

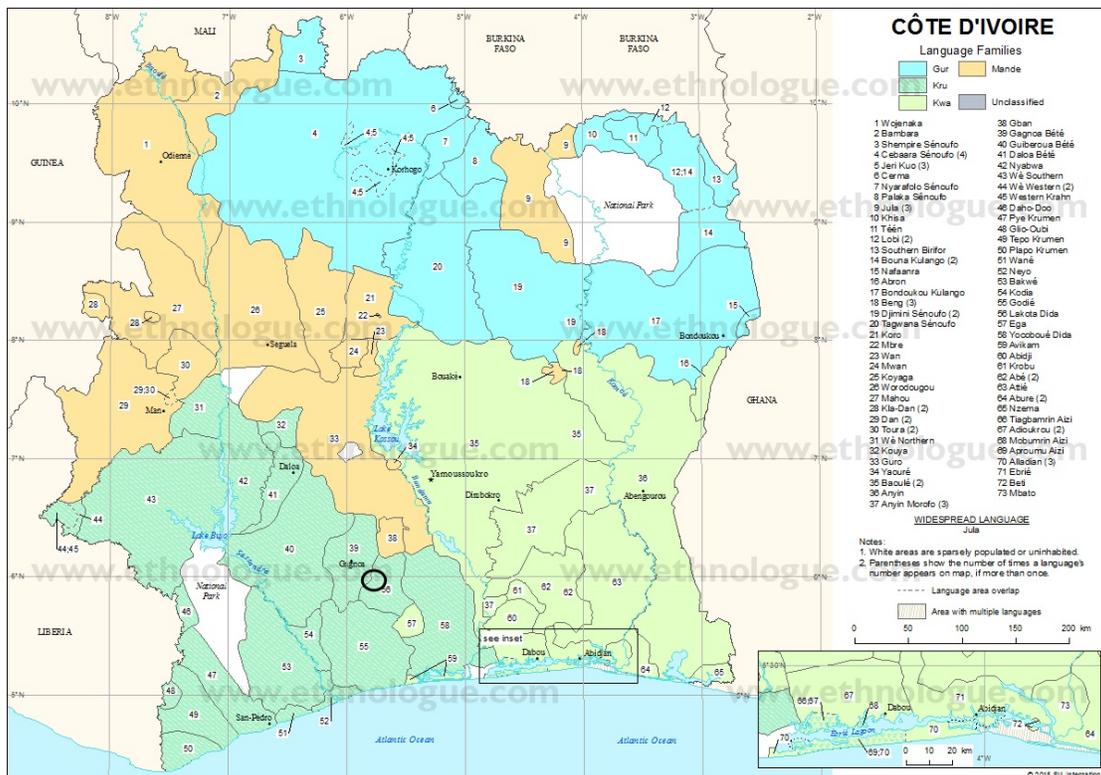
# The Left-Periphery in Guébie \*

Hannah Sande (UC Berkeley) · Nico Baier (UC Berkeley)  
sande570@berkeley.edu · nbbaier@berkeley.edu

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## 1 Introduction

- In this presentation, we describe the CP-domain in Guébie, an Eastern Kru language.
- We argue for an articulated approach to the Guébie left periphery generally along the lines of Rizzi (1997).
- We show that our analysis of the Guébie facts has implications for two key aspects of syntactic theory:
  - ▷ Interrogative force is marked lower in the clause in Guébie than expected from most accounts of the left periphery.
  - ▷ The presence of clause final particles sensitive to  $\bar{A}$ -operators at the left edge of the clause provides a potential counterexample to the Final-over-Final Constraint (Biberauer, Holmberg, and Roberts 2008; 2009; 2010).
- Guébie is an Eastern Kru language spoken in southwest Côte d'Ivoire.
  - ▷ Number of speakers: 7,000
  - ▷ One remaining monolingual speaker
  - ▷ Most Guébie speakers speak French, many also speak Dida Lakota or another neighboring Kru language.



\*Thanks to our Guébie consultants, especially Sylvain Bodji, Ines Gnahore, Olivier Agodio, Serikpa Emil, Laureine, Frank, and Gnakouri. We use the following abbreviations: SG = singular, PL = plural, IRR = irrealis, PROG = progressive, IMPF = imperfective, PFV = perfective, ACC = accusative, Q = polar question particle, 1 = first person, 2 = second person, 3 = third person

- The data in this talk come from eight months of work with a speaker in the US, plus two field trips to Gnagbodougnoa, Côte d'Ivoire.

### Roadmap

- 
- § 1 Introduction
  - § 2 Guébie data
  - § 3 Proposed structure of the Guébie left periphery
  - § 4 Theoretical implications
  - § 5 Conclusions

## 2 Data from the C-domain in Guébie

- Basic word order in Guébie is S AUX O V. When there is no overt auxiliary we see SVO order.

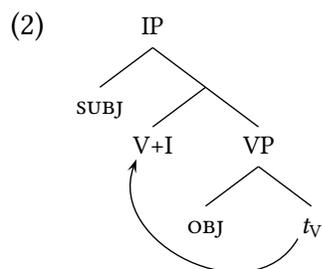
### (1) S AUX O V alternates with SVO

- a.  $\text{ɔ}^3 \text{ ji}^3 \text{ dʒa}^{31} \text{ li}^3$   
3.SG will coconuts eat  
'He will eat coconuts.'
- b.  $\text{ɔ}^3 \text{ li}^2 \text{ dʒa}^{31}$   
3.SG eat.PFV coconuts  
'He ate coconuts.'
- c.  $*\text{ɔ}^3 \text{ dʒa}^{31} \text{ li}^2$   
3.SG coconuts eat.PFV  
Intended: 'He ate coconuts'

- Guébie is demonstrably head-final inside the verbal domain.

▷ OV order, Postpositions, Genitive Noun order, Noun Determiner order, etc.

- Despite the head-final nature of the VP domain, the Infl(ection) head is initial (Sande 2014).



- Questions about headedness arise in the C-domain.

### (3) Distribution of elements in the C-domain

Clause initial	Clause-medial (Infl)	Clause final
Complementizer <i>gba</i>	Polar question marker <i>se, gbe</i>	Wh-particle
Wh-words		Relative clause particle
Focus		
Topic		

- **Embedded clauses** are introduced with a clause-initial complementizer, /gba<sup>1</sup>/.

(4) **Embedded clauses**

- a. jaci<sup>23.1</sup> la<sup>2</sup> (gba<sup>1</sup>) ɔ<sup>3</sup> mɛ<sup>3</sup> dabara<sup>4.4.4</sup> ko<sup>3</sup>  
 Djatchi say that 3.SG go market to  
 ‘Djatchi said that he went to the market.’
- b. e<sup>4</sup> jira<sup>2.3</sup> (gba<sup>1</sup>) (ɲɔkpɔ<sup>3.1</sup>) ɔ<sup>3</sup> bisi<sup>4.1</sup> dabara<sup>4.4.4</sup> ko<sup>3</sup> na<sup>2</sup>  
 I ask that (person) 3.SG visit market to NA  
 ‘I asked who visited the market.’

- The complementizer *gba* is used in both declarative (4a) and interrogative embedded clauses (4b).
- **Focused constituent** surface initially in both main and embedded clauses.

(5) **Focus: clause-initial**

- a. (touri<sup>1.1.2</sup>) ɔ<sup>3</sup> kɔpa=ɔ<sup>3.23.2</sup> bag<sup>wɛ</sup><sup>3.1</sup>  
 Touri he send.PFV=him book  
 ‘It’s TOURI who sent him a book.’
- b. (bag<sup>wɛ</sup><sup>3.1</sup>) ɔ<sup>3</sup> kɔpa=ɔ<sup>3.23.2</sup>  
 book he<sub>i</sub> send.PFV=him<sub>j</sub>  
 ‘It’s a BOOK he sent him (as opposed to a letter).’
- c. e<sup>4</sup> jisa<sup>2.3</sup> gba<sup>1</sup> (ɟaci<sup>23.1</sup>) ɔ<sup>3</sup> ni<sup>4</sup> (ɛbɔ<sup>3.1</sup>) k<sup>w</sup>ala<sup>4.2</sup> me<sup>3</sup> ji<sup>3</sup>  
 I know that Djatchi 3SG see him farm on see  
 ‘I know that it’s Djatchi he saw on the farm.’

- Note that in (5c), the focused element in an embedded clause surfaces to the right the complementizer *gba*.
- Subjects are obligatory resumed by an agreeing subject pronoun, (5a); objects must correspond to a gap, (5b).
- **Topics**, like Focus, surface initially. More than one topic is possible in the same clause (6b). Topics, like focus, follow the complementizer in an embedded clause (6c).

(6) **Topic: clause-initial<sup>1</sup>**

- a. (ɲudi-ja<sup>3.1.3</sup>) ɔ<sup>3</sup> wa<sup>2</sup> jɛrɛ-lili<sup>3.2.2.2</sup>  
 man-DEF he like spice-food  
 ‘As for the man, he likes spicy food.’
- b. (k)uβɔ<sup>31</sup> (kɔgɔlɲɔ<sup>4.2.2.2</sup>) e<sup>4</sup> ni<sup>4</sup> ɔ<sup>2</sup> ji<sup>3</sup>  
 yesterday farmer I see.PFV= 3.SG.ACC see  
 ‘Yesterday, a/the farmer, I saw him’
- c. e<sup>4</sup> jisa<sup>2.3</sup> gba<sup>1</sup> (touri<sup>1.1.3</sup>) ɔ<sup>3</sup> li<sup>3</sup> saka<sup>3.3</sup>  
 I know that Touri 3.SG eat rice  
 ‘I know that Touri, he at rice (but what did everyone else eat?)’

<sup>1</sup>The example in (6b) involves a splitting verb construction, where in a verb-movement context, only one syllable of the verb /niji/ ‘see’ undergoes movement.

- Unlike focus, both subject and object topics must be resumed with the appropriate pronoun, as underlined in (6a-c).
- When a single clause contains both a topic and focused element, topic precedes focus.

## (7) Topic before focus

- a. ɲudi-ja<sup>3.1.3</sup> jɛɛ-lili<sup>3.2.2.2</sup> ɔ<sup>3</sup> wa<sup>2</sup>  
 man-DEF spice-food 3.SG like  
 ‘As for the man, spicy food, he likes.’

- Wh-questions involve fronting of a wh-phrase to initial position and require the final question particle /na<sup>2</sup>/.
- The pattern of resumption in wh-questions is the same as in focus fronting: Subject must be resumed, (8a-b). Object questions require a gap, (9a-b):

## (8) Subject Wh-questions

- a. (ɲɔkpɔ<sup>31</sup>) ɔ<sup>3</sup> ni<sup>4</sup> ju-wa<sup>4.4</sup> joku<sup>2.3</sup> na<sup>2</sup>  
 person 3.SG see.PFV boy-DEF see NA  
 ‘Who saw the boy?’
- b. \*(ɲɔkpɔ<sup>31</sup>) ni<sup>4</sup> ju-wa<sup>4.4</sup> joku<sup>2.3</sup> na<sup>2</sup>  
 person see.PFV boy-DEF see NA  
 Intended: ‘Who saw the boy?’

## (9) Object Wh-questions

- a. (bɛba<sup>3.1</sup>) ɔ<sup>3</sup> pia<sup>3.1</sup> na<sup>2</sup>  
 (thing) 3.SG buy NA  
 ‘What did he buy?’
- b. \*(bɛba<sup>3.1</sup>) ɔ<sup>3</sup> pia=<sup>3.1</sup> ɔ<sup>2</sup> na<sup>2</sup>  
 (thing) 3.SG buy= 3.SG.ACC NA  
 ‘What did he buy?’

- Question words *ɲɔkpɔ<sup>31</sup>* ‘who’, *bɛba<sup>3.1</sup>* ‘what’ are actually generic indefinite nouns used in wh-questions. As seen in (8-9), they are optional and can be omitted<sup>2</sup>.
- Other wh-phrases, such as *ɟərə-gba<sup>2.2.1</sup>* ‘how many’ and *ɔnɛɟa<sup>2.4.3</sup>* ‘why’ cannot be omitted:

## (10) Non-optional wh-phrases

- a. diɓo-di<sup>3.1.3</sup> ɟərə-gba<sup>2.2.1</sup> ɔ<sup>3</sup> li=se<sup>3.4</sup> na<sup>2</sup>  
 banana-fruit how.many 3.SG eat-(Q) NA  
 ‘How many bananas did he eat?’
- b. ɔnɛɟa<sup>2.4.3</sup> wa<sup>3</sup> fito<sup>2.2</sup> na<sup>2</sup>  
 why 3.IMPS flee NA  
 ‘Why did someone/he run away?’

<sup>2</sup>Guébie word /danɛ/, ‘where’ is a generic noun meaning ‘place’. It can also be omitted.

- Wh-phrases must be clause initial; they cannot be in situ, (11a-b). The clause-final particle is always required, (12b).

## (11) No in situ wh-questions

- a. \*ɔ<sup>3</sup> pia<sup>3.1</sup> (bɛba<sup>3.1</sup>) na<sup>2</sup>  
 3SG buy thing NA  
 Intended: What did he buy?
- b. \*ɔ<sup>3</sup> li=se<sup>3.4</sup> diɓo-di<sup>3.1.3</sup> (ɟərə-gba<sup>2.2.1</sup>) na<sup>2</sup>  
 3.SG eat-(Q) banana-fruit how.many NA  
 Intended: ‘How many bananas did he eat?’

## (12) Clause-final /na/ required

- a. \*(bɛba<sup>3.1</sup>) ɔ<sup>3</sup> pia<sup>3.1</sup>  
 thing he buy  
 Intended: What did he buy?
- b. \*diɓo-di<sup>3.1.3</sup> (ɟərə-gba<sup>2.2.1</sup>) ɔ<sup>3</sup> li=se<sup>3.4</sup>  
 banana-fruit how.many 3.SG eat=(Q)  
 Intended: ‘How many bananas did he eat?’

- Because the initial Wh-word is optional, we might expect ambiguity between subject and object questions; however, the pattern of resumption makes subject and object questions distinct, even when there is no wh-word.

## (13) Subject pronoun, object pronoun

- a. [ (person)<sub>i</sub> ] [ he<sub>i/\*j</sub> saw he<sub>\*i/j</sub> ] na ]  
 b. ‘Who saw him?’ / \*‘Who did he see?’

## (14) Subject pronoun, object gap

- a. [ (person)<sub>i</sub> ] [ he<sub>\*i/j</sub> saw \_\_\_<sub>i/\*j</sub> ] na ]  
 b. ‘Who did he see?’ / \*‘Who saw him?’

- Embedded Wh-questions are identical to main clause wh-questions. The embedded-clause-initial wh-word surfaces after the complementizer *gba*. The complementizer is optional.

## (15) Embedded Wh-questions

- a. e<sup>4</sup> jira<sup>2.3</sup> (gba<sup>1</sup>) (ɲɔkpɔ<sup>3.1</sup>) ɔ<sup>3</sup> bisɪ<sup>4.1</sup> dabara<sup>4.4.4</sup> ko<sup>3</sup> (na<sup>2</sup>)  
 I ask GBA (person) 3.SG visit.borrowed market to NA  
 ‘I asked who visited the market.’
- b. e<sup>4</sup> jira<sup>2.3</sup> (naje<sup>3.3</sup>) gba<sup>1</sup> (ɟərɔgba<sup>2.2.1</sup>) mobii-a<sup>1.2.1.1</sup> e<sup>3</sup> ji(=se)<sup>3.4</sup> liji<sup>1.3</sup> (na<sup>2</sup>)  
 I ask myself GBA how.much car-DEF 3.SG.FRONT will(-Q) cost NA  
 ‘I wonder how much a car costs.’

- Long-distance wh-movement is also possible, (16a-b). The complementizer *gba* is optional with non-subject extraction, (16a). It cannot occur with subject extraction, a that-*trace* effect, (16b):

## (16) Long distance wh-questions

- a.  $\boxed{\text{b}\epsilon^3}$  e<sup>4</sup> na<sup>41</sup> gba<sup>1</sup> ɔ<sup>3</sup> ni<sup>4.3</sup>  $\boxed{\text{na}^2}$   
 thing I say GBA 3.SG see NA  
 ‘What did I say he saw?’
- b.  $\boxed{\text{j}\text{ɔkpo}^{3.1}}$  e<sup>4</sup> na<sup>4</sup> (\*gba<sup>1</sup>) ɔ<sup>3</sup> ni=ɔ<sup>4.2</sup> joku<sup>2.3</sup>  $\boxed{\text{na}^2}$   
 person I say (\*that) 3.SG see-3.SG.ACC see NA  
 ‘Who did I say saw him?’

- Wh-words are in complementary distribution with fronted focused elements.

## (17) No focus in wh-questions

- a. \*jaci<sup>23.1</sup> (bɛba<sup>3.1</sup>) ɔ<sup>3</sup> pia<sup>3.1</sup> na<sup>2</sup>  
 Djatchi (thing) 3.SG buy NA  
 Intended: ‘What did DJATCHI buy?’

- Otherwise, the complementizer *gba*, focus, topics, and Wh-questions can all co-occur freely. When they all occur in the same clause, the order is as follows:

▷ *gba* ≫ Topic ≫ Focus/wh-word ≫ S AUX O V / SVO ≫ *na*

- Polar question word order is identical to main clause word order, except for the addition of a post-auxiliary (or verb in SVO clauses) polar question particle.
- The polar question particle inflects for tense: *gbe* for past and *se* for non-past.

## (18) Polar question markers

- a. e<sup>2</sup> li= $\boxed{\text{gbe}}^{2.2}$  ja<sup>31</sup>  
 2SG.NOM eat.PFV-Q.PST coconuts  
 ‘Did you used to eat coconuts?’ (when you were a child living in the village)
- b. e<sup>2</sup> li= $\boxed{\text{se}}^{2.4}$  ja<sup>31</sup>  
 2SG.NOM eat.IMPV-Q.PST coconuts  
 ‘Do you eat coconuts?’
- c. e<sup>2</sup> le= $\boxed{\text{se}}^{2.4}$  sukulu-ju<sup>1.1.2-1</sup> (\*na<sup>2</sup>)  
 you be-Q school-boy \*NA  
 ‘Are you a student?’
- d. ɔ<sup>3</sup> jira<sup>2.3</sup> gba<sup>1</sup> e<sup>2</sup> le= $\boxed{\text{se}}^{2.4}$  sukulu-ju<sup>1.1.2.1</sup> (\*na<sup>2</sup>)  
 3.SG ask GBA you be-Q school-boy \*NA  
 ‘He asked whether you are a student.’

- The final wh-particle is ungrammatical in polar questions, (19a-b).

(19) Polar marker + *na*

- a. e<sup>2</sup> le= $\boxed{\text{se}}^{2.4}$  sukulu-ju<sup>1.1.2-1</sup> (\*na<sup>2</sup>)  
 you be-Q school-boy \*NA  
 ‘Are you a student?’
- b. ɔ<sup>3</sup> jira<sup>2.3</sup> gba<sup>1</sup> e<sup>2</sup> le= $\boxed{\text{se}}^{2.4}$  sukulu-ju<sup>1.1.2.1</sup> (\*na<sup>2</sup>)  
 3.SG ask GBA you be-Q school-boy \*NA  
 ‘He asked whether you are a student.’

- For some speakers, the polar question particle /se, gbe/ can surface as an enclitic on Infl in wh-questions (20).

(20) **Polar question particle in wh-clause**

- a. e<sup>4</sup> jira<sup>2.3</sup> najε<sup>3.3</sup> gba<sup>1</sup> ɔnɛʃanɛ<sup>3.2.2.3</sup> ɔ<sup>3</sup> wa=<sup>2</sup> ɔ<sup>2</sup>= (se<sup>4</sup>) na<sup>2</sup>  
 I ask myself GBA why 3.SG like= 3.SG.ACC= (Q) NA  
 ‘I wonder why he likes her.’

- As far as we can tell, the presence of the polar question particle is always optional in wh-questions.
- **Relative clauses** are post-nominal. The relative clause itself is marked with the clause-final relative particle /ne/, which occurs in the same position as the wh-particle /na/:

(21) **Clause-final relative operator**

- a. ju<sub>i</sub><sup>4</sup> [CP e<sup>4</sup> ji(sa)<sup>2.3</sup> -<sub>i</sub> ne<sup>2</sup> ] ɔ<sup>3</sup> li<sup>2</sup> ʃa<sup>31</sup>  
 boy I know REL 3.SG eat.IMPF coconuts  
 ‘The boy that I know eats coconuts.’
- b. ju<sub>i</sub><sup>4</sup> [CP a-lio<sup>2.2.4</sup> niji<sup>4.3</sup> -<sub>i</sub> (a)ne<sup>3.2</sup> ] ko<sup>3</sup> gɛwa<sup>1.1</sup>  
 boy my-friend see REL live Gagnoa  
 ‘The boy my friend saw lives in Gagnoa.’
- c. e<sup>4</sup> ji<sup>2</sup> ju<sup>4</sup> [CP (ɔ<sup>3</sup>) li<sup>2</sup> ʃabə<sup>3.1</sup> (a)-ne<sup>3.2</sup> ] sa<sup>3</sup>  
 I know boy (3.SG) eat coconut-s REL know  
 ‘I know the boy who is eating a coconut.’

- Relative clauses display a slightly different pattern of resumption:
  - ▷ Relativized objects are never resumed by a pronoun, (21a-b).
  - ▷ Relativized subjects are only optionally resumed by a pronoun, (21c).
  - ▷ They therefore differ from focused subjects and wh-subjects.
- Relative clauses never surface with the complementizer *gba*, and they do not co-occur with topics or focus.
- In the next section, we turn to our analysis of the the Guébie data.

### 3 Structure of the Guébie Left Periphery

- The table in (22) summarizes the data we have seen in the previous section.

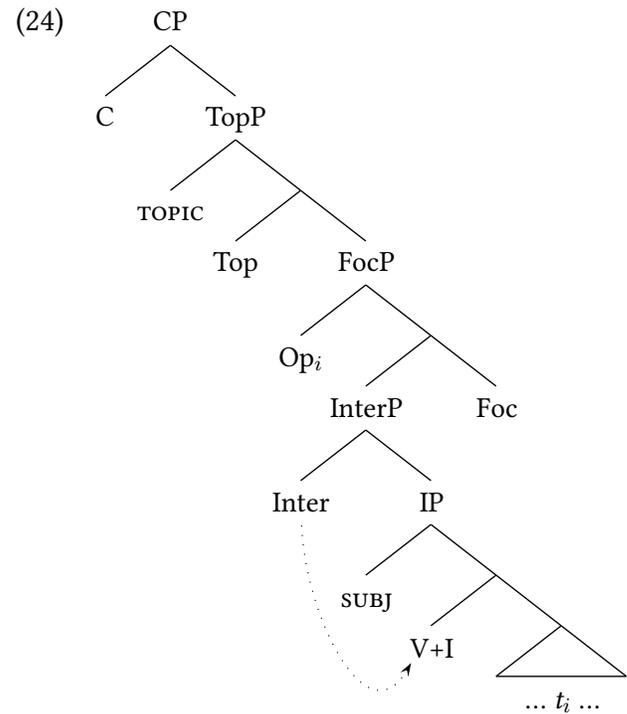
(22) **Summary of Data**

<b>Declarative</b>	( <i>gba</i> )	TOPIC	FOCUS	SUBJ	V	...
<b>Polar question</b>	( <i>gba</i> )	TOPIC	FOCUS	SUBJ	V =Q	...
<b>Wh-question</b>	( <i>gba</i> )	TOPIC	WH	SUBJ	V (=Q)	... <i>na</i>
<b>Relative clause</b>			REL	SUBJ	V	... <i>ne</i>

- We argue that each of the positions to the left of SUBJ in (22) corresponds to a projection in an articulated left periphery (Rizzi 1997). We propose the ordering of projections above IP in (23). A tree is given in in (24)

(23) CP &gt; TopP\* &gt; FocP &gt; InterP &gt; IP

- ▷ The complementizer *gba* occurs in C<sup>0</sup>.
- ▷ Topics are hosted in Spec-TopP.
- ▷ Focus, wh-words and relative operators are hosted in the specifier of FocP<sup>3</sup>.
- ▷ We argue that FocP is **right headed**.
- ▷ Final particle *na* occurs when Spec-FocP hosts a wh-word.
- ▷ Final particle *na* occurs when Spec-FocP hosts a relative operator<sup>4</sup>.
- ▷ The polar question particle is merged directly above IP in an interrogative projection, InterP
- ▷ Inter<sup>0</sup> lowers to the V+I complex in the morphology,



- Topics are base generated in Spec-TopP, as evidenced by the fact that both topicalized subjects and topicalized objects must be resumed. See (6), above.
- There is evidence from island effects that operators reach Spec-FocP via movement.

(25) **Island Effects**

- a. \*ɲɔkpɔ<sup>3.1</sup> e<sup>2</sup> ni<sup>4</sup> ju<sup>4</sup> li<sup>2</sup> ʒa<sup>31</sup> (a)-ne<sup>3.2</sup> ji<sup>3</sup>  
 person 2.SG see.PFV boy eat coconuts REL see  
 Intended: ‘Who did you see the boy who eats coconuts?’

- Having presented our analysis of the Guébie left periphery, we turn to two theoretical consequences of this analysis in the next section.

## 4 Theoretical Implications

- In this section, we briefly examine two theoretical consequences of the Guébie data.
- Consequence 1: Selection and Interrogative Force
- Consequence 2: Final-over-Final Constraint.

### 4.1 Position of Interrogative Force and Selection

- The illocutionary force of a clause is generally thought to be positioned very high in the CP-domain, i.e. Rizzi’s (1997) ForceP.

<sup>3</sup>We do not take a position here on whether Guébie relative clauses are derived by head raising or by null operator movement.

<sup>4</sup>One way of capturing this relationship would be to posit that different features can be merged on Foc<sup>0</sup> to attract different types of operators, and those features determine the spell out of the head.

- Aboh (2004) and Aboh and Pfau (2008) argue that interrogative force is encoded by a distinct head, InterP, which is situated between ForceP and the Topic/Focus field:

(26) ForceP > InterP > TopP > FocP > ...

- However, we have seen that in Guébie, interrogative force is marked lower in the clause. The (polar) question particle *gbe/se* cliticizes to the finite verb/auxiliary:

(27) Question particle

a. e<sup>2</sup>            li=se<sup>2.4</sup>            ja<sup>31</sup>  
2SG.NOM eat.IMPf-Q.PST coconuts  
'Do you eat coconuts?'

b. du-gba<sup>4.1</sup>            ɔ<sup>3</sup>    me=(se)<sup>2.4</sup>    ko<sup>3</sup>    na<sup>2</sup>  
village-which 3.SG go-(Q)            to    NA  
'Which village did he go to?'

- We've argued that the question particle spells out Inter<sup>0</sup>, and that it *lowers* to adjoin to I<sup>0</sup> in the morphology<sup>5</sup>.
- Lowering is subject to a strict locality condition: a head X can only lower to the head of its complement Embick and Noyer (2001).

- ▷ If the lowering analysis of =*gbe/se* is on the right track, Inter<sup>0</sup> selects IP in Guébie.
- ▷ See (24), above.

- So, interrogative force is much lower than we expect it to be based on other cross-linguistic work on the encoding of illocutionary force.
- Furthermore, this analysis has a consequence for the mechanics of selection in Guébie.
- Recall that complementizer *gba* occurs in both embedded declaratives, (28a) and embedded wh-questions, (28b):

(28) a. ʒaci<sup>23.1</sup>    la<sup>2</sup>    (gba<sup>1</sup>)    ɔ<sup>3</sup>    mɛ<sup>3</sup>    dabara<sup>4.4.4</sup>    ko<sup>3</sup>  
Djatchi say    that            3.SG go    market            to  
'Djatchi said that he went to the market.'

b. e<sup>4</sup>    jira<sup>2.3</sup>    (gba<sup>1</sup>)    (ɲɔkpɔ<sup>3.1</sup>)    ɔ<sup>3</sup>    bisi<sup>4.1</sup>    dabara<sup>4.4.4</sup>    ko<sup>3</sup>    na<sup>2</sup>  
I    ask    that            (person)    3.SG visit    market            to    NA  
'I asked who visited the market.'

- The verb 'ask' in cannot select a declarative clause, as seen in (29). Yet in (28b) its complement is still headed by *gba*.

(29) \*e<sup>4</sup>    jira<sup>2.3</sup>    najɛ<sup>3.3</sup>    gba<sup>1</sup>    ɔ<sup>3</sup>    mɛ<sup>3-4</sup>    dabara<sup>4.4.4</sup>    ko<sup>3</sup>  
I    ask    myself    GBA    he go-Q    market            to  
Intended: 'I asked myself that he went to the market.'

- **Upshot:** The complementizer *gba* cannot encode declarative force the way that English *that* does.

<sup>5</sup>See Sande (2014) for detailed discussion.

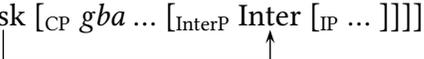
▷ If it did encode declarative, we would expect it to be impossible for ‘ask’ to select a *gba* clause in (28b).

- **Problem!** Selection is thought to operate very locally between a head and its complement. But if *gba* is not interrogative in (29), then what does ‘ask’ select?

- A potential solution could be that selection can operate at a distance, perhaps via the operation Agree (Chomsky 2001).

▷ Agree is *relativized*; it only looks for certain features. Irrelevant features are ignored (Preminger 2014).

▷ We could say that *gba* simply doesn’t carry a relevant feature, and is therefore skipped.

- (30) a. **English:** [ ask [<sub>CP</sub> whether [<sub>TP</sub> ... ]]]  
  
 b. **Guébie:** [ ask [<sub>CP</sub> *gba* ... [<sub>InterP</sub> Inter [<sub>IP</sub> ... ]]]]  


- The difference between English, (30a), and Guébie, (30b), is that the features selected by ask reside directly on C<sup>0</sup> in English, while Guébie C<sup>0</sup> does not have any relevant features, and they can be accessed further down in the clause.

- We leave this account open to further work.

## 4.2 The Final-over-Final Constraint

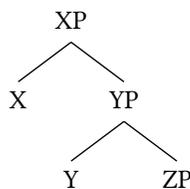
- In a series of papers examining the cross-linguistic distribution of ‘disharmonic’ word orders, Biberauer, Holmberg and Roberts (Henceforth BHR; 2008; 2009; 2010) posit the constraint in (31):

(31) **The Final-over-Final Constraint (FOFC; Biberauer et al. 2010)**

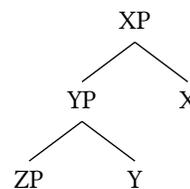
A head-final phrase XP cannot dominate a head-initial phrase YP, where X and Y are heads in the same extended projection.

- The FOFC rules structures of the type in (35). See Biberauer et al. (2010) for detailed discussion of evidence that such structures are cross-linguistically rare.

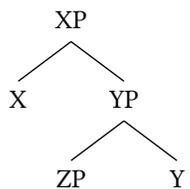
(32) ✓ **Initial-over-Initial (Harmonic)**



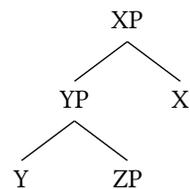
(33) ✓ **Final-over-Final (Harmonic)**



(34) ✓ **Initial-over-Final (Disharmonic)**



(35) ✗ **Final-over-Initial (Disharmonic)**



- One major claim made by BHR is that there are very few (if any) VO languages with clause final complementizers.

- ▷ Dryer (2009) finds no languages with VO word order and clause final complementizers of the *that*-type.
- ▷ Using WALS, Biberauer et al. (2010) find only two languages with predominantly VO word order and clause final ‘adverbial subordinators’<sup>6</sup>.
- ▷ Guébie fits this description: *gba* precedes the entire clause and so do adverbial subordinators like ‘while’.
- BHR (2010) do discuss a number of types of clause final particle that occur in VO languages and that could be analyzed as being part of the CP-domain. These include:
  - ▷ Polar question particles
  - ▷ Negation
  - ▷ Mood/Force
- If these particles are heads in the CP domain, they would be a counter example to the claim to \*[[ V O ] C ].
- BHR don’t present a concrete analysis of how to deal with these particles, and the ultimate answer is probably non-uniform. Options they present include:
  - ▷ These particles may be ‘categorically deficient’ (lacking a specification for [ $\pm V$ ]) and therefore excluded from their formalization of the FOFC, which is based on categorical features.
  - ▷ The particles might actually act as ‘doubles’ for an abstract null initial head in the left periphery:

$$(36) \quad \left[ \text{InterP} \text{Inter}^0 \left[ \dots \left[ \text{TP} \dots \right] \right] \text{PARTICLE} \right]$$

└────────── DOUBLING ─────────┘

- **But!** The Guébie-type of clause final particles has not figured into the discussion of the FOFC.
  - ▷ The particles *na/ne* occur when there is an  $\bar{A}$ -operator in the left periphery

$$(37) \quad \left[ \text{Op}_i \left[ \text{IP} \dots t_i \dots \right] na/ne \right]$$

- Such particles are usually analyzed as C-heads when they precede the rest of the clause:
  - ▷ Aboh and Pfau (2008) analyze the focus particle *wè* in Gungbe as the head of a head initial FocP:

$$(38) \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{a. M\u00e9n\u00f9} \quad \boxed{\text{w\u00e8}} \quad \text{w\u00e1?} \\ \text{who} \quad \text{FOC} \quad \text{come} \\ \text{‘Who came?’} \end{array} \quad \text{(Aboh and Pfau 2008:2)}$$

$$\text{b. } \left[ \text{FocP} \text{M\u00e9n\u00f9} \left[ \text{Foc} \text{w\u00e8} \left[ \dots \left[ \text{TP} \text{w\u00e1} \right] \right] \right] \right]$$

- It seems to us that this should be the default analysis for *na/ne* in Guébie: the particles are heads of the projection that host  $\bar{A}$ -operators.
- If this analysis is on the right track, it places *na/ne* **squarely in the CP-domain**.
  - ▷ This would mean that we have an example of a head final CP-projection which dominates a series of head-initial projections<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>6</sup>They base this claim on the WALS feature “Order of adverbial subordinator and clause” (Dryer 2011). WALS does not record the order of *that*-type subordinators and the clause.

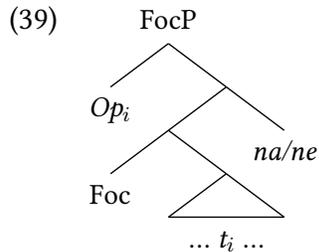
<sup>7</sup>Note that in clausal hierarchy, FocP dominates InterP which in turn dominates IP. We assume that InterP is head initial, though direct evidence for this is lacking, since Inter<sup>0</sup> lowers to I<sup>0</sup>.

▷ Furthermore, head order switches right back to head initial with TopP and CP.

• Note that BHR's potential solutions don't really seem to work for Guébie:

▷ We have found no evidence that *na/ne* are categorically deficient.

▷ Proposing that *na/ne* 'double' a null, head initial  $\text{Foc}^0$  just seems to move the problem down the road:



▷ Where does 'doubling' occur? Is *na/ne* adjoined in the syntax? If so why and how? If *na/ne* is inserted post-syntactically, how does that process work? BHR (2010) don't discuss these details.

• So, a straightforward analysis of the Guébie facts provides a **counterexample to the current formulation of the FOFC**.

• This type of particle is not limited to Guébie. We know of at least two other languages that have clause final particles in the case of *wh*-movement or relativization.

▷ Noon (Canging, Sengal) has a clause final particle *da* that is used in relative clauses (Soukka 2000; personal fieldwork):

(40) **Noon (Cangin) final relative particle**

a. baay-faa oomaa-naa feek **da**  
 dog-DEF child-DEF beat REL  
 'the dog that the child hit'

b. oomaa-naa Kodu waaf **da**  
 child-DEF.far Kodu like REL  
 'the child that Kodu likes'

▷ Vata, another Kru language, also has a clause final *wh*-particle, (41a). There is also a relative particle which cliticizes to the verb, (41b).

(41) **Vata (Kru) final wh-particle particle** (cf. Koopman 1984:35)

a. al<sup>1.4</sup> kofi<sup>1.4</sup> jε<sup>41</sup> e<sup>2</sup> je<sup>4</sup> la<sup>4</sup>  
 who Kofi saw 3.SG PART WH  
 'Who did Kofi see?'

b. yɔ-ɔ<sup>3.3</sup> (mɔmɔ<sup>2.3</sup>) kofi<sup>1.4</sup> jε-bɔ<sup>41.3</sup> e<sup>2</sup> je ...  
 child-DEF (3.SG-3.SG) Kofi saw-REL 3.SG PART ...  
 'The child Kofi saw...'

• We would like to suggest more attention be paid to the type of clause final C-level particle we have described for Guébie. Further investigation will be useful in testing the limits of the Final-over-Final Constraint.

## 5 Conclusions

- In this paper we have described the Guébie left periphery and proposed an initial theoretical analysis in terms of an articulated CP-domain.
- We have shown that not all elements in the C-domain in Guébie surface in the same place within a clause.

(42) Recap: Distribution of C-elements in Guébie

Clause initial	Clause-medial (Infl)	Clause final
Complementizer <i>gba</i>	Polar question marker <i>se, gbe</i>	Wh-particle
Wh-words		Relative clause particle
Focus		
Topic		

- We have also shown that despite wh-words being optional in Guébie, wh-questions without overt wh-words are not ambiguous due to gapping effects.
- We have also discussed several theoretical implications of the Guébie data.
  - ▷ The position of the polar question marker has implications for where interrogative force can be indicated in the clausal hierarchy.
  - ▷ This, in turn, suggests that selection in Guébie has to be able to operate at a distance, perhaps under Agree.
  - ▷ The presence of clause final particles sensitive to  $\bar{A}$ -operators at the left edge of the clause provides a potential counterexample to the Final-over-Final Constraint.
- Guébie is one of many African languages with clause-final particles and mixed-headedness.
  - ▷ Further in-depth studies of the C-domain in African languages could shed light on theoretical principles, just as we have shown the as the Guébie data does here.

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