

Object drop in Kwa and *Radical Pro Drop*

1 The Radical *pro* drop Generalization

In trying to account for the distribution of *pro* drop cross-linguistically, ? propose the *Radical Pro-Drop Generalization* (RPG) as in (1) and claim, furthermore, that in “[...] the absence of such morphology, *pro* drop is blocked.” (p. 679).¹

(1) *Radical Pro-Drop Generalization* (?:673):

Radical *pro* drop requires agglutinating morphology on pronouns.

Here, the relevant morphology is case, or any other morphology typically associated with nouns, e.g., number, but which is marked on pronouns as well. This can thus be thought of as the equivalent of rich verbal agreement for radical *pro* drop languages.

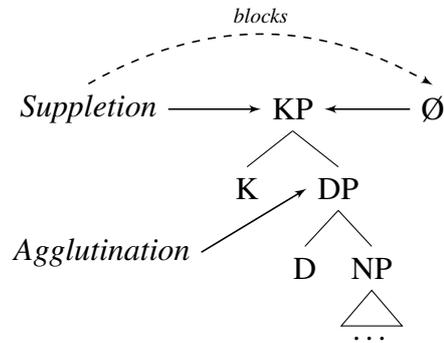
- Show how (1) is explained by N & S.
- Refer to Tree in (2) (structure of the pronoun)
- They assume that Pro-Drop is zero spellout of the pronoun.
- Suppletion also targets KP.
- This leads to blocking
- Agglutinating languages are different because spell-out targets a lower phrase.

¹Note that the RPG aims to account for both cases of subject drop and object drop across languages.

But for the purposes of the present paper, the focus will be on its applicability to cases of object drop.

- Thus, overt spell out no longer competes with null spellout and pro drop becomes possible

(2) *Neeleman & Szendrői's (2007) analysis*



This makes the prediction that a language with suppletion in the pronominal paradigm should not allow pro drop. The following section will show that this is problematic in the light of new data from the Kwa language Gã.

2 Pro drop in Gã

- Show pronominal paradigm in Ga.

(3) paradigm

- Since this is clearly suppletive - we predict that it shouldn't allow pro drop. The examples in (4) show that this prediction is incorrect for inanimate pronouns.

(4) inanimates

a.

b.

- However, the prediction of N & S is borne out for animate pronouns which cannot be dropped

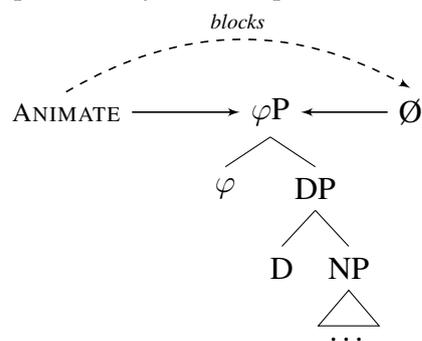
(5) animates

a.

b.

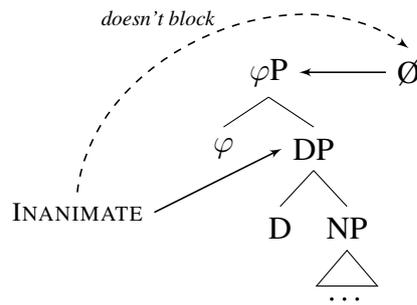
To account for this in N&S' analysis, we could assume that animate and inanimate pronouns are spelled out in different positions. Like suppletive pronouns, animates also spell out KP and therefore block application of the pro drop rule (6).

(6) *Spell-Out of animate pronouns in Gã*



- However, we could assume that inanimates spell out lower and just like pronouns in agglutinative languages

(7) *Spell-Out of inanimate pronouns in Gã*



- In (7), the rules no longer directly compete and null spellout is not blocked. However, this would predict optionality of pro drop with inanimates which is incorrect (see Ex.). One has to propose something else to ensure that once the pro drop rule becomes possible, spellout of the inanimate pronoun is blocked. This would be problematic, as there are contexts in which even inanimates are obligatory.
- For example ... show the 3 contexts for Gã.
- Include data showing that other radical pro drop languages DO require/allow pro drop in these contexts. Thus, there is no general property of pro drop languages that one could appeal to explain this.
- Thus N&S' analysis cannot straightforwardly be extended to Gã. The following will propose an alternative analysis for the distribution of pronouns discussed above.

3 An alternative analysis

- Instead, let us assume that contextual spellout rule for Gã is the one in (8) stating that pronouns (φ Ps) are deleted only in the complement position of V.

(8) *Pro Drop Rule in Gã*

$$\varphi P \rightarrow \emptyset / [_{VP} V _]$$

- In order for a pronoun to not undergo deletion, it must not be the complement of V, but rather in a specifier of some other head. There are two ways it can reach this position, either by movement or base-generation. These correspond to environments above.
- Object shift → explain the adverb case. Mention LCA etc.

(9) $[_{vP} I_{\mathcal{E}_1} [_{v'} ADV [_{v'} v [_{VP} V t_1]]]]$

- This explains why a clause-final adverbs forces pronunciation, it shows it has moved higher.
- We can also assume that animates obligatorily undergo Object Shift. Ideally some additional citations or arguments?? cf. Scandinavian.
- The other examples constitute cases in which the object pronoun is base-generated in a specifier.
- For example, with change of state verbs Embick proposes that they are in specifier position (show structure)

(10) change of state structure

- Same for depictives

(11) example

- Thus, we can account for the full distribution of pronouns by assuming that deletion in the complement of V.

4 Conclusion

N&S' system cannot be extended to Gã. Instead, I proposed an alternative where deletion takes place in the base position of the object.

References