

## Syntax II – Class #16

### Case & A-movement

#### Positions where an overt NP can and cannot occur

- Subjects and objects of verbs
- (1) Wallace fed Gromit.
- Subjects of infinitival clauses
- (2) a. \* Wallace tried Wendolene to like cheese.  
b. \*Wallace hoped Wendolene to like cheese.  
c. \* There seemed Knuckles to be up to no good.
- Complements of nouns, adjectives
- (3) a. \* The invader's destruction the city  
b. \*Wallace's hope Preston to not bite him  
c. \* Wallace's belief Gromit to still be sleeping  
d. \*John is proud Mary.  
e. \* Wallace is certain his brilliance.
- Objects of passives
- (4) a. \* There was hit Preston by the porridge.  
b. \*There was spotted Shawn by Gromit.
- Complements of nouns, adjectives with *of*
- (5) a. The invader's destruction of the city  
b. Wendolene's rejection of the offer
- (6) a. \* Wallace's hope Preston to not bite him  
b. \*Wallace's belief Gromit to still be sleeping
- (7) a. John is proud of Mary.  
b. Wallace is certain of his brilliance.
- Infinitival subjects with *for*
- (8) a. ??Wallace tried for Wendolene to like cheese.  
b. Wallace hoped for Wendolene to like cheese.  
c. \* There seemed for Knuckles to be up to no good.

- Infinitival subjects under ECM verbs

- (9) a. Gromit believes Wallace to be a fine inventor.  
 b. Wallace wants Wendolene to appreciate cheese.

- Infinitival subjects with agreement (Portuguese)
- NP-possessor

- (10) a. The barbarians' destruction of Rome ended the empire.  
 b. John's appearance improved the mood of the party.  
 c. \* John's appearance to be sad concerned Sue.

- (11) Case Assigners

- |    |              |   |
|----|--------------|---|
| a. | Finite Infl  | Nominative                              |
| b. | Verbs        | Accusative, [Dative, Instrumental etc.] |
| c. | Prepositions | Dative, Accusative, Instrumental etc.   |
| d. | Nouns        | Genitive                                |

Non-case-assigning heads

- e. nouns (w.r.t. complements), adjectives, passive participles, non-finite Infl

- (12) a. *Case Filter*  
 A chain containing an overt NP must be case-marked
- b. *Case-Marking*  
 Head X case-marks NP Y iff  
 (i) X is a case-assigner  
 (ii) X governs Y
- c. *Government* (provisional)  
 X governs Y iff  
 (i) X m-commands Y  
 (ii) No barriers intervene between X and Y (i.e. no 'barrier' category dominates Y, but does not dominate X)
- d. *Barrier* (really provisional)  
 All XPs are barriers to government, except IP

- (13) *Burzio's Generalization*  
 If a verb has no external argument, it does not assign accusative case.  
 If a verb does not assign accusative case, it has no external argument

- Extended Projection Principle can be met by non-arguments, e.g. *there, it*

- (14) a. There are three hunks of cheese in the fridge.  
 b. It seems that Preston is a mechanical dog.  
 c. It is likely that Shawn is cold.

- Passivization of clause-selecting predicates: raising optional
- (15) a. The sheep believe that Wendolene is a crook.  
 b. It was believed (by the sheep) that Wendolene is a crook.  
 c. That Wendolene is a crook was sincerely believed by the sheep.
- Cyclic A-movement
- (16) a. raising followed by passive  
 Wallace<sub>i</sub> was believed t<sub>i</sub> to be likely t<sub>i</sub> to reach the moon.  
 b. passive followed by raising  
 Wallace<sub>i</sub> seems t<sub>i</sub> to have been hit t<sub>i</sub> by the porridge.

### Arguments for Unaccusativity

- semantic observation about roles (doesn't motivate syntactic treatment of unaccusativity)
  - Ne-cliticization in Italian
- (17) a. I bambini mangiano molti spaghetti.  
 b. I bambini ne<sub>i</sub> mangiano molti t<sub>i</sub>.  
 c. \*Molti t<sub>i</sub> ne<sub>i</sub> mangiano gli spaghetti.
- (18) a. Sono arrivati molti studenti.  
 b. Ne<sub>i</sub> sono arrivati molti t<sub>i</sub>.
- (19) a. Hanno telefonato molti studenti.  
 b. \*Ne<sub>i</sub> hanno telefonato molti t<sub>i</sub>.

Other verbs in this class: *venire* 'come', *andare* 'go', *tornare* 'return', *partire* 'leave', *cadere* 'fall', *entrare* 'enter'.

- Auxiliary selection in Italian, Dutch etc.

- (20) a. Gianni è già arrivato.  
 'Gianni has already arrived.'  
 b. E arrivato Gianni.  
 'Gianni has arrived.'
- (21) Gianni ha telefonato.  
 'Gianni has telephoned.'

Other verbs in this class: *venire* 'come', *andare* 'go', *tornare* 'return', *partire* 'leave', *cadere* 'fall', *entrare* 'enter'.

- There-sentences in English

- (22) a. There arrived a huge fleet of ships.  
b. There came a loud knock on the door.  
c. There emerged a consensus that Wallace was mad.  
d. There appeared on the crest of the hill a raging mob.  
e. There ensued a vicious fight.
- (23) a. \* There danced a group of students in the living room.  
b. \*There sneezed a baby.  
c. ?\*There ran six dogs down the street.

- Resultative constructions in English [examples from Levin & Hovav 1995]

- (24) a. Absently, she dipped a finger into the peanut butter and licked it clean.  
b. Woolite safely soaks all your fine washables clean.  
c. Drive your engine clean.  
d. I'm glad you didn't stay at the Club drinking yourself dottier.
- (25) a. \* Dora shouted hoarse.  
b. \*My mistress grumbled calm.  
c. \* The officers laughed helpless.
- (26) a. The river froze solid.  
b. The bottle broke open.  
c. The gate swung shut.  
d. This time the curtain rolled open on the court of the Caesars.
- (27) a. She was shaken awake by the earthquake.  
b. The floor had also been swept quite clean of debris.

- Locative Inversion

- (28) a. In the distance appeared the spires of a town which greatly resembled Oxford.  
b. From such optical tricks arise all the varieties of romantic hallucination.  
c. Out of the house came a tiny old lady and three or four enormous people.  
d. With him had arrived hordes of workmen and carpenters.
- (29) a. \* At the supermarket on Main St. shop local residents.  
b. \*In the cafes of Paris talk many artists.  
c. \* In the nursery smile half a dozen babies.

- Causative/inchoative alternations

- (30) a. The waves sank the ship.  
b. The ship sank.
- (31) a. The scream cracked the glass.  
b. The glass cracked.
- (32) a. A little old man opened the door.  
b. The door opened.