

Thì Cầ? and Control Infinitives

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1. Background about Thai

- Uninflected language
- Absence of tense and agreement markings
- Time reference expressed by time adverbs and aspect/mood markers

1. Background about Thai (cont.)

- (1) a. Somsak ʔàan ɲǎŋsǔw thúk.wan
Somsak read books every day
“Somsak reads a book/books every day.”
- b. Somsak ʔàan ɲǎŋsǔw mûuawaanníi
Somsak read books yesterday
“Somsak read a book/books yesterday.”

In (1a, b) the verb *ʔàan* remains constant in the present and past contexts (i.e. *thúk wan* and *mûuawaanníi*)

1. Background about Thai (cont.)

(1) c. Somsak cà? ʔàan ɲǎŋsǔʉ phrûŋníi
Somsak will read books tomorrow
“Somsak will read a book/books tomorrow.”

d. Somsak kamlaŋ ʔàan ɲǎŋsǔʉ tɔɔnníi
Somsak prog. read books at this time
“Somsak is reading a book/books at this time.”

- the verb form remains the same
- preverbal aux added: *càʔ*, an aspectual modal comparable to English “will” and *kamlaŋ*, a progressive marker

Summary

(Implicit) tense and overt aspect/mood markers suggest I(nflectional) P(hrase) and finiteness.

1. Background about Thai (cont.)

Structure of presentation:

Section 2: Thai bi-clausal structures (finite and non-finiteness), featuring *thîi càʔ* marker for infinitives and hypothetical tense.

Section 3: Common properties of *thîi càʔ* and Romance *de/di* and how Kayne (2000) accounts for *di*-clauses.

Section 4: My analysis for Thai *thîi càʔ*-clauses, incorporating Kayne's approach. My point of departure lies in the establishment of a M(ood) I(rrealis) P(hrase), which I propose, to account for the presence of a hypothetical tense.

Section 5: Conclusion

2. Thai bi-clausal structure

Given that Thai does not exhibit overt tense and agreement,
how can we distinguish between finite and non-finite complements?

2.1 Finite clausal complements

2.1.1 Complementizer *wâa*

Comp *wâa* introduces “assertive” (non-factive) clauses
(Ekniyom, 1982)

- (2) Somsak phûut/khít wâa (kháw) cà? maahăa Prapa (phrûṇṇii)
Somsak said/thought Comp he will come- Prapa (tomorrow)
see
“Somsak said/thought that he would come to see Prapa (tomorrow)”

2. Thai bi-clausal structure (cont.)

2.1.2 Comp *thîi*

Comp *thîi* introduces “non-assertive” (i.e. factive) clauses

(3) Somsak sĭadaaj thĭi (kháw) māj dāj maahǎa chán (mŭwawaanníi)
Somsak regret Comp he neg. come- I (yesterday)
see

“Somsak regretted that he was unable to come to see me (yesterday).”

- Thai being pro-drop; *kháw* is optional.
- Time adverbs can occur within clausal complements.

2. Thai bi-clausal structure (cont.)

2.2 Non-finite Complements: Control infinitives

According to Hoonchamlong (1991), non-finiteness is determined by

- Insertion of perfective *khuj* or progressive *kamlan*, or overt pronouns into the clause in question
- Non-finite: these markers or overt pronouns CANNOT appear.
- Finite: these aspect markers or overt pronouns CAN appear.

2. Thai bi-clausal structure (cont.)

2.2 Non-finite Complements: Control infinitives

- (4) a. Somsak *jàak* (càʔ) maa ɲaan.wankəət chán
 Somsak want come party.birthday I

“Somsak wants to come to my birthday party.”

(4a): *jàak* precedes an embedded clause; *càʔ* is optional

- (4) b. Somsak *jàak* **khuj*/**kamlan* (càʔ) maa ɲaan.wankəət chán
 c. Somsak *jàak* **kháw* (càʔ) maa ɲaan.wankəət chán

(4b): *jàak* cannot take a complement extended by *khuj* or *kamlan*

(4c): *jàak* cannot appear with *kháw*, a pronoun.

2. Thai bi-clausal structure (cont.)

2.2 Non-finite Complements: Control infinitives

- (4) d. Somsak jàak *thîi* (cà?) maa ɲaan.wankəət chán
 Somsak want THII INF come party.birthday I

“Somsak wants to come specifically to my birthday party.”

(4d): when *thîi* appears, *cà?* is obligatory, and the infinitive conveys emphatic focus (shown as ‘specifically’ in the translation).

Observation: What induces specificity?

- RC modifies a noun by restricting its reference to a specific entity among a class of similar entities.
- This type of modification enables a contrastive effect.
- The contrast typical of RC’s might carry over to control constructions with *thîi*, resulting in additional specificity.

2. Thai bi-clausal structure (cont.)

2.2 Non-finite Complements: Control infinitives

The presence of *thîi càʔ* signals a non-finite clause due to the ban on co-occurrences of verbs of the *jàak* type and tense auxiliaries or overt pronouns.

2.3 *Thîi càʔ* and Hypothetical Tense

Stowell (1982): Tensed and Untensed Infinitives

Distinction: the presence or absence of the hypothetical/unrealized tense of the infinitives in question.

Only tensed infinitives (Subject control) are the type with PRO and tense.

Untensed infinitives (Object control) are not.

2. Thai bi-clausal structure (cont.)

2.3 *Thîi càʔ* and Hypothetical Tense

English (subject) control constructions

See (5) and (6), reproduced from Stowell's relevant examples:

(5) Jenny remembered [PRO to bring the wine]

(6) Jim tried [PRO to lock the door]

Infinitive in (5) suggests a situation that has not taken place and the one in (6) an unsuccessful situation.

Both situations involve a hypothetical/unrealized tense.

2. Thai bi-clausal structure (cont.)

2.3 *Thîi càʔ* and Hypothetical Tense

PRO and a hypothetical tense

- The presence of a hypothetical tense necessitates a tense operator, which requires scope.
- Since *remember* and *try* are subject control verbs, they contain PRO's, which are ungoverned.
- The scope of the tense operator is S' (Chomsky 1981), a blocking category, preventing PRO from government.

2. Thai bi-clausal structure (cont.)

2.3 *Thîi càʔ* and Hypothetical Tense

Thîi càʔ clauses are complements of (subj.) control verbs

- (7) Prapa luum [thîi càʔ sòn còtmăaj]
Prapa forget THII INF send letter

“Prapa forgot to send the letter.”

- (8) Somsak p^hajajaam [thîi càʔ lɔk pratuu]
Somsak try THII INF lock door

“Somsak tried to lock the door.”

Note: The omission of *thîi càʔ* implies an experiential reading (i.e. “sending the letter” and “locking the door”).

2. Thai bi-clausal structure (cont.)

2.3 *Thîi càʔ* and Hypothetical Tense

In (7) and (8), both *thîi càʔ sòŋ còtmăaj* and *thîi càʔ lɔk pratuu* are hypothetical. The semantics of the *thîi càʔ* clauses in (7) and (8) suggests that the letter has not been sent and the door has not been locked.

Compared to English (5) and (6), *thîi càʔ* clauses in (7) and (8) contain PRO and their tenses are hypothetical, just like their English counterparts.

The syntax-semantics interface of tensed infinitives such as (7) and (8) explains why the diagnostics for an infinitive implies the presence of PRO and control.

3. *Thîi càʔ* and Romance *de*

3.1 *Thîi càʔ*

- *Thîi*: complementizer; *càʔ*: aspectual modal
- *Thîi*: a marker for subordination; *càʔ* unlikely to be a typical modal auxiliary,
 - but rather a marker for an irrealis/hypothetical feature
- *Thîi* and *càʔ* constitute a marker which introduces infinitives (as Jenks 2006 also claims)

3. *Thîi càʔ* and Romance *de* (cont.)

3.1 *Thîi càʔ*

Recall that *thîi càʔ* is optional in (4d) (with the verb *jàak* “want”). In (9) below *thîi càʔ* is obligatory, just like in (7) and (8).

- (9) Somsak sabajcaj *(*thîi càʔ*) thamŋaan kàp raw
Somsak comfortable THII INF work with us
“Somsak feels comfortable [to work with us].”

Without *thîi càʔ*, (9) is ungrammatical.

This suggests a strong affinity between this type of predicate and a hypothetical tense, which is expressed by *thîi càʔ*-clauses.

3. *Thîi càʔ* and Romance *de* (cont.)

3.2 Romance *de/di*

The connection between *thîi càʔ* clause and ‘feel comfortable’ predicate is reminiscent of Kayne’s (2000) account for Romance *de/di*-infinitives

See (10a) and (10b)

- (10) a. Jean a oublié ses gants
 John has forgotten his gloves
- b. Jean a oublié *(de) mettre ses gants
 John has forgotten DE put-on his gloves

3. *Thû cà ?* and Romance *de* (cont.)

3.2 Romance *de/di*

Verbs such as *oubliér* “forget” occur straightforwardly with direct objects in (10a).

They require a *de* (and similarly *di* in Italian) when their internal argument is infinitival as in (10b).

Kayne (2000) suggests that *de/di* plays the licensing role of infinitives.

By virtue of the nominal features of infinitives, *de/di* attracts bare infinitives to its specifier position.

3. *Thîi cà?* and Romance *de* (cont.)

3.3 Common Properties between *thîi* and *di*

- (1) They both take infinitival complements (i.e. *di*-phrases and *thîi-cà?* clauses).
- (2) As subject infinitives, they do not occupy subject but topic position, unlike DP's. (cf. Kayne's discussion of (51) and (55) and Singhapreecha's (2010) discussion of (39) and (40)).
- (3) Given that *thîi* and *di*-clauses are not DP, they are not assigned Case.
- (4) While not being assigned Case, *thîi* and *di* have nominal status.

3. *Thû cà?* and Romance *de* (cont.)

3.4 Kayne's account for Romance *de/di*

See (11), reproduced from his (43)

(11) Gianni ha tentato [di cantare]

“John has tried [to sing]”

Claim: *di cantare* is

NOT a result of the merger of the bare infinitive and *di*,

BUT a result of the attraction of the bare infinitive (with nominal features) to [Spec,di]

3. *Thûi cà?* and Romance *de* (cont.)

3.4. Kayne's account for Romance *de/di*

Relevant parts of the derivation:


- (12) a. *di* attracts the bare infinitive to its specifier

$[[_{IP} \text{cantare}]_i [di [_{VP} \text{tentato } t_i]]$




- b. *di* raises to adjoin to W, head of W(ord Order) P(hrase)

$[_{WP} di_j + W [_{IP} \text{cantare}]_i [t_j [_{VP} \text{tentato } t_i]]]$



- c. The remnant VP is attracted to Spec, WP.

$[_{WP} [_{VP} \text{tentato } t_i]_k [di_j + W [_{IP} \text{cantare}]_i [t_j t_k]]]$



4. Singhapreecha's account for *thîi càʔ* - clauses

4.1 M(ood) I(rrealis) P(hrase)

Why is irrealis involved?

Certain verbs such as *jàak* “want”, *luum* “forget”, *p^hajajaam* “try”, and *sabajcaj* “feel comfortable” take *thîi càʔ*-clauses

Others such as modal aux *tɔ̌ɔ̌ɨ* “must” and *khuj* “be used to” do not.

Claim: there are certain features in the former type of verbs that only occur with infinitives.

4. Singhapreecha's account for *thîi càʔ* - clauses (cont.)

4.1 M(ood) I(rrealis) P(hrase)

Recall that in Kayne's account for (10), the FC dominating *di*-phrase is WP, enabling the restoration of the word order.

I propose that WP be dispensed with in favor of M(I)P.

M(I) head is not morphologically overt, but contains an irrealis feature; it is phonetically realized by means of adjunction of *thîi* or *di to* it.

The checking of irrealis features renders a hypothetical proposition (expressed in the clausal complement).

4. Singhapreecha's account for *thîi càʔ* - clauses (cont.)

4.2 Derivation of (8)

(8) a. Somsak p^hajajaam [thîi càʔ lɔk pratuu]
“Somsak tried to lock the door.”

a. the infinitive *càʔ lɔk pratuu* is merged with V *p^hajajaam*
→ [_{VP} p^hajajaam [_{IP} PRO càʔ lɔk pratuu]]

b. *thîi* is introduced

→ [_{THP} thîi [_{VP} p^hajajaam [_{IP} PRO càʔ lɔk pratuu]]]

c. *thîi* attracts the infinitive to its Spec

→ [_{THP} [_{IP} PRO càʔ lɔk pratuu]_i [thîi [_{VP} p^hajajaam t_i]]]

4. Singhapreecha's account for *thîi càʔ* - clauses (cont.)

4.2 Derivation of (8)

d. M(I)P is introduced; *thîi* raises to adjoin to M(I) head

$[_{M(I)P} [thîi_j + M(I)] [_{THP} [_{IP} PRO\ càʔ\ lɔk\ pratuu]_i [t_j [_{VP} p^hajaajaam\ t_i]]]]$

e. *thîi*+M(I) attracts the remnant VP to its Spec

$[_{M(I)P} [_{VP} p^hajaajaam\ t_i]_k [thîi_j + M(I)] [_{THP} [_{IP} PRO\ càʔ\ lɔk\ pratuu]_i [t_j\ t_k]]]]$

Significant insight from the Thai facts: remnant VP raises for (irrealis) feature checking.

Similar to Thai, the ‘forget’ and ‘try’ class in French and Italian requires *de* and *di*-infinitival complements.

5. Conclusion

The study contributes to the analysis of control structures in two ways.

Syntactically, by means of MIP, which I claim to be present in Thai and Romance control infinitives alike, the remnant movement of VP is driven by (irrealis) feature checking.

Semantically, the study can account for the hypothetical proposition that arises in the infinitival complement.

It is necessary that an approach to control infinitives incorporates irrealis/desiderative mood, as suggested by the facts from Thai and Romance.

6. References

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