

## Syntax II – Class #7

### Head Movement and Inflectional Categories

#### Prelude

Theories of V2 and embedded V2 in Germanic

#### Goals

Motivations for separation of inflection: apparent multiple positions

Stipulative characterization of the facts

Iatridou/Baker criticisms

Pollock's key empirical arguments for split Infl

- (i) French infinitival main verbs CAN precede adverbs, but MUST follow negation
- (ii) English infinitival auxiliaries can appear BETWEEN negation and VP-adverbials

Tensed clauses can be characterized in terms of simple two-position story for French and English. In non-finite clauses, French shows a contrast between short-v-movement for main verbs and long-v-movement for auxiliaries, which parallels the contrast between no-movement for main verbs and short-v-movement for auxiliaries.

Iatridou's arguments against Pollock center on the importance given to differences between main verbs and auxiliaries.

English: short-v-movement in infinitivals used as evidence for Agr position, could just as well be evidence for adjunction to AuxVP position and adjunction to VP position. Aux isn't occupying position that's always there, it's occupying base position of Aux.

French (less straightforward): critical case is short-v-movement of main verb infinitivals past adverbials. Basic story is that data goes beyond what Pollock allows anyway (e.g. positioning of 2 aux/Vs to left of adverbial), so can't be accounted for in his story.

Bobaljik & Jonas provide arguments from transitive expletive constructions in Germanic that there is a position between the regular subject position and the "object shift" position, which subjects may occupy; the argument is based on the position of XPs, and does not involve direct evidence from the position of verb (etc.) heads.

#### Variation in V2

- Main clause/embedded clause asymmetry (German, Dutch, Swedish etc.)

Analysis: Uniform V --> C

- Subject-initial/nonsubject-initial asymmetry (Travis 1984, Zwart 1992)

Analysis: Subjects: V --> I, nonsubjects: V --> C

Unstressed pronouns

- (1) a. er hat das Brot gegessen

- b. es hat das Brot gegessen
- c. \* es hat er gegessen

Child root infinitives

- (2) a. Thorsten Caesar haben  
T. C. have.inf  
'Thorsten has Caesar (a doll).' (Andreas, age 2;1)
- b. subject-initial utterances: frequent clause-final infinitival verb forms
- c. non-subject initial utterances: 100% inflected V2 verbs

## Embedded V2

Analysis I: CP-recursion

Analysis II: V2-in-IP

German etc.: embedded V2 only under "bridge verbs"

Icelandic, Yiddish: general embedded V2

- (3) a. Es iz gekumen a yingl (Yiddish)
- b. \*pro iz gekumen a yingl  
'(There) is come a boy.'
- (4) a. \*Nekhtn iz es gekumen a yingl.
- b. Nekhtn is pro gekumen a yingl.  
'Yesterday is (there) come a boy.'
- (5) a. \*Far vos iz es gekumen a yingl?
- b. Far vos iz pro gekumen a yingl?  
'Why is (there) come a boy?'

In main clauses, Yiddish and German are alike in allowing expletive subjects only in clause-initial position. One interpretation: expletive subjects only in [Spec,CP]. In embedded clauses, however, German does not allow clause-initial expletive subjects, but Yiddish embedded clauses are just like main clauses.

- (6) a. \*Ich weiß, daß es ein Junge gekommen ist. (German)
- b. Ich weiß, daß pro ein Junge gekommen ist.
- (7) a. Ikh veys az es iz gekumen a yingl. (Yiddish)
- b. \*Ikh veys az iz gekumen a yingl.  
'I know that (there) is come a boy.'

- Embedded V2 with "bridge verbs" and non-bridge verbs

- (8) a. Watson behauptete, daß Moriarty nur das Geld gestohlen hatte. (German)
- W. claimed that M. only the money stolen had
- b. Watson behauptete, dieses Geld hatte Moriarty gestohlen.
- W. claimed this money had M. stolen
- (9) a. Holmes bewies, daß Moriarty nur das Geld gestohlen hatte.
- H. proved

- b. \*Holmes bewies, dieses Geld hatte Moriarty gestohlen.
- (10) a. Jonas tsvayfelt az morgen vet Miriam fri oyfshteyn. (Yiddish)  
 J. doubts that tomorrow will M. early get-up
- b. \*Johan bezweifelt, morgen wird Maria frueh aufstehen. (German)  
 J. doubts tomorrow will M. early get-up

- Lack of independent V-I movement.

(11) Det var en overraskelse at... (Danish)  
 It was a surprise that...

a. Helge gerne ville laese den her bog  
 Helge readily would read this here book

b. \*Helge ville gerne laese den her bog

(12) Peter troede at ...  
 Peter believed that ...

a. Helge ville gerne laese den her bog

b. den her bog ville Helge gerne laese

c. \* den her bog Helge ville gerne laese

d. \*den her bog Helge gerne ville laese

### Evidence for 'Short Verb Movement' (Pollock 1989)

- French infinitivals: auxiliaries can cross negation, main verbs cannot; both can cross adverbials

(13) a. Ne pas être heureux est une condition pour écrire des romans.  
 'Ne not to be happy is a prerequisite for writing novels.'

b. N'être pas heureux est une condition pour écrire des romans.

(14) a. Ne pas avoir eu d'enfance heureuse est une condition pour écrire des romans.  
 'Ne not to have had a happy childhood is a prerequisite for writing novels.'

b. N'avoir pas eu d'enfance heureuse est une condition pour écrire des romans.

(15) a. Ne pas sembler heureux est une condition pour écrire des romans.  
 'Ne not to seem happy is a prerequisite for writing novels.'

b. \*Ne sembler pas heureux est une condition pour écrire des romans.

(16) a. Ne pas regarder la télévision consolide l'esprit critique.  
 'Ne not to watch television strengthens one's independence.'

b. \*Ne regarder pas la télévision consolide l'esprit critique.

(17) a. A peine parler l'italien apres cinq ans d'étude...  
 'Hardly to speak Italian after five years of study...'

b. Parler a peine l'italien apres cinq ans d'étude...

(18) a. Souvent paraitre triste pendant son voyage de noce, c'est rare.  
 'Often to look sad during one's honeymoon, that's rare.'

b. Paraitre souvent triste pendant son voyage de noce, c'est rare.

(19)	TP Aux+fin V+fin	Neg	Agr	Adv	V
	Aux-fin		Aux-fin V-fin		Aux-fin V-fin

- English infinitivals: auxiliaries can cross adverbials but only marginally negation, main verbs cannot cross either

- (20)
- Not to be happy is a prerequisite for writing novels.
  - ? To be not happy is a prerequisite for writing novels.
  - Not to have had a happy childhood is a prerequisite for writing novels.
  - (?)To have not had a happy childhood is a prerequisite for writing novels.
  - Not to be arrested under such circumstances is a miracle.
  - ?To be not arrested under such circumstances is a miracle.

- (21)
- John is believed to frequently have criticized Bill.
  - John is believed to have frequently criticized Bill.
  - ?John is believed to frequently be criticizing Bill.
  - John is believed to be frequently criticizing Bill.

- (22)
- Not to seem happy is a prerequisite for writing novels.
  - \*To seem not happy is a prerequisite for writing novels.
  - To not get arrested under such circumstances is a miracle.
  - \*To get not arrested under such circumstances is a miracle.

- (23)
- To hardly speak Italian after five years of study is a disgrace.
  - \*To speak hardly Italian after five years of study is a disgrace.
  - To often look sad during one's honeymoon is sad.
  - \*To look often sad during one's honeymoon is sad.

(24)	TP Aux+fin	Neg	Agr	Adv	V
					V+fin
	Aux-fin		Aux-fin		Aux-fin V-fin

### Against Splitting Infl (Iatridou 1990)

- The special behavior of non-finite auxiliaries in English is explained not by short verb movement, but by the availability of multiple positions for (some) adverbials

- (25)
- John is believed to frequently be rudely criticizing Bill.
  - John is believed to rudely be frequently criticizing Bill.
- (26)
- John is believed to frequently have rudely criticized Bill.
  - John is believed to rudely have frequently criticized Bill.
- (27)
- Mary is believed to be completely revising her dissertation.
  - \*Mary is believed to completely be revising her dissertation.

- French: contrast between infinitival auxiliaries and main verbs w.r.t. negation is easily captured in traditional single-Infl theories

- (28) a. N'être pas triste...  
to be not sad...
- b. \*Ne comprendre pas l'italien...  
to understand not Italian...

- In the light of the asymmetry with negation, similarity between infinitival auxiliaries and main verbs w.r.t. adverbials is critical argument for split-Infl; Iatridou analyzes as adverb placement to right of V

- (29) a. Souvent être triste...  
b. Etre souvent triste...

- (30) a. A peine comprendre l'italien  
b. Comprendre a peine l'italien

- (31) a. Pierre a a peine vu Marie.  
'Pierre has hardly seen Marie.'  
b. Pierre a vu a peine Marie.

- (32) Ne pas avoir lu complètement ce livre...  
'Not to have read completely this book...'

- (33) a. Souvent mal faire ses devoirs, c'est stupide.  
'Often badly to do one's homework, that's stupid.'  
b. Faire souvent mal ses devoirs, c'est stupide.  
c. Souvent faire mal ses devoirs, c'est stupide.

### **An argument for the existence of intermediate specifier positions (Bobaljik & Jonas 1996)**

- Expletive constructions

- (34) a. There arrived three men.  
b. \*There ate three men an apple.

- (35) a. a hafa margir jolasveinar bor a bu ing. [Icelandic]  
there have many christmas.trolls eaten pudding  
b. 'Many Christmas trolls have eaten pudding.'

- Subject of transitive expletive construction can follow sentential adverbials, but not VP adverbials

- (36) a. a hafa [sennilega [margir studentar lesi bokina]]  
there have probably many students read book.the  
'Many students have probably read the book.'
- b. a luku [sennilega einhverjir studentar [alveg verkefningu]]  
there finished probably some students completely assignment.the

‘Some students probably completely finished the assignment.’

c. \* a luku [sennilega [alveg einhverjir studentar verkefninu]]

- When the object is moved to precede a VP-adverbial or negation, the subject of a transitive expletive must *precede* the fronted object NP

- (37) a. ad lauk einhver verkefninu [<sub>VP</sub>alveg ]  
there finished someone assignment.the completely  
‘Someone completely finished the assignment.’
- b. \* a lauk verkefninu [<sub>VP</sub>(alveg) einhver ]  
there finished the.assignment (completely) someone
- c. a bor u u margir strakar bjugun [<sub>VP</sub> ekki [<sub>VP</sub> (oll) ]]  
there ate many boys sausages.the not (all)  
‘Many boys didn’t eat (all of) the sausages.’
- d. \* a bor u u bjugun [<sub>VP</sub> ekki [<sub>VP</sub> margir strakar (oll) ]]  
there ate sausages.the not many boys (all)