

Complementizer Distribution in Sinhala

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Abstract:

The extensive amount of empirical studies and consequent theorizing associated with the complementizer show the prominence attached to this functional category over the last few decades. Its evolution from an underdetermined status to a 'core functional category' is evident in its syntactic anchoring as a Phase in the current Minimalist approaches. Concurrently with these developments, there have been Cartographic approaches that have attempted to project the complementizer in a different perspective. However, both these approaches, the Minimalist and the Cartographic, have maintained their distinctiveness thus showing less potential for convergence. In this paper I attempt to incorporate Rizzi's (1997) Left Periphery analysis into the Generative framework with evidence from complementizer distribution in Sinhala.

Key Words: complementizer, force, fin, factivity

Introduction

The existence of two major lines of research pertaining to the complementizer in natural language, the minimality centered Minimalist/Generative approach and the universality centered cross linguistic Cartographic approach pose a theoretical challenge that can only be met by incorporating the richness of descriptive power inherent to cartography into the minimalist framework. Minimalism incorporates fewer functional heads: Cartography, an array of bfunctional heads. In this paper, I attempt to do so by putting forward the thesis that the structure of the Universal Grammar (UG) complementizer domain requires the use of both the Cartographic and Minimalist approaches. In particular, I will show that Rizzi's (1997) cartographic proposal offers a rich theoretical framework in this regard. I set out to do it with evidence from Sinhala, an Indo-Aryan language spoken in Sri Lanka.

The paper is structured in the following manner. In Section 2, I introduce the complementizers in Sinhala and the basic empirical facts. Section 3 examines the Category (C) -selectional facts about the complementizers: in particular, selection and finiteness as well as selection and discourse related phenomena. Section 4 discusses the insights derived from the distributional facts regarding the complementizers. Section 5 is dedicated to the conclusion.

Complementizers in Sinhala

kiyala

A discussion of the Complementizer (C) domain essentially entails reference to the functional heads operating above Tense Phrase (TP) (or Inflectional Phrase- IP) with particular reference to their structural position and distribution in relation to clausal architecture. In minimalist terms, this refers to the C head and its edge. Sinhala has four categories which mainly function as complementizers/quotatives with a differential distribution. They are, *kiyala*, *bava*, *vaga*, and *viththiya*. Of these complementizers, *kiyala* is the quotative that has the widest distribution both in terms of frequency in discourse as well as category selectional restrictions with respect to the verb form selected. Therefore, only the complementizer *kiyala* has received the most prominent attention in literature.

Bava is more restricted to literary Sinhala though its occurrence in speech too cannot be ruled out, at least with some predicates. Though *vaga* and *viththiya* are in complementary distribution with *bava* in speech, both these have not received an analysis as complementizers. All the above complementizers occur clause finally as it is typical in many Indo Aryan languages.

The following examples show their distribution. Example (1) has the *kiyala* complementizer with a past tense verb in the embedded sentence.

1. Nimal - kiuwa - [Mary - gedara - aava - **kiyala**]
 N(NOM) - said - [M(NOM) - home - came - COMP]
 ‘Nimal said that Mary came home’

Example (2) shows the *bava* complementizer. This sentence differs from the above (1) in the embedded verb form. Whereas *kiyala* can occur with a past tense verb, *bava* cannot. It can occur with only the participle/adjectival verb forms, as shown in the example.

2. Nimal - kiuwa - [Mary - gedara - aapu - **bava**]
 N(NOM) - said - [M(NOM) - home - come(PTCP) - COMP]
 ‘Nimal said that Mary came home’

Example (3) differs from (2) only with respect to the complementizer. These three complementizers (*bava*, *vaga*, *viththiya*) occur with a participle/adjectival verb form and show a complementary distribution. The examples with *vaga* and *viththiya* have a very colloquial use when compared to *bava* example.

3. Nimal - kiuwa - [Mary- gedara- aapu - **vaga/viththiya**]
 N(NOM) - said - [M(NOM) - home - come(PTCP) - COMP]
 ‘Nimal said that Mary came home’

Though listed as a complementizer with the others, *kiyala* is both morpho-syntactically and semantically different from the other three and also shares a number of similarities with most of the Indo Aryan complementizers/quotative

markers. The most frequent use of *kiyala* is as a quotative marker basically introducing the content of speech or thought. It also has a number of complementing uses expressing various semantic relations like cause, condition, purpose, participle use, etc as illustrated below.

In example (4), *kiyala* is semantically identical to *because* and hence the whole embedded clause shows a cause/reason.

4. Nimal - roti - k ava - **kiyala** -bath - k ave¹ -naeha
 Nimal(NOM) - roti - ate - COMP - rice -eat-E -Neg
 ‘Because Nimal ate roti, he did not eat rice’

Example (5) indicates the purposive use of *kiyala*.

5. Nimal - gamee - enava - **kiyala** - amma - ke:k - h eduva
 Nimal(NOM) - village (LOC) - come(PRS) - COMP - mother - cake - mad‘As
 Nimal was coming home, mother made a cake.’

Example (6) shows the participle use of the verb *kiyanava* (say). Further it indicates that Sinhala complementizer *kiyala* has derived from and resembles the verb of speech *kiyanava*, ‘say’ which is still in use and which has a participle use too, as shown in the example.

6. Ehema - **kiyala** - eya - athurudan - unaa
 So - said (PTCP) - he/she - vanish – did
 ‘Having said so, he/she vanished’

Another notable function of *kiyala* is as anaphoric reference as shown in

7. Issara - kaale -Nimal kiyala/*bava - kenek - ape - gamee – hitiya
 Past -time -N(NOM) - kiyala - person - our - village(LOC) - was‘In the
 past there was a person called Nimal in our village’

¹ Verb in the present or past form takes –e suffix in the case of Wh, negation, focus, or when a constituent is marked for mood/modality. I have glossed it as verb-E.

The *kiyala* complementizer has a wider distribution as it occurs with a number of verb forms such as emphatic (focus), past, perfect participle, volitive (commissive), future/involitive, unaccusative, infinitive, and contemporaneous form etc. It can also occur with modals. This C-V relation is not unexpected as in English too the complementizers *that, if* etc show selectional restrictions with the embedded verb. Hence, the complement clause of *kiyala* has a full structure of a main clause with subject, tense and a full range of VP possibilities (aspect, participle, modals etc). This shows that *kiyala* should occupy a higher position in the clause structure.

Gair (1970), lists *kiyala* as the quotation marker in Sinhala, and, according to him, semantically it marks a preceding form as a thought, supposition, quotation, hypostasis, or attributed name. Gair does not attempt to identify its syntactic position in the clausal architecture as his analysis is purely a semantic and a descriptive one. However, he makes no reference to *bava, vaga, and viththiya*, either as quote markers or as adpositions, or adverbials etc.

Kariyakarawana (1998), in his study of Wh questions and focus, lists *kiyala* and *bava* as complementizers and identifies their structural position as the highest position in the left periphery above the Focus head. However, he also lists a number of other particles such as *nang* (if), *lu* (they say), *venna aethi* (may/might be) as sentential complementizers that have a similar distribution as *kiyala/bava*. Kariyakarawana too does not refer to *vaga* and *viththiya* as complementizers in his study. He also does not make a distinction between *kiyala* and *bava*. However, the preoccupation with complementizer is only peripheral to his study as his major focus is Wh and focus phenomena of Sinhala.

Similarly, Henadeerage (2002), in his study of Sinhala syntax, does not offer a comprehensive discussion of complementizers in Sinhala. He identifies both *kiyala* and *bava* as complementizers that occupy a clause final position. He does not differentiate between *kiyala* and *bava* and both are shown to have a similar distribution. There is no reference in his work to *vaga* and *viththiya* as quote markers/complementizers.

Bava, Vaga, Viththiya

Bava, vaga, and viththiya have a relatively restricted distribution as they occur only with adjectival/participial forms of the embedded predicate. All three forms are in complementary distribution. Examples (8-10) illustrate the distribution of each. Example (8) has the *bava* complementizer and the embedded clause indicates very formal use.

8. Nimal - dænum-dunna - [eyaa - gedara - yana - **bava**]
 N(NOM) - inform-gave - [he - home - go(PTCP) - COMP]
 ‘Nimal informed that he was going home’

Example (9) is almost identical to the above (8) except for the matrix predicate and the complementizer used. However, *vaga* and *viththiya* have a very colloquial use and are even dialectal. The colloquial matrix predicate *said* which is different from *informed* too indicates this.

9. Nimal - kiuwa - [eyaa - gedara - yana - **vaga/viththiya**]
 N(NOM) - said - [he - home - go(PTCP) - COMP]
 ‘Nimal said that he was going home’

Example (10) indicates that a finite inflection usage of the embedded predicate is ungrammatical with *bava, vaga, and viththiya* complementizers.

10. Nimal - dænum-dunna/kiuwa - [eyaa - gedara - ***yanava** -
bava/vaga/viththiya]
 N(NOM) - inform-gave/said - [he - home - *go(PRS) - COMP]
 ‘Nimal informed/said that he was going home’

Bava, vaga, and viththiya seem to pattern together in terms of C-selection, inflection and distribution, and therefore, seem to form a separate class. Even within this sub class, *bava* is unique as it is more restricted to literal Sinhala and even in speech to very formal utterances selecting formal predicates, as highlighted in the above examples. However, when compared to *kiyala*, they show further

distributional differences. For example, *bava/vaga/viththiya* cannot occur with the question marking particle (Q- particle) *-da*, as illustrated in the following examples.

11. Nimal - *æhuwa* [kauda - aave - kiyala]?
 N(NOM) - asked - [who- Q - came - E - COMP]
 ‘Nimal asked who came’
12. *Nimal - *æhuwa* - [kauda - aapu - bava/vaga/viththiya]?
 N(NOM) - asked - [who-Q – come(PTCP) COMP]
 ‘Nimal asked who came’

As such it is evident that the four complementizers in Sinhala have finer selectional requirements though they seem to occupy the same structural position.

The distributional differences and selectional restrictions that the above complementizers are subject to can be summarized in the following table: Over the next sections, I investigate each of these properties in further detail.

Table 1: Complementizer Distribution

Property	<i>Kiyala</i>	<i>Bava</i>	<i>Vaga</i>	<i>Viththiya</i>
Structural position: clause final	✓	✓	✓	✓
C-selects many forms of the embedded verb	✓	x	x	x
has a number of complementing uses expressing various semantic relations like cause, condition, purpose, participle use	✓	x	x	x
Has anaphoric reference to the preceding discourse	✓	x	x	x
Can occur with Wh+Q (-da) in the embedded clause	✓	x	x	x

Selection of Sinhala Complementizers

Head-Head Selection:

One notable property of the Sinhala complementizers is that their selection indicates a Head-Head relation. The higher predicate determines whether it is *kiyala* or *bava/vaga/viththiya* heads the complement clause. In discussing the selectional restrictions between matrix verbs and embedded clauses, Chomsky (1981) observes that matrix verbs differ with regard to complements they take: declarative or interrogative, finite or infinitival. The selection of the clausal complement is determined by the lexical property of the matrix predicate. For example, he argues that the verb *prefer* as an inherent lexical property selects a clausal complement with an Inflection (Infl) that is specified for [+/- Tense]. This determines whether the clause is finite or infinitive. This also reflects the relation between Comp and Infl: *that-tense, for- to* etc.

Selection and Finiteness

The selection of a particular complement is largely determined by the inherent lexical properties of the selecting predicate. Thus, factive-non factive, finite-non finite, declarative-interrogative nature of the complement clause are some of the distinctions that can be attributed to lexical properties of the predicate. In other words, this indicates the relation between a predicate, Infl, and a complementizer. For example, in English, the predicate *think* selects a finite clause headed by the ‘*that*’ complementizer, and the predicate *expect* selects a non-finite clause headed by ‘*for*’. In Sinhala, as we will see in the following table, all the four complementizers *kiyala/bava/vaga/viththiya* are specified for [+Finite]. Nevertheless, there are further selectional restrictions among them. Some predicates (regret, suspect etc) select only *kiyala* complementizer in their finite clausal complement excluding *bava* and the other complementizers. Further, the predicates that select an infinitive complement (persuade, threaten etc) also may optionally select the *kiyala* complementizer. But this optionality is not extended to the other complementizers. Therefore, the selection pattern indicates that *kiyala* complementizer is selected by a majority of the predicates, obligatorily in the finite clauses and optionally in the infinitive clauses. The predicates that select a participle clause (see, hear, smell, etc) and those that select a subjunctive (like) do

not take a complementizer even optionally. The following table illustrates the C-selectional requirements between the higher predicate and the complementizer as well as selection and finiteness requirement.

Table 2: C-selection

Predicate info	comp	Example
<i>regret, persuade fear, threaten, order, command, think</i>	<i>kiyala</i>	Nimal kanagaatu-unaa [Ravi vibhage asamath-unaa kiyala] Nimal regret -was [Ravi exam fail-was COMP 'Nimal was sad that Ravi failed the exam' Nimal kanagaatu-unaa [Ravi vibhage asamath-una Nimal regret- was [Ravi exam fail-was(PTCP) *bava/vaga/viththiya] *Comp 'Nimal was sad that Ravi failed the exam'
Predicates that select only <i>bava/vaga/viththiya</i> NO SUCH PREDICATES		
<i>show, recognize, discover, find, forget, remember, know, understand, believe, say/tell, report, promise, suspect</i>	<i>kiyala, bava, vaga, viththiya</i>	Nimal soyagatta [Ravi vibhage asamath-unaa kiyala] Nimal found out [Ravi exam fail-was COMP] 'Nimal found out that Ravi failed the exam' Nimal soyagatta [Ravi vibhage asamath-una Nimal found out [Ravi exam fail-was - (PTCP) bava/vaga/viththiya] COMP] 'Nimal found out that Ravi failed the exam'
Predicates that do not C-select either <i>kiyala</i> or <i>bava/vaga/viththiya</i> : <i>see, hear, notice, smell like, love, try, prefer, describe</i>	none	Mama dækka [Nimal enava] I saw [Nimal come (PRS)] 'I saw Nimal coming' *Mama dækka [Nimal enava *kiyala] I saw [Nimal come (PRS) *COMP 'I saw that Nimal was coming' *Mama dækka [Nimal ena *bava/vaga/viththiya I saw [Nimal come(PTCP) COMP] 'I saw that Nimal was coming'

The C- domain in Sinhala Complementizer

This section examines the C-selection relations between focus/topic and complementizer selection in the embedded clause. The examples highlight that the embedded periphery of the Sinhala clause is rather impoverished with respect to topic/focus. Nevertheless, even the predicates that select embedded topic/focus exclusively select the complementizer *kiyala*.

- Matrix predicates that allow either embedded topic or focus with *kiyala* complementizer:

Regret, persuade, fear, threaten, order, command, show, recognize, discover, find, think, forget, remember, know, understand, believe, say/tell, report, promise, suspect

- (13). Nimal -kanagaatu-unaa - [Ravi - **tamai** - vibhage - asamath-une - kiyala]
 N(NOM) - regret-was - [R(NOM) - **Foc** - exam - fail-wasE - COMP]
 ‘Nimal /was sad that it was Ravi who failed the exam’

- (14). Nimal -kanagaatu-unaa - [Ravi – **nang** - vibhage - asamath-unaa - kiyala]
 N(NOM) - regret-was - [R(NOM) – **TOP** – exam - fail-was - COMP]
 ‘Nimal was sad that as for Ravi, he failed the exam’

- Predicates that allow embedded Top/Foc with *bava/vaga/viththiya*:
 No such predicates²
- Predicates that allow both topic and focus simultaneously with *kiyala* complementizer: (in the order: Top > Foc)

Threaten, know, understand, believe, say/tell, report, remember, forget

² Predicates 'know', 'got to know' 'understood' etc allow an embedded constituent marked for topic mostly when the matrix subject is 1st person, and also when the embedded predicate is stative. Native speaker judgment too varies in this regard (I leave this aside here.)

(15) Nimal - visvaasa karaa - [Mary-ta - **nang** - Ravi - **tamai** - gælapenne - kiyala]

N(NOM) - believe-did - [M-DAT - **TOP** - Ravi(NOM) - **FOC** - suit-E - COMP
 ‘Nimal believed that as for Mary, it was Nimal who suited her’ (as a partner)

- Predicates that select both matrix topic/focus and embedded topic/focus:
 No such predicates

So far we have examined the C-selection relation with respect to different predicates and complementizer type, the complement type as well as the embedded topic/focus. The complementizer selection revealed a head-head relation. The complement relation revealed the selection of finite-non finite complements and the topic/focus relation reveals the exclusivity of the *kiyala* complementizer in the embedded periphery. The following section discusses the insights derived from these distributional facts.

What the distributional facts reveal about the complementizers

Kiyala

The information provided in table 2 reveals the status of *kiyala* complementizer in terms of being selected by the higher predicate, occurrence with embedded topic/focus, and complement selection. As noted above, *kiyala* can be selected by any predicate. But *bava/vaga/viththiya* are subject to selectional restrictions (*persuade, threaten, order, command* etc. do not select *bava/vaga/viththiya*). The complement selection shows that *kiyala* occurs obligatorily with finite complements and optionally with infinitive complements. However, *kiyala* complementizer is subject to a restriction with respect to the verb form: that is, it cannot occur with the participle/adjectival verb form. On the other hand, its occurrence with a fully inflected verb phrase (VP) for tense, aspect, and modality indicate properties of finiteness. These distributional properties correspond with the fact that *kiyala* has a high frequency rate of occurrence in

speech. The topic/focus diagnostics highlight that *kiyala* is the only complementizer that can occur with embedded topic/focus. This suggests that *kiyala* complement is a full complementizer phrase (CP): In current Minimalist terms, a Phase. Another crucial factor regarding *kiyala* is the interpretive import. A complement clause with *kiyala* shows that the speaker is not committed to the truth of the embedded proposition. The speaker is merely reporting the event for whose truth he/she is not ready to undertake any commitment. Example (16) illustrates this:

- (16) Nimal - kiuwa - [Ravi- ka:reka - seeduwa - kiyala]
 N(NOM) – said -[Ravi(NOM) - car - washed - COMP]
 ‘Nimal said that Ravi washed the car.’

The real interpretive content of this is that it is exactly not certain whether Ravi washed the car: Nimal reports so and may be Ravi actually did not wash the car. This establishes the fact that *kiyala* is the true quotative complementizer in Sinhala. The distributional range suggests its dominant position in speech. Further, a verb of speech to become a quote marker in a language is a common phenomenon, as the evidence from other languages show (Meenakshi, K (1986), (Bayer, J (1998). I propose that *kiyala* occupies Rizzi’s Force head. It functions as a subordinator with an interpretable semantic content of reporting. It makes the proposition coming under its scope a report from whose truth the speaker wishes to distance himself/herself. *Kiyala* carries the illocutionary force of the embedded proposition. However, I make a distinction between illocutionary force and clause type along the lines proposed by Portner (2009). According to his analysis, illocutionary force is the type of communicative act which the speaker intends on a particular occasion: This is a pragmatic phenomenon having to do with the speaker’s communicative intentions. Clause types, on the other hand include categories of declarative, interrogative and imperative, as well as other minor types. Clause typing is a root phenomenon and whether it is achieved through matrix verb or matrix C is subject to cross linguistic variation. In Sinhala, clause typing or speech act mood (in Cinque’s (1999) terms) is a property of the matrix

verbal inflection. It types the clause into basically three moods as declarative, interrogative, and imperative. The head involved in this operation is root C: or Speech Act Mood head.

The above analysis of *kiyala* as the Sinhala quotative occupying the Force position of Rizzi has a number of advantages. First, it does not involve projection of new structure but makes use of existing structure of the left periphery. Second, this analysis can also capture Sinhala Topic/Foc phenomena in the embedded periphery. We have noticed in the diagnostics for Sinhala that Top/Foc can occur with *kiyala* though they are ruled out with the *bava* complementizer. Therefore, in the case of an embedded constituent marked for Top/Foc, the relevant constituent moves to the Spec Top/Foc below the matrix Force position. The [Spec Foc] is also a potential Wh position as Wh and Focus do not co-occur in Sinhala as proposed by Rizzi for Italian. Another benefit of the above analysis is that it captures the difference between Speech act mood and other modalities. In the case of Sinhala, this means that the root C determines the speech act mood whereas the embedded Force indicates the quotative/epistemic force.

bava/vaga/viththiya

Now the question arises about the other similar functional categories of Sinhala, namely, *bava/vaga/viththiya* which I have shown to be in complementary distribution with *kiyala*. Since *bava/vaga* and *viththiya* are also in complementary distribution with each other, in this section I intend to discuss only the *bava* complementizer. Another reason for this particular selection is that *vaga* and *viththiya* are quite colloquial/dialectal and hence occur marginally in speech. As for the *bava* complementizer, I will examine, in particular, the properties of *bava* and what structural position it occupies.

The above diagnostics revealed that *bava* has selectional restrictions both in the root and the embedded clause. That is, it has a restricted distribution both in terms of the embedded verb form and the matrix predicate type with which it can occur. The embedded verb form is restricted to the participial/adjectival while

certain matrix predicates do not select *bava* (threaten, order, command, persuade etc). However, this restricted distribution does not make the *bava* complementizer a non-finite clausal head. Rather, *bava* indicates finiteness as syntactically as *kiyala*, and interpretively, even stronger than *kiyala*. The predicates that occur with *bava* (*vaga*, *viththiya*) seem to select their own phonological subjects and case mark them, just as the matrix predicates do (17).

- (17) Mata - [Nimal - gaha - kapapu - bava] - amataka - unaa
 I-DAT - [Nimal - tree - cut(ADJ PTCP) - COMP] - forget - was
 ‘I forgot that Nimal has cut the tree’

With the above observation, I conclude that the complementizers *bava/vaga/viththiya* are [+Finite]. Hence, their feature composition is [+Participial], [+Finite].

One crucial observation regarding *bava* is associated with factivity. The Sinhala predicates such as ‘fear’, regret, which do not select *bava* are of epistemic/deontic nature. *Bava* with ‘think’ is also not preferred by native speakers of Sinhala once again showing its distance from epistemic modality. The most crucial evidence for the factivity of *bava* is interpretive difference. In the discussion of *kiyala*, we observed that *kiyala* is associated with quotative/epistemic illocutionary force. *Bava* on the other hand is the opposite of it. That is, the speaker commits himself/herself to the truth of the embedded proposition in using *bava* complementizer.

Extraction facts also support the factivity phenomenon. Though it cannot be conclusively determined whether factive complements are strong islands for extraction, still native speaker preference indicate so. The following examples illustrate this.

- (18) Kauda - oyaa-ta - hamuunaa - kiyala – mataka?
 Who - you-DAT - met - COMP – remember
 ‘Who do you remember that you met?’

- (19) ?Kauda - oyaa-ta - hamuuna - bava - mataka?
 Who - you-DAT - meet(PTCP)- COMP – remember
 ‘Who do you remember that you met?’

The extraction from the *bava* complement is ungrammatical with a predicate such as ‘regret’,

- (20) Kauda - oyaa - hamuunaa - kiyala - kanagaatu-wenne?
 Who - you(NOM) - met - COMP - regret-be-E
 ‘Who do you regret that you met?’
- (21) *Kauda- oyaa - hamuuna - bava - kanagaatu-wenne?
 Who - you(NOM) - meet(PTCP) - COMP - regret-be-E
 ‘Who do you regret that you met?’

Adjunct extraction from a *kiyala* clause is fine whereas the same from a *bava* clause is odd, showing that *bava* complements are weak islands (however, native speaker judgments vary in this regard).

- (22). Kiiyata- vitara-da - oyaa-ta - Mary - hamuunaa – kiyala - mataka?
 When-about-Q - you-DAT -Mary(ACC) - met – COMP - remember
 ‘Around what time did you meet Mary that you remember?’
- (23). ??Kiiyata- vitara-da - oyaa-ta - Mary- hamuuna - bava - mataka?
 When-about-Q - you-DAT - Mary(ACC) - meet(PTCP) - COMP - remember
 ‘Around what time did you meet Mary that you remember?’

The above diagnostics show the properties of *bava* complementizer in terms of factive information it carries, higher predicate type that selects *bava*, embedded verb form, and co-occurrence with topic/focus. Most crucially, the topic/focus asymmetry and factivity highlight that *bava* should occupy a different structural position from *kiyala*. I propose that *bava* occupies the Fin(ite) position of Rizzi’s left periphery projection. This immediately captures a number of properties of *bava* and accounts for its unique syntactic behavior. To make things clear, I briefly elaborate Rizzi’s proposal in the following section.

Rizzi (1997) proposes that C head encodes two types of information: Clause type and information related to finiteness, which he proposes are represented by two distinct heads, Force and Finiteness. Force head is more peripheral and types the clause as imperative, declarative etc. The Fin head is more central and determines the finiteness properties of the embedded clause (IP). According to Rizzi, complementizers lexicalize both these categories and he provides evidence from Italian to show the distinctiveness of each head. Force and Finiteness are fused in one head but in the case of a topicalization, fronted focus or Wh, the C-head splits. In such an instance, the Topic and Focus projections lie between Force and Finiteness, as illustrated below.

(24).Force..... (Topic)..... (Focus).....Finite IP

Sinhala clause with the *bava* complementizer displays the properties of finiteness, and more importantly, factivity. That these properties are not unique to Sinhala is evident if we look at some cross linguistic evidence.

Rizzi (1997) observes that in addition to finiteness, which is the core IP related characteristic that the C-system expresses, there can be additional IP information too that the C-system encodes. Languages can vary in this regard. Some such additional information that the C-system encodes are mood distinctions (Polish), subject agreement (different Germanic varieties), tense distinctions (Irish) etc (Rizzi: 1997, 284). In Sinhala, the *bava* complementizer as the Fin head encodes factivity too in addition to some of these other properties. Further, in Rizzi's C-domain, there aren't any Top/Foc projections below Fin. In the case of Sinhala too, embedded topic/focus with the *bava* complementizer is not allowed. This shows that Fin and the IP form a tighter unit as it is the case in Italian.³

³ However, though there are no topic/focus projections below Fin in Sinhala, the whole embedded clause can be topic marked, as illustrated in (i).

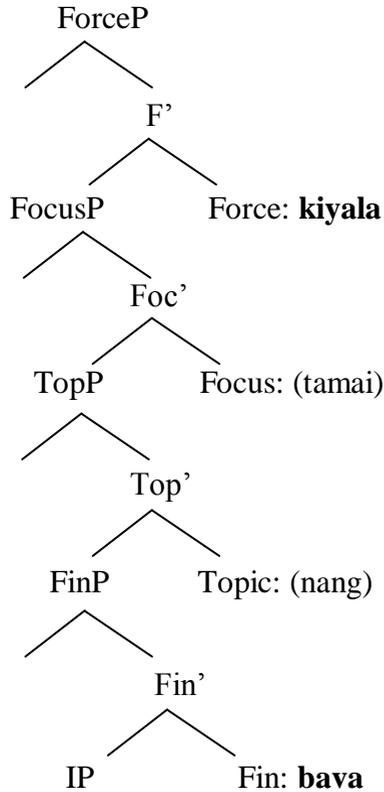
i. Nimal [Ravi ka:reka vikunapu bava **nang]** **kiuwa**
 N(NOM) [R(NOM) car sell(PTCP) COMP **TOP]** **said**

Nimal said that Ravi sold the car (Nimal did not say anything else: He told only about the car selling).

As the interpretation suggests, the embedded proposition is topic marked by the matrix topic projection. Therefore it has no impact for the Fin proposal for *bava*.

With these observations, the structural representation I propose for *kiyala* and *bava* is as in (25).

(25).



Conclusion

This paper examined the distribution of complementizers in Sinhala. I argued that in order to capture the complexity of the structure of UG complementizer domain, we need both the cartographic and Minimalist approaches. The preceding discussion of complementizer distribution supports this view. Notably, our analysis showed the necessity of incorporating Rizzi's Left periphery analysis into the Minimalist model. The major findings in this regard are that the quotative complementizer in Sinhala is *kiyala* which is associated with epistemic mood and that it occupies Rizzi's Force position. On the other hand, the *bava* complementizer determines factivity and it occupies Rizzi's Fin position. Therefore, factive complements in Sinhala are of the nature FinP. Further, *bava* complements are impoverished in terms of discourse/pragmatic information.

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