

# Lecture 12: Verb/Subject movement.

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LIN 311: Syntax

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# Outline

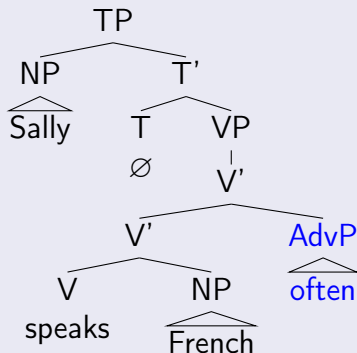
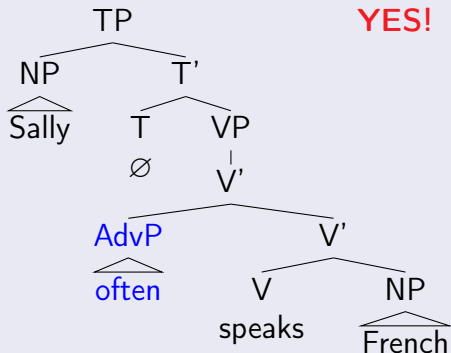
- ① English vs. French: V-to-T movement.
  - Adverbs in French and English
  - Negation in French and English
  - Auxiliaries, Adverbs, and Negation
  - Summary of Data
  - Verb-Movement
- ② V-initial Languages: Verb Phrase Internal Subject Hypothesis.
  - Irish
  - VP-internal Subject Hypothesis
  - Evidence from English: Quantifier stranding
  - Evidence from English: Small clauses

# English vs. French: V-to-T movement.

## Position of adverbs

- (1) a. Sally **often** speaks French.  
 b. Sally speaks French **often**.  
 c. \*Sally speaks **often** French.

- Are these positions for adverbs predicted by the grammar?



# Position of adverbs

## English vs. French

Now let's compare English with French:

### (2) English

- a. Sally **often** **speaks** French. S-Adv-V-O
- b. \*Sally **speaks** **often** French. \*S-V-Adv-O

### (3) French

- a. Sally **parle** **souvent** Français. S-V-Adv-O  
 Sally **speaks** **often** French  
 'Sally often speaks French'
- b. \*Sally **souvent** **parle** Français. \*S-Adv-V-O  
 Sally **often** speaks French

# Position of negation

## English vs. French

Similar pattern in French is observed with negation:

- French negation is *pas*.

### (4) French

- a. Sally ne **parle** **pas** Français. S-V-Neg-O  
 Sally *ne* **speaks** **not** French  
 'Sally doesn't speak French'
- b. \*Sally ne **pas** **parle** Français. \*S-Neg-V-O  
 Sally *ne* **not** speaks French

### (5) English

- a. Sally does **not** **speak** French.
- b. \*Sally **speaks** **not** French.

## Remark on French negation\*

### English vs. French

- French negation consists of two parts, *ne* . . . *pas*.
- There are convincing arguments that real negation part is *pas*.
- These arguments are based on the fact the *ne* appears in sentences that are **not negative**:

(6) Jean *ne* boit que de la bière.  
 Jean **ne** drinks **QUE** of the beer  
 ‘Jean only drinks beer.’

- *ne* can also be omitted in colloquial French:

(7) Jean ~~ne~~ parle pas français.  
 Jean speaks not French  
 ‘Jean doesn’t speak French’

# French auxiliaries and adverbs

## English vs. French

Now let's compare sentences with auxiliaries and negation in French and English:

(8) English

- a. John **has** **often** **eaten** apples.
- b. \*John **has** **eaten** **often** apples.

(9) French

- a. Jean **a** **souvent** **mangé** des pommes.  
 Jean **has** **often** **eaten** the apples  
 'Jean has often eaten apples.'
- b. \*Jean **a** **mangé** **souvent** des pommes  
 Jean **has** **eaten** **often** the apples



# French auxiliaries and negation

## English vs. French

Now let's compare sentences with auxiliaries and negation in French and English:

(10) English

- a. John has not eaten apples.
- b. \*John has eaten not apples.

(11) French

- a. Jean n'a pas mangé des pommes.  
Jean has not eaten the apples  
'Jean has often eaten apples.'
- b. \*Jean n'a mangé pas des pommes  
Jean has eaten not the apples

## Summary of data – Adverbs

### No Auxiliary:

English	John		[VP	often	eats	apples ]
French	Jean	mange	[VP	souvent		des pommes ]

### With Auxiliary:

English	John	has	[VP	often	eaten	apples ]
French	Jean	a	[VP	souvent	mangé	des pommes ]

- Aux is in T, Adv is at the edge of VP.
- If T is filled, V is in its original position.
- **If T is not filled, V in French moves to T.**

## Summary of data – Negation

### No Auxiliary:

English	John	does	not	[ <sub>VP</sub> eat	apples ]
French	Jean	ne-mange	pas	[ <sub>VP</sub>	des pommes ]

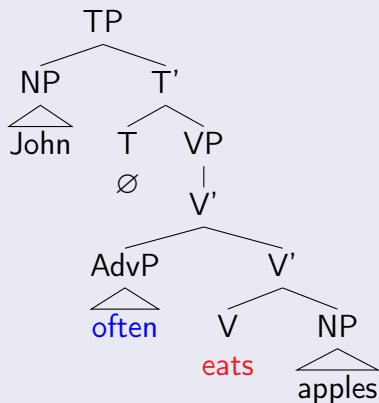
### With Auxiliary:

English	John	has	not	[ <sub>VP</sub> eaten	apples ]
French	Jean	n'a	pas	[ <sub>VP</sub> mangé	des pommes ]

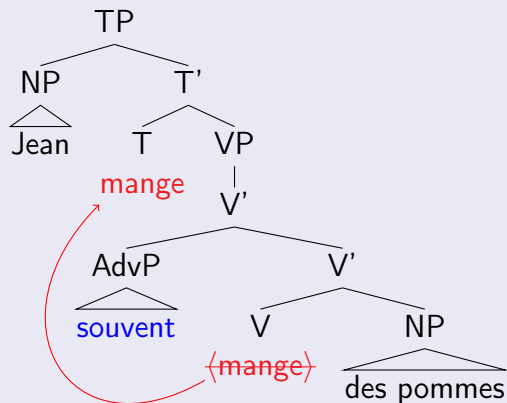
- Aux is in T, Neg is right outside of VP.
- If T is filled, V is in its original position.
- **If T is not filled, V in French moves to T: V-to-T movement!**

## Verb-movement in French: No Aux

English:

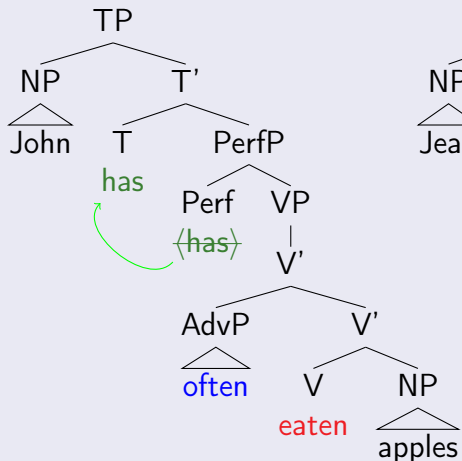


French:

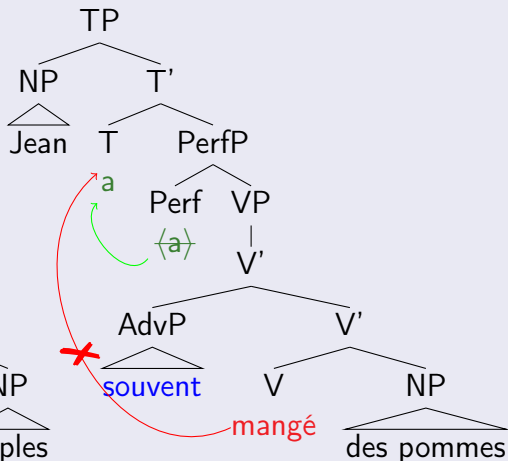


## No Verb-movement in French: Aux

English:

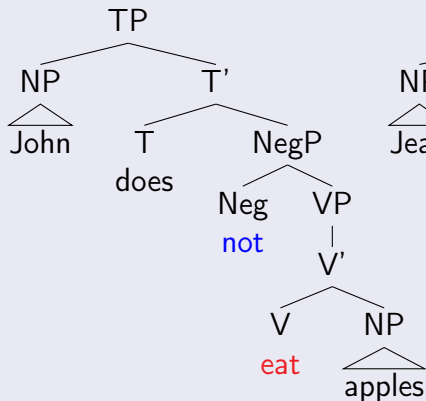


French:

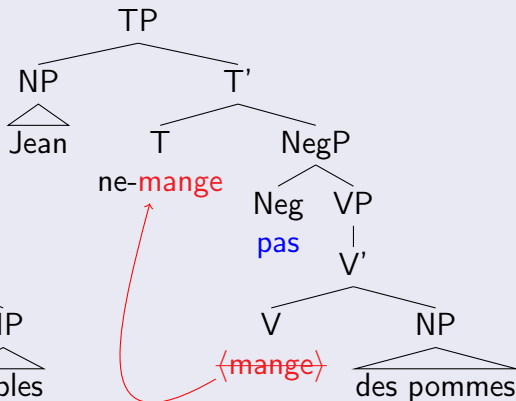


## Verb-movement in French: No Aux

English:

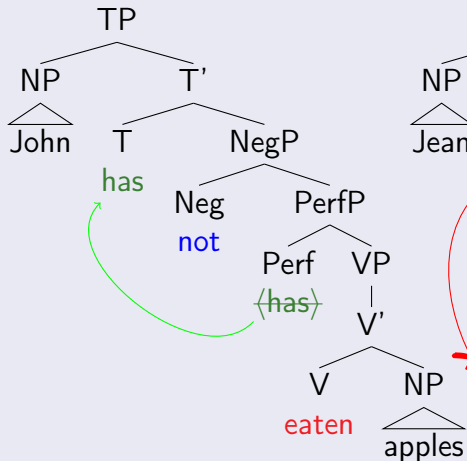


French:

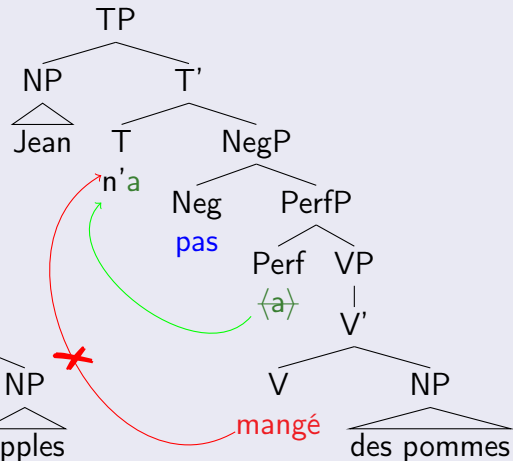


## No Verb-movement in French: Aux

English:



French:



# English vs. French: Summary

## Pollock 1989

### In English:

- Highest auxiliary moves to T.
- The main verb **doesn't move** to T.

### In French:

- Highest auxiliary moves to T.
- If T is empty and no Aux, **the main verb moves** to T.

## Head Movement

- Such type of movement, where one head (V above) moves to adjoin to another head (T above) is called **Head-Movement** in general. This particular movement is a **V-to-T** movement.
- We already saw it with the **movement of the top auxiliary to T**.



## V-initial Languages: Verb Phrase Internal Subject Hypothesis.

# Verb-initial languages

## Irish

- (12) a. **Phóg Máire** an lucharachán.  
**kissed Mary** the leprechaun  
 'Mary kissed the leprechaun.'
- b. **Tá Máire** ag-pógáil an lucharachán.  
**is Mary** ing-kiss the leprechaun  
 'Mary is kissing the leprechaun.'

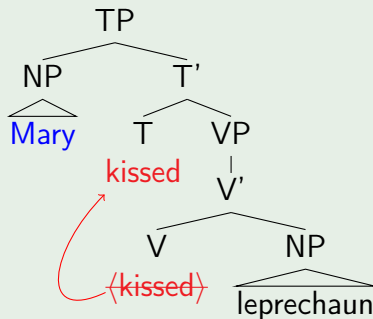
Irish basic word order in **VSO**.

- It seems like we see a pattern remotely similar to French.
- Both **auxiliaries** and **main verbs** appear at the beginning of the sentence.
- **They must have both raised somewhere...**

# Attempt #1 at Irish

## Does it work?

Assume that the words below are Irish...



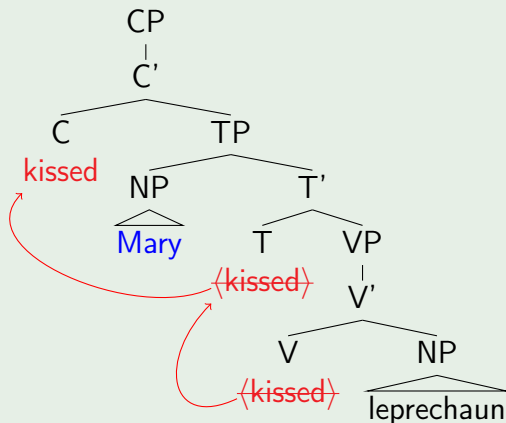
## Problem

That doesn't seem to work: the **subject** is still the first!

# Attempt #2 at Irish

## Does it work?

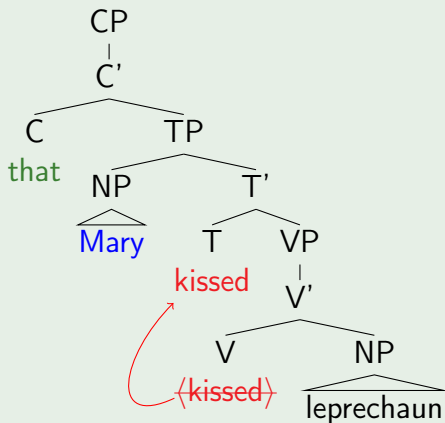
Maybe verb moves higher, to C? That seems to work...



## Predictions of attempt #2 at Irish

### Does it work?

This approach predicts that if there is a **complementizer**, then the **verb** should end up **after** the **subject**.



# Predictions of attempt #2 at Irish: FAIL

## Does it work?

**Prediction:** If there is a complementizer, then the verb should end up after the subject.

(13) Is this Irish?

\*Duir mé gur Máire phóg an lucharachán.  
 said I that Mary kissed the leprechaun  
 'I said that Mary kissed the leprechaun.'

Oh no...

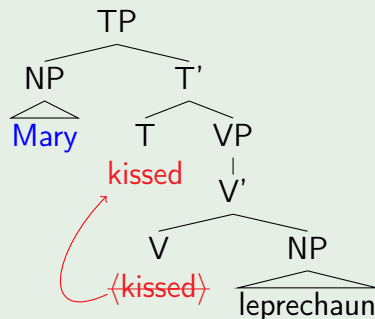
(14) This is Irish:

Duir mé gur phóg Máire an lucharachán.  
 said I that kissed Mary the leprechaun  
 'I said that Mary kissed the leprechaun.'

# What's next?

## What else can we do?

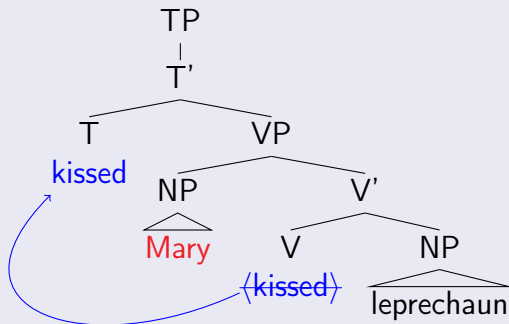
- We need to assume that verb/Aux in Irish raises, since the highest verbal element is in the first position in the sentence.
- It can't raise to C, as C may be occupied, but word order remains VSO.



# VP-internal subject hypothesis

## Subjects start in Spec,VP

- **Solution:** Subject is in Spec,VP, and stays there in Irish.
- Verb (or Aux) moves to T.





# VP-internal subject hypothesis

**VP-internal subject hypothesis:** Subjects always start in Spec,VP.

## Questions:

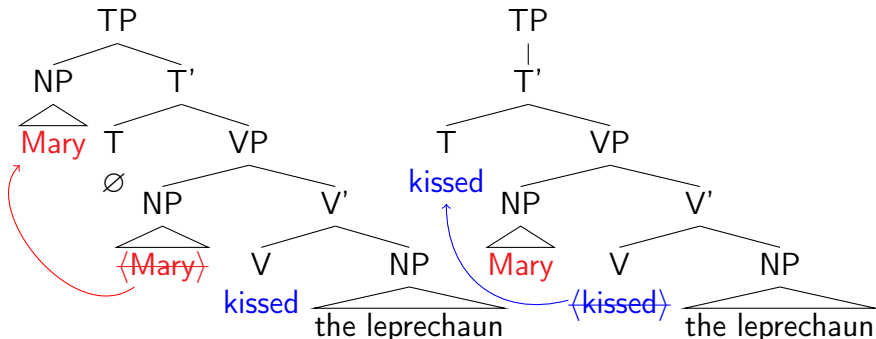
- This seems like a big change from the previous theory.
- What do we do with English and French?
- Is there any evidence from any other language that this is possible?

# Subject movement to Spec,TP

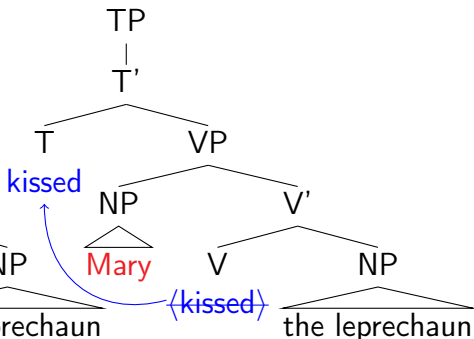
## Variation

- To account for English and French, we will assume that in these languages **the subject moves from Spec,VP to Spec,TP**.
- In Irish, subject stays in Spec,VP.

English:



Irish:

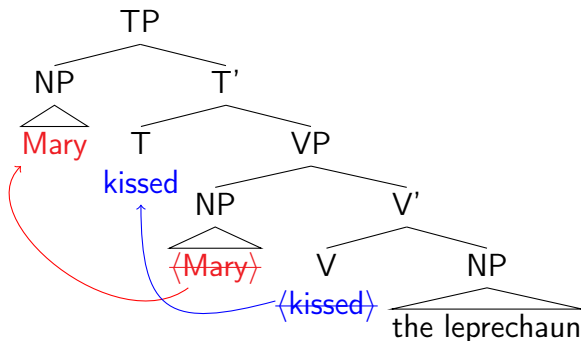


# Subject movement to Spec,TP

## Variation

- To account for English and French, we will assume that in these languages **the subject moves from Spec,VP to Spec,TP**.
- In Irish, subject stays in Spec,VP.

French:



## Evidence from English: Quantifier stranding

(15) The men have all drunk whisky.

What does determiner all refer to?

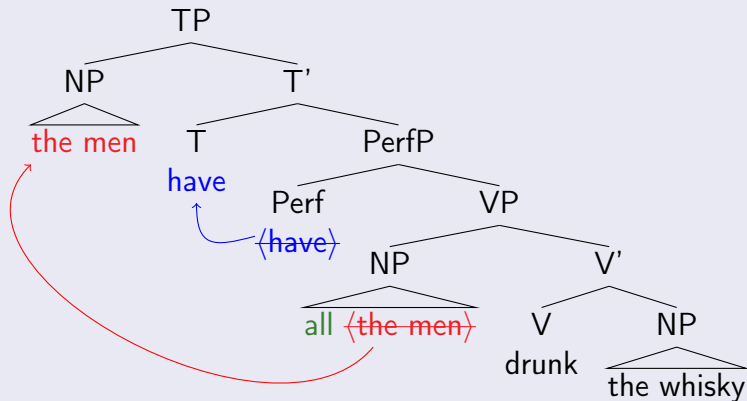
### Logic of the argument

- all is a quantifier, it quantifies the men;
- therefore, it must have started together with the NP the men as a constituent [all the men];
- all is right before the verb; so it must be in Spec,VP.
- If it weren't there from the beginning, how would it end up in Spec,VP position?

**Note:** This *quantifier stranding* movement is similar to movement we saw in Japanese scrambling.

## Evidence from English: Quantifier stranding

(16) The men have all drunk the whisky.



We should probably say something about the structure of **all the men**. We will soon — stay tuned!

## Evidence from English: Small clauses

### Clauses without T and C

There is a special class of clauses in English: **Small Clauses**:

- (17) No agreement/tense
- a. I saw [Sue **prepare** coffee].
  - b. I made [Sue **prepare** coffee].

There is of course a regular version with agreement/tense:

- (18) I saw (that) Sue had prepared coffee.

## Evidence from English: Small clauses

### Arguments for no TP/CP

(19) **Infinitival to (T)** is impossible:

- a. \*I saw [Sue to prepare coffee].
- b. \*I made [Sue to prepare coffee].

(20) **Complementizers (C)** are impossible:

- a. \*I saw [that Sue (to) prepare coffee].
- b. \*I made [for Sue (to) prepare coffee].

So in the examples above, **Sue prepare coffee** is just a VP (bare VP), so the subject **Sue** must be a part of it.

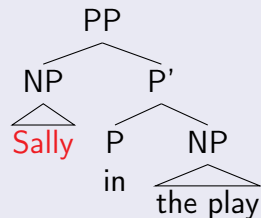
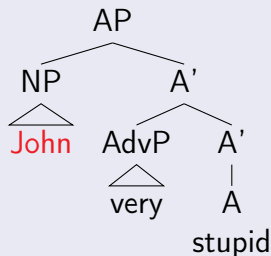
## Small clauses with AP and PP

Small clauses are not limited to bare VPs. One can have **bare APs** and **bare PPs**:

(21) I consider [<sub>AP</sub> **John** very stupid]. (AP)

(22) I want [<sub>PP</sub> **Sally** in the play]. (PP)

Subjects of such APs and PPs also start in their respective specifiers:





# Specifiers

- Phrases appear to contain a position for a non-modifier sister to a bar level, which is sometimes filled by movement, and sometimes “just there.”
- This position is generally **unique** (i.e. a phrase does not have more than one) and is always **higher** than all adjuncts/modifiers (i.e. a daughter of the maximal projection, or the phrase).
- This position is called a **specifier**.

## Summary of findings

### English vs. Irish vs. French

	English	Irish	French
<b>auxiliaries</b> move to T?	✓	✓	✓
<b>main verbs</b> move to T?	✗	✓	✓
<b>subject</b> moves to Spec,TP?	✓	✗	✓

### Specifier

And we finally have some evidence and some use for the Specifier of the VP (and even AP and PP)!