

## On x-to-C: A slide ride into Germanic Morphosyntax

Preliminary handout

July/25 – July/29 2011

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### 1 Plan for the week

- Monday: (Swiss) German adjectival agreement
- Tuesday: West Germanic V2 and AgrA, and definiteness marking
- Wednesday: Germanic V2 and complementizers
- Thursday: (Parametric) variation
- Friday: Issues

### 2 Where we're going

- 3 contrasts:
  - xAP: strong versus weak adjectival agreement
  - xVP: V2 versus V-low position of the finite verb
  - xNP: suffixal versus prenominal definiteness marking
- show that they share much in common
- propose a view on which they reduce to one and the same contrast
- ponder about consequences
- Basic proposal:

The extended projection of all 3 lexical categories, V, N, and A, converge on a certain complementizer head, *c*, in their left periphery.

The three contrasts above reduce to the contrast between (1a) lexicalization of *c* by the morpheme/VI *d-*, and (1b) (phrasal) movement of the lexical category into Spec,cP.



### 3 Monday: Adjectival agreement

#### 3.1 Basic pattern

Bare / definite modified DPs:

- (2) a. gut-**er** Wein frisch-**es** Wasser kalt-**e** Milch [German]  
       good-STR wine fresh-STR water cold-STR milk  
       b. der gut-**e** Wein das frisch-**e** Wasser die kalt-**e** Milch  
       the good-WK wine the fresh-WK water the cold-WK milk
- (3) a. guät-**ä** wi früsch-**es** wassər chalt-**i** milch [Swiss]  
       good-STR wine fresh-STR water cold-STR milk  
       b. dər guät wi ts früsch-**ä** wassər di chalt milch  
       the good-WK wine the fresh-WK water the cold-WK milk

#### 3.2 Core observation/generalization and proposal

- (4) a. *adjective-AgrA noun*  
       b. *d-AgrA adjective-wk noun*
- (5) a. Non-def: (ein) [<sub>xAP</sub> aP ... AgrA ... t<sub>aP</sub> ...]  
       b. Def: [<sub>xAP</sub> d- ... AgrA ... aP ...]

#### 3.3 Further considerations

- Double definiteness / the *d/di*-alternation / Parallel inflection / Polydefiniteness

- (6) a. (i.) et stort hus (ii.) huset (iii.) det store huset Norwegian  
       a big house 'the house' 'the big house'  
       b. (i.) ä roti rosä (ii.) d rosä (iii.) di rot rosä Swiss  
       a red rose the rose the red rose
- (7) a. ein schön-er alt-er Baum b. to megalto to vivlio Greek  
       a beautiful-AGRA old-AGRA tree the big the book

#### 3.4 Conclusion

- (5) captures what looks like a reality.

- (8) a. d-i rot rosä [Swiss German]  
       the-AGRA red rose  
       b.
- A syntax tree for the German phrase 'd-i rot rosä'. The root node is DP, which branches into xAP and NP. xAP branches into D (d-i) and NP (rot). The NP under xAP is underlined. The NP under the main DP is underlined and contains rosä.

A syntax tree for the Swiss German phrase 'ä rot-i rosä'. The root node is F<sub>y</sub>P, which branches into F<sub>y</sub> (ä) and F<sub>x</sub>P. F<sub>x</sub>P branches into xAP (rot-i) and NP (rosä). Both xAP and NP are underlined.

#### 4 Tuesday: West-Germanic V2, AgrA, and definiteness marking

- Yesterday's conclusion on German adjective inflection:

- (9) a. A-low:  $[_{xAP} d- \dots AgrA \dots aP \dots]$   
 b. A-high:  $[_{xAP} aP \dots AgrA \dots t_{aP} \dots]$

- Verbs:

- (10) a. **dass** Niko heute abend ein neues Globi-Buch **liest**. [German]  
 that Nico today evening a new Globi-book reads  
 b. Heute abend **liest** Niko ein neues Globi-Buch.  
 today evening reads Nico a new Globi-book

- (11)
- 
- ```

graph TD
  CP --> XP
  CP --> TP
  TP --> C
  TP --> verb
  verb --> tV["...t_V..."]
  verb --> tXP["...t_{XP}..."]
  
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- (12) a. ... das-**ma** mir noch Minga fahr-n/\*-**ma**. [Lower Bavarian]  
 that-AGRC we to Munich go-1.PL/-AGRC  
 b. Mir fahr -**ma**/\*-n noch Minga.  
 we go -AGRC/-1.PL to Munich  
 Bayer (1984, p.251)

- (13) a. das -ma ... [ ... fahr -n]  
 b.  $[_{v(P)} fahr] -ma \dots t_{v(P)} \dots$

- (14) a. V-low:  $[_{xVP} d- \dots AgrC \dots verb \dots]$   
 b. V2:  $[_{xVP} verb \dots AgrC \dots t_{verb} \dots]$

- Cf. (14) and (9). And nouns?

- (15) a. N-low:  $[_{xNP} d- \dots AgrN \dots noun \dots]$   
 b. N-high:  $[_{xNP} noun \dots AgrN \dots t_{noun} \dots]$

- (16) a. d-**as** Haus [German]  
 the-AGR<sub>N</sub> house  
 b. hus-**et** [Danish]  
 house-AGR<sub>N</sub>

### 5 Wednesday: Germanic V2 and complementizers

- Generalization thus far:

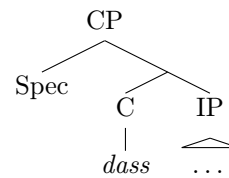
- (17) a. [CP d- ... AGR ... xP ...]  
 b. [CP xP ... AGR ... t<sub>xP</sub> ...]
- (18) a. xAP: [xAP d ... Agr ... aP ]  
 b. xNP: [xNP d ... Agr ... nP ]  
 c. xVP: [xVP dass ... Agr ... vP ]

#### 5.1 Two complementizers *d-ass*

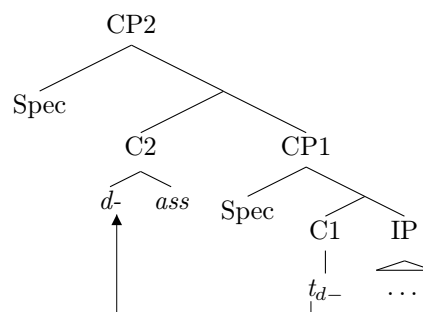
- *dass* 'that' in Morphology (19) and Syntax (20):

(19) d-ass 'that'

(20) a. Traditional:



b. Correct:

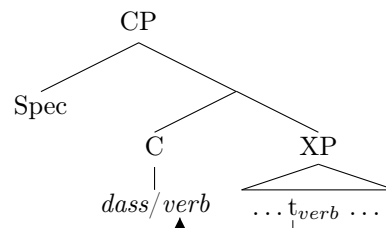


- Germanic verb second:

Classic analysis of the V2/V-final dichotomy (Den Besten, 1977): The finite verb moves to C in verb-second, accounting for its complementarity with the complementizer, *dass*, (21).

- (21) a. Jeder glaubt **dass** man ihm heute **zuhöre**. German  
 everyone thinks that one him today listens.to  
 b. Jeder glaubt heute **höre** man ihm zu.  
 everyone thinks today listens one him to

(22)

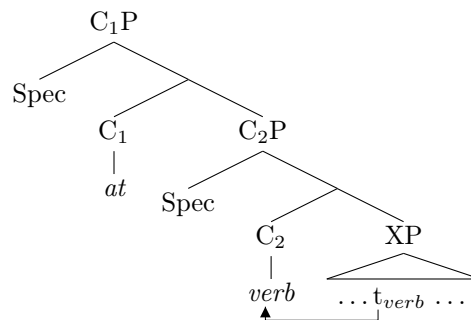


- Challenge:

In the Scandinavian languages “*the complementizer is obligatory in [embedded] non-subject-initial V2 clauses [(23b)] and preferred in subject-initial V2 clauses*” Wiklund et al. (2009) (cf. also Iatridou and Kroch (1992); Holmberg and Platzack (1995); Vikner (1995); Julien (2009)).

- (23) a. Wir wissen (**\*dass**) dieses Buch **hat** Hans nicht gelesen. German  
 we know that this book has Hans not read
- b. Vi ved **\*(at)** denne bog **har** Bo ikke lest Danish  
 we know that this book has Bo not read

(24)



- In sum: there are two contrasts wrt verb movement:

- (i) Within German, presence of *dass* contrasts with *verb-to-COMP* (21)
- (ii) German versus Danish: *verb-to-COMP* **forbids** versus **requires** a *complementizer* (23)

**I) puzzle:** impossible versus obligatory complementizer with embedded *verb-to-COMP*

- But there is a second sharp contrast between German and Danish in (23):

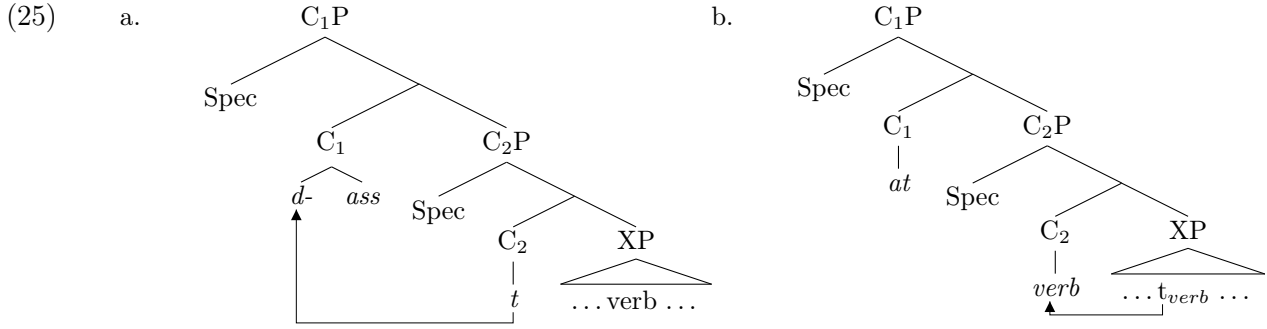
**II) solution:** a contrast in the form of the complementizer: *dass* versus *at*

**Proposal:**

- German *-ass* corresponds to Danish *at*.
- *d-* of *dass* is a complementizer head in its own right.

⇒ It is German *d-* that competes with *verb-to-COMP*

- *ass/at* selects C<sub>2</sub>, which is lexicalized in German by *d-* (25a), in Danish by *verb* movement (25b). Danish embedded V2 without *at* is like German complementizer *d-* without *-ass*: unacceptable.



- The German-Danish contrast, in (23), is a matter of (un-)availability of *d-* to lexicalize  $C_2$ .

5.2 Correlation across Germanic

- There is a strong correlation across Germanic between the (un-)availability of embedded complementizer-V2 (eCV2) and the (non-)absence of *d-* in the complementizer.

Table 1: eCV2 and complementizer shape across Germanic

| language     | eCV2 | complementizer |
|--------------|------|----------------|
| Afrikaans    | no   | d-at           |
| Dutch        | no   | d-at           |
| Frisian      | no   | d-at           |
| German       | no   | d-ass          |
| Swiss German | no   | d-as           |
| Yiddish      | yes  | az             |
| Danish       | yes  | at             |
| Faroese      | yes  | at             |
| Icelandic    | yes  | að             |
| Norwegian    | yes  | at             |
| Swedish      | yes  | att            |

5.3 Yiddish: typological shift

- In East Yiddish the complementizer *daz* is replaced by the *d*-less form *az* between the early 17th century and the late 18th century (Kühnert and Wagner, 2004).
- The availability of eCV2 emerged in East Yiddish, starting in the 17th century (Santorini, 1988).

(26) ... **az** morgn **vet** dos yingl oyfn veg zen a kats Yiddish  
 that tomorrow will the boy on.the way see a cat  
 (from Vikner (1995, p.68))

## 6 Thursday: (Parametric) Variation

### 6.1 Availability of *d*-

- Within German xAP: depending on definiteness:

- (27) a. [d-er rote] Teppich [German]  
           the-AGRA red carpet  
       b. ein [rot-er ] Teppich  
           a red-AGRA carpet

- Across lgs / xXPs: a matter of features of *d*-:

- (28) a. [[<sub>xAP</sub> d-et store] hus] [Danish]  
           C-AGRA big house  
       b. \* [<sub>xNP</sub> d-et hus]  
           C-AGRN hus  
       c. [<sub>xNP</sub> hus-et ]  
           house-AGRN

- (29) a. [[<sub>xAP</sub> d-as grosse] Haus] [German]  
           C-AGRA big house  
       b. [<sub>xNP</sub> d-as Haus]  
           C-AGRN hus  
       c. \* [<sub>xNP</sub> Haus-(a)s ]  
           house-AGRN

- (30) a. German /d/ is {C, [ ]} ⇒ ok in xAP, xNP, xVP  
       b. Yiddish /d/ is {C, [+N]} ⇒ ok in xAP, xNP  
       c. Danish /d/ is {C, [+N,+V]} ⇒ ok in xAP

### 6.2 Overtness of *d*-

The structural presence of an element can have three different kinds of detectable reflexes:

- Phonetic: PF-realization, e.g. /d/
- Semantic: LF-reflex, e.g. [+def]
- Syntactic: Preempting of a movement operation

#### 6.2.1 Non-overt complementizer *d*-

- (31) a. \* Ich weiss nicht **ob** Hans **hat** die Zeitung gelesen. [German]  
           I know not if Hans has the paper read  
       b. Ich weiss nicht **ob** Hans die Zeitung gelesen **hat**.  
           I know not if Hans the paper read has

- Possible analyses:

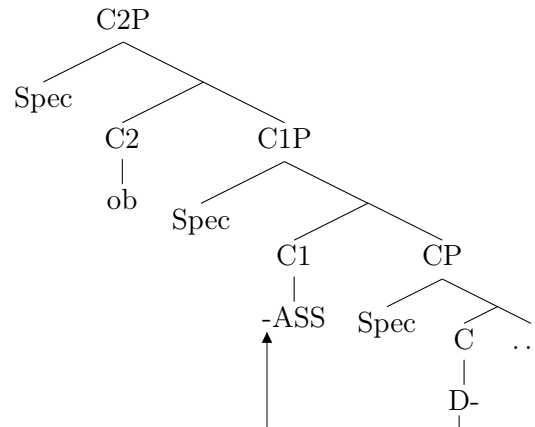
- (31) does not contain C, and hence neither *d*- nor verb movement is expected.

- ii. (31) does contain C, but it is lexicalized/identified by *ob*.  
 iii. (31) does contain C which is lexicalized/identified by *d(ass)*, but *dass* is ultimately not pronounced.  
 ⇒ (iii) is correct.

(32) Dialectal/Colloquial Dutch (Boef, 2010) :

- a. Ik vraag me af **of** **dat** Jan gisteren zijn moeder gekust heeft.  
 I wonder me PRT whether that Jan yesterday his mother kissed has
- b. Ik vraag me af **wie of** **dat** het gedaan heeft.  
 I wonder me PRT who whether that it done has

(33)



### 6.2.2 Non-overt article d-

- (34) a. d-er gross-e rot-e Baum [German]  
 the-AGRA big-WK red-WK tree
- b. welch-er nett-e Mann  
 which-AGRA nice-WK man
- (35) a. der grosse [DER rote] [DER Baum] [German]  
 the big the red the tree
- b. welcher [DER nette] [DER Mann]  
 which the nice the man
- (36) a. ein gross-er [rot-er] [Baum] [German]  
 a big-AGRA red-AGRA tree
- b. ein [nett-er] [Mann]  
 a nice-AGRA man
- (37) a. to megalto to kokkino to vivlio [Greek]  
 the big the red the book
- b. der grosse DER rote DER Baum [German]  
 the big the red the tree



- (38) a.  $[_{CP} d- [_{AgrAP} -er [_{aP} welch-]]]$   
           the                   AGRA       which
- b.  $[_{xAP} [_{aP} welch-] [_{CP} D- [_{AgrAP} -er t_{aP} ]]]$   
                                   which                                   AGRA
- (39) Cil-in           libër solli    Ana?                                   [Albanian]  
       which-the<sub>ACC</sub> book brought Ana<sub>NOM</sub>
- 6.2.3 *Presence/absence of C*
- (40) a. Wir wissen **dass** Bo dieses Buch nicht gelesen                   hat                   [German]  
       we know that Bo this book not read this book has
- b. Vi ved **\*(at)** denne bog **har** Bo ikke lest                                   [Danish]  
       we know that this book has Bo not read
- (41) \*Wir wissen **d** Bo dieses Buch nicht gelesen                   hat                   [German]  
       we know that Bo this book not read this book has
- (42) Vi ved **at** Bo                   ikke **har** lest denne bog                                   [Danish]  
       we know that Bo this book not has read this book
- (43) a. Ich weiss nid mit wem **as** si geschtr i ts kino **isch.**                   [Swiss German]  
       I know not with who that she yesterday in the cinema is
- b. Ich find s ächli komisch **as** geschtr niämer cho **isch.**  
       I find it a.little funny that yesterday nobody come is
- (44) \*Ich weiss nid mit wem **d** si geschtr i ts kino isch.                   [Swiss German]  
       I know not with who that she yesterday in the cinema is

## 7 Friday: Issues / questions

### 7.1 Dative and genitive morphology

- Dative and genitive morphology doesn't behave as expected:

(45) Dative and genitive morphology:

- a. (i.) gut-em Gewissen (ii.) d-em guten Hammer (iii.) ein-em guten Hammer  
 clear-DAT conscience the-DAT good hammer a-DAT good hammer
- b. (i.) guten Wetters (ii.) d-es guten Wetters (iii.) ein-es alten Kerls  
 good weather the-GEN good weather a-GEN old guy

- Dative and genitive endings have a distinct categorial status from nominative and accusative adjectival/determiner endings.

- (46) a. DATIVE: mit dem Mann / dem Kind / der Frau  
 with the.DAT man the.DAT child the.DAT woman
- b. GENITIVE: des Mannes / des Kindes / der Frau because.of  
 the.GEN man.GEN the.GEN child.GEN the.GEN woman wegen

(47) Dative and Genitive case marker exponents in German (singular DPs):

|     | MASCULINE | NEUTER | FEMININE |
|-----|-----------|--------|----------|
| DAT | m         | m      | r        |
| GEN | s         | s      | r        |

- Traditionally treated as inflectional affixes, along with nominative and accusative forms
- Notice the syncretism pattern
- The distribution of dative and genitive morphology  $\neq$  AgrA

- (48) a. mit gut-em frisch-en /-em Wein [German]  
 with good-DAT.M fresh-INFL /-DAT.M wine
- b. mit gut-er frisch-\*en /-er Milch  
 with good-DAT.F fresh-INFL /-DAT.F milk

- (49) a. ä tisch [Swiss German]  
 a table
- b. uf əm ən ä tisch  
 on DAT.M STEM INFL table  
 'on a table'
- c. uf ən ər ä rosä  
 on STEM DAT.F INFL rose  
 'on a rose'

- More on dative/genitive morphology next week!

### 7.2 Other issues

to be determined throughout the week.

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