

## Syntax II – Class #5

**German: Complements follow nouns, precede verbs** (examples from Haider 1993)

- (1) a. [diese Rechte] [auf jemand anderen] übertragen  
these rights on someone else confer
- b. das Übertragen [von diesen Rechten] [auf jemand anderen]  
the conferral of these rights on someone else

### Word-Order variation beyond X-bar reordering

- German V2 vs. V-final

- (2) a. Wallace liest jeden Morgen die Zeitung.  
Wallace reads every morning the newspaper
- b. \*Wallace jeden Morgen die Zeitung liest.
- c. Wallace hat jeden Morgen die Zeitung gelesen.  
Wallace has every morning the newspaper read
- d. \*Wallace jeden Morgen die Zeitung gelesen hat.

- Finite verb appears clause-finally in embedded clauses introduced by an overt complementizer

- (3) a. \*...daß Wallace liest jeden Morgen die Zeitung.  
that
- b. ...daß Wallace jeden Morgen die Zeitung liest.
- c. \*...daß Wallace hat jeden Morgen die Zeitung gelesen.
- d. ...daß Wallace jeden Morgen die Zeitung gelesen hat.

- (4) a. Wallace liest jeden Morgen die Zeitung.  
b. Jeden Morgen liest Wallace die Zeitung.  
c. Die Zeitung liest Wallace jeden Morgen.
- d. Wallace hat jeden Morgen die Zeitung gelesen.  
e. Jeden Morgen hat Wallace die Zeitung gelesen.  
f. Die Zeitung has Wallace jeden Morgen gelesen.

- Embedded subjunctive clauses, which lack an overt complementizer, show a V2 effect

- (5) a. Wallace sagte, er habe jeden Morgen die Zeitung gelesen.  
Wallace said, he have every morning the newspaper read
- b. Wallace sagte, jeden Morgen habe er die Zeitung gelesen.
- c. Wallace sagte, die Zeitung habe er jeden Morgen gelesen.

- Basic ordering w.r.t. adverbs, negation & floated quantifiers makes French and English look complementary.

- (6) a. Wallace visite souvent Wendolene.  
Wallace visits often Wendolene
- b. \*Wallace souvent visite Wendolene.

- (7) a. Wendolene ne mange pas de fromage.  
Wendolene NE eat PAS of cheese.  
b. \*Wendolene ne pas mange de fromage.
- (8) a. Les anglais boivent tous du the.  
The english drink all of-the tea  
b. \*Les anglais tous boivent du the.
- (9) a. \* Wallace visits often Wendolene.  
b. Wallace often visits Wendolene.
- (10) a. \* Wendolene eats not cheese.  
b. Wendolene does not eat cheese.
- (11) a. \* The English drink all tea.  
b. The English all drink tea.
- English auxiliaries pattern with French main verbs w.r.t. negation, and with French infinitivals (??) w.r.t. adverbs (and floated quantifiers).
- (12) a. Wallace has often visited Wendolene.  
b. Wallace often has visited Wendolene.
- (13) a. Wendolene has not eaten any cheese.  
b.\* Wendolene not has eaten any cheese.
- (14) a. The English have all drunk tea from childhood.  
b. The English all have drunk tea from childhood.
- French infinitivals behave like English main verbs w.r.t. negation
- (15) a.\* Ne manger pas de fromage est impossible pour Wallace.  
NE to-eat PAS of cheese is impossible for Wallace  
b. Ne pas manger de fromage est impossible pour Wallace.
- French infinitivals pattern like English auxiliaries w.r.t. (certain) adverbials
- (16) a. Parler a peine l'italien apres cinq ans d'etude est une honte.  
to-speak hardly italian after five years of-study is a disgrace  
b. A peine parler l'italien apres cinq ans d'etude est une honte.

### Head Movement Constraint

“An  $X^0$  may only move into the  $Y^0$  which properly governs it.” (Travis 1984, 131)

*Informally*: head movement is strictly local, and always moves one head to the closest head.

### Germanic V2

$C^0$  may be occupied by an element which moves from  $\text{Infl}^0$ , but no element may move to  $C^0$  without passing through  $I^0$ .

e.g. in a clause with a finite auxiliary and a participial verb, the verb-second requirement must be satisfied by the auxiliary.

### Restrictions on Incorporation (Baker 1988)

Nouns related to *direct object* position may undergo incorporation.

Nouns related to *complements of prepositions* may not undergo incorporation.

### English *do*-support

- (17) a. Wallace INFL<sub>3sg,pres</sub> like cheese.  
b. Wallace likes cheese.
- (18) a. Wallace INFL<sub>3sg,pres</sub> [<sub>Neg0</sub>not] like cheese.  
b. Wallace does not like cheese.
- (19) a. Wallace INFL<sub>3sg,pres</sub> aimer le fromage.  
like the cheese  
b. Wallace aime le fromage.
- (20) a. Wallace INFL<sub>3sg,pres</sub> Spec,NegP pas Neg0ne aimer le fromage.  
b. Wallace n'aime pas le fromage.

### Slavic Participle Fronting

- Auxiliary verbs in many Slavic languages have *clitic* forms, which must attach to the right of some sentence initial word.

- (21) a. Ivan **ga je** **cęsto** **ćtao**  
Ivan it be.3s often read.ptc  
'Ivan often read it.'  
b. **Cesto** **ga je** Ivan **ćtao**  
often it be.3s Ivan read.ptc

- (22) Citao **ga je** Ivan **ćsto**  
read.ptc it be.3s Ivan often

- (23) a. \* **Ga je** Ivan **ćsto** **ćtao**  
b. \* Ivan **ćsto** **ga je** ćtao  
c. \* Citao **ćsto** **ga je** Ivan

(Croatian)

- Non-clitic auxiliary forms are sometimes also available, which may appear sentence initially.

- (24) a. **Jesam** **ćtao** knjigu.  
pos.be.1s read.ptc book  
'I HAVE read the book.'  
b. **Nisam** **ćtao** knjigu.  
not.be.1s read.ptc book  
'I didn't read the book.'

(Croatian)

- In some languages only the highest verbal head may support the auxiliary.

- (25) a. Marija i Ivan **su** bili **čitali** knjigu *Locality Obeyed*  
 M. and I. be.3p be.ptc read.ptc book  
 ‘Maria and Ivan had read the book.’
- b. Bili **su** **čitali** knjigu.  
 be.ptc be.3p read.ptc book
- c. \* Citali **su** bili knjigu. (Croatian)

- In other languages, a participle may front to support the clitic, crossing other heads in the process.

- (26) a. Proc**ela** **si** bila knjigata *Locality Violated*  
 read.fem be.2s been.fem book.def  
 ‘You (allegedly) have read the book.’
- b. Bila **si** proc**ela** knjigata. (Bulgarian)
- (27) a. Cekali **ste** bili Marijinu prijateljicu *Locality Violated*  
 waited are been Marija’s friend  
 ‘You had been waiting for Marija’s friend.’
- b. Bili **ste** c**ek**ali Marijinu prijateljicu (*check*) (Serbo-Croatian)

- Generalization: Long Head Movement is possible in exactly those languages in which the auxiliary is not a clitic form, and can survive alone in sentence-initial position (Phillips 1996).

- (28) a. **Bihte** bili arestuvani ot policiata  
 would.2pl been arrested by police.def  
 ‘You would have been arrested by the police.’
- b. Arestuvani **bihte** bili ot policiata (Bulgarian)
- (29) a. **Bejaše** sreo Petra  
 was met Peter  
 ‘He had met Peter.’
- b. Sreo **bejaše** Petra (Serbo-Croatian)