

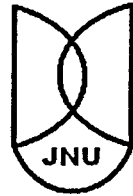
The Cleft Construction in Sinhala

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Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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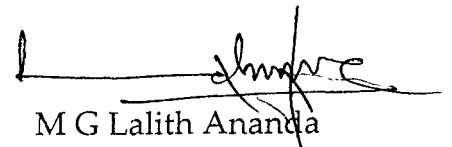
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This dissertation titled "**The Cleft Construction in Sinhala**" submitted by me for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy, is an original work and has not been submitted so far in part or in full, for any other degree or diploma of any University or Institution.



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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview

The phenomenon of focus in natural languages has been a subject of intense cross-linguistic investigation over the years, notably within the Principles and Parameters framework resulting in a large body of empirical and theoretical contributions covering a wide variety of languages. The study of focus has kept pace with the developments in generative syntax so that it has been investigated in relation to the most recent developments such as split IP and CP and the left periphery of the clause opening up further possibilities of looking at the focus phenomena in new perspectives. Consequently, the surface typological diversity of focus encoding of many languages has been characterized in relation to the interplay between pragmatic function, grammatical marking, and semantic interpretation. This has generated a number of related theoretical issues such as: What is the relation between focus and topic, and of different types of focus? What is the connection between focus and case marking and the semantic properties of a DP? How does focus contribute to discourse configurationality? What is the nature of the link between focus and WH? At what level does focus need to be interpreted? Is it a VP related phenomenon or is it a syntactic head with a fixed structural position? Etc.

At a primary level, focus can be defined as the means by which a speaker attempts to render an entity in the discourse salient for the hearer(s) of the utterance. Most of the previous definitions on focus reflect a unified semantic character as they assume focus to be uniformly interpreted as new information.

(Halliday, 1967, Jacekendoff, 1972). Chomsky (1971) proposes that a normal accent pattern is one in which the accent is used to identify a focused constituent, where the focused constituent represents the “new information” of the sentence. Accordingly he assumes that a focus is grammatically identified as a constituent containing the accent, or intonation nucleus of the sentence. The following example illustrates this observation in which sentence (2a) but not (2b) is an appropriate response to the question (1)

- 1) Does John write poetry in his study?
- 2) a. No. John writes poetry in the GARDEN.
b. No. JOHN writes poetry in the garden.

(Rochemont (1986: 10)

In (2a), “the garden” is new information and is accented, while in (2b), “the garden” is not accented and “John”, the accented phrase is not new information. Rochemont (1986) views focus as a defining characteristic of the well-formedness in discourse. That is, focus functions crucially in defining the appropriateness of a particular utterance in a given context. He presents this in the form of a Focus Condition.

Focus Condition

In $\delta = \{ \varphi_1 \dots \varphi_n \}$, φ_1 , is appropriate to δ only if,

- i) Some prominent focus of φ_1 identifies only new information at the time of utterance of φ_1 in δ ,
- ii) All the new information of φ_1 , at the time of its utterance in δ is contained in a prominent focus.

(Rochemont (1986: 38)

However, according to Rochemont, focus is not the only condition that contributes to the well-formedness in discourse. The appropriateness principle should be further supported by two other conditions, the Cohesion Condition, and the Presupposition Condition. Further, the notions of new information and presupposition are distinguished on the availability/non-availability of semantic antecedent in the discourse which is identified as c-construability.

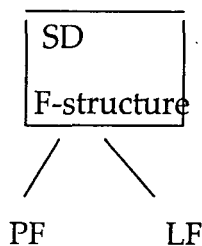
Erteschik-Shir (1996) defines focus as "The focus of a sentence S = the (intension of a) constituent c of S which the speaker intends to direct the attention of his/her hearer(s) to, by uttering S". (Erteschik-Shir (1996: 4)

The above definition of focus in terms of speakers' intentions entails that it is a discourse property which is assigned to a constituent in a context of conversation. In her model of informational structure, truth values are assigned to sentences on the basis of Focus-structure (f-structure) in which Topic quantifiers always take wide scope. "F-structure is an annotated structural description in which Topic and Focus constituents are marked. The model interprets f-structures directly without the mediation of LF"

(Erteschik-Shir (1996: 4)

Accordingly, the model of grammar takes the following form.

SYNTAX



She presents f-structure as a component of grammar that interacts significantly with phonology, syntax, semantics, and pragmatics.

Kiss (1995) identifies focus as a crucial property (the other is topic) in the classification of languages as Discourse Configurational. Accordingly, she attributes discourse configurationality to,

- A. "The (discourse-)semantic function 'topic' serving to foreground a specific individual that something will be predicated about (not necessarily identical with the grammatical subject), is expressed through a particular structural relation (in other words, it is associated with a particular structural position)".
- B. "The (discourse-) semantic function "focus", expressing identification, is realized through a particular structural relation (that is, by movement into a particular structural position)".

(Kiss (1995: 06)

Vallduvi (1993) in his information packaging model views focus in the analogy of a file-card system. He views the information structure of a sentence as instructions to the hearer on how to update his/her current knowledge store (file-card system). The focus part of a sentence is seen as an instruction to update a given file-card or to add an entirely new one.

As shown in the foregoing discussion and definitions of focus, it is evident that focus encoding affects different levels of linguistics analysis as prosodic, lexical, morphological, syntactic, and semantic/pragmatic. It is also evident that the term focus is used, at least in two different senses; wide focus, and narrow focus, to denote two different types of focus relations. Wide focus is identified as the

sentence part carrying new information whereas an operator expressing identification is referred to as narrow focus. The recent cross linguistics studies on focus have also discussed it as a [+FOCUS] feature in UG that needs licensing within the PF component, and this licensing is driven by discourse-related, rather than LF related considerations (Kidwai: 1999).

1.2 The Sinhala¹ Focus Construction

The focus construction is an area of Sinhala syntax that has received considerable attention of Linguists over the years. Among the existing literature on Sinhala focus, the work of Sumangala(1989), Gair(1970,1983), Gair and Sumangala (1991), Kariyakarawana (1998), Hagstrom (1998), and Henadeerage (2002), stand out among the rest as they deal with Sinhala focus and WH movement in some detail.

Focus encoding in Sinhala can be done through prosodic, morphological, and syntactic means. However, the most frequent type of focus encoding is morphological by using the focus marker “tamai”. Accordingly, a constituent in the sentence or a whole proposition can be focused. Some salient characteristics of Sinhala focus are the availability of both pre-and post-verbal focus options, and in such cases, the particular morphological change the verb undergoes. These different focus types and characteristics are illustrated in the following examples.

¹ Sinhala: mother tongue of Sinhalese, spoken in Sri Lanka, Indo-Aryan, SOV, pro-drop, with almost Diglossic situation with two distinct varieties, a formal literary Sinhala taught in schools, used in media, and a colloquial variety used by people for communication. The object of this study is the colloquial variety.

The following examples (b), (c), and (d) illustrate the morphologically, phrase structurally, and prosodically marked contrastive focus. These sentences are answers to the question "What did Kumara do?" The first sentence (a) is a neutral answer.

Soodanawa 'to wash'

1) a. Kumara kaareka² seeduwa.

Kumara (Nom) the car wash past

Kumara washed the car.

b. Kumara kaareka **tamai** seeduwe.

Kumara (Nom)the car Foc wash past E

It was the car that Kumara washed.

c. Kumara seeduwe kaareka (tamai)

Kumara (Nom) wash past E the car (Foc)

It was the car that Kumara washed.

d. Kumara KAAREKA seeduwa.

Kumara (Nom) THE CAR wash past.

Kumara washed THE CAR.

The focus marker **tamai** in (b) sentence carries morphological focus and the constituent that immediately precedes it, 'the car' is in focus. Consequently, the verb changes its final "a" to "e" (which is referred to as E-marking in the

² Eka = numeral 'one' in Sinhala. But when suffixed to an English word like 'car, bus' (objects), it denotes the definite article.

following sections). In the (c) sentence the car in the immediate post verbal position of the E- marked verb is in focus. In the absence of **tamai** (the focus marker), the argument in the post verbal position carries focus syntactically. The (d) sentence illustrates the prosodically marked focus with the nuclear stress falling on KAAREKA (the car).

The (b) and (c) sentences above that illustrate pre-and post-verbal focus encoding respectively are examples of constituent focus, as in both of them the constituent “the car” is in focus. The E-marking is obligatory in such cases, as without it the sentence is ungrammatical. However, in the case of propositional focus, what is obligatory is only the focus marker “*tamai*”. E-marking would make the sentence ungrammatical, as shown in the following examples.

e. Kumara kaareka seeduwa **tamai**.

Kumara (Nom) the car wash past **Foc**.

Kumara washed the car, indeed.

f. *Kumara kaareka seeduwe **tamai**.

Kumara (Nom) the car wash past-E **Foc**.

Kumara washed the car, indeed.

The structural relationship between the focus marker, E-marking, and different types of morphological focus can be captured in the following generalizations.

- 1) Both the focus marker and E-marking are obligatory for pre-verbal constituent focus. (Example 1b)
- 2) E-marking is obligatory and the focus marker is optional for post-verbal constituent focus. (Example 1c)

- 3) Only the focus marker “*tamai*”, there are a number of other particles that have been listed as focus markers in the literature on Sinhala focus. They too show a similar distribution, and trigger E-marking. A brief introduction to those particles is given in the following section, as a more comprehensive study of them is carried out in Chapter 5.

lu ‘reportative’, *yae* ‘dubitative’, *nang* ‘conditional’, *da* ‘interrogative’,
ne ‘tag’

- 2) a. Kolamba bus eka **tamai** giye.

Colombo LOC bus the Foc left- E

It is the Colombo bus that left (contrastive focus)

- b. Kolamba bus eka **lu** giye.

Reportative.

It is the Colombo bus that left, so they say.

- c. Kolamba bus eka **yae** giye.

Dubitative.

Is it the Colombo bus that left?

- d. Kolamba bus eka **nang** giye.....

If

If it is the Colombo bus that left.....

e. Kolamba bus eka **da** giye?

Q

Is it the Colombo bus that left?

f. Kolamaba bus eka **ne** giye.

Tag

Colombo bus left, Isn't it?

All the above sentences are examples of pre-verbal, constituent focus with the constituent "Colombo bus" in focus. All the particles show a similar distribution as the focus marker "tamai" in sentence (1). However, a crucial difference exists in relation to optionality/obligatoriness in the post verbal position. Whereas the focus marker "tamai" is optional at the post verbal position of constituent focus, (as stated in 2 above), all these other particles are obligatory in this position. The following example illustrates this point.

g. Giye Kolamba bus eka lu/ yae/nang/da/ne

Went-E Colombo bus the Rep/Dub/If/ /Q/Tag

1.3 Organization of the Dissertation

In order to discuss the cleft/focus construction of Sinhala and the associated phenomena, the Dissertation is organized in the following manner.

Chapter two discusses the focus construction of Sinhala with a review of the existing literature on Sinhala cleft/focus and concludes that the syntactic focus proposed as a cleft by Kariyakarawana (1998) is not a cleft and also it is necessary to go beyond a focus analysis of the different particles of Sinhala. In chapter three, I explore the proposals of Rizzi (1997, 1999) and Cinque (1999) for an

articulated array of clause structure and show the strong relevance and motivation that their proposals have for a similar analysis of the so-called Sinhala focus particles. Chapter four critically investigates the WH questions of Sinhala in order to make the case for a dissociated approach from focus and integrate the WH phenomena to the broader discussion of mood/modality markers of Sinhala. In chapter five, I present a detailed investigation of the topic/focus/mood and modality markers of Sinhala and propose a unified cartography for the Sinhala clause in line with the proposals made by Rizzi and Cinque. The conclusion, general remarks and the potential for further research are presented in chapter six.

CHAPTER 2: THE CLEFT CONSTRUCTION IN SINHALA

This chapter discusses the focus construction of Sinhala and reviews existing literature on Sinhala cleft construction in the context of focus phenomena in general and the Sinhala Focus in particular. In the discussion it will be also observed that the particular syntactic construction discussed as a cleft in Sinhala by Kariyakarawana (1998) is not actually a cleft. I will argue here that it is necessary to go beyond the cleft/focus analysis in order to investigate the different particles listed as focus markers of Sinhala in a suitable theoretical framework that has more cross linguistic applicability and generalization capacity. In particular, I suggest that the appropriate theoretical proposals in this regard are the proposals of Rizzi (1997, 1999) for an articulated Left periphery and Cinque (1999) for a clausal functional sequence.

In order to make these arguments, the chapter is organized in the following manner.

Section 2.1 provides a brief review of the available literature on the Sinhala cleft/focus construction. Section 2.2 presents the cleft analysis proposed by Kariyakarawana (1998) for Sinhala, and discusses the problems with the cleft analysis. Section 2.3 examines the recent proposal by Hagstrom (1998, 1999, and 2001) regarding WH-movement in Sinhala, which seek to move beyond the cleft

analysis. Section 2.4 concludes the chapter by arguing for a research agenda that pays more specific attention to the syntactic properties of the various Sinhala particles that have been hitherto listed as ‘focus particles’.

2.1 A SURVEY OF RESEARCH ON SINHALA FOCUS/CLEFT CONSTRUCTION

2.1.1 Gair (1970, 1983)

A critical investigation of Gair’s analysis of Sinhala focus reveals that the substance of his argument essentially falls into a discussion of constituent focus type though he does not identify it so. “In independent and a few specifiable types of dependent clauses in Sinhalese, one constituent occupies the Focal Position and is the Focus of the clause”. (Gair (1970: 49)

He attributes the property of focus encoding to the particles “da, Y, nang” which he calls question marker, assertion marker, and conjunction respectively that assign focus to any constituent that precedes one of them. Further, he makes a distinction between basic and emphatic clauses on the basis of the identical nature of the focus and predicator. Accordingly, the predicator and focus are identical in basic clauses whereas they differ in emphatic clauses. These observations are explained in the following examples.

Basic (focus) clause:

- 1) Mahattea kolamba ta yanava da
Gentleman Nom Colombo Dat go Pres-a Q
Is the gentleman going to Colombo?

Emphatic (focus) clause

2) Mahattea yanne kolamba ta da

Gentleman Nom go-E Colombo Dat Q

Is it to Colombo that the gentleman is going? (Gair (1970: 49-50))

According to Gair's analysis, in sentence (1), the verb *yanava* 'go' is also the focus which qualifies the clause to be a basic one. In contrast, in sentence (2) the verb and the focus are distinct as the focus is on *kolambata* 'Colombo to'. Therefore, this variety of clauses is called emphatic clauses. The transformational process in which a basic clause becomes an emphatic clause is called Emphatic Transformation or Focus-Marking Transformation. He also identifies a Secondary Emphatic Transformation in which a particle is added to the focus of a clause to indicate emphasis. These particles include such assertive markers as "Y, tama, mai" which he calls "forms". The following examples illustrate these observations.

3) a. Kalutara ta yanne mama

Kalutara Dat go-E I

It is I who am going to Kalutara.

b. Kalutara ta yanne mamaY

Kalutara Dat go-E I-Y

I am the one who is going to Kalutara.

c. Eyaa tama yanne

He tamaa go-E

It is certainly he who is going.

- d. Lamea waeda karanawa
 Child Nom work do
 The child is working
- e. Lamea waeda karanawa maY
 Child work do maY
 The child is surely working.
- f. Eeken tamaY pansala ta watura ganne
 That one Ins tamaY temple Dat water take-E
 It is from that one that they get water to the temple

(Gair: (1970: 136-143)

Gair's analysis of the Sinhala focus phenomena reveals a number of theoretical implications. What Gair has identified as a basic clause was, in later analysis called the propositional focus or predicate focus. His approach to Emphatic focus lacks consistency as such focus can be identified as propositional focus and/or sometimes as constituent focus depending on the distribution of the focus particle and E-marking of the verb. He makes a finer distinction in the Emphatic focus based on the occurrence of an assertion marker after the E-marked verb which is identified as secondary emphatic focus. Gair splits the focus marker "tamai" into two assertive markers as "tama" and "Y". The other assertive marker "maY" functions as an emphatic marker when used after a verb. However, when it follows a Nominative subject pronoun/noun, it functions as a reflexive marker.

Gair's analysis merits some critical explanation here in terms of native speaker judgment. There is no difference between "tamai" and "tama", though most speakers use "tamai" for focus. However, "Y" is often used as a suffix with adjectives when that adjective is used predicatively in a verbless clause. In such instances "Y" functions as a covert BE verb. The following example illustrates this point.

4) a. *Ram lassana

*Ram pretty

Ram is pretty

b. Ram lassanaY

Ram pretty-Y

Ram is pretty

Gair does not identify the post verbal position (after the E-marked verb) as a structural position for focus where the focus particle can be optional. Rather, he makes a distinction between clauses with the focus marker "tamai" in the post verbal position and without the focus marker in that position. The difference is semantic. The following examples illustrate this point.

5) a. Mama katakaranne Sinhala

I Nom speak-E Sinhala

It is Sinhala that I speak.

b. Mama katakaranne Sinhala tamai

I Nom speak-E Sinhala Foc

It is so Sinhalese that I speak.

Both sentences are examples of constituent focus. Gair's translation of "tamai" as "so" in sentence (b) does not contribute any perceptible semantic import. Both sentences are identical in meaning despite the presence of "tamai" in the (b) sentence. This illustrates the optionality of "tamai" in the post verbal position after the E-marked verb though Gair identifies a semantic difference. However, Gair does not identify any particular construction as a cleft.

Gair's later work (1983) on Sinhala focus (as discussed by Kariyakarawana) treat WH questions as a subset of focus constructions and is discussed in the generative tradition. He proposes an overt WH movement analysis of focus with a base generated focus element in the presupposition moving to a rightward focus position, as shown in the following examples and structural projections.

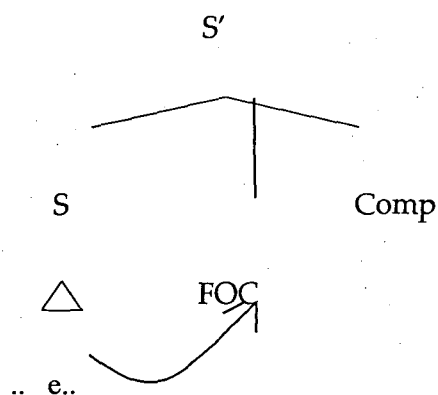
6) a. [lankaawe aya t kanne] [bat]]

It is rice that Sri Lankans eat.

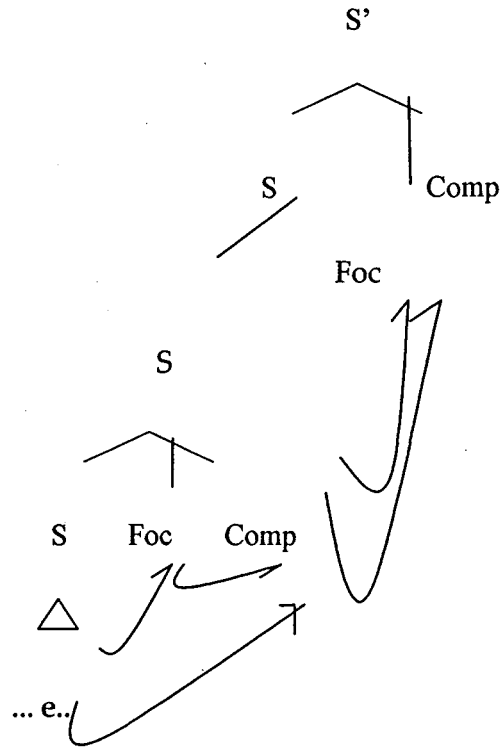
b. [lankaawe aya t kanne] monava da]]

What is it that Sri Lankans eat?

c)



d)



As shown in above (6, a-d), any element of a sentence (argument or adjunct) can be focused by moving it to the rightward FOC position of the sentence. Gair identifies this movement to be either short, limited to a single clause, or long, involving successive cyclic movement. As the arrows point out, the focused constituent may move cyclically via an intermediate category FOC to COMP or directly from COMP to COMP up to the FOC position. Gair argues that this movement takes place at an abstract level of syntactic representation. Also he maintains that Subjacency applies at S-structure, not at LF.

2.1.2 Kariyakarawana (1998)

Kariyakarawana investigates the focus phenomena of Sinhala in the theoretical framework of Government and Binding (Chomsky: 1981, 1982, and 1986 a, b) and attempts at a comprehensive analysis of the focus construction. His critical

examination of focus includes the cleft construction, WH movement, focus particles, focus and pre-supposition, and the verb marking.

He identifies the following three types of focus encoding.

- 1) **C-focus (Cleft focus).** A constituent of a sentence may be focused by clefting it.
- 2) **E-focus (Emphasis focus).** A constituent of a sentence may be focused, in its regular SOV order by the placement of a morphological focus marker immediately following it.
- 3) **P-focus (Phonological Focus).** A constituent may be focused by placing the nuclear stress on it.

According to him, the main difference between C-focus and E-focus is that the former has only a cleft reading while the latter has both cleft and non-cleft, i.e., regular WH question reading. The following examples illustrate Kariyakarawana's C-focus and E-focus distinction.

Neutral

7) Kumara iiye kaareka seeduwa.

Kumara yesterday car washed.

Kumara washed (his) car yesterday.

8) **C-focus**

Iiye kaareka seeduwe **Kumara**.

Yesterday car washed-E **Kumara**.

It is Kumara who washed the car yesterday. (Kumara in the post verbal position is clefted)

E-focus

- 9) Kumara **tamai** kaareka seeduwe.

Kumara Nom.Foc the car wash past E

It was Kumara who washed the car. (Kumara, followed by “*tamai*” in focus)

(In both types of focus, there is E-marking on the verb)

Kariyakarawana lists the following particles as focus markers that make any constituent immediately preceding one of them morphologically focused and observes that they attribute a contrastive meaning to the whole proposition, or a constituent that comes under the scope of such a particle thereby contributing to the propositional focus/constituent focus dichotomy. He maintains that only the Q-marker “*da*” is obligatory in the post verbal position whereas all the other particles are optional. The propositional/constituent focus distinction is illustrated in the examples 10, 11, respectively.

Focus particles;

lu (reportative), *yae* (dubitative), *nang* (conditional), *da* (interrogative), *ne* (tag), *tamai* (Foc)

Propositional Focus

- 10) Gunapala heta gaalu yanava *lu/yae/nang/ da/ne/tamai*

G Nom tomorrow Galle-Loc go REP/DUB/IF/Q/TAG/FOC

Gunapala is going to Galle tomorrow/as people say/Is he/If he is../Does he/Isn't he/Indeed

(Propositional focus does not trigger E-marking of the verb.)

Constituent Focus

11) Gunapala lu/yae/nang/ da/ne/tamai heta gaalu yannE

G Nom REP/DUB/IF/Q/TAG/FOC tomorrow Galle-Loc go-E

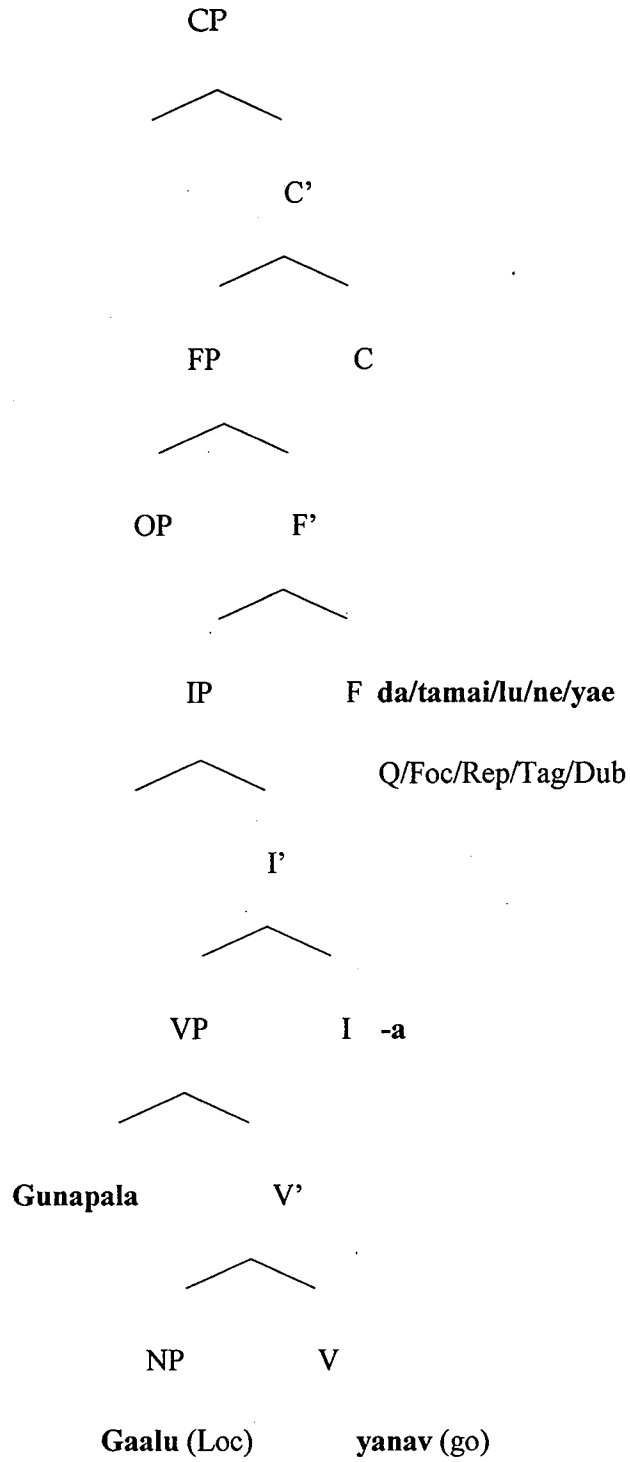
Gunapala /as people say/is it/if/does/Isn't/indeed/ is going to Galle tomorrow.

(Constituent focus triggers E-marking)

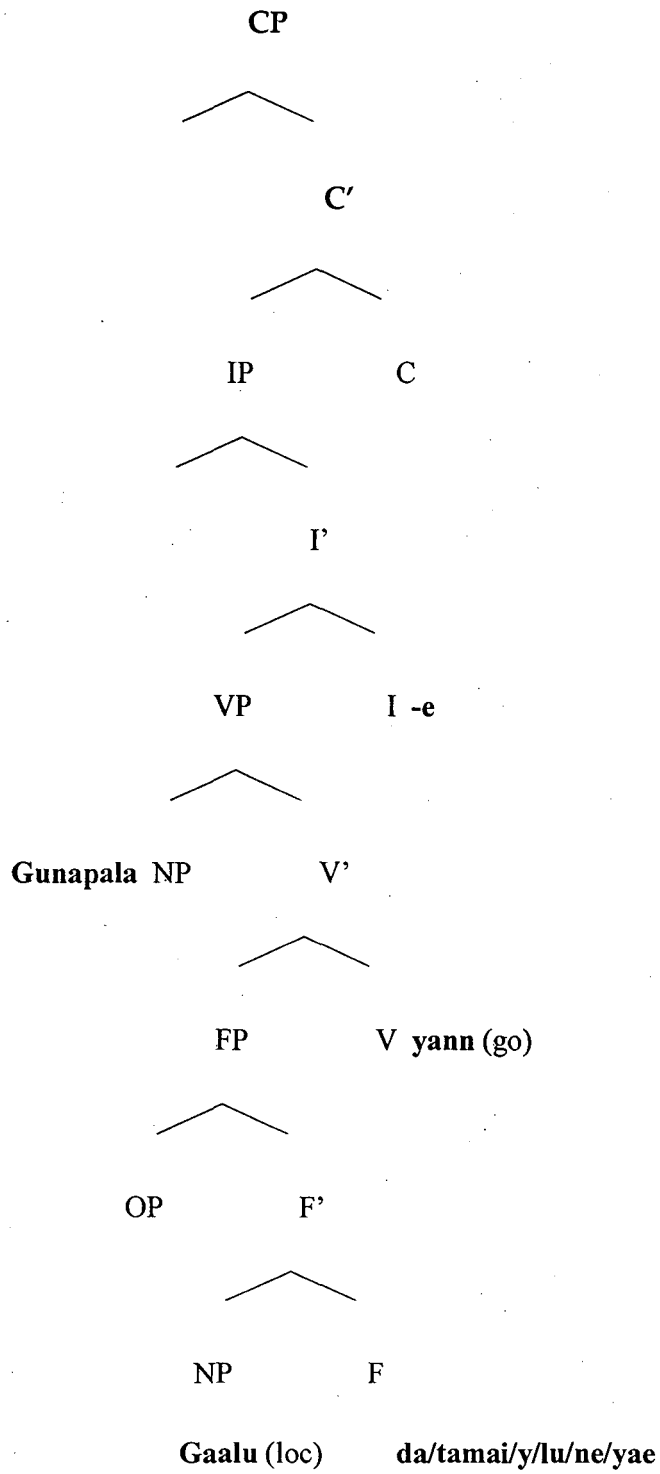
The structural projections he proposes for propositional focus and constituent focus are given below.

12) Propositional Focus

7M-15247



13) Constituent Focus



(Kariyakarawana (1998: 110-113))

2.1.3 Heenadeerage (2002)

Heenadeerage's discussion of the focus constructions of Sinhala is located in the theoretical assumptions of the Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG). Consequently, the present study excludes Heenadeerage's analysis and arguments made in this particular theoretical framework. However, certain areas of his discussion of focus phenomena of Sinhala that are relevant to this study are critically examined.

He identifies three distinct types of Focus in Sinhala as Constituent Focus, Predicate Focus, and Clause-Final Focus. Constituent focus corresponds to morphological marking of focus with a focus particle where a pre-verbal constituent followed by the focus marker receives focus in the discourse. In this case the verb is E-marked. Predicate focus refers to the propositional focus where a focus particle occurs in the clause final position so that the whole proposition is focused. This does not trigger E on the verb. The post verbal position (with the verb E-marked) where a constituent receives focus is identified as Clause Final focus. This is also identified as syntactic focus in literature.

He too lists the following particles as focus markers so that they share the same structural position and distribution.

tamai 'focus', *yae* 'dubitative', *lu* 'reportative', *da* 'Q-marker', *nang* 'conditional', *ne* 'tag'

Although he concludes that the above particles differ in meaning, he does not critically examine each particle in order to establish their unique identity. However, following Kishimoto (1999), he dissociates the Sinhala Q-marker "da"

from the other focus particles noticing its differential distribution. This observation is based on the distribution of the Focus marker and the Q particle. As illustrated below, multiple interrogative markers are admitted in a single clause whereas multiple focus markers are ruled out.

14) a. Ram mokak da kohedee da kare?

Ram what Q where Q did?

Ram did what where?

b. *Ram tamai kaareka tamai seeduwe.

Ram Foc the car Foc washed E

It is Ram, it is the car, washed.

However, he does not capture the exact generalization for this distributional difference between the Q-marker and the other focus markers. Further, he concludes that the optionality of the focus marker "tamai" in the clause final position, with the verb marked E, is due to a special characteristic of "tamai". The following example shows this optionality.

15) Kaareka seeduwe Ram (tamai)

The car washed E Ram (FOC)

It is Ram who washed the car.

Apart from attributing this optionality to the semantics of "tamai", Heenadeerage does not explain why this is so. These issues are discussed in chapters four and five of this study.

Discussing the scope marking and focus interpretation in multiple clause structures, Heenadeerage observes that the focus interpretation depends on the E-marked verb. He maintains that E-marking on the matrix verb yields a matrix focus interpretation and E-marking on the embedded verb yields an embedded focus interpretation. The examples he gives to illustrate these observations are,

16) a. Gune [Janadhipati boruwak tamai kiuwe] kiyala hituwa
Gune(Nom)[president Nom lie Foc said E]Comp think Past
Gune thought that it was a lie that the president told.

b. Gune [Janadhipati boruwak tamai kiuwa] kiyala hituwe
Gune(Nom)[president Nom lie Foc said- A]Comp think Past-E
It was a lie that Gune thought that the president told.

(Heenadeerage (2002: 209)

According to Heenadeerage's analysis, sentence (a) yields an embedded focus interpretation as the suffix E is attached to the embedded verb. Sentence (b) yields a matrix focus interpretation as the E suffix is attached to the matrix verb. He explains the meaning difference between the two in the following way.

"In the (a) sentence, Gune makes an assertion regarding the president's statement being false. The assertion made by Gune is based on a presupposition which Gune believes to be true. In other words Gune really believes that the president told a lie. On the other hand, what is indicated by the (b) sentence is Gune's view in relation to the president's statement being true or false. That is, Gune's assertion may not have anything to do with what the president actually said and the accuracy of the president's statement".

(Heenadeerage : 211)

Heenadeerage's analysis of focus as matrix focus interpretation and embedded focus interpretation is not convincing, even though he correctly captures the role of E-marking in focus interpretation. However, according to the grammaticality judgments of some native speakers of Sinhala, including the present researcher, there are some observations to be made regarding Heenadeerage's analysis. These are discussed in point form in the following section.

- i. Sentence (16, b) is incorrect as the embedded verb *Kiuwa* 'said' is not E-marked. This verb occurs in the immediate post-position of the focus marker "tamai". Therefore, according to the competence of the native speakers of Sinhala, the verb in this position should be E-marked. The fact that the matrix verb carries the E-marking in this case does not make the embedded clause grammatical.
- ii. The verb that immediately follows the focus marker should be E-marked irrespective of matrix/embedded distinction. That is, when the embedded verb is E-marked due the presence of the focus marker immediately before it, E-marking on the matrix verb does not contribute to any change of scope. In other words, E- on the matrix verb does not yield a matrix focus interpretation. The following examples illustrate this generalization.

17) a Gune [Janadhipati boruwak tamai kiuwe kiyala] hituwa

Gune Nom [president Nom lie Foc said E COMP]thought

Gune thought that it was a lie that the president said.

- b. Gune [Janadhipati boruwak tamai kiuwe kiyala] hituwe
Gune Nom [president Nom lie Foc said E COMP]thought-E
Gune thought that it was a lie that the president said.

In the (a) sentence, the matrix verb is not E-marked. In the (b) sentence, it is E-marked. But there is no difference in scope. In both sentences, the constituent *boruwak* 'a lie' is focused. Therefore, this is again an instance of constituent focus irrespective of its occurrence in the embedded clause. (This issue is further investigated in Chapter 4).

2.2 The Cleft Analysis of the Sinhala Focus Construction

A cleft is a syntactic way of encoding focus. Other means of focus encoding are prosodic and morphological, all of which, many languages in the world employ in different degrees to suit the felicity conditions of discourse. As its syntactic structure takes a different shape from that of an ordinary declarative sentence, a cleft looks like a special construction. In English, cleft is a complex sentence with a bi-clausal structure. Three types of clefts are identified in English.

1. IT cleft
2. The WH cleft.
3. The Reverse WH cleft.

Examples illustrating the above three are given below.

- 18) It is that bag you should select.
- 19) What you have to do is to meet the principal.
- 20) That's what he has to do.

The second and the third type above, namely, the WH cleft and the Reverse WH cleft are identified as pseudo clefts which demand a separate analysis. As shown above, the cleft construction in English (IT cleft) is a bi-clausal structure, which has the following structure.

21) Cleft pronoun BE Clefted Constituent Cleft Clause

It is that bag you should select

It is that bag you should select.

Kariyakarawana (1998) proposes a cleft analysis for the Sinhala focus construction. His analysis is based on some question-answer pairs, repeated as 22, 23 below.

22) a. Lankaave aya kanne monava da?

Sri Lanka-GEN people eat-PRES what Q

What is it that Sri Lankans eat?

b. Lankaave aya kanne bat(uy)

Sri Lanka-GEN people eat-PRES-E rice

It's rice that Sri Lankans eat.

23) a. Lankaave aya monava da kanne?

Sri Lanka-GEN people what Q eat- PRES-E

What do Sri Lankans eat? Or

What is it that Sri Lankans eat?

b. Lankaave aya bat kanava.

Sri Lanka-GEN people rice eat PRES

Sri Lankans eat rice.

c. Lankaave aya bat(uy) kanne (uy 'tamai')

Sri Lanka-GEN people rice Foc eat- PRES- E

It is rice that Sri Lankans eat.

d. Lankaave aya BAT kanava

Sri Lanka-GEN people rice-FOC- eat-PRES

Sri Lankans eat RICE. (Kariyakarawana: 81-82)

According to Kariyakarawana, Question (22 a) is an obligatorily clefted question for which an obligatorily clefted answer such as (22 b) is the most appropriate. (23 a) is an optionally focused question, and, therefore, the answer can be a regular non-focused statement, an E(mphasis)-focused, or P-(phonologically)focused statement as indicated by 23 b-d respectively. Kariyakarawana identifies the question and answer in (22) as instances of constituent focus which involves cleft structure while the question in (23 a) as acquiring optional constituent focus interpretation in the regular SOV order as a result of morphological marking of the WH (da). As such, he identifies the immediate post verbal position (after the E-marked verb) as a structural position for cleft and any pre-verbal position with a DP followed by a morphological Focus marker such as "tamai" or "da" as E(mphasis) focus. According to him, the main difference between C-focus and E-focus is that the former has only a cleft reading while the latter has both cleft and non-cleft, i.e., regular WH question reading.

Kariyakarawana proposes a bi-clausal structure for cleft similar to the structure of English cleft. The post verbal position is identified as a structural position for cleft, where the focus element is base generated and the movement of an abstract operator at S-structure is posited. The structural representation of a focused sentence such as (24, a), is given in (b) below.

- 24) a. Lankaave aya kanne bat (uy)
Sri Lanka-GEN people eat-PRES-E rice
It's rice that Sri Lankans eat.

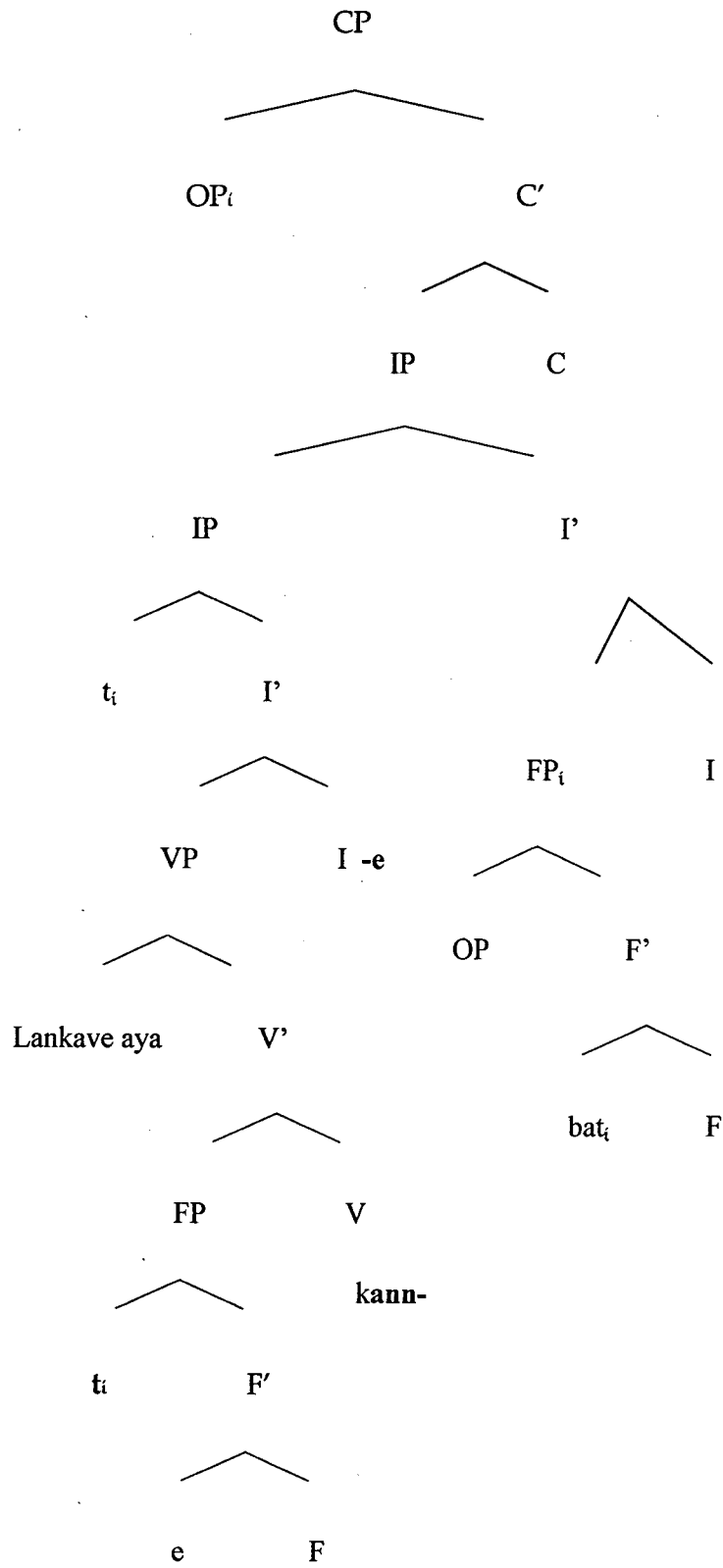
- b. [CP Op_i [IP t_i presupposition t_i] [XP_i focus]]

(Kariyakarawana: 96)

The above structure basically resembles the structure for cleft construction proposed by Chomsky (1977) except for the focused element occupying the rightmost position and the presupposition clause identified as IP rather than CP. Kariyakarawana's bi-clausal structure for cleft with the operator movement hypothesis is presented in the following structural representation.

- 25) a. Lankaave aya kanne bat
Sri Lanka-GEN people eat-PRES-E rice
It's rice that Sri Lankans eat.

b.



(Kariyakarawana: 113)

According to Kariyakarawana, theta and case assignment to the focused element in the post verbal position takes place in the following manner. An abstract operator is base generated in the gap position and then moves up to Spec IP of its own clause and then to the Spec C of the main clause. The movement of the operator to the Spec IP of its own clause triggers the verb agreement (E-marking) in each clause. The structure also claims that C-focus sentences have nominal predicates (the focused element is the predicate of the sentence). This, he argues in accordance with negation, tense, and, aspect features of both constructions. Accordingly, the arguments he posits are the following.

- i. Both predicate nominals and C-focus constructions take the nominal negator "nemei"
- ii. Tense and aspect are not realized in both constructions as copula verb is absent in both.

Predicate nominal and negation

26) a. Piyasena mahatteya guruvarayek

Piyasena gentleman Nom teacher

Mr Piyasena is a teacher.

b. Piyasena mahatteya guruvarayek nemei

Piyasena gentleman Nom teacher Neg

Mr Piyasena is not a teacher.

C-focus and negation

27) a. Lankaave aya kanne bat

Sri Lanka-GEN people eat-PRES-E rice

It's rice that Sri Lankans eat.

b. Lankaave aya kanne bat nemei

Sri Lanka-GEN people eat-PRES-E rice Neg

It's not rice that Sri Lankans eat.

Kariyakarawana maintains that the operator base generated in the Spec FOC position first moves to the SPEC I to spell out its focus features by establishing a SPEC-head configuration with the verb. This feature sharing is reflected in the E-marking of the verb. The focus operator then moves up to Spec C, (to a C-commanding position of the focus element), to be identified by this lexical element. The focus operator forms a predication chain with the focused phrase in the S-structure thus transferring its theta and case index to the focused element via predication. Predication in this case is accomplished through co-indexation between the presupposition and focus (which is similar to co-indexation in predicate nominals). At LF, the predicate NP is interpreted as the filler of the gap in the presupposition which in essence is a variable bound by an operator forming a variable chain. The following example illustrates this point.

28) [NP Piyasena mahatteya i] guruvarayek i]]

Piyasena gentleman teacher

Mr Piyasena is a teacher.

(Kariyakarawana: 114)

Further, Kariyakarawana maintains that Subjacency effects can be detected in both Sinhala focus and WH and this is due to the abstract operator movement at S-structure but not due to LF movement. The evidence against LF movement is that LF raising in Sinhala generally does not show Subjacency effects while the focus movement does.

The focused lexical item remains in-situ for theta and case reasons. The movement of any other operators, [CP OP] or [IP OP] (for identification requirement with the Head) from a Complex Noun phrase Island (CNP) is blocked by Subjacency. Thus, the only operator that can move up is the Operator in the Spec FOC position.

Kariyakarawana's argument for the two types of focus as C-focus and E-focus is supported by the following evidence.

- 1) Obligatory/optional cleft reading of the question answer pairs given in 22 and 23 above.
- 2) Immediate post verbal position is a structural position for cleft as this is the only position where a DP can occur without the morphological focus marker "tamai". This is a base position for focus so that the focus marker "tamai" is not obligatory here.
- 3) Evidence from negation in Sinhala.
- 4) C-Focus has a bi-clausal structure whereas E-focus has a mono clausal one.

The following subsections critically examine each point.

2.2.1 Obligatory cleft interpretation

29) a. Lankaave aya kanne monava da?

Sri Lanka-GEN people eat-PRES what Q

What is it that Sri Lankans eat?

b. Lankaave aya kanne bat(uy)

Sri Lanka-GEN people eat-PRES-E rice

It's rice that Sri Lankans eat.

30) a. Lankaave aya monava da kanne?

Sri Lanka-GEN people what Q eat- PRES-E

What do Sri Lankans eat? Or

What is it that Sri Lankans eat?

b. Lankaave aya bat kanava.

Sri Lanka-GEN people rice eat PRES

Sri Lankans eat rice.

c. Lankaave aya bat(uy) kanne (uy 'tamai')

Sri Lanka-GEN people rice Foc eat- PRES- E

It is rice that Sri Lankans eat.

(Kariyakarawana: 81-82)

The only structural difference between Question (29, a) and (30, a) is the position of the Question word *monavada* 'what'. In (29 a), "what" occurs in the post verbal position, whereas in (30 a), "what" occurs in the immediate preverbal position.

According to Kariyakarawana, Question (29 a) is an obligatorily clefted question for which an obligatorily clefted answer such as (29 b) is the most appropriate. (30 a) is an optionally focused question, and, therefore, the answer can be a regular non-focused statement, an E-focused, or P(honologically)-focused statement. According to the competence of the present researcher and the intuitive judgments of a number of other native speakers of Sinhala, the above two questions, (a) and (b) are not semantically different. Hence they do not require differentiated answers. For question one, which Kariyakarawana calls an obligatorily clefted question, any answer above would be a suitable answer. When a speaker asks question one in which the question word *monavada* 'what' occurs in the E-marked immediate post verbal position, he/she does not expect an answer in the same word order with the question word replaced by an argument (rice).

Kariyakarawana also maintains that sentence (29 b), *lankaave aya kanne bat* 'It is rice that the Sri Lankans eat', (the answer to question 29 a) cannot open a discourse as it contains pre supposed material. The correct opening sentence for a discourse should be *Lankaave aya bat kanava* 'Sri Lankans eat rice'. According to the native speaker judgment, this observation is correct. However, though (29 b) cannot open a discourse, it can function as an answer to questions (29a) as well as (30 a), which Kariyakarawana identifies as obligatorily clefted and optionally clefted questions respectively. In the same way, sentence (29 b) is an appropriate answer to question (30 a), which Kariyakarawana calls an optionally clefted question for which the obligatorily clefted answer (29 b) is not appropriate. Therefore, Kariyakarawana's argument that the above, (29) yields an obligatorily cleft interpretation that demands an obligatorily clefted answer such as the above, 29 b) does not hold.

Heenadeerage (2002) also refutes Kariyakarawana's argument for C(left) focus and E(emphatic)focus distinction. He maintains that there is no obligatory cleft interpretation as claimed by Kariyakarawana in the question/answer pairs given in 29 and 30 above.

2.2.2 Post verbal position and "tamai"

In the absence of an overt focus marker, any DP in the immediate post verbal position, with the verb E-marked, would yield a focus interpretation. The overt morphological focus marker "tamai" is optional in this position. The following examples illustrate this point.

31) a. Iiye kaareka seeduwe **Kumara**. (tamai)

Yesterday car washed-E Kumara. (Foc)

It is **Kumara** who washed the car yesterday. (Kumara, in the post verbal position is clefted)

b. Kumara **tamai** kaareka seeduwe. ("tamai" is obligatory)

Kumara Nom.**Foc** the car wash past E

It was Kumara who washed the car. (Kumara, followed by "tamai" in focus)

Kariyakarawana's cleft analysis is supported by the optionality of the focus marker in the post verbal position which is identified as a structural position for focus. However, this optionality can be attributed to discourse related phenomena. (Syntactic analysis of the same is given in chapter 4). The optionality of the focus marker can be observed in preverbal position too, as shown in the following discourse.

A: Kauda iiye kaareka heeduwe?/ Ilye kaareka heeduwe kauda?
Who yesterday day car washed-E?/ Yes' day car washed-E who?

- B: i) Kumara.
ii) Kumara (tamai) kaareka seeduwe. [Kumara (Foc) car washed-E]
iii) Kaareka seeduwe kumara (tamai). [Kar washed-E Kumara (Foc)]
iv) Kumara ne kaareka seeduwe. (Kumara MD Eva. Car washed-E)

According to native speaker judgments, any of the above answers could be an appropriate answer to A's question. Answer (ii) shows Kumara in preverbal position. The verb is E-marked. But the Foc marker is optional. Answer (iii) has Kumara in the post verbal position of the E-marked verb. Foc marker is optional. According to Kariyakarawana's analysis, optionality of the Foc marker is allowed only in the post verbal position. But the above data rule out this exclusivity as the preverbal position too can be optional for focus marker in discourse.

Kariyakarawana also argues for the optionality of other particles too (*lu/yae/ne/nang* 'Rep/Dub/Tag/If') in the post verbal position. According to native speaker judgment, the immediate post verbal position (or preverbal position as shown in [ii] above) is optional **only** for "tamai". Any other mood and modality marker (which are generally subsumed under focus) such as "lu" (reportative), "da" (Q), "yae" (Dub) etc should obligatorily occur in this position. In the absence of any such marker, the sentence yields a "tamai" interpretation as shown in the following example.

- 32) Iye kaareka seeduwe Kumara (tamai) *(lu/yae/ne/nang/da)
Yes' day car washed-E Kumara (Foc) *(Rep/Dub/Tag/If/Q)

As further evidence for his Cleft analysis, Kariyakarawana maintains that the unmarked position for the focused element is the rightward position that has been pointed out by many researchers. On the contrary, what is proposed in literature as the unmarked position for focus for most SOV languages is the immediate preverbal position. This conclusion is based on the adjacency requirement between V and the focus and direction of government. Accordingly, a preverbal focus position is identified for Basque, Turkish, and Hindi-Urdu. (Szendroi, K (2005))

2.2.3 Evidence from negation in Sinhala

Before examining Kariyakarawana's arguments, it is necessary to explain certain empirical facts regarding negation in Sinhala.

Sinhala has a number of NEG markers that have different structural positions, distribution, and selectional restrictions¹.

Naeha: To negate a non- focused declarative sentence.

- 33) a. Ram Colombo giya
Ram Colombo went.
Ram went to Colombo.

¹ Only the Neg markers relevant for the discussion are listed here. A detailed discussion is presented in chapter five.

b. Ram Colombo giye naeha.

Ram Colombo went E NEG

Ram did not go to Colombo (Whole proposition is negated)

Nemei: To show focused negation/to negate with focus

34) Ram nemei Colombo giye

Ram NEG Colombo went E

It is not Ram who went to Colombo. (NEG has scope over Ram)

Naette: To negate a proposition that contains a focused constituent.

35) Ram tamai Colombo giye naette

Ram FOC Colombo went E NEG

It is Ram who did not go to Colombo. (NEG has scope over the whole proposition with the already focused constituent "Ram")

Kariyakarawana cites the following examples as evidence to argue that the two NEG particles in Sinhala, "nemei" and "naette" exhibit different properties. According to him, "nemei" is a constituent negator and "naette" is the focused form of the sentential (or VP) negator. "Nemei" thus negates any constituent including a whole proposition whereas "naette" negates only the predicate of a proposition. Therefore, according to Kariyakarawana, the two NEG particles are in complementary distribution with the two types of focus. The focus of C-focus sentences must be negated with "nemei" and the focus of E-focus sentences must be negated with "naette" as shown in (36, a, b) below. Further, he asserts that in (a), what is negated is the focus and thus the scope of negation does not extend to the presupposition. By contrast, in (b) what is negated is the presupposition that

contains focus and therefore the whole proposition comes under the scope of negation.

36) a. Siri giyee kolamba nemey *naette

Siri go Pst-E Colombo NEG * NEG

It is not to Colombo that Siri went.

b. Siri Colombo tamai giyee naette *nemei

Siri Colombo FOC go Pst-E not NEG *NEG

The place that Siri didn't go to is Colombo.

(Kariyakarawana: 85)

Kariyakarawana's observations regarding the scope marking properties of the two NEG particles "Nemei" and "Naette" hold true for both cases. However, a close examination of Sinhala data and the grammatical judgments of native speakers of Sinhala show that Kariyakarawana's claim for C-focus and E-focus distinction on the basis of negation is unsubstantiated. As observed in the preceding sections, the post verbal position is identified as a focus position where only a focus particle can (optionally) occur. Accordingly, in 36, (a), this position is occupied by the Neg particle which is also a focus particle. (*Nemei* is the focused negator and consequently the opposite of *Tamai*). Therefore, any other Neg particle which is non-focus is ruled out in this position. As "Tamai" and "Nemei" are semantically opposites, they are in complementary distribution. Therefore, in sentence (b), "nemei" cannot occur in that particular position as "tamai" is already there in the clause. This is ruled out by a more general

principle that applies to Sinhala focus. That is, two focus particles cannot occur in the same clause², as shown in the following example.

37) *Ram **tamai** kaareka **tamai** seeduwe

Ram Foc the car Foc washed-E

It is Ram it is the car washed

Accordingly, (36, b) is ruled out by the same principle.

38) *Siri Colombo **tamai** giyee **nemei**

Siri Colombo FOC go Pst-E NEG (Foc)

The place that Siri didn't go to is Colombo.

As observed in the preceding argument, a complementary distribution relation holds between the two focus particles "tamai" and "nemei", and not between the two NEG particles as observed by Kariyakarawana. Native speaker judgment does not rule out their co occurrence as shown in the following examples.

39) a. Ram kolamba **nemei** giye **naette**

Ram Colombo Neg went-E Neg

It is not to Colombo that Ram did not go.

b. Ram kolamba **nemei** [mama hitanne] gihin **naette**

Ram Colombo Neg [I Nom think-E] go (perf p) Neg

(I think) it is not to Colombo that Ram has not gone.

² A number of different Mood/modality particles can occur together.

Heenadeerage (2002) rejects Kariyakarawana's analysis of Cleft focus as a bi-clausal structure on the basis that the structure of the clause identified as a cleft by Kariyakarawana does not warrant such bi-clausal analysis. He argues that, though the English translation of such a clause is bi-clausal, the Sinhala clause is different from the English cleft as the former is mono-clausal whereas the English cleft is bi-clausal. He also dismisses the argument for a structural position for focus in the post verbal position where the focus marker "tamai" is optional identifying this unique position as the default position for the focus marker "tamai". Any other Mood/Modality marker has to be obligatorily realized in that position whereas "tamai" is optional. Therefore, in the absence of any other Mood/Modality marker, the constituent in the post verbal position after the E-marked verb inevitably yields "tamai" interpretation.

Further, he too rejects evidence from Sinhala negation facts proposed by Kariyakarawana in support of his C-focus analysis concluding that the two NEG particles, "nemei" and "naette" are in complementary distribution in relation to each other rather than in relation to focus interpretation. (This too does not hold true as shown in the above examples 39). Therefore, negation facts from Sinhala do not support Kariyakarawana's claim.

2.3 Beyond the Cleft Analysis

2.3.1 Hagstrom (2002)

Hagstrom's major critical engagement is with the WH question phenomena in Japanese and Sinhala and therefore he pays only marginal attention to the focus construction. However, his work is important to the present study as he has gone beyond the traditional analysis of Sinhala focus thereby establishing a significant

theoretical shift. The nuance of his argument reflects the empirical assumption that questions in every language share a common core and the goal of his work is to capture and characterize that common core. The empirical evidence he cites are from both Sinhala and Japanese that enables him to arrive at certain significant cross linguistic generalizations of theoretical importance. He discusses the WH question formation extensively by examining the syntax, morphology, and semantics of questions. Consequently he investigates the movement of the Q-particle in Sinhala, the nature of the movement involved, constraints on movement, and the co-relation of Q-particle with E-morphology on the verb. Further, he discusses the Focus construction of Sinhala in relation to the question formation as the Q-particle “da” shows a similar distribution and shares similar scope marking properties. A summary of his main arguments concerning the focus phenomena of Sinhala is presented in the following section.

- 1) Both Japanese and Sinhala are in-situ-languages with a Q(uestion) morpheme. In Japanese, Q is realized as -ka that appears as a question-final particle. In Sinhala Q is realized as -da that appears attached to the question word itself. “Da” is a Q marker which can appear clause finally or clause internally in WH and yes/no questions. The following data from Japanese and Sinhala illustrate this relationship.

Sinhala:

- 40) a. Gunapala sinduva- k kiuva.
 Gunapala Nom song-a sang
 Gunapala sang a song.

b. **Siri mokakda keruwe?**

Siri Nom **what** Q did-E

What did Siri do?

(Hagstrom (1998: 20))

In (b), the question word “what” consists of two words, *mokak* and *da*, glossed as ‘what’ and ‘Q’. The verb is E-marked compared to the “a” suffix of the declarative sentence in (a). The question word appears clause internally.

Japanese:

41) a. John-ga hon-o katta

John- Nom book- Acc bought

John bought a book.

b. John-ga nani-o kaimasita ka?

John-Nom what-Acc bought polite Q

What did John buy?

(Hagstrom: 15)

Japanese is a strictly verb- final language. An example of a declarative Japanese sentence is given in (a). A WH question formed by questioning the object is given in (b). The question word “nani”(what) remains in object position and the fact that it is a question is indicated by the sentence- final particle –ka (glossed as Q)

2. In Sinhala, when “da”(Q) is clause internal, verb carries E- suffix (verb is E-marked). When “da” is clause final, E- does not appear on the verb. Therefore, scope of a Sinhala question is marked either by E- on the verb

or having “da” at the clause periphery of the interrogative clause. There seems to be a relation between the “da” morpheme and the periphery of the interrogative clause in Sinhala.

42) a. Siri **mokakda** keruwe?

Siri Nom **what** Q did-E

What did Siri do?

b. Salli **koccar** dunna **da**?

Money how much gave Q?

How much money did (you) give?

3. When the connection to the clause periphery is severed by omitting the E-morphology, the sentence loses its interrogative meaning and the WH word is interpreted as an indefinite,

43) a. Mokakda wetuna

What Q fell

Something fell

b. Mokakda wetune?

What Q fell-E?

What fell?

4. There is a movement relation between “da” and clause periphery in WH questions marked with- E. This relation is not allowed to cross movement islands. “Da” can appear only at the edge of an island as shown in the following examples.

44) a. *Oyaa [kauda liyapu pota] kieue?
You [who Q wrote book] read-E?
Who wrote book did you read?

b. Oyaa[kauru liyapu pota] da kieue?
You [who wrote book] Q read- E?
Who wrote book did you read?

5. Hagstrom maintains that the role of E-suffix is central to the understanding of the movement relation and establishing the identity of the moving particle/constituent. He proposes that E- Suffix serves a scope marking function that depends on the distribution of the Q particle. Where Q (da) is clause internal, the embedded verb is marked with -E, but a clause peripheral Q (da) does not trigger E on the verb. He identifies a strong syntactic parallel between WH and Focus on the basis of the above distributional evidence. Following examples illustrate the above observations.

45) a. Ranjith [kau da aave kiyala] dannava
Ranjith [who Q came-E Comp] know
Ranjith knows who came

b. Ranjith [kauru aava da kiyala] dannava
Ranjith [who came Q Comp] know
Ranjith knows who came.

- c. Chitra ee pota **tamai** kieuwe.
 Chitra that book **Foc** read-E
 It is that book that Chitra read.
- d. Chitra ee pota kieuwa **tamai**
 Chitra that book read **Foc**
 It is that book that Chitra read

(Hagstrom: 32-33)

6. As shown in the above examples, both in the interrogatives and the focus constructions, the E-suffix appears only when the particle “da” or “**tamai**” is not suffixed to the verb. Based on the relationship between E-suffix and Q/Foc, Hagstrom concludes that E-suffix is a reflection of an unsatisfied or unchecked feature. Suffixation of question particle “da” or focus particle **tamai** can check/satisfy this feature via movement to the clause periphery. Just as the Q-marker “da” cannot appear separated from the E-marked verb by an island boundary, the focus marker “**tamai**” cannot be separated either, as shown in the following examples.

- 46) a. *Oyaa [Chitra Ranjit- ta **tamai** dunna pota] kieuwe.
 You Chitra Ranjit-Dat **Foc** gave book read-E
 (“It was to Ranjit that you read the book that Chitra gave t”)
- b. Oyaa [Chitra Ranjit- ta dunna pota **tamai**] kieuwe.
 You Chitra Ranjit-Dat gave book **Foc** read-E
 “It was the book which Chitra gave to Ranjit that you read”

(Hagstrom: 34)

Kakari-musubi construction, pre-modern Japanese:

- 47) a. Taruu-ya [taa-ga kak-ta-ru syumutyi]-Ga yum-too-ra
Taru-TOP **who**-NOM write-PAST-C book-Q read-PROG-M
(I wonder) who Taru is reading the book written by.
- b. *Taruu-ya [taa-ga-GA kak-ta-ru syumutyi] yum-too-ra
Taru-TOP **who**-NOM-Q write-PAST-C book read-PROG-M
(I wonder) who Taru is reading the book written by.

(Hagstrom: 38)

Based on the close syntactic parallels between questions in Sinhala and questions in Japanese, Hagstrom makes the following observations:

Japanese “ka” (Q) corresponds to Sinhala “da”(Q) and Japanese “ka” appears overtly at the clause periphery while Sinhala “da” appears at the bottom of a movement path to the clause periphery. If the base structures are same for the two languages it can be assumed that –ka moves overtly to the clause periphery while in Sinhala “da” moves covertly from clause internal to the clause periphery. It is not constrained by locality conditions such as Head Movement Constraint (HMC). There is a close parallel between questions and focus constructions in Sinhala. As in questions, the focus particle can either appear clause internally or clause peripherally. When the focus particle is clause internal, the E-morphology surfaces on the verb: When the focus particle is clause peripheral, no E-morpheme appears. Therefore, E-morphology plays the same role in focus constructions as it does in questions. (The movement relation between Q and clause periphery is further discussed in chapter four under WH analysis.)

In line with the previous literature on the WH question formation and focus construction in Sinhala, Hagstrom too lists the interrogative marker and the focus marker as focus particles. This is largely due to the identical distribution of both particles. His discussion of the scope marking properties of the Q-particle and the focus particle too is not distinct from the others as they too have shown a similar analysis. However, his proposals regarding the syntactic behavior of the Q particle in WH question formation and focus construction reflects a significant theoretical shift. He captures a movement relation between the clause internal position and the clause periphery in which the E-morpheme plays a crucial role. He also establishes the centrality of E marking of the verb in the symmetric relationship between the Q-phenomena and the focus phenomena. These observations lead to the significant cross linguistic generalization that Japanese exhibits overt Q-movement whereas it is covert in Sinhala. Further, he identifies the Q-marker and focus marker as Heads which are in a feature-checking relationship with the E-morpheme. He concludes that the E-morpheme is a morphological reflection of an unchecked feature and suffixation of the Q-head "da" or the focus head "tamai" can check this feature via movement.

2.4 The Research Problem

As discussed in the preceding sections, Kariyakarawana's arguments for a particular structure as a Cleft in Sinhala do not hold. Some of the work that Kariyakarawana refers to in his analysis, notably the work of Abrew (1981), Sumangala (1988), Gair and Sumangala (1991) are not available for review. However, out of those who have discussed the Focus construction of Sinhala, of whose work is available, only Kariyakarawana discusses a particular structure as a cleft. The morphological, syntactic, and semantic evidence he presents in

support of the dichotomy for a C-Focus and E-Focus is refuted by the present researcher (and Henadeerage 2002) with empirical evidence from Sinhala and native speaker judgments. However, neither Kariyakarawana nor Heenadeerage attempt a differential analysis of Sinhala Focus as they both generalize that the different particles that encode some degree of focus and have a similar distribution are focus particles. Consequently, a critical investigation of the so-called focus particles of Sinhala has not been attempted. The work of Hagstrom deserves special attention as his proposals and conclusions regarding Sinhala Focus have more predictive power and generalization capacity as he presents his arguments in the context of a cross linguistic study between Sinhala and Japanese.

However, a general observation that can be made regarding studies on Sinhala focus (and WH questions) that have been discussed in the preceding sections is the centrality of all the arguments and evidence on the focus phenomenon alone. On the basis of focus encoding properties displayed by such particles as *lu*(rep), *ne*(Tag), *yae*(Dub), *da*(Q), *nang*(If), and their similar distribution, all such particles have been subsumed under Focus. Further, all the previous studies discussed in the preceding sections deal with the focus marker “tamai” or the question marker “Da” and consequently no attempt has been made to establish the exact identity of the other particles through a critical examination.

The recent studies in the left periphery of the clause by Rizzi (1997, 1999), and Cinque (1999), have far reaching theoretical and empirical implications for further research on the clause structure of individual languages. Rizzi argues for a multiple layer approach to CP with two distinct head positions, FORCE and FINITENESS, interacting with two interfaces and activating a Topic Focus field.

Cinque proposes a universal hierarchy of functional heads represented by moods/modalities/tenses/and aspects which construct the natural language clause. Consequently, the above two proposals provide strong motivation to explore the so-called focus particles of Sinhala, "Lu/Ne/Yae/Da/Nang/Tamai" etc in a similar theoretical framework. Since these particles belong to the functional layer of the Sinhala clause, the preoccupation of this study in the following chapters is to examine each particle closely in the context of Rizzi's left periphery and Cinque's functional heads analysis. However, a first priority in that exercise will be to establish the nature, relationship, and level of interaction between WH questions and focus phenomena of Sinhala that will impact significantly on the conclusions regarding the above particles. It is also expected that this will turn out some important generalizations regarding UG as Sinhala data would further explore and test the cross linguistic generalizations proposed by Rizzi and Cinque in their respective studies.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Background

The preceding chapter made the case for a nuanced treatment of the various particles held to encode what is (vaguely, and incorrectly) labeled as focus in Sinhala, and suggested that the proposals made by Rizzi (1997, 1999) and Cinque (1999) for an articulated structure of the clause provide the locus for such a fine-grained analysis. In this chapter, I explore the substance of these two proposals in sections 1 (Rizzi) and 2 (Cinque), and argue, in section 3, that these proposals provide more fertile ground for the analysis of the so-called Sinhala ‘focus particles’ as mood/modality and information structure-relevant particles.

3.1 RIZZI (1997, 1999)

Rizzi’s seminal paper on the fine structure of the left periphery (1997) expounds a proposal for decomposition of the Complementizer layer of the clause into a series of functional projections in analogy to Pollock’s decomposition of the sentence eight years earlier. Motivating this decomposition by the peculiarities of complementizers of Italian and other Romance languages, Rizzi argues that interrogative and relative pronouns, topics, and foci project their own X-bar projections, and that this articulated array of projections constitutes the complementizer system (C-system).

The C-system is interpreted as an interface between two layers of an information system, one interfacing with the domain of discourse - typing the clause as interrogative, relative, adverbial, etc., -- and the other interfacing with the

domain of the sentence - expressing the content within IP, and determining its finiteness properties. Accordingly, the information contained in the higher structure is called the specification of Force (or Force) and the lower, more inward-looking structure headed by IP, as Finiteness.

The primary role of the C-system is the expression of Force and Finiteness, two distinct heads that close off the C-system upward and downward. The overt morphological realization of the finite/non-finite distinction can vary crosslinguistically, as languages tend to split verbal paradigms into finite and non-finite forms. Mood distinctions such as indicative, subjunctive, conditional, realis/irrealis etc., and tense and agreement forms are characteristics of the finite form, while the non-finite forms do not manifest such features. However, the IP system and the C-system should be treated as distinct due to substantial differences between them, such as the relatedness of the IP system to the verb that make the IP an extension of the verbal projection, whereas the inflectional properties of the C are expressed on free functional morphemes such as "that, que" etc.

Rizzi's proposals also capture the traditional association that topic and focus have with the left periphery of the clause, as they accommodate the claim that the C-system has other functions independently of the selectional relations between the higher and lower structural systems of Force and Finiteness. The Topic is a pre-posed element separately marked off from the rest of the clause by the "comma intonation" as shown in the following English example.

1) Your book, you should give t to Paul (not to Bill)

(Rizzi: (1997: 285)

The topic expresses the old information that can be traced to the previous discourse while the comment is an open sentence predicated upon the topic expressing new information.

Compared to the Topic-Comment articulation, the Focus-Presupposition has a different interpretive function though it is linearly quite similar to the former.

2) YOUR BOOK you should give t to Paul (not mine)

(Rizzi: 285)

The pre-posed element "YOUR BOOK" is in focus as it carries the new information whereas the open sentence expresses the presupposed or the old information. This marked distinction between the two articulations is captured by other languages too.

Rizzi illustrates that In Italian and in other Romance languages the topic-comment articulation is expressed by a construction involving a resumptive clitic co-referential to the topic (Clitic Left Dislocation: CLLD) as shown in (3).

3) Il tuo libro, lo ho letto

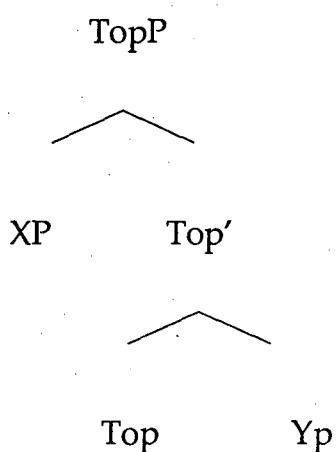
"Your book, I have read it"

(Rizzi: 286)

The focus-presupposition articulation can be expressed in Italian by pre-posing the focal element and assigning it special focal stress.

- 4) IL TUO LIBRO ho letto (, non il suo)
 "Your book I read (, not his)"

Rizzi (286, 287) provides the following X-bar projections for the topic-comment and focus-presupposition sentences above.

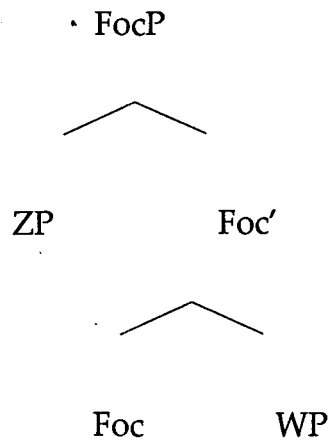


XP=Topic

YP=Comment

As shown in the above example, Topic Head, which is a functional projection of the C-system, projects its own X-bar schema with the topic in the spec position and comment as the complement.

Analogously, a Focus Head takes the focus as its specifier and the presupposition as its complement.



ZP=Focus

WP=Presupposition

In order to bring topic focus raising in line with the crucial assumption adopted in the beginning that “movement is last resort”, Rizzi proposes a Topic and Focus criterion, similar to the WH and NEG criteria. Accordingly, the constituent encoding Topic or focus features must end up in a Spec-Head configuration with Top or Foc. This restrictive theory of movement based on a feature criterion rules out other syntactic movements such as free movement or adjunction to the left periphery.

3.1.1 The architecture of the C-system

Unlike the Force-Finite system, which is an essential part of the C-system present whenever there is a CP, the topic-focus field is present in the structure only when it is activated, that is, when a constituent bearing topic or focus needs to be licensed by a Spec-Head criterion. Since Force and Finiteness closes off the

C-system upward and downward, the topic-focus field is located between the two C-Heads on either side as shown below.

.....Force..... (Topic)..... (Focus).....Fin IP

The positions occupied by Force and Finiteness are justified on empirical grounds using the behavior of complementizers “di” and “che” in Italian (which Rizzi says is applicable to Romance in general). In Italian (Romance) prepositional elements introducing infinitives such as “di” are generally considered the non finite counterparts of the finite complementizer “che”. Yet they show differential behavior with respect to a left-dislocated phrase as “che” always precedes and “di” always follows such a phrase as shown in the following examples (Rizzi (1997: 288).

- 5) a. Credo che loro apprezzerebbero molto il tuo libro
“I believe that they would appreciate your book very much”
b. Credo di apprezzare molto il tuo libro
“I believe “of” to appreciate your book very much”
- 6) a. Credo che il tuo libro, loro lo apprezzerebbero molto
“I believe that your book, they would appreciate it a lot”
b. *Credo il tuo libro, che loro lo apprezzerebbero molto
“I believe, your book, that they would appreciate it a lot”
- 7) a. *Credo di il tuo libro, apprezzarlo molto
“I believe “of” your book to appreciate it a lot”

- b. Credo, il tuo libro, di apprezzarlo molto
"I believe, your book, 'of' to appreciate it a lot"

(Rizzi: 288)

The distributional differences between "di" and "che" as shown in the above examples suggest the necessity for an articulated C-system with "che" occupying the Force position and "di" occupying the Finite position, differences that can hardly be accommodated by a unique C-position.

Further evidence for the highest C-position (Force) is provided by the distribution of relative operators and question operators in Italian. As shown in the following examples, the relative operators must precede topics and occupy the highest C-position while question operators must follow topics in main questions and can occupy a lower position within the Topic/Focus field (Rizzi(1997: 287).

- 8) a. Un uomo a cui, il premio Nobel, lo darranno senz' altro
"A man to whom, the Nobel Prize, they will give it undoubtedly"
- b. Un uomo, il premio Nobel, a cui lo darranno senz' altro
"A man, the Nobel Prize, to whom they will give it undoubtedly"
- 9) a. *A chi, il premio Nobel, lo darranno?
"To whom, the Nobel Prize, will they give it?"
- b. Il premio Nobel, a chi lo darranno?
"The Nobel Prize, to whom will they give it?"

Rizzi (1999) proposes a further refined articulation of the C-system with the inclusion of "se" (if) in Italian into the left periphery as a distinct functional Head. "Se" (if) in Italian has positional properties in common with the declarative "che" when occurring with a Focused phrase, but shows different positional properties with respect to a Topic phrase. Embedded Yes/No questions are introduced by "se", and both "che" and "se" are followed by a Focus phrase as shown in the following examples (Rizzi (1999: 2)

- 10) a. Credo che QUESTO avreste dovuto dirgli (non qualcos' altro)
 "I believe that THIS you should have said to him, not something else"
- b. *Credo QUESTO che avreste dovuto dirgli (non qualcos' altro)
 "I believe THIS that you should have said to him, not something else"
- 11) a. Mi domando se QUESTO gli volessero dire (non qualcos' altro)
 "I wonder if THIS they wanted to say to him, not something else"
- b. *Mi domando QUESTO se gli volessero dire (non qualcos' altro)
 "I wonder THIS if they wanted to say to him, not something else"

However, the distribution of "se" and "che" differs when they occur with a Topic phrase. "Se" can be preceded and followed by a topic, while "che" can be followed by a topic as shown in the following examples (Rizzi (1999: 3).

- 12) a. Credo che a Gianni, avrebbero dovuto dirgli la verita
 "I believe that to Gianni, they should have said the truth to him"

- b. * Credo a Gianni che, avrebbero dovuto dirgli la verita
 "I believe to Gianni that, they should have said the truth to him"
- 13) a. Non so se, a Gianni, avrebbero potuto dirgli la verita
 "I don't know if to Gianni, they could have said the truth"
- b. Non so, a Gianni se, avrebbero potuto dirgli la verita
 "I don't know to Gianni, if they could have said the truth"
- c. Mi domando se questi problemi, potremo mai affrontarli
 "I wonder if these problems, we will ever be able to address them"
- d. Mi domando, questi problemi, se potremo mai affrontarli
 "I wonder these problems, if we will ever be able to address them"

As shown in the above data, "se" occupies a distinct position lower than that of "che" but necessarily higher than FOCUS, and can be preceded by a Topic. This distinct position of "se" is identified as INT(errogative) and is represented in the following way in the C-system.

FORCE (TOP*) INT (TOP*) FOC (TOP*) FIN IP

Rizzi gives the following example for simultaneous realization of the three topic position following FORCE, INT, and FOC respectively.

- 14) Mi domando, a Gianni, se, ieri, QUESTO, alla fine della riunione, avremmo potuto dirgli (non qualcos' altro)
 "I wonder, to Gianni, if yesterday, THIS, at the end of the meeting, we could have said to him (not something else)"

3.1.2 WH and "Se"

Rizzi argues that WH elements and "se" are not compatible as the structural layer whose head is "se" is clearly distinct from the position occupied by the WH elements in main questions. "Se" can occur with a lower focus (11a), whereas WH elements in main questions cannot co-occur with a focus, in either order as shown in the following examples (Rizzi (1999: 4).

- 15) a. *A chi QUESTO hanno detto (non qualcos" altro)?
"To whom THIS they said (not something else)?"
- b. *QUESTO a chi hanno detto (non qualcos" altro)?
"THIS to whom they said (not something else)?"
- c. *A GIYANNI che cosa hanno detto (non a Piero)?
"TO GIYANNI what they said (not to Piero)?"
- d. Che cosa A GIYANNI hanno detto (non a Piero)?
"What TO GIYANNI they have said (not to Piero)?"

This incompatibility between WH elements and "se" is explained in terms of a competition between the WH elements and the focused constituents for the same Spec-FOC position. WH elements in main questions move to the spec of FOC head which is also the target of Focused- constituent movement. However, this incompatibility is marginal in the case of WH elements in embedded clauses as the WH elements are not forced to move to Spec Foc position. Rizzi suggests that there must be a position lower than FOC available to WH elements in embedded questions. This also shows that the position occupied by "se" is distinct from,

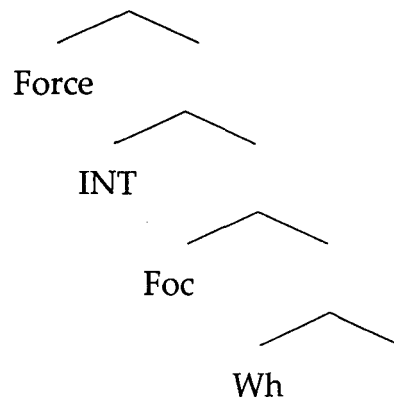
and higher than the position occupied by WH elements as shown in the following example.

16) a. Mi domando se QUESTO gli volessero dire (non qualcos' altro)
 "I wonder if THIS they wanted to say to him, not something else"

b. Mi domando A GIANNI che cosa abbiano ditto (non a Piero)
 "I wonder TO GIANNI what they have said (not to Piero)"

Based on the different positions occupied by the WH elements, "se" and FOC, in the above examples, Rizzi proposes the following order for embedded clauses.

....FORCE...INT...FOC...WH..... (Embedded clauses)



The position of INT in main questions cannot be properly identified as Italian lacks a morphological marker to introduce main yes/no questions. However, Rizzi concludes that a small class of WH elements fills a higher position than ordinary WH elements and this position is identified as INT. This is based on the requirement for I-to-C movement for Spec-Head configuration with the WH Operator in the case of WH elements corresponding to arguments or lower

adverbials requiring inversion in Italian main interrogatives. In such cases, the subject cannot intervene between the WH operator and the inflected verb as this violates the WH Criterion. The following examples illustrate this point.

17) a. *Che cosa Gianni ha fatto?

'What Gianni did?'

a'. Che cosa ha fatto Gianni?

'What did Gianni?'

b. *Dove Gianni e andato?

'Where Gianni went?'

b'. Dove e andato Gianni?

'Where went Gianni?'

c. *Come Gianni e partito?

'How Gianni left?'

3.2 CINQUE (1999)

Based on a wealth of crosslinguistic evidence, Cinque (1999) builds up the argument, that natural language clause is a construct of Moods, Modals, Tenses, and Aspects. He argues that these major clause-building categories are rigidly hierarchically ordered with respect to each other, as in (18) (Cinque (1999: 56):

18) MOOD speech act > MOOD evaluative > MOOD evidential > MOOD epistemic > T(Past) > T(Future) > MOOD (Ir)realis > ASP habitual > T(Anterior) > ASP perfect > ASP retrospective > ASP durative > ASP

progressive > ASP prospective / MOD root > VOICE > ASP celerative >
ASP completive > ASP(semel) repetitive > ASP iterative

Cinque further proposes that adverb phrases are unique specifiers of this fixed universal ordering of the set of Moods, Modals, Tenses, and Aspects. Beginning with the general pattern of adverb distribution in Italian and French, that later extended to Romance and other languages, Cinque proposes an ordered sequence where higher (sentence) adverbs precede an ordered sequence of "lower" adverbs that can either appear initial to the VP, or final to it (where they bear the nuclear (or focus) stress). In addition, he also proposes the existence of various VP internal post-complement adverbials that are unordered with respect to one another and precede "lower" AdvPs in the VP final-position. The sequence proposed is the following.

- 19) "Higher" (sentence) AdvPs > "lower" AdvPs > (DP sub) (V) complements
> Place, time, manner etc. adverbials > (focused) "Lower AdvPs > de-accented material.

(Cinque: 16)

Based on the distribution of AdvPs in Italian, French, and other Romance languages, Cinque observes the presence of a head position of a functional projection to the immediate right and left of each such AdvP. Then the two independently established hierarchies, the AdvPs and the functional heads are matched systematically from left to right. The transparent semantic relation that exists between each adverb class and the contiguous head morpheme provide evidence that each AdvP is the specifier of the phrase projected by the corresponding functional head morpheme. The functional projection is

considered to be structurally present in every language irrespective of the AdvP's lack of overt morphological realization corresponding to the particular functional head in the case of certain languages. Agreement and Negation are treated as special cases among functional elements as they can occur in several distinct positions even within the same language, sometimes simultaneously. The picture thus emerges is of a rich, fine-grained hierarchy of functional projections that is given in (20).

20) Mood, Speech act (frankly) > Mood-Evaluative (fortunately) > Mood-Evidential (allegedly, evidently) > Mod-Epistemic (probably) > Tense (past)(once) > Tense (Fut) then > Mood-Irrealis (perhaps) > Mod-necessity (necessarily, must) > Mod-Possibility (possibly, can) > Asp-Habitual (usually, used to) > Asp-pre-dispositional (tend) > Asp-Frequentative (often) > Mod-Volitional (want) > Asp-Celerative (quickly) > Tense-Anterior (already) > Asp-Terminative (any/no longer) > Asp-Continuative (still) > Asp-Perfect (always) > Asp-Retrospective (just) > Asp-Proximate (soon) > Asp-Durative (briefly) > Asp-Generic-Progressive (characteristically, progressive) > Asp-Prospective (almost, be about to) > Mod-Obligation (inevitable, need, must) > Mod-Ability (cleverly, can, be able) > Asp-Inceptive (begin) > Asp-Frustrative/Success (manage) > Mod-Permission (be allowed) > Asp-Conative (try) > Asp-Sing-Completive (completely, finish) > Asp-Plur-Completive (tutto/tout) > Voice (well) (Manner) > Asp-Repetitive (again) > Asp-Inceptive (begin) > Asp-Celerative (fast, early) > Asp.Sing-Completive > Asp-Frequentative (often)

On the question of how much variation should UG allow in the number and type of functional projections available to different languages, Cinque concludes that UG allows no variation at all. Accordingly, languages do not differ according to the hierarchical order of the functional projections as the order is invariant across languages. Cinque also proposes that the entire array of functional projections is present in every sentence with an unmarked (default) value and a marked value attached to each adverb-related functional projection. “‘Marked’ is the member with the more restricted application, less frequent, conceptually more complex, expressed by overt morphology. ‘Unmarked’ is the member with wider application, more frequent, conceptually basic, often expressed with zero morphology. Consequently, even the simplest sentence of any one language can be considered to contain the entire array of functional projections (with default values)”. (Cinque (1999: 128))

3.3 Towards an Analysis of the Sinhala facts

With the proposals of Rizzi and Cinque in hand, even the most cursory glance at the so-called Sinhala focus particles, suggests that identification of their primary function as “focus” is an incorrect analysis.

21) a. Kolamba bus eka tamai giye.

Colombo LOC bus the Focus left E

It is the Colombo bus that left (contrastive focus)

b. Kolamba bus eka lu giye.

Reportative

It is the Colombo bus that left, so they say.

c. Kolamba bus eka yae giye.

Dubitative

Is it the Colombo bus that left?

d. Kolamba bua eka nang giye...

conditional

If it is the Colombo bus that left.....

e. Kolamba bus eka da giye?

Q

Is it the Colombo bus that left?

f. Kolamaba bus eka ne giye.

Tag

Colombo bus left, Isn't it?

As discussed in Chapter One, all the above particles have the same distribution in that the verb is E-marked whenever a constituent is followed by such a particle. An analysis of these particles in relation to the structural layer of the clause reveals that they are rigidly ordered not only with respect to the structural layer, but also with respect to each other. The semantic import of these particles, as well as the rigidity of their relative ordering, suggest that these particles relate more to the hierarchical organization as embodied in the proposals of Rizzi and Cinque. Over the next two chapters, Chapters 4 and 5, I will demonstrate that these particles must be analyzed as mood, modality, topic and focus markers.

In Chapter 4, I begin this exercise by considering the WH questions in Sinhala in order to make the case that they need a distinct analysis, independent of Focus.

Further, a number of WH related issues such as the specificity/non-specificity of WH phrases, Q movement and verbal morphology of E marking, different question types in the matrix and embedded periphery, etc. will be examined. In chapter 5, I will provide further empirical facts and arguments to justify the conclusion that the so-called focus particles of Sinhala are functional heads of mood/modality and information structure-relevant particles that are rigidly, hierarchically organized with respect to the clause structure of Sinhala and also with respect to each other, as embodied in the proposals of Rizzi (1997, 1999), and Cinque (1999).

CHAPTER 4: WH-QUESTIONS IN SINHALA

The preceding chapter investigated the proposals of Rizzi (1997, 1999) and Cinque (1999) for an articulated array of a left periphery of the clause with a view to providing empirical justification for the motivation to analyze the so-called focus particles of Sinhala as topic, focus, mood, and modality markers. The present chapter critically examines the WH questions of Sinhala in order to make the case for a differential analysis for the WH phenomena of Sinhala that had been discussed as a subset of Focus constructions in some previous literature.

Section 4.1 presents the analysis of Hagstrom (1998, 1999, 2001) and Kishimoto (1992, 1998), with a view to describing the empirical facts that any analysis of Sinhala clause structure and relations must capture. Section 4.2 promotes the argument for a different analysis of WH questions followed by, in section 4.3 a discussion of the relation between Sinhala WH and verbal morphology. 4.4 discusses root questions. This is followed by, in section 4.5, an investigation of wide and narrow-scope embedded questions. 4.6 presents an analysis of Yes/No questions followed by a discussion of some residual issues. The quantifier-type elements of Sinhala are discussed in 4.7. Section 4.8 presents a brief conclusion for the chapter.

4.1. The Facts of Sinhala WH-: Hagstrom (1998, 1999, 2001) and Kishimoto (1992, 1998)

WH-Questions in Sinhala have, to some extent been researched by both native and non-native speakers of Sinhala. While some studies have been comparative in nature taking into account both Sinhala and Japanese WH facts (Kishimoto, 1992, 1998, Hagstrom, 1998, 1999, 2001), some studies have mainly concentrated on Sinhala WH (Gair, 1970, 1983, Gair and Sumangala, 1991, Kariyakarawana, 1998). While the latter class analyses the Sinhala WH- facts in terms that subsumes WH under Focus, the former attempt to integrate the Sinhala WH-facts into the crosslinguistic typology of WH phenomena. This section presents the basic syntax of Sinhala WH, making reference to the work of Hagstrom and Kishimoto, as these also represent a syntactic proposal that my own analysis will build upon and elaborate further.

4.1.1 Q-Movement and E-morphology

Observing that WH questions are formed with the Q-particle “da” attached to the question word, Hagstrom notes that the Q-particle can be both clause internal and clause peripheral. When it is clause internal (pre-verbal), it is adjacent to the question word. In both cases, the verb bears a special morphology, which he labels to be E-marking.

- 1) Ravi mokak da seeduwE?
Ravi what Q washed-E
What did Ravi wash?

Hagstrom argues that the movement relation between Q and clause periphery can be best described as a feature driven movement, with –E instantiating an unchecked feature that drives the –Q morpheme to a clause final position.

[XP] -Qverb ____] (XP is the WH word)

E-marking does not take place where Q (da) is at the clause periphery. Where Q (da) is clause internal, the embedded verb is E-marked, but where “da” is clause peripheral (post verbal), there is no E suffix.

2) a. Ravi [kau da aavE kiyala] dannawa
Ravi who Q came-E Comp] know
“Ravi knows who came”

b. Ravi [kauru aava da kiyala] dannawa
Ravi who came-Q Comp know
“Ravi knows who came”

When the movement occurs overtly, as in (b), the feature is checked off and the corresponding E-morphology does not appear. ‘Da’ appears to the left of and hierarchically below Comp (kiyala). This suggests that E- reflects a feature which is checked or satisfied by the movement of the Q-particle (da) to the clause periphery. If this movement has not taken place overtly, “E-” appears indicating that the movement is yet to occur, i.e., occurs covertly. This is stated explicitly in (i) below.

(i) Sinhala 'E' indicates an unchecked feature. Focus/Interrogative particles can check this feature (via movement).

(Hagstrom(1998: 33)

On the basis of this movement relation that checks a feature which can be realized on the verb as E-morphology, Hagstrom concludes that "da" is attached to the verb (or something the verb is attached to) rather than, head adjoined to COMP 'kiyala'. This is shown in the distribution of "da" as when 'da' follows an 'a-marked' verb, they cannot be split by an adverb like *iiye* 'yesterday'.

- 3) a. [Kau da aave iiye kiyala] Ranjit dannawa
Who Q came-E yes'day that Ranjit knows
Ranjit knows who came yesterday.
- b. [kauru iiye aava da kiyala] Ranjit dannawa
Who yesterday Q that] Ranjit (Nom) know
Ranjit knows who came yesterday.
- c. *[Kauru aava iiye da kiyala] Ranjit dannava]
Who came yesterday Q that Ranjit knows
'Ranjit knows who came yesterday'
- d. *[Kauru aava da iiye kiyala] Ranjit dannava]
Who came Q yesterday that Ranjit knows
'Ranjit knows who came yesterday'

(Hagstrom: (2001:17)

The above (a) shows that *iiye* 'yesterday' can follow an E-marked verb (with "da" clause internal) while (b) shows that once "da" has moved, *iiye* 'yesterday' can be preverbal. This suggests that verb and "da" form a tight unit.

4.1.2 Islands

In cases where the WH word is contained within an island, (an Adjunct phrase or a CNP island) the particle moves to a position just outside the island, not too far from the WH word.

[IslandXP.....] -Qverb ___]

- 4) a. *[Chitra monava da kana kota] Ranjit puduma une?
 [Chitra what Q ate when] Ranjit surprise became-E
 "Ranjit was surprised when Chitra ate what?"
- b. [Chitra monava kana kota] da Ranjit puduma une?
 [Chitra what ate when] Q Ranjit surprise became-E
 "Ranjit was surprised when Chitra ate what?"
- c. *Oyaa [Ravi kaata da dunna potha] kieuwE?
 You [Ravi who-Dat Q gave book] read-E
 "You read which book Ravi gave to whom?"
- d. Oyaa [Ravi kaata dunna potha]da kieuwE?
 You [Ravi who-Dat gave book] Q read-E
 "You read which book Ravi gave to whom?"

(Hagstrom (1998: 29-30)

Overt movement is also constrained by these same islands, as is evident in pseudo-cleft constructions (which right-dislocate a constituent) and leftward scrambling. In each case, something cannot be extracted from an island and the sentence is ungrammatical when the extraction path crosses an island boundary.

5) a. Lankaave aya t kannE bath i

Sri Lankan people eat-E rice

It is rice Sri Lankans eat.

b. *Oya [Chitra t dunna potha] kieuwe Ranjit ta i

You Chitra(Nom) gave book read-E Ranjit-Dat

'It was to Ranjit í that you read [the book that chitra gave tí]

c. Ranjit taí oya dannava [chitra tí ee potha dunna kiyala]

Ranjit (Dat) you know [Chitra that book gave Comp]

'To Ranjit, you know Chitra gave that book'.

d. *Ranjit taí oya [chitra tí dunna potha] kieuwa

Ranjit (Dat) you[Chitra tí gave book] read

'To Ranjit, you read the book Chitra gave'.

The movement of $-Q$ from its WH-attached position to the island boundary, as in examples (4: a, b) above, is called Q-migration. This migration is overt (and not feature-driven). The island boundary where $-Q$ lands, is the launching site of Q-movement. That is, in the case of questions involving island boundaries, first Q migrates out of the island to the edge of the island boundary and next it moves to the post verbal position (clause periphery) covertly.

Although Hagstrom proposes the movement of the Q-particle in his WH question analysis of Sinhala, he offers only a tentative conclusion regarding the issue of the destination of Q-movement.

“It seems likely that Q-particle moves to a position low in the split CP, probably to adjoin to FOC head, but the only evidence we have is that it comes after the verb and before “kiyala”. Due to the fact that Sinhala is a head final language, it is difficult to pinpoint where head movement has occurred, since such movement is generally string-vacuous. Assumption is that verb moves in standard fashion to a position quite close to the FOC head, close enough that the feature on the FOC head responsible for E-morphology can be spelled out as a suffix on the verb when present, assuming some form of morphological merger roughly as in Distributed Morphology”.

(Hagstrom(2001: 18)

4.1.3 Kishimoto (1992, 1998)

Arguing against the movement analysis of the Q-particle proposed for Sinhala by Hagstrom, Kishimoto proposes LF pied-piping. He concludes that it is not that Q (da) moves to clause periphery itself, but rather that it marks the constituent which as a whole moves in covert syntax. In cases like, where a WH-word is inside a movement island and “da” is attached outside, Kishimoto’s proposal is that the entire island (marked by “da”) moves (covertly) to the appropriate position (Spec CP) for interpretation.

In response to the fact that “da” appears to move lower than Comp: “kiyala”, as argued by Hagstrom, Kishimoto(1998) proposes a recursive CP structure for

Sinhala, with the higher CP being responsible for clause typing (headed by “kiyala”) and the lower CP being the destination for operator movement. According to Rizzi’s (1997, 1999) split-CP structure, “kiyala: is head of FORCE P, while Q (da) moves to a lower head like FOCUS P.

4.2 Towards a Novel Analysis of Sinhala WH-

As discussed in the preceding sections, Hagstrom and Kishimoto have attempted to integrate the Sinhala WH phenomena into the cross linguistic typology of WH facts. However, there are issues pertaining to Sinhala WH questions that need further investigation. Hagstrom’s analysis of the relation between Q and the clause periphery as a feature driven movement needs further refinement in order to establish the nature of the relation between Q and the clause periphery in different types of questions such as WH and Yes/No, in both narrow and wide scope contexts. The syntactic relation between the specificity/non specificity of WH phrases, and the D-linked status of them also need to be investigated with more data from Sinhala in order to reach more explanatory adequacy. As observed in the preceding chapters, E-morphology has played a crucial role in the syntactic analysis of focus too thereby contributing to a significant dichotomy as constituent/propositional scope. Therefore it is necessary to integrate the WH facts of Sinhala into the broader discussion of topic/focus/mood/modality markers. These different issues and implications are motivations for a novel analysis of the WH phenomena, independent of Focus analysis that will be the substance of most of the discussion in the following sections.

4.3 Sinhala WH- and Verbal Morphology

4.3.1 Some basic characteristics of Sinhala WH questions:

1. Question word remains in-situ
2. Question word is followed by Q-morpheme "da"
3. E-marking of the verb

The above relations are illustrated in the following example.

(*soodanava* 'wash', *soodanna* 'to wash', *seeduwa* 'washed', *seeduwe* 'E- form')

6) Ravi mokak da seeduwe?

Ravi (nom) what Q washed-E

What did Ravi wash?

Different configurations of the above three lead to different syntactic and semantic representations. The following sections discuss all such possible configurations in different clause types in order to present them in a unitary analysis.

As has been noted before, WH-words in Sinhala are indefinites plus a question particle (Q) -da. The different interpretations are illustrated in the following table (1).

Indefinites	WH word
<i>kauda</i> somebody	<i>kau da</i> kau Q (who)
<i>monavada</i> something	<i>monava da</i> monava Q (what)
<i>koheeda</i> somewhere	<i>kohee da</i> kohee Q (where)

Table 1

A Question-marking suffixal morpheme is not an unusual feature of many Head-final languages. As shown in chapter two, Japanese also has a sentence final *-ka* that marks interrogative force. *-ka* can also turn a matrix clause into a yes/no question. When *-ka* is attached to the WH words in Japanese such as “*dare, nani* (who, what) etc they become indefinite pronouns/existential quantifiers in the absence of *-ka* in the clause final position, as shown in the following example.

- 7) Dare-mo-ga nani-ka o tabe-te-iru
 Everyone (Nom) something ACC eating is
 “Everyone is eating something”

Sinhala *-da* also resembles Japanese *-ka* in its distribution and in the question formation as shown in the above WH words. However, *-da* shows the following crucial differences when compared to Japanese Q-marker *-ka*.

a. Sinhala -da requires E-ending of the matrix verb (E-marking) in order to yield a question interpretation. In the absence of E-marking, the -da attached WH phrase would convey an indefinite existential meaning.

b. -"da" alone (without E-marking) yields interrogative interpretation only in yes/no questions.

Examples illustrating the above (a)

8) a. Kauda aava
Somebody came

WH Question interpretation:

b. Kau da aave?
Who Q came-E
Who came?

Examples illustrating the above (11, b)

9) Ram potha kiuwa da?
Ram book read Q
Did Ram read the book?

The relation between WH and E-marking of the verb is illustrated in the following Table (2).

	Clause Type	E-Marking	
		Matrix V	Embed V
i.	Matrix WH Question	Yes	
ii.	Matrix Yes/No (Propositional)	No	
iii.	Matrix Yes/No (Constituent)	Yes	
iv.	Matrix WH question with an embedded declarative	Yes	No
v.	Matrix WH and embedded WH	Yes	Yes
vi.	Matrix Declarative and embedded WH	Optional	Yes

Table 2

Examples corresponding to (i-vi) above:

10) a. Oya monavada gatte?

You(Nom) what buy-E

What did you buy?

b. Ram gedara giya da?

Ram home went INT

Did Ram go home?

c. Ram da gedara giye?

Ram INT home went-E

Is it Ram who went home?

- d. Kauda [Ram gedara giya kiyala] kiuwe?
 Who [Ram(Nom) home went Comp] said-E
 Who said that Ram went home?
- e. Kauda [Ram monavada gatte kiyala] aehuwe?
 Who [Ram(Nom) what bought-E Comp] asked-E
 Who asked what Ram bought?
- f. Ram [kauda gedara giye kiyala] aehuwa (De-re reading)
 Ram [who home went-E Comp] asked
 Ram asked who went home?
- g. Ram [kauda gedara giye kiyala] aehuwe (De-dicto reading)
 Ram [who home went-E Comp] asked-E
 Ram asked who went home.

The table captures a significant syntactic generalization regarding the relation between WH and E-marking of the verb. As shown in the table, E-marking is absent only in the case of Matrix Yes/No questions (propositional type). In all the other cases that involve matrix WH or Yes/No questions, E-marking of the matrix verb is mandatory.

4.4 ROOT QUESTIONS

4.4.1 The Locus of E-Marking

E- occupies the highest C-position in the non-declarative clauses. As shown in the Table (2), E-marking of the matrix verb is obligatory in every WH constituent

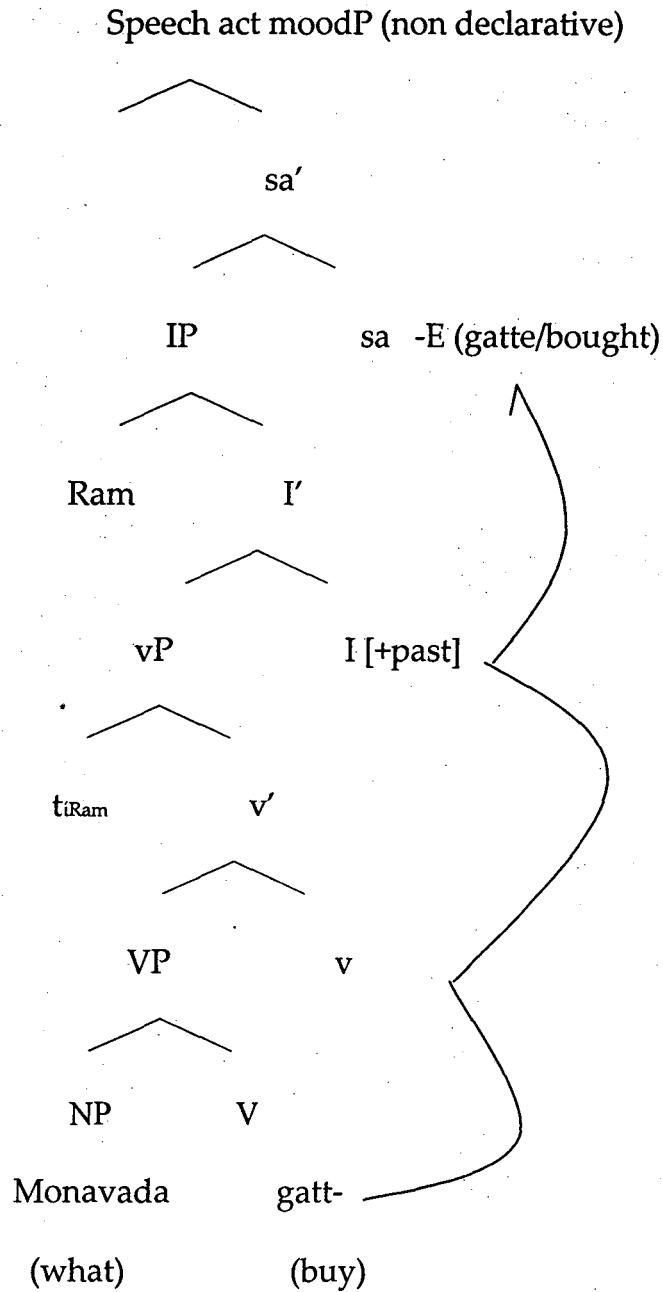
question, including the embedded questions. In Cinque's proposal (1999), this position is occupied by the Speech Act Mood, the highest in the functional-head hierarchy. As the WH facts of Sinhala reveal, the most plausible structural position for E-is the highest C-position, the Speech Act mood position that is specified for non-declarative force in Sinhala. In Rizzi (1997, 1999), this position is occupied by Force. Jayaseelan (2001) too proposes a similar structure in which the Question operator is generated as the head of Force-P which is above the Focus-P into which the WH phrase moves to be C-commanded by Force-P. However, Sinhala facts show that the Force position is the Comp that is activated for complementation. Therefore, the Force position (as in Rizzi) is occupied by the Comp "Kiyala" in Sinhala. The analysis of E as the Speech Act Head in the present discussion is crucially different from Kariyakarawana's Focus analysis in which E occupies the INFL position. In Hagstrom, E indicates an unchecked feature.

11) Kau da aava
 Somebody came.
 Interrogative:

12) a. Kau da aave?
 Who Q came-E?
 Who came?

b. Ram monava da gatte?
 Ram what Q bought-E?
 What did Ram buy?

c)



The WH phrases that have Q in-situ, as in the above example are used as discourse openers in Sinhala. They are non-D-linked WH and do not carry a strong presupposition to show a discourse link to a previous discourse. Such WH phrases need to move at LF for scope properties. E indicates non-declarative speech act mood.

4.4.2 Discourse-linked (D-linked) WH Questions

Pesetsky (1987) argues for the existence of both LF movement and unselective binding and attempts to prove empirically that they apply to different sets of constructions. Pesetsky's main proposal is one regarding D-linking: If a WH phrase is D-Linked, it involves a specific set of which both the speaker and the hearer have in mind as is the case with "which phrases" while "who" and "what", when they are not D-linked, are not restricted by specific sets in the minds of both.

The WH phrases that have a clear quantificational character such as *kiidenek da* 'how many' (people)", and "kocara da 'how much' in Sinhala are D-linked. Though in Pesetsky's analysis, quantificational WH are non-D-linked, he still observes that even such WH are semantically D-linked. A notable syntactic phenomenon of the D-linked WH in Sinhala is Q movement¹ even in root clauses, a phenomenon that is not associated with the non-D-linked WH in root contexts. However, they do not trigger E-marking even in matrix questions. A notable semantic phenomenon associated with them is the same specificity feature of Q that is observed in the embedded periphery too. Therefore, the above WH are not only D-linked, but also specific indefinites.

¹ Q can also occur in-situ as shown in the following example.

Kiidenek da enne

How many Q come?

(is it) how many are coming?

The WH is D-linked as the above sentence cannot be a discourse opener and it conveys narrow scope focus interpretation. However, this defies the analysis proposed here for D-linked WH as in this case there is no [Op] to bind the WH.

Kariyakarawana lists the above WH as “non-focus” WH phrases while Hagstrom uses them as evidence for alternation between E-marking and clause peripheral “da”. Some such examples are given below.

13) a. Kidenek enava da?

How many come Q

How many are coming?

b. Oya koccara salli dunna da?

You how much money gave Q

How much money did you give?

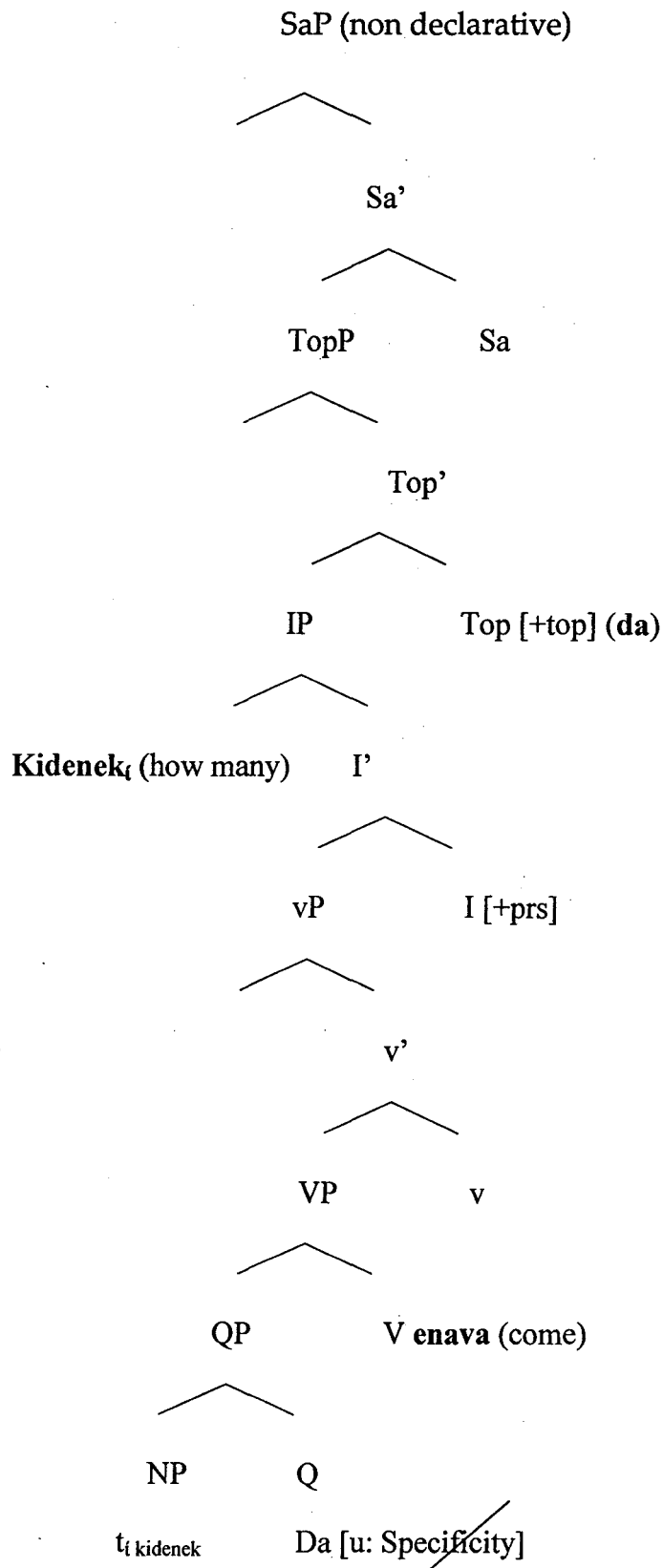
Though Pesetsky’s Unslective Binding proposal does not motivate WH movement for the D-linked WH phrases, Boecks, C. and Grohmann, K. K. (2004) in their Sub-move for scrambling and D-linking argument propose overt movement of D-linked WH phrases to a Topic phrase. They argue that the articulated array of the C-system (Rizzi, 1997) with positions for a Topic phrase/s facilitates this movement of the D-linked WH. Along the same lines I propose that Q in the D-linked WH phrases of Sinhala moves to a Topic projection from where it has scope over the rest of the clause. What really motivates this overt Q movement is the [u: Specificity] feature of Q (-da) in D-linked WH (and also in embedded Q-movement contexts) that renders the Q visible for displacement. Accordingly, the Top head has a [u: ϕ] and is Probing for [u: Specificity] that result in the displacement of Q as shown in the following structural projection.

c. Kidenek enava da?

How many come Q

How many are coming?

d)



The above Q-movement driven by a feature satisfying requirement embodies the theoretical framework of Minimalism (Chomsky: 1995) that I propose for similar cases involving WH as well as for the analysis of topic/focus/mood and modality markers of Sinhala in the next chapter. Accordingly, each functional head in Sinhala is identified as a set of features. It has uninterpretable [Person, Number, Gender] features (a $u:\phi$ set) and is a Probe looking for a Goal to match its features. A constituent in its C-commanding domain that has the relevant interpretable features [$i:\phi$] can be an effective Goal. The matching relation Agree eliminates such uninterpretable features on the Probe and in the process, the uninterpretable [+...] feature on the DP too is valued. Agreement is the relation that eliminates or converts [$u:F$] features to “interface interpretable” form where Interpretability is to be understood as, grammatical features that are inherent to a category are interpretable; those that are relational to it are not. [$U:F$] features have attributes with empty values in their feature structures, e.g., [$F:_$], while interpretable features have attributes with specified values. Therefore, this theoretical approach allows a unified presentation of Sinhala data and claims to have more empirical validity and cross linguistic applicability.

4.5 Embedded Questions

4.5.1 Wide Scope

The discussion of the embedded periphery of the Sinhala clause needs special attention to some syntactic phenomena that can be observed in relation to the movement operations in the embedded periphery. When the matrix clause has a DP in Spec IP (not a WH phrase) with a WH phrase in the embedded clause, the Q-particle cannot remain in-situ.

- 14) Oya [Ram kauru hamuuna kiyala da]kiuwe
You [Ram who met Comp Q] said-E
Who did you say Ram met?

As shown in the example, Q (da) has moved from the in-situ position to the edge of the embedded clause closer to the E-marked matrix verb. This can be identified as partial WH movement to the embedded Spec CP. The motivation for Q movement in this context too can be attributed to the [u: Specificity] of Q that makes it visible for displacement.

4.5.2 Kauda/Kauru (who) Distinction

Another notable syntactic characteristic associated with the embedded periphery is the *Kauda/Kauru* (who) distinction. Sinhala employs two WH words to denote “who”. One is *kauda* and the other is *kauruda*. Both have the same distribution in matrix questions and do not convey any interpretive difference. Yet, the native speakers prefer the phonologically more convenient term *kauda* to *kauruda*.

Both Kariyakarawana (1998) and Hagstrom (1998) have showed the syntactic distinction between the WH phrases *Kauda* (who) and *Kauru* (who) in their investigation of Q movement and island violations respectively. Q (da) can move from *kauru* whereas it should remain in-situ in the case of *kauda*, as shown in the following examples from Hagstrom. These sentences are cited by Hagstrom to establish the movement relationship between the clause internal and the clause periphery.

- 15) a. Ranjit [kau da aave kiyala] dannawa
 Ranjit [who Q came-E that] know
 'Ranjit knows who came'.
- b. Ranjith[kauru aava da kiyala] dannawa
 Ranjit [who came Q that] know
 'Ranjit knows who came'.

(Hagstrom (1998: 21-22))

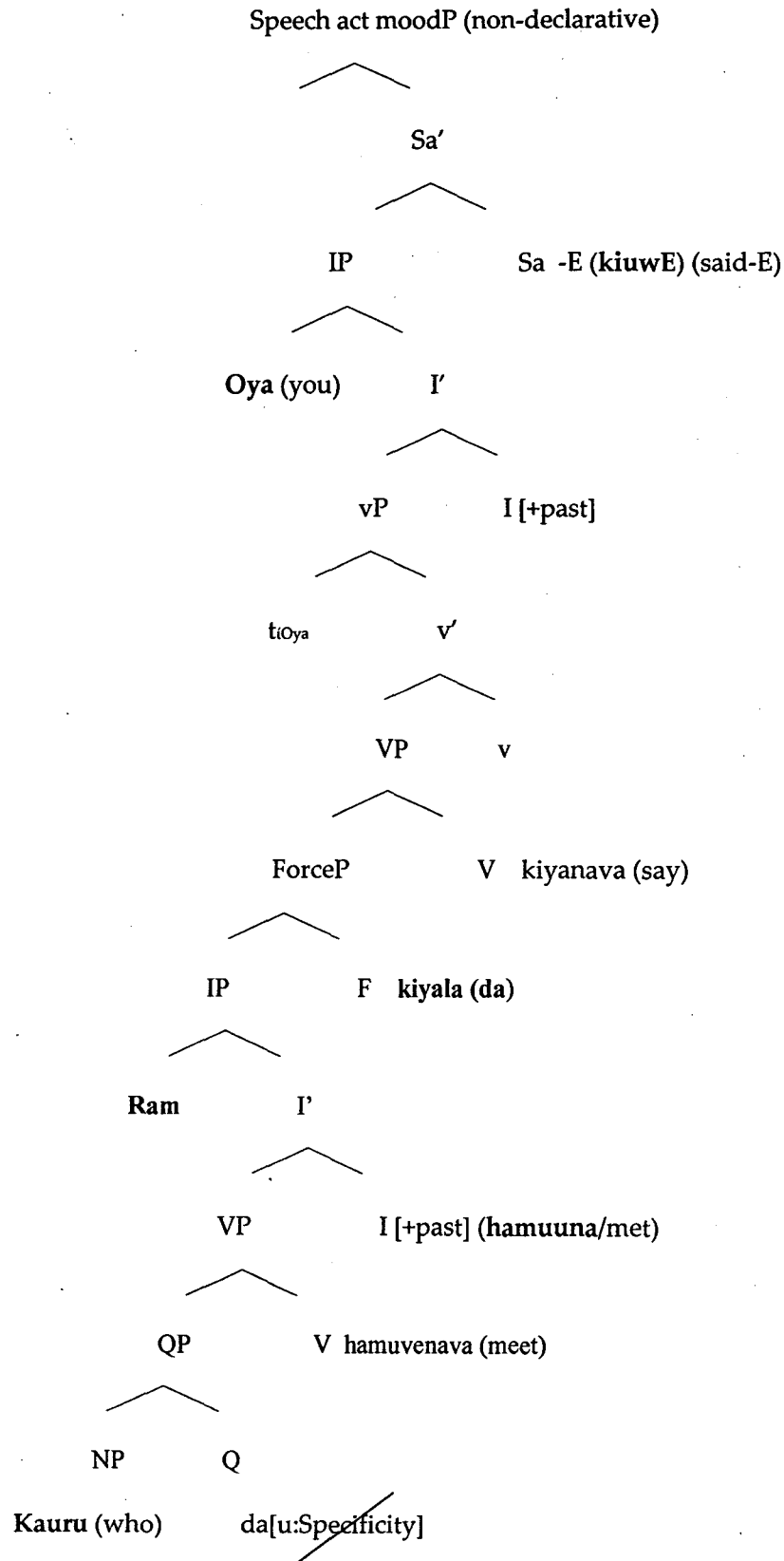
However, the present analysis differs from Hagstrom in not only establishing the *Kauda/kauru* (who) distinction in terms of their composition, syntactic distribution, and the interpretive import, but also in establishing the type of Q movement involved.

As observed in the preceding sections, partial WH movement is a syntactic operation observed in the embedded periphery. Q moves to the embedded CP for embedded scope. WH phrases such as *monavada* 'what' displaces Q as *monava....(V).....da* (what...(V)...Q), and *koheeda* 'where' becomes *kohee (V) da*. Accordingly *kauda* 'who' should be *kau (V) da*. But this does not happen so. Instead the displacement takes place from *Kauruda* 'who' as *kauru (V) da*. Therefore, a distributional difference can be identified between *kauda* and *kauru*. *Kauru* can occur only in embedded clauses whereas *kauda* can occur in both root and embedded clauses.

The corresponding structural representation is given below.

- c. Oya [Ram kauru hamtuuna kiyala da]kiuwe
 You [Ram who met Comp Q] said-E
 Who did you say Ram met?

d)



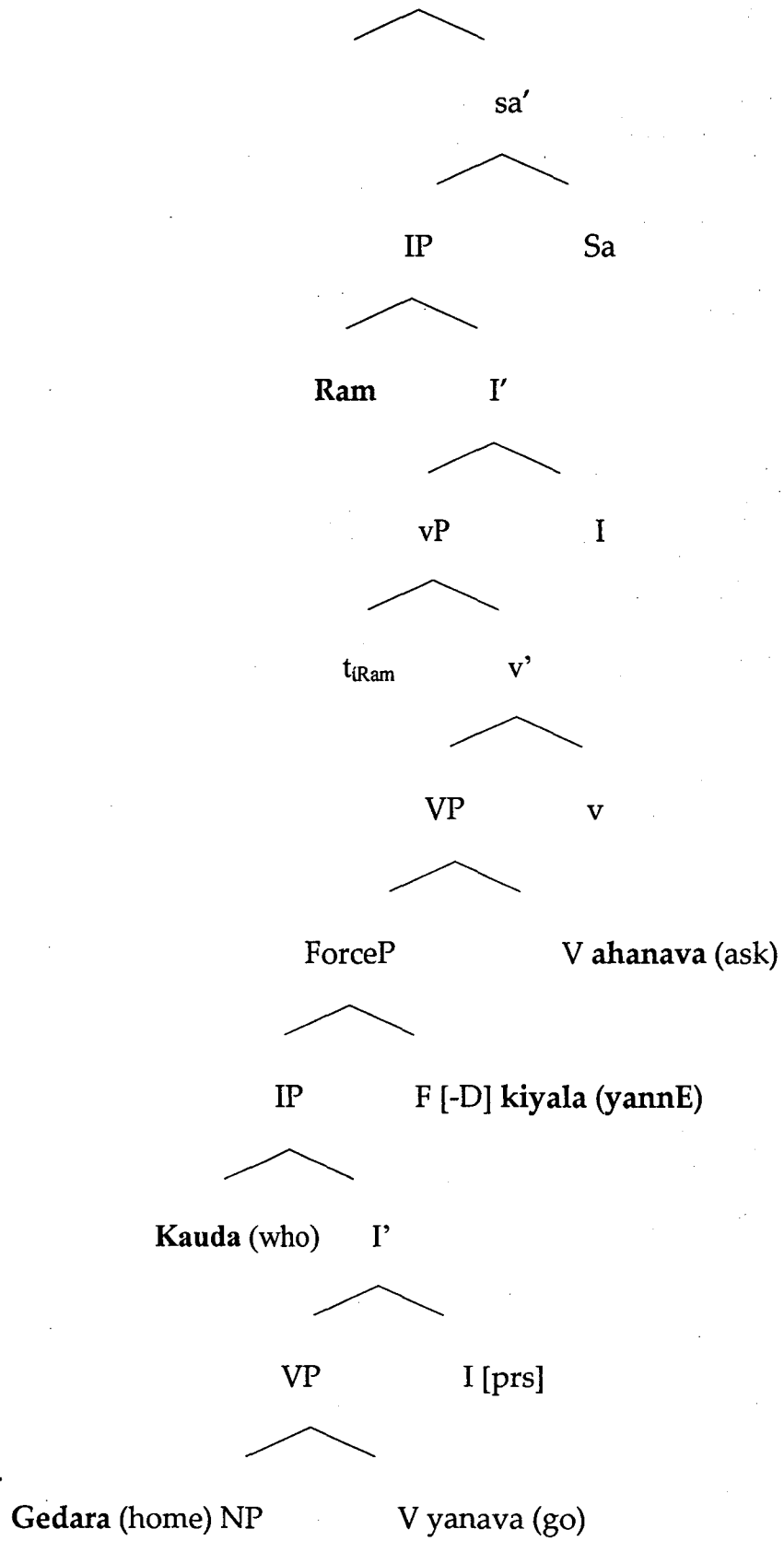
4.5.3 Narrow Scope Questions

A matrix declarative clause with an embedded-WH question in which the WH is in-situ is an example for the above. Though the matrix clause is declarative (in the absence of E-marking), the matrix predicate “ask” selects for a [+WH] complement clause that requires the embedded WH phrase to be answered. In this case, (Comp) Force determines the Finiteness of the embedded clause. Therefore Comp has a [-Declarative] that attracts the embedded verb for E-marking. The WH in the embedded clause moves at LF for scope properties.

- 16) a. Ram [kauda gedara yanne kiyala] ahanava
Ram [who home go-E Comp] ask
Ram is asking who is going home.

b.

Speech act moodP (non-declarative)



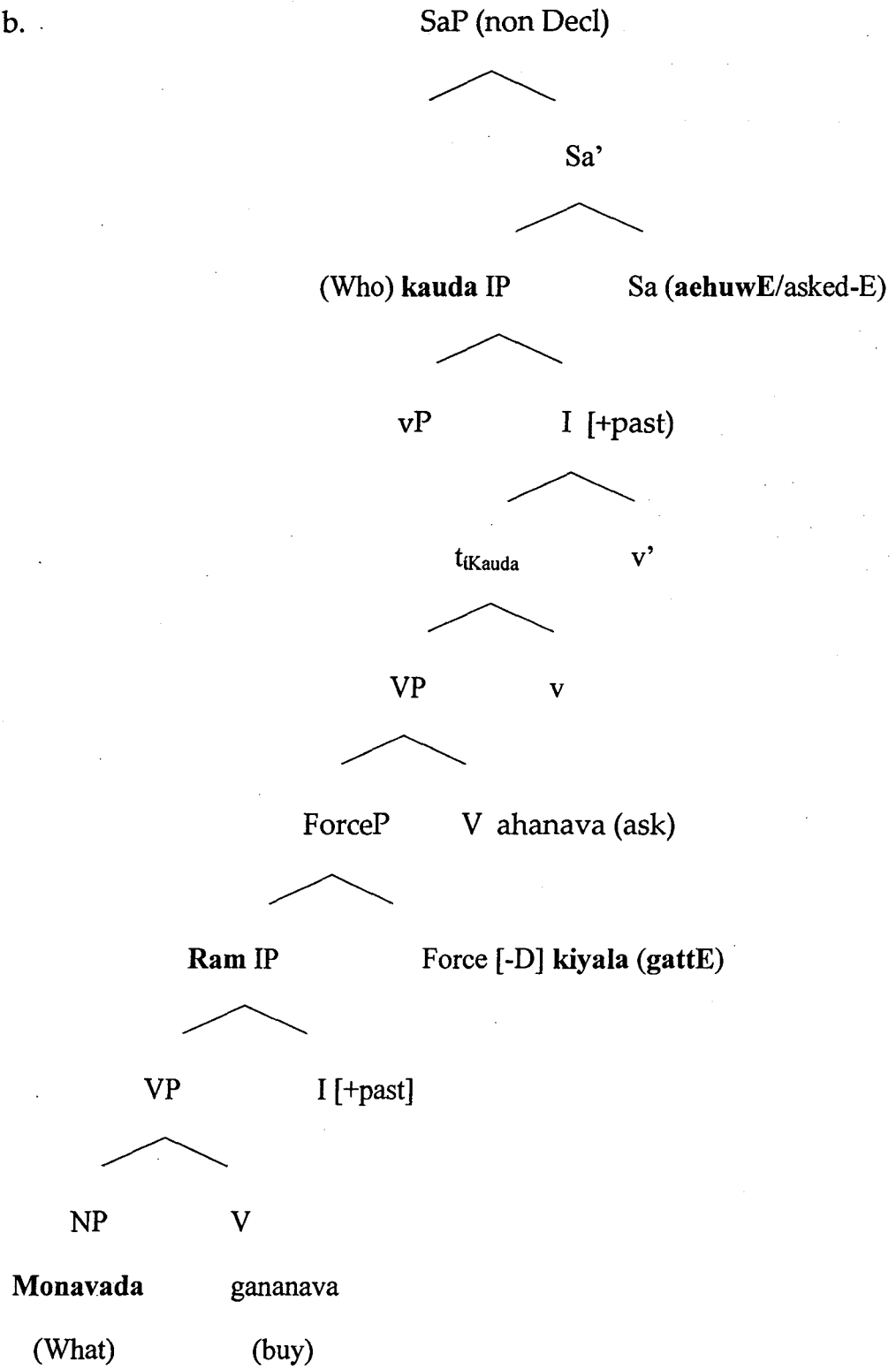
4.5.3.1 *Matrix WH Question with an Embedded WH Question*

When two WH clauses occur in both matrix and embedded periphery both the matrix and the embedded verbs are E-marked. However, this question type is subject to a selectional restriction of the matrix verb; that is, the matrix verb should be of English “wonder” type that selects for a CP complement. In Sinhala *ahanava* ‘ask’ corresponds to the above requirement². *Ahanava* ‘ask’ C selects for a [+WH] complement either with a WH phrase or Q (Yes/No) thereby corresponding to both “wonder” type and the complementizers “for” and “whether” type of English. In such cases, only the matrix WH gets answered. The embedded question can be analyzed in the same way as the narrow scope question in the above (16). The (Comp) Force determines the Finiteness of the embedded clause. It has a [-Declarative] that attracts the embedded verb for E-marking. Both WH phrases raise at LF for scope.

- 17) a. Kauda [Ram monavada gatte kiyala] aehuwe?
Who [Ram(Nom) what bought-E Comp] asked-E
Who asked what Ram bought?

² Corresponds syntactically. A semantic analogue of “wonder” is *hithanava*, ‘think’ in Sinhala.

b.



The syntactic and semantic characteristics of different WH phrases are illustrated in the following Table (3)

Non-D-Linked WH	D-Linked WH
kauda/kauruda (who)	kiiyakda (how much/many)
koheeda (where)	kiidenekda (how many people)
mokakda/monavada (what)	koccarada (how much/many)
Q in-situ in matrix questions	Q moves in matrix questions
Occur in matrix contexts. C-selects for matrix <i>ahanava</i> 'ask' in embedding.	Occur in matrix contexts. C- selects for matrix <i>ahanava</i> 'ask' in embedding.
Matrix verb E-marked	Matrix verb not E-marked
Allow Partial WH (Q) move	Q (da) moves to a TopP
Non-specific Indefinites	Specific Indefinites

Table 3

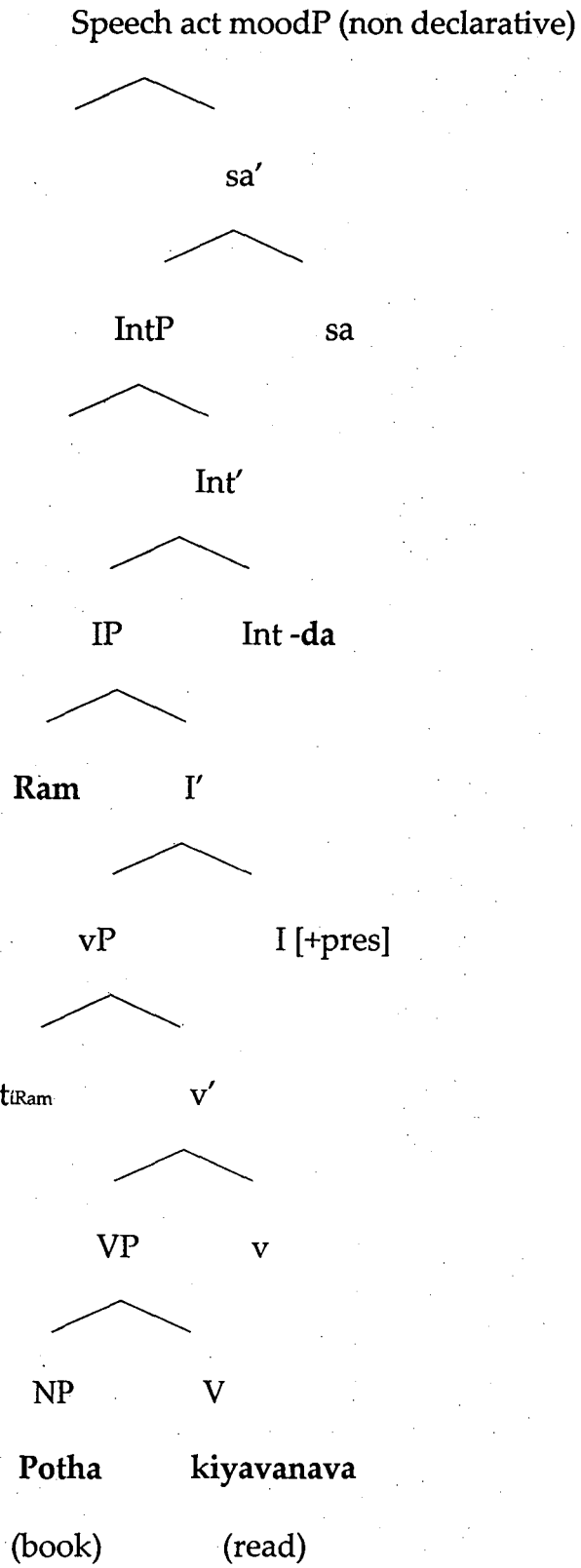
4.6 Yes/No Questions

4.6.1 The Basic Pattern

Yes/no questions in Sinhala are formed only by using the Q-marker (INT) as they do not trigger E-marking of the matrix verb. The following examples illustrate this observation.

- 18) a. Oya godak vaeda kara da?
You much work did Q
Did you do much work?
- b. Ram potha kiyavanava da?
Ram book read Q
Is Ram reading the book?

c.



A major syntactic phenomenon of these questions is the absence of a launching site in the IP for the Q-marker as characterized by the absence of a WH word. This rules out any overt movement hypothesis for Q (da). Therefore, it is necessary to assume that Q is base generated in INT and this yields yes/no interpretation of Q. In the absence of E-marking, Q occupies the highest position in the left periphery so the whole clause comes under the scope of INT.

4.6.2 Some Residual Issues

4.6.2.1 *Root Yes/no Questions with a Focus Interpretation*

When the Q-marker is attached to a non-WH DP in a preverbal position, that DP receives a focused interpretation as shown in the following example.

- 19) a. Ram aluth kaareka-k da gatte?
Ram new car a Q bought-E
Is it a new car that Ram bought?
- b. Ram da aluth kaareka-k gatte?
Ram Q new car a Q bought-E
Is it Ram who bought a new car?

The question allows Yes/No as an appropriate answer. However, as the DP is in the scope of INT, the question should be answered with further information than simply yes or no. The E marking indicates non declarative force.

4.6.2.2 Q (da) in the Embedded Contexts

20) Kauda [Ram da gedara giye kiyala] aehuwe?

Who [Ram(Nom) INT home went-E Comp] asked-E

Who asked whether it was Ram who went home?

A matrix WH question with the predicate *ahanava/aehuwa* 'ask/asked' can take an embedded clause with Yes/No interpretation. The embedded clause can have wide/narrow scope depending on whether it is a proposition or a constituent that is in the scope of Q (da). However, such embedded clauses do not convey Yes/No question interpretation as the embedded yes/no does not get answered. Therefore, the above question form, with the predicate "ask" gives an analogue of the interrogative complementizer 'whether' for verbs that select for a [+WH] complement. The above observation is correct as such constructions are impossible with the predicates *kiyanava* 'say', and *visvaasa karanava* 'believe'.

21) a. Kauda [Ram da gedara giye kiyala] aehuwe?

Who [Ram(Nom) INT home went-E Comp] asked-E

Who asked whether it was Ram who went home?

b. Kauda [Ram gedara yanava da kiyala] aehuwe?

Who [Ram(Nom) home go INT Comp] asked-E

Who asked whether Ram is going home?

c. *Kauda [Ram da gedara giye kiyala] kiuwe?/visvaasa keruwe

Who [Ram(Nom) INT home went-E Comp] said-E/believe did-E

Who said/believed whether it was Ram who went home?

4.6.2.3 *Island Violations*

Island violations have been discussed in previous literature with examples from different types of Islands that include *kauda/kauru* distinction and have employed such syntactic tools as feature checking, pied-piping, and operator-focus movement to explain this phenomenon.

The following examples are ruled out as Island violations:

22) a. *Oya [mona velave da naethivecca baduwagayak]soyanne?

You [what time Q lost goods] look for-E

You are looking for goods lost at what time?

b. *Oya [mokak da horakamkarapu minihek va] soyanne

You [what Q stolen man Acc] look for-E

You are looking for a man stolen what?

Subjacency effects can also be detected in “aggressively Non-D-linked” What the Hell sentences:

c. *Oya [mona magulak da horakam-karapu minihek va] hoyanne

You [what the Hell Q stolen-did man ACC] look for-E

What the hell are you looking for a man who stole?

Movement of “da” to the clause periphery can rescue such island violation cases.

d. Oya [mona velave naethivecca baduwagayak da]soyanne?

You [what time lost goods Q] look for-E

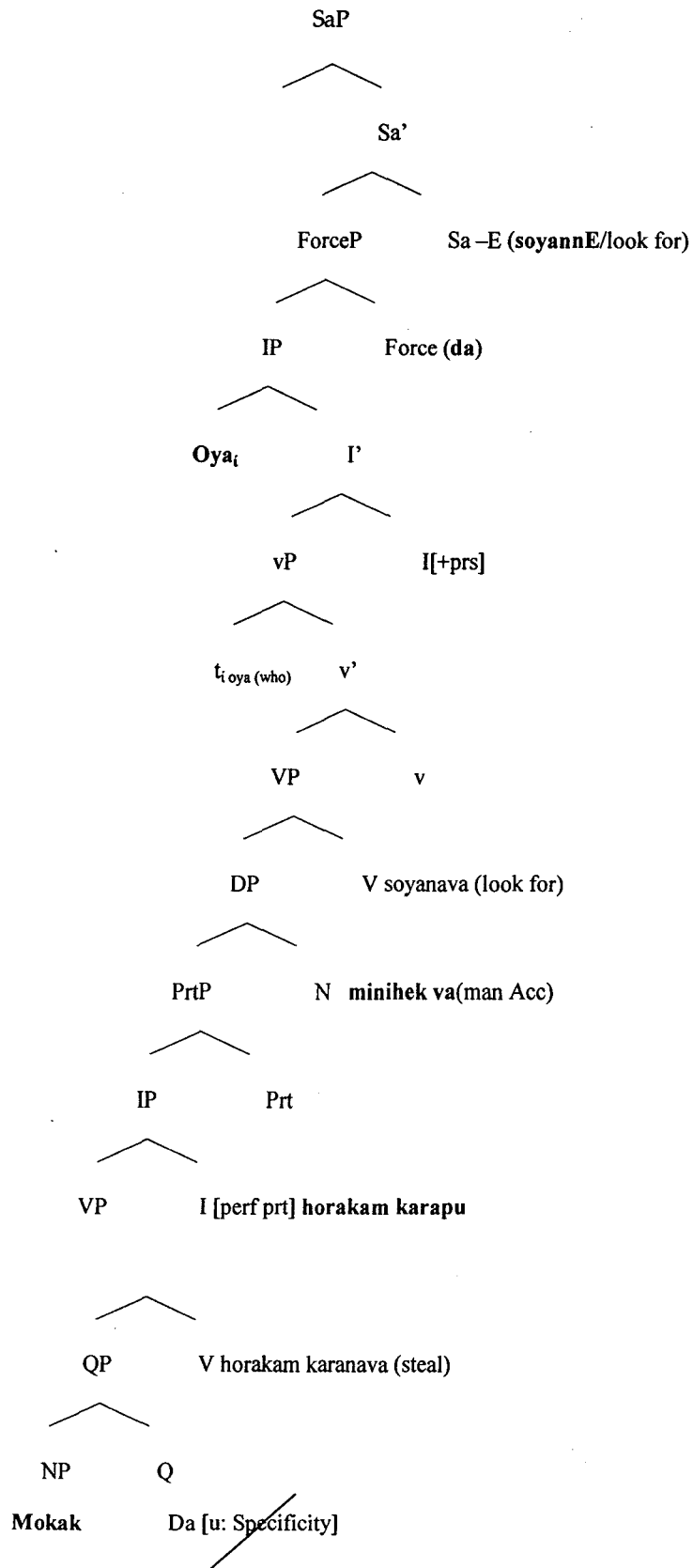
You are looking for goods lost at what time?

- e. Oya [mokak horakamkarapu minihek va da] soyanne
 You [what stolen man Acc Q] look for-E
 You are looking for a man stolen what?
- f. Oya [Mona magulak horakam-karapu minihek va da] soyanne
 You [what the Hell stolen-did man ACC Q] look for-E
 What the hell are you looking for a man who stole?

The ungrammaticality of the sentences lies in the islands which are relative clauses in English. In the case of Sinhala, they are participials (PrtP). The island violation has resulted due to the non-movement of Q particle to CP for scope and to satisfy the specificity feature of C. When the displacement of Q to CP takes place, the sentence becomes grammatical. The relevant structural projection for the following sentence (after the "da" movement to CP for specificity) is given below.

- g. Oya [mokak horakamkarapu minihek va da] soyanne
 You [what stolen man Acc Q] look for-E
 You are looking for a man stolen what?

h.



4.7 Quantifier-type Elements

A number of quantifier-type elements also derive from the above WH words and optionally take Q-marker “da” in their distribution.

Kauruhari ‘somebody’ *Kauruwath* ‘anybody’

Mokakhari ‘something’ *mokakwath* ‘anything’

Koheehari ‘somewhere’ *koheewath* ‘anywhere’

Kohomahari ‘somehow’ *kohomawath* ‘anyhow’

4.7.1 Syntactic behavior of the Quantifier type Elements

The composition of the above quantifier type elements shows the order “Wh element + hari/wath”. The suffixal particles “hari” and “wath” can be listed as positive and negative polarity items respectively that have replaced the Q (da) of WH phrases. Accordingly, the quantifiers with the positive polarity item “hari” do not take NEG whereas NEG is obligatory with the other group.

The above quantifier type elements in Sinhala share certain syntactic characteristics with the WH question words in their distribution. For instance, they trigger E on the verb when they occur with NEG and also occur with Q or Q+NEG to form Yes/No questions. However, they are in complementary distribution with WH words as they are interpretively different from the latter. These quantifier type elements should raise for scope at LF.

Examples illustrating the above:

4.7.2 *Kauruhari* 'somebody'

23) a. *Kauruhari aava*

Somebody came

Somebody came

b. *Kauruhari áava da?*

Somebody came Q?

Did somebody come?

c. **Kauruhari aavE* (E-marking makes sentence ungrammatical)

Somebody came-E

*Somebody came

d. **Kauruhari aave naeha* (Neg makes it ungrammatical)

Somebody came-E NEG

*Somebody did not come

4.7.3 *Kauruwath* 'anybody'

24) a. *Kauruwath aave naeha.*

anybody came NEG

Nobody came

b. *kauruwath aava.

anybody came

c. Kauruwath aave naeth da?

Anybody came-E NEG Q?

Did not anybody come

4.7.4 *Mokak hari* 'something'

25) a. Mokak hari denna.

Something give(Infi)

Give something

b. Mokak hari denna da?.

Something give Q

(Shall I) Give something?

c. Ram [mokak hari evanna kiyala] kiuwa

Ram [something send Comp] said

Ram asked (you) to send something

d. *Mokak hari denne naeha

Something give-E NEG

I Don't give you something

4.7.5 *Mokakwath* 'anything'

26) a. *Mokak wath denna.

anything give

*Give anything.

b. Mama [oyaa ta mokak wath] denne naeha.

I(Nom) you to anything give-E Neg

I don't give you anything

(It is the NEG that triggers E)

c. ?Mokak wath denna da?.

Anything give Q

(Shall I) Give anything? (Yes/No Question. This is not common.)

d. *Ram kiuwa [mokak wath evanna kiyala]

Ram said [anything send Comp]

Ram asked (you) to send anything

4.7.6 *Kohehari* 'somewhere'

27) a. Mama kohehari yanawa

I(Nom)somewhere go

I will go somewhere.

b. *Mama kohehari yanne naeha

I(Nom)somewhere go-E NEG

I will not go somewhere.

- c. Mama kohehari yanna da?
I(Nom)somewhere go(Inf) Q
Shall I go somewhere?

4.7.7 *Kohewath* 'anywhere'

- 28) a. Mama kohewath yanne naeha
I(Nom)anywhere go-E NEG
I will not go anywhere.

- b. *Mama kohewath yanawa
I(Nom)anywhere go
I will go anywhere.

- c. *Mama kohewath yanna da?
I(Nom)anywhere go(Inf) Q
Shall I go anywhere?

4.7.8 *Kohomahari* 'somehow'

- 29) a. Oya kohomahari eeka karanna
You somehow it do
(please)do it somehow.

- b. *Oya kohomahari eeka karanna epa
You somehow it do NEG
Please don't do it somehow

- c. Oya kohomahari eeka kara da?
 You somehow it did Q?
 Did you do it somehow?

4.7.9 *Kohomawath* 'anyhow'

- 30) a. *Oya kohomawath eeka karanna
 You anyhow it do
 Please do it anyhow

- b. *Oya kohomawath eeka kara da?
 You anyhow it did Q?
 Did you do it anyhow?

- c. Oya kohomawath eeka kare naeth da?
 You anyhow it did-E NEG Q?
 Didn't you do it anyhow?

- d. Oya ta kohomawath eeka karanna baeha
 You(Dat)anyhow it do(Infi) can't
 You can't do it anyhow.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter critically examined the WH question phenomena of Sinhala in Root, Embedded, and Yes/No questions in both wide/narrow scope contexts. The discussion also included certain residual issues such as Island violations, Q in the embedded contexts, WH and focus interaction etc. The relation between WH and

verb morphology of Sinhala as exhibited in the E-marking of the verb and displacement of Q was another issue that was critically examined in relation to different clause types.

The analysis presented here crucially differs from some previous analyses of WH questions in Sinhala discussed in the preceding sections and chapters both in terms of perspective and conclusions. Accordingly, the parallel drawn in most previous literature between WH questions and focus constructions on the basis of the discourse phenomena that WH questions are inherently focused does not warrant an exclusive analysis of WH as a subset of focus constructions. Though certain WH questions have some interaction with focus, this does not provide sufficient empirical evidence for a focus analysis of WH in Sinhala. Further, the analysis proposed here motivates a unitary framework for WH that contrasts with the multiplicity of syntactic tools such as focus movement, pied-piping, Q-migration attributed to WH phenomenon of Sinhala in such previous studies. In most such earlier work, the WH relationship between the matrix clause and embedding, specificity/non-specificity of WH phrases, E-marking and WH, and Q movement and verb morphology had not been properly established and therefore lacked sufficient predictive power. In contrast the analysis adopted here motivates only the overt and covert movement, overt movement being restricted to D-linked WH phrases and partial WH movement in the embedded periphery. A significant generalization that surfaces in the study is that Sinhala WH always has covert movement just like any other SOV language like Chinese or Japanese.

CHAPTER 5: MOOD AND MODALITY AND INFORMATION STRUCTURE IN SINHALA

One of the main arguments of this dissertation is that a focus/cleft analysis of WH- and other 'focus constructions' in Sinhala actually misconstrue the real facts of the language. In the previous chapter, I demonstrated that a close appraisal of Sinhala WH- motivate covert and partial WH-movement analysis, and in this chapter, I will present arguments as to why the so-called focus markers in Sinhala must be reanalyzed as mood and modality, and topic/focus markers that instantiate functional heads of the Cinque (1999) hierarchy, and Rizzi's (1997, 1999) Left Periphery analysis. To make these arguments, the chapter is organized in the following manner.

Section 5.1 presents Cinque hierarchy for the Functional Heads of Sinhala. This is followed by, in section 5.1.1-5.2, a discussion of each functional head with the corresponding empirical facts such as constituent/propositional scope. The relation of E-morphology and mood and modality are discussed in 5.3. Section 5.4 presents the Sinhala Left Periphery and this is followed by a unified cartography of the Sinhala clause structure in 5.5. Section 5.6 is a brief chapter conclusion.

5.1 CINQUE HIERARCHY IN SINHALA

The following order of Functional Heads is proposed for **PROPOSITIONAL SCOPE**

MOOD: SPEECH ACT:	
NON DECLARATIVE	-e
DECLARATIVE*	-a
IMPERATIVE	-a
MOOD EVIDENTIAL	-lu
INT	-da
MOOD EVALUATIVE	-ne
MOOD EPISTEMIC	-yae
MOOD EVIDENTIAL	-lu
MOOD CONDITIONAL	-nang
FOCUS	tamai/nemei
TOPIC	-nang
COMP	-kiyala
NEG	naeha/naethuwa
MOOD EPISTEMIC: Probability/possibility	puluwan
MODAL (ROOT)	puluwan
IP	
VP	

Table 1

FOR CONSTITUENT SCOPE

MOOD: SPEECH ACT:	
NON DECLARATIVE	-e
DECLARATIVE*	-a
IMPERATIVE	-a
MOOD EVIDENTIAL	-lu
COMP	-kiyala
NEG	-naeththe
INT	-da
MOOD EVALUATIVE	-ne
MOOD EPISTEMIC	-yae
MOOD EVIDENTIAL	-lu
MOOD CONDITIONAL	-nang
FOCUS	tamai/nemei
TOPIC	-nang
MOOD EPISTEMIC: Probability/possibility	puluwan
MODAL (ROOT)	puluwan
IP	
VP	

Table 2

AN AMLGAMATED FUNCTIONAL HEAD ORDER FOR BOTH

MOOD: SPEECH ACT:	
NON DECLARATIVE	-e
DECLARATIVE*	-a
IMPERATIVE	-a
MOOD EVIDENTIAL	-lu
COMP	-kiyala
NEG	-naeththe
INT	-da
MOOD EVALUATIVE	-ne
MOOD EPISTEMIC	-yae
MOOD EVIDENTIAL	-lu
MOOD CONDITIONAL	-nang
FOCUS	tamai/nemei
TOPIC	-nang
COMP	-kiyala
NEG	naeha/naethuwa
MOOD EPISTEMIC: Probability/possibility	puluwan
MODAL (ROOT)	puluwan
IP	
VP	

Table 3

5.1.1 Speech Act Mood

Mood Speech Act is the highest head in the Sinhala clause. Sinhala overtly marks on the verb, three Speech Act moods: Non declarative, Declarative, and the Imperative. Non-declarative is marked by the suffix –e, declarative by –a, and the imperative by –a. These three realizations are illustrated in the following examples.

Non Declarative

- 1) a. Ram kohee da yanne?
Ram where Q go-E?
Where is Ram going?
- b. Ram tamai gedara giye
Ram Foc home went-E
It is Ram who went home

Declarative

- 2) Ram gedara yanava/giya
Ram home go-a/went-a
Ram is going home/Ram went home

Imperative

- 3) Ram gedara yanna.
Ram home go-a
Ram (you) go home

5.1.2 MOOD EVIDENTIAL

It is a common phenomenon of many languages to have a verbal affix, or a modal auxiliary, or a particle to express the type of evidence the speaker has for his/her assertion. Accordingly, languages can have a number of evidential markers exhibiting a very elaborate system or the number can be limited to one or two. An elaborate system of evidential markers would have distinctions according to whether the speaker has visual evidence, auditory, or sensory evidence of some other kind. Other languages simply make a distinction between direct evidence and reported, or hearsay evidence.

Evidentiality in Sinhala is expressed by the particle "Lu". Lu is a quotative and therefore is an indirect evidential marker as the source of evidence the speaker has for his statement is indirect. "Lu" shows that the speaker has heard what he is asserting. A noun, verb, preposition, or an adjective can be in the scope of "Lu" or the whole proposition can be in its scope. Accordingly "Lu" can occur lower in the hierarchy, as it is the case when attached to a constituent, or can occur higher in the hierarchy when a proposition is under its scope. When "Lu" is preverbal, (constituent scope) there is E-marking of the verb and it is absent in the post verbal position (propositional scope) of "Lu". The following examples illustrate the distribution of "Lu".

- 4) a. Ram lu potha kiuwe
 Ram MD.evi book read-E
 (They say) It is Ram who read the book.
- b. Ram potha kiuwa lu
 Ram book read MD.evi
 Ram read the book (they say) (The whole proposition is scope marked for "Lu" and the verb is not E-marked)
- c. Ram lissanai lu
 Ram pretty MD.evi
 (They say) Ram is pretty
 (Whole proposition is marked for evidentiality)
- d. Ram [Lalith kaareka horakam kara kiyala] kiyanava lu
 Ram(Nom) [Lalith (Nom) car steal did Comp] say Md Evid
 (As people say) Ram is saying that Lalith stole the car.

As shown in the examples, a preverbal constituent or a whole proposition can be marked for evidentiality in Sinhala. According to the analysis proposed for this study, the Evid Head consists of Evid features. It also has an uninterpretable [ϕ] set that gets eliminated in the matching relation Agree with the DP that has an interpretable [ϕ] set. In the process the uninterpretable [Evid] feature on the relevant DP too gets valued thereby making it focused for Evidentiality. This is illustrated in the following structural projection.

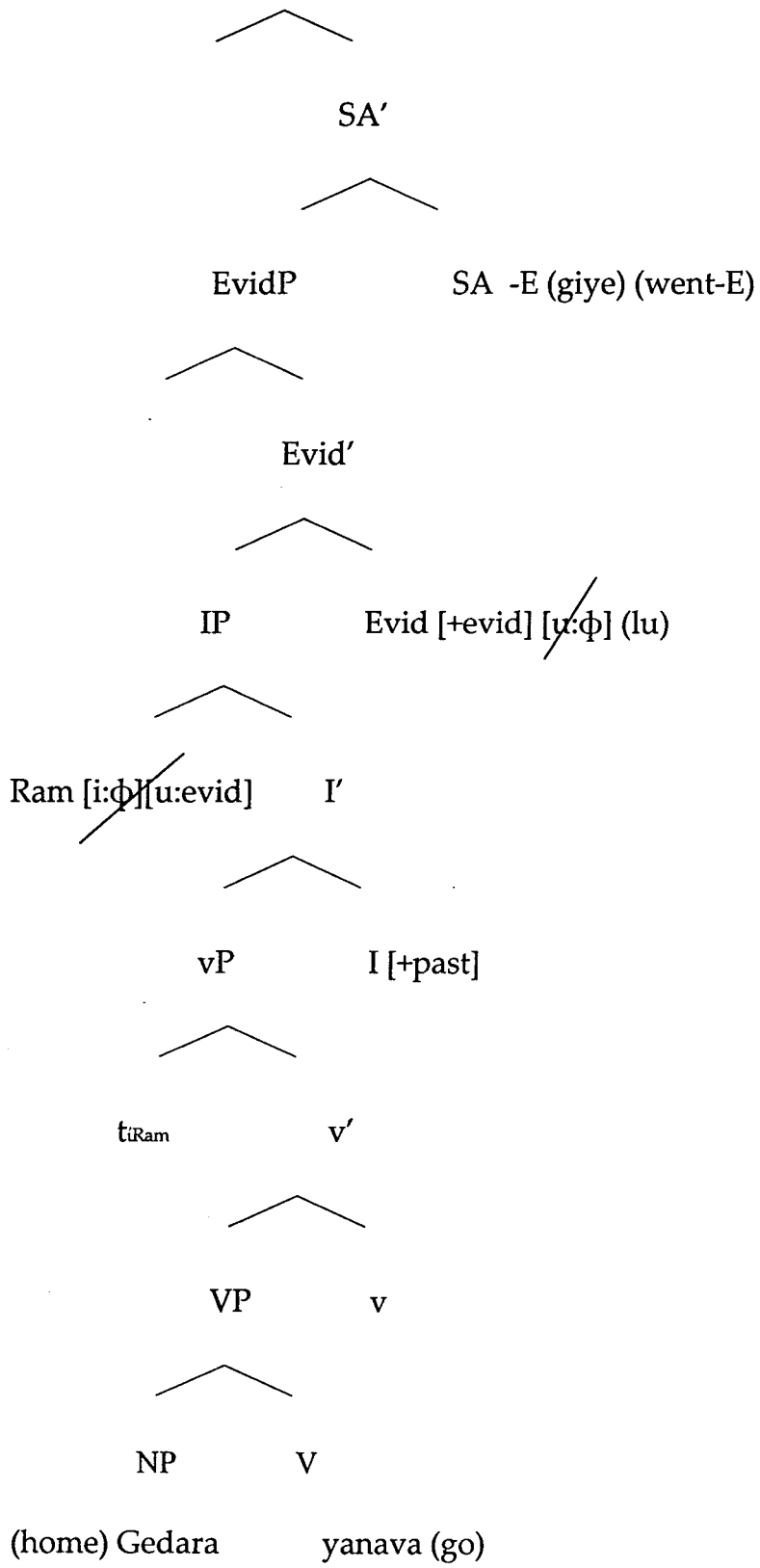
e. Ram lu gedara giye

Ram Md Evid home went-E

As people say it is Ram who went home.

f)

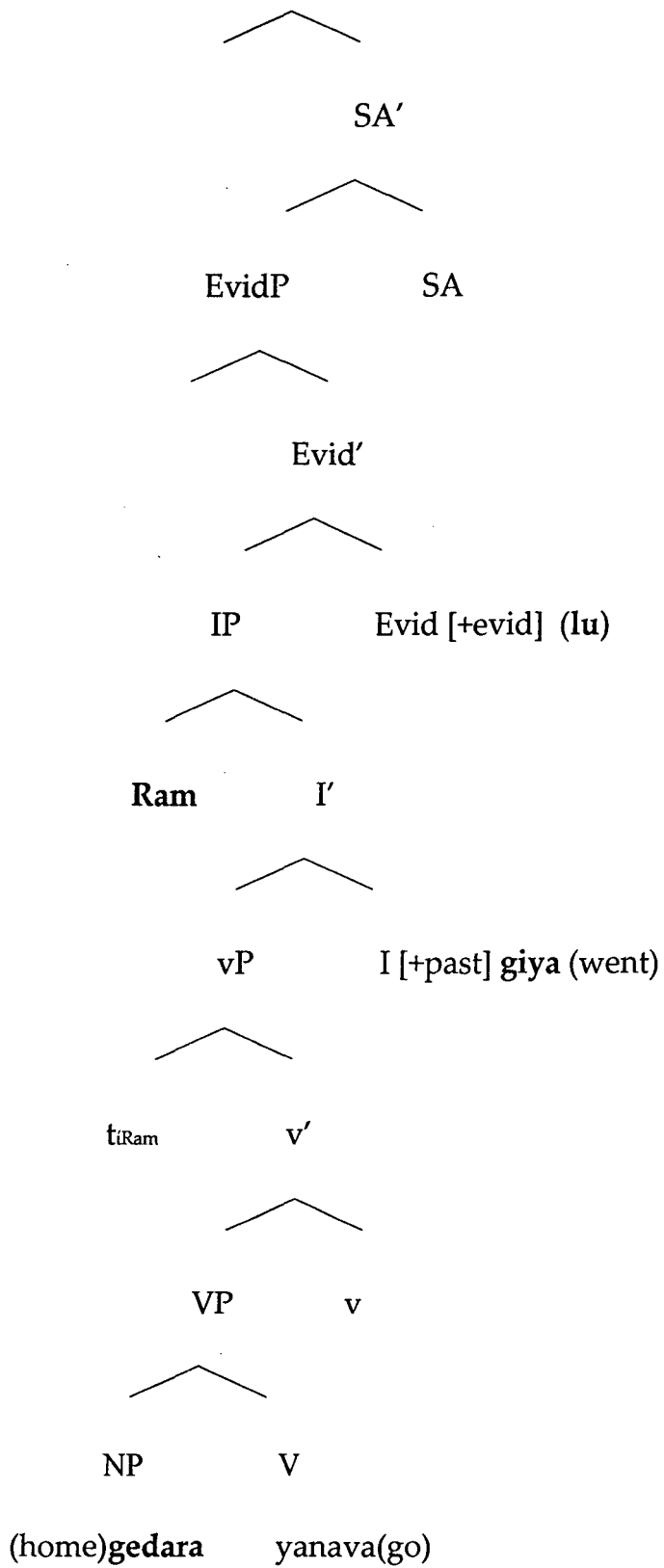
Sa P (Non Declarative)



When a proposition is marked for evidentiality, there is no Agree relation with a particular constituent as the Evid head has scope over its entire C-commanding domain. The relevant structural projection is given below.

- 5) a. Ram gedara giya lu
Ram(Nom) home went Md Evid
People say that Ram went home.

b) Sa P (Declarative)



5.1.2.1 *Evidentiality and Island Violations*

As observed in the case of WH in the previous chapter, the Evid marker too cannot occur within an island. It has to be placed at the edge of the island to make the sentence grammatical.

- 6) a. *Ram [Lalith lu horakam-karapu badu-wagayak] soyanne
Ram [Lalith Md Evid stolen-did goods-certain] look for-E
(As people say) Ram is looking for certain goods stolen by Lalith
- b. *Ram [Lalith horakam-karapu lu badu-wagayak] soyanne
Ram [Lalith stolen-did Md Evid goods-certain] look for-E
(As people say) Ram is looking for certain goods stolen by Lalith
- c. Ram [Lalith horakam-karapu badu-wagayak lu] soyanne
Ram [Lalith stolen-did goods-certain Md.Evid] look for-E
(As people say) it is the goods stolen by Lalith that Ram is looking for.

As the examples show, the evidential particle cannot occur within the CNP but at the edge of it. The islands in the examples can be analyzed as participial DPs. Evidentiality is a root phenomenon that indicates what is evident to the speaker, whether he has direct/indirect evidence etc. for the utterance. This is further supported by empirical facts as two evidential particles (Lu) cannot occur in the clause simultaneously, one in the matrix and another in the embedded clause. In the above example, the so-called island [Lalith horakam karapu badu/goods stolen by Lalith] is a participial DP, and the evid marker "lu" cannot occur in a PrtP. Therefore, this is not an island violation case, rather, this can be attributed

to the fact that evid projections can occur only in root projections. When the matrix “Lu” scopes over a DP that contains a Prtp, as in (c), the sentence is grammatical.

5.1.3 Interrogative Mood (INT)

In Rizzi’s (1997, 1999) Left Periphery analysis, INT is a distinct head that expresses interrogative force. Based on the distribution of the complementizers “che” and “se” in Italian, Rizzi observes that INT occupies a structural position below Force. In Sinhala, the Speech Act Mood head is specified for non declarative force (both interrogative and constituent type topic/focus/mood/modality expression), and INT as a distinct functional head expresses Yes/No interrogative force. It can have scope over a constituent as well as a proposition in that it too behaves like any other Mood/Modality marker. When other Mood/Modality markers appear in the clause, they should be closer to the constituent in focus and INT should have scope over all of them, as shown in the examples below.

7 a) Ram kaarek ak gatta lu ne da?

Ram car a bought Md.Evi Md.Eval Q

(People say) Did Ram buy a car? (Also evaluating it)

b. Ram [Lalith gedara giye naehae kiyala tamai ne da]kiuwe?

Ram [Lalith home went-E Neg Comp Foc Md.Eval Q] said-E

Is it the case that Lalith’s not going home that Ram said?

5.1.4 Evaluative Mood

As Cinque (1999) observes in his hierarchy of functional heads, mood evaluative is realized as a bound morpheme (suffix) or by a free morpheme (modal or particle) across languages. Such mood particles do not affect the truth of the proposition, but rather express the speaker's (positive, negative, or other) evaluation of the state of affairs described in it.

In Sinhala, Evaluative mood is realized by the particle "Ne" which can be suffixed to a noun, verb, preposition, or an adjective. There are two Evaluative Mood positions in the left periphery, one occurring higher and the other occurring lower. This distribution is decided by whether "Ne" is attached to a constituent or a proposition. When "Ne" is attached to a constituent, it occurs lower in the periphery and has constituent scope. When it is attached to a proposition, it occurs higher and has propositional scope. However, only one "Ne" is activated at a time in each case.

The evaluative mood particle "Ne" does not affect the truth of the proposition, but rather expresses the speaker's positive or negative evaluation of the state of affairs described in it. Accordingly, "Ne" conveys the speaker's appreciation, surprise, disappointment, or disapproval. "Ne" occurs in both declarative and non declarative speech acts and often it expresses shared information. That is, "Ne" shows the D-Linked nature of the object, context, situation, person talked about or the whole proposition itself. When "Ne" is preverbal, (attached to a constituent) the matrix verb takes E-form. When "Ne" is post verbal, (propositional) there is no E-marking of the verb. Therefore, distinction can be made between evaluation of a constituent and evaluation of a proposition. The

declarative/interrogative distinction is a result of intonation rather than syntactic phenomena. When “Ne” follows an NP, the relevant NP gets focused for evaluation. The following examples illustrate all these observations.

- 8) a. Ram game giya ne.
Ram village went MD.eval
Ram went to his home town.

(In a context where somebody enquires about Ram; the whole proposition is the shared information)

- b. Oyaa paadam kara ne?
You study did MD.eval
Did you study/You studied, didn't you?

(This proposition can also pass as a declarative. To make it a full question, “Ne” should be followed by Q “Da”. This also shows that the speaker knows what the addressee did. (Shared information))

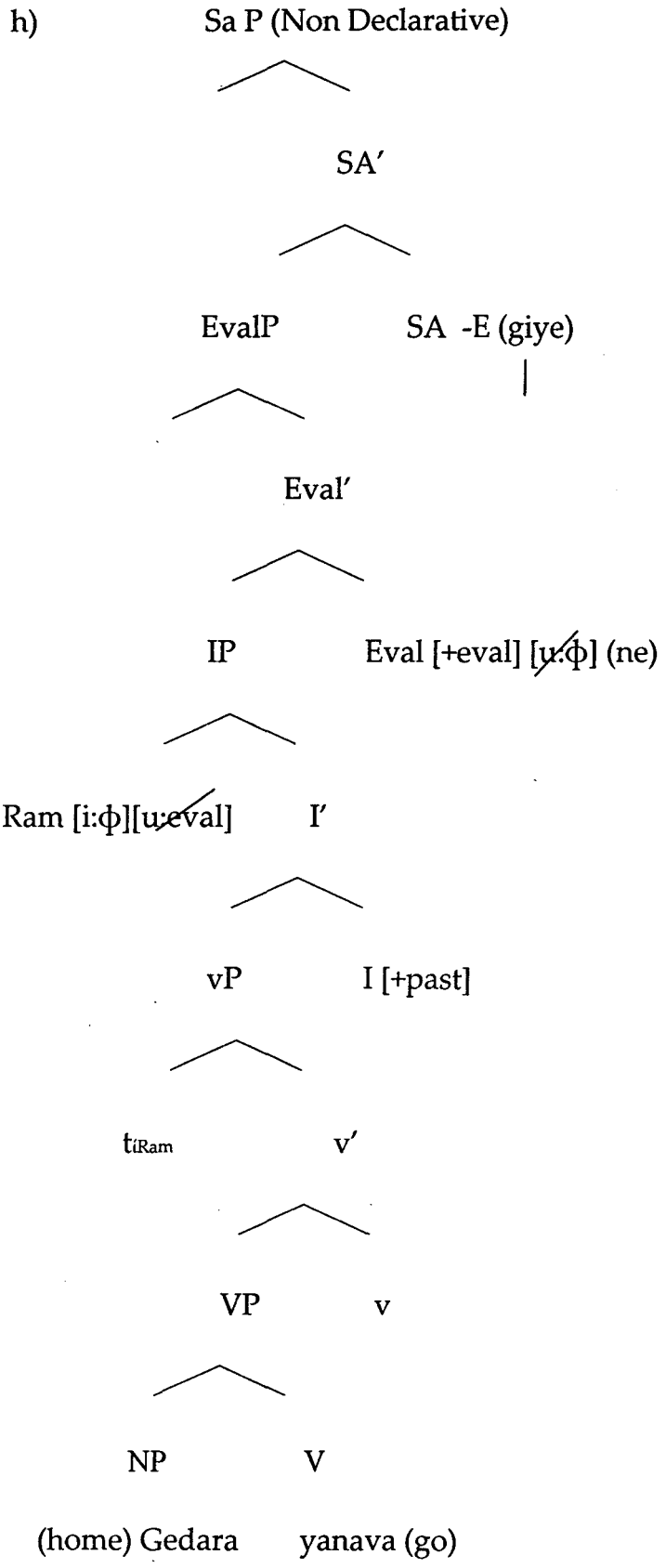
- c. Oya ne Ram kiyanne?
You Md.eval Ram called-E
Are you called Ram/ Is it you who is called Ram?

- d. Ram kaareka ne seeduwe
Ram car MD.eavl washed-E
It is the car that Ram washed/ Is it the car that Ram washed? (Not something else)

- e. Oya godak lissanai ne
You very pretty MD.eval
You are very pretty (Evaluating) (Asking others opinion about it)
- f. Potha meese uda ne thiyenne
Book table on MD.eval is-E
The book is on the table (So I can't reach it: disappointment)

The relation between the evaluative mood and the relevant constituent is illustrated in the following structural projection.

- g. Ram ne gedara giye
Ram(Nom) MD.eval home went-E
It is Ram who went home.



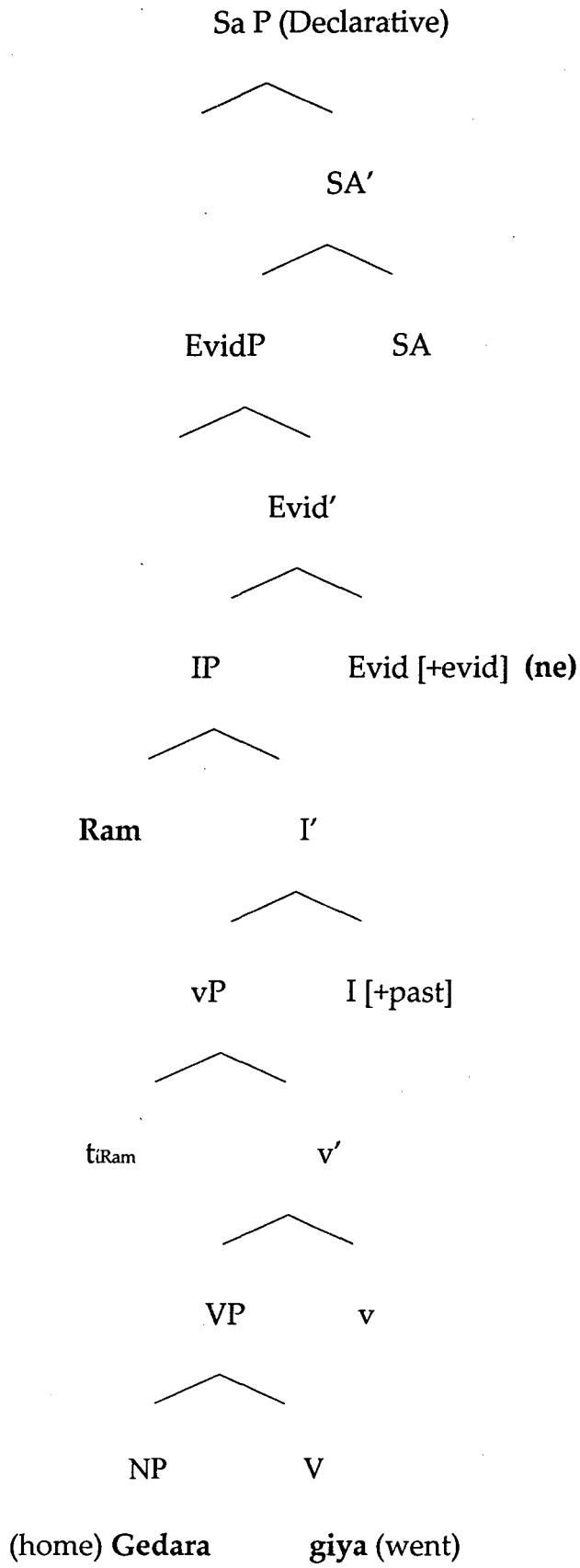
In the propositional type evaluative mood marking, “Ne” occupies the EVAL Mood head to have the whole proposition under its scope. Therefore, “Ne” does not constitute a Probe looking for a particular constituent as a Goal to match its features. The subject occupies Spec INFL and receives case from INFL. Object NP occupies the argument position and gets case and theta from the verb. There is no E-marking of the verb as propositional type of Evaluative mood marking does not trigger E.

i. Ram gedara giya ne.

Ram(Nom) home went MD.eval

Ram went home. (Expressing dissatisfaction, surprise)

j.



(Examples can be given for island violations involving “Ne” as it cannot stay in an island, and has to be placed at the edge of the island. But, such cases where native speakers of Sinhala making utterances with islands and Ne particle at the edge of the island are not as frequent as cases involving WH or Focus)

5.1.5 Conditional Mood: “NANG”

When there is E marking on the verb with the conditional mood particle preceding it, then “nang” functions as a counterfactual that needs a bi-clausal structure to complete its meaning.

- 9) a. Ram nang ee vaede kare, amma eyaa ta banee vi
 Ram Md.Cond that work did-E mother him to scold Fut
 ‘If it is Ram who did that work, mother will scold him’
- b. Ram ee vaede kara nang, amma eyaa ta banee vi
 Ram that work did Md.Cond, mother him to scold Fut
 ‘If Ram did that work indeed, mother will scold him’
 (Propositional Counterfactual: No E-marking of the verb)

As shown in the above examples, the Conditional Mood marker is associated with two positions in the clause structure. When “Nang” is associated with a constituent, it occurs lower in the hierarchy, below Comp and when a proposition comes under the scope of “nang”, it occurs above Comp. The conditional mood particle “nang” is compatible with the syntactic analysis proposed for other mood/modality markers in which a Probe-Goal-Agree relation was established to eliminate the [u:φ] of the Probe.

5.1.6 Epistemic Mood: “Yae”

Epistemic modality expresses the speaker’s degree of confidence or the commitment to the truth of the proposition (based on the kind of information he/she has). Accordingly, they express possibility or necessity. When the speaker uses the modals such as “may”, or “can”, which are called weak epistemic modals in English, such use would indicate a lower commitment to the truth of speaker’s utterance. On the other hand, the strong epistemic modals “must, shall” express a strong commitment to the truth of the proposition. In English, for example, the epistemic use of must expresses a confidence stronger than that expressed by the epistemic uses of should.

Alethic modality express necessary or possible truths, and root modality, “obligation, permission, volition or ability on behalf of an agent which usually, but not necessarily, expressed by the subject of the sentence” (Platzack, 1979). Cinque (1999) observes a structural distinction between the epistemic and root modals. Epistemic modals are located higher in the clausal structure than root modals. Root modals, in contrast to epistemic and alethic modalities, are strictly subject oriented. Volition, obligation, ability, and, permission are properties attributed to an (animate) subject.

In Sinhala, Epistemic mood is realized by the particle “Yae” which can either attach to a constituent or to a proposition. When it is preceded by a constituent, “Yae” occurs lower in the left periphery below Comp and triggers E-marking. When it occurs with a proposition its structural position is higher than Comp. In such cases, it does not trigger E-marking. Yae can co-occur with Evidential Mood marker in the constituent scope (follows it). Any other Mood/Modality marker

cannot co occur with “Yae”, in propositional scope. However, “Yae” is limited to certain regional dialects and is not often preferred by today’s native speakers of Sinhala. Mostly the speakers replace “Yae” with INT (da) to express doubt or lower commitment to the truth of the proposition. The fact that “Yae” expresses weak epistemic modality with more degree of doubt in the proposition than confidence is evident in its non-compatibility with INT (Q-marker -da), though INT can co- occur with all the other Mood/Modality markers. “Yae” followed by “da” is ungrammatical, as shown in example (10, d) below. In the same way, “Yae” cannot be followed by any Mood/Modality marker in propositional-scope type clauses.

10) a. Ram yae kaareka seeduwe

Ram Md Eps car washed-E

Ram washed the car?

Is it Ram who washed the car?

b. Ram lu yae kaareka seeduwe

Ram Md Evi Md Eps car washed-E

(As people say)Ram washed the car

(As people say)Is it Ram who washed the car?

c. Ram kaareka seeduwa yae

Ram car washed Md Eps

Ram washed the car

Did Ram wash the car?

- d. *Ram kaareka seeduwa yae da?
 Ram car washed Md Eps
 Did Ram wash the car?
- e. *Ram. kaareka seeduwa yae lu tamai ne?
 Ram car washed Md Eps MdEvi Foc Md Eval
 (*As people say is it Ram who washed the car?)

The Epistemic Modal “Yae” is compatible with the analysis proposed for the other Mood/Modality markers. Epistemic Mood head consists of a bundle of features. As it has an [u: ϕ], it constitutes a Probe. The corresponding Goal is the NP in its C-commanding range that has an [i: ϕ] set. The Agree relation eliminates the uninterpretable features in the Probe and in the process, values the [u:Epis] of the relevant NP too.

5.1.7 NEGATION

NEG (NAEHAE)

NEG (NAETTE)

NEG (NAETUWA)

NEG (NAETH/NAETHI)

NEG (NEMEI)

The above NEG particles have a differential distribution in the Sinhala clause as they are subject to syntactic and lexical selectional restrictions. They do not show much variation in their structural position as all of them (except “nemei” in

negation with focus) occur higher in the main clause. They always occur below Comp in the embedded clauses. Further, all of them negate propositions (except “nemei” in the constituent scope marking) thereby showing wide scope interpretation.

5.1.7.1 NEG (*naehae*)

NAEHAE negates a proposition with an eventive predicate or an adjectival predicate that does not have any focused constituent in the clause. However, a property of the NEG “Naeha” is its ability to trigger –E on the verb even in the absence of a focus/mood/modality marker in the clause. The structural position of “naeha” is higher in the clause just below the speech act mood.

11) a. Ram gedara giye naehae

Ram home went-E NEG

Ram did not go home

b. Lalith [Ram gedara giye naehae kiyala] kiuwa

Lalith [Ram home went-E NEG Comp] said.

Lalith said that Ram did not go home.

c. Ram lassana naeha

Ram pretty Neg

Ram is not handsome

5.1.7.2 NEG (*naette*)

“NAETTE” is a focus negation marker that negates a proposition that has a focused constituent in it. Though, in such cases there is E-marking on the verb, E is not triggered by NEG. It is triggered by the focus marker within the clause, as shown in the examples. The structural position of “Naette” is higher in the clause.

- 12) a. Ram tamai gedara giye naette
Ram FOC home went-E NEG
It is Ram who did not go home
- b. Lalith [Ram tamai gedara giye naette kiyala] kiuwa
Lalith [Ram FOC home went-E NEG Comp] said
Lalith said that it is Ram who did not go home

5.1.7.3 NEG (*naetuwa*)

The NEG “Naetuwa” occurs only in the context of mood epistemic probability/possibility. In this case it negates the whole proposition and occurs between the proposition and the epistemic mood probability/possibility. As it negates a proposition, it occurs higher in the clause. Further, the verb in such contexts takes perfect participle form as shown in the following example.

13) a. Ram tavama gedara gihin naetuwa aethi
 Ram(Nom) still home go(perf) Neg Complt Asp
 Ram may not have reached home yet.

b. Lalith [Ram tavama gedara gihin naetuwa aethi kiyala] kiuwa
 Lalith [Ram still home go(perf pl) Neg Md prob Comp]said
 Lalith said that Ram might not have reached home yet.

5.1.7.4 NEG (*naeth/naethi*)

Native speakers often drop the final vowel 'e' of the Neg "Naethi" and form a constituent with Q (da) by prefixing "Naeth" to Q (da) to form "naethda", an instance of incorporation, in the negation of a predicate in a yes/no question. Therefore, the above Neg particles "Naeth" and "Naethi" are two forms of the same Neg. Native speakers prefer the phonologically more convenient term 'naethda' to 'naethi da' in discourse. Consequently, no other argument or adjunct can intervene between the Neg and Q. This is so even in the case of 'naethi da', which also means 'didn't'. "Naeth" triggers E on the verb.

14) Ram gedara giye naethda?
 Ram home went-E NEG Q
 Didn't Ram go home

5.1.7.5 NEG: (*nemei*)

Nemei negates a constituent with focus and therefore is a focus marker as discussed in the preceding section on focus. As a negation marker, it negates a

stative predicate in a declarative clause or in a yes/no question. It occurs higher in the clause in such cases and does not trigger E-marking.

15) a. Ram guruvaray- ek nemei.

Ram teacher a Neg

Ram is not a teacher

b. Ram guruvaray- ek nemei da?

Ram teacher a Neg Q

Is Ram not a teacher?

The following Table illustrates the distribution of the above NEG Particles

Neg	Empirical facts	Structural position in matrix clauses	Triggers E-marking
naeha	Negate propositions with eventive and adjectival predicates	higher (just below SA mood)	Yes
naette	Proposition with a Focused constituent	higher	No
naeth/naethi	Proposition in a yes/no question	higher, below INT	Yes
nemei	a. constituent focus	lower	Yes
	b. a stative predicate	higher	No
naethuwa	Proposition with Mood Epistemic poss/prob	higher	No

Table 4

5.1.8 Mood: Epistemic probability/possibility: “Puluwan” and “aethi”

Cinque (1999) projects epistemic modals higher in clausal structure than root modals. This structural similarity can be observed in Sinhala too as in Sinhala, the epistemic modals are located higher in the clause than root modals. Native speakers employ two modals to express epistemic possibility/probability. They are “puluwan” and “aethi”. Both express possibility/probability related to natural or human acts. Both can be followed by the Mood evidential particle “lu”. However, their occurrence is constrained by temporal restrictions. For example, “puluwan” is often limited to expressing future events. The probability/possibility of an action or event already being completed can be expressed with the above modal only in the perfective aspect, and such expressions are not common. The following examples illustrate the occurrence of mood possibility/probability “puluwan”.

16) a. Ada vahinna puluwan

Today rain Md prob.

It might rain today

b. Ada Ram lankaava ta enna puluwan

Today Ram lanka Dat come Md prob/poss.

Ram might come to Sri Lanka today.

c. Ada Ram lankaava ta enna puluwan lu

Today Ram Lanka Dat come Md Prob Md Evid

(As people say) Ram might come to Sri Lanka today.

5.1.8.1 *aethi*

The above mood particle is often used to express the possibility/probability of occurrence of an event in the present or past. When it occurs to express a past action, the verb is inflected for perfect participle.

- 17) a. Ram daen gedara gihin aethi
Ram now home reached(perf p) Md: epis prob/poss
Ram must have reached home by now.
- b. Ram daen gedara yanava aethi
Ram now home reach(pres) Md: epis prob/poss
Ram must be going home now.

5.1.9 Root Modal: Ability: "*puluwan*"

In analogy to Malayalam¹, (Babu 2008), Sinhala also has a mood particle that expresses permission, ability, and volition. This mood particle is "*puluwan*", which has a similar distribution as in the case of Malayalam.

The above root modal that denotes ability is a subject oriented modal and corresponds to the English modal "can". Cinque (1999) attributes the properties volition, obligation, ability, and permission to the root modals and gives cross-linguistic evidence to show their overt realization in languages in the form of suffixes and particles. While some languages overtly realize separate modals for ability and permission, in Sinhala, both the ability and the deontic expression are

¹-aam (permission, ability, volition, probability) (Babu 2008)

entailed in the modal “puluwan”. The following examples prove these observations.

18) a. Mata natanna puluwan

I (Dat) dance can

I can dance

b. Oya ta gedara yanna puluwan

you Dat home go can

You can go home/you are permitted to go home

c. Oya ta mata udav karanna puluvan da?

You (Dat) I (Dat) help do can Q?

Can you help me?

The epistemic possibility modal discussed in (5.1.8) above too has the same phonological realization “Puluwan”. However, these two are distinct as shown in the fact that the former cannot be negated, or used in the past tense whereas the Root modal can be negated as well as used in the past or future tense. In such cases, the lexical verb occurs in the infinitive form whereas BE verb is inflected for tense as shown below.

c. Mata natanna puluwan una

I(Dat) dance can was

I could dance

5.2 Complementizer

COMP is realized in Sinhala by “kiyala”, and it introduces subordinate clauses. The structural position of COMP is the highest position of the embedded clause (which is still below the Speech Act Mood) and corresponds to Force in Rizzi’s (1997, 1999) hierarchy. However, NEG, INT, and other Mood and Modality markers can intervene between Comp and the Speech Act Mood in the case of an embedded proposition being negated, focused, or questioned with such a functional category. The following examples illustrate these observations.

- 19) a. Ram [Lalith da gedara giye kiyala]aehuwa
Ram [Lalith Q home went-E Comp] asked
Ram asked whether it was Lalith who went home.
- b. Lalith [Ram tamai gedara giye naette kiyala] kiuwa
Lalith [Ram FOC home went-E NEG Comp] said
Lalith said that it is Ram who did not go home

However, in Matrix questions with an embedded propositional type Yes/No clause, COMP occurs below INT as INT should have the whole embedded proposition under its scope.

- c. Ram [Lalith gedara giye naehae kiyala tamai ne da]kiuwe?
Ram [Lalith home went-E Neg Comp Foc Md.Eval Q] said-E
Is it the case that Lalith’s not going home that Ram said?

5.3 The Relation between E-marking and Mood/Modality

The -E marking was seen to be a crucial morphological operation that interacts with Wh/topic/focus/mood/and modality of Sinhala. Triggering of -E on the verb is evidence for the presence of Focus, or a Mood/Modality marker within the clause (except Topic, Mood Epis: Probability/Possibility, and Root modal of ability). This is also based on constituent/proposition-scope distinction. The present study considers -E marking of the verb as evidence for Non-declarative Speech act mood, which includes the Interrogative clause and the clauses that have Focus, Mood/Modality markers.

The relation between Topic/Focus/Mood/Modality and E-marking is illustrated in the following Table and corresponding examples.

Clause Type	E-marking	
	Matirx Verb	Embeded Verb
i) Matrix (constituent scope)	Yes	
ii) Matrix (propostional scope)	No	
iii) Embeded constituent scope	Optional	Yes
iv) Embeded propositional scope	Yes	No

Table 5

Examples: (corresponding to i-iv above)

20) a. Ram tamai lu gedara giye

Ram(Nom) Foc Md Evid home went-E

People say it is ram who went home

- b. Ram gedara giya tamai lu
 Ram home went Foc Md Evid
 People say Ram went home (indeed)
- c. Lalith [Ram tamai gedara giye kiyala] kiuwa
 Lalith(Nom) [Ram(Nom) Foc home went-E Comp] said
 Lalith said that it was Ram who went home
- d. Lalith [Ram tamai gedara giye kiyala] kiuwe (De-dicto reading)
 Lalith(Nom) [Ram(Nom) Foc home went-E Comp] said-E
 Lalith said that it was Ram who went home
- e. Lalith [Ram gedara giya kiyala tamai] kiuwe
 Lalith(Nom) [Ram(Nom) home went Comp Foc] said-E
 Lalith said that Ram went home (indeed)

5.4 THE SINHALA LEFT PERIPHERY

5.4.1 FOCUS: *tamai/nemei*

According to Rizzi (1997, 1999), Force and Finiteness are essential heads of the C-system and are present in all clause structures whereas topic-Focus are necessary in the structure only when they are activated. Notably, the optionality of topic is evident as it occupies a position both to the left and right after each head (below Force) in the left periphery. This bears some structural similarity to Cinque's (1999) adverb positions to the left and right of each functional head. However, in

Cinque, adverbs occupy spec positions whereas topic and focus are heads in Rizzi. Cinque does not project positions for topic/focus in his hierarchy as his structural layer is between IP and VP whereas topic/focus have structural positions in the C-system. Accordingly, Sinhala too has the topic/focus projections higher in the periphery above IP though their order is different from Italian Topic/Focus positions observed by Rizzi. For example, in Italian a topic phrase can occur immediately below ForceP whereas in Sinhala this position can be occupied by focus. Further, topic and focus heads are null in Italian but they are overtly realized in Sinhala. This is another cross linguistic generalization that Sinhala observes in the functional head layer.

In chapter one, section (1.2), it was observed that focus encoding in Sinhala took place in three modes; prosodically, syntactically (cleft) and morphologically. Morphological focus was realized through the focus marker "Tamai" according to whose distribution the constituent focus and propositional focus distinction was identified. "Nemei" is the opposite of "Tamai" and both cannot co occur in the same clause. Structurally, "Tamai" can be replaced by "Nemei" and it introduces negation with focus. The use of "Tamai" or "Nemei" also corresponds to E-marking/Non-E-marking distinction of the matrix verb. It was also argued in chapter one, based on native speaker judgment and investigation of Kariyakarawana's (1998) arguments that the syntactic focus proposed by Kariyakarawana (1998) as a cleft was not actually a cleft. This section provides further argument against Kariyakarawana's (1998) cleft analysis and also shows that Sinhala focus can be effectively analyzed in the theoretical framework of Minimalism (Chomsky 1995) and Cinque's Functional head analysis (1999).

Although Rizzi (1997) proposes a recursive projection for topic as many number of topic phrases can occur in the same clause, he proposes one structural position for focus as recursion of FocusP is banned by an interpretive clash that arises. Sinhala too does not allow multiple foci as shown in the following example.

21) *Ram tamai kaareka tamai seeduwe

Ram Foc the car Foc washed-E

It is Ram it is the car that he washed

According to the functional head order proposed for Sinhala, Focus occupies a position below Mood Conditional (Nang) and above Topic (Nang). However, depending on constituent focus or propositional focus, two focus positions can be identified in relation to the other functional heads. These two positions are, one below the COMP and another above COMP. The lower Focus position corresponds to constituent focus while the higher position is occupied by the propositional focus. [+F] is freely assigned to a constituent which becomes the focus of the utterance.

[+F] marking:

- i. Mark any constituent as [+F]
- ii. Focus assignment:

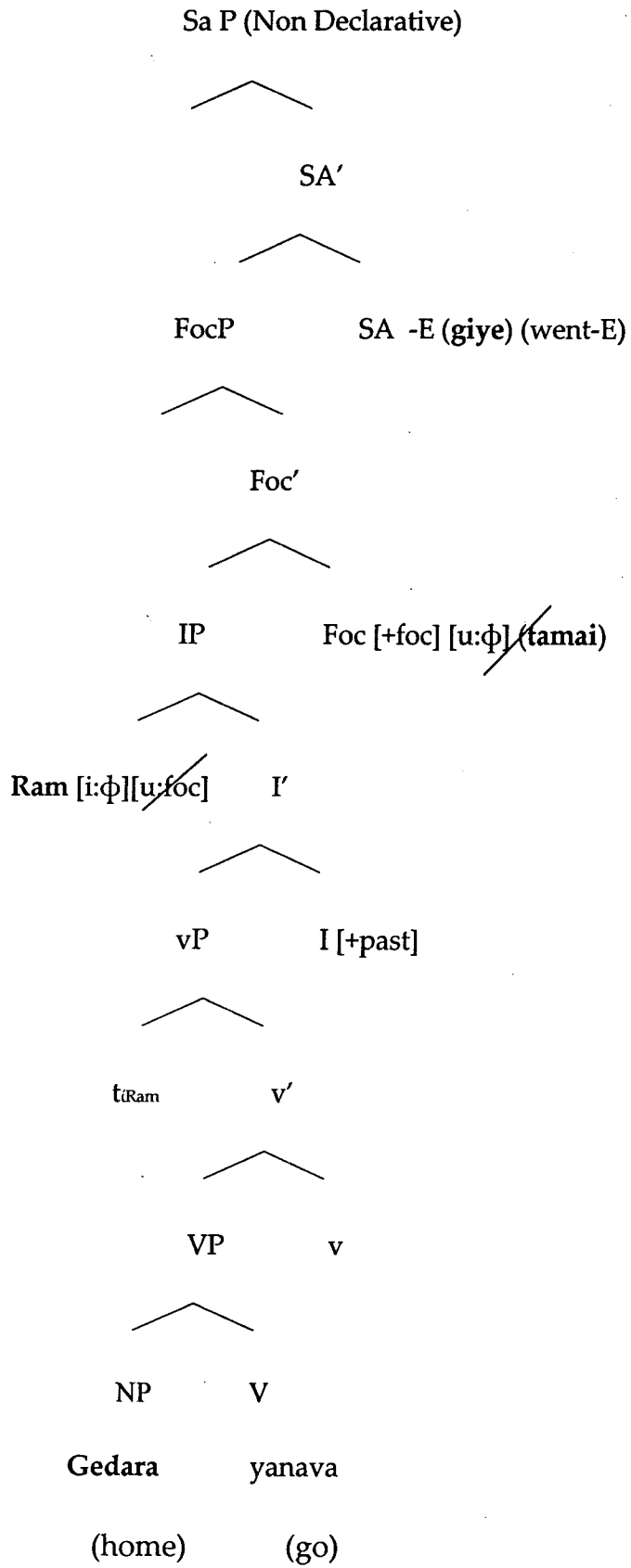
The semantic material associated with nodes dominated by F is the Focus of the sentence. To derive the Presupposition, substitute appropriate semantic variables for the focused material.

(Jackendoff (1972) as quoted in Kriszta Szendroi(2005)

This syntactic representation of Focus (or Mood/Modality) is applied to the Minimalist framework, so that, it is conceived that in addition to the [+F] feature, it also has a [u: ϕ] set. This makes it a Probe looking for a Goal to eliminate its [u: ϕ]. It selects a DP in its C-commanding range that has an [i: ϕ] set. In the Agree relation between the Probe and the Goal, the uninterpretable focus feature of the DP too gets valued thereby spelling out the DP as focused. In the case of propositional focus, the Foc head has scope over its entire c-command domain; consequently, no movement is required. The E-marking of the verb indicates the nature of the illocutionary force, in this case, Non-declarative.

- 22) a. Ram tamai gedara giye
 Ram(Nom) Foc home went-E
 It is Ram who went home

b)

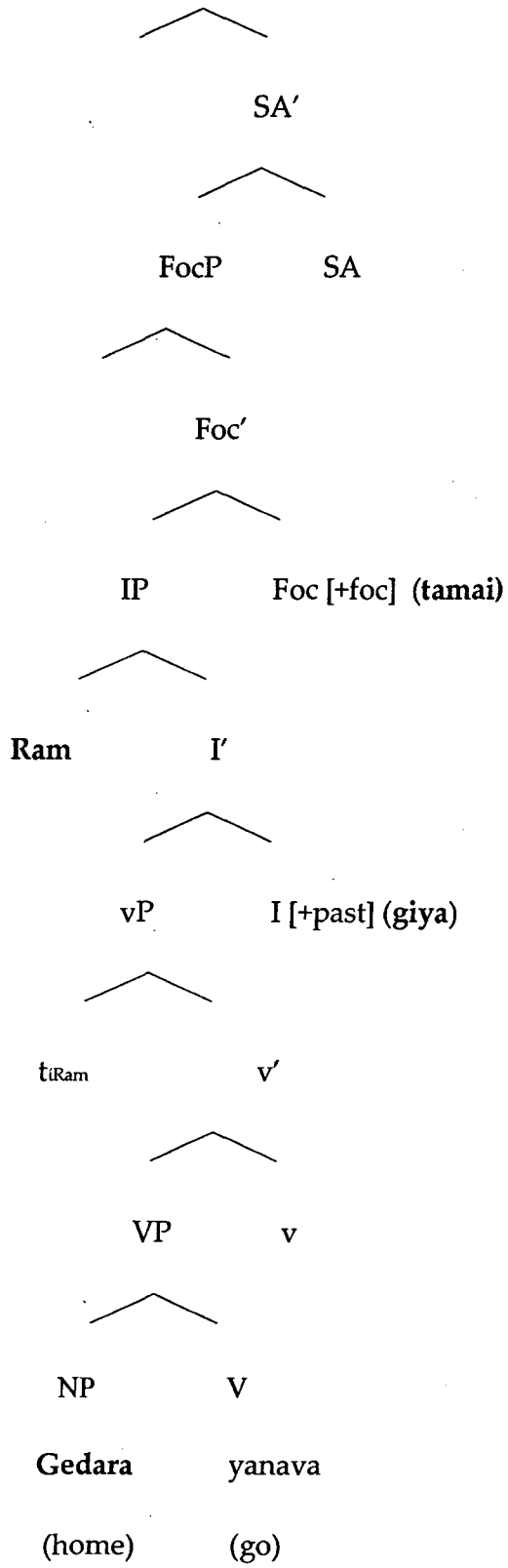


Propositional Focus

- 23) a. Ram gedara giya tamai
Ram(Nom) home went Foc
Ram went home (indeed)

b)

Sa P (Declarative)



This analysis is a major theoretical shift from a number of other previous analyses of focus, both cross linguistic and Sinhala specific, as most such analyses have proposed focus movement/[Op]movement for spec-head configuration. The main argument of such theoretical approaches was that focus movement was like WH movement. Accordingly, it explained both syntactic and semantic considerations that establish a parallel between focus movement and WH movement. In the present analysis, Agree replaces such empirical considerations as covert/overt movement of features.

5.4.1.1 *Syntactic Focus*

In the syntactic focus, the focused constituent occurs in the post-verbal position of the E-marked verb. The focus marker “tamai” is optional in this position. A syntactically focused answer can occur as a felicitous answer to a question constructed with the same clause structure with the WH-word occupying the post verbal position, (or WH in the preverbal position), as shown in the following question/answer pair.

- 24) a. Ram seeduwe mokak da?
Ram washed-E what Q
What is it that Ram washed?
- b. Ram seeduwe kaareka. (Not the van or bus)
Ram washed-E car
It is the car that Ram washed.

This type of question where the WH-word occurs in the post verbal position is not a natural discourse opener. It has links to a preceding discussion. Therefore, the question indicates the presupposition that “Ram washed something”. The answer selects the appropriate one from a set both the speaker and hearer have in mind, for instance, from a set of vehicles. The WH-phrase (with the Q-marker) has pied-piped rightward. Its landing site should be a Focus position as (E-marked) post verbal position encodes focus. Therefore, the WH-phrase or the NP (in the answer) moves overtly from the VP internal position to the SPEC position of a right-branching Focus projection, the highest in the clause in this case from where it takes scope over the rest of the clause.

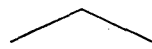
c. Ram seeduwe mokak da?

Ram washed-E what Q?

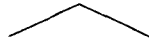
What is it that Ram washed?/What did Ram wash?

d)

SaP (non declarative)

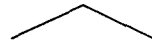


Sa'



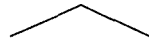
FocP

Sa-E



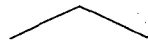
F'

mokakda í (what)



Foc

IP



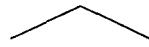
Ram

I'



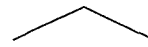
vP

I [+past]



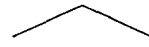
t_{Ram}

V'



VP

v



NP

V

e_i

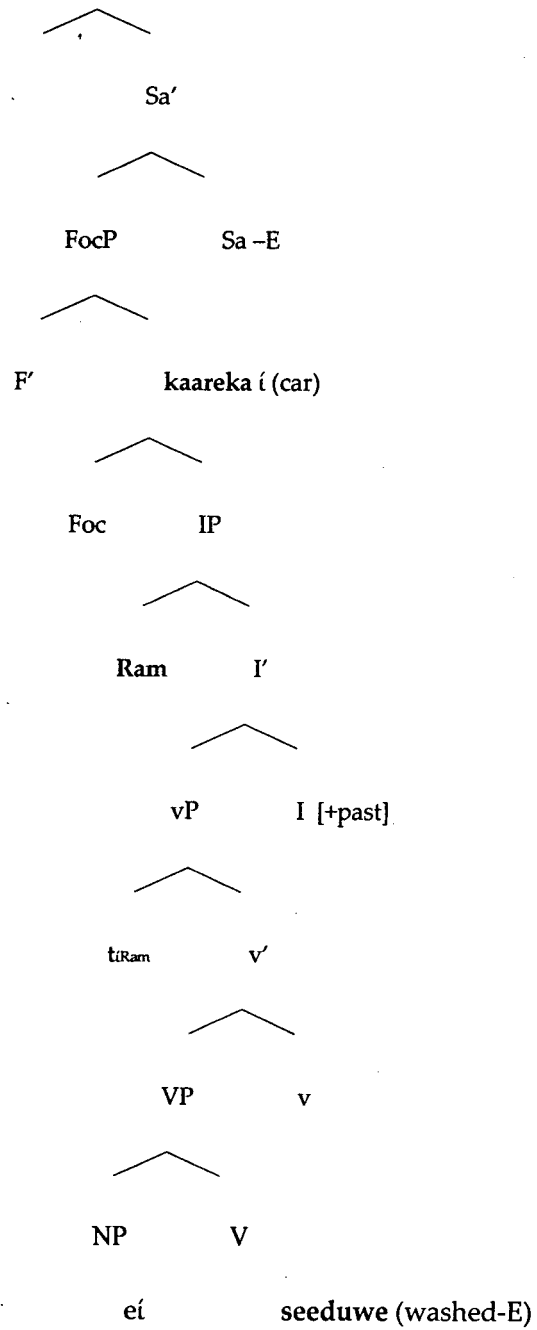
seeduwe (washed-E)

Answer:

e. Ram seeduwe kaareka. (Not the van or bus)

Ram washed-E car

f. SaP (non declarative)



Kariyakarawana (1998), in his focus analysis identifies the above syntactic focus as a cleft involving a bi-clausal structure. As shown above, the rightward movement of the NP cannot be identified as a cleft. It does not have a bi-clausal structure too. Only the English translation of the sentence looks like a cleft.

5.4.1.2 *Focus and Island Violations*

Island violations involving focus can be detected in Sinhala. The focus particle cannot occur in a Complex NP-island, or an Adjunct-island, as shown in the following examples.

- 25) a. *Mama [Ram tamai horakam karapu poth vagayak] soyanne
 I (Nom)[Ram FOC steal-did books certain] look for-E
 I am looking for certain books stolen by Ram (indeed)
- b. *Mama [iiye ude tamai naethi vecca poth vagayak] soyanne
 I(Nom) [yesterday morning FOC lost books certain]look for-E
 I am looking for certain books lost on yesterday morning (indeed)

However, the island violation is avoided when the focus marker occupies the edge position of the island.

- c. Mama [Ram horakam karapu poth vagayak tamai] soyanne
 I (Nom)[Ram steal-did books certain FOC]look for-E
 I am looking for certain books stolen by Ram (indeed)

- d. Mama [iiye ude naethi vecca poth vagayak tamai] soyanne
 I(Nom) [yesterday morning lost books certain FOC]look for-E
 I am looking for certain books lost on yesterday morning (indeed)

The above examples can be analyzed as cases of constituent focus where, instead of a single constituent, a whole CNP is focused. In this case, the whole CNP is a participial DP and the focus marker cannot occur within a PrtP. Therefore, it should move to a scope position, and in this case, to the edge of the participial DP for the sentence to be grammatical.

5.4.1.3 *Embedding of Focus and Scope Marking*

The relationship between embedding and scope marking makes crucial predictions about the focus analysis of this study and consequently for UG. It is important to find out whether it is the embedded verb after the focused constituent with “tamai”, or the E-marked matrix verb that determines scope. Hitherto, it was observed that the occurrence of the focus marker in the pre-verbal position (constituent focus) triggers E-marking of the verb. That is, E-marking of the verb shows that a constituent in the clause is focused. However, in the case of embedded focus, both the embedded and the matrix verbs can show E-marking, as shown in example (26, b). Therefore, the question arises how to determine scope. The following examples illustrate these points.

- 26) a. Ram [Nimal tamai kaareka seeduwe kiyala] kiuwa
 Ram [Nimal FOC car washed-E COMP] said
 Ram said that it was Nimal who washed the car.

- b. Ram [Nimal tamai kaareka seeduwe kiyala] kiuwe
 Ram [Nimal FOC car washed-E COMP] said-E
 Ram said that it was Nimal who washed the car.
- c. *Ram [Nimal tamai kaareka seeduwa kiyala] kiuwe
 Ram [Nimal FOC car washed COMP] said-E
 Ram said that it was Nimal who washed the car.

The above examples show that E-marking of the matrix verb is optional whereas E-marking of the embedded verb after the focus marker “tamai” is obligatory. This falls in line with the analysis presented in the beginning of this section where the E-marking relation with Focus/Mood/Modality markers is illustrated in a Table. This suggests that it is the occurrence of focus that triggers E-marking in the embedded verb and therefore what determines scope is the E-marking in the clause that has the focus marker. Therefore, E-marking of the matrix verb should be treated differently as it does not signal scope. In these cases, the E-marking/non E-marking of the matrix verb corresponds to a pragmatic distinction of de-dicto/de-re reading. In (26,a), the matrix verb without E-marking conveys factual meaning, that is, Ram’s telling (about Nimal’s washing of car) is a fact, which corresponds to De-Re reading. In (26,b) this is propositional. It has the implication that, although Ram has said so, somebody else might say a different thing, which corresponds to De-Dicto reading. Therefore, scope properties are decided by the E-marking associated with the focus marker. In the above examples, focus marker occurs in the embedded clause. Therefore, only the E-marked embedded verb decides scope.

However, Hagstrom (1998), and Heenadeerage (2002) attribute scope in examples like (26) above to the E-marked matrix verb. In the absence of E-marking in the embedded verb, they consider E-marking of the matrix verb as a scope marker. The empirical evidence they provide in support of the above argument is contained in the following examples.

d. Ranjit [Chitra ee potha tamai kieuwa kiyala] kiiwe
 Ranjit [Chitra that book FOC read Comp] said-E
 ‘It was that book that Ranjit said that Chitra read’.

e. Ranjit [Chitra ee potha tamai kieuwe kiyala] kiiwa
 Ranjit [Chitra that book FOC read-E Comp] said
 ‘It was that book that Ranjit said that Chitra read’.

(Hagstrom (1998: 25))

f. Gune [Janadhipati boruwak tamai kiuwe] kiyala hituwa
 Gune(Nom)[president Nom lie Foc said E]Comp think Past
 Gune thought that it was a lie that the president told.

g. Gune [Janadhipati boruwak tamai kiuwa] kiyala hituwe
 Gune(Nom)[president Nom lie Foc said- A]Comp think Past-E
 It was a lie that Gune thought that the president told.

(Heenadeerage (2002: 209))

However, the above (d) and (g) are ruled out by the native speakers of Sinhala, including the present researcher as grammatically incorrect. According to native speaker judgment, the embedded verb should be E-marked in both cases as it is

preceded by the focus marker “tamai”. Therefore, such examples can have only embedded focus scope. In the clauses that have embedded focus, the E-marking of the matrix verb affects only the discourse properties of the utterance changing it from factual to propositional or De-Re/De-Dicto. The following data too provide evidence for the argument for the E-marking of the verb after Focus.

- h. Ram [Gune kaareka tamai soodanna yanne kiyala] kieuwa/kiuwe
Ram [Gune car FOC wash going-E Comp] said/said-E
Ram said that it was the car that Gune was going to wash
- i. * Ram [Gune kaareka tamai soodanna yanawa kiyala] kieuwa/kiuwe
Ram [Gune car FOC wash going Comp] said/said-E
Ram said that it was the car that Gune was going to wash
- j. Ram [Gune kaareka tamai soodala thiyenne kiyala] kieuwa/kiuwe
Ram [Gune car FOC washed has-E Comp] said/said-E
Ram said that it was the car that Gune has washed.
- k. *Ram [Gune kaareka tamai soodala thienava kiyala] kieuwa/kiuwe
Ram [Gune car FOC washed has Comp] said/said-E
Ram said that it was the car that Gune has washed.
- l. Ram [Gune kaareka tamai soodanne kiyala] kieuwa/kiuwe
Ram [Gune car FOC wash-E Comp] said/said-E
Ram said that it is the car that Gune is washing.

- m. *Ram [Gune kaareka tamai soodanava kiyala] kieuwa/kiuwe
 Ram [Gune car FOC wash Comp] said/said-E
 Ram said that it is the car that Gune is washing.

The above grammatical judgments also suggest the consistency of the relationship between Constituent Focus and E-marking of the verb. This predicts the same behavior in both matrix and embedded clauses. In the matrix clause it was observed that Focus triggers E-marking of the matrix verb. In the same way, Focus in the embedded clause triggers E-marking in the embedded verb, and the constituent comes under embedded focus. This conclusion suggests that the choice for the child is binary and therefore falls in line with a systematic language design.

5.4.2 Topic: “*nang*”

Topic-comment articulation is a left peripheral syntactic operation that serves a discourse function in natural language. The English construction referred to as Topicalization involves the articulation in topic and comment as shown in the following example.

27) Your money, you should give t to Ram (not to Lalith)

As shown in the example topic is a pre-posed constituent marked off separately by the ‘comma intonation’ and conveys old information. Some languages overtly realize topic with morphological encoding on the topic head while in others it is phonologically null. In Sinhala Topic is overtly realized in the particle “*nang*”.

The particle “nang” has been listed as a conditional mood particle, subsumed under focus in the previous literature and therefore its function as a topic marker has not been properly accounted for. As a topic marker “nang” occurs with constituents and propositions. However, topic marking of an NP or a proposition with “nang” is not followed by E-marking of the verb. E-marking of the verb makes it a conditional mood marker (counterfactual) that requires a bi-clausal structure. Further, Sinhala does not allow multiple Topics in the clause just as it was the case for focus. According to the theoretical approach adopted in the present study, topic is a feature bundle that has, in addition to its feature bundle of topic, uninterpretable features [u:ϕ] and therefore constitutes a Probe. The DP that occurs in the closest C-commanding range has a [i:ϕ]set and therefore a Goal. The Agree relation eliminates the [u:ϕ] of the Probe and in the process the [u:Top] features too get valued by pronouncing the relevant DP as topicalized. In a matrix WH question with a D-linked WH, the Topic is Probing for [u: Specificity] that results in the displacement of the Q particle of the WH to the Topic projection.

Examples for “nang” with topic interpretation:

28) a. Ram nang vibhaage pass una

Ram TOP exam pass did

AS far as Ram is concerned, he got through the exam

b. Lalith [Ram nang vibhaage pass una kiyala] kiuwa

Lalith [Ram TOP exam pass did Comp] said

Lalith said that as far as Ram is concerned, he got through the exam

c. Lalith [Ram vibhaage pass una kiyala nang] kiuwa

Lalith [Ram exam pass did Comp TOP] said

Lalith said that as far as Ram's exam passing is concerned, he got through the exam/

Lalith said the fact that Ram got through his exam.

As the above examples show, two topic positions can be identified in the hierarchy of the Sinhala clause structure, one below the Comp and the other above Comp. The lower topic position is for constituent topicalization and the higher one is for topicalization of a proposition. Therefore, only one is activated at a time.

5.5 SINHALA CLAUSE STRUCTURE: A UNIFIED CARTOGRAPHY

Separate Functional Head orders were proposed in the beginning of this chapter for both constituent type and propositional type of clauses in Sinhala. It was observed that the structural position of topic/focus/mood and modality markers was affected by the two types of clauses. As observed in the preceding sections, such discourse markers can occur quite lower in the hierarchy, as in the case of a constituent being in the scope of such a functional head, or can occur higher in the hierarchy, as in the case of a proposition being marked for scope.

According to Cinque, the natural language clause is a construct of Moods, Modalities, Tenses, and Aspects, which are rigidly, hierarchically organized. A rigid hierarchy is also observed in their different realizations such as different Moods, Modalities, Tenses, and Aspects. The hierarchy among the four major categories is as follows.

MOOD > MODAL > TENSE > ASPECT

As observed in the preceding sections, Sinhala clause is rigidly, hierarchically organized in the following manner.

MOOD > MODAL > TENSE > (Aspect)

The different realizations of the above mood/modality markers also observe a rigid hierarchy with respect to each other, and any change of this order is not acceptable.

- 29) a. Tamai/Nemei > Lu > Ne
Foc > Md Evid > Md Eval
- b. Tamai/ Nemei > Nang
Foc > Mood Cond.
- c. Lu > Yae
Md Evid > Md Epis
- d. Nang > Tamai/Nemei
Top > Foc

Examples illustrating the above rigid orders:

- 30) a. Lankaave aya bath **tamai lu ne da** kanne?
Sri Lankans rice Foc Md.Evi Md.Eval Q eat-E?
(People say that) is it rice that Sri Lankans eat?

- b. Lankaave aya bath nemei lu ne da kanne?
 Sri Lankans rice Foc. neg Md.Evi Md.Eval Q eat-E?
 (People say that) is it not rice that Sri Lankans eat?
- c. Ram tamai nang ee vaede kare, amma eyaa ta bani vi
 Ram Foc Md. Cond that work did-E, mother he Dat. scold Fut
 If Ram did that work, mother will scold him
- d. Lankaave aya bath lu yae kanne?
 Sri Lankans rice Md.Evi Md.Epis eat-E?
 (Do People say that) it is rice that Sri Lankans eat?
- e. Ram nang tamai ee vaede kare.
 Ram Top Foc that work did-E
 As far as Ram is concerned, it is Ram who did that work.

The order of the following functional heads is also rigidly fixed, as shown below, and in the corresponding examples.

Matrix Clause

Mood Speech Act > NEG > INT > (IP)

-E > NAETHI > DA

31) Ram gedara giye naeth da?

Ram home went-E Neg Int

Didn't Ram go home?

Embedded Clause

Mood Speech Act > INT > Comp > Neg > (IP...

-E > DA > KIYALA > NAEHA

32) Oya [Ram gedara giye naeha kiyala da] kiyanne?

You [Ram home went Neg Comp Int] say-E

Are you saying that Ram did not go home?

5.6 Conclusion

The investigation of the so-called focus particles of Sinhala was motivated by empirical evidence that such particles warranted an analysis as topic, focus, mood, and modality that construct the functional head layer of the Sinhala clause in line with the proposals for an articulated array of clause structure by Rizzi (1997, 1999), and Cinque (1999). The empirical arguments presented in support of the above conclusion proved that not only do those particles in Sinhala show topic, focus, mood, and modality, but also they are hierarchically, rigidly ordered as in Rizzi's and Cinque's proposals. This was observed both in relation to the clause-building major categories such as Moods, Modals, Tenses, and Aspects and also in their corresponding realizations. Aspect in Sinhala is not overtly realized in the form of distinct functional heads; for instance, progressive aspect is not overtly realized and it is entailed in the infinitive verb. Inflections on the verb for such functional categories also do not correspond to distinct functional heads as in English. However, this does not negate the presence of such heads as many languages do not overtly realize them in the form of a suffix or particle

though they have adverbs that are semantically identical with such functional heads. This is the default case (applicable to functional heads) that Cinque observes for such languages. The relation between Topic/Focus, Mood/Modality markers and their respective constituents or propositions was explained in the theoretical framework of Minimalism (Chomsky, 1995) that accorded the analysis a unitary structure.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

This study has been a detailed investigation of the cleft/focus construction of Sinhala that critically examined such focus related topics as different types of focus, the relation between focus and WH, mood, modality markers and functional heads, and the structure of the left periphery of the Sinhala clause. The theoretical assumptions were adopted from Rizzi (1997, 1999), Cinque (1999), and Chomsky (1995) though references were made to GB and other approaches occasionally.

In order to highlight the significant empirical and theoretical implications that have surfaced in this study and also to explore its potential for further research, this chapter is organized in the following manner.

A summary of the major topics discussed in all five chapters is presented in section 1. This is followed by, in section 2, the findings and general remarks that emerge from the topics investigated in the study. Section 3 discusses the potential for further research.

6.1 Summary

A brief introduction to the focus phenomena of natural language was given in chapter one. This was motivated not only by the requirement to show that focus is one of the salient features of information packaging in natural language, but also to emphasize the vast amount and advancement of cross linguistic studies on focus that have taken place over the years. This was followed by a discussion of the focus phenomena of Sinhala in which it was examined the relation

between morphological focus and E-marking of the verb in the context of a constituent or a proposition being focused.

This discussion of Sinhala focus was further continued in chapter 2 with an investigation of the previous work on this topic. It was argued that the particular syntactic structure proposed by Kariyakarawana (1998) as a cleft in Sinhala did not warrant such analysis as a cleft, which had been rejected by Henadeerage (2002) too, and had not been proposed as a cleft by Gair (1970, 1983). Further, it was pointed out that the WH/Focus analysis of Hagstrom (1998, 1999, and 2001) was more theoretically appealing. The chapter also highlighted, in the form of a research agenda, the need to investigate the different particles of Sinhala that had been subsumed under focus in the previous studies. It was proposed that the proposals of Rizzi (1997, 1999), and Cinque (1999) for an articulated clausal architecture were directly applicable to Sinhala.

Accordingly, a close examination of the proposals by Rizzi and Cinque for the left periphery of the clause with finer distinctions was undertaken in chapter 3. It was pointed out in the discussion that the so-called focus particles of Sinhala warranted a strong possibility for analysis as topic, focus, mood and modality markers and the proposals of Rizzi and Cinque provided the locus for such a fine grained analysis.

Chapter 4 begins the reanalysis of the Sinhala facts by first examining the case of Sinhala questions. The chapter argued that Sinhala WH always instantiated covert movement whereas overt movement was limited to the cases involving D-linked WH and partial WH movement. It was also shown that the position relevant for yes/no interpretations in Sinhala was Rizzi's INT projection.

Chapter 5 continues with the reanalysis of the class of the so-called focus marker, showing them to be more correctly analyzed as functional heads in an enriched clausal architecture along the lines of Cinque (1999). The chapter also demonstrates that the topic and focus projections also play a discernable role in the left periphery.

6.2 General Remarks

A first observation that emerges out of the present study is the interaction between different modules of the grammar. Though focus is generally considered to be a discourse phenomenon, and in fact had been considered peripheral to the mainstream syntax till recent times, the case of Sinhala proves the interaction of focus with such modules as verb morphology, phrase structure, WH questions, mood and modality markers, and the structure of the clause, particularly, of the left periphery. This in turn had further interaction with other sub modules as movement, binding, subjacency, and island violations. The interplay of these phenomena establish clearly, not only the fact that Sinhala is rich in its information packaging with different types of focus as prosodic, morphological and syntactic, but also shows morphological and syntactic constraints upon the focus structures and semantic/pragmatic interfaces. A clear case for this argument is the E-morphology that surfaces on the verb when a constituent is morphologically focused with the focus marker "tamai" or in syntactic focus in the post verbal position. The same observation can be made regarding the WH questions and in the constructions involving any other mood and modality particle.

A clear case of the interaction between E-morphology and semantic/pragmatic interface is (apart from determining speech act mood) the constraints E suffix imposes on De-re, De-dicto distinction. Accordingly, an E-marked matrix verb with an embedded clause with a focused constituent followed by the E-marked embedded verb conveys De-dicto reading as shown in the following example.

1) a. Gune [Janadhipati boruwak tamai kiuwe] kiyala hituwa (De Re)

Gune(Nom)[president Nom lie Foc said E]Comp think Past

Gune thought that it was a lie that the president told.

b. Gune [Janadhipati boruwak tamai kiuwe kiyala] hituwe (De Dicto)

Gune(Nom)[president Nom lie Foc said- EComp] think Past-E

It was a lie that Gune thought that the president told.

The relation between constituent/propositional distinction and E-morphology that was observed in morphological focus, mood/modality and, INT can be expressed in a specific generalization for Sinhala.

“If a constituent is morphologically focused (with tamai) or focused for mood evidential, evaluative, epistemic, conditional, and INT (da), E-marking on the verb is obligatory”.

Another notable aspect of the relationship between E- morphology on the verb and focus, mood, modality is the crucial prediction it allows that the verb does not agree with any other constituent in the sentence when one of the above particles occurs within the clause. This cannot be tested as colloquial Sinhala does not show person, number, and gender agreement. However, one option

that remains is to test the E-morphology on scrambled and extraposed clauses of Sinhala, as shown below.

- 2) a. Ram Lalith va matak kara
Ram Lalith Acc remember did
Ram remembered Lalith
- b. Lalith va Ram ti matak kara
Lalith Acc Ram remember did
Ram remembered Lalith
- c. Ram ti matak kara Lalith va
Ram remember did Lalith Acc
Ram remembered Lalith

As E-morphology does not appear on the verb in scrambling and extraposition, the prediction that E-does not agree with any constituent other than the focused is inevitable.

The asymmetry between multiple foci and multiple WH is another issue that surfaced in the discussion. Whereas matrix WH questions and Yes/No questions allow multiple WH/Q, only one constituent can be focused at a time.

- 3) a. Kauda monavada kare?
Who what did-E?
Who did what?

b. Ram da, Lalith da, kareka seeduwe?

Ram Q, Lalith Q, car washed-E

Is it Ram or is it Lalith who washed the car?

c. *Ram tamai kareka tamai seeduwe

Ram Foc car Foc washed-E

It is Ram it is the car that (was) washed

While multiple WH is an ordinary syntactic phenomenon of Sinhala as it is with many other SOV languages, it is necessary to explain why multiple foci are ruled out. A plausible solution is to attribute it to E-morphology of the verb and stipulate that two focused constituents cannot share a single E. That is, I propose a bi-clausal structure with two separate verbs for such structures. That this is a plausible generalization is shown in the following correct sentence.

d. Ram **tamai** kaareka seeduwe, Lalith **tamai** polish kare

Ram(Nom) Foc the car washed-E, lalith (Nom) Foc polish did-E

It is Ram who washed the car, it is Lalith who polished (the car)

As observed in the analysis, Sinhala topic, focus, mood and modality markers exhibit a rigid hierarchy not only with respect to the major clause building elements such as moods, modals, tenses, (and aspects), but also are rigidly, hierarchically ordered among themselves. Cinque proposes a universal order for all languages irrespective of whether such functional heads are morphologically realized in a language or not. He resolves this issue by proposing a marked and a default value for each head. As observed in the analysis, Sinhala data further prove that his proposal is correct.

However, one issue that has to be resolved is the problem of different structural positions the topic, focus, mood, and modality heads occupy in constituent and propositional type of scope. I have proposed that this is a spell out option and therefore does not alter the basic conclusions. This conclusion is also predicted in the analysis of such particles as in the case of constituent focus, the DP concerned was considered a Goal and the features attributed to it [+F, + Eval, +Evid etc] were pronounced whereas in the case of propositional focus it was considered that such propositions did not enter into an Agree relation.

6.3 Further Research

The study on the Cleft Construction of Sinhala leaves a number of questions unanswered besides identifying certain areas that need more investigation. This observation is valid for all the major topics discussed in the study. One issue that needs further investigation is the relation between verb morphology and focus. One has to investigate all the other instantiations of E marking including the syntactic and pragmatic constraints imposed by such instantiations. For example, the relation between E-marking and NEG, the predicate negation marker "Naeha" as shown below, needs further investigation.

4) Ram kaareka seeduwe naeha

Ram(Nom) car washed-E Neg

Ram did not wash the car.

The sentence does not contain a topic/focus/mood/modality marker though the verb is E-marked. The above example is clearly different from the case of focus as in constituent scope, the focus (or mood/modality) particle follows the

constituent that needs to be focused. In the above, the direction is in the opposite. In propositional focus there is no E-marking on the verb. The E- on verb above is not an instantiation of the Speech Act Mood (non-declarative) either, as shown in the following example.

5) Lalith[Ram kareka seeduwe naeha kiyala **tamai**]kiuwe

Lalith [Ram car washed-E Neg Comp Foc] said-E

Lalith said that it was the car washing that Ram did not do.

The Speech act mood determining -E is triggered by "tamai" not by Neg.

Further, the extensive dependency relation between WH, Focus, Mood and Modality of Sinhala and E-morphology offers potential for a cross linguistic study of morphological focus in order to establish a parameter on this relationship, thus extending the language specific generalization I have proposed for Sinhala in section 2 above.

Another area that needs to be further investigated is the Q-movement in WH questions. The issues that can be raised in this regard are, what is the launching site of Q in the case of multiple WH questions, what is its destination, and does the Antisuperiority Generalization proposed by Hagstrom (1998) hold?

Antisuperiority Generalization:

The base position of Q is as low in the tree as possible;

Q starts close to the lowest WH-word.

(Hagstrom (1998: 72)

One curious fact about Topic/Focus particles in Sinhala that needs further investigation is whether they belong to the left periphery as Rizzi has proposed or are they mood/modality markers that belong to Cinque hierarchy. I have discussed them as belonging to the left periphery of Rizzi in the preceding chapters. However, evidence from their distribution makes a correct prediction difficult at this stage. Two topic or focus particles cannot simultaneously occur, one in the matrix and the other in the embedded clause. The topic/focus particle should be either in the matrix or in the embedded though in whatever position, the particle is speaker oriented. The following examples illustrate the distribution of them.

6 a) Ram tamai kaareka seeduwe

Ram Foc the car washed-E

It is Ram who washed the car.

b. Ram nang vaede ivara kara

Ram Top work finish did

As far as Ram is concerned, he finished the work

c. Lalith [Ram tamai kaareka seeduwe kiyala] kiuwa

Lalith [Ram Foc the car washed-E Comp] said-E

Lalith said that it was Ram who washed the car.

d. Lalith [Ram nang vaede ivara kara kiyala] kiuwa

Lalith [Ram Top work finish did Comp] said

Lalith said that as far as Ram is concerned, he finished the work

- e. *Lalith **tamai** [Ram **tamai** kaareka seeduwe kiyala] kiuwa/kiuwe
 Lalith Foc [Ram Foc the car washed-E Comp] said-E
 It was Lalith who said that it was Ram who washed the car.
- f. ?Lalith **tamai** kiuwe[Ram **tamai** kaareka seeduwe kiyala]
 Lalith Foc [Ram Foc the car washed-E Comp] said-E
 It was Lalith who said that it was Ram who washed the car.
- g. *?Lalith **nang** [Ram **nang** vaede ivara kara kiyala] kiuwa
 Lalith Top[Ram Top work finish did Comp] said
 'As far as Lalith is concerned Lalith said that as far as Ram is concerned,
 he finished the work'

The topic/focus particle can occur either in the matrix or in the embedded, not in both. Does this show that Rizzi's left periphery heads behave like Cinque's mood/modal particles? In the case of Sinhala focus, there is a negative focus particle also (*nemei*) indicating inflection that provides further evidence for their compatibility with Cinque's analysis.

The interaction between clausal functional heads and adverbs is another potential area of further research. The present study proposed a head order for Sinhala clause structure and tested the hierarchical arrangement of some of them in the left periphery. One has to extend the proposal further in order to find out the corresponding adverbs for the spec positions of those functional heads and test both against Cinque's universal spec-head order in order to determine the validity of Cinque's cross linguistic generalizations.

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