

Complementizer Alternations in Verb Fronting with Doubling Constructions in Haitian Creole

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1 Where to even begin?

✧ *Subject agreement with verb fronting?*

- ❑ The central puzzle of my work and the topic of today’s GP defense is the hitherto undocumented interaction of Verb Fronting with Doubling (VFD)¹ and the surfacing of complementizers in Haitian Creole (HC)
- ❑ I want my theory to successfully predict the contrast in (1) below that recent analyses fail to account for^{2,3}

- (1) a. *Se rete/manke ✓ ki / ✓ or ✗ ke / ✗ Ø te rete/manke Malis san goud nan kont la,*
SE remain/lack COMP PST remain/lack 3SG hundred gourd in account DEF
(*ki fè l te ka pran taksi rantre lakay*)
COMP make 3SG PST can take taxi return home
‘*It’s the fact that Malis had 100 gourde REMAINING/MISSING in the account*
(*that made it so he could take a taxi to return home*).’
- b. *rete ki (te) rete Malis san goud nan kont la, ...*
- c. *??rete ke (te) rete Malis san goud nan kont la, ...*
- d. **rete (te) rete Malis san goud nan kont la, ...*

¹I adopt the description *Verb Fronting with Doubling* from Glaude and Zribi-Hertz (2012) to capture the syntactic processes involved when a verb appears in two positions within a sentence: once in a fronted position to fulfill specific communicative functions (typically at the beginning of the sentence for emphasis or focus) and once in its canonical position within the clause.

²Note that the presence of the TAM morpheme *te* in (1) does not appear to impact acceptability. Of course, it’s absence renders the present tense reading: “... Malis *has* 100 gourde REMAINING/MISSING ...”.

³Judgments are not my own. I am a Haiti-born native speaker of HC and agree with many of the contrasts presented herein. However, my data comes from either prior results in the literature or the convergence of acceptability judgments of various informants from diverse lectal backgrounds. To name a few who provided the novel empirical data of my work, I thank my mother Regina Bois (Port-au-Prince, Bois-Verna), an uncle of mine on my father’s side, Yves Legerme (Petit-Goâve), and my academic advisor, Michel DeGraff (Port-au-Prince, Delmas). Note that despite their relation to me, these three individuals had no contact with one another prior to adulthood (if ever; e.g., Michel has yet to meet Yves). Moreover, they all grew up and lived in Haiti up through adolescence into adulthood. They are also all plurilinguals with command of languages aside from HC at various levels of proficiency between them, the details of which I set aside.

□ There are three questions we need to ask in order to understand what’s going on in (1):

1. What are the **ki/ke/∅** complementizer alternation facts?
2. How does VFD work?
3. What is the argument structure of verbs like **manke** and **rete**?

◆ Moreover, the data in (1) has important consequences for the debates that surround each of these three questions in the HC literature

1. Is the **ki/ke/∅** complementizer alternation a reflex of syntactic agreement akin to the Complementizer Agreement (CA) phenomenon found in other languages? (Takahashi and Gračanin-Yuksek, 2008)?
2. Is VFD in HC long head movement of the bare verb root to SpecCP (Hein, 2020)?
3. Does the argument structure of predicates like **manke** and **rete** preclude subject raising (Lumsden, 1991)?

◆ *So, where do we start?*

◆ Let us try to get a handle on these questions as they pertain to the correct analysis of (1) that I will propose: namely, that the argument structure of **rete** or **manke** allows for the possibility of the **ki** form of the complementizer, and that the **ki/ke/∅** is generally *not* because of CA, as popularly argued for in recent work (Baptista and Obata, 2015; Obata et al., 2015; Sugimoto and Pires, 2022; Takahashi and Gračanin-Yuksek, 2008), but rather happens because of an **antilocality** constraint in the narrow syntax (Erlewine, 2020, 2018)

2 Complementizers in HC

✧ *Complementizer alternation and the Split-Agree analysis*

□ Recent work in generative grammar has argued that the presence of φ -features on C in languages like HC is evident from the distribution of the complementizer **ki** in this language

◆ This line of work proposes that locality-sensitive morphophonological constraints explain the asymmetric distribution of the different complementizer forms in Creoles (Baptista and Obata, 2015; Sugimoto and Pires, 2022; Takahashi and Gračanin-Yuksek, 2008)

◆ I’ll call this “the Split-Agree analysis” (henceforth, SPLIT-AGREE)

□ When a subject undergoes *wh*-movement, **ki** must appear in the clause from which the subject is extracted (Koopman, 1984; DeGraff, 1993)

- (2) Kiyès ki te wè Mari?
 who COMP PST see Mari
 “Who saw Mari?”

❑ When an object undergoes *wh*-movement, *ki* is unacceptable

- (3) a. *Kiyès ki Mari te wè?
 who COMP Mari PST see
 “Who did Mari see?”
 b. *Kiyès (ke) te wè Mari?
 who COMP PST see Mari
 “Who saw Mari?”
 c. Kiyès (ke) Mari te wè?
 who COMP Mari PST see
 “Who did Mari see?”

❑ The *ki/ke/∅* facts above are often likened to the *que/qui* alternation in French where *qui* also surfaces with subject extraction, while *que* appears with non-subject extraction

- (4) a. L’homme que tu crois *que/qui viendra nous rendre visite (French, Pesetsky, 1982: 308)
 the-man that you believe that will.come us give visit
 “The man that you believe will come visit us.”
 b. L’homme que tu crois que/*qui j’ aime
 the-man that you believe that I like
 “The man that you believe I like.”

❑ *ki/ke* facts are the same in embedded clauses

- (5) a. Jan ap mande kiyès *(ki) renmen Mari
 Jan PROG ask who COMP like Mari
 “Jan is wondering who likes Mari.”
 b. Michel konnen kiyès *(ki) pral vini
 Michel know who COMP go come
 “Michel knows who will come.”
 c. Jan ap mande kisa (ke/*ki) Michel te achte
 Jan PROG wonder what COMP Michel PST buy
 “Jan is wondering what Michel bought.”

❑ Following closely after Carstens’s (2003) analysis of CA and Chomsky’s (2000, 2001) *probe-goal* agreement, Takahashi and Gračanin-Yuksek argue that agreement morphology can appear on C because it has its own set of unvalued φ -features that can enter into an agreement relation with a local DP bearing valued φ -features

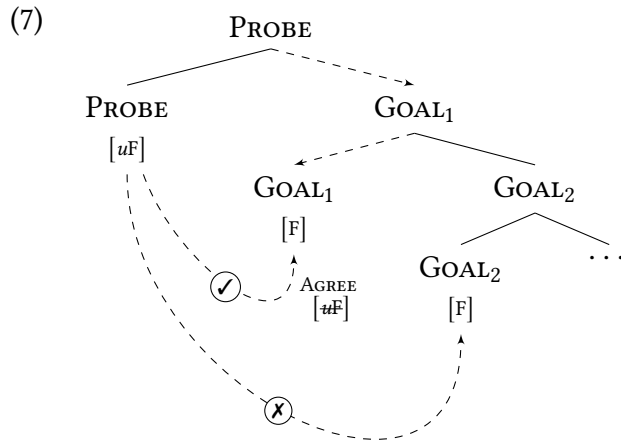
❑ What is agreement?

- ◆ Feature-driven model of grammar (Chomsky, 2000, 2001)
- ◆ The basic structure-building operation **Merge** freely combines two feature-specified syntactic objects to form a new syntactic unit ($\text{MERGE}(X, Y) = \{X, Y\}$)

- ◆ The operation **AGREE** establishes a syntactic dependency between features in order for successful communication with the interfaces
- ◆ A probe *matches* with goal within a local syntactic configuration constrained by **c-command** (6)

(6) **AGREE** (Chomsky 2000, 2001)

- (a) A **PROBE** with an unvalued feature [*uF*] searches for a **GOAL** with the corresponding valued feature [*F*]
- (b) **PROBE** c-commands **GOAL**
- (c) **GOAL** is closest to **PROBE**

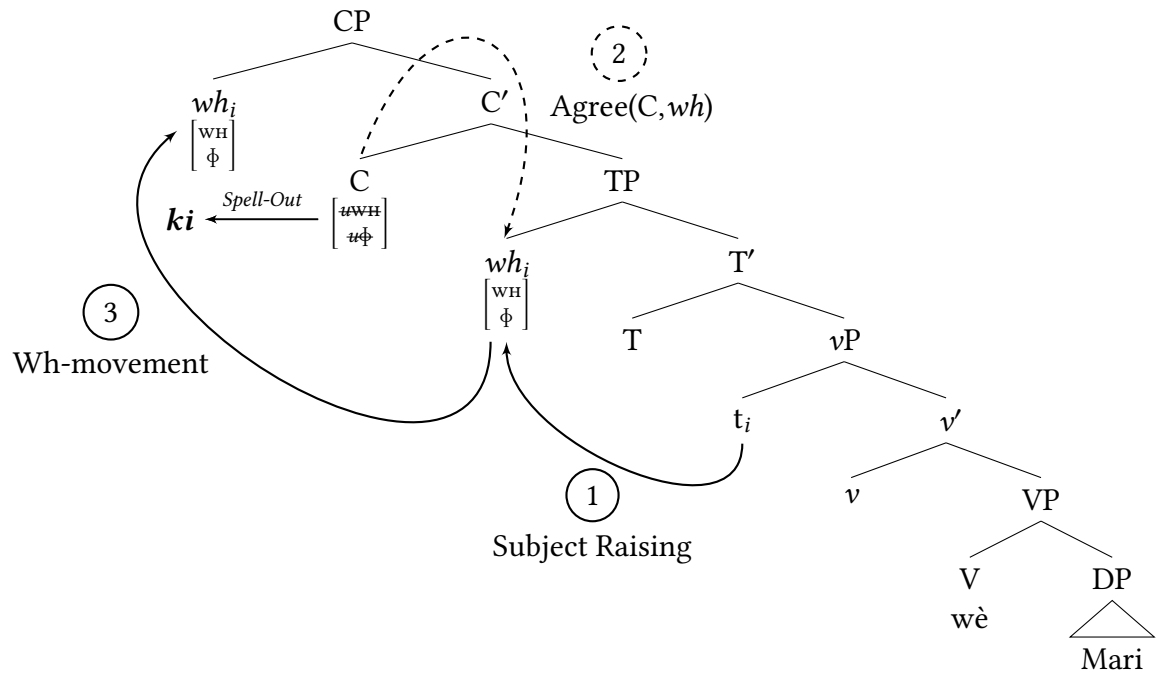


✧ *Complementizer Agreement in HC*

- Takahashi and Gračanin-Yuksek argue that when a subject *wh*-phrase is extracted, both the unvalued *wh*-feature and unvalued φ -features on C can be checked by a single goal – the subject *wh*-phrase in SpecTP

- ◆ The syntactic configuration in (8) is what allows C to be spelled out as *ki*

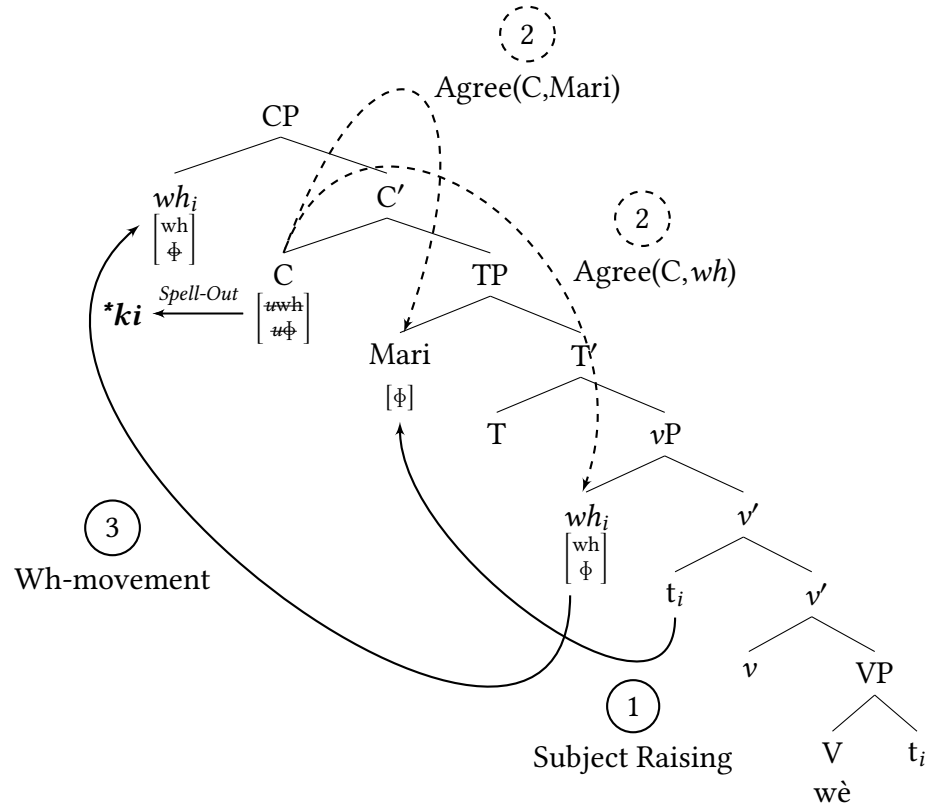
(8) *Wh*-subject extraction in HC



□ For object extraction (9), the unvalued features on C are checked by different goals

- ◆ The subject in SpecTP, being closest to C, checks its unvalued ϕ -features.
- ◆ The object *wh*-phrase checks C's unvalued *wh*-feature from its position adjoined to *vP*

(9) *Wh*-object extraction in HC



- Since the features on C are not checked by a single goal, it cannot be spelled out as *ki*
- Baptista and Obata (2015) extends SPLIT-AGREE to their analysis of similar CA facts from Creoles like Cape Verdean Creole (CVC), among other languages
 - ◆ In HC, subject raising occurs *before* C probes for agreement and allows C to agree with the *wh*-subject in the External Argument (EA) in SpecvP for both features
 - ◆ In CVC pattern of CA, subject-raising *follows* C-probing and we get the realization of *ki* with both subject and object extraction (10)–(11)⁴

⁴Subject extraction in CVC is derived the same way in both HC and CVC (see (9)), so I do not repeat it here.

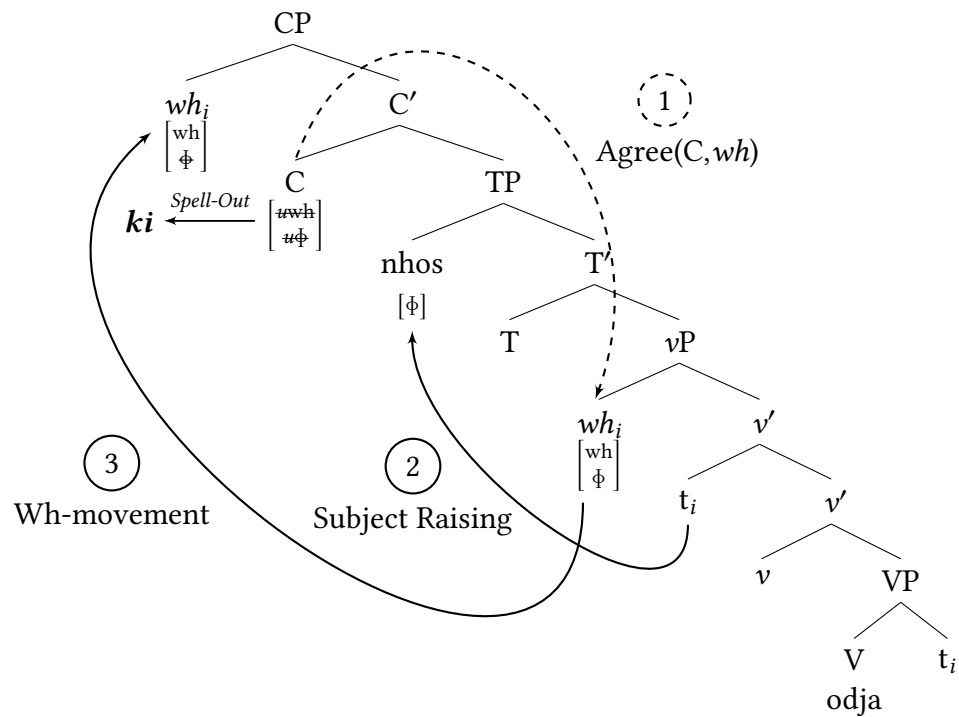
(10) Subject *wh*-question in CVC (Obata et al., 2015: 5)

- a. Kenhi **ki** odja João?
 who COMP see João
 “Who saw João?”
- b. *Kenhi \emptyset odja João?
 who COMP see João
 “Who saw João?”

(11) Object *wh*-question in CVC (Obata et al., 2015: 6)

- a. Kuze **ki** nhos odja?
 what COMP you see
 “What did you see?”
- b. *Kuze \emptyset nhos odja?
 what COMP you see
 “What did you see?”

(12) Complementizer Agreement in CVC⁵



⁵The counter-cyclicity issue in (12) is addressed in Sugimoto and Pires (2022).

❑ Advantages of SPLIT-AGREE

- ◆ Flexible and elegant way of capturing crosslinguistic variation without positing parametric differences in UG
- ◆ Variation emerges from the interaction of universal operations (e.g., MERGE, AGREE) with third factor principles of computational efficiency (Chomsky, 2005)
- ◆ Aligns with recent Minimalist goals of explaining variation through “underspecification of rule ordering in narrow syntax” (2022: 63), rather than innate parameters

❑ But the HC CA facts are more complex than standardly assumed ...

❑ Consider the following, with special attention to the category preceding the subject complementizer *ki*

- (13) Se [_{LocP} la] ki te gen jan de moun sa
SE there COMP PST have type of people DEM
“It is THERE that there were those type of people.”

- (14) Se pa pou di ke se [_{VP} manke] ki manke jan de moun sa sou fowòm nan
SE NEG for say COMP SE miss COMP miss type of people DEM on forum DEF
“This is not to say that those kinds of people are MISSING on the forum.”
Source: <https://shorturl.at/llNOg>

✧ What does the surfacing of *ki* in (13)-(14) tell us about the syntax of HC?

❑ (13) and (14) pose the same challenge to SPLIT-AGREE as (1) does

❑ The SPLIT-AGREE analysis says nothing about C agreement with phrasal categories aside from DPs

- ◆ How does C check off all of its unvalued features with the same DP in (13)-(14)?

✧ Is *ki* even a complementizer?

❑ The idea that *ki* realizes the C terminal is the weakest point in Takahashi and Gračanin-Yuksek (2008) (henceforth TGY), and yet it is an essential component of their analysis

❑ One alternative analysis is that *ki* is resumption (Law, 1995)

- ◆ According to TGY, the issue with Law’s analysis is that resumption in HC more generally uses the standard pronominal forms
- ◆ In (15), the resumptive pronoun *li* obviates the *wh*-island condition violation (DeGraff, 2007: 110-111)

- (15) Kiyès₁ Jan ap mande tèt li si *(li₁) achte machin nan? (TGY: 245)
who Jan PROG wonder REFL him if he buy car DEF
“Who₁ is Jan wondering whether he₁ bought the car?”

- Furthermore, *ki* is in complementary distribution with the other complementizer when it is overt

...which *TGY* take to suggest that the two vie for the same syntactic slot, namely, the head of a CP projection

- (16) a. *Kilès Mari panse ke ki te achte machin nan?
 who Mari think that WH ANT buy car the
 “Who does Mary think bought the car?”
 b. *Kilès Mari panse ki ke te achte machin nan?
 who Mari think WH that ANT buy car the
 “Who does Mary think bought the car?”

- There are other arguments that *TGY* levies *in favor* of the *ki*-as-C theory, but none of them actually strictly rule out the resumptive *ki* alternative

- *ki* may well still be resumption of a DP that obligatorily surfaces to license the *wh*-trace in SpecTP (or perhaps the lack of a subject in SpecTP in the first place)⁶

◆ Perhaps *i* is the “default pronominal” form⁷

◆ In fact, it is usually overlooked in the literature how the form *i* is actually a valid morphophonologically conditioned alternative to the pronoun *li* in some varieties of HC (17)

- (17) a. L ap mach akè y (Northern Haitian Creole, Villeneuve et al. 2013: 206, footnote 1)
 3SG PROG walk with 3SG
 “He’s walking with him.”
 b. i marye ak li
 3SG married with 3SG
 “He is married to him.”
 c. i mete y deyò
 3SG put 3SG outside
 “He put it outside.”

- Taking the Northern dialect of Cap-Haïtien as our reference for describing HC, it would be easy to consider *-i* as simply being the spell-out of the pronoun itself (**note, however, that *ki* spells out for any kind of noun, e.g., plural, inanimate, etc.**)

◆ But we do not have data on how complementizer alternation works in other dialects of HC

⁶For instance, one could take the bi-morphemic route where the complementizer decomposes into *ke* and a nominal element *-i* generated in SpecTP.

⁷See Korsah, 2016 for a similar argument in Akan.

- Next, a closer inspection of the pronunciation facts undermine the idea that **ki** and **ke** are two parts of the same terminal

- ◆ DeGraff had already hinted at cases where “**ki** is reduced to **k** which is cliticized onto an adjacent morpheme” (1992: 49)
- ◆ Indeed, in HC only the **ki** form of the complementizer, and not **ke**, allows vowel reduction

- (18) a. Se SA k te rive l (spellout: /se.'sak.te.rive/)
 BE that COMP PST happen 3SG
 “THAT is what happened to him.”
- b. Se SA k ap pase (spellout: /se.'sa.kap.pase/)
 BE that COMP PROG happen
 “THAT is what is happening.”
- (19) ??Se SA k li te wè (intended spellout: /se.'sak.li.te.wè/)
 BE that COMP 3SG PST see
 “THAT is what s/he saw.”

- (20) illustrates the same contrast and additionally carefully controls for the adjacent phonological context.⁸

- (20) a. Kisa ✓ k / ✓ ki ouvè pòt la
 what COMP open door DEF
 “What opens the door?”
- b. Kisa ✗ k / ✓ ke / ✓ Ø ou vle
 what COMP 2sg want
 “What do you want?”

- The reduced form **k** cannot surface in between the object and subject, suggesting that it can only be a reduction of **ki** which is also barred from the object extraction context.

- ◆ This makes sense if we assume that **ke** is more of a borrowing by analogy with French *que* and that it is monomorphemic in nature, spelling out only C.
- ◆ That **-i** may optionally be omitted provided that **k**- find another suitable host to cliticize onto is also compatible with the more general “*pro-drop*” behaviour we see in HC

- If **ki** is made up of two distinct projections, then (16) is straightforwardly ruled out by the unwarranted duplicity of the *wh*-morpheme **k**.⁹

⁸This contrast speaks to some of the controversies in the literature about **k** marking a “Frenchified” Creole sociolect, and not yet being fully incorporated into the grammar (DeGraff, 1992: 51). However, in some ways **ke** does have a deep influence on the grammar of HC similarly to what has been shown for the various complementizers of other Creole languages (Tramutoli, 2021).

⁹By the way, **ki** also occurs within DPs as a *wh*-marker AND it shows up in subject relatives.

3 Unaccusativity and Argument Structure

✧ *Subject raising and unaccusatives in HC*

- The unaccusativity hypothesis (Perlmutter, 1978; Burzio, 1986): two classes of intransitive verbs, unaccusative and unergative

- ◆ unergative takes theta-marked subject and no direct object: $[_{VP} DP_{Agent} \nu [_{VP} V]]$
- ◆ unaccusative takes theta-marked object: $[_{VP} \nu [_{VP} V DP_{Theme}]]$

Burzio's Generalization A verb without an External Argument does not assign accusative case and if a verb licenses accusative case, it has an External Argument

- Raising predicates with derived subjects need not subcategorize for (nonfinite) sentential complements¹⁰

- (21) a. Vè a kase
glass DEF break
“The glass is broken”
- b. *Vè a rete/manke
glass DEF remain/lack
- (22) a. *(Li) kase vè a
3SG break glass DEF
“S/he broke the glass”
- b. Rete/Manke vè a
remain/manke glass def
“The glass remains/is missing”

- Obligatory subject raising in HC with unaccusative **kase** “to break” (21a, 22a)
- With predicates like **rete** “to remain”/**manke** “to lack”, the strangeness of (21b) may result from vacuous displacement of the already case-licensed thematic object (Massam, 1989)
 - ◆ Note that it is important not to confuse **rete** “to remain” and **manke** “to lack” with their homonyms **rete** “someone resides somewhere” ($[_{VP} \nu [_{VP} V DP LocP]]$) and **manke** “someone misses someone/something” ($[_{VP} \nu [_{VP} V DP DP]]$) which behave more like **kase** because their first DP argument must surface preverbally

- (23) a. senkant goud rete nan kont sa
fifty gourdes stay in account DEM
“Fifty gourdes remain in that account.”
- b. rete senkant goud nan kont sa
remain fifty gourdes in account DEM
“There remain fifty gourdes in that account.”
- c. chat la rete nan kay sa
cat DEF stay in house DEM
“The Cat resides in that house.”

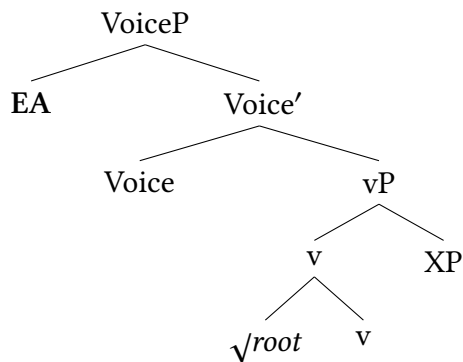
¹⁰Note that the asterisk in (22a) is telling us that an overt subject is obligatory with **kase** “to break” and not that the sentence is ill-formed.

- d. *rete chat la nan kay sa
stay cat DEF in house DEM
("The cat resides in that house.")
- (24) a. nan kont sa rete senkant goud
in account DEM stay fifty gourdes
"Fifty gourdes remain in that account."
b. *nan kay sa rete chat la
in house DEM stay cat DEF
("The cat resides in that house.")
- ◆ Compare (23a) and (23b) and note the apparent *optional* surfacing of the DP in the preverbal position with **rete** "to remain"
 - ◆ Also, (21b) and (23a) appear to contradict each other, but their differences could be due to the semantics of the DP (and adding a PP like *on the table* to (21b) doesn't improve it...), but the absence of the PP **nan kont sa** in (23a) degrades it (basically, some kind of ambiguity is affecting the judgments of my informants – more careful context construction needed in future work!)
- I propose that the difference between **kase** and **rete/manke** is best captured by differences in the c-selectional properties of unaccusative verbs in HC
 - Crucial to understanding the argument-structural properties of clause-taking unaccusative verbs like **rete/manke** is the fact that they permit an optional overt expletive preverbal subject with two DPs surfacing after the verb (25)
- (25) (Li) rete/manke Malis ven goud
3SG remain/lack Malis twenty goud
"Malis is remaining/missing twenty goud."
- ◆ Compare (25) with (23a) and (23b), and indeed the optional preverbal expletive **li** could work with (23b)
- Additionally, if (what I will call) the *dative subject* surfaces preverbally, the position of that first postverbal DP of **rete** that we had earlier is now obligatorily a gap (i.e., you can't fill it in with another argument)
- (26) Malis rete/manke ___ ven goud
Malis remain/lack twenty goud
"Malis is remaining/missing twenty goud."
- ◆ Surprisingly, examples like (26) where **rete** takes two postverbal DPs has largely gone unnoticed in the literature (cf. Déprez, 1992; Lumsden, 1991; Massam, 1989)
 - ◆ I argue that there is a movement dependency between Malis and the gap position in (26) but it is puzzling how movement can be optional with this configuration when compared to the normal behaviour of unaccusative verbs in accordance with **Burzio's Generalization**

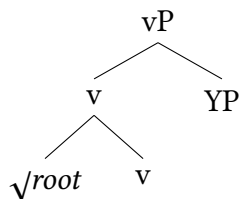
❖ *The argument structure of **rete/manke***

- ❑ Argument structure is *syntactic* not lexical (Hale and Keyser, 1993) and thematic roles are born out of specific structural relations
 - ◆ An argument is interpreted as an Agent because it is merged in the subject position, and if it is merged in the object position, it is interpreted as the Theme (the same holds for other thematic roles) (Harves, 2002: 19)
- ❑ The core of the thematic domain is a vP¹¹
- ❑ Verbal domain may consist of at least a few functional projections above the root
 - ◆ Categorizing *v* head (Marantz 1997, 2000; Arad 2003; Harley 2005, 2009, 2014; Myler, 2018; Jung, 2016)
 - ◆ External Argument (EA)-introducing head (e.g., Voice in Kratzer, 1996)
 - ◆ Possibly more depending on your theory of argument structure (e.g., MidP in Sundaresan and McFadden, 2017, PartP in Collins, 2024, etc.)

(27) *Basic verb phrase*



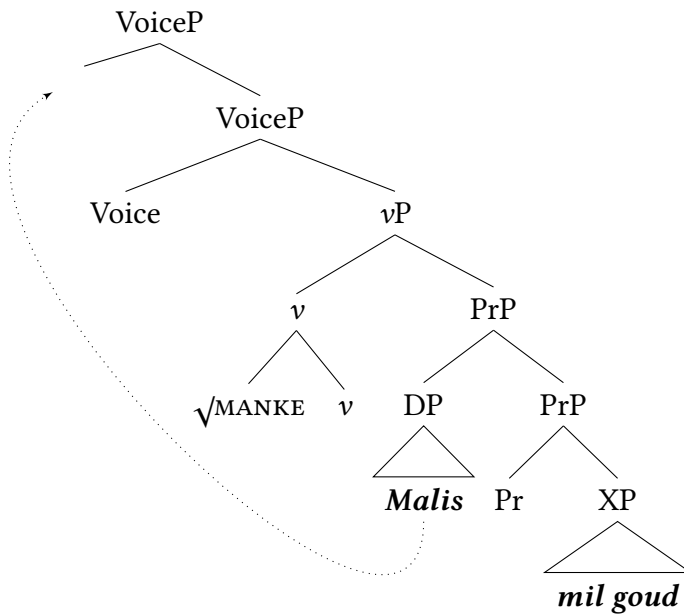
(28) *Basic unaccusative verb phrase*



¹¹Reflects major trends in argument structure and the syntax of verb phrases (Kratzer, 1996; Marantz, 1997, 2001, 2009, 2013; Pyllkänen, 2002/2008; Schäfer, 2008; Bruening, 2010, 2013; Harley, 2010, 2013, 2014; Irwin, 2012; Wood, 2014, 2015; Alexiadou et al., 2015; Kastner, 2016; Myler, 2016; amongst many others).

- ❑ XP in (27) is accusative and YP in (28) presumably will need to move to receive nominative case at SpecTP
- ❑ However, the *rete/manke* data illustrates the following scenario:

(29) *Argument Structure of manke*



- ❑ We set aside some of the details of the structure in (29) for today, focusing on the fact that, when *Malis* stays in situ AND when the optional expletive *li* is unrealized, this is precisely when VFD with *rete* may (preferably) result in *ki*
 - ◆ If the movement of *Malis* is actually obligatory whenever it occurs, then it appears like the verb does not assign dative case to the postverbal position in case that the external argument position is present (though this is basically just restating the facts)
 - ◆ So only one theta-marked subject is allowed, either the preverbal one or the postverbal one, not both
 - ◆ If the postverbal subject is theta-marked, then an expletive may surface preverbally and not vice versa
- ❑ VFD is not the only time this happens, and in (30) we see that the same predicate any argument can end up surfacing preverbally with *ki* (“?” means weird but acceptable)

- (30) a. Se [PP nan kont la] **ki** te rete (?Malis) senkant goud
 FOC in account DEF COMP PST remain 3SG fifty gourde
 “It is in the account that there remained (?Malis) fifty gourdes.”
- b. Se [DP Malis] **ki** te rete (*l) senkant goud nan kont la
 FOC Malis COMP PST remain 3SG fifty gourdes in account DEF
 “It is Malis who had fifty gourdes remaining (*him) in the account.”
- c. Se [DP senkant goud] **ki** te rete (?Malis) nan kont la
 FOC fifty gourde COMP PST remain Malis in account DEF
 “It is fifty gourdes that remained (?Malis) in the account.”

- ❑ Note again, if **Malis** raises, the base position must be a gap (30b)
- ❑ The general picture above partially extends to other predicates, such as the existential HAVE verb of the language **gen** (cf. Myler, 2016), except in HC **gen** does not allow VFD and the morpheme corresponding with English expletive *there* is obligatorily null (and below we also see the lexical *there* which is **la** in HC)

- (31) Se [LocP la] **ki** te gen jan de moun sa
 SE there COMP PST have type of people DEM
 “It is THERE that there were those type of people.”

✧ *Interim Conclusion: Argument structure matters!*

- ❑ The optional presence of VoiceP might be the reason why the dative subject can ever be structurally higher than the verb in **rete/manke**
- ❑ VFD can result in **ki** when, for some reason or another, the verb is structurally higher than other arguments
- ❑ **Bottom line:** Argument structure in general, and not the nature of agreement relations between C and nearby nominal goals, predicts when \bar{A} -movement may lead to the surfacing of **ki**, and when it shouldn't

4 Antilocality and Complementizer-trace

- ❑ In English, the *that*-trace effect prohibits the extraction of an embedded subject when the complementizer *that* is overtly realized

- (32) *The English that-trace effect* (Perlmutter, 1968: 214)
- a. Who did he say [CP (*that) ____ hid the rutabaga]?
- b. What did he say [CP (that) Laura hid ____]?

- ❑ Broader phenomenon of complementizer-trace effects found in many languages (see Petsky, 2017 and references therein)

(33) *Complementizer-trace effect in Levantine Arabic* (Kenstowicz, 1989: 264)

- a. ʔayy bint Fariid kaal [CP (*innu) ____ iʃtarat l-fuʃtaan]?
 which girl Fariid said that bought the-dress
 “Which girl did Fariid say bought the dress?”
- b. ʔayy fuʃtaan Fariid kaal [CP (innu) l-bint iʃtarat ____]?
 which dress Fariid said that the-girl bought
 “Which dress did Fariid say that the girl bought?”

(34) *Complementizer-trace effect in Swedish* (Boef & Franco, 2012)

- a. mannen [_{RC} (som) du hoppas [CP (*att) ____ kommer hit]]
 man.the C_{REL} you hope that comes here
 “the man that you hope will come here”
- b. mannen [_{RC} (som) du hoppas [CP (att) Maria ska träffa ____ imorgon]]
 man.the C_{REL} you hope that Mary will meet tomorrow
 “the man that you hope Mary will meet tomorrow”

□ In HC, the *ki/ke/∅* alternation has been the crucial domain for examining asymmetries in subject/object extraction

- (35) a. Kiyès ki te wè Mari?
 who COMP PST see Mari
 “Who saw Mari?”
- b. *Kiyès ki Mari te wè?
 who COMP Mari PST see
 “Who did Mari see?”
- c. *Kiyès (ke) te wè Mari?
 who COMP PST see Mari
 “Who saw Mari?”
- d. Kiyès (ke) Mari te wè?
 who COMP Mari PST see
 “Who did Mari see?”

✧ *The anti-that-trace effect*

“The addition of a single adjunct or moved phrase is enough to obviate the special behavior of subject extraction” (Erlewine, 2020: 26)

(36) *English anti-that-trace effect* (Pesetsky & Torrego 2001: 376, 410)

- a. Sue met the man who Mary is claiming that for all intents and purposes was the mayor of the city.
- b. Sue met the man who Mary is claiming for all intents and purposes was the mayor of the city.

□ Similar anti-*that*-trace effects reported by Takahashi and Gračanin-Yuksek (2008: 236–237)

◆ yè “yesterday” merges no lower than the subject in SpecTP (37)

- (37) a. Yè Jan te wè Mari.
 yesterday Jan PST see Mari
- b. *Jan yè te wè Mari.
 Jan yesterday PST see Mari
- c. *Jan te yè wè Mari.
 Jan PST yesterday see Mari
- d. *Jan te wè yè Mari.
 Jan PST see yesterday Mari
 “Jan saw Mari yesterday.”

- ◆ *ki* is ruled out by the intervention of *yè* (38-39)
- ◆ ... though *yè* intervention is unable to *rule in* the use of the alternative *ke* form of the complementizer (40), which is usually possible for other languages (e.g., English, Hellendoorn, etc.) - what's up with that? *TGY* say it's because *phi*-features on interrogative C are obligatory and must agree ...

- (38) a. ?M ap mande kiles ye ki achte yon machin.
 I ASP wonder who yesterday ki buy a car
 "I am wondering who bought a car yesterday."
- b. *M ap mande kiles ki ye achte yon machin.
 I ASP wonder who ki yesterday buy a car
 "I am wondering who bought a car yesterday."

- (39) ... [CP C₀ [_{uφ}], [_{uwh}] [TP (*yè*) kilès [_φ], [_{wh}] ...[_{vP} achte yon machin]]]
-

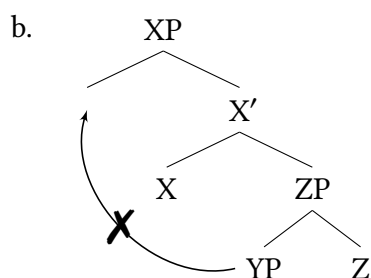
- (40) a. *M ap mande kilès yè achte yon machin.
 1SG ASP wonder who yesterday buy a car
 "I am wondering who bought a car yesterday."
- b. *M ap mande kilès ke yè achte yon machin.
 1SG ASP wonder who that yesterday buy a car
 "I am wondering who bought a car yesterday."

- The claim here is that *ki/ke/∅* effects are like complementizer-trace effects and therefore, I will extend Erlewine's antilocality analysis to this phenomenon (as he does for French and Nupe in Erlewine, 2020: 10)

✧ *Assumptions: Spec-to-Spec Antilocality and CT probes*

- Complementizer-trace effects result from *Spec-to-Spec Anti-Locality* (Erlewine, 2020)

- (41) a. **Generalized Spec-to-Spec Antilocality (Deal, 2019)**
 Movement of a phrase from SpecXP must cross a maximal projection other than XP.



- ❑ T bears [PROBE: D] which is in charge of subject raising and EPP satisfaction
- ❑ C bears [PROBE: \bar{A}] which is in charge of *wh*-movement and successive cyclic movement through CP
- ❑ C and T can be bundled into a single head CT which bears [PROBE: \bar{A} +D] (see also Marti-nović, 2015)

(42) **Complementizer-trace effects due to anti-locality** (Erlewine, 2020: 4)

a. Non-subject extraction with split C and T:

✓ ... [_{CP} \uparrow (that/innu/att) [_{TP} subject ...] \uparrow] \Rightarrow complementizer optional

b. Subject extraction with split C and T:

* ... [_{CP} \uparrow (that/innu/att) [_{TP} \uparrow ...] \uparrow] \Rightarrow movement too short!

c. Subject extraction with bundled CT:

✓ ... [_{CTP} \uparrow ...] \Rightarrow ok with no overt complementizer

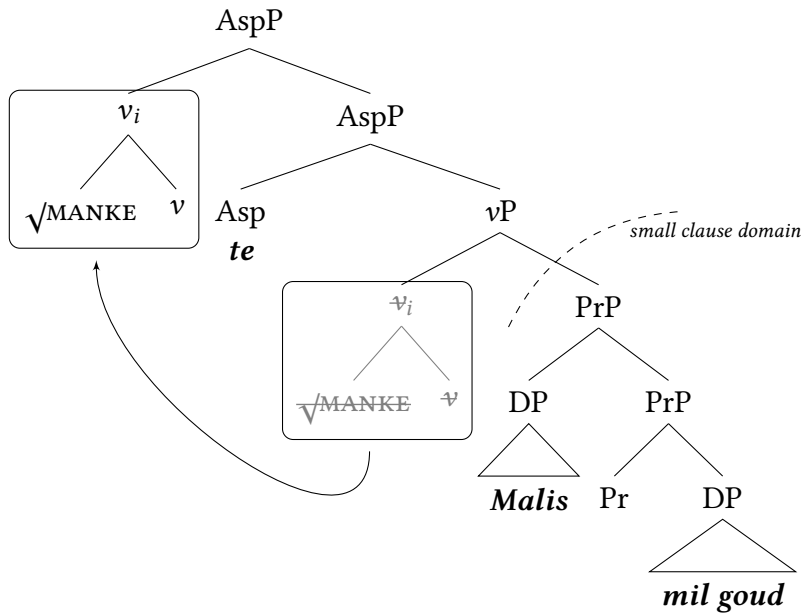
✧ *Deriving ki with VFDs*

- ❑ Recall that the main objective of the day is to derive (1), repeated below as (43)

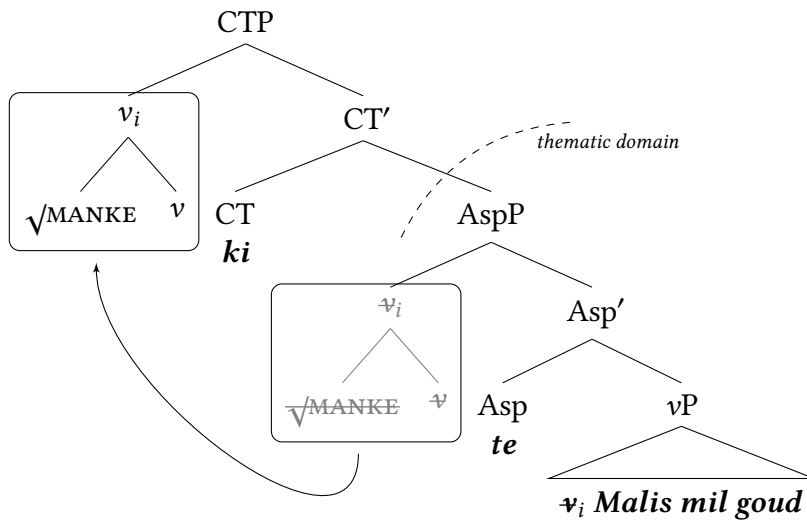
- (43) a. Se rete/manke ✓ki / ✓or ✗ke / ✗Ø te rete/manke Malis san goud nan kont la,
 SE remain/lack COMP PST remain/lack 3SG hundred gourd in account DEF
 (ki fè l te ka pran taksi rantre lakay)
 COMP make 3SG PST can take taxi return home
 ‘It’s the fact that Malis had 100 gourde REMAINING/MISSING in the account
 (that made it so he could take a taxi to return home).’
 b. rete ki (te) rete Malis san goud nan kont la, ...
 c. ??rete ke (te) rete Malis san goud nan kont la, ...
 d. *rete (te) rete Malis san goud nan kont la, ...

- ❑ From here, it’s simple enough to sketch out a possible derivation for (43)
- ❑ I propose that in VFD, the complex head consisting of the verb root and the categorizing morpheme ends up at SpecCTP by phrasal movement; this movement is driven by two factors:
 1. The verb bears an [\bar{A}] because it is a semantically focused and contentful constituent
 2. Due to its argument structure, the verb is the highest goal for agreement leading to movement out from the thematic domain

(44) Deriving *manke ki manke* with Antilocality: Thematic Domain¹²



(45) Deriving *manke ki manke* with Antilocality: Functional Domain



¹²See Preminger (2019) for an argument as to why there is no antilocality issue with phrasal head movement in (44).

✧ *Conclusion: ...but is it really about antilocality?*

❑ To recap:

- ◆ 3 questions: CA, VFD, and argument structure
- ◆ TGY's SPLIT-AGREE fails, largely because of the VFD with **ki** facts
- ◆ The peculiar behaviour of **rete/manke** stems from their argument structure
- ◆ The **ki/ke/∅** alternation is a type of complementizer-trace effect which is amenable to the antilocality explanation

❑ But my story so far implies that, were **ki** not to surface, the verb would be **in danger of** stopping at a position from which we must establish a dependency with a gap that is **too close**

- ◆ How come? This is not a language where the verb may move to satisfy EPP as in verb-initial languages
- ◆ There is no valid parse of (46) (which is surprising because HC is supposed to have a null complementizer)

(46) *rete/manke te (rete) Malis ven goud
remain/lack PST remain/lack Malis twenty goud

❑ And how is (45) avoiding antilocality exactly?

❑ Moreover, (1/43) suggests that the surfacing of **ke** is variably acceptable (albeit dispreferred) in VFD with **ki** constructions

- ◆ If anything, the more egregious issue is the null spellout of C which is possibly lethally ambiguous in some way...

❑ Instead, let's re-frame the motivation for bundling C and T as an alternative and more economical method for EPP satisfaction in HC

THANK-YOU