

Ling 165B: Syntax II

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Practice

Draw a tree for the following sentence and indicate which movement violates subjacency:

- (1) *What is that John did not buy regrettable

Verb Second (V2) Phenomena

V2 in German I

You may have noticed last time that it looks like VPs in German are head-final, but CPs and DPs are head-initial.

- (2) a. ob mein Freund dem Mann gestern das Buch gegeben hat
 whether my friend the.DAT man yesterday the.ACC book given has
 ‘whether my friend gave the man the book yesterday’
 b.*ob mein Freund hat dem Mann gestern das Buch gegeben
 c.*ob mein Freund hat gegeben dem Mann gestern das Buch

Let’s now look at the position of finite verbs in the matrix clause:

- (3) Die Kinder spielten vor der Schule im Park Fußball.
 the kids played before school in the park football
 ‘The kids played football in the park before school’

What do you notice? What position does the finite verb seem to occupy?

V2 in German II

Now, let's consider some additional data:

- (4) a. Die Kinder **spielten** vor der Schule im Park Fußball.
the kids played before school in the park football
- b. Fußball **spielten** die Kinder vor der Schule im Park.
football played the kids before school in the park
- c. Vor der Schule **spielten** die Kinder im Park Fußball.
before school played the kids in the park football
- d. Im Park **spielten** die Kinder vor der Schule Fußball.
in the park played the kids before school football
- e.*Vor der Schule Fußball **spielten** die Kinder im Park.
before school football played the kids in the park
- f.*Fußball die Kinder **spielten** vor der Schule im Park.
football the kids played before school in the park

What structural position does the verb 'spielten' occupy?

V2 in German III

There is strong evidence to suggest that the position of the verb is C.

→ German of two types of conditional clauses. In addition to conditional clauses introduced by the overt complementizer *wenn* 'if', German also allows **asyndetic conditional clauses**. These are marked not by the presence of an overt complementizer, but by the position of the finite verb.

- (5) a. wenn mein Freund dem Mann gestern das Buch gegeben hätte
if my friend the man yesterday the book given had.COND
'if my friend had given the man the book yesterday'
- b. hätte mein Freund dem Mann gestern das Buch gegeben
had.COND my friend the man yesterday the book given
'had my friend given the man the book yesterday'

The finite verb in (5-b) occupies exactly the same clause-initial position as the complementizer in (5-a), suggesting that the verb has moved to C. The complementizer and the finite verb in (3) can be seen, then, as competing for the same syntactic slot.

- (6) *{ hätte wenn, wenn hätte } mein Freund dem Mann gestern das Buch
gegeben

→ The second piece of evidence for verb movement to C comes from the position of object pronouns. In addition to the variability that German exhibits in the position of finite verbs, it allows a fair bit of word order freedom, and object pronouns regularly occur between complementizers and the subject.

- (7) wenn ihm mein Freund gestern das Buch gegeben hätte
if him.DAT my friend yesterday the.acc book given had
'if my friend had given him the book yesterday'

As expected if asyndetic conditional clauses like (5-b) involve verb movement to C, object pronouns can immediately follow the finite verb, just as they immediately follow the complementizer in (7):

- (8) hätte ihm mein Freund gestern das Buch gegeben
had him.DAT my friend yesterday the.acc book given
'if my friend had given him the book yesterday'

V2 in German V

- Declarative sentences are full CPs in German.
- Declarative C heads trigger T to C in German.
- German allows ordinary (= non-wh) phrases to move to Spec(CP). This movement - known as topicalization to distinguish it from the movement of wh-phrases - is always accompanied by verb movement to C. As a result, declarative clauses are structurally parallel to their wh-question counterparts.

- (9) a. Was_i hat_j mein Freund dem Mann gestern t_i gegeben t_j?
 what.ACC has my friend the.dat man yesterday given
 ‘What did my friend give the man yesterday?’
- b. Das Buch_i hat_j mein Freund dem Mann gestern t_j gegeben t_j.
 the.acc book has my friend the.dat man yesterday given
 ‘My friend gave the man the book yesterday.’

This means that ordinary declarative clauses differ structurally from wh-questions in English, but not in German.

- In English, ordinary declarative clauses are TPs and wh-questions are CPs.
- In German, both clause types are CPs.

- In addition to T heads, declarative C heads always comes with a EPP features in German. It's sometimes referred to as a **Topic Requirement**. If this requirement is not satisfied by a semantically meaningful element, it must be satisfied by an expletive element (very much like English in the case of Spec,TP!)

(10) Es hat_i mein Freund dem Mann gestern das Buch gegeben t_i.
it has my friend the.DAT man yesterday the.ACC book given
'My friend gave the man the book yesterday.'

- A consequence of the analysis is that the finite verb in a German main clause is always its second constituent. It cannot appear in third position because there is no structural slot to the left of Spec(CP) for a constituent to occupy!

(11) [_{CP} 1 [_C 2] [_{TP} 3 ...]]]

Practice

Let's draw a tree structure for the following German sentence:

- (12) Heute hat eine Maus den Käse gefressen.
today has a mouse the cheese eaten
'A mouse has eaten the cheese today.'

We saw that German has a mixed phrase structure system. Let's discuss each type of phrase to determine whether they are head initial or head final:

VP	<input type="checkbox"/> head-initial	<input type="checkbox"/> head-final
DP	<input type="checkbox"/> head-initial	<input type="checkbox"/> head-final
CP	<input type="checkbox"/> head-initial	<input type="checkbox"/> head-final
TP	<input type="checkbox"/> head-initial	<input type="checkbox"/> head-final

V2 in Germanic languages

What we described is the so-called **verb-second (V2) phenomenon** and German is referred to as a **V2 language**.

- Ordinary declarative clauses are V2 in almost all the Germanic languages, which include the North Germanic (= Scandinavian) languages and the West Germanic languages (Dutch, English, Frisian, German, and Yiddish).
- The sole exception to this generalization is modern English, which shows only residual traces of this, in matrix Wh-questions and Negative Inversion:

- (13) a. Never have I seen such a thing.
b. Under no circumstances would I consider that offer.
c. Seldom have I felt so alone.

Earlier stages of English were different!

- (14) Wel koude he rede a lessoun or a storie.
well could he read a lesson or a story
'He could read a lesson or a story well.'

G. Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales* (ca. 1340-1400)

Please read **V2 in the history of English** available [here](#).

Probing Structures. Part I

Today (and next time) we will explore new ways of detecting constituency. Some will be only able to probe derived structures.

- (i) *only*

- (ii) NPIs

Others will be able to probe underlying structures:

- (i) Floating quantifiers

- (ii) *Also* association

They will be useful to establish whether movement is involved in the structure of a string.

Only I

Only is a focus particle. It associates with some linguistic material X.

→ We call X its focus.

→ X is usually marked with distinctive prosody (**boldface** in our examples).

→ X is placed in contrast with implicit alternatives.

(15) ...only...X = X is the only thing/person/time/manner/place/ such that...

(16) Mary only **goes to the market** on Mondays:
= **Go to the market** is the only thing that Mary does on Mondays

(17) Mary only goes to the market **on Sundays**
= **Sundays** is the only time that Mary goes to the market

(18) Mary only **goes to the market on Sundays**
= **Go to the market on Sundays** is the only thing Mary does

(19) Only **Mary** goes to the market on Sundays
= **Mary** is the only person who goes to the market on Sundays.

Only II

The material associated with *only* must be a constituent, either a head or a phrase.

- (20) a. This cook will only put pepper on these tomatoes
b. This cook will only put pepper on these tomatoes
c. This cook will only put pepper on these tomatoes
d. This cook will only put pepper on these tomatoes
e. This cook will only put pepper on these tomatoes
f. This cook will only put pepper on these tomatoes
g.*This cook will only put pepper on these tomatoes

Only III

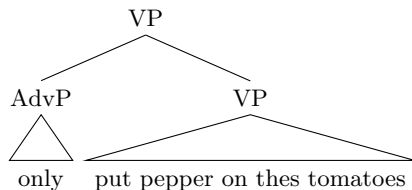
What is the structural position of *only*?

→ It forms a VP constituent with the lower VP:

- (21) a. This cook will only [_{VP} put pepper on these tomatoes]
b. The cook will only do so

- (22) This cook will only put pepper on these tomatoes, and that cook will
<only put pepper on these tomatoes> too

→ We'll treat it as a left adjunct to VP.



Only IV

Only does not seem to be able to associate with material to its left.

- (23) a. John had only **said that Bill saw Sue**
b. John had only **said** that Bill saw Sue
c. John had only said **that Bill saw Sue**
d. John had only said that **Bill** saw Sue
e. John had only said that Bill **saw Sue**
f. John had only said that Bill saw **Sue**
g. John had only said that Bill **saw** Sue
h.***John/THIS person** had only said that Bill saw Sue

Linear Precedence Hypothesis

Only must be to the left of its associate.

Linear precedence does not seem to be the right notion.

- (24) a. John said he only **wanted to visit Mary** to his mother
b. John said he only wanted to **visit Mary** to his mother
c. John said he only wanted to visit **Mary** to his mother
d.*John said he only wanted to visit Mary to **his mother**
- (25) a. That John only **saw Bill** bothered Mary
b. That John only **saw** Bill bothered Mary
c. That John only saw **Bill** bothered Mary
d.*That John only saw Bill **bothered** Mary
e.*That John only saw Bill bothered **Mary**

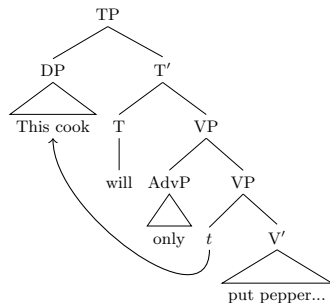
C-command Hypothesis

Only must c-command its associate.

Only VI

We note that association with *only* requires c-command in the surface tree.

- (26) a.*This **cook** will only put pepper on these tomatoes
b.***This cook** will only put pepper on these tomatoes
c.***This** cook will only put pepper on these tomatoes



Only must c-command its associate in the surface tree.

NPI licensing I

Some elements are not allowed to occur in a sentence unless some other element appears there as well.

→ Negative Polarity Items (NPIs) such as *any* are examples of that.

- (27) a. *John bought anything
b. John did not buy anything

Here the licenser is negation.

*Is there any structural relation that must hold between a licenser and a NPI?
If so, how should this structural relation be characterized?*

NPI licensing II

(28) Any: licenser is negation or negative NP

- a. ***anyone** **didn't** buy a book
- b. *I told **anyone** that John **didn't** buy a book
- c. I told **noone** that **anyone** bought a book
- d. I told **noone** that you saw **anyone**
- e. *That **noone** bought the book annoyed **anyone**

(29) Any: licenser is a question.

- a. **Did** John buy **any** book?
- b. **Did** **anyone** buy a book?
- c. I asked you **whether** John bought **any** book
- d. *I asked **anyone** **whether** John bought a book
- e. *The question **whether** John bought a book annoyed **anyone**

C-command Licensing condition

A licenser must c-command the NPI *any*.

NPI licensing III

Be aware! There are two types of *any*:

(i) free choice *any* and

(ii) NPI *any*

(30) anyone can do this

(31) I did not see anyone

To make sure you are using NPI *any*, always use (declarative) sentences in the past tense without modal verbs. These contexts don't allow for free choice *any*.

(32)*anyone came

* as free choice, * as NPI

(33) anyone can come

OK as free choice, * as NPI

To distinguish the two, a good approximation is that free choice *any* can be modified by *almost*, but NPI *any* cannot.

(34) Almost anybody could do this.

(35)*I did not see almost anybody

NPI licensing IV

It's not just about *any*!

- (36) give a red cent; give a damn
- a. John did **not** give a red cent to Arthur
 - b.*John give a red cent to Arthur/**noone**
 - c.*The person **noone** likes gave a red cent to Arthur
- (37) lift a finger
- a. Max did **not** lift a finger to help me
 - b.*Max lifted a finger to help me/**noone**
 - c.*The girl who likes **noone** lifted a finger to help Arthur
- (38) in ages
- a. **No one** had seen Rip van Winkle in ages
 - b.*Everyone had seen Rip van Winkle in ages
 - c.*The girls with **no** fear had seen Rip van Winkle in ages
- (39) ever
- a. John must **not** ever do this
 - b.*John must ever do this

C-command Licensing condition

The licenser must c-command the NPI.

Does NPI licensing hold of the underlying structure or of a derived structure?

- (40) a.***Anyone**_i **didn't** t_i buy a book
b. It seemed to **noone** that Bill was unhappy **at all**
c. Bill_i seemed to **noone** t_i to be t_i unhappy **at all**
d.***anyone**_i seemed to **noone** t_i to be t_i unhappy **at all**

The licenser must c-command the NPI in the surface tree.

NPI licensing VI

Practice

The following sentence is ambiguous:

(41) John said that Bill slipped in the kitchen.

1. Explain what the readings are.

If we modify the sentence and we add an NPI, then only one interpretation survives.

(42) John said that Bill did not slip in any room in the house.

2. State what the interpretation is.

3. Is this expected?

How about:

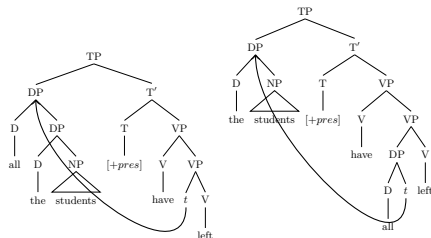
(43) John did not say that Bill slipped in any room in the house.

4. What do we predict in this case?

Floating Quantifiers I

- (44) a. All the student left.
b. The students all left.
c.*The students left all.

$[_{DP} \text{ all the students }]_i t_i \text{ left}$
 $[_{DP} \text{ the students }]_i \text{ all } t_i \text{ left}$



If you are not familiar with this argument, please read ISAT, pp.219-220

Q-float can be used as a diagnostic for underlying trees: a stranded *all* indicates a position from which its associated DP has moved.

Here is how we will use this diagnostic: when quantifier floating succeeds, we can conclude movement has taken place.

Sometimes the non-trace DP associated with *all* can be PRO.

- (45) a. To all leave together would bother the girls
(the girls would be bothered if all of them were leaving together)
PRO_i to all t_i leave together would bother the girls
- b. The girls wanted to all meet at 5
(the girls' wish was that all of them meet at 5)
The girls wanted PRO_i to all t_i meet at 5

Also association I

The focus particle *also* is similar to *only* in that it can associate with the same material as *only*

- (46) a. John had **also said** that Bill saw Sue (“said” in addition to “implied”)
b. John had **also said that Bill saw Sue** (“Bill saw Sue” in addition to “Mary called Ann”)
c. John had **also said that Bill** saw Sue (“Bill” in addition to “Henri”)
d. John had **also said that Bill saw Sue** (“saw Sue” in addition to “kissed Ann”)

It fails in the same contexts:

- (47) a. John said he **also wanted to visit Mary** to his mother
b. John said he also wanted to visit **Mary** to his mother
c.*John said he also wanted to visit Mary **to his mother**
- (48) a. (41) a. That John **also saw Bill** bothered Mary
b. That John **also saw** Bill bothered Mary
c.*That John also saw Bill bothered **Mary**

Also association II

This suggests the same rule is involved:

also association

also associates with a constituent.

also must c-command its associate.

However, *also* is more permissive than *only* and it can sometimes associate with with a constituent to its left.

(49) **John** had also said that Bill saw Sue (in addition to Mary saying so)

Other times, it cannot:

(50) a. Ann said that Bill would also come

This cannot mean: Ann also, in addition to someone else, said that Bill would come.

b. Bill promised Mary to also invite Sam.

This cannot mean: Bill, in addition to someone else, promised Mary to invite Sam. And it cannot mean: Bill promised Mary, in addition to someone else, to invite Sam.

Also association III

- c. Bill persuaded Mary to also invite Sam.

This cannot mean: Bill persuaded Mary in addition to someone else to invite Sam

In (50) *also* c-commands its associate in the underlying structure. The same cannot be said for the examples in (51).

(51) John_i has also [_{VP} t_i said that Bill saw Sue]

(52) Ann_i [_{VP} t_i said that Bill would also come]

Once again, we may be able to deduce something about underlying constituency from the distribution and meaning contribution of *also*.