

July 31, 2007

## Handout 2

I. Position of the verb (McCloskey 1996a)

II. Position of the subject (McCloskey 1996b)

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### I. Position of the verb

On the Scope of verb Movement in Irish (McCloskey 1996a)

- Finite V is in I
- Finite V is in C
- V is in the highest inflectional position (more articulate structure)

### Complementizers in Irish

(1)	Non-past	Past
	<i>go</i> <sup>N</sup> 'that'	<i>gur</i> ← gə + r
	<i>a</i> <sup>N</sup> C <sub>resumptive pro</sub>	<i>ar</i> ← a + r
	<i>an</i> C <sub>interrogative</sub>	<i>ar</i> ← a + r
	<i>nach</i> NEG	<i>nár</i> ← ná + r

### Position of adverbs

(2) **Adjunction Prohibition** (Chomsky 1986 (*Barriers*))

Adjunction to a phrase s-selected by a lexical head is ungrammatical.

→ adjunction to selected CP violates (2), but adjunction to IP doesn't.

### Sentential adverbs that left-adjoin to IP

(3) Usually/most of the time I understand what he's talking about.

(4) a. [<sub>IP</sub> In general [<sub>IP</sub> after people finish their theses [<sub>IP</sub> they don't know what to do with themselves. ]]]

b. [<sub>IP</sub> After people finish their theses [<sub>IP</sub> in general [<sub>IP</sub> they don't know what to do with themselves. ]]]

(5) a. It is probable **that in general/most of the time** he understands what is going on.

b. **That in general** he understands what is going on seems fairly clear.

(6) a. He promised **that when he got home** he would cook dinner for the children.

b. He asked us **if after we arrived home** we would cook dinner for the kids.

These adverbs may not adjoin to CP:

(7) a. \*It's probable in general/most of the time [<sub>CP</sub>**that** he understands what's going on.]

b. \*[<sub>CP</sub> In general [<sub>CP</sub> **that** he understands what is going on seems fairly clear.]]

- (8) a. [<sub>CP</sub> **That** [<sub>IP</sub> when she moved to the city [<sub>IP</sub> she could actually get a job]]] was amazing.  
 b. \*<sub>CP</sub> [When she moved to the city [<sub>CP</sub> **that** she could actually get a job]] was amazing.

... also holds for infinitives and WH-clauses:

- (9) a. \*I want very much [<sub>CP</sub> by the time I get home [<sub>CP</sub> **for** her to have left]].  
 b. \*The police couldn't establish [<sub>CP</sub> while we were out [<sub>CP</sub> **who** had broken into our apartment]].

... & when IP is selected by 'lexical' head (P):

- (10) \*After [<sub>IP</sub> last year [<sub>IP</sub> she resigned ]]] she moved to Paris.

## 1. Sentential Adverbs In Irish

- (11) Deiridís an chéad Nollaig eile **go** dtiocfadh sé aníos.  
 they-used-to-say the first Christmas other COMP would-come he up  
 'They used to say that next Christmas he would come up.'
- (12) Is dóiche faoi cheann cúpla lá **go** bhféadfaí imeacht.  
 COP[PRES] probable at-the-end-of couple day COMP could[IMPERS] leave  
 'It's probable that in a few days it would be possible to leave.'
- (13) Tá eagla orm leath an ama **nach** feasach mé an beo nó marbh thú  
 is fear on-me half the time NEG COMP knowing me INTERR+COP alive or dead you
- (14) \*Deiridís **go** an chéad Nollaig eile dtiocfadh sé aníos.  
 they-used-to-say COMP the first Christmas other would-come he up  
 'They used to say that next Christmas he would come up.'
- (15) chun inseacht duit nuair a bhíos thall ar an tamhnach **go** bhfaca mé  
 to tell to-you when COMP I-was over on the slope COMP saw I  
 cean de do chuid beithíoch.  
 one of your portion cattle[GEN]
- (16) \*chun inseacht duit **go** nuair a bhíos thall ar an tamhnach bhfaca mé  
 to tell to-you COMP when COMP I-was over on the slope saw I  
 cean de do chuid beithíoch.  
 one of your portion cattle[GEN]

**Observation:** contrary to English (and other languages) in Irish sentential adverbs must appear to the left of the complementizer

- n.b. - the adverbials are not construed with higher clause  
 - what we observe is not an 'embedded root phenomenon' (not restricted as to what type of verb selects them (typically 'bridge' contexts))

- (17) a. He said that never would he have done such a thing.  
 b. \*I regret that never would he do such a thing.

- The adverbial facts in Irish can be observed in factives, adverbial clauses, comparative clauses, extraposed clauses, and relative clauses.
- In V2 languages, the order XP V Adv [IP ... ] is generally acceptable (though not in English)

(18) \*What will next Christmas your parents do?

(19) Dieses Buch hat gestern Peter tatsächlich gelesen. (German)  
 this book has yesterday Peter actually read  
 ‘Peter actually read this book yesterday.’

(20) \*Dúirt sí go dtabharfadh amárach a mac turas orm  
 said she comp would-take tomorrow her son visit on-me  
 ‘She said that her son would visit me tomorrow.’

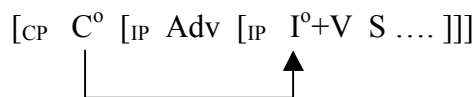
→ Irish does not behave on a par with V-second languages

- **The Adjunction Prohibition in Irish ?**

(21) a. \*Ní bhfuair siad amach ariamh an bhliain sin cé a bhí ag goid a gcuid móna  
 NEG found they out ever that-year who COMP was steal[PROG] their turf  
 ‘They never found out who was stealing their turf that year.’

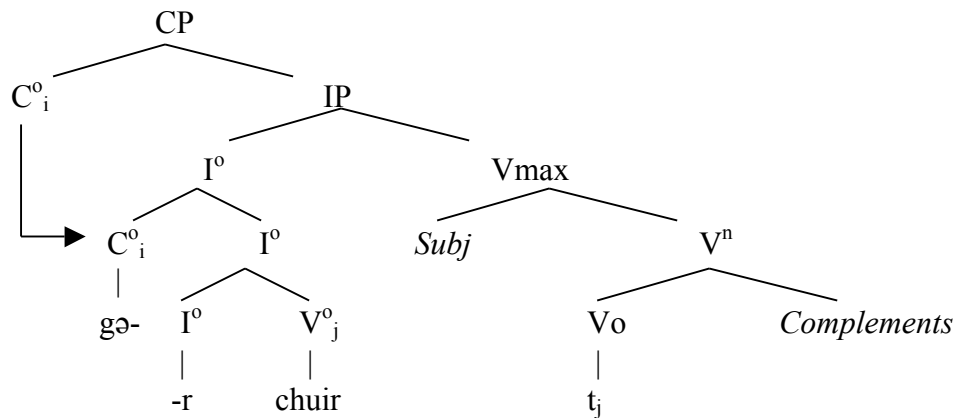
(22) a. \*Níor thuig mé roimh an Nollaig cé chomh gnóitheach is a bheadh siad  
 NEG understand I before Christmas how busy as COMP BE[COND] they  
 ‘I didn’t realise how busy they would be before Christmas.’

- (23) **McCloskey:**
- Irish, like other languages, disallows adjunction to selected arguments
  - Adjunction is therefore to IP
  - No fronting of I<sup>0</sup> to C<sup>0</sup> in Irish (at least in the syntax)
  - Complementizers lower and adjoin to I<sup>0</sup>



(24) Deir sé gur chuir sé síos é.  
 says he COMP+PAST put he down it  
 ‘He says that he put it down.’

(25) **Complementizer lowering:**



2. **Where does lowering occur?**

**Negative Fronting & NPIs**

- (26) a. Níor bhain sé aon deor amháin as an chorn  
 NEG+PAST took he one drop one out-of the cup  
 ‘He didn’t take a single drop out of the cup.’
- b. Aon deor amháin níor bhain sé as an chorn  
 one drop one NEG+PAST took he out-of the cup  
 ‘Not one drop did he take from the cup.’

→ no difference in scopal possibilities: Neg > indef preferred in both cases

- Negative Fronting applies in selected contexts (again, not dependent on them being embedded root contexts)
- the fronted negative occurs before COMP
- idiomatic objects may be fronted → argument for movement
- multiple frontings are possible (though marked) → used as argument for adjunction

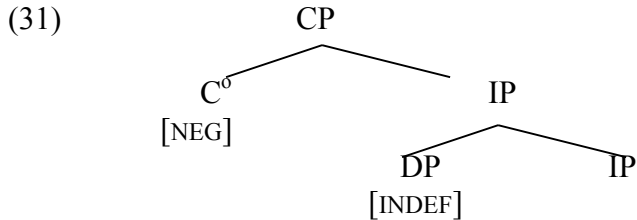
- (27) Nár gheall tú dhom deoir nach  
 NEG.INTERR.COMP.PAST promise you to-me drop NEG.COMP  
 rachdadh t ar do bhéal go ceann fada  
 would-go on your mouth till-the-end long-time  
 ‘Didn’t you promise that not a drop would cross your lips for a long time?’

- (28) Súil níor thógadar t de  
 eye NEG-PAST lift[PAST.2P] from-him  
 ‘They didn’t take their eyes off him.’

- (29) Cos ní chorródh sé t  
 foot NEG would-move he  
 ‘He wouldn’t budge.’

- (30) Bean amháin dó cha dtug *t* damhsa *t*  
 woman one to-him NEG-PAST give dance  
 ‘Not a single woman gave him a dance.’

- Negative fronting of indefinites must be in scope of Negation



### Negative Polarity Items (NPIs)

- (32) Greim ar bith ní fhuil sé a ithe *t*  
 bite any NEG is he eat[PROG]  
 ‘Not a bite is she eating.’

- (33) glór ar bith níor chuala sé *t*  
 voice any NEG-PAST hear he  
 ‘He did not hear any voice.’

- (34) pingin rua char chaith mé *t* ar an bhád  
 penny red NEG-PAST spent I on the boat  
 ‘Not a red cent did I spend on the boat.’

- *Pingin rua* and *ar bith* allow free choice interpretation if not in scope of Negation

- (35) D’fhéadfadh rud ar bith tarlú.  
 could thing any happen[-FIN]  
 ‘Anything could happen.’

- (36) Tabhair leat aon cheann is maith leat.  
 Take[IMPV] with-you any one that-you-like  
 ‘Take away any one you like.’

- (37) a. He didn’t ever give me anything. → NPI  
 b. \*Anybody didn’t ever speak to me. → \*NPI

- NPIs are licensed by an appropriate licenser in Spec,C or C:

- (38) a. **Not once** did anyone speak to me. → NPI  
 b. **Has** anyone helped you yet? → NPI  
 c. Which one of them **doesn’t** anybody like? → NPI  
 Cf.:  
 d. \* Which one of them **does** anybody not like?  
 e. \*They succeeded in finding out which one of them anybody didn’t like.



- d. D'éirigh idir na fir.  
rose between the men  
'The men quarreled.' ('A quarrel rose between the men.')
- e. Thosaigh idir na fir.  
began between the men  
'The men quarreled.' ('A quarrel began between the men.')
- f. Théigh fá dtaobh don ghirseach.  
warmed about-the girl 'The girl became agitated.'

- The preposition is not merely a case assigner

- (66) a. idir na bailte / idir Corcaigh agus Baile ÁthaCliath  
between the towns between Cork and Dublin  
b. \*idir an teach

- (67) \*Tosaíonn idir mé  
begins between me  
'I quarrel.'

- The single oblique argument postverbal PP does not raise to subject positions

- Non-finite clauses, progressives, and small clauses: SV ...

- (68) a. Chonaic mé [SC na gasraí ag caoineadh ]  
saw I the boys cry.PROG  
'I saw the boys cry.'

- b. Níor mhaith liom [CP iad imeacht ]  
I-wouldn't-like them leave[-FIN]  
'I wouldn't like them to leave.'

- c. Tá na daoine ag pilleadh ar an bhaile.  
is the people return.PROG on home  
'The people are returning home.'

- Salient unaccusatives: V PP

- (69) a. Braithim [SC ag teacht as fhéithleoga ] / \* [SC as fhéithleoga ag teacht]  
I-feel come.PROG out-of sinews  
'I feels sinews stretching.'

- b. B' fhada [SC ag cailliúint ar a mhisneach ] / \* [SC ar a mhisneach ag ... ]  
COP.PAST long lose.PROG on his courage  
'His courage had long been waning.'

- c. Caithfidh éirí leis / \* leis éirí  
must succeed with-3S  
'It must succeed.'

d. Bhí ag neartú ar an nglór / \* ar an nglór ag neartú  
 was strengthen.PROG on the noise  
 ‘It must succeed.’

o The perfective passive

(70) a. Beidh an tráchtas críochnaithe agam amárach.  
 be.FUT the thesis finished at-me tomorrow  
 ‘I’ll have finished/ have the thesis finished by tomorrow.’

b. Tá teach ceannaithe agam.  
 is a-house bought by-me  
 ‘I’ve bought a house.’

**Properties:**

- logical subject: object of P *ag* ‘at’ (*ag*-phrase optional)
- logical object: derived subject
- aspect: recent perfective/completive aspect

**Question:** Does Irish have the option of Romance type expletive constructions in passives/unaccusatives?

(71) a. Il est arrivé trois hommes. (French)  
 it has arrived three men  
 ‘Three men have arrived.’

b. *pro* ne sono cadute molti (Italian)  
 of-them are fallen many  
 ‘Many of them fell.’

→ No, in all the cases of raising, the following pattern is unattested:

[ tá *pro* V<sub>pass</sub> DP<sub>j</sub> ]

(72) \*Tá *pro* ceannaithe teach agam.  
 be bought a-house by-me  
 ‘I have bought a house.’

Munster Irish permits impersonal passives of verbs with PP complements or intransitives:

(73) a. Tá laghartha aige le cúpla duine cheana.  
 is spoken at-him with a-few people already  
 ‘He has spoken to a few people already.’

b. Bhíodh scríofa chuige roimh ré.  
 used-to-be written to-him in-advance  
 ‘He used to have been written to in advance.’

c. níor thúsce [<sub>SC</sub> féachta aige air ] (small clause)  
 no-sooner looked by-him on-it  
 ‘no sooner had he looked at it’

- (74) a. Agus sula raibh ite acu agus ólta acu ...  
and before was eaten by-them and drunk by-them ...  
'And before they had eaten and drunk ...'
- b. Nuair a bhí críochnaithe againn  
when COMP was finished by-us  
'When we had finished'

**Salient unaccusatives:**

- (75) a. go bhfuil teipithe ar an rinceoir mór  
comp is failed on the dancer great  
'that the great dancer had failed'
- b. Bhí briste ar a fhoighid.  
was broken on his patience  
'His patience had given out.'
- c. Bhí rite leis fein.  
was run with-himself  
'He had done well.'

**PUTATIVE UNACCUSATIVES**

- (76) a. Neartaigh ar a ghlór.  
strengthened on his voice  
'His voice strengthened.'
- b. Neartaigh a ghlór.  
strengthened his voice  
'His voice strengthened.'

→ alternation found with approx. 16 unaccusative verbs

**- Putative unaccusatives: subject must raise.**

- Progressive non-finite clauses, small clauses, perfective passive, ...

- (77) a. Tá mo shaibhreas ag méadú  
is my wealth increase.PROG  
'My wealth is increasing.'
- b. B' fhada [SC a shaibhreas ag méadú.  
COP.PAST long his wealth increase.PROG  
'His wealth had been increasing for a long time.'
- c. níos faide .... ná mar bhí dultha aige  
farther .... than as was gone by-him  
'farther than he had gone'

- Two patterns:**
- 1 one with a necessarily non-overt subject (salient unaccusatives)
  - 2 one where the internal argument DP **must** raise

**Interim conclusion/paradox:**

- Evidence from salient unaccusatives : Irish does not have an EPP feature
- Evidence from unaccusatives and perfective passives : Irish has a EPP feature

McCloskey addresses the following questions:

1. Why is the mechanism of expletive-argument chains absent?
2. Why does Irish have the comparatively rare salient unaccusative type?

Conjecture about 2 (why the salient unaccusative construction is so rare; cf. Burzio 1986, Chomsky 1993):

- the EPP requires an expletive
  - the expletive must have an associate.
  - its associate cannot be inside a PP.
- Independent evidence against salient unaccusatives involving an expletive: there is no definiteness effect (as there is in Romance)

**Details of McCloskey's analysis**

1. Split-INFL: TP is higher than AGRsP (Duffield 1991)
2. EPP is a property of TP (strong D-feature of T)
  - Expletives are excluded from the lower position (Groat):
  - expletives are invariant in form → no variation in person, gender, number.
  - expletives are always in Spec,T, where sensitivity to phi-features is irrelevant
3. Nom Case is licensed overtly in Spec, AGRs (D-feature of AGR is strong)
4. AGRs is merged only if needed → if structure contains a DP with unchecked NOM case (correlates with absence of Agr in analytic form)

**Prediction:** Lgs that lack the EPP should have salient unaccusatives → Irish is a case in point

**Questions and problems ...**

- Why is there no subject agreement with overt DPs?
- Not clear how conclusions are compatible with theory of Agree (Chomsky 2000)
  - If Irish lacks EPP feature, why can NOM subjects not be generally licensed *in situ* through Agree?

....

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