

What for and V2

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1 Introduction

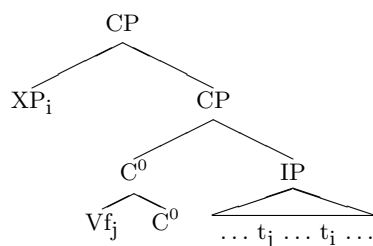


Figure 1: standard analysis of V2

2 Some data

2.1 V2-violations with focus particles

- ?): exceptions to the V2-generalization in Mainland Scandinavian involving 'focus-sensitive adverbs' or 'focus particles' (fpt).

- (1) a. Jens bare gikk.
J just left
b. Jens nesten gråt.
J almost cried

- It is also possible to have the fpt after Vf, as in (2).

- (2) a. Jens gikk bare.
J left just
b. Jens gråt nesten.
J cried almost

- Other V2 violators: *til og med* 'even' (lit. "to and with"), *minst* 'at least' *utelukkende* 'exclusively' *ikke mer enn såvidt* 'not more than barely', *simpelthen* 'simply'.

- (3) a. Han til og med leste den.
he even read it

- b. han utelukkende sover hele dagen
 he exclusively sleeps whole the-day
 - c. Han ikke mer enn såvidt berørte den.
 he not more than barely touched it
 - d. Han simpelthen tok den.
 he simply took it
- With *nesten* there is a truth-conditional difference corresponding to its different positions.
- (4) a. Jens nesten brølte hurra.
 J almost roared hooray
- b. Jens brølte nesten hurra.
 J roared almost hooray
- Egerland (ibid.) analyzes this phenomenon in terms of the Universal Hierarchy of functional projections proposed in ?).
 - The cases involving *nesten* and those involving *bare* are given different analyses.
 - Egerland maintains a standard analysis of V2 in terms of head movement to the highest FP in the clause (ForceP in the 'split CP' framework of ?)).
 - He analyses the adverb *nesten* ('almost') as a specifier of a modal projection in the IP-layer: Vf can remain in or below that modal head when *nesten* is in its specifier.
 - The adverb *bare* 'only,' 'just', he treats as a syntactic clitic on Vf. The analysis of *bare* as a clitic is supported by two facts.
 - The adverb can be phonetically reduced into the monosyllabic ba' in Swedish (not possible in Norwegian).
 - According to Egerland, *bare* cannot appear in front of auxiliaries (cf. (7), (8)).
- (5) Per ba' gick. [Swe]
 P just left
- (6) *Per bara/ba' har gått. [Swe]
 P just has left
- (7) Jens bare HAR gått.
 J just has left
 "It just IS the case that Jens has left."
- (8) Jens bare måtte gå.
 J just must-past leave
 "Jens just HAD TO leave."

Problems with *bare* as a clitic

- It can be modified (cf. ?) on clitics).
- (9) Jens simpelthen bare gikk.
J simply just left
- Other adverbs that cannot plausibly be taken to modify *bare* can also precede Vf when *bare* does; in fact, only when *bare* does.
- (10) a. Jens vanligvis bare svarer ikke.
J usually just answers not
b. *Jens vanligvis svarer ikke.
J usually answers not
- Hence *bare* should be treated on a par with *nesten* ‘almost’.
 - When these adverbs are present, Vf can remain in a low position in the IP-field.
 - *Vanligvis* has to precede Vf when *bare* does.
- (11) *Jens bare svarer vanligvis ikke.
J just answers usually not
- The negation must follow Vf in the relevant construction, $\implies$ Not V-in-situ, either.
- (12) a. Jens bare liker ikke fiskekaker.
J just likes not fishcakes
b. *Jens bare ikke liker fiskekaker.
J just not likes fishcakes

Properties of *bare*

1. V2-violating *bare* is not a clitic on Vf,
2. *bare* can occupy a position lower than *vanligvis* ‘usually’;
3. Vf can remain below that position when *bare* is present, although it cannot remain in situ.

2.2 Pronoun Shift

- (13) a. Derfor vanligvis bare svarte 'n 'a ikke.
therefore usually just answered he her not
b. Derfor svarte 'n 'a vanligvis bare ikke.
therefore answered he her usually just not
c. *Derfor 'n 'a vanligvis bare svarte ikke.
therefore he her usually just answered not
d. *Derfor svarte vanligvis bare 'n 'a ikke.
therefore answered usually just he her not

- Weak pronouns must remain immediately right-adjacent to the verb.
- This seems to indicate that it is moving as a constituent.
- Hence, V2 (13b) must be derived by XP movement.
- Hence:

Generalization 1 *Weak pronouns do not shift.*

- In (14), the subject and the object appear to be moving as a constituent without Vf.

- (14)
- a. Derfor svarte Jens 'a vanligvis ikke.
therefore answered J her usually not
 - b. Derfor svarte vanligvis ikke Jens 'a.
therefore answered usually not J her
 - c. *Derfor svarte Jens vanligvis ikke 'a
therefore answered J usually not her
 - d. *Derfor svarte 'a vanligvis ikke Jens.
therefore answered her usually not J

The most basic property of Pronoun Shift:

- No effect.
 - It does not create new binding possibilities.
 - It does not license parasitic gaps.
 - It does not block *wh*-movement (relativized minimality).
 - it does not interfere with passivization (relativized minimality).
 - It applies to expletive pronouns $\implies$ can't be stated in terms of "[+Ref]" or "[+Topic]" (Holmberg 1999).
 - it applies to caseless (weak) pronouns $\implies$ can't be stated in terms of overt m-case.
- This obviously supports generalization 1.

3 West Germanic

- German does not have V2-violations with *fpt* (15a).

- (15)
- a. *Gerhard nur weiß es nicht.
G only knows it not
 - b. Gerhard weiß es nur nicht.
G knows it only not.
"Gerhard just doesn't know it."

- (16)
- Jens bare vet det ikke.
J just knows it not

- ??),¹ show that other expressions, such as the the operator *mehr als* ‘more than’ must precede the finite verb (when this is the modifiee).

- (17) a. daß Hans seinen Profit letztes Jahr mehr als verdreifachte
 that H his profit last year more than tripled
 b. *Hans verdreifachte seinen Profit letztes Jahr mehr als.
 H tripled his profit last year more than
 c. %Hans mehr als verdreifachte seinen Profit letztes Jahr.
 H more than tripled his profit last year.
 d. %Seinen Profit mehr als verdreifachte Hans letztes Jahr.
 his profit more than tripled H last year.
- (18) a. %Hij meer dan verdubbelde zijn scoretotaal vorig jaar.
 he more than doubled his score-total last year
 b. *Hij verdubbelde zijn scoretotaal meer dan.
 he doubled his score-total more than
 c. %De winst meer dan verdubbelde.
 The gain more than doubled
 d. *De winst verdubbelde meer dan.
 The gain doubled more than

- But this phenomenon behaves differently from the MSc focus particles:

- (19) *De winst misschien meer dan verdubbelde.
 The gain perhaps more than doubled

4 Order preservation and scrambling

- (20) Jeg ga alltid Jens en kylling.
 I gave always J a chicken

Derivation 1

[I gave Jens a chicken]

MERGE Σ and MOVE *gave* and *I* ►

[I_i [gave_j+ Σ [t_i t_j Jens a chicken]]]

MOVE VP ►

[[t_i t_j Jens a chicken]_k [I_i [gave_j+ Σ t_k]]]

MERGE *always* and move ΣP ►

[[I_i [gave_j+ Σ t_k]_l [always [t_i t_j Jens a chicken]_k t_l]]]

Generalization 2 (Order Preservation) *Only VP-nodes can "scramble" out of ΣP .*

- (21) Jeg ga Jens alltid en kylling.
 I gave J always a chicken

¹??) gives examples like (17c) as ungrammatical. ?) reports that in a survey, 6 out of 20 speakers actually accept them. For Dutch, I found that 4 out of 8 speakers accept them. The differences were very sharp: the ones who accept them, find them perfectly grammatical, while those who don't find them sharply ungrammatical.

Derivation 2

[I gave[Jens [a chicken]]]

MERGE Σ and MOVE *gave* and *I* ►

[I_i [gave_j+ Σ [t_i t_j [Jens [a chicken]]]]]

MOVE *a chicken* ►

[[a chicken]_k [I_i [gave_j+ Σ [t_i t_j [Jens t_k]]]]]

MERGE *always* and MOVE *Jens* ►

[[Jens t_k]_l [always [[a chicken]_k [I_i [gave_j+ Σ [t_i t_j t_l]]]]]]]

MOVE Σ P ►

[[I_i [gave_j+ Σ t_l]]_m [[Jens t_k]_l [always [[a chicken]_k t_m]]]]]

- Given generalization 4, scrambling can't reverse the ordering of constituents without violating the Extension Condition.
- All material reamining inside Σ P will end up preceding scrambled material because of Σ P fronting.

Derivation 3

[[a chicken]_k [I_i [gave_j+ Σ [t_i t_j [Jens t_k]]]]]

MERGE *always* ►

[always [[a chicken]_k [I_i [gave_j+ Σ [t_i t_j [Jens t_k]]]]]]]

MOVE Σ P ►

[[I_i [gave_j+ Σ [t_i t_j [Jens t_k]]]]]_l [always [[a chicken]_k t_l]]]

- This explains Norwegian patterns like the following, discussed in chapter 1 as “Bobaljik’s Paradox” (?)

- (22)
- Derfor ga **Jens Kari** **kyllingen** tydeligvis ikke lenger kald.
therefore gave J K the-chicken evidently not any.longer cold
 - Derfor ga **Jens Kari** tydeligvis **kyllingen** ikke lenger kald.
 - Derfor ga **Jens** tydeligvis **Kari kyllingen** ikke lenger kald.
 - Derfor ga **Jens** tydeligvis **Kari** ikke **kyllingen** lenger kald.
 - Derfor ga **Jens** tydeligvis **Kari** ikke lenger **kyllingen** kald.
 - Derfor ga **Jens** tydeligvis ikke lenger **Kari kyllingen** kald.
 - Derfor ga tydeligvis **Jens** ikke lenger **Kari kyllingen** kald.
 - Derfor ga tydeligvis ikke **Jens** lenger **Kari kyllingen** kald.
 - Derfor ga tydeligvis ikke lenger **Jens Kari kyllingen** kald.
 - * Derfor ga **Jens** ikke tydeligvis **Kari** lenger **kyllingen** kald.
 - * Derfor ga **Jens** tydeligvis ikke **kyllingen** lenger **Kari** kald.

- Dutch behaves essentially the same.
- For German, which allows argument reordering, we would simply loosen up the requirement that only VP nodes can scramble.

- (23)
- | | | | | | | |
|-----------|--------|---------|-------|---------------|---------|--------|
| Gestern | küßte | den | Fritz | warscheinlich | die | Maria. |
| Yesterday | kissed | the-ACC | F | probably | the-NOM | M |

Derivation 4

$[\Sigma \text{ gestern } [\text{küßte}_i + \Sigma [[\text{die Maria}] \text{ t}_i [\text{den Fritz}]]]]$
MOVE *die Maria* ►
 $[[\text{die Maria}]_j [\Sigma \text{ gestern } [\text{Küßte}_i + \Sigma [\text{t}_j \text{ t}_i [\text{den Fritz}]]]]]$
MERGE *warscheinlich* and MOVE *den Fritz* ►
 $[[\text{den Fritz}]_k [\text{warscheinlich } [[\text{die Maria}]_j [\Sigma \text{ gestern } [\text{küßte}_i + \Sigma [\text{t}_j \text{ t}_i \text{ t}_k]]]]]]]$ MOVE ΣP ►
 $[[\Sigma \text{ gestern } [\text{küßte}_i + \Sigma [\text{t}_j \text{ t}_i \text{ t}_k]]]_l [[\text{den Fritz}]_k [\text{warscheinlich } [[\text{die Maria}]_j \text{ t}_i]]]]]$

Periphrastic constructions

- In (24), the four adverbs and the four auxiliaries are linearly separated, but semantically interspersed, as it were.

(24) Norwegian

- a. ...at det ikke lenger alltid helt kunne ha blitt ordnet.
 ...that it not any.longer always completely could have been fixed
 b. *...at det ikke kunne lenger ha alltid blitt helt ordnet.
 ...that it not could any.longer have always been completely fixed

- This suggests that Norwegian actually *has* "short verb movement".
- The same observation can be made on the basis of Dutch data.

(25) ...dat het niet meer helemaal kon worden gemaakt
 ...that it not any.longer completely could be fixed

- This can be derived if
 - adverbs and verbs are merged in their scope positions (24b)
 - adverbs attract the minimal (VP-) projection of the closest verb
 - auxiliaries attract the minimal (VP-) projection of the closest adverb.

Derivation 5

$[\text{completely } [\text{fixed}]]$
MOVE VP ►
 $[\text{fixed } [\text{completely}]]$
MERGE *been* ►
 $[\text{been } [\text{fixed } [\text{completely}]]]$
MOVE AdvP ►
 $[\text{completely } [\text{been } [\text{fixed}]]]$
MERGE *always* ►
 $[\text{always } [\text{completely } [\text{been } [\text{fixed}]]]]$
MOVE VP ►
 $[[\text{been } [\text{fixed}]] [\text{always } [\text{completely}]]]$
MERGE *have* ►
 $[\text{have } [[\text{been } [\text{fixed}]] [\text{always } [\text{completely}]]]]$
MOVE AdvP ►
 $[[\text{always } [\text{completely}]] [\text{have } [\text{been } [\text{fixed}]]]]$

MERGE *any.longer* ►

[any.longer [[always [completely]] [have [been [fixed]]]]]

MOVE VP ►

[[have [been [fixed]]] [any.longer [always [completely]]]]

MERGE *could* ►

[could [[have [been [fixed]]] [any.longer [always [completely]]]]]

MOVE AdvP ►

[[any.longer [always [completely]]] [could [have [been [fixed]]]]]

MERGE *not* ►

[not [[any.longer [always [completely]]] [could [have [been [fixed]]]]]]

- The movements may be driven by an adjacency requirement on the auxiliaries and the morphological form (infinitive/participle) it selects in its complement.
- Suppose that, in a configuration like figure 2, the four nodes xp_1, xp_2, yp, x are ‘equidistant’ to α .

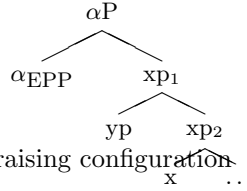


Figure 2: x-raising configuration

- If we raise yp to spec- α , and subsequent attractors will iterate this option, we will derive climbing of yp to the first position.
- If we, instead, move the entire complement of α , xp_1 , and later iterate this option, we derive roll-up structures.
- Both options are needed to derive the ordering patterns of verbal clusters ?).
- If we extract the head of xp , and later on iterate this, we end up with the order of merger. This is illustrated in derivation 6 which derives the English pattern.

Derivation 6

[_{vp2} completely [_{vp1} fixed]]

MOVE *fixed* ►

[_{vp2} fixed_i [_{vp2} completely [_{vp1} t_i]]]

MERGE *been* and MOVE *completely* ►

[_{vp3} completely_j [_{vp3}been [_{vp2} fixed_i [_{vp2} t_j [_{vp1} t_i]]]]]]

MERGE *always* and MOVE *been* ►

[_{vp4} been_k [_{vp4} always [_{vp3} completely_j [_{vp3} t_k [_{vp2} fixed_i [_{vp2} t_j [_{vp1} t_i]]]]]]]]]]

MERGE *have* and MOVE *always* ►

[_{vp5} always_l [_{vp5} have [_{vp4} been_k [_{vp4} t_l [_{vp3} completely_j [_{vp3} t_k [_{vp2} fixed_i [_{vp2} t_j [_{vp1} t_i]]]]]]]]]]]]]]

MERGE *any.longer* and MOVE *have* ►

[_{vp6} have_m [_{vp6} any.longer [_{vp5} always_l [_{vp5} t_m [_{vp4} been_k [_{vp4} t_l [_{vp3} completely_j [_{vp3} t_k [_{vp2} fixed_i [_{vp2} t_j [_{vp1} t_i]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]

MERGE *could* and MOVE any.longer ►

[_{vp7} any.longer_n [_{vp7} could [_{vp6} have_m [_{vp6} t_n [_{vp5} always_i [_{vp5} t_m [_{vp4} been_k [_{vp4} t_l [_{vp3} completely_j [_{vp3} t_k [_{vp2} fixed_i [_{vp2} t_j [_{vp1} t_i]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]

MERGE *not* and MOVE *could* ►

[_{vp8 could_o} [_{vp8 not} [_{vp7 any.longer_n} [_{vp7 t_o} [_{vp6 have_m} [_{vp6 t_n} [_{vp5 always_i} [_{vp5 t_m} [_{vp4 been_k} [_{vp4 t_i} [_{vp3 completely_j} [_{vp3 t_k} [_{vp2 fixed_i} [_{vp2 t_j} [_{vp1 t_i}]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]

- Once we have formed the adverb cluster and the verb cluster, and merged the finite verb, we merge Σ and execute the analysis as before.

5 Embedded clauses

- I assume that the complementizer is a Σ with different properties than root Σ
 - . It has no EPP-feature, so no topicalization is possible.
 - it does not attract the verb.
 - since the verb is not a weak element like the pronouns, it will always trigger VP extraction from ΣP .

(26) ... at Jens ofte spiser tran
... that J often eats cod.liver.oil

Derivation 7

[that [VP₁ Jens [VP₂ eats cod liver oil]]]

[_{VP2} eats cod liver oil]_i [often [that [_{VP1} Jens t_i]]]] MERGE *often* and MOVE VP2 ►

MOVE ΣP ►

[[that [Jens t_i]]_i [often [[eats cod liver oil]_i t_j]]]

- Could the direct object have extracted alone (pied-piping its VP), so that the verb could become separated from it by the adverb (?)?

(27) ...at han spiser ofte tran.
...that he eats often cod.liver.oil

- For OV languages I will assume the following, inspired by the analysis proposed by ?).
 - The verb moves to Σ in these cases as well,
 - there is no EPP-feature, hence no topicalization. In this case, what is attracted to C is the VP dominating the complementizer.

(28) ...dat Jan Marie kuste
...that J M kissed

Derivation 8

[_{ΣP} that [_{VP} Jan kissed Mary]]

[kissed_i [_Σp that [_{VP} Jan t_i Mary]]] MOVE V ►

MERGE C and MOVE $\Sigma P \blacktriangleright$

$[_{CP} [_{\Sigma P} \text{that } [_{VP} \text{Jan } t_i \text{ Mary}]_i \text{ kissed}_i t_i]]$

6 *What for*

- Abels (2003), Leu (2005) argue that *what for* split must be done by remnant movement on the basis of examples such as:

(29) [Mit was t] haßt du denn für leuten gerechnet?
 [with what t] have you PRT for people reckoned

- Leu shows that there are three positions for the PP in Swiss German:
 - What PP Vf Vinf
 - What Vf ... PP... Vinf
 - What Vf Vinf PP
- The first and the last positions pattern together to the exclusion of the middle one with respect to
 - Discourse Linking
 - Island sensitivity
 - Availability of idiomatic readings
- Hence, Leu argues that the pre-Vf position for the PP represents a split *what for*, as well.

- (30) a. Was zum tüfl bischt du für en esel!? [Swiss German]
 what to-the devil are you for a donkey
- b. # Was zum tüfl für en esel bischt du?
 what to-the hell for a donkey are you
- c. Hva faen er du for en tulling? [Norwegian]
 what the-devil for an idiot are you
- d. *Hva faen for en tulling er du?
- e. % Wat in godsnaam heb je voor boek gelesen? [Dutch]
 what in god's name have you for book read
- f. % Wat in godsnaam voor boek heb je gelesen
- g. Wat heb je in godsnaam voor boek gelesen?
- h. what voor boek heb je in godsnaam gelesen?
- (31) a. Vervolgens ben ik kunstgeschiedenis gaan studeren **en werd ik**
 afterwards am I art-history go study and became I
 conservator in het stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam. [Dutch]
 conservator in the S M in A
- b. *Etterpå studerte jeg kunsthistorie og **ble jeg** konservator.
 afterward studied I art-history and became I conservator

7 ΣP fronting

- Why does ΣP have to move to the beginning of the clause? Are there any languages where it does not?
- such a language would exhibit word orders corresponding to the penultimate steps of the derivations for Norwegian.
- Malayalam (?) seems to fit the description.

- (32)
- a. ninn-e aar ε aTiccu?
you-ACC who beat-PAST
 - b. iwiTe aar ε uNT ε ?
here who is
 - c. awan ewiTe pooyi?
he where went
 - d. nii aa pustakam aar-kk ε kiDuttu?
you that book who-DAT gave

- (33)
- a. *aar ε ninn-e aTiccu?
who you-ACC beat-PAST
 - b. *aar ε iwiTe aar ε uNT ε ?
who here is
 - c. *ewiTe awan pooyi?
where he went
 - d. *nii aar-kk ε aa pustakam kiDuttu?
you who-DAT that book gave

- More or less focused material occurs to the left of the verb, as seen in (34),
- finally, destressed material occurs to the right of Vf (35b).

- (34)
- ñaan innale Mary-k'k' ε oru katt ε ayaccu
I yesterday Mary-DAT a letter sent

- (35)
- a. aarum kaND-illa, aana-ye
nobody saw-NEG elephant
 - b. aar ε ayaccu, ninn-e?
who sent you-ACC
 - c. ?*ñaan awan- ε ayaccu, oru katt ε
I he-DAT sent a letter