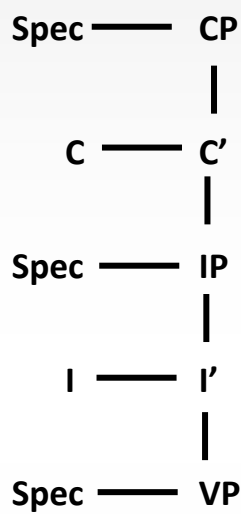




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Nordic Center of Excellence in Microcomparative Syntax

**Nordic Center of Excellence in
Microcomparative Syntax**



Verb Movement

Its Nature

Triggers

and Effects

Amsterdam, 11 & 12 December 2010



AMSTERDAM CENTER
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COMMUNICATION



**Amsterdam Center for
Language and Communication**

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Workshop Venue:

University of Amsterdam, Singel 421-427, Doelenzaal, Amsterdam.

Verb movement: its nature, triggers and effects

This workshop addresses various issues related to verb placement and the syntax of the left periphery. The topic 'verb movement' has of course been discussed extensively in the linguistic literature, but many of the core properties of verb movement still trigger intense debates and we think it is about time to try to determine what the main issues are and take a new look at them through 2010 goggles.

For one thing, the empirical basis for traditional verb movement analyses has mainly consisted of (standard varieties of) Germanic and Romance languages, in particular English, German, Dutch, Scandinavian, and French. However, more detailed knowledge about other languages and dialects has enlarged the empirical basis. One such example is the extensive work on European dialects conducted in the last decade or so, partly in research groups that have been a part of the NORMS project or associated with it. These new data challenge the traditional view of verb movement as simply V-to-C or V-to-I.

On the theoretical side, one issue concerns the 'explosion' of the CP and IP domains. Since (among others) Pollock (1989), Rizzi (1997), and Cinque (1999) it is commonly assumed that the structure of the CP and IP domains is much more fine-grained than we previously thought, with several functional projections in each domain. As a result, for example 'V-to-C' can no longer be assumed to be one single phenomenon; rather, we need to consider e.g. V-to-Fin, V-to-Foc, V-to-Top, V-to-Force, etc. as variants of what used to be labeled 'V-to-C'. Likewise, 'V-to-I' could mean V-to-Asp, V-to-T, V-to-Mod, etc. Another theoretical issue that is still under debate is the nature of the movement operation itself. Traditionally, verb movement has of course been analysed as head movement, but during the last decade or more, many people have explored phrasal movement alternatives such as remnant movement to account for verb movement. Related to this is the question of what triggers verb movement. The long-standing view that verbal morphology is a trigger for verb movement has been challenged in recent years, but the debate on this issue has by no means come to an end. Finally, the potential semantic effects of verb movement is also an issue that deserves more scrutiny.

Program

Saturday 11th of December

- 09:30-10:30: **Invited speaker 1: Winfried Lechner** (*University of Athens*): On the orthodoxy of head movement
- 10:30-11:10: **Martin Salzmann** (*University of Zürich*): Evidence for semantically active covert head-movement–scope in Verb Projection Raising
- 11:10-11:20: COFFEE BREAK
- 11:20-12:00: **Höskuldur Thráinsson** (*University of Iceland*): How can V2 vary?
- 12:00-13:00: **Invited speaker 2: Øystein Nilsen** (*Queen Mary, U. of London*): Some scope puzzles for analyses of V2.
- 13:00-14:00: LUNCH BREAK
- 14:00-14:40: **Kristine Bentzen** (*University of Tromsø*) & **Caroline Heycock** (*University of Edinburgh*): Embedded V2 and extraction in Norwegian: Results from an online experiment
- 14:40-15:20: **Madoka Murakami** (*Jissen Women's University and U. of Siena*): Mood, features, and verb movement
- 15:20-16:00: **Sonia Cyrino** (*University of Campinas*): Morphological marking and verb movement in Brazilian Portuguese
- 16:00-16:20: COFFEE BREAK
- 16:20-17:00: **Terje Lohndal** (*U. of Maryland*), **Øystein Vangsnes** (*U. of Tromsø*) & **Marit Westergaard** (*U. of Tromsø*): Verb movement in matrix wh-questions in Norwegian dialects: Microvariation and diachrony
- 17:00-18:00: **Invited speaker 3: Klaus Abels** (*University College London*): 'Verb' movement derives cluster orders

19:30: WORKSHOP DINNER (location to be announced)

Program

Sunday 12th of December

- 09:30-10:30: **Invited speaker 4: Anna-Lena Wiklund** (Lund University):
AGR-related verb second effects
- 10:30-11:10: **Piotr Garbacz** (University of Oslo):
Low verb second and agreement in Scandinavian dialects
- 11:10-11:20: COFFEE BREAK
- 11:20-12:00: **Olaf Koeneman** (University of Amsterdam) & **Hedde Zeijlstra** (University of Amsterdam): The Rich Agreement Hypothesis resurrected: weak isn't strong enough
- 12:00-13:00: **Invited speaker 5: Ora Matushansky** (Utrecht University): Alternatives to head-movement
- 13:00-14:00: LUNCH BREAK
- 14:00-14:40: **Thórhallur Eythórsson** (University of Iceland): Saving V2
- 14:40-15:40: **Invited speaker 6: Theresa Biberauer** (U. of Cambridge): Embedded V2 in Afrikaans: an unexpected declarative-interrogative asymmetry
- 15:40-16:00: COFFEE BREAK
- 16:00-16:40: **Gary Thoms** (University of Strathclyde):
Syntactic verb movement without feature-checking: evidence from ellipsis
- 16:40-17:40: **Invited speaker 7: Jan-Wouter Zwart** (University of Groningen): Verb movement in layered derivations

Alternate: Krzysztof Migdalski (University of Wrocław):

Remnant XP movement becomes head movement – evidence from Polish

In this talk I investigate the order of elements in verbal clusters in various Germanic languages and dialects, as reported in previous literature.

There is a long-standing debate whether cluster orders are base-generated, involve rightward extraposition, or leftward intraposition. Indeed, Wurmbrand (2006), in a comprehensive overview of data and approaches reaches the conclusion that the facts cannot decide the issue: they are equally compatible with a leftward and a rightward movement account. In this talk I present a "typological" argument modeled on Cinque (2005, to appear); Abels and Neeleman (to appear, 2009) for the assumption that leftward intraposition is involved in deriving some cluster orders and that rightward extraposition is never involved.

The argument is based not on the account it gives for the order(s) found in any particular Germanic language or dialect, but on the overall typology of possible orders. Under this approach, as under any account, the derivation of the order(s) found in any particular language or dialect involves a number of non-trivial, language and construction specific assumptions. The overall shape of the typological pattern, however, is governed by simple laws of some generality.

Law 1: Movement is leftward.

Law 2: The landing site of movement c-commands the launching site.

Law 3: In deriving neutral cluster orders, only constituents containing the lowest verbal element of the cluster move.

To give the correct results, we need the ancillary assumption that particles/separable prefixes count as 'verbal' elements in the required sense, hence, the quotes in the title of the talk.

The remainder of the talk will be dedicated to the question what further generalization about movement in the cluster we can detect once Laws 1–3 are accepted.

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Embedded V2 and extraction in Norwegian:
Results from an online experiment

Kristine Bentzen & Caroline Heycock
University of Tromsø and University of Edinburgh

Holmberg 1986 established that embedded Verb Second (EV2) creates islands for movement; he argued that at least in Swedish *wh*-extraction of an object was blocked by EV2, regardless of whether EV2 was instantiated by a subject-initial embedded clause (with the position of the verb indicated by its order with respect to negation), an object-initial, or an adjunct-initial clause. Holmberg's paradigm from Swedish is given in (1)

1. a. Vilken fest sa hon at vi inte skulle köpa roliga hattar til?
what party said she that we neg should buy funny hats for
What party did she say that we shouldn't buy funny hats for?
- b. *Vilken fest sa hon at vi skulle inte köpa roliga hattar till?
- c. *Vilken fest sa hon at roliga hattar skulle vi inte köpa till?
- d. *Vilken fest sa hon at antagligen behövde vi inte köpa roliga hattar til?
what party said she that probably needed we NEG buy funny hats for
What party did she say that probably we didn't need to buy funny hats for?

As is well-known, Icelandic contrasts with Mainland Scandinavian with respect to (1a) and (1b); the order of the verb with respect to negation in (1a) is essentially ungrammatical, while the reverse order in (1b) is fully grammatical, with no island effect arising. The absence of an island effect in the Icelandic equivalent of (1b) is one piece of evidence that has been adduced for the claim that movement of the verb to the left of negation in Icelandic in subject-initial clauses needs to be distinguished from V2.

Recent work on Faroese suggests that while generally V–Neg orders in embedded clauses have a distribution that suggests they should be attributed to the kind of EV2 found in Swedish, there are traces of a system more like Icelandic (Heycock et al 2010a,b). One result that exemplifies this is that in an experimental judgment task speakers distinguished clearly between examples parallel to (1a) and (1d), but gave intermediate judgments on examples like (1b). An interpretation of this as evidence for the remnant of an Icelandic-like system would be more secure, however, if we had directly comparable quantitative evidence for the lack of contrast between examples like (1d) and (1b) in Mainland Scandinavian.

In this talk we will present the results of such an experimental judgment task carried out with speakers of Northern Norwegian. In this task, we added a further variable: whether the extracted element was an object (as in (1)) or an adjunct. Our results were entirely consistent with the judgments given for Swedish in (1) when the *wh*-element was an adjunct (and in contrast to the Faroese results). But surprisingly, when the extracted *wh*-element was an object, the two types of EV2 diverged. Extraction out of a V–Neg clause was significantly better than extraction out of a nonsubject-initial clause, and was at least as good if not better than adjunct extraction (largely consistently with the contrast between adjunct and object extraction in Norwegian reported in Hrafnbjargarson et al. 2010).

We will conclude by discussing the extent to which these findings can be explained in terms of current proposals that aim to derive the island effects induced by V2.

Morphological marking and verb movement in Brazilian Portuguese

Sonia Cyrino (University of Campinas)

1. Biberauer & Roberts (2010) (hereafter, B&R) propose that verb-movement is related to the richness of morphological Tense marking and not to the richness of agreement marking. Thus, Romance, as opposed to Germanic languages, have verb-movement, because the former have synthetic tense paradigms with several forms (cf. B&R 2010:266). Richness of agreement, on the other hand, is related to the licensing of null subjects, and the authors propose a typology with respect to these phenomena:

(1)Morphological marking	“effect”	Example languages
a. Rich Tense, Rich Agreement	V-to-T, null subjects	Italian, Greek, Spanish...
b. Poor Tense, Rich Agreement	V-to-T, no null subjects	French, Middle English..
c. Poor Tense, Poor Agreement	no V-to-T, no null subjects	Mod. English, Mld. Scand.
d. Rich Tense, Poor Agreement	no V-to-T, null subjects	No clear example

In B&R’s proposal, morphological markings are indicative of verb movement to T, and they suggest that the line between richness and poverty of tense morphology “has to do with the presence of aspectual distinctions, at least in past tenses, in Romance” (B&R 2010: 268).

2. It is a well-known fact that Brazilian Portuguese (hereafter, BP) has lost rich agreement (cf. Duarte 1995) and the possibility for null subjects (cf. Kato & Negrão 2000). However, as far as I know, nothing has been said about an impoverishment in terms of Tense morphological marking in the language. In fact, given the morphological verbal paradigm in BP seen in (2), one would think quite the opposite: using B&R’s criteria, BP could be considered a rich Tense language, and have verb- movement:

- (2) *falar* ‘to speak’, 1person singular: *falo* (present indicative) – *fale* (present subjunctive) – *falarei* (future) – *falei* (preterite) – *falava* (imperfect) – *falara* (pluperfect) – *falaria* (conditional) – *falasse* (past subjunctive)

However, although present in written language, some forms are obsolete in BP. In fact, there is one study on spoken formal BP (Souza & Campos 1993) that reveals the actual use of verbal forms in the language. The authors show that, in their corpus: a) indicative forms are more frequent (96.12%) than subjunctive forms (3.17%), even in contexts where the latter are expected; b) there are no occurrences of synthetic forms for the pluperfect or future, ie, there are no occurrences of forms as *falara* ‘had spoken’, *falarei* ‘will speak’: periphrastic forms (*tinha comido* ‘had eaten’, *vou comer* ‘am going to eat’) are used, instead. In fact, several studies point to the widespread use of periphrastic forms in BP – cf. Longo (1998), Longo & Souza Campos (2002), a. o.

3. We conclude, then, that although showing morphological marking the Tense paradigm is not rich in BP. According to B&R’s proposal the language should not have verb-movement. However, such a claim is difficult to maintain in view of the fact that the verb leaves vP in the language, as has been argued by Costa & Galves 2002. For example, Costa (1996) shows that the adverb *bem* ‘well’ marks the edge of vP; sentence (3) is grammatical in BP:

- (3) João tinha visto bem as condições de pagamento.
 João had seen well the conditions of payment
 ‘João had seen the payment conditions well’

In order to account for these apparently contradictory facts, I propose that BP has indeed lost verb-movement to a **higher** functional projection, but kept it to a **lower** functional projection, the so- called Aspect head (or T₂, see also Giorgi & Pianesi 1997, Julien 2001). B&R argue that T includes Tense/Mood/ Aspect inflections. I argue that UG allows verb-movement to these projections separately – only thus can we account for the facts of BP.

4. In BP, I propose, despite the different morphological marking on the forms of lexical verbs, no Tense is expressed. The synthetic forms in BP express, in fact, aspectual distinctions (see (4)-(5)). For Tense distinctions, periphrastic forms (or adverbs) are used. Assuming B&R’s theory, lexical verbs in BP have [+Asp/T₂] features and not [+T₁] features and hence, they don’t reproject up in T₁. The fact that morphological markings may not express tense distinctions can be seen when we compare BP to European Portuguese (EP):

- (4) a. *Só falta cerveja nesta festa!* only lack beer in-this party
 ‘Only beer is missing in this party!’
 □ EP, □BP = there is still the possibility that someone will buy beer
- b. *Só faltou cerveja nesta festa!* only lacked beer in-this party
 ‘Only beer was missing in this party!’
 □EP, □BP = the party is over, the speaker has accepted the situation, that there was no beer and that the situation didn’t change.
 □BP, *EP = the party is not over, the speaker has accepted the situation — that there is no beer and that the situation is not going to change.
- (5) a. *Você vira na High Street, e chega na universidade.* [□EP, □BP]
 You turn in-the High Street and arrive in-the university ‘Turn on High Street and then you arrive at the university’
- b. *Você virou na High Street, e chegou na universidade.* [*EP, □BP]
 You turned in-the High Street and arrived in-the university
 ‘Turn on High Street and then you arrive at the university’

We see that the morphological marking does not mark past/preterite in (4)-(5). We conclude, then, that although showing morphological marking the Tense paradigm is not rich in BP, hence verb movement is not to T, but to a lower projection.

5. One syntactic piece of evidence that the verb may occur in different projections in EP vs. BP comes from vP ellipsis phenomena. Matos & Cyrino (2001) show that vP ellipsis in Portuguese is licensed by the verb which has moved out of vP. If we assume that vP ellipsis is licensed by a verbal element in a functional head (cf. Lobeck, 1995), the position of the lexical verb is crucial to explain the interpretation of ellipsis. This can be shown in sequences with compound tenses, where the adverb *também* ‘too’/ ‘also’ occur in different positions causing different interpretations (see the glosses):

- (6) a. *Maria tem lido livros às crianças e João também tem lido ___.*
 Maria has read books to the children and João also has read
 ‘Maria has been reading books to the children and João has, too.’
- b. *Maria tem lido livros às crianças e João tem também lido ___.*
 Maria has read books to the children and João has too read
 ‘Maria has been reading books to the children and João has also been reading’.

(6b) conveys a ‘null/cognate object’ interpretation of the second conjunct (cf. *John has been reading*), but, crucially, in BP it can also have a vP ellipsis interpretation (as opposed to EP), ie, the sentence may have the same interpretation as (6a). This shows that different functional categories, made audible by the verb, the auxiliary in T in (6a) and the lexical verb in Asp(T₂) in (6b), can license the elliptical sequence.

6. In sum, the proposal in this paper opens up possibilities for investigating the implications of the typology expressed in (1). Specifically, it investigates the relationship between morphological markings for Tense and Aspect and verb movement.

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Saving V2

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The goal of this paper is to provide a diachronic perspective on V2 in Germanic. The take-home message is twofold: (1) equating V2 with V-to-C is a misnomer and (2) the canonical instances of alleged verb movement to I (or alternatively to a position in an extended CP structure) in embedded clauses in languages like Icelandic actually involve V2. It appears that in the earliest Germanic a conspiracy of various “operators” triggered verb movement to C in certain clause types (Eythórsson 1995), but the adjacency effect exhibited by V2 was originally conditioned by a phonological constraint and later “syntacticized”. The interaction of syntax and phonology in V2 becomes particularly clear when this phenomenon is contrasted with different types of V1, which are demonstrably conditioned by syntax and information structure.

In the literature, V2 is generally equated with V-to-C. What tends to be downplayed in this respect is the fact that V2 involves a strict adjacency effect with the preceding element, which is not otherwise observed in the placement of finite verbs in functional head positions. It is also commonly assumed that Icelandic has “independent V-to-I” movement (see Angantýsson 2010 for a comprehensive discussion). There is an ongoing debate about whether this movement to I is related to rich agreement or not (Rich Agreement Hypothesis, existing both in a strong and a weak form). On an alternative approach, the verb moves to a position within the CP system, not within IP (Wiklund et al. 2007). Regardless of the actual position to which the verb is said to move, what is usually lost sight of in these analyses is that, just as in main clauses, the verb also occurs in second position in embedded clauses in Icelandic, exhibiting strict adjacency with the preceding phrase. In other words, there is a generalized V2 in Icelandic. A disturbing factor, however, relates to the fact that a subset of V3/verb-late orders seem to involve IP-internal movement, occurring for example, in Northern Norwegian varieties (Bentzen 2010), Icelandic (Angantýsson 2010) and Old Germanic (Eythórsson 1995). The motivation for this phenomenon is largely unknown.

In view of the historical and comparative facts mentioned above, I propose that V2 is simply just that: an adjacency constraint at the syntax-phonology interface requiring the finite verb to occur immediately after the clause-initial element. I further hypothesize that the constraint, having emerged first in main clauses in North-West Germanic, was extended to embedded clauses in North Germanic (and West Germanic Yiddish), resulting in “symmetric V2”. Since the V2 constraint is “violable”, it can of course be lost eventually. The loss of V2 in embedded clauses, in Mainland Scandinavian, Faroese and in Icelandic V3 clauses, is arguably due to a “degree 0” learnability factor (Lightfoot 1989), i.e. the acquirer’s failure to apply the V2 constraint in embedded contexts.

References

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Low verb second and agreement in Scandinavian dialects

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University of Oslo

In a recent paper, Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson & Wiklund (2010) propose a unification of two syntactic phenomena attested in e.g. Icelandic and known as (1) *general embedded topicalization* and (2) *V-to-I movement* by assuming that both are a result of verb movement to FinP in order to satisfy EPP and [uPn] in Fin. They label the outcome of verb movement to FinP 'low verb second'. Further, they assume that EPP and [uPn] in Fin are reflected by rich agreement. They state:

xV2 can be replaced by any of the AGR-related properties on the updated list. On this version, we do not expect to see a language with any of the AGR-related properties and poor inflection.

(Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson & Wiklund 2010: 65)

The "AGR-related properties on the updated list", they refer to, are the same properties that Holmberg (2010: 13-14) claims to be a reflex of [uPn] and [uNr] in T: rich subject-verb agreement, oblique subjects, Stylistic Fronting, null expletives, null generic subject pronoun, transitive expletives and heavy subject postposing. According to Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson & Wiklund (2010), these properties should thus coincide with low verb second, in such way that the loss of verbal agreement overlap with the loss of V-to-I movement (as argued by Falk 1993).

The claim that it is unexpected to attest "a language with any of the AGR-related properties and poor inflection" is however contradicted by a number of data from Scandinavian dialects. First, the finite verb preceding the negation in embedded clauses subordinated to a factive matrix predicate is judged as grammatical by speakers of a number of Norwegian dialects (eleven), according to the data presented in the Nordic Syntactic Judgement Database (<http://www.tekstlab.uio.no/scandiasyn/base>).¹ Many of these dialects have poor agreement, whereas some of them have (had) agreement in number (Sjekkeland 1977: 115).² See the following example taken from a dialect with no verbal agreement in number and person:

- (1) *Han angra på at han hadde ikke lest denne avisen* (Beiarn, Salten, Northern Norway)
he regretted on that he had not read this newspaper

Second, topicalization of objects and temporal adverbs in embedded clauses subordinated to factive and non-assertive matrix predicates is judged as grammatical by speakers of a

¹ Only locations where a sentence is accepted by at least two informants judging it as perfectly grammatical (5 on the scale of Nordic Syntactic Judgement Database) have been counted.

² It is uncertain how Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson & Wiklund (2010) exactly define 'rich' agreement.

number of Norwegian dialects with poor agreement (according to Sjøkkeland 1977: 115).³ Consider the following two examples, one with topicalization of an direct object in an embedded clause subordinated to a non-assertive predicate, *tvile på* ‘doubt’ (2) and another one with topicalization of an direct object in an embedded clause subordinated to a factive predicate *angre på* ‘regret’ (3):

(2) *Han tvile på at denna mannen ha ho ikke møtt før* (Alvdal, Østerdalen, Eastern Norway)
he doubted that this man has she not met before

(3) *Han angra på at denne avisen hadde han ikke lest* (Kalvåg, Sunnfjord, Western Norway)
he regretted on that this newspaper had he not read

Third, Ljunggren (1926: 347-354) gives a high number of examples of transitive expletives from contemporary Swedish, i.e. Swedish that lacked verbal agreement in number and person, see (4):

(4) *Det hade de rackarna satt ett stort skåp i farstun.*
it had these rascals.DEF put a big cupboard in vestibule.DEF

The evidence presented above speaks against the assumption made by Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson & Wiklund (2010) that low verb second coincides (and other syntactic phenomena, as e.g. transitive expletives) with verbal inflection. In my talk, I will therefore oppose to connecting low verb second with verb agreement and I will argue that one can more appropriate describe ‘low verb second’ as vestiges of general embedded verb second inherited from older stages of Scandinavian (Heltoft 2003: 153). Loss of general embedded verb second can then be explained independently of morphological changes.

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³ Data are taken form the Nordic Syntactic Judgement Database. Only locations where a sentence is accepted by at least two informants judging it as perfectly grammatical (5 on the scale of Nordic Syntactic Judgement Database) have been counted.

The Rich Agreement Hypothesis resurrected: weak isn't strong enough

Olaf Koeneman & Hedde Zeijlstra

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① One of the most prominent hypotheses in syntactic theory has been the correlation between richness of verbal inflection and overt verbal (V-to-I) movement (Kosmeijer 1986, Rohrbacher 1994, Bobaljik & Thrainsson 2002). In its strong form, this Rich Agreement Hypothesis (RAH) states that overt V-to-I movement takes place if and only if agreement is rich (both under Rohrbacher's 1994 and Bobaljik's 2003 definition). This paper shows that this correlation, despite recent counter claims, remains empirically correct, albeit it in a somewhat different formulation. Although our claims are strictly universal, for expository purposes we focus here on mostly Germanic and Romance languages. ② As observed in Vikner (1995), the RAH appears to be untenable in its strong form (1a), given the existence of languages that display verb movement in the absence of rich agreement (French, Kronoby Swedish, Faroese, a.o.). Recently, Bentzen et al (2007) make similar claims on the basis of Regional Northern Norwegian (ReNN). For this reason, the only plausible version of the RAH is the unidirectional one in (1b).

- (1) a. rich agreement \leftrightarrow overt verb movement Strong RAH
b. rich agreement \rightarrow overt verb movement Weak RAH

Bentzen et al. argue, however, that even the weak RAH is untenable, basing themselves on particular constructions in Icelandic in which the richly inflected verb follows. Similar data can be obtained from Ölvdalian Swedish (cf. Garbacz 2010). ③ We will first argue that the counterexamples to the weak RAH are inconclusive, because the effect of verb movement can in principle be neutralized by subsequent movement, or high base-generation, of the verb movement diagnostic. Then we will show that the counterexamples to the strong RAH are all special in some sense. Faroese turns out to display verb second and not V-to-I (cf. Heycock et al.), and ReNN turns out to display a lower verb movement that is unable to cross negation (Bentzen et al. 2007). For French, finally, it can be argued that, although it has a poor system of verbal suffixes, subject clitics behave as agreement markers, making the language rich (Auger 1994, Legendre *et al* 2004). To conclude, although the strong RAH in its present form falsely predicts that V-to-I languages without rich verbal agreement are banned; the weak RAH in its present form does not predict that all alleged V-to-I languages without rich verbal inflectional agreement are in some sense exceptional. Thus, the strong RAH is too strong, but the weak RAH is not strong enough. ④ We argue that these facts can only be explained if verb movement cannot be acquired on the basis of distributional evidence only. In other words, syntactic operations cannot be derived from the presence of some abstract features, whose nature is not recoverable during language acquisition. We

argue that this follows from the following two well-established assumptions: (i) movement is triggered by uninterpretable formal features; (ii) uninterpretable formal features must be acquirable. Given the weak RAH, it is safe to conclude that the adequate trigger for V-to-I movement must be formally distinct ϕ /tense features as, following all existing definitions of richness, only formally distinct (i.e. person/number/tense specific) features constitute richness. Hence, in order to acquire the trigger for V-to-I movement, the language learner must obtain evidence that the language exhibits a rich formal feature inventory. If such evidence is absent, V-to-I movement cannot be acquired in the first place, since no trigger for this movement can be acquired. We will show that the proposal correctly captures the following typology, where black is formally impossible, grey formally possible but not learnable without additional cues.

table 1	Poor verbal inflection	Rich verbal inflection
No V-to-I	Faroese, ReNN, Kr. Swedish, Danish	
V-to-I	French	Icelandic

It does not follow from previous versions of the RAH nor from its rejection.

On the orthodoxy of head movement

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There are at least three iconoclastic positions on head movement (HM). While some locate HM into the PF component (Chomsky 2001; PF-Hypothesis), others reanalyze its effects by means of remnant movement (Müller 2004; RM-Hypothesis). For a third camp, HM is epiphenomenal (Brody 2000; Epi-Hypothesis). I will review arguments for the orthodox view that when a head surfaces above its base, what is manipulated is neither smaller than a head (contra PF- and Epi-Hypothesis) nor larger than a head (contra RM-Hypothesis), and that movement takes place in the stem of the derivation (contra PF- and Epi-Hypothesis).

The first class of arguments demonstrates that HM is subject to conditions that can only be expressed in terms of scope. The second type of evidence attests to the fact that HM, just like phrases, provide new scope options if overtly dislocated (Lechner 2007). Third, head movement does not result in derivational opacity effects known from XP-movement, indicating that heads move not inside phrases (Lechner 2009). Taken together, these observations support an orthodox conception of HM. It will be shown that apparent obstacles for this position, such as the absence of c-command in HM chains and the failure to observe the Extension Condition, can be avoided by adhering to a strict set theoretic interpretation of phrase structure.

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Verb movement in matrix *wh*-questions in Norwegian dialects: Microvariation and diachrony

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A perennial microcomparative issue in Norwegian dialect syntax concerns the lack of Verb Second (V2) in root *wh*-questions: Norwegian dialects appear to be the only varieties of Germanic that exhibit this particular syntax while at the same time displaying a clear V2 requirement in other matrix environments. Consider the examples in (1a, b), illustrating an object and a subject question respectively.

(1) a. *Ka han Per (ikkje) tenke (*ikkje) på?* (Tromsø dialect)

what he Per not thinks not on
'What is Per (not) thinking of?'

b. *Kem som (ikkje) snakke (*ikkje) no?*

who SOM not talks not now
'Who is (not) talking now?'

The manifestation of non-V2 in subject *wh*-questions is the insertion of the complementizer *som* after the *wh*-expression. This complementizer otherwise appears in clefts, relatives, equatives, comparatives, and small clause predicates, hence partly corresponding to English *as* and *like* and partly *that*.

The main goal of this paper is to provide an account of the synchronic microvariation attested in the *Nordic Syntactic Judgment Database* (Johannessen et al. 2009), at present containing grammaticality judgments from informants at approximately 100 measure points in Norway. We also propose a possible diachronic development based on the distribution found across Norwegian dialects.

In some of the dialects the non-V2 pattern is restricted to only short, monosyllabic *wh*-items, while other dialects allow non-V2 also with more complex *wh*-constituents (Nordgård 1985, 1988, Åfarli 1986). No dialects allow non-V2 with long *wh*-elements and not with the short ones. Vangsnes (2005) and Westergaard (2009) have provided accounts of this distribution by appealing to (re)analysis of the short *wh*-items as heads that may fill the V2 position, thus leaving V-to-C movement unnecessary. These accounts thus also account for the historical development either implicitly or explicitly, arguing that the development from V2 to non-V2 starts with this change.

In the present paper, we consider further microvariation. First, some dialects have been observed to treat subject and non-subject *wh*-question differently, in that some dialects allow non-V2 only in subject *wh*-questions (i.e. with *som*-insertion), but not in object questions. Furthermore, there are dialects that allow complex *wh*-subjects with non-V2, but only simple *wh*-non-subjects with this word order.

Finally, a generalization arrived at in Nordgård (1985) is that in most dialects that allow non-V2 in root *wh*-questions, the complementizer *som* rather than *at* 'that' can appear at the left edge of the embedded clause. That is, violations of the **that*-trace effect as classically formulated are typically only found in an area in Eastern Norway in which non-V2 in root *wh*-questions is not accepted.

Based on this distribution, we propose the following diachronic account: The non-V2 pattern in root *wh*-questions has started with a new analysis of the item *som* rather than the short *wh*-items, and the development has proceeded in four stages:

1. At stage 1 (a strictly V2 grammar, e.g. Standard Norwegian), *som* is an element suitable for insertion in an embedded C under subject extraction, presumably due to its subject-relatedness elsewhere in the grammar (relatives, clefts).

2. At stage 2, *som* can also appear in a matrix C, and we argue that what paves the way for such a (re)analysis is an attested “partial” cleft construction where the expletive is omitted (Lie 1992), leaving raising of *som* possible; see (2). In dialects at stage 2 only subject *wh*-questions will be allowed with non-V2, and there will be no complexity constraint. This corresponds to the Hordaland dialects.

- (2) a. *Ka va [de [som skjedde]]?*
 what was it SOM happened
 b. *Ka va [som_i [t_i skjedde]]?*
 what was SOM happened
 c. *Ka [som_i [t_i [t_i skjedde]]?*
 what SOM happened

3. This situation will create non-V2 input in the language, which in turn allows for (re)analysis of short *wh*-items as heads that can fill C. Dialects at stage 3 allow complex *wh*-subjects (with *som* in C) but only simple non-subjects, since V-to-C will be called for when the *wh*-expression is complex. The Tromsø dialect and certain Central Norwegian dialects are of this kind.

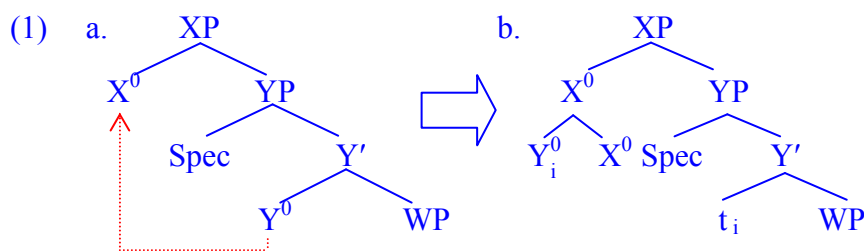
4. At stage 4 we have a bifurcation: At stage 4a the learner has concluded, due to massive non-V2 input, that there is no V-to-C requirement, and complex *wh*-constituents are therefore allowed without V2 in both subject and non-subject questions. The Møre dialects are of this kind. At stage 4b, *som* is not recognized as an element in matrix C anymore: in dialects of this kind (Nordland), simple *wh*-items are still categorized as heads, and both subject and non-subject *wh*-questions may appear with non-V2 as long as the *wh*-expression is simple.

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ALTERNATIVES TO HEAD-MOVEMENT

Head-movement is usually conceived of as a syntactic operation taking as its input a tree as in (1a) and returning the tree in (1b). The need for such an operation arises from the existence of morphologically complex items like the French finite verb *fin-ir-a* ‘finish-FUT-3SG’ or the English synthetic comparative *tall-er*, which are generally assumed to be derived in syntax rather than in the lexicon. In this talk I will discuss both the alternative ways of deriving the same empirical results and the additional syntactic or morphological operations postulated to complement head-movement.



Alternatives to head-movement

A well-known problem arises with head-movement in the current framework, where a probe for movement is postulated to c-command its goal. To resolve it Chomsky (2000) claims that **head-movement** (with the possible exception of incorporation) takes place at the **PF branch of the derivation**, after Spell-Out (cf. Parrott (2001)). As a result, head-movement is not reflected at LF and thus is not expected to have semantic effects. I will argue that relegating head-movement to the PF branch has several undesirable side effects and does not resolve most outstanding issues.

I will also discuss several implementations of head-movement that allow it to take place in syntax without assuming that it results in head-adjunction (Ackema, Neeleman and Weerman (1993), Neeleman and Weerman (1999), Toyoshima (2000, 2001), Hale and Keyser (2002), Harley (2005), Platzack (2009), and Roberts (2010)). Most of these approaches share the need to postulate a novel mechanism, thus losing the intuition that head-movement is a kind of movement.

Koopman and Szabolcsi (2000) and Mahajan (2000, 2001) take a different perspective on head-movement, reanalyzing it as **remnant movement**: in particular, V-to-T is achieved as a result of the VP moving to [Spec, TP] subsequent to the evacuation of all dependents of the verb out of it, exactly like Long Head-movement of a participle to [Spec, CP] in Bulgarian, Serbo-Croatian, etc. (Lema and Rivero (1990), Bošković (1995, 1997), Embick and Izvorski (1995), Lambova (2002), Broekhuis and Migdalski (2003), etc.). Since such an approach makes some very precise morphological predictions, I will demonstrate that it cannot account for at least such standard cases of head-movement as French verb formation (but see Julien (2000)).

Complements to head-movement

Lowering (Emonds (1978), see Embick and Noyer (1999, 2001) for a possible formalization; deriving from **Affix Hopping** (Chomsky (1957)) has been proposed in order to account for the derivation of the English finite verbs (as opposed to auxiliaries and French finite verbs, which move to T). Lowering is a syntactic operation whose output is a syntactic tree as in (1b), except the complex head is located at the foot of the chain rather than at the head of the chain. Unlike head-movement, Lowering is disrupted by negation:

- (2) a. *Marion not likes apples.
b. Marion doesn't like apples.
c. Marion will not like apples.

Unfortunately, Lowering appears to be impossible to implement in the current framework, where countercyclic operations are prohibited. Also, as Affix Hopping has also been used to account for periphrastic verbal forms (e.g., the English perfect), the question naturally arises whether they are derived by Lowering or as a result of head-movement. Possible solutions to both issues will be discussed.

The morphosyntactic operation of **Local Dislocation** (Embick and Noyer (1999, 2001)) has been proposed in order to account for complex head formation restricted by the choice of a lexical item, as is the case in English comparative formation. Local dislocation applies after Vocabulary Insertion and linearization, and affects both linear order and hierarchy:

- (3) a. $[_{XP} X [_{YP} [_{ZP} Z] Y]]$
b. $[_{X} *[_{Z} * Y]]$
c. $[[_{Z^0} Z+X] * Y]$

Note that, as with Affix Hopping, a new complex head Z^0 is created, which nonetheless cannot serve as input to either syntactic or morphological rules. I will use this to demonstrate that Local Dislocation cannot account for synthetic comparative formation and examine such similar morphosyntactic operations as **Morphological Merger** (Bobaljik (1994)) or **Merger under Adjacency** (Harley (to appear)).

Finally, I will discuss my own approach to head-movement (Matushansky (2006)) claiming that it arises as a result of two independent operations: movement and **m-merger**.

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REMNANT XP MOVEMENT BECOMES HEAD MOVEMENT – EVIDENCE FROM POLISH

Recently many traditional analyses of head movement of verbs have been reinterpreted as remnant XP movement, in an apparent attempt to remove X^0 movement from the theory. This talk provides evidence from Slavic that both types of operations exist alongside. Specifically, it addresses participle movement in Polish, where a former XP operation has been supplemented by X^0 movement due to morphological reduction of the auxiliary.

As shown in (1), in South Slavic the *l*-participle may raise to the sentence initial position, but a subject gap is required. In Polish, the subject can co-occur with the preposed *l*-participle (cf. 2b). Broekhuis and Migdalski (BM) (2003) and Migdalski (2006) account for the subject gap in (1) by suggesting that the participle XP-moves to Spec, TP via predicate inversion. Both the subject and the *l*-participle agree in φ -features, so either of them may check/value the φ -features of T. In contrast to Germanic and Romance, BE is the only auxiliary in Slavic complex tenses formed with the *l*-participle. BM assume with Hoekstra (1984, 1986) and Roberts (1987) that the auxiliary HAVE introduces an agent and assigns accusative case to the object in periphrastic tenses. Given the absence of the auxiliary HAVE, the *l*-participle is the only candidate to perform these functions in Slavic. This assumption has implications for VP structure: in Slavic the subject must be the underlying external argument of the *l*-participle, whereas in unergative constructions in Germanic and Romance (formed with the auxiliary HAVE), the subject is generated as the external argument of the auxiliary verb (cf. 3).

BM's proposal predicts a number of properties of the construction, such as the fact that the participle must raise as a remnant XP to Spec, TP and leave the direct object stranded (cf. 3a), since movement of the whole VP would raise the direct object across its Case checking position, leaving its Case feature unchecked (cf. 4 for 1b). Likewise, movement of a constituent larger than the VP is also prohibited, because otherwise the features on the *l*-participle would be too deeply embedded to establish an Agree relationship with the φ -features of T. Percolation of the φ -features from the participle is not possible either, because they are blocked by the lexical head *v*. This is a different type of operation than the widely discussed (as in Den Besten and Webelhuth 1990) VP topicalization in Germanic, and Macedonian within Slavic (cf. 5), which occur with the auxiliary HAVE and exemplify A'-movement (rather than A-movement) to a position above Spec,TP; hence the object Case can be checked via reconstruction.

BM's approach explains a number of empirical facts about Slavic complex tenses that were left unaccounted for in head movement analyses, such as Lema & Rivero's (1989) Long Head Movement from V to C across I or Bošković's (1995, 1997) head adjunction to Aux below T. For instance, the *l*-participle cannot move across the focus particle *li* in Serbo-Croatian, although finite verbs can (cf. 6). However, Bošković (2001: 31ff) observes that *li* in S-C may not host any XP material (cf. 7), as it is unable to project a specifier. If participle fronting is analysed as XP-movement, the restriction on its placement before *li* receives a straightforward explanation.

Notably, in Bulgarian, where *li* may be preceded by heads and phrases alike, both *l*-participles and finite verbs may move across *li*.

In Polish the *l*-participle either incorporates into the auxiliary in T by moving from V to T (cf. 8a), or, if this movement does not occur, the auxiliary encliticizes at PF onto a non-verbal element, such as the subject pronoun *ty* (cf. 8b). This is what has been proposed by Borsley and Rivero (1994), but what is left unaccounted for is the reason why participle fronting via XP-predicate inversion is impossible in Polish and why the fronted participle does not require the subject gap. I suggest that this is due to the diachronic weakening of the auxiliary BE. In all Slavic languages where predicate inversion occurs, the auxiliary BE is morphologically the same as the copula. In Polish the two forms diverge: the copula forms consist of the former strong (non-clitic) 3rd person singular form of the verb BE to which reduced auxiliary forms are affixed, functioning as person-number markers (cf. 9). A well-known property of predicate inversion is that it requires an overt copula BE to license it (Moro 1997, Den Dikken 2006; cf. 12). As the auxiliary in Polish is no longer identified as the copula, predicate inversion is impossible: the participle X⁰-raises and adjoins to the auxiliary in T⁰, leaving Spec, TP available for the subject.

- (1) a. Az sŭm čel knjigata (2) a. Ty-ś czytł książkę
I am_{AUX} read_{M.SG} book-the you+AUX.2.SG read_{M.SG} book
“I was reading the book” “You have read the book”
b. (*Az) čel sŭm knjigata (Bg) b. (Ty) czytał-eś książkę
you read_{M.SG}+AUX.2.SG book (Pl)
- (3) a. ...[**be** [_{vP} DP_{agent} v [_{VP} V_{PART} DP_{theme}]]] **Slavic (BE as aux)**
b. ...[_{vP} DP_{agent} v [_{VP} **have** [_{VP} V_{PART} DP_{theme}]]] **Romance and Germanic (HAVE as aux)**
- (4) a. [TP [T_i+_q] sŭm ... [AgrO [_{vP} (az)_i+_q] v [_{VP} čel_i+_q] knjigata]]]]
b. [TP [VP čel_k] [T sŭm ... [AgrO knjigata_k] [_{vP} (az)_i+_q] v [t_{VP} t_k]]]]
- (5) [_{FocP} kupeno knjigite_i [TP nie [_{vP} [_v gi imame [_{partP} t_i]]]]]
buy_{PTP.N} books-the we them_{CL.ACC} have_{1PL}
“Buy the books, we did!” (Mac, cf. Tomić 1996)
- (6) a. Ljubi *li* nju? b. *Poljubio *li* je nju?
kiss_{PRES.3SG} Q her kiss_{PART.M.SG} Q is_{AUX} her
“Does he kiss her?” “Did he kiss her?” (S-C, Bošković 1995: 251)
- (7) Skupe (*li*) knjige (**li*) Ana čita?
expensive Q books Q Ana reads
“Does Ana read expensive books?” (S-C, cf. Bošković 2001: 27)
- (8) a. [TP Ty [T czytał_i-eś] [_{VP} [_v t_i] [_{NP} książkę]]] b. [TP Ty-ś_i [T t_i] [_{VP} [_v czytał] [_{NP} książkę]]]]
you read_{PART.M.SG}+AUX.2SG book_{ACC} you+AUX.2SG read_{PART.M.SG} book_{ACC}
“You have read the book”

(9) Paradigm of the copula and auxiliary forms in Polish

	Auxiliary forms		Copular forms	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
1	-em	-śmy	jest-em	jest-śmy
2	-eś	-ście	jest-eś	jest-ście
3	-	-	jest	są

- (10) a. Dovolēn sŭm **BE as a copula**
glad_{M.SG} am “I am glad”
- b. Pročel sŭm stixove **BE as an auxiliary**
read_{PART.M.SG} am_{AUX} poems
“I have read poems” (Bulgarian)
- (11) a. Jestem zadowolony **BE as a copula**
am glad_{M.SG} “I am glad”
- b. Czytał-em wiersze **an auxiliary form**
read_{PART.M.SG}+_{AUX.1SG} poems_{ACC}
“I have read poems” (Polish)
- (12) a. Imogen considers Brian (to be) the best candidate.
- b. Imogen considers the best candidate *(to be) Brian. (Den Dikken 2006: 144)

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Mood, Features, and Verb Movement

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This paper discusses V features, nominative case, and V movement in Chomsky's (2001) minimalist program, explains the facets of the English subjunctive and imperative, and contrasts the difference of V movement between English and other European languages.

I propose that V movement can be solved in the unitary I system where I is a bundle of features, without recourse to Agr(P) parameterization based on richness of agreement morphology (Pollock (1989); Vikner (1997), among many others). The feature matrices [-Tense, +Agr] and [+Tense, -Agr] will be argued for the subjunctive and imperative respectively. The auxiliary *do*, a dummy tense carrier, can be inserted into [+Tense] of indicatives and imperatives, while untensed I cannot accommodate *do* in subjunctives or infinitives:

- (1) Indicative / Imperative: I did see a ghost. / Do come to my house.
 (2) Subjunctive / Infinitive: I insist that he (*do) go. / You make me (*do) feel good.
 The imperative *do* never inflects for agreement even if its overt nominative subject is third person singular or archaic second person *thou*, hence [-Agr]:

- (3) Imperative with subject: Everybody do/*does sit down.

Shakespr. Imp. with *thou*: Now do/*dost thou watch, for I can stay no longer.

On the other hand, [+Agr] is a dependent case checker which must be activated by another head under head-to-head adjacency (Raposo (1987)); the complementizer *that* is necessary for subjunctives to connect the chain of Agr activation, and check and value nominative case:

- (4) Subjunctive: I asked [_{CP} [_C that] [_{IP} he [_I +Agr] take the medicine]].
- $\begin{array}{c} \text{Agree} \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ \text{that} \quad \text{+Agr} \\ \uparrow \quad \uparrow \\ \text{head-to-head activation} \end{array}$
- Cf. *I asked ϕ he take the medicine.

Furthermore, a finite V carries [+Tense, +Agr] in present-day English, but [+Tense, +Agr, +Mood] in earlier English, due to the fact that mood was morphologically realized on the Old English verb by the subjunctive morpheme *e*, which disappeared in Middle English, causing English Vs to move or not to move depending on the mood they belong to. The claim is that V movement can be accounted for in terms of the numerical strength of V features: *The more, the stronger*. Thus all Vs used to raise over *not* with three plus features in older English:

- (5) Obsolete: I know not t_V .

In present-day English, main verbs remain in situ, with two positive features:

- (6) Indicative with main V: John often kisses Mary.

Cf. *John kisses often t_V Mary.

However, two plus features sufficiently allow *be* (and perfective *have*) to move from V to I:

- (7) Indicative with *be*: You are always t_V lenient.

But even *be* cannot move with only one positive feature in either subjunctives or imperatives:

- (8) Subjunctive: I insist that you not be lenient.

Cf. *I insist that you be not t_V lenient. (archaic)

(9) Imperative: Do not be lenient.

Cf. *Be not t_V lenient. (archaic)

The three degrees of V feature strength are summarized here:

T	Agr	M	# of +	
+	+	+	3	All Vs raise in earlier English and other European languages
+	+		2	Only <i>be</i> and perfective <i>have</i> raise in English indicatives
		+	1	No Vs raise in English subjunctives
+			1	No Vs raise in English imperatives

This hypothesis not merely reveals the history of V movement in English, but also highlights the different verbal behavior between English and other European languages. As far as I have investigated such languages as French, Italian, German, Dutch, Icelandic, Greek, Polish, and Lithuanian, the hypothesis seems to work: All finite verbs move from V to I, regardless of the mood to which they belong; since mood morphology is integrated in the European verbal paradigms, so they are positively specified for M as well as T and Agr. The examples from (10) to (16) are in the subjunctive mood (parentheses around adverbs mean that either one of the two positions is possible in (13), (14), and (15)):

(10) French: Il faut que Jean aime toujours t_V Marie.

it needs that John love+T+Agr+M always Mary

(11) Italian: Penso che Rita paghi sempre t_V tutto.

I-think that Rita pay+T+Agr+M always all

(12) Icelandic: Jón segir að hann borði oft t_V tomata.

John said that he eat+T+Agr+M often tomatos

(13) Greek: Thelo o Janis (panta) na agapa (panta) t_V ti Maria.

I-want the John (always) +M love+T+Agr (always) the Mary

(14) Polish: Powiedział, że Jan (naprawdę) kochałby (naprawdę) t_V Marię.

he-said that John (really) love+T+Agr+M (really) Mary

(15) Lithuanian: Norėčiau, kad Jonas (visada) myletų (visada) t_V Marija.

I-wish that John (always) love+T+Agr+M (always) Mary

As I have never admitted other functional maximal projections than IP and CP, the position to which V raises is uniformly I. In the case of Polish subjunctives, however, it seems necessary to introduce another head ‘M’ between C and I, in order to accommodate ‘floating’ *by*+Agr:

(16) Polish: Powiedział, że (my) [_M by-śmy] to [_I zrobili- t_{by} śmy] t_V .

he-said that (we) +M+Agr it do+T

Assuming the traditional head-final VP/IP structure for German and Dutch (Pintzuk (1999); *Cf.* Zwart (1997)), V-to-I raising may look vacuous, but the main Vs are obviously located in C position after successive raising in the following interrogatives:

(17) German: Sagte er so t_V t_I ?

say+T+Agr+M he so

(18) Dutch: Werken zij hard t_V t_I ?

work+T+Agr+M they hard

Under this hypothesis, what triggers V movement is not any version of impoverishment of agreement morphology, but the existence of mood morphology.

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Some scope puzzles for analyses of V2

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As pointed out by Lechner (2009), negative polarity items (NPIs) can't occur in the V2-initial position in German, indicating that they are unable to reconstruct for scope:

- (1) *Auch nur einer" verlor nie (German)
{even a single one" lost never
``Not a single one ever lost.."

He poses this as a problem for remnant movement analyses of V2 (Müller, 2004; Nilsen, 2003). However, the fact that NPIs *can* occur V2-initially in Norwegian, and, hence, happily reconstruct for scope in that language, seems to suggest that the situation is more complex than Lechner might have envisaged.

- (2) Noen iPad vil hun ikke ha. (Norwegian)
any iPad wants she not have.
``She doesn't want any iPad."

The finite verb (Vf) reconstructs for scope in both languages, and also in Dutch. The Dutch verb ``hoeven" `need' is an NPI (van der Wouden, 1997), and so is the Norwegian verb ``gidde" `bother to'. If the verbs couldn't reconstruct, the sentences in (3) should be ungrammatical, contrary to fact. In fact, I will argue, contra Lechner (2006), that movement of V to the second position never feeds scope.

- (3) a. Dat hoeft niet (Dutch)
that needs not
``That's not necessary""
b. Jeg gidder ikke (Norwegian)
I bother not
``I can't be bothered."

Adverbs don't reconstruct from the V2-initial position in any Germanic language. Thus, there is, to my knowledge, no Germanic language where the two adverbs in sentences like (4) can scopally invert, with ``noen ganger" `sometimes' scoping under ``mest sannsynlig" `most probably' (cf. Koster 1978):

- (4) Noen ganger treffer de mest sannsynlig den bakerste bilen. (Norwegian)
Some times hit they most probably the last car\
``It's sometimes the case that they most probably hit the last car."
NOT: ``It's most probably the case that they sometimes hit the last car"

The generalizations that I will defend are that Vf always reconstructs from V2, adverbs never do, while DPs reconstruct in some languages (Norwegian), but not in others (German).

On the traditional analysis of V2, with V-to-C movement and subsequent XP topicalization, this combination of facts looks rather mysterious. I will argue that it can be made to follow from my (2003) remnant movement analysis of V2, once it has been subjected to a small set of modifications. The resulting analysis will enable us to bring together these scopal subtleties with some other differences among the Germanic languages in terms of V2, including the possibility for focus particles to intervene between Vf and the initial XP (Nilsen 2003), as well as the existence of so-called "ripple effects", where consecutive embedded clauses exhibit S-Vf inversion, or altered complementizers, in the context of long distance XP-topicalization (see Biberauer and Roberts 2004 for discussion in the context of remnant movement and V2).

Evidence for semantically active *covert head-mvt* – scope in Verb Projection Raising

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1. Summary. We will show that the scope ambiguities found in VPR cannot be derived by means of movement (+ optional reconstruction) because a) there are no movement effects such as freezing, b) movement predicts interpretations that are not attested, and c) fails to derive the interpretations of Negative Indefinites in VPR. We will argue instead for an type of covert head movement that simultaneously derives the scope interpretations and allows for free base-generation of arguments, thereby accounting for the lack of movement effects.

2. Scope in VPR. In VR and VPR indefinites can have wide or narrow scope with respect to a modal if they occur outside the cluster (1b/c). However, once they are inside the cluster, they must have narrow scope with respect to the modal, (1a), cf. Haegeman & van Riemsdijk 1986, Haegeman 1992: 110ff. (all data are from Swiss German):

- (1) a. dass er i de Ferie [wett 2 **Fraue** küsse] VPR: *2 > want
that he in the vacation wants 2 women kiss.INF want > 2
b. dass er i de Ferie 2 **Fraue** [wett küsse] VR: 2 > want
that he in the vacation 2 women wants kiss.INF want > 2
c. dass er 2 **Fraue** [wett i de Ferie küsse] VPR: 2 > want
that he 2 women wants in the vacation kiss.INF want > 2

3. Previous accounts in terms of movement. Most previous accounts of VPR have derived these facts by means of movement (e.g. scrambling as in Haegeman 1992 and Broekhuis 1993 or case-licensing and scrambling as in den Dikken 1995): In (1b/c) the object moves out of its base-position in the complement of the embedded verb to a position above the modal. The ambiguity then results from the possibility of interpreting the object either in its base-position or in the landing site. Since there is no movement in (1a) (and QR is not taken to be an option), the object is c-commanded by the modal at all levels so that no ambiguity arises.

4. Problems for a scrambling derivation 1: lack of movement effects. A movement/scrambling derivation is problematic because VPR-structures (especially those in (1c)) do not show the familiar movement effects. We will illustrate only one such property: objects that occur outside the cluster as in (1c) are transparent for extraction. This is unexpected under a movement derivation where we would expect freezing effects:

- (2) Was₁ het de Hans söle [___₁ für Büecher] [chöne ohni Hilf läse]?
what has the John should for books could without help read.INF
'What kind of books should John have been able to read without any help?'

5. Problems for a scrambling derivation 2: scope facts

a) *Hinterhölzl's paradox.* Scrambling accounts also fail to account for the following pattern from Hinterhölzl (2006: 113f.) (this is a translation of the West Flemish example used in H.):

- (3) dass er d Schüeler 2 **Stuck** laet *driümal* üebe. 2 p > 3 x
that he the students 2 pieces lets three.times rehearse.INF *3 x > 2 p

The indefinite can have wide or narrow scope w.r.t. the causative verb in this example. What is crucial is that under narrow scope of the indefinite, it must have wide scope w.r.t. the adverbial. This is unexpected under a scrambling/movement account as the indefinite would come from below the adverbial – the base-position of objects is below frequency adverbials.

b) *Negative indefinites.* Negative indefinites (NIs) interact in intriguing ways with VPR: If the NI occurs outside the cluster (the structure (1c)), it allows for 3 readings:

- (4) dass (au mal)**kän Profässer** [törf bi de Prüefig aawesend sii] ¬ prof > may
that once no professor may at the exam present be may > ¬ prof
'that no professor may be present during the exam' ¬ > may > a prof

Following Penka (2007) we assume that NIs are actually the spell-out of two independent parts, an abstract negation + a non-negative indefinite. Crucially, for them to be realized as one word they have to be adjacent at PF. While the wide-scope reading and the split reading

follow under a mvt-account if the Neg is merged in the matrix clause while the indefinite is scrambled from below (and, for the split reading, optionally reconstructed). The narrow scope reading is more problematic: it involves separate scrambling of both indefinite and negation from the complement of the modal (for amalgamation to be possible) plus reconstruction of both elements. Scrambling + reconstruction of negation strikes us as very undesirable:

- (5)
$$\underbrace{[\Theta P=]_2 \ [a X]_1 \ \text{Mod} \ [_{VP} \ [Op^-]_2 \ [a X]_1]}_{\text{reconstruction of both indefinite and negation}}$$
 narrow scope: scrambling + reconstruction of both indefinite and negation

6. An alternative: covert predicate raising. We will instead argue for a base-generation approach. We adapt and reinterpret the theta-role-extension mechanism by Fanselow (2001): An argument A of P can be merged in a projection X above the projection of P if P incorporates into the head of X. In other words: verb incorporation extends the theta-marking domain. We assume that in a simple (Swiss) German clause, V always incorporates into v and the V+v-complex later (covertly) incorporates into T. This licenses the merger of arguments of V in the projection of T. This mechanism can then be extended to VR/VPR: By (covertly) incorporating the dependent verb into the modal, arguments of V can be merged in the projection of the modal (as in (1c)):

- (6)
$$[\text{MODP} \ \underbrace{XP \ [V_1+\text{Mod}]}_{\Theta\text{-role assignment}} \ [_{VP} \ __1] \]$$
 (e.g. lit: ‘a book wanted to read’)

Verb incorporation always applies, but given a single-output-syntax, often only the lower copy will be realized (Roberts 1997). Furthermore, we do not analyze it as feature movement, but as full verb movement which can be interpreted in its landing site or in its base-position. The movement is driven by c-selectional/verb-status features (Matushansky 2006).

i) Base-generation trivially accounts for the absence of movement effects (2). **ii)** At the same time, verb incorporation accounts for the scope facts: The lack of scope ambiguity in (1a) follows from the simple fact that the modal always c-commands the indefinite, whether the modal is interpreted in T or in the base-position, cf. (7a/b). The scope ambiguity in (1b/c) follows under variable interpretation of the incorporated modal, cf. (8):

- (7) a. $[_{TP} \ [V_1+\text{Mod}]_2+T \ [_{VP} \ [V_1+\text{Mod}]_2 \ [_{TP} \ QP \ V_1]]]$ (1a)
 b. $[_{TP} \ [V_1+\text{Mod}]_2+T \ [_{VP} \ [V_1+\text{Mod}]_2 \ [_{TP} \ QP \ V_1]]]$ (1a)
 (8) a. $[_{TP} \ [V_1+\text{Mod}]_2+T \ [_{VP} \ QP \ [V_1+\text{Mod}]_2 \ [_{VP/TP} \ (XP) \ V_1]]]$ (1b/c) modal > QP
 b. $[_{TP} \ [V_1+\text{Mod}]_2+T \ [_{VP} \ QP \ [V_1+\text{Mod}]_2 \ [_{VP/TP} \ (XP) \ V_1]]]$ (1b/c) QP > modal

iii) The facts in (3) also follow straightforwardly: Since only the verb moves, the relative scope between the indefinite and the frequency adverbial is fixed; due to variable interpretation of the modal (landing site/base-pos.) there can be wide/narrow scope w.r.t. the indefinite.

iv) Finally, the interpretation of NIs in (4) are obtained by interpreting the (abstractly incorporated) modal (cf. Lechner 2007: 17 on split readings with universals) in different positions (F_a/F_b are functional heads, F_a could be Neg and F_b T):

- (9) a. in the surface position:
 $[_{XP} \ \text{Mod}+F_a+F_b \ Op^- \ \text{Mod}+F_a \ a \ \text{prof} \ \text{Mod} \ [_{VP} \ \dots]] \ \rightarrow$ wide scope
 b. between Op^- & indefinite:
 $[_{XP} \ \text{Mod}+F_a+F_b \ Op^- \ \text{Mod}+F_a \ a \ \text{prof} \ \text{Mod} \ [_{VP} \ \dots]] \ \rightarrow$ split scope
 c. above Op^- :
 $[_{XP} \ \text{Mod}+F_a+F_b \ Op^- \ \text{Mod}+F_a \ a \ \text{prof} \ \text{Mod} \ [_{VP} \ \dots]] \ \rightarrow$ narrow scope

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Syntactic verb movement without feature checking: evidence from ellipsis

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I argue that interactions between verb movement (VM) and ellipsis are best explained by a narrow syntactic analysis of VM rather than a PF-movement analysis. Ellipsis-VM interactions (“bleeding” phenomena and sluicing/VPE alternations) show that VM is syntactic movement that is “justified” by affixation at PF rather than narrow syntactic feature-checking, and this provides evidence for analysing the narrow syntax as a blind engine which overgenerates structures that are filtered at the interfaces by convergence and economy.

Problem: a number of linguists have argued that VM is a phonological phenomenon that is best analysed as PF-movement. Empirically this has been motivated by the observation that the availability of VM is often conditioned by phonological factors: for example, the availability of v/V^0 -to- T^0 movement correlates with richness of verbal morphology, indicating that richness of morphology may “drive” VM to some extent. Perhaps the strongest evidence for a PF-movement treatment of VM comes from the interaction of VM and ellipsis, where ellipsis “bleeds” VM. This has come from two sources. First, Boeckx & Stjepanović (2001, B&S) argue that that English pseudogapping (1) shows ellipsis bleeding V^0 -to- v^0 movement, where the pseudogapping remnant is a DP that has undergone A-movement to AgrOP. Second, Craenenbroeck & Lipták (2008) provide evidence from Hungarian yes/no sluicing which shows that VM to Foc^0 in these constructions is bled by ellipsis; this is shown by the fact that the affix that realizes Foc^0 , *-e*, appears on the sluicing remnant (2), even though it only shows up on the verb (after VM) in the absence of ellipsis (3). Schoorlemmer & Temmerman (2010, S&T) analyse the Hungarian sluicing case and compare it to cases where VM is not bled by ellipsis, such as Russian verb phrase ellipsis (VPE) (4). They argue that VM is unable to escape an ellipsis site when it stops off at an intermediate position within that site; if the trigger for VM is outside the ellipsis site, VM is possible. S&T argue that the distribution of VM across ellipsis constructions is best explained by a PF-movement analysis of VM, where ellipsis (PF Deletion) precedes VM in the PF component: when ellipsis deletes a VM trigger, VM is impossible.

However, there are internal problems for these accounts and general problems for the PF-movement theory. B&S’ account of pseudogapping (via Lasnik 1999) is critiqued by Gengel (2007), who argues convincingly that pseudogapping is better analysed as A’-movement of the remnant to a focus projection above vP followed by vP-deletion. This denudes B&S’ analysis of its import, since the derived position of the verb is inside the ellipsis site. S&T’s account is problematized by counter-examples to their intermediate site generalization like Irish VPE, which involves V^0 -to- v^0 -to- T^0 and ellipsis of vP (5). The PF-movement account of VM is generally problematized by evidence for semantic effects of VM, such as cases where T^0 -to- C^0 movement allows an NPI to be licensed (6). We are thus faced with a mixed picture of VM: on one hand, ellipsis seems to bleed VM in some situations, indicating a PF-sensitivity which is hard to model with syntactic movement driven by uninterpretable features; on the other hand, variation in the bleeding effects cannot be captured by S&T’s PF-movement analysis.

Proposal: the facts can be captured by the following assumptions: (i) VM is syntactic; (ii) syntactic movement is costly; (iii) VM is “justified” by affixation at PF. “Justified” here refers to the fact that VM is not *driven* in the narrow syntax; rather, VM occurs “blindly” without a trigger (cf. Richards 2010), and VM derivations only win because the competing (and more economical) VM-less derivations crash at PF due to violations of the Stray Affix Filter (i.e. unaffixed T^0 or C^0). Thus the cost of VM is justified at PF, rather than by feature-checking in narrow syntax. VM is bled when ellipsis deletes an affix: the

derivations without VM outcompete those with VM, because both converge (stray affixes are not pronounced) and the VM-less derivations are more economical.

Ellipsis bleeding VM: that ellipsis bleeds VM in Hungarian yes/no sluicing is explained by assuming that it is the affixal properties of T^0 that justifies both v^0 -to- T^0 and T^0 -to- Foc^0 : v^0 -to- T^0 only partially satisfies the affixal requirement of T^0 , so T^0 -to- Foc^0 is required. This is attested by the fact that the finite verb standardly occurs to the immediate right of the element in Spec,FocP in Hungarian (the “preverbal position”). It also explains the fact that the *-e* affix (the spellout of Foc^0 in yes/no questions) must appear on the verb in non-elliptical clauses even though the sluicing data shows that this is not due to a selectional restriction of the *-e* suffix itself: without T^0 -to- Foc^0 , T^0 's affixal requirements are not satisfied so the derivation crashes at PF. When it comes to sluicing (deletion of at least TP), there are two possible derivations: one with VM to Foc^0 (7a), and one without VM (7b) where suffixation of *-e* to the sluicing remnant occurs before ellipsis. Both converge at PF (there are no stray affixes in the pronounced structures), but (7b) is more economical because (7a) involves an extra instance of Move, which is costly. Therefore (7b) blocks (7a), deriving the bleeding effect. The Russian and Irish cases where ellipsis does not bleed VM follow on the assumption that VM in these cases is justified by affixes outside the ellipsis sites (as argued by S&T for Russian and Goldberg (2005) for Irish); the derivations without VM do not converge, so they do not block the derivations with VM (thus the verb “escapes”).

Sluicing blocks VPE: the proposed account can be extended to explain cases where sluicing blocks VPE in English. Hartman (to appear) explains cases where wh-object sluicing blocks VPE (8) by appealing to the interaction of ellipsis parallelism and an economy principle, MaxElide (9). I adopt Hartman's proposal that VPE is not possible with wh-object extraction because of the unavailability of an appropriate “parallelism domain” (PD). However I argue against his account of wh-adverbial extraction, which requires the traces of head- and A-movement to be relevant for the calculation of PDs, because (i) it is unable to account for the fact that intervening focus saves VPE with wh-adverbial extraction, unlike with wh-objects (as pointed out by Hartman, 12) and (ii) the account is dependent upon MaxElide, which incorrectly predicts there to be no optionality in standard VPE (cf. 10). I propose instead that only wh-traces count for the calculation of PDs and argue that wh-adverbial extraction blocks VPE in matrix contexts (11a) because sluicing is more economical; the (convergent) derivations compete in wh-adverbials questions since they apply delete to the same e-GIVEN PD. I assume T^0 -to- C^0 in English is driven by the [+WH] feature on C^0 , and I follow Thoms (to appear) in assuming that sluicing deletes the full complement of Spec,CP including the C^0 head. Given this, the sluicing derivation does not require T^0 -to- C^0 (C^0 is deleted) so it is more economical than the VPE derivation, so sluicing blocks VPE. However, when there is intervening focus in the C' complement (i.e. the subject) then wh-adverbial sluicing and VPE do not compete, since the sluicing derivation would not converge (focused material cannot be deleted); therefore VPE is allowed (12a) (cf. wh-objects, 12b, which are still bad due to the lack of a PD). MaxElide is dispensed with and the paradigm is explained by the present account. The unified account of bleeding phenomena and sluicing/VPE alternations thus provides empirical evidence for analysing VM as syntactic movement that is justified at PF.

(1) John will bring wine, and Mary will [vP v [_{Agro} beer [_{VE} bring t]]].

(2) *János meghívott egy lányt, de nem tudom hogy Annát*(-e)*

John invited a girl but not I-know COMP Anna-Q

“John invited a girl, but I don't know if it was Anna.”

- (3) *Kívánszi vagyok, hogy János elment*(-e) iskolába.*
 curious I.am COMP John PV-went-Q school-to
 "I wonder if John left for school."
- (4) *Dina kupila svojej dočke školnjye učebniki, a Paša ne kupil*
 D.NOM bought REFL daughter.DAT school.ACC textbooks.ACC but P.NOM neg bought
 "Dina bought her daughter textbooks, but Pasa didn't."
- (5) Q: *Ar cheannaigh siad teach?* A: *Creidin gur [TP cheannaigh [_{TP} siad t teach]]*
 comp.INT buy.PAST they house believe.PRES.1SG COMP.PAST buy.past they house
- (6) a. *Which sandwiches did anybody not eat? b. Which sandwiches didn't anybody eat? (Vicente 2008)
- (7) a. [_{FocP} XP [_{Foc} [T+V]-e [... [t_{T+V}]]]] b. [_{FocP} XP-e [_{Foc} [... [T+V]]]]
- (8) Mary was kissing someone, but I don't know who (*she was).
- (9) MaxElide: elide the biggest deletable constituent reflexively dominated by the PD.
- (10) John might have been fired, and Mary might (have (been)), too.
- (11) a. A: I'm depressed. B: Why (*are you)? b. A: John has broken something. B: What (*has he)?
- (12) a. Mary woke up at 7am. When did JOHN? b. *Mary will kiss Bill. Who will JOHN? (Hartman to appear)

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How Can V2 Vary?
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The title of this talk is a question that could be interpreted in a couple of ways:

- (1) a. How is it possible that V2 varies (if it does)?
- b. In what way can V2 vary?

The answer to these questions is bound to depend on what we mean by V2 and how we propose to account for this phenomenon. If we just take V2 to mean any clause where the (finite) verb occurs in second position (which is the sense intended here), then one might a priori expect that this word order could arise through a variety of ways, including the (in-) famous processes V-to-C and V-to-I in all their different guises. It is very well known, however, that the theoretical proposals behind the different analyses of (alleged) instances of V-to-C and V-to-I depend on quite different assumptions about the nature of the triggers involved in the derivations. Some of these triggers are arguably "harder" than others, e.g. those that suggest that the (finite) verb has to move to an I-head under certain conditions in order to check inflectional features since otherwise the derivation would crash.⁴ This obviously means that for those speakers having a (pure) grammar of the relevant kind, the V-movement in question should be obligatory so that any apparent counterexamples to V-movement in any kind of clause in the language of such speakers must be just that, i.e. **apparent** and not real counterexamples, and thus they call for a special explanation (for some discussion see Thráinsson 2010). If, on the other hand, V-movement out of the VP has to do with semantics or discourse-related phenomena, like assertion or main point of utterance for instance, then we would expect greater variation in word order between clause types and possibly also less definite judgments by speakers (see e.g. the discussions in Bentzen 2007 and Angantýsson 2010 and references cited by these authors). In addition, the different proposals do at times make different predictions as to which kinds of phenomena should or should not go together in the relevant grammars (e.g. under parametric approaches of the kind made famous by Holmberg and Platzack 1995). This means, then, that the different theoretical proposals give very different answers to the question 'How is it possible that V2 varies?'

Given this, it is of considerable theoretical interest to study in some detail the variation found in V2 in different languages since the extent and nature of the variation obviously bears on the proposed account of the phenomenon and the nature of the grammar of the speakers tested/interviewed. Such a study would thus obviously help us answer the second question in (1), namely 'In what way can V2 vary?', or what kind of variation in V2 do we find, and it might also help us choose between different accounts of the nature of this variation. In this paper I will report on the result of two extensive studies of this kind that make considerable contributions to answering these questions, namely Icelandic Dialect Syntax (IceDiaSyn) and Faroese Dialect Syntax (FarDiaSyn). Here various instances of V2 and V3 in different types of embedded clauses were judged by over 700 Icelandic speakers and over 330 speakers of Faroese, split into different age groups and coming from all parts of the islands. I will discuss some theoretical implications of results like the following:

⁴ I am using "V-movement" and V-to-C, V-to-I, etc. as relatively neutral cover terms and not making any distinctions between proposals that involve head-movement and those where head movement is translated into phrasal movement (remnant movement) of some sort for theoretical or technical reasons.

- (2) a. In all types of embedded clauses, V3 is the default order for speakers of Faroese whereas V2 is the default order for speakers of Icelandic (cf. Angantýsson 2010).
- b. V2 is accepted to varying degrees by speakers of Faroese, depending on the type of embedded clause to a large extent, but there is also considerable inter-speaker variation. This variation is not clearly correlated with age (for similar results see Bentzen et al. 2009).
- c. Examples of V3 in embedded clauses in Icelandic typically get a low score. The acceptance depends on the type of embedded clause but it is also sensitive to intonation, type of subject, etc. in some instances. This variation does not show consistent correlation with age (cf. also Angantýsson 2010).
- d. There is some regional variation in the acceptance of V2 (Vfin-Adv) in embedded clauses in Faroese, but it does not show any clear Northern/Southern split as has sometimes been suggested in the literature. Rather V2 is accepted to varying degrees in the different areas. Interestingly, acceptance of V2 in these areas covaries with the acceptance of Stylistic Fronting (SF), the Transitive Expletive Construction (TEC) and acceptance of the associate of the expletive in a high subject position (HiPos, i.e. the position after a finite auxiliary and before the main verb). This is illustrated in *Figure 1*.

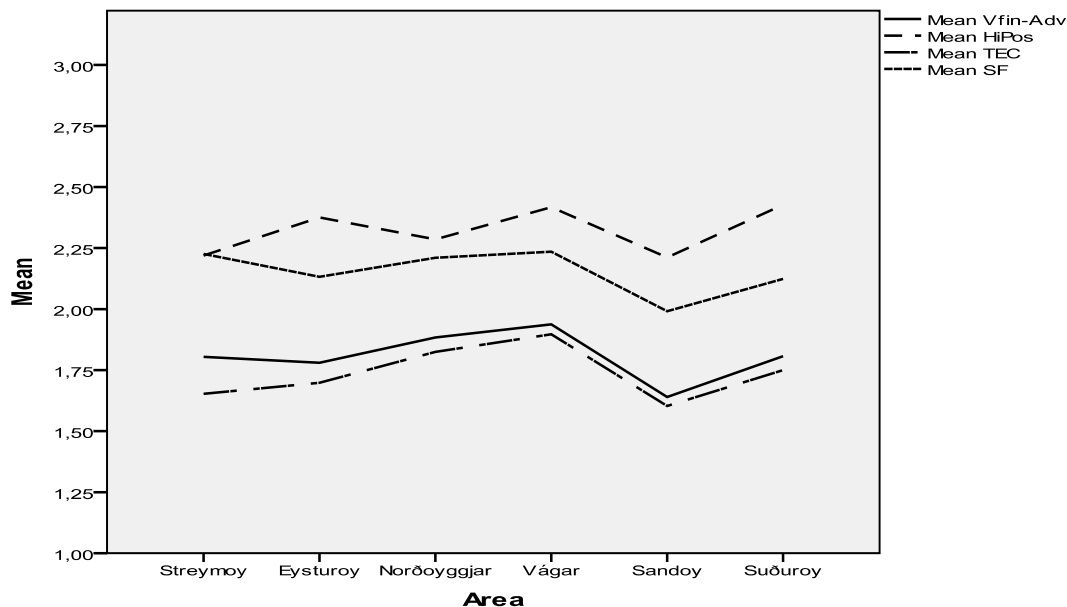


Figure 1: Regional differences in the acceptance of four different constructions in Faroese.

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Differentiating verb placements – the case of Scandinavian

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In our (mostly) empirically oriented talk, we will present an overview of recent facts relating to verb placement in Scandinavian, which may be helpful to consider in the theorizing on verb movement. In particular, we will revisit verb placement in Icelandic and the alleged semantic effects of V2 verb movement. Icelandic is important because it has been used in comparison with Mainland Scandinavian (MSc) to hypothesize a relation between rich verbal morphology and verb movement to the middle field of the clause; a movement that is proposed to be devoid of semantics in contrast to the verb movement seen in V2 clauses, which has been argued to yield semantic effects in terms of illocutionary force (and related notions).

We wish to draw attention to two properties that reduce evidence in favor of V-to-I movement in Icelandic quite drastically: (i) The extended verb second property (xV2) and (ii) subject-verb adjacency in the screening environments. If we recognize that Icelandic is more liberal than MSc with regard to fronting of non-subjects in embedded clauses (*general embedded verb second* in Vikner 1995) and that the word order seen in the remaining embedded clauses is indistinguishable from subject-initial V2, there is little – if anything – that distinguishes V-to-I from V2 in Icelandic. We will (again) propose that Icelandic is not a V-to-I moving language (cf. Wiklund et al. 2007) but a language displaying V2 verb movement only.

What is xV2? Because main/embedded asymmetries can be identified, the general embedded verb second property in the sense first intended by the term is a misnomer. We present some evidence suggesting that xV2 targets the lower part of the C system, triggered by features of Fin. The same features are proposedly responsible for the cluster effects listed in Holmberg (2010). The addition of xV2 to this list has the effect of reintroducing verb movement (removed by Holmberg) to the list in terms of low verb second (cf. Hrafnbjargarson & Wiklund 2010). Given xV2, the rich agreement hypothesis may be reformulated to involve a relation between rich agreement and low verb second rather than between rich agreement and V-to-I, making the putative counterexamples posed by Northern Norwegian and Fennoscandian verb movement (Bentzen 2007) irrelevant, as they do not involve xV2. Although the details need to be fleshed out concerning the relation between rich agreement and xV2, new data from Övdalian seem supportive of such a relation.

Finally, we show that *point of view* may distinguish V2 from non-V2 word order in some cases. This alone, however, does not enable us to draw any conclusions about semantic effects of V2 verb movement independent of the position of the XP preceding the verb.

Verb movement in layered derivations

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In this talk I intend to highlight some things I have learned about verb movement in the past 25 years, working my way towards the 2010 (or perhaps 2011) perspective suggested in the workshop description. First of all, the analysis of verb placement patterns has always been guided by views on the relation between syntax and morphology, where the tendency has mostly been to take a typically structuralist analytic approach. This was evident in the standard description of verb placement in the Government & Binding period, where the constituents of the verb (the verb stem, tense, agreement, etc.) were represented separately in the syntactic structure, and verb movement was the means to smooth over the ensuing discrepancy between syntax and morphology. While this weak lexicalist approach was abandoned with the advent of minimalism, it is still noticeable in the pivotal role assigned to T in many analyses, and, more importantly, in the syntactically represented lexical decomposition of the verb into an acategorial root and a light verb 'little v'. This general approach is questioned from the perspective of a minimalist theory of dependency, where verbal morphology is taken to be the realization of a dependency relation between an antecedent (the subject, a tense operator) and its sister, and the verb merely serves to spell the relevant features out, and does not itself harbor any features that could drive syntactic operations. Secondly, from the perspective that derivations are inevitably layered, it is argued that the little v/root dichotomy, itself well motivated, is relevant only for a subderivation that yields what we might pretheoretically call 'a verb', the output of the subderivation, which may then be used as an atom in the context of the next subderivation. This perspective on the nature of little v has numerous ramifications potentially leading to a shift of perspective on the relation between argument roles and grammatical functions, and on the derivation of structure and order more generally. Second, there is reason to believe that the preoccupation with tense, characteristic of earlier generative approaches to verb movement (mainly in Germanic) is misguided, because infinitives can be shown to be tensed as well. If anything, then, the morphosyntactic factor involved in verb placement is agreement. In this connection I would like to discuss Anderson's proposal to view verb placement as an essentially morphological procedure, as one of the phenomena of phrasal morphology (akin to cliticization). Finally, it has become increasingly clear that not anything goes in verb movement: verb movement is invariably upwards, it provides a textbook example of antisymmetry in the Kaynean sense (e.g. there is no V2-but-last), and even if verb placement is viewed as part of morphophonological spell-out (i.e. not part of narrow syntax) it must be admitted that it is sensitive to constituent boundaries and locality. At the same time, it is not clear that verb movement ever has any semantic impact, as relevant arguments are complex and cannot be easily multiplied. I will conclude the paper with a sketch of my current understanding of verb placement, in the context of a syntax that is characterized by layered derivations, and a morphology that occurs at the interface between derivation layers.

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