

snippets

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Dative adjuncts are not interveners in Tamil *tough*-movement

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From Hartman 2011, Bruening 2014, and Keine & Poole 2017, the following putative generalization emerges: an adjunct cannot occur between the matrix predicate and the infinitival clause in *tough* movement (TM). The two positions that are most relevant to the discussion are shown below.

- (1) a. It is (to me)₁ important (to me)₂ to avoid cholesterol.
b. Cholesterol is (to me)₁ important (*to me)₂ to avoid.

While Bruening (2014) suggests that this shows a restriction on the position of the infinitival clause, Hartman (2011) proposes that this is an intervention effect even though English experiencer PPs do not otherwise show intervention effects. Whatever the correct analysis of (1) proves to be, it must take into account the observation put forward here, that the effect in (1b) is not found in all languages with TM. This will be illustrated for TM in Tamil.

First, note that Tamil TM has A/A'-properties, similar to English (Postal 1971).

- (2) a. [[ba:lə-nə adikε] (somu-ve kattaayepadutta) soləbəmaa iru-nd-**ICCI**
Balan-ACC beat-INF Somu-ACC convince easy be-PST-**3S.NEUT**
'It was easy (to convince Somu) to beat Balan.'
b. ba:lē_i [[___i adikε] (somu-ve kattaayepadutta) soləbəmaa
Balan-NOM beat-INF Somu-ACC convince easy
iru-nd-**ā**
be-PST-**3S.MASC**

(2a) shows an expletive construction like (1a). The embedded object (underlined) has accusative case and the matrix verb shows default neuter agreement. (2b), the TM variant, shows 'Balan' with nominative case, triggering matrix verb agreement, typical of clause subjects. The fact that 'Balan-NOM' crosses the argument 'Somu-ACC', and triggers agreement with the matrix verb, shows that Tamil TM is like English TM in having A/A'-properties.

Now consider dative experiencer placement, starting with an expletive construction.

- (3) [[ba:lə-nə adikε] (εnəkkɯ)₂ soləbəmaa (εnəkkɯ)₁] iru-nd-**ICCI**
Balan-ACC beat-INF PRN.1st.DAT easy be-PST-**3S.NEUT**
'It was easy (for me) to beat Balan.'

Since Tamil is head-final, then by hypothesis, positions 1 and 2 in (3) occur in reverse linear order to English, but in comparable structural positions. Crucially, the experiencer cannot be analyzed as an embedded subject and must be a matrix-level adjunct (as it is in English according to Hartman and Bruening); as (4a) shows, the subject of *adi* 'beat' takes nominative marking, not dative, and as (4b) shows, embedded subjects cannot occur after the embedded verb, unlike in (3).

