

## Deictic '*g(h)*' and Phase Edges

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**Introduction.** Kayne (1993) analyzes English possessive constructions such as (1) as their Hungarian matching counterpart. Building on Szabolcsi (1981; 1983), Kayne (1993) proposes that (1) has the underlying structure in (2) where  $D/P_e$  is an empty oblique prepositional  $D^\circ$ . The derivation of (1) is illustrated in (3):  $DP_{\text{poss}}$  first raises to Spec  $D/P_e^\circ$ ; subsequently  $D/P_e$  incorporates into BE. This incorporation has two major implications: (i) it makes the otherwise A-bar position Spec  $D/P_e$  into an A-position allowing  $DP_{\text{poss}}$  to raise to Spec of the copula, (ii)  $D/P_e + \text{BE}$  is spelled out as HAVE. Kayne (1993) extends such an analysis to auxiliary *have* as well.

**The problem.** Bellinzonese seems to represent a challenge for Kayne's (1993) unified treatment of lexical and auxiliary *have*. Bellinzonese possessives require the presence of the locative *g(h)* as the contrast in (4) and (5) indicates. Crucially, when auxiliary *have* modifies verbs other than lexical *have* (6), if *g(h)* is present, it can only have a dative interpretation (3<sup>rd</sup> person singular and plural and 1<sup>st</sup> person plural) (7), a direct object clitic (1<sup>st</sup> person plural) (8), or a pure locative (9) reading. *G(h)* cannot combine with auxiliary *have* in the same way it does with possessive *have*. This is unexpected under Kayne's (1993) analysis.

**The Analysis.** First, I argue—elaborating on Kayne (2006)—that in (4) – (5) and (7) - (9) *g(h)* is one and the same element that combines with null different null elements (light nouns and null clitics). The various readings arising depend on the nature of the element *g(h)* combines with. (7) and (8) are said to involve the presence of a null clitic, dative in (7) and accusative in (8) as illustrated in (10) and (11). As for (9), it is now given the structure in (12) where *g(h)* modifies a null light NP PLACE and a null P(reposition). Finally, (4) and (5) are reinterpreted as in (13) with *g(h)* generated within its associate. Based on (14) and (15), I propose that *g(h)* is lower than the (definite or indefinite) DP it is generated with. The final derivation follows (3a), (16).

Second, I suggest that the difference between possessive and auxiliary *have* is only apparent. Based on data from Paduan where *ghe*—the counterpart of Bellinzonese *g(h)*—occurs systematically through the paradigm of auxiliary *have* (17), I propose that in (6) it is present but not pronounced. In other words, I argue that in (6) *g(h)* has reached a phasal edge and as such it is not pronounced.

**Conclusion.** I conclude, in agreement with Kayne (1993), that Bellinzonese possessive and auxiliary *have* are both derived via incorporation of a null preposition into copular *be* (as in (2)). The two verbs differ in that, with lexical *have*, *g(h)* cannot reach the phasal edge, whereas with auxiliary *have* always does, unless another clitic already occupies such position. I attribute the difference between possessive and auxiliary *have* to the different origin of *g(h)*, which, in the case of auxiliary *have*, might be generated in the participle. My analysis can be extended to Paduan, subvarieties of Italian (which use *ci* more productively than standard Italian), standard Italian and English. In all these languages *g(h)* and its counterparts are always present with possessive and auxiliary *have* but vary with respect to its pronunciation.

- (1) Bob has a dog.
- (2) ...BE [<sub>DP</sub> Spec D/P<sub>e</sub>° [<sub>DP</sub><sub>poss</sub> [AGR° QP/NP]]]
- (3) a. DP<sub>poss/i</sub> D/P<sub>e/z</sub> + BE [<sub>DP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>z</sub> [ [AGR° QP/NP]]]  
 b. Bob<sub>i</sub> has [<sub>DP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>z</sub> [ [AGR° a dog]]]
- (4) a. Te g he un can (5) a. Te g he vù un can  
 SCI there have a dog SCI there have had a dog  
 ‘You have a dog’ ‘You had a dog’  
 b. \* Te he un can b. \* Te he vù un can  
 SCI have a dog SCI have had a dog  
 ‘You have a dog’ ‘You had a dog’
- (6) T he tòi un can (7) T g he tòi un can  
 SCI have bought a dog SCI Cl.dat-him/her/us/them have bought a dog  
 ‘You bought a dog’ ‘You bought him/her/us/them a dog’
- (8) Te g he visct (9) Te g ve  
 SCI Cl.acc-us have seen SCI there go  
 ‘You saw us’ ‘You go there’
- (10) Te [[[PERSON g]<sub>j</sub> A t<sub>j</sub>]<sub>i</sub> DATCL t<sub>i</sub>]<sub>k</sub> (11) Te [[[PERSON g]<sub>j</sub> A t<sub>j</sub>]<sub>i</sub> ACCCL t<sub>i</sub>]<sub>k</sub>  
 he t<sub>k</sub> dai un libru t<sub>k</sub> he t<sub>k</sub> visct t<sub>k</sub>
- (12) Te [[PLACE g] A]<sub>i</sub> go TO t<sub>i</sub>
- (13) [<sub>PP</sub> [PLACE g(h)]<sub>i</sub> A t<sub>i</sub>]<sub>k</sub> ... è ... [<sub>DP</sub> P° [<sub>DP</sub> Det<sub>ind/def</sub> NP t<sub>k</sub> ]]
- (14) a. Chi patru libri lì b. \* Chi lì patru libri  
 those four books there those there four books  
 ‘Those four books over there’ ‘Those four books over there’
- (15) a. Te g he fòra l’ acqua da fini  
 SCI deictic have outside the water to finish  
 ‘You have water (left) to finish’  
 b. Te g he lì l’ acqua da fini  
 SCI deictic have there the water to finish  
 ‘You have water (left) to finish’
- (16) ...pro<sub>s</sub> [<sub>PP</sub> [PLACE g(h)]<sub>i</sub> A t<sub>i</sub>]<sub>w</sub> ... D/P<sub>e/z</sub> + BE ... [<sub>DP</sub> t<sub>s</sub> t<sub>z</sub> [t<sub>s</sub> [un libru<sub>i</sub> Agr° t<sub>w</sub>]]]
- (17) G-o corso tuto el di  
 there-have run  
 ‘I ran all day
- (Benincà (1994): 72 (5a))

## References

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