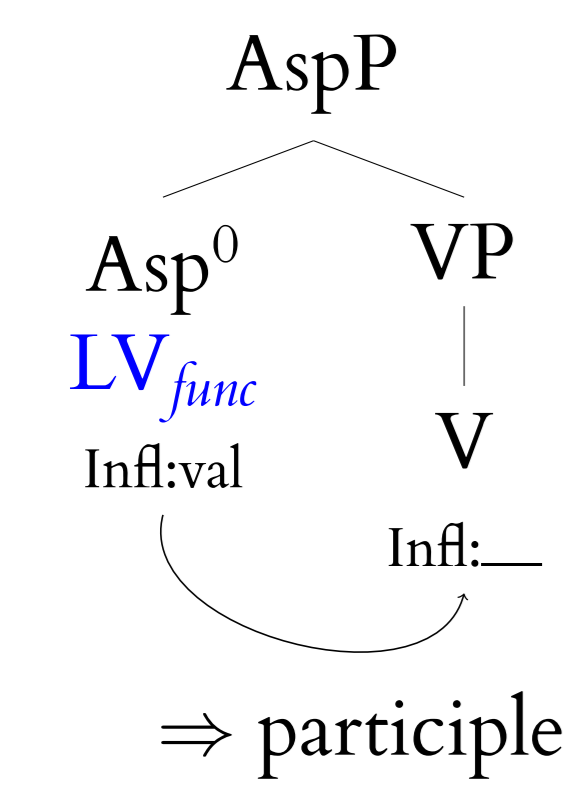
- | | |
|--|--|
| (1) PART(iciples)-selecting: | (2) SUBJ(unctive)-selecting: |
| a. U- lokhe e-bala.
1-still 1-read.PART
'He is still reading' | a. U- qala a-bale.
1-first 1-read.SUBJ
'He first reads' |
| b. U- hlezi e-bala.
1-always 1-read.PART
'He always reads' | b. U- mane a-bale.
1-just 1-read.SUBJ
'He just reads' |

CLAIMS:

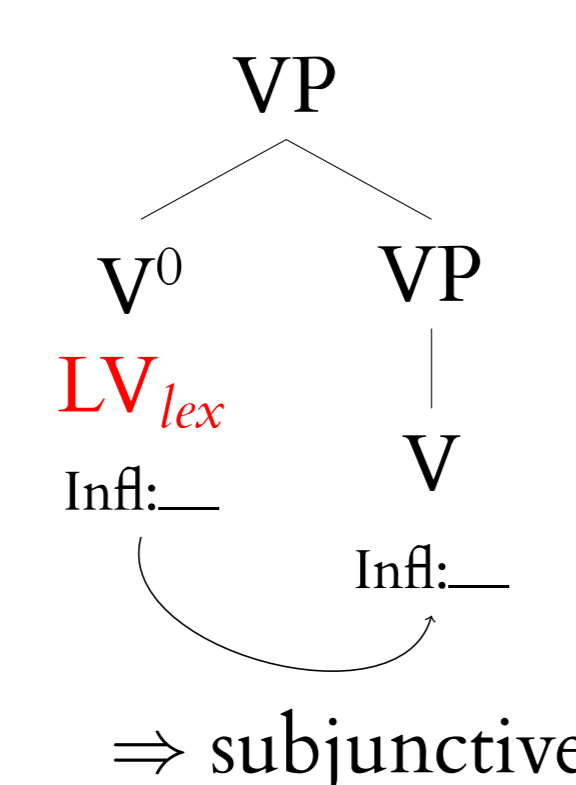
- The selected morphology is not idiosyncratic, but systematic:
 - PART-selecting LVs** are **functional verbs** (e.g. Asp⁰)
 - SUBJ-selecting LVs** are **lexical verbs** (V⁰)

The PART/SUBJ form is determined by Infl-valuation type

Direct Valuation



Dependent Valuation



- Subjunctive morphology is a reflex of the **inflectional deficiency of its immediate syntactic context**:

- in LV-constructions: the LV's unvalued Infl
- in subjunctive CPs: the T's unvalued Infl

Two types of LVs: evidence from ordering

- (3) [TP [PerfP LV_{func} [AspP LV_{func} [NegP NEG [VP LV_{lex} [VP main verb]]]]]]

I. **When LVs co-occur: Functional LV > Lexical LV**; but not vice versa

• Functional structure (hosting LV_{func}) is projected, but not selected, by LV_{lex}

II. **Position of negation: √Neg > Lexical LV; *Neg > Functional LV**

• Negation in Ndebele is low – always on the lexical verb:

- | | |
|---|--|
| a. A-ka-bali.
neg -1-read
He doesn't read | c. U-be e-nga-bali.
1-AUX 1- neg -read
'He wasn't reading' |
| b. A-ka- qali abale.
neg -1-first read.SUBJ
He doesn't first read | d. U- lokhe e-nga-bali.
1-still 1- neg -read
'He is still not reading' |

Two types of LVs: evidence from inflection

- | | |
|--|---|
| (4) LV _{func} cannot inflect for tense: | (5) LV _{lex} can inflect for tense |
| a. *u-a- lokhe
1-PST-still | a. u-a- qala
1-PST-first |
| b. *u-za- lokhe
1-FUT-still | b. u-za- qala
1-FUT-first |

Basic assumptions about inflection (following Adger, 2003; Bjorkman, 2011; Wurmbrand, 2011):

- every V⁰ has an unvalued Infl feature
- functional heads (e.g. T, Asp) have a valued Infl feature (Infl:PST/FUT/IMPF etc.)

- | | |
|---|---|
| (6) U- ∅- bal -ile.
1- PST- read -PST
'He read' | $\begin{array}{c} \text{[T Infl:PST} \quad \text{[V Infl: } _ \text{]]} \\ \text{[T Infl:PST} \quad \text{[V Infl: } \underline{pst} \text{]]} \end{array}$ |
|---|---|

- SUBJ-selecting** LVs are lexical ⇒ they have [Infl: _]
- PART-selecting** LVs are functional heads ⇒ they have [Infl:val]

In order to inflect for tense, the verb must have an unvalued Infl-feature

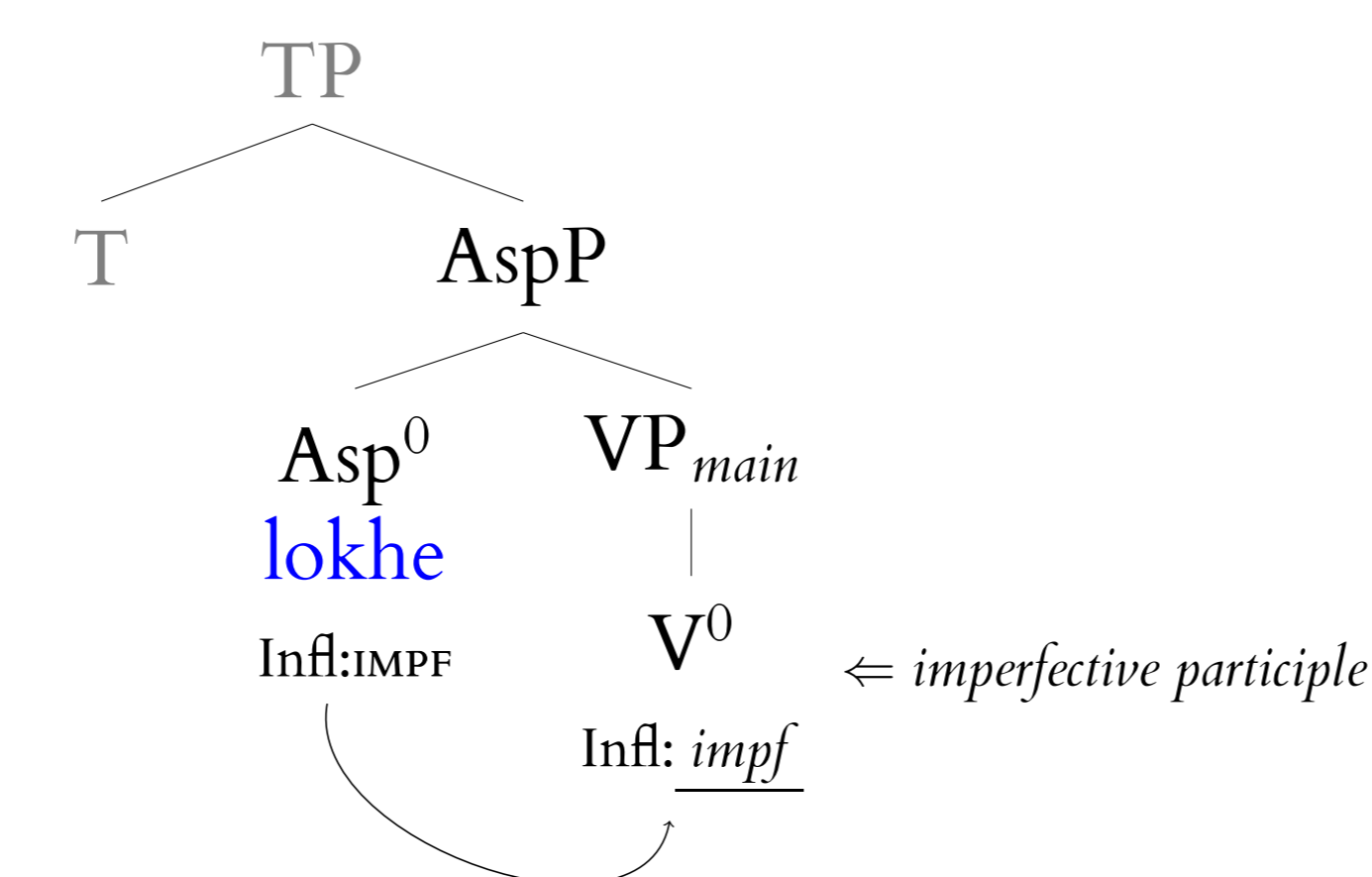
- | | |
|----------------------|--|
| LV _{lex} : | $\text{[T Infl:PST} \quad \text{[V(qala) Infl: } _ \text{]} \quad \text{[V main verb]}]$ |
| LV _{func} : | $\text{[T Infl:PST} \quad \text{[Asp(lokke) Infl:IMPF]} \quad \text{[V main verb]}]$ |

Analysis: Direct and Dependent Valuation

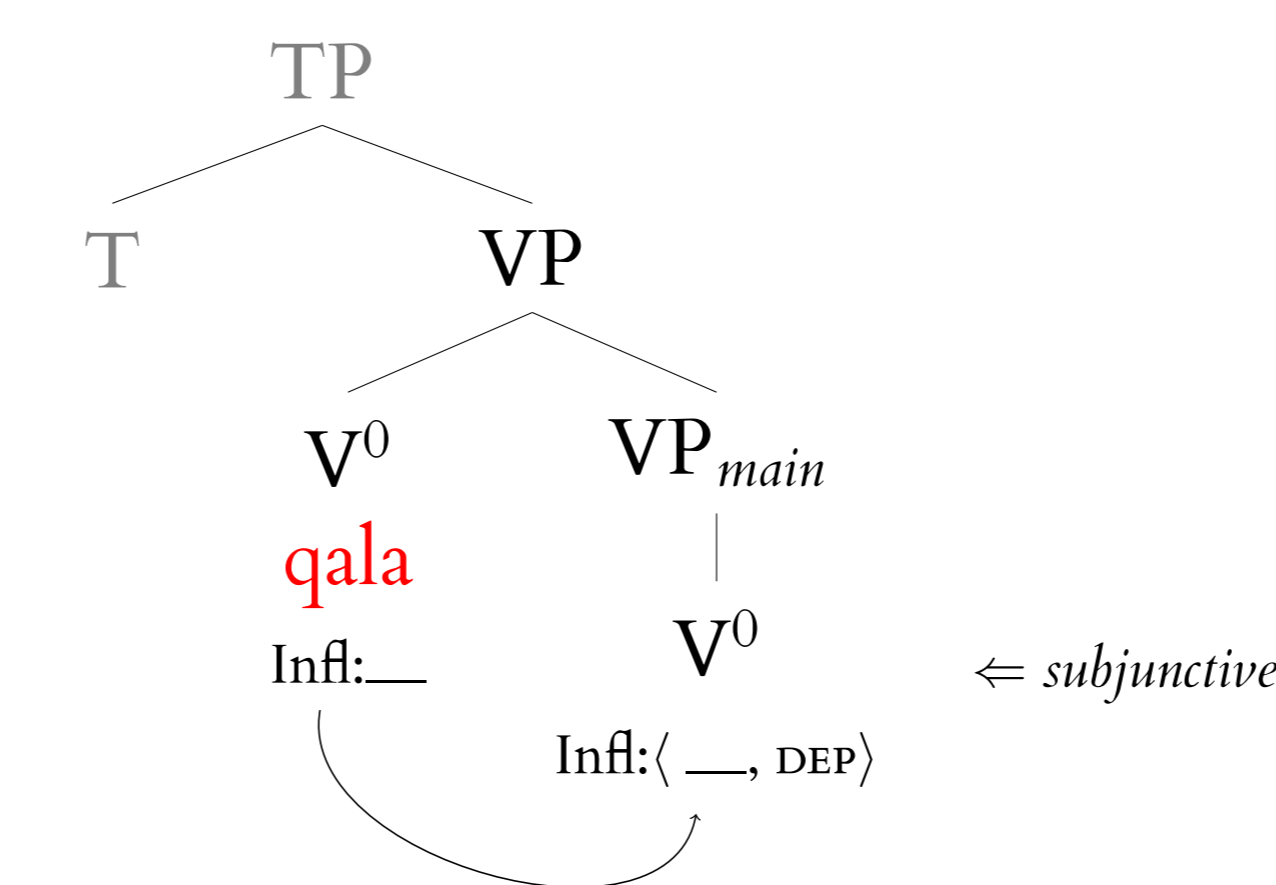
- an agree link can be established between two unvalued Fs (Pesetsky & Torrego, 2007)
- in such a relation, valuation is not vacuous – it is an instance of *Dependent Valuation*

- | | |
|---|---|
| (7) Direct Valuation: | (8) Dependent Valuation: |
| a. α c-commands β | a. α c-commands β |
| b. F _α is valued; F _β is unvalued | b. both F _α and F _β are unvalued |
| c. ⇒ val(F _β) = val(F _α) | c. ⇒ val(F _β) = ⟨val(F _α), DEP⟩ |

(9) **Functional LV (1-a):**



(10) **Lexical LV (2-a):**



(11) Valuation of the subjunctive V_{main} depends on further valuation of the LV_{lex}:

- | | | |
|----|--|-----------------------|
| a. | $\text{[T Infl}_3\text{:PRES} \quad \text{[V}_{LV}\text{ Infl}_2\text{: } _ \text{]} \quad \text{[V}_{main}\text{ Infl}_1\text{: } _ \text{]}]$ | Dependent Valuation ⇒ |
| b. | $\text{[T Infl}_3\text{:PRES} \quad \text{[V}_{LV}\text{ Infl}_2\text{: } _ \text{]} \quad \text{[V}_{main}\text{ Infl}_1\text{: } \langle _ \text{, DEP} \rangle]]$ | Direct Valuation ⇒ |
| c. | $\text{[T Infl}_3\text{:PRES} \quad \text{[V}_{LV}\text{ Infl}_2\text{:pres} \quad \text{[V}_{main}\text{ Infl}_1\text{: } \langle \underline{pres} \text{, DEP} \rangle]]$ | |

Dependent Valuation: evidence from tense agreement

- The complement of a LV_{func} has a fixed form (e.g. *lokhe* requires an imperfective participle)
- The complement of a LV_{lex} covaries with T

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| (12) a. U-∅- qala a-bale
1-PRES-first 1-read. pres.subj | Present T: present subjunctive |
| b. U-za- qala a-bale
1-FUT-first 1-read. pres.subj | Future T: present subjunctive |
| c. U-∅- qalé wa-bala
1-PST-first 1-read. pst.subj | Past T: past subjunctive |

- (13) [T Infl:PST [V(qala) Infl: pst [V_{main} Infl: ⟨pst, DEP⟩]]

- Ndebele has only two subjunctive forms: past and present/unmarked subjunctive:

- (14) a. [PST, DEP] ↔ *past subjunctive* b. [DEP] ↔ (*unmarked*) *subjunctive*

Extension to subjunctive CPs

- subjunctive morphology arises via Dependent Valuation in CPs as well

- (15) Ngi-funa [CP ukuthi a-bale.]
1sg-want COMP 1-come.**subj**
'I want him to read.'

- A familiar property of subjunctive clauses: the absence of independent temporal specification. (Piccolo, 1984; Giorgi & Pianesi, 1997; Landau, 2004; Giannakidou, 2009, a.o.)

Proposal: the deficiency of the subjunctive T is syntactically encoded as an unvalued (rather than a valued) Infl-feature.

- Subjunctive CPs: [Matrix CP V_{Infl} [Subj CP [T Infl: _ [V Infl: ⟨_, DEP⟩]]]]

- Ndebele: no cross-clausal valuation ⇒ always unmarked subjunctive in CPs

- (16) Ng-afuna ukuthi abale/*wabala.
1sg-want.pst COMP 1.read.**pres.subj**/*1.read.pst.subj
'I wanted him to read.'

- Italian: cross-clausal valuation ✓ ⇒ tense agreement

- (17) Gianni credeva che Maria fosse/*sia incinta.
Gianni believe.pst COMP Maria be.pst.subj/*be.pres.subj pregnant.
'Gianni believed Maria to be pregnant' (Giorgi, 2009:7)

Conclusion

(References on the handout)

THE PARTICIPLE/SUBJUNCTIVE ALTERNATION follows from the **functional-lexical distinction** and its consequence for the **type of valuation** involved.

SUBJUNCTIVE MORPHOLOGY is triggered by the **inflectional deficiency of its immediate syntactic context** (implemented here as Dependent Valuation).