The Ergativity Parameter: <i>have-be</i> alternation, Word Order and Split Ergativity

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1. Introduction[1]

A lot of recent research in linguistic theory has focused on the issue of parametric variation among languages with respect to a number of grammatical phenomena. This paper addresses the issue of variation in case marking patterns across languages by making a specific proposal regarding two of the well attested case marking patterns found in natural languages - Nominative-Accusative and Ergative-Absolutive. I will suggest that the differences between the two types of case marking patterns cannot be a matter of a distinct parameter. That is, to capture the distinction between Nom-Acc languages and Erg-Abs languages, we do not need to posit a parameter specific to these constructions types. The existence of these two types of case marking patterns will instead be shown to emerge from other basic properties that languages under consideration possess. As a starting point, I will suggest that the basic word order of a language (e.g., verb medial vs. non verb medial) may be a major contributing factor in the variation of case marking patterns found across languages.

In approaching the problem of identifying the relevant factors determining a particular case marking pattern, I take the following typological generalizations to be significant:

I. SVO languages are never ergative. Ergativity is found only in verb final and verb initial languages. (Schwartz, 1972; Trask, 1979, Dasgupta, 1984).

II. Ergative languages are very often split ergative. (Comrie, 1978; Dixon, 1979).

III. Ergative languages usually lack a verb corresponding to Romance/Germanic *have*. The auxiliary (wherever applicable) in ergative constructions is *be*.[2]

IV. Ergative languages usually have a proliferation of oblique (non-nominative) subject constructions in addition to the ergative construction itself.

Out of these, I and II are relatively well known within typological literature on ergativity. I have added III and IV as two of the lesser discussed correlations that I suggest provide a key to the understanding of the ergativity phenomena. I suggest that any theory of ergativity in particular and of case marking patterns in general must address the generalizations mentioned in I-IV. The theory that I will outline in this paper will tie these properties together and argue that all of these properties follow from the basic word order that a language possesses. An immediate consequence of this approach will be that we will not need to appeal to a distinct parameter that deals exclusively with ergativity.

2. Basic Proposal: Uniformity of the Underlying Structures

I propose that Erg-Abs languages and Nom-Acc languages are underlyingly very similar. As an illustration, I suggest that the following two sentences from Hindi and French have a very similar underlying structure.

(1) raam-ne vah kitaabẽ paṛĩĩ thĩĩ
Ram-erg those books(pl.) read-perf part-fem-pl be-fem-pl-pst
'Ram had read those books.'

(2) Paul les a repeintes (Kayne, 1989)
Paul them has repainted. 'Paul has them repainted.'

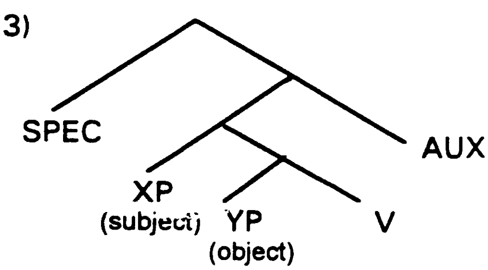
Superficially, the two constructions are similar in that both involve a nonfinite participial form as the main verb. Furthermore, in both the constructions the participial agrees with the object. In French (2), the agreement is triggered by the pronominal clitic while in Hindi the agreement is triggered by the full object NP.

Kayne(1989) suggests that the object agreement in (2) is a specific instance of general SPEC-HEAD agreement. In particular, the clitic triggers object agreement when it passes through a SPEC AGRPo position (see also Sportiche,1992). This proposal has lead to a view that objects universally move to or move through SPEC AGRPo position (cf. Chomsky,1989;1993). This view, therefore, forces an analysis of Hindi (1) along the lines of French (2) in that one could argue that the object agreement in (1) is also a reflex of the object being in (or passing through) SPEC AGRPo position. Such an analysis is presented in detail in Mahajan(1989;1990).[3]

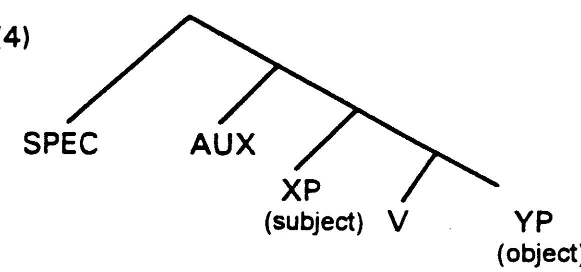
However, despite the similarities mentioned above, (1) and (2) differ in several crucial respects. First, the object in Hindi not only triggers agreement with the participial but it also agrees with the auxiliary. In French, the participial agrees with the object while the auxiliary agrees with the subject. Second, the auxiliary in French in such participial constructions is *have*, while the auxiliary in Hindi (1) is *be*. Furthermore, while the subject in Hindi in (1) is marked with an ergative case marker, the subject in French (2) is in its nominative form. I would like to propose that these differences between French and Hindi transitive participial constructions are neither accidental nor primitive. They in fact follow straightforwardly from a single difference between the two types of languages, namely their basic word order.

I suggest that the underlying structure for (1) and (2) is as given below in (3) and (4):

(3)



(4)



The only difference between (3) and (4) is that while (3) reflects the head final nature of Hindi, (4) reflects the head initial nature of French.[4] The (superficial) differences between Hindi and French noted above must then be because the derivations of (1) and (2) differ. Note that I have labeled the auxiliary as simply AUX (and not as *have* or *be*). This will play an important role in the analysis that I present below. The crucial point so far has been the move of assigning Hindi (1) and French (2) a uniform categorial structure that differs only in directionality.

3. Analysis: Ergativity as *have-be* selection

Before proceeding with my analysis, I will sketch out Kayne's(1993a) analysis of *have-be* selection which will play an important role in the proposal that I will make. Kayne(1993a) suggests that *have=be*+an empty preposition.[5] In this respect, Kayne's proposal is similar to Bach (1967), Benveniste(1966), Fillmore(1968) and Freeze(1992), all of whom suggest that *have* is a form related to (and derived from) *be*. I will assume, following an earlier version of Kayne(1993a) (also Freeze,1992) that the empty P that incorporates into *be* to yield *have* originates as a sister of the subject. I will furthermore assume that subject originates within the VP (cf. Koopman and Sportiche,1991 and references cited therein).

The essence of all these ideas can be abstractly captured by saying that *have* is an oblique form of *be* (note that the notion 'oblique' when applied to nominals implies the presence of a prepositional/case element with the nominal). Under Kayne's and Freeze's(1992) analysis, the site of this obliqueness is in fact an argument NP (subject). This obliqueness, in the form of an empty preposition (or empty D in the published version of Kayne's paper) is incorporated into the AUX *be* to yield *have*. The specific proposal that I wish to make is as follows: This obliqueness is present both in Hindi (1) and in French (2) (in Hindi as a postpositional marker and in French as a preposition) . In French, the preposition is incorporated into AUX yielding *have* (cf. Kayne,1993a). However, unlike in French, the adposition (postposition) in Hindi fails to incorporate into the AUX. This forces the AUX in Hindi to surface as *be* AND the postposition (since it is not incorporated) to surface overtly as a subject postposition. This postposition in Hindi is the ergative marker. In essence, this is the analysis of Hindi ergativity.

Under this view, the French transitive participial construction (2) is in fact an ergative construction but the ergativity marker does not appear as a distinct case marker (preposition) with the subject. Instead, it incorporates into AUX to give *have*. That is, the underlying categorial similarity (i.e., subject originating as a PP in a transitive participle construction) between French and Hindi is manifested in different surface forms due to a single factor - incorporation of P in French.

4. Typological Correlations

The proposal that I have sketched above must address several immediate questions. The most urgent of these is: why does P incorporation take place in French but not in Hindi? Is this simply a matter of a parameter? I would like to suggest that the ability/failure of P incorporation in French vs. Hindi is not a parameter. It follows straightforwardly from structures underlying (1) and (2); namely configurations (3) and (4). Hindi is head final. This is reflected in (3) where the AUX is head final. French is head initial as shown in (4). Assuming VP internal subjects, the subject in French can BOTH be governed by AUX AND be adjacent to it at some level of derivation of (2) (in (4), which obscures a lot of details, the AUX in fact does govern AND is adjacent to the subject). I suggest that this satisfies conditions for incorporation. The P associated with the subject incorporates into AUX and yields *have*; the subject surfaces without P, i.e., as a nominative NP. On the other hand, in Hindi the AUX can govern the subject but will not be adjacent to it (since AUX is AUXP final). If adjacency is a crucial condition on incorporation, then incorporation of P into AUX will always fail in Hindi. The AUX will therefore surface as *be* and the subject will retain its obliqueness which surfaces as an overt ergative case marker.

Under this analysis then, the difference between French (2) and Hindi (1) is simply a consequence of underlying word order AND an adjacency condition on incorporation. That is, ergativity in Hindi (1) is simply a result of Hindi being SOV while the absence of ergativity in French is because the language is SVO. This yields an account for the **typological Generalization I** mentioned in Section 1: SVO languages are never morphologically ergative.[6] [7]

Generalization III mentioned in Section I is also accounted for. The absence of *have* in SOV languages follows from the inability of P to incorporate into AUX since the subject and the AUX will not be adjacent in this type of languages. The present analysis predicts that verb initial languages will allow ergativity and will not possess verb *have*. This is partly right. Many non Indo-European VSO languages do fit this description . However, VSO Indo-European languages fulfill the predictions made by this analysis only partly. Within Celtic for instance, verb *have* is missing (cf. Noonan,1992), but Celtic languages do not display overt case ergativity. I will not pursue this issue in this paper. [8]

5. The Source of Obliqueness (P)

I have suggested that the P that yields the ergative subjects in Hindi (and within most Indo-Aryan languages) and *have* constructions in French (this may also be generalized to many Romance and Germanic languages) originates as a sister of the subject NP within the VP. Since split ergativity in Indo-Aryan is limited to perfective tenses and auxiliary *have* appears only in certain construction types in Germanic and Romance including perfect/past participle constructions (cf. Burzio,1986; Haider and Rindler-Schjerve,1988; Vikner and Sprouse,1988; Kayne,1993a), there should some way of limiting the appearance of P to exactly these type of constructions (i.e., to ergative subject constructions and *have* constructions). I propose the following as a canonical configuration for the realization of P:

(5) In [$_{XP}$ SPEC [$_{X}$ ... X ...]]; P appears as a sister of NP in SPEC X if X is a non Case assigning category.

I assume, following a suggestion in Marantz(1991) that P is a realization of a `dependent case'- a case marker that is assigned just when X takes an internal argument distinct from the NP in SPEC XP and it does not assign a structural Case to its internal argument. An alternative way of viewing this would be to view this as a (partial) parallel to genitive Case assignment by an N-bar in *Mary's picture of Bill* (cf. Johns,1992; also Bok-Bennema,1991; and the fact that the ERGATIVE marker in many languages is the same as GENITIVE).[9] Assuming Indo-Aryan perfect participles to be non Case assigners (cf. Mahajan,1989), this condition will assign P to subjects in transitive perfective construction. The morphological form of this P is the ergative marker. I assume that this particular morphological form is tied to the lexical properties of the perfective morphology.

However, in languages like Hindi, a partly parallel configuration arises in many other constructions that appear to have non-Case assigning predicates. Two relevant examples are the psych verb constructions (called the `dative subject construction' (parallel to *John has a headache*) and in possessive construction (*John has a sister*) (cf. Mohanan,1990 and references cited therein). These constructions are illustrated in (6) and (7) below:

(6) raam-ko sar dard hɛ̃
Ram-dat head ache (fem) be-fem-pres
Ram has a headache.

(7) siitaa-kii do bɛhne hɛ̃
Sita-gen two sisters be-pl-fem-pres
Sita has two sisters.

This illustrates that the choice of morphological form of the P is dependent on the particular choice of X in (5). In Hindi, it is ERGATIVE when the X is a perfect participle, DATIVE when the X is a psychological predicate and GENITIVE/LOCATIVE when the X is a noun (notice that X is a non Case assigner in all these cases). Since P incorporation is impossible in Hindi, these Ps surface with their characteristic morphology (ERG, DAT or GEN/LOC) and the AUX is *be* in all of these construction types. This accounts for Generalization IV of section 1. In Indo-European SVO languages (Romance and Germanic SVO in particular), P is incorporated and subject surfaces as unmarked (NOM) and the AUX is *have*. From this perspective, AUX in SVO languages is an unselective incorporator. It incorporates any P.[10]

6. Parallels between AUX selection and Split Ergativity

6.1. The first and the most obvious parallel between AUX selection and ergativity is the factor of perfectivity. *have* is commonly the perfective auxiliary in languages that possess *have* as a auxiliary distinct from *be*. In many ergative languages ergativity surfaces only in perfective aspects. This is the case in most Indo-Aryan languages (including Hindi, see Kachru and Pandharipande, 1979 for numerous examples from Indo-Aryan languages that illustrate this type of ergative split). Thus if we put example (1) from Hindi in imperfective aspect, the case marking pattern would be Nom-Acc as illustrated in (5) below:

(8) raam vah kitaabẽ paṛhtaa thaa
Ram-nom(m) those books(pl-f) read-imperf part-masc-sg be-masc-sg-pst
'Ram used to read those books.'

Similar facts are also reported from unrelated languages like Georgian (cf. Marantz, 1991), some Australian languages and some Tibeto-Burman languages (cf. DeLancey, 1980). If perfect participles can be treated as non-Case assigners as I have suggested above, this parallel between split ergativity and AUX selection would follow under the approach that I have outlined above.

6.2. Some Indo-Aryan languages allow ergative subjects with unergatives verbs. I will assume with Mahajan(1989), Hale and Keyser(1991), Marantz(1991), Laka(1993) and Kayne(1993a) that unergatives may have a covert internal argument that counts for the purposes of dependent case assignment under condition (5). This also accounts for the parallel fact that the AUX with unergatives in Romance and Germanic (except in Spanish and English) is *have* (cf. Kayne, 1993a for a similar assumption yielding *have* with unergatives).

6.3. Many ergative languages display an ergativity split that is conditioned by the person features of the subject of a transitive sentence. This pattern of split ergativity is well known (cf. Silverstein, 1976; DeLancey, 1980)). The following examples from Kham (a Tibeto-Burman language from Nepal) illustrate this fact (examples from Watters, 1973 adopted from DeLancey, 1980).

(9) no-e non-lay poh-na-ke-o
he-erg you-obj hit-2P-perf-3P
'He hit you.'

(10) ngaa non-lay nga-poh-ni-ko
I you-obj 1P-hit-2P-perf
'I hit you.'

To account for these facts under the approach that I have been developing, we will require some mechanism by which P assignment is blocked (i.e., application of (5) is blocked) when the subject is a Ist/2nd person pronoun.[11] While a precise mechanism of this blocking is not explored in this paper, whatever this mechanism is, it will also account for the parallel fact noted by Kayne(1993b) that in certain central Italian dialects *have* is sometimes blocked just when the subject is IstP/2ndP pronoun. That is, the auxiliary with IstP/2ndP subjects is *be* while it is *have* with 3P subjects.[12] The crucial point worth noting here is the parallel between this aspect of split ergative patterns and the factors determining *have-be* selection lending support to our general idea that ergativity and *have-be* selection are underlyingly similar phenomena.

6.4. Pursuing this line of observations futher, the choice of *be* with reflexive clitics in Italian/French can be seen as a phenomena parallel to the blocking of ergative construction in (ergative) languages that have a verb incorporated reflexive morpheme (e.g., Inuit, cf. Bok-Bennema,1991). The incorporated reflexive and the reflexive clitics can both be viewed as having a detransitivizing effect (cf. Marantz,1984) removing the opposition required for the dependent case assignment. Non-clitic/non incorporated reflexives will not have this effect of detransitivization and therefore languages like German will have the AUX *have* with reflexives (cf. Haider and Rindler-Schjerve,1988; Vikner and Sprouse,1988). Parallel to this observation is the fact that in ergative languages like Hindi with non incorporated reflexives, ergativity is not blocked by reflexives (unlike in Inuit).

6.5. Note that it is descriptively true that SVO languages (which we have mentioned so far) that possess *have* also possess *be*. That is, within SVO languages that possess *have*, there is an auxiliary split depending on various factors, some of which we have mentioned above. If our proposal is on the right track, we would expect ergative systems to be generally split (i.e., . subjects will not always be oblique- ergative languages will also have nominative subject constructions). In fact, we not only find splits in ergative patterns (cf. Comrie,1978; Dixon,1979), but as we have mentioned above, these splits are in fact conditioned by factors which generally condition *have-be* splits. This accounts for **Generalization II** of section I: ergative languages are generally split ergative.

7. Some Apparent Problems

There are at least two cases that do not fit our approach in a straightforward manner. First, under the analysis that I have sketched out, we would expect languages like German and Dutch (which are SOV) to display ergativity (atleast in those cases where the AUX is clause final - embedded clauses being one such context) and not possess *have*. This is obviously not true. As far as I know, German and Dutch do not display any asymmetries between the distribution of have in matrix and embedded clauses.[13] Furthermore, these languages do not display any case ergativity (not even in embedded clauses). There are two possible solutions to the problem that Dutch and German raise in this respect. One is to claim that German and Dutch do have a head initial AUXP and AUX moves to a head which itself is final within IP (cf. Travis,1984). That is, German and Dutch are not as uniformly head final as Hindi is. Under this approach, the AUXP initial AUX will incorporate the subject P and then it will move to its clause final position (from where it could also undergo movement to C giving the V2 order in root clauses). The other possible solution, which appears at this stage to be more plausible, is to tie the difference between Dutch/German type languages and Hindi type languages to the difference in agreement facts between the two sets of languages. As mentioned above in Section 2, the AUX (*be*) in Hindi transitive perfect participle construction agrees with the object while in the parallel construction in Dutch and German, the AUX (*have*) agrees with the subject. Furthermore, unlike Hindi (and also French), German/Dutch participles do not display object agreement. Suppose there is a correlation between agreement and incorporation. That is, AUX-Subject agreement permits incorporation of P from the subject into AUX in German/Dutch while such incorporation is blocked in Hindi because what agrees with the AUX in Hindi (in (1) for instance)) is the object. One way of implementing this would be to suggest that both incorporation and agreement are in fact dependent on SPEC-Head relationship (this would be in the spirit of approaches like Sportiche,1992 where SPEC-Head relationship plays a crucial role in licensing various kinds of properties). This would raise obvious problems with respect to the general theory of incorporation (cf. Baker,1988) the discussion of which is beyond the scope of this paper (see Mahajan,1994 for a discussion). The crucial point is that while directionality is a component in deriving ergativity, it is not the only component. Various other components such as Case assigning properties of the heads mentioned above (cf. Marantz,1991; Johns,1992) and agreement relations may form other components that determine the emergence of ergative patterns. This is exactly the kind of system that we would expect in a modular theory.

The second problem, which in some ways is similar to the one discussed above is raised by the existence of languages like Kashmiri which are V2 and display ergativity.[14] The problem is that at least some ergative constructions in Kashmiri have an ergative subject adjacent to AUX *be*. Under an automatic implementation of our approach we would expect the ergative marker in Kashmiri to incorporate into AUX making Kashmiri a unique Indic language possessing *have*. This is, however, not true. Kashmiri is ergative in V2 constructions with AUX in the second position. Once again, the solution to this apparent problem may lie in the details of the structure underlying Kashmiri V2. If Kashmiri is similar to Hindi in all other relevant respects except in possessing V2, then AUX in Kashmiri is in fact AUXP final. This would block the incorporation of the subject preposition into AUX. The AUX will move to some initial head position (C or some other such complementizer like position distinct from C; see Bhatt and Yoon, 1992). However, at this stage incorporation would not be possible if incorporation from subject to C is blocked on general grounds.[15] The other possible solution would be to appeal to the same condition on incorporation that I hinted at above, i.e., incorporation and agreement are in some ways related. In Kashmiri, even when the AUX is in a V2 position in a transitive perfect participle construction, it agrees with the object (Kashmiri is similar to Hindi in this respect). If my conjecture regarding the correlation between agreement and incorporation is on the right track, the existence of object-AUX agreement would block incorporation of the subject P into AUX in Kashmiri.

The discussion regarding Dutch/German and Kashmiri raises an important issue regarding the adjacency condition on incorporation that has played an important role in my analysis so far. While adjacency has been argued to be a relevant factor for incorporation (cf. Bok-Bennema and Groos, 1988), conceptually, it is not entirely an attractive condition within certain views of syntax that derive adjacency effects (or a lack of them) from other general principles which are defined in hierarchical terms. The discussion of Dutch/German and Kashmiri above has tried to supplement the adjacency condition with an independent (hierarchical) condition on incorporation. Now given this independent hierarchical condition (that correlates agreement and incorporation), we need to ask whether the adjacency condition is required at all. However, since the adjacency condition has played an important role in providing an explanation for the typological generalization I, I will leave it for future research to determine whether or not adjacency should play any significant role in solving the problems that this paper has addressed (see Mahajan(1994) where this issue is discussed in detail within the context of Kayne's(1993b) proposal regarding the derived nature of head final word orders).

8. Conclusion

I have suggested that the case properties of ergative languages are largely derivable from independent conditions such as word order and Case assigning properties of particular heads. This view of ergativity eliminates the need to have any parameters that deal exclusively with the phenomena of ergativity, a consequence that is of importance in modular approaches to syntax that derive construction specific properties from independently motivated conditions rather than from construction specific parameters.

Under the analysis that I have sketched out here, seemingly different case marking patterns, such as the ones found in French and Hindi, are rather superficial instantiations of a deeper similarity of the underlying syntactic categorial structure. This view of underlying uniformity of syntax relates the basic word order that a language has to a number of apparently unrelated typological properties such as the correlation between word order and ergativity across languages, the correlation between the existence of *have* and the absence of ergativity within a language and the correlation between ergativity and other oblique subject constructions.

NOTES

[1]This paper sketches out some of the results of a larger project on oblique arguments (see Mahajan,1994 for further details of some of the proposals outlined here). The research reported in this paper was supported by an NSF project on ergativity and a UCLA Academic Senate grant. I thank Ken Hale (MIT) and Maria Bittner (Rutgers) for their help in this project. Several aspects of this paper have been presented at the Ergativity Workshop at Rutgers University, my UCLA Ergativity seminar, UCLA syntax group meetings and at NELS 1993. I am thankful to all these audiences for their comments. Special thanks are due to Antonia Androutsopoulou, Manuel Español-Echevarria, Felicia Lee, Brian Potter and Nhlanhla Thwala for their contribution to this project.

[2]Basque appears to be a counterexample to this generalization (Levin,1985; Laka,1993). It should also be noted that the verb *have* is not very common outside Indo-European. As will become evident from the discussion that follows, I am assuming that the presence/absence of *have* in a language (at least within Indo-

European, but perhaps in general) cannot be a basic property of a language in question. That is, given the approach that I outline in this paper, we may not need an independent lexical parameter (cf. Noonan, 1992) that specifies whether or not a language has the verb *have* which is distinct from verb *be*.

[3] I ignore here the fact that French past participial agreement is limited to clitic constructions or to constructions involving a fronted wh-phrase (Kayne, 1989; Sportiche, 1992) while Hindi exhibits such agreement with all objects in perfect participle constructions. This fact is not directly relevant to our discussion here.

[4] One may want to treat (3) and (4) not as initial structures but as intermediate stages in the derivation of (1) and (2). This would be especially plausible if one adopts Kayne's(1993b) suggestion regarding the elimination of directionality parameters from X-bar theory. On this view Hindi (and head final languages in general) involve a lot of leftward movement which is ignored in this paper. These details would be relevant in distinguishing Hindi from other verb final languages like Dutch and German that do not display either ergativity or participial object agreement. See Mahajan(1994) for some relevant discussion.

[5] Kayne's(1993a) analysis actually involves incorporation of an empty D into *be* to yield *have* (cf. Szabolcsi, 1983). In presenting Kayne's proposal, I am also drawing from an earlier version of his proposal (presented at UCLA in 1991) which differs from the published version.

[6] This does not imply that ergativity is solely determined by word order. I am suggesting that word order plays a crucial role. Other relevant factors are discussed below. The correlation between word order and ergativity (which is well known within typological studies in linguistics) has been largely ignored within generative linguistics with the exception of Dasgupta (1984) who approaches this problem from a somewhat different perspective than the one adopted in this paper.

[7] In this paper, I discuss only the morphological case aspects of ergativity. It is possible to extend the account here to another aspect of morphological ergativity-ergative agreement (see Mahajan, 1994 for some discussion).

[8] It is possible that while Celtic languages are similar to Romance/Germanic/Indo-Aryan(Hindi) in generating P in the relevant construction types, this P is incorporated not into the AUX but into the main verb itself.

[9]The underlying generalization here appears to be that the predicate is some sort of nominal category and not a true verb. To formalize this, we would require a theory of categories that can, among other things, distinguish between finite verbs and participles.

[10]The analysis here does not cover SVO languages that do not possess the verb *have* and are not ergative (Slavic languages and Hungarian would be some of the example languages). See Mahajan(1994) for a possible solution.

[11]In Punjabi and Marathi (two of the ergative Indo-Aryan languages), the ergative marker is not realized when the subject of a transitive perfect participle is Ist or 2nd person pronoun. However, Punjabi and Marathi, while switching to a Nom-Acc pattern of case marking in such cases, still preserve an ergative system of agreement. For details of similar facts from many Indo-Aryan languages, see Kachru and Pandharipande (1979). Similar patterns of agreement are found in unrelated languages like Inuit (see Bittner and Hale,1993 for a detailed treatment).

[12]Kayne(1993b) makes a specific proposal accounting for these alternations. A detailed examination of Kayne's proposal and the development of a unified approach accounting for the AUX alternation and this aspect of ergativity split is beyond the scope of this short paper. See Mahajan(1994) for some details.

[13] I thank Hilda Koopman for a discussion of this issue.

[14]Thanks to Ellen Woolford and to Kashi Wali for pointing out this problem to me.

[15] The reason for this is however not obvious. One possible reason may be that incorporation is possible only from L-related positions into L-heads and that C is not a L-head while AUX is.

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